

THE PATH
TO PEACE,
PROGRESS
AND
PROSPERITY

**Proceedings of the Constitutional
Convention of the Communist
Political Association**

New York, May 20 - 22, 1944

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PROCEEDINGS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

New York

May 20-22, 1944

Note The Constitutional Convention of the Communist Political Association was held in New York City, May 20-22, 1944. We reprint herewith the reports, discussion, resolutions and minutes of this historic convention. We reprint herewith also the minutes of the Convention of the Communist Party at which convention the party was dissolved, making way for the foundation of the new non-party Communist Political Association.

To conserve paper, as well as to present this material in a compact form for easy reference and study, a number of the reports and all the discussion are presented in an abridged text.

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Contents

INTRODUCTION By Robert Minor	7	THE HERITAGE OF THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION By Robert Minor	72
DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY	11	Welcome to Honored Guests of Convention By A. Trachtenberg	86
TRIBUTE TO OUR HONORED DEAD	12	Remarks by Honored Guests	87
GREETINGS TO GENERAL EISENHOWER, MARSHAL STALIN AND MARSHAL TITO	13	Resolution on 25th Anniversary of Communist Organization Introduced by Morris Childs	91
THE ROAD AHEAD TO VICTORY AND LASTING PEACE	15	LATIN AMERICAN DELEGATES GREET C.P.A. CONVENTION	93
FOR VICTORY IN THE WAR AND THE ELECTIONS By Eugene Dennis, Chairman of Resolutions Committee	25	Senator Elias Laferte, Chile; Augusto Duran, Colombia; Juan Antonio Corretjer, Puerto Rico	93
Discussion on Resolution	31	Earl Browder Greets Fraternal Delegates from Latin America	97
National Unity for Victory, Security and a Durable Peace, Resolution on Report of Earl Browder	39	Remarks of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.	100
CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION Remarks on Preamble	43	Resolution on Latin America	101
By Earl Browder		WAGE POLICY Remarks of Nat Ganley	102
Report on the Constitution	44	Discussion on Resolution	103
By Roy Hudson		Resolution on Wage Policy	104
Constitution of the C.P.A.	47	RECONVERSION Remarks of Gilbert Green	106
PERSPECTIVES ON THE FUNCTIONING OF THE C.P.A.	51	Discussion on Resolution	107
By John Williamson		Resolution on Reconversion	109
Discussion on Organization - Education Report	60	SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS Remarks of Robert Thompson	111
Resolution on Building the C.P.A.	71	Discussion on Resolution	112
		Resolution on Servicemen and Veterans	112

WOMEN	Resolution on Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill	125
Remarks of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn		113
Resolution on Women		114
THE SOUTH	Remarks of William Schneiderman	126
Remarks by David Carpenter	Resolution on China	127
Discussion on Resolution		116
Resolutions on the South		117
POLL TAX	INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY	
Remarks of Pettis Perry	Remarks of Bill Sullivan	128
Resolution on Poll Tax	Resolution on International Trade Union Unity	128
	119	
	119	
ANTI-SEMITISM	ACCEPTANCE SPEECH FOR NOMINATION TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE	
Remarks of Pat Toohey	By Louis Weinstock	129
Resolution on Anti-Semitism		121
FARMERS	SUMMARY REMARKS	
Remarks of Arnold Johnson	By Earl Browder	130
Resolution on Farmers	MINUTES, COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION CONVENTION	133
		122
		123
WAGNER-MURRAY-DINGELL BILL	APPENDIX	
Remarks of Otis Hood	Minutes, Communist Party Convention	140
		125

Introduction

THIS BOOK is the record of two conventions.

One was the convention of the Communist Party of the United States that met for a few minutes on May 20, 1944, to accomplish its only purpose—the closing of the affairs, the disposal of the property, and the dissolution of the Communist Party.

The other was the convention that assembled immediately after the Communist Party was dissolved, remained in session three days and founded a new organization—the Communist Political Association.

Because the two assemblies were convened by the same men and women in the same hall on the same day, and because there was no renunciation of Communist principles but a reaffirmation that was all the stronger because made under the terms and conditions of more mature history, some of our opponents profess to believe that the dissolution of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association were purely formal acts signifying little or no real change.

This book shows the contrary to be true.

I venture to say that in the history of political struggles and of the grouping and organizing of men for the conduct of such struggles, there is no case where a formal action more truly reflected a change in what masses of men will do, or one that corresponded to a more profound transformation of the conditions under which they must act.

* * *

A world-conqueror who had most of the old world under his feet said that mankind must be split to its foundations by wars of extermination between nations and by civil wars between classes precipitated for the purpose of aiding his conquest. But this world which was to be split is transformed into a world in which the nations unite to destroy the conqueror, and through unity in war mankind is finding its way to a unity in future peace such as had never been seen before.

Alliance for victory over the would-be world conqueror has led to a great post-war peace alliance of quite unprecedented character, the unity of socialist and capitalist states such as it was said could never occur. For the first time in centuries a prolonged world peace is the realistic prospect, while the sweeping of the German Nazis and the Japanese militarists

into oblivion removes the menace of civil war from the path of democratic and social advance throughout Europe and Asia. A quite new stability is to be achieved. Economic cooperation of Russia, Great Britain, the United States and China lays the strong foundation for the erstwhile "impossible" thing—a world market expanding in something like the proportion of our expanding capacity of industrial production.

In a hundred nations the nightmare of mass unemployment gives way to the prospect of a rising standard of living and an extension of the wartime agreement of labor and capital for uninterrupted production into the postwar period of reconstruction.

If such is truly the prospect, it must be admitted that it spells a very great change. The conclusion is that in a long period of peace and expanding world economy, we will have an expanding home market, and that the United States, the strongest of all nations in economy, will retain and develop its lead in production, fully utilizing its enlarged industrial plant and keeping its millions employed with our standard of living, which has for three-quarters of a century been the highest in the world, retaining its precedence—and that this nation, like Europe, need not be disunited in warfare of class against class.

It is to this change in the situation in our country and in the world at large that we, the Communists of the United States, adjusted our form of organization and activity in the two memorable conventions of May, 1944.

* * *

The dissolution of the Communist Party is a real dissolution of a party in that realistic and practical sense in which Americans understand a party to be a partisan group seeking to get or keep public office by offering an alternative program of public policy and dividing the people on that ground.

In this time of great danger all alternatives disappear before the single duty of national unity in support of the government conducting the all-out war. But we have raised in our country a breed of professional political horse-traders who nevertheless follow the partisan course. The handiest example of partisanship in the midst of this war is the campaign of Dewey. His political and journalistic supporters

plead on his behalf that it would be dangerous to the "two-party system" if all of the people were to support the government all at once. There being, for the nation, no alternative to all-out war, an alternative must nevertheless be found by these political horse traders. To conduct an effective campaign, they must mobilize all possible support, and all possible support includes not only the inevitable irritations and resentments that accompany every war, but also those very serious forces that oppose the policy of conducting the war at all. Swapping horses, in practical fact, means swapping from the policy of President Roosevelt of war and post-war alliance, to the policy of the supporters Mr. Dewey has gathered behind him, typified by the *New York Daily News*, the Hearst press and the *Chicago Tribune*, all of which connect their support of Dewey with furious attacks upon our allies, the demand that the war be brought to an end without the decisive defeat of the German government and that we discard the agreements for economic collaboration upon which the very life of American capitalist economy depends.

Thus the professional political horse-swappers began with the demand that we swap horses in the middle of the stream of war just because horse-swapping is the American way; but they wind up by demanding, in effect, that the peoples of the whole world must *not* swap horses from the Hitler-Japanese slavery that has held 400 million people of Europe in slavery and threatens to enslave 1,000 millions in Asia.

The American labor movement has no sympathy whatever for any partisan division of the nation in this crisis of war and its aftermath.

The very character of our country's economic system of "free enterprise"—a nickname for capitalism—implies that it has within it the lines of potential division. When you start to split a nation the split comes where the cracks already exist. Modern industrial society has made the most easily opened crevice the line of division between capital and labor. It is because of the strength and clearheadedness of organized labor, and in spite of the professional political horse-swappers and such of their allies as John L. Lewis, that the nation is not split wide open now along the lines of class division. Put the heaviest emphasis upon this great fact of American history: That in the nation's greatest crisis, in the 1940's, the entire mass of the labor movement moves into conscious political action, not in dividing the nation as

class against class, but in supporting its national unity.

It should be clear now that the formal action of the American Communists in removing the possibility of appearing to have a partisan purpose was grounded in reality.

* * *

The most salient part of this book is the magnificent report of the President of the Communist Political Association, Earl Browder, who was the General Secretary of the Communist Party during the last and most important fifteen years of its existence. This report appears as the opening chapter under the title "The Road Ahead to Victory and Lasting Peace." In the remarkably compact section of two pages entitled "The Teheran Concord at Work in Europe" you will find a lasting contribution to the understanding of the greatest turn that modern history has made. In the section on "An Economic Program for National Unity and International Collaboration" you will find the typically clear emphasis of the Marxist upon the economic foundation that must underlie the political path as stone must underlie a durable road.

But acceptance of the perspective of enormous economic possibilities is not confined to any political school. There has never been so large a part of the human race united upon a common outlook as is united upon this. The most realistic nations are conducting the biggest military operations of all time, supported by the largest economic operations ever made, in full knowledge that this alone is the way of national survival; while the most conservative business interests plan to continue economic operations of similar magnitude in post-war commerce, knowing fully that this is the continuance of the system that is called "free enterprise" and that anything else is its discontinuance.

It has to be admitted, though, that some of the very same men who have participated in the discovery of the enormously changed economic possibilities grossly underestimate their own discovery. They slip into the assumption that what has been discovered is a way to restore the world market to its old restricted proportions with but a moderate increase. Having awakened to the enormous role of Russia in the military solution of the world crisis, and to its equally large role in the coming post-war economic solutions, they retain the fixed idea that capitalism can do business only with capitalism. When the fixed idea collides with the fact, they rationalize

themselves into the belief that the beneficent change that has come over the world is that "Russia has become capitalist."

They fail to see that what has been discovered in the new relations of the United States, Russia and Great Britain is not a way to restore the world market in its old proportions, but the achievement of a *qualitatively* different world market, of a stability based upon hitherto untouched foundations and therefore of vastly increased potential dimensions. They remind us of Christopher Columbus. He similarly underestimated his own discovery. He thought what he had discovered was a new route to the old market of "the Indies" that had been lost to Europe by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. His most optimistic hope was that his discovery would enable a score or even a hundred Spanish galleons to ply each year across the Atlantic to the back door of Asia to bring back silks and spices enough to enrich many gentlemen of the Spanish court, including himself. The great discoverer died without knowing that he had discovered a new world, and that its discovery would renovate the economic life of all Europe, would create that which never existed before—the world market—and would usher into life that strange, new, incredibly powerful system that we call capitalism. We could imagine that Columbus died muttering to himself in his Italian tongue "We can do business with India," very much as the *New York Times* and Eric Johnston mutter "We can do business with Russia." It is not that they are wrong, but that they vastly underestimate their own achievement.

The difference between the simple restoration of a world market such as we have had before, and the economic possibilities of post-war collaboration of the United States, Russia, Great Britain and China, is something like one to ten, as shown by the forceful argument of Browder. The danger of the underestimation lies in the fact that a market of the old proportions will be ruinously short of our needs, and that American participation in the vastly larger market can be had only through national unity in support of the Teheran policy.

* * *

In this book you hear the most advanced thought of the worldwide labor movement—the supposedly "mysterious" Marxist science—in the form of clear, simple political and economic sense expounded in plain American language from which the trace of

Browder's native Kansas prairie is never missing. Learn that this supposedly strange and difficult manner of thinking and doing about politics and economics and all the other affairs of life—which the whole world now knows to be the manner of thinking that educated the modern Russians for the most rapid economic advance and the greatest military achievements of all history—is not really strange to our country, but has some of its deepest roots in it. For the great German Jew whose name is given to Marxism drew very largely upon American history in creating this science, and even acknowledged the share of it of such a great American as Benjamin Franklin. Browder, the best of American Marxists, is the most typical American I have ever known. He is more like all the rest of the people than anyone else you ever saw, born in the exact center of the United States, with an ancestor in General Washington's army, with a good wife and growing sons just like yours, who attend the small-town public schools and compete like yours for D.A.R. and American Legion prizes for scholarship, and not always without success.

Such is the Marxist leader with whom you get acquainted here.

But why do we not abandon these Communist or Marxian principles, while we abandon the particular party form, you ask? But Marxian principles are *scientific* principles. Marxism makes no claim whatever except the claim of science. It pretends to no magic and no perfection, but finds its first duty precisely where all other science finds it—in forever questioning, always comparing its scientific presumptions (and scientific presumptions are necessary tools in all scientific work) with the living present, and correcting them every day, every hour, by the evidence of the living present—though always with the rigid discipline of objective science.

There are but two things that can happen to a set of scientific principles: If they are proved invalid, they are to be abandoned in favor of other scientific principles shown to be sound. Or, if they are shown by historical experience to be sound, they are to be—no, not kept intact!—but basically preserved while subjected to the severest test of comparison with experience, and *further developed*, enriched with new, clear knowledge out of experience, *transformed*, but transformed only as a sound and healthy organism is transformed—by growth. Marxism has been proven

by the test of life to be in the latter category. Therefore do not expect us to abandon it. But please do understand that we must develop it, which means that it is constantly strengthened for the very reason that there is nothing sacred in it except its conformity with the truth of natural science and of human history.

This scientific method is more necessary now than ever-before. For instance, in your city neighborhood it would be ridiculous to use a compass or study the stars to find your way to Main Street. But when in respect to political, economic and social phenomena, it is as though our neighborhood and city had been blown to bits, all street signs gone and once-familiar buildings in heaps of ruins, we have to study and find our direction by scientific means.

The Communist movement is an inseparable part of the labor movement. Its modern existence is possible only in connection with the labor movement, and its thinking is the most advanced thinking of the labor movement.

However, do not assume that the material of this book is confined to the interest of the workers and intellectuals in the service of the labor movement. That might be almost so if the world were now plunging into socialism. But as the world is not doing so, and as the United States enters the post-war period as the greatest capitalist country of all time—and yet the affairs of the whole capitalist world can be understood only in the light that is given by this science—there is no class of men and women who have not a natural interest in the

contents of this book. Every young American who hopes in any way to make his contribution to the public affairs of our country must cultivate his knowledge as an American world-citizen, for our country is now the lodestone of a great world market that makes all affairs the affairs of all men.

* * *

Speeches of special importance in this book, besides those of Browder, are the report of the newly-elected Secretary of the Communist Political Association, John Williamson; the report of Eugene Dennis as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the Convention; the report of Roy Hudson as Chairman of the Constitution Committee and the speeches of Gil Green, President of the New York State organization, and of William Schneiderman, California President. In my own contribution to this book will be found many quotations and footnotes. This is because the task assigned me consisted largely in showing that the Communist Political Association is the true heir to the treasures of the intellect stored by the labor movement in a full century, and that the vast changes we make are in the necessary and consistent development of its science.

This book is an important record. A hundred years from now, men and women and boys and girls will still read it in libraries in every city of the world, because it gives an essential part of the history of our time. But it is not published for future historians. It is put into your hands as an instrument of war.

ROBERT MINOR

New York, August 22, 1944.

Dissolution of the Communist Party

Prior to the Constitutional Convention of the Communist Political Association, there was held a convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., the sole purpose of which was consideration of the following remarks and motion by Earl Browder, then General Secretary of the Communist Party:

On January 11 the National Committee of the Communist Party in the interest of national unity and to enable the Communists to function most effectively in the changed political conditions and to make still greater contributions toward winning the war and securing a durable peace, recommended that the American Communists should renounce the aim of partisan advancement and the party form of organization. This proposal has been unanimously endorsed by all the State and District Conventions which elected delegates to this National Convention.

It therefore seems most fitting that this Convention shall immediately confirm the actions of the State and District Conventions by declaring the Communist Party dissolved, clearing the way for the delegates assembled here, if they so determine, to re-assemble in a new Constitutional Convention to found such a new non-party organization as they may find advisable.

With that purpose, I propose in the name of the National Committee and in consultation with the most important delegations in this Convention, the adoption of the following motion:

"I hereby move that the Communist Party of America be and hereby is dissolved and that a committee of three consisting of the Chairman, Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Party, be authorized to take all necessary steps to liquidate its affairs and that such committee be further authorized to dispose of all its property and to turn over any surplus that may remain to any organization or organizations that in their opinion are devoted to our country's winning of the war in which it is presently engaged and in the achieving of a durable peace."

I move the adoption of this motion.

This motion was discussed and unanimously adopted. The Communist Party was dissolved and its final convention adjourned. Thereupon a new convention was held which founded the Communist Political Association.

Tribute to Our Heroic Dead

In this people's war of national liberation millions of people have grown great, forever hallowing the ground on which as heroes of the people they gave the last full measure of devotion. In our own Army, Navy, Air Force and Merchant Marine, and in those of our Allies, in the guerrilla bands and underground sabotage brigades, men and women of every creed, political conviction, class and color have counted their own lives a small price to pay for the destruction of fascism, for the survival of democracy, of human dignity and hope. Many American Communists are of these honored dead.

It is not for us merely to honor those who in their dying did honor to the human race, to the freedom-loving peoples. To all of them, and to our own Communist comrades, we pay the only tribute that is fitting—that of emulating, wherever we are and whatever we do, their example of patriotism and courageous self-sacrifice. We take from them the arms they have been forced to lay down, the high purpose that they carried into battle. The job that they began shall be finished. We shall win a world without fascist barbarism and war where their children and their children's children can live in peace and happiness for many generations to come.

To this end we consecrate our lives and resources.

We dedicate everything for the triumph of democracy over Hitlerism and the Axis.

We pledge to weld the anti-fascist unity of our country and the alliance of the United Nations.

We vow to maintain uninterrupted war production to forge the weapons of war.

We resolve unconditionally to back the Allied invasion of Europe and our military efforts everywhere.

We will leave no stone unturned to bring this just war to a victorious conclusion, to forge an enduring peace, to secure democratic progress.

We salute those who have fallen in the common anti-fascist cause of the United Nations so that liberty and "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Greetings

TO GENERAL EISENHOWER

The hour of decision is here. Upon you, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Invasion Forces in Western Europe, rests the heavy responsibility of leading to victory the valiant armies of America and Britain, which, together with the great Red Army of our Soviet Ally, face history's greatest test which will decide in battle the destiny of our nation and of the world.

Together with the whole American people, we, like the soldiers under your direct command, take our battle stations. Our every thought is for you and your men, our every effort directed toward hastening decisive victory.

We will not waver nor turn back. We will help reinforce the unity of the home front around our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, in maximum service to the battlefield. We will help solidify the fighting alliance of our country and its allies to win the war and secure the peace.

However long and hard the road, however dear the price of complete victory, we are with you until the fascist enemy is routed and destroyed.

TO MARSHAL STALIN AND THE RED ARMY

In every American city and village, every factory and farm of our great land, men and women and children of all classes speak with wonder and deep gratitude of the heroic achievements of the Soviet Union and its valiant Red Army. Every day since the brutal and treacherous common fascist enemy violated your borders on June 22, 1941, more of the American people have come to know and love your leaders and your people.

The political and military leadership of the U.S.S.R. and its mighty Red Army is applauded not only by our great political and military leaders, but by our workers, farmers, business men, professional people, artists, scientists, and youth. The appeasers of the Hitlerites and the enemies of our common victory, who have been trying to frighten us with Hitler's "Soviet bogey," have not succeeded in blinding our people to the realities. Your deeds daily speak with an authority that drowns their poisonous words.

As the relentless offensives of your mighty forces drive the Nazis from your soil, bringing nearer the day of your common and final victory over the fascist enemy, we grow ever more conscious of our enormous debt to you, the leaders and fighters and peoples of the great Soviet land. The names of your liberated towns and villages are daily on our lips, the name of Stalin and the names of your countless heroes enshrined in our hearts.

Daily more and more of our people understand why it is that yours, the world's first

socialist state, has given the world such an unparalleled example of unity, heroism, individual initiative, and a new discipline in the art and science of warfare.

All patriotic Americans are determined to strengthen still further the concerted action of the United Nations, and its leading coalition of our country, the Soviet Union and England on which our assurance of victory rests. They are determined to continue and deepen this coalition in the peace to come and to extend the friendship among our peoples which will cement the alliance of our two powerful nations as the mainstay of victory, national freedom, and an enduring peace.

TO MARSHAL TITO

As the armed forces of America and Britain, together with the great Red Army, join in the final crushing offensive for the utter destruction of the Nazis, we greet you, Marshal Tito, and through you the brave men, women and youth of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia for its heroic and exemplary fight in the cause of freedom. When the honor roll is called of those who have made the most glorious contribution to the defeat of Hitlerism, the people of Yugoslavia, under your leadership, will be among the first to be hailed.

The growing unity of all the peoples of Yugoslavia in the relentless fight against the Nazi and satellite invaders and their domestic quislings has been a source of great inspiration to the millions of American Slavs and to all patriotic Americans. We are glad that an American military mission, working jointly with a British and Soviet Mission, is cooperating with your General Staff, and we feel confident that the American people, if given the opportunity, will be more than generous in their aid to your heroic army and stern in their condemnation of all those helping the Nazi enslavers.

We look forward to still closer friendship and cooperation between America and the other United Nations with the Yugoslav Liberation forces, representing the genuine unity of all classes and freedom-loving peoples in Yugoslavia. Under the joint blows of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, helped by the great contribution of your magnificent people to the common triumph, victory will not be far off.

The Road Ahead to Victory and Lasting Peace

BY EARL BROWDER

WE ARE meeting in the hours of final preparation for the great last act of war, the opening of the Western Front against Nazism, which in coordination with the Red Army in the East will put an end forever to Hitlerism and all its works.

We will not concern ourselves in discussion with military problems of this war. We have complete confidence in the ability and judgment of our military leadership and especially of its Commander-in-Chief, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. (*Applause.*) We know that American soldiers will carry through their tasks with honor to themselves and their country.

We will turn our minds at this Convention to the problems of consolidating the home front behind our soldiers in order that the whole power that we exercise will result in the completion of our military tasks. We will turn our attention to the further problems of a political character still remaining to be solved by our country and its allies before we can realize the perspective of an enduring peace.

The report that I have to present to you today will be brief. This is possible because the basic political line which I must put forward has already been debated and adopted in the State Conventions.

We will concentrate our attention upon those key points of the great pre-Convention discussion that has gone on for the past three months. Fundamentally there is nothing new on the political line to say to this Convention and for further expansion of discussions of the central political problems, I will not utilize this report but will take advantage of the fact that my new book, titled *Teheran—Our Path in War and Peace*, will soon be off the press and we will present an advance copy of the book to each delegate to the Convention.

TEHERAN—A BINDING COMMON INTEREST

Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, meeting in Teheran last December, shaped and confirmed the common

policy of the great alliance leading the United Nations. This common policy is to work together in the war and in the peace that will follow; complete agreement on the scope and timing of military operations from east, west and south, to guarantee victory; to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples, and banish the scourge of war for many generations; to establish a world family of democratic nations.

Hitler's New Year speech laid down the Axis antithesis to Teheran. No longer attempting to deny that the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance holds the power to destroy him and his works, Hitler told the world that the alliance cannot hold together; that his defeat will result in a social and economic catastrophe of unimaginable scope, followed by a new war either between Britain and America or between the two and the Soviet Union.

America and the world must choose between Teheran and Hitler. Only the firm, energetic, unhesitating unfoldment of the Teheran program in action by all parties to it can defeat and cancel the threats and perspectives of Hitler. Every one who casts doubt upon Teheran, or weakens its execution in any way, is working for Hitler, whether he knows it or not.

I have full confidence that the complete agreement of Teheran will be executed. It is obviously essential to the national interest of each of the contracting great powers. The key question of the opening of the Western Front can no longer be considered by anyone as a question of "helping the Soviet Union." Today it is clearly a supreme necessity to help ourselves.

It is an elementary fact of life that the character of the post-war world will be largely influenced by those who win the war on the battlefield. The question of full coalition warfare has become, for the Soviet Union, a question of shortening the war. For Britain and America it is still a question of winning the war. Therefore the Anglo-Saxon powers have reasons fully as urgent as those of the Soviet Union for pressing the Teheran program to complete and early fulfillment.

AMERICAN OPPONENTS OF TEHERAN

The concord of Teheran does not automatically execute itself. It does not relieve us of our worries and tasks. On the contrary, it demands a maximum of national and individual effort, materially and intellectually, to realize it. Teheran has many enemies to overcome in America.

Teheran demands firm unity with our allies. Every one in America who holds some special idea and interest higher than the consideration of such unity is an enemy of Teheran.

Teheran requires the full unity of all democratic forces within each country. Everyone in America who wants to exclude one or another group or category from such national unity, on any grounds not entirely based on the consideration of winning the war, is an enemy of Teheran.

For every American who places victory and a lasting peace as the highest and all-determining consideration, all his fellow Americans who agree on this are his friends, and his only enemies are those who, for whatever reason of prejudice, special interest, defeatism, or simple business-as-usual, allow other considerations to disturb national and international unity.

We must fight against and defeat all the enemies of Teheran; we must unite all who support Teheran by word and deed.

THE TEHERAN CONCORD AT WORK IN EUROPE

In the months since the Teheran meeting we have been witnessing the concord at work in Europe, dissolving one after another the knotty problems which had been threatening the solidity of the alliance. What more precise definition of the concord can we find, then, than that given by its practical results? We may summarize a few outstanding examples.

On Yugoslavia there was a sharp cleavage of policy within the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance up to Teheran. Britain and America were supporting King Peter's government-in-exile, which included as its Minister of War the figure of General Mikhailovich, who plays an ambiguous role within Yugoslavia itself heavily entangled in collaboration with the Nazis; the Soviet Union supported Marshal Tito and the Government of National Liberation that arose in battle against the Nazis on the soil of that country. Since

Teheran this sharp cleavage has been softened and largely bridged, with the three great powers jointly giving military support to Marshal Tito, with a sharp warning having been given to the Mikhailovich forces to cut off their relations with the enemy, and heavy pressure being exerted on the government-in-exile to purge itself of dubious and treacherous elements as the price of any consideration in the post-war world. There is little doubt now that the government-in-exile must either drastically reconcile itself to the new regime within Yugoslavia or soon pass from the stage of history.

In Italy under Anglo-American occupation, the sharp cleavage between the Badoglio-Savoy regime backed by Britain with the acquiescence of America, and the six-party democratic coalition in the National Liberation Committee which had the sympathy of the Soviet Union and most advanced democratic forces elsewhere, threatened to degenerate into a stubborn deadlock, and was poisoning the relations between the great powers themselves. But a bold initiative in the spirit of Teheran succeeded, in a few weeks' time, in bringing into existence a government which is substantially one of the democratic coalition, while it preserves the formal claims of the "legitimacy" for post-war consideration by the Italian people themselves. The new situation thus created has obviously been pleasing to all concerned, except the trouble-makers who had speculated on creating a division among the great powers. It has strengthened the war, the Italian people, and the three-power alliance, in all respects.

Regarding Poland, center of stubborn controversies, the spirit of Teheran is also effectively at work. So much so that little of the old controversy remains to disturb the relations of the three great powers, but the remaining difficulties are chiefly those between the Big Three and the diehard reactionaries still holding on to control of the government-in-exile. There is a general belief that the recent visit to the Soviet Union of two prominent Polish Americans, Professor Oscar Lange and Father Orlemanski, signifies among other things the opening of a final opportunity for the government-in-exile to purge itself of its anti-Soviet personnel and policies, and merge into the new Polish government which will undoubtedly arise as Polish territory is liberated by the victorious advance of the Red Army.

Teheran removed the last obstacles that had delayed the formal signing of agreement between the Czechoslovak government-in-exile and the Soviet Union for



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the installation of civil government in that country in the wake of the advancing Red Army. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile had long been a pioneer of the Teheran spirit; it was the first to base itself upon the broadest democratic coalition, extending from Catholics to Communists; it has long fully understood that its destiny was bound up with the closest friendship with the Soviet Union. Its agreement with the Soviet Union, now completed with the full approbation of London and Washington, is a model of what would be most desirable for all European countries in the coming liberation.

We must express our agreement with Lucien Midol, member of the French Assembly in Algiers recently in this country, that a definite agreement with the Committee headed by de Gaulle is in order on the part of Washington and London, on the model of the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement. The consolidation of patriotic Frenchmen around the Committee, inside and outside of France, has progressed so far as definitely to require this step. Such recognition will further the unification and democratization of the Fighting French organization everywhere, and will greatly strengthen the Allied forces going into France.

The policy of Teheran, thus sharply defined in actual political events, may be generalized as a process of giving to Europe a unified Anglo-Soviet-American leadership to dissolve the old contradictory orientations toward one or the other of the three great powers. It is a policy of releasing the democratic peoples' revolution, the sweeping away of absolutism and feudal remnants, the mobilization of the united peoples' forces for their own liberation. It includes the postponement of final decisions on the economic and political system for each country until after liberation, when each will be free to determine its own destiny without any outside intervention whatever. It requires support to groupings and leaders within each country entirely upon the basis of their effective contribution to war against the common enemy, and not at all upon ideological considerations or any desire to pre-determine that country's post-war destiny.

For the full effectiveness of this policy within each country, a broad coalition of all democratic forces is required, within which the recourse to armed struggle to settle disputes is abolished, and all relations are determined through free discussion, free political association, and universal suffrage. Such a democratic national coalition within each country must include

all who will fight the Nazis and submit to a common discipline, under the general world leadership of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance, without any discrimination on the basis of conflicting ideologies or past prejudices.

Such is the policy of Teheran, the only road to quick and complete victory and a lasting and prosperous peace.

THE CAIRO CONFERENCE AND TEHERAN

The Cairo Conference of Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek set forth the minimum program of expulsion of Japan from all territories she has seized, return to China of those parts formerly hers, and independence for Korea:

"With these objects in view, the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

Background to this agreement is the cancellation of the unequal treaties with China, with renunciation of all extra-territorial rights, and the U. S. policy of independence for the Philippine Islands.

Unanswered are the questions of the future status of India, Burma, Indonesia, the Malay States, and Indo-China, with populations well over five hundred million. Also unanswered is the problem of Chinese unity against the common enemy.

For the quickest and least costly victory over Japan, we need the extension of the principles of Teheran to the Pacific. There are two great obstacles to this aim, still to be overcome. First is the resistance in the Kuomintang regime to unity with the Chinese Communists; second is the continuing lack of agreement between Britain and the United States on long-term policy toward problems of world trade, which is a difficulty that extends not only to Asia, but to Europe, Africa, Latin America, and the whole world.

The *New York Times* of May 14, editorially taking note of the new Japanese offensive under the title "China in Distress," after years of urging Chungking not to make any concessions to the Chinese Communists, at last recognizes that "the greatest aid which China can furnish to herself is to compose the differences between Chungking and the Communists." The *Times* sees finally the disaster threatening China and the United States because, in the area of the

greatest Japanese threat, the Eighth Route Army and the ten divisions of Chungking's best troops "have been facing one another in an armed truce and have thus neutralized one another." The *Times* does not recognize its own errors in having, for years, thrown its influence against any settlement between Kuomintang and Communists in China, and even in the present desperate moment it carefully limits its suggestions for unity "until the war is over," when presumably it will again insist that the Chinese Communists must be exterminated. Thus does the fatal policy of "too little and too late" continue to express itself among some of the most influential circles in America and China.

In October, 1942, Mr. Sumner Welles, then Under Secretary of State, gave me a statement on American policy toward China, which urged that unity should be achieved by conciliation. Doubtless, as I then recognized, this was a correct statement of American desires. But now it must be said openly that very little indeed has been done by our country to secure the application of that policy. And if nothing is done about it, declarations of policy have very little effect upon the development of events. The *Times* editorials of 1941 and 1942 urging the suppression of the Communists had more influence in Chungking than did Mr. Welles' statement, which was suppressed by the Chungking censorship. Now, at the eleventh hour, with the Japanese advance seriously threatening Chungking itself, the time is more than ripe for the United States to insist that the Chungking government shall put its house in order with a real, not a formal, unification of all Chinese fighting forces, and their fullest utilization against the common enemy. We must once and for all put an end to the playing with the "Red scare," which, in China as everywhere, works for the enemy and against the United Nations.

In the rest of Asia, outside China and the Philippines, we have done nothing to mobilize the hundreds of millions of the population to fight on our side. It is clearly in the interest of America that this be done, with an unequivocal promise to all the great Asiatic peoples of their independence as a result of victory over the Japanese. We cannot, however, secure British agreement to such a policy, unless their fears of American post-war trade competition can be allayed. The British-American trade rivalry is today the greatest obstacle to establishing the grand strategy for victory over Japan in the Pacific.

HOW CAN WE DISSOLVE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ANTAGONISM?

The main reason why the British cling so stubbornly to their obsolete colonial system is not to be found in the supposed innate conservatism or incapacity for change in the British character. Rather it must be seen in the fact that the British can see available no other instrument to avoid being overwhelmed by the gigantic forces of American capitalism. In a world of free markets as between nations, and bereft of their colonial monopoly, British capitalists cannot envisage successful competition with their American rivals. This is an old fear of the British, but it has been multiplied a hundredfold by the spectacular expansion of the American productive plant during the war. Unless this well-founded fear of British capital can in some way be allayed there is not the slightest prospect to dissolve the Anglo-American rivalry that is impeding the war effort, that blocks a common strategy in Asia, that prevents the formulation of any concrete long-time policy common to both countries.

Mr. Eric Johnston, in his new book, *America Unlimited*, tells us of his recent "Mission to Britain." He says, "I am fully convinced that there are no insurmountable obstacles to British-American cooperation." Yet he himself put forth a policy to the British which, if it is followed by our country, does constitute such an insurmountable obstacle, even if Mr. Johnston is unconscious of that fact. He told the British that Americans were "not persuaded" by Churchill's refusal to "preside over the liquidation" of the Empire, that America is anti-imperialist. Then he told them that America is going out for markets, that they insist on "free competition," and will have no part of any system of division of markets by agreement; he insisted that the American "regards all powers, in government or in business, as subject to constant revision—by himself. . . . What this American is in America, he will also be in international affairs." In short, Mr. Johnston told the British that what share they would have in the world markets of the future would be what they could hold in unrestricted competition with America, or what they can maintain with their colonial monopoly.

With all due respect to Mr. Johnston's subjective good intentions, I maintain that this policy toward Britain is a disastrous one, which will continue to

create enormous difficulties in the prosecution of the war, and which threatens to bring a great economic crisis upon the world after the war. It is short-sighted in respect to America's true national interests. It will prove impossible to maintain. Yet there can be no doubt that Mr. Johnston was accurately reflecting today's dominant opinion of ruling capitalist circles in this country.

I venture to suggest that Britain and America must arrive at an agreed economic policy for the joint development of the world markets on a huge scale, ten times the size of the pre-war markets, based upon the rehabilitation of devastated lands and the industrialization of the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, the Near East, Latin America, and Europe. Since this requires free and independent peoples everywhere, the colonial system must be dismantled as quickly as possible; but as the colonial system is Britain's main reliance for a "place in the sun," Britain must receive compensation by being guaranteed a proportionate share in these markets, and the play of free competition must be limited by this agreement, which cannot be "subject to constant revision—by [the American] himself." Without such a guarantee Britain, as the economically weaker power, will under no circumstances surrender or relax her historical claims to colonial monopoly. And that would mean for America and for a large part of the world that the perspective for a vast increase of economic cooperation would vanish. Failure to arrive at some such agreement must eventually result in defeating the hopes of Teheran.

POST-WAR NATIONAL UNITY

The most disturbing influence against our national unity for victory in the war is the expectation that peace between nations will be the signal for the outbreak of great class struggles within the nation.

War needs, therefore, dictate that we shall already now begin to lay the foundations for post-war national unity, so that this disturbing influence may be checked and if possible eliminated.

Our post-war plan is directed to achieve national unity for the realization of the perspectives laid down at Teheran.

That means, first of all, that we must find a program that will unite the democratic, progressive majority of the American people, from all classes, and that we shall not permit that majority to be split up

and thus give the opportunity for the anti-Teheran forces to rise to power.

Such a program for America cannot be a socialist program, because there does not exist now in our country an actual or potential majority support for such a program.

Adherents of socialism, therefore, in order to be effective workers for unity within the broad democratic majority, must make it clear that they do not raise the issue of socialism in a form and manner which can endanger or weaken the national unity. They must subordinate their socialist convictions, on all practical issues, to the common program of the majority.

The United States is the only capitalist country in the world today in which the great majority rejects any proposal for fundamental changes in the existing economic and social system. It not only rejects socialism in any form, but it also sets itself against the trend toward state capitalism. Even the labor movement, C.I.O. as well as A. F. of L., adopts the defense of "free enterprise," and demands governmental intervention in economic life only to the degree that it is demonstratively required to make up for gaps left by the operation of private enterprise.

Eric Johnston has revealed in his recent book how he was astonished to find British capitalists indifferent to this American concept of "free enterprise," and how they even grew "angry" with some of his propagandizing efforts. He finds "the most formidable of the barriers" to cooperation between the two countries in "the difference in our respective approach to post-war economy—ours from free enterprise assumptions, theirs from either government participation or monopoly bases." He records Lloyd George's admission that his "great mistake" as Prime Minister was to try to go back to "free enterprise in England" after World War I. "The English people do not want it," said Lloyd George.

It would be well, therefore, for Americans to rid themselves of the notion that our country with its economic system is the model for all the world. All the world wants to copy our industrial technique, but no other country agrees to our economic system, not even England. On this question, America is much more isolated than is the Soviet Union. Our country stands literally alone on the question of "free enterprise."

As a matter of cold fact, however, as distinguished

from ideology, "free enterprise" today is merely a synonym for capitalism *as it exists*; and the present stage of capitalist development is that of a high degree of trustification and monopoly, not only of the basic economy but even of the channels of retail distribution, far exceeding in its specific gravity in the total national economy that of other countries with a higher degree of formal state capitalism. "Free enterprise" means in practice the freedom of capital to concentrate and centralize itself in ever larger units, with a minimum of public regulation and control; while in relation to the world market it signifies opposition to all measures taken by trade rivals to offset the competitive advantages of American mass production.

It must be clear, however, that while we cannot adopt the ideology of "free enterprise" into our method of thinking, neither can we put forth its repudiation as a program for the democratic progressive majority of the nation. It is an ideology that is shared by the progressives with the reactionaries. It must be accepted as one of the political facts of life that the program of the democratic progressive majority to which we adhere includes the defense of "free enterprise," and that we do not challenge this program.

We must, however, seek to bring the program of the democratic majority to face more squarely the practical problems that must be solved, and to deepen that program, in such a form and manner which will secure a maximum of agreement and a minimum of opposition from both capital and labor, from business circles and the working classes. That can best be accomplished by concentrating attention upon specific problems rather than general ones, upon the concrete rather than the abstract, upon action rather than philosophy. And, in the final analysis, national unity must be built on the foundation of an economic program which does not contradict the prevailing ideology, yet which is workable in the world of reality, and in which conflicting class and national interests can be reconciled.

AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR NATIONAL UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

The starting point for an economic program that meets the requirements we have noted is to be found in the general agreement that American economy must operate at approximate full capacity in the post-

war period, that approximate full employment of all workers must be maintained. To accomplish this aim, markets must be found for peacetime commodities equal to the war market for military goods, and the war market for consumption goods must also be replaced by a civilian peace market of equivalent volume. The total war market for which a substitute must be found is, if we take the figures of 1944 as our measure, around ninety billion dollars per annum.

It must be noted that under war conditions American economy has demonstrated such capacity for expansion that, despite all restrictions upon consumption (such as the almost complete cessation of production of consumers' durable goods), the civilian market is still about as large as any previous year of peace, if not larger. Since this is so clearly a response to war conditions, it seems to me that it is not sound to speculate that any considerable proportion of the replacement for the war market will occur spontaneously or automatically with the beginning of reconversion. The only sound course is to plan for new markets, which did not before exist, equal in volume to the war market which will come to an end.

Foreign markets demand first attention for many reasons. Politically they come first, as a necessary instrument of our foreign policy of reconciling conflicting interests and maintaining peace (although it must be noted that, improperly managed, our foreign trade may cause a severe intensification of these conflicts). Economically they take a primary place on account of foreign needs, since the rest of the world has been impoverished by the war that has enriched our country with a tremendously expanded economy; and because our own first need will be a market for machinery and other capital goods of which there already will exist a surplus here.

I have estimated that we require new foreign markets of about forty billions per annum, above what we would obtain in the course of business-as-usual, in order to guarantee with any seriousness the continued full operation of our economy. Orthodox economists have assured me that it is quite impossible to realize foreign markets of such magnitude, but I am unable to accept their verdict, since I refuse to accept the perspective of mass unemployment and economic crisis in the post-war period. If such markets are necessary to keep our industries in operation, then it is nonsense to say they cannot be realized.

The champions of "free enterprise" in its extreme

form, which denies any economic function to government, are put to the test on this question of foreign markets. They must find and organize such markets, in time to prevent a great post-war economic crisis. If they cannot do it by their methods, then they must agree to governmental intervention which obviously can do it. All that is required is the same determination with which we carry the war to victory.

America's extraordinary achievements in war production are universally cited by business circles as a triumph of "the American way of life," of the system of private initiative, of our traditional capitalism. Very well, the argument is granted. But these achievements were on the basis of a *governmentally organized market*, with the government itself as customer for most of the goods produced. Upon what grounds, then, can we say that the governmental organization of the necessary foreign market for the post-war period would not also be a triumph for "the American way of life," for the "free enterprise" system?

Our government can, in agreement with its great allies, and drawing into partnership the governments of each territory directly involved, set up a series of giant industrial development corporations, for the various devastated and undeveloped regions of the world, Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America. The long-term credits that will be required will be no burden on America, but on the contrary will be an economic relief to us, as one of our greatest needs is for profitable fields of investment to put our vast sums of idle money to work. Such projects, underwritten by governments, would be the most secure of investments; the genius of American industrial engineering could guarantee their technical success; they would quickly start new streams of wealth flowing that would greatly exceed the original investments, which could be made self-liquidating within a generation if desired.

Only America has the potential ability to initiate and carry through such a program of international economic collaboration, which could furnish the medium of reconciliation of clashing special interests, of realizing the political program of Teheran for liberation of all peoples and a long-time peace. Only American initiative on such lines can realize the free collaboration of nations on the scale needed.

The necessary expansion of our domestic markets on an equal scale is more complicated and difficult. Yet it is equally necessary if we are to avoid a devas-

tating economic crisis within a few years after the war ends.

There is never any lack of purchasing power in the country, as some persons mistakenly think, to provide a market for everything our economy can produce. What brings economic crises is not lack of purchasing power in general, but its lack at particular points where it could be effectively used. The problem is not one of creating purchasing power, but of mobilizing that which already exists.

In the final analysis the needed domestic market expansion can only be realized by increasing the consumption of the masses of the population, the great majority of whom are wage workers. That requires the raising of wage standards to the degree that we need a larger domestic market for maintaining full employment and production.

Higher wage standards, therefore, will be a national aim, a goal of public policy, and not merely a special interest of the labor union movement as heretofore. Labor unions, in forwarding their special aims, will be serving the whole society, and will command a broader cooperation of all classes than ever before. This cannot, however, be reached through the accumulated decisions of individual enterprises, but only through the simultaneous enforcement of such higher standards upon all individual enterprises; *i.e.*, by stronger trade unions, by higher legal minimum wage levels, by guaranteed annual wages, by applying the rule of equal wages to equal work, by increased earnings commensurate with increased production. Such problems must be removed from the field of separate individual decisions and be regulated as questions of public policy.

Let it be quite clear that such an expansion of the domestic market has in it nothing whatever of socialism. There is not the slightest suggestion of confiscation of wealth, nor even of the wartime proposals for a limitation upon private incomes of the wealthy classes. On the contrary, this policy is consistent with the fullest possible expansion of consumption by the wealthy, and the accumulation of their private incomes above their consumption level in whatever form they see fit—just so long as it is not accumulated in the form of unused commodities that would fill the warehouses and result in halting further production. The economic policy we are proposing has only one *must*, one categorical imperative in it: That is the unconditional demand that we must keep all workers

employed and all industries producing at approximate capacity, which means that the goods produced must be consumed by someone to make way for the new production. Strictly speaking, this policy could even be operated through the systematic destruction of surplus goods, replacing wartime destruction with a peacetime equivalent, but that is a variant against which I would most strongly argue on political grounds.

The essential outline of the economic problem is this: That full American production will furnish a stream of commodities which—after satisfying the existing standard of living, selling as much abroad as possible, providing the wealthy classes with everything they can possibly consume, and making all practical new investments—will still provide a large and growing surplus which can only be disposed of by expanding the consumption (purchasing power) of the masses of the people who are mainly the working people who still have unsatisfied needs.

This expansion of the domestic market must become even greater when our huge exports to the foreign market begin, with the expiration of the terms of credit, to be amortized, and with the flow back to America of earned profits on the investments. Eventually all our exports will flow back to America in augmented volume, in the form of a flood of goods which must also be consumed in one way or another.

Finally and over a period of years, therefore, the problem of replacing the war market is entirely one of expanding America's consumption until it is equivalent to our entire production.

America has such tremendous productive powers that we will surely choke to death with our surplus goods unless we learn how to consume them. The national gullet of consumption must be enlarged until it equals our scale of production. If we cannot learn how to do it under our existing system, then there will be no choice but to find another system that will balance the books.

We are proposing a policy which, if energetically carried out, will meet and solve all the most pressing problems of the immediate period, will give a basis for international peace and collaboration, will make possible an effective degree of unity within the nation with the expansion of well-being for all.

DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL UNITY

Many conflicting views and interests must learn

how to come together on the basis of compromise in order to build and maintain national unity. But there is a line beyond which compromise is not permissible. We cannot compromise basic democratic principles without seriously damaging our national unity and helping Hitler.

The shameful spectacle of the U. S. Senate blocking the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill from coming to a vote is a typical case in point. The unholy alliance of poll-tax Senators, Dewey Republicans, and log-rolling politics-as-usual Northern Democrats excused their crime under the plea that to abolish the poll-tax would harm national unity because it would anger the Southern Bourbons to the point where they would refuse to support the war. Ten million white and Negro workers and farmers are to continue to be denied the ballot, because this little gang of political blackmailers threaten otherwise to sabotage the entire nation. Men who could not be elected otherwise are thus continued in office with power of veto against the overwhelming majority of the nation. Such compromise with democratic principles is the deadliest enemy of American unity.

So also with the whole Jim-Crow system, the systematic violation of the U. S. Constitution by denial of equal citizenship to Negro Americans, their segregation in the Army, in housing and public places; the denial of equal economic opportunity; their special exploitation and oppression. The Jim-Crow system is the outgrowth of the ideology of "white supremacy" which is just as shameful and dangerous for America as Hitler's identical racialism proved to be for Germany and the world. *Jim Crow must go if America is to stand.*

A direct importation from Nazi Germany is the spreading poison of anti-Semitism in America. Everyone who spreads anti-Semitism is enlisted in Hitler's fifth column. Anti-Semitism is a crime that must be outlawed as a measure of American national security.

Anti-communism, the doctrine of Hitler's "Anti-komintern" organization, is the most deadly of all Hitler's poisons because it has penetrated American society most deeply. We have the extraordinary spectacle of Americans who call themselves liberal, who would consider it outrageous to be called upon to be either Catholic or anti-Catholic, to be either Semitic or anti-Semitic, to be either Negro or anti-Negro, but who still consider it the most natural thing in the world that they and everyone else must be classified

either as Communist or anti-Communist—and by anti-Communist understand the support of the public boycott of all even suspected of Communist opinions, their exclusion from public employment and even from private industry, the dealing with Communist opinions as a kind of crime.

The anti-Communist doctrine is justified by those who claim to be liberals by analogy to the question of the Nazis. All decent persons must be anti-Nazi, and anyone who is not must be considered an enemy of mankind, to be exterminated or at least locked up indefinitely. That is why we are making war, to cleanse the earth of Nazis and all their friends. But it is very dangerous for anyone to extend this to justify being anti-Catholic, or anti-Semitic, or anti-Negro, or anti-Communist. For that would lead toward the conclusion that America must also exterminate the Catholics, the Jews, the colored races, and the Communists from the world. That is somewhat too big an order even for America!

Catholics are an important minority in America, and a majority in several countries we very much need as friends; the Jews have always made important contributions to human progress, and gave the western world its chief religion; the colored races happen to be a considerable majority of the human race, and the Communists just "happen" to be our most important allies in this war. Even considered from the most narrowly practical viewpoint, all these anti-ideologies, whether anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anti-colored races, or anti-Communist, are the most dangerous and stupid mistakes for Americans. And they violate our best American tradition and philosophy as well as our basic law; they violate Christian ethics, as well as all other ethical principles that recognize the brotherhood of man. They are immoral as well as unprofitable.

If America wants to play a leading role in the world, we must defeat all these anti-democratic doctrines and practices; and we must retire from public life, and especially from all dealings with our partners in the United Nations, all persons who are incurably afflicted with these divisive ideologies.

THE 1944 ELECTIONS— FOR UNITY OR DISUNITY?

Our country is entering the crucial hours of the war, our soldiers entering decisive battles for the first time, with a national election on our hands.

We are the only great nation with such a rigid Constitution that elections come at set intervals without regard to the actual problems with which the nation is confronted.

In this, as in so many other matters, we must take our world as we find it and do the best we can. Certainly we cannot take time out from the war to amend our Constitution, which would be more difficult than handling the election.

It is no use pretending, however, that the necessity to conduct elections this year is anything less than a dangerous strain on the national unity required for victory.

If the 1944 elections are carried through in the usual American spirit of recklessness, abandon and irresponsibility, as a wild scramble for power, then indeed the result may be fatal to our hopes for early victory and a lasting peace.

The spirit of partisanship is today a most costly luxury, which America cannot afford. Our problem is how to subdue and control the spirit of partisanship, how to conduct a national election in the spirit of national unity. It is not an easy task.

Our country faced a similar problem in 1864. Lincoln then decided, against his personal inclination and the demand of his enemies, to accept the Presidential nomination and to transform the electoral struggle from a source of disunity in the nation into a means for reuniting the nation. He rose above party lines without conceding an inch to his opponents in matters of principle. He braved the anger of his own partisan supporters, to substitute the Union coalition for the Republican ticket and took the Union Southerner, Johnson, as his running mate. He subordinated everything to national unity and the national interest.

Roosevelt today faces a situation extraordinarily similar to that which was faced by Lincoln eighty years ago.

Can Roosevelt help the nation to unity and victory by conceding the demand of Republicans and the disloyal Democrats that he announce his retirement?

A moment's thought reveals that such a step would be a disaster for our country. Our enemies in the war would be encouraged to new efforts, our allies in the war would have deep misgivings, and our own country would be launched upon an uncharted sea of uncontrolled factionalism.

That is why the demand for Roosevelt to succeed himself has swept the Democratic Party so completely as to silence even most of the disloyal Democrats who have sabotaged the President's program. That is why the labor movement is almost unanimously demanding Roosevelt as candidate. That is why "Republicans for Roosevelt" clubs are springing up all over the country. That is why this convention will support Roosevelt.

This election must not be left in the hands of the old party machines of professional politicians. The extraordinary emergency in which our country finds itself calls for an extraordinary manner of handling the election, that it may be transformed from a threat against national unity into a means of uniting the nation on a higher level.

We must learn how to rise above and dissolve old divisions and prejudices, we must achieve fraternization with former enemies, we must cross the old party lines, we must subdue the class antagonisms, we must dissolve the ancient feud between New Dealers and Old Dealers, we must weld a deeper unity of patriotic Americans than has been seen for generations. We must demonstrate that it is unprofitable for any candidate to display extreme partisanship; we must slap down the loud-mouthed demagogue, expose the wily maneuverer, retire the old machine politicians to the background, and begin to bring forward a new type of people's leadership.

The people, and especially the largest part of the people, which is "labor," must build their own organizations for political action, beginning in the neighborhoods and wards, extending to districts, towns and cities, to the states and the nation as a whole. These organizations should be nonpartisan, taking their stand on issues and judging candidates on their merits without regard to party labels.

That is the road to victory in the war and a people's victory in the election. The program of Teheran, the prospects for victory and a lasting peace, are at stake. Never has there been a greater challenge to the American people or a greater opportunity.

THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNISTS

This Convention of American Communists, in confirmation of the deep seriousness of our program and perspective for national unity, renounces all aims of partisan advancement. We have dissolved the Communist Party, and we are now forming a new non-party organization through which we expect to contribute to the common cause of the progressive majority of the American people. We will participate in political life as independents, through the established party organizations of our progressive associates, without committing ourselves to any party label. We will judge issues and men on their merits.

We remain an organization of Communists, of American men and women who hold that the principles of scientific socialism, of Marxism, have an indispensable contribution to make to our own nation. We will not permit, however, that any struggle over the question of socialism, for or against, shall be allowed to divide the progressive majority of the American people, who must be kept united on the road of democracy and progress at all costs.

We are not retreating, we are advancing. We are advancing with the great majority of humanity to the cleansing of Hitlerism and its allies from the face of the earth. We are advancing with the majority of Americans to a more democratic and progressive America. We are advancing closer to the majority of the American people by bringing them a new and better understanding of our role as a sector in their ranks. We are advancing a clearer understanding of what is socialism by the very act of removing the issue as the center of political struggles today. We are advancing in the strength of our own ranks, as witnessed by the successful recruiting of more than 22,000 new members in the very weeks of most intense political discussion leading to the historic decision to dissolve the Communist Party, and this present Convention to set up a new organization that will grow much stronger in the time ahead. We stand firmly on the program of Teheran, which is America's program for war and peace.

For Victory in the War and the Elections

BY EUGENE DENNIS

Report of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee

THE COMMITTEE on Officers' Reports and Resolutions fully endorses Earl Browder's keynote address, and at this time wishes to place before the Convention the main political resolution based on his report.

Our committee unanimously recommends that the delegates approve this resolution. In this, we affirm the united opinion of our membership and all state organizations as expressed in the pre-Convention discussion. In so doing we pay tribute to the political maturity and the oneness of our Communist movement which, on the eve of its twenty-fifth anniversary, evidences a unity of thought and purpose uncommon in American political life—a unity that is a great source of strength to our national war effort.

In behalf of our committee I should like to comment now on some of the chief points outlined in the resolution, as well as on a number of amendments that have been proposed. Time does not permit reference to many valuable recommendations that have been submitted to the Resolutions Committee—but for the information of the delegates these proposals have been incorporated in supplementary resolutions that will be brought before the Convention.

In relation to Section 1 of the resolution, several delegates have recommended placing greater emphasis on what they term the "early collapse of Hitlerism." Your committee does not believe that this is the most accurate way to place the question. Moreover, we consider that to place the question this way might tend to engender moods of complacency and false optimism.

For what is the real state of affairs regarding the European theater of the war? As we correctly stress in the resolution, the war against Hitlerite Germany and its satellites is entering a new phase. The historic role of the Soviet Union and the greatness of its Red Army, together with the mounting military efforts of our country and Britain, as well as the heroic strug-

gles of the partisans in the Nazi-occupied countries, have tremendously weakened Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, have shaken German imperialism to its foundations, and have created the conditions for hastening the victorious conclusion of the war.

With the invasion of Western Europe, the United Nations now enter the final and most decisive stage of the military struggle against the Hitlerites. Victory can be won relatively soon; but it will not come easily or automatically. It will not come solely as a consequence of the magnificent efforts of our invincible Soviet ally. Nor will it come magic-like on the wings of our gallant airmen. Victory requires the smashing of the main armed forces of the fascist enemy on the Continent of Europe. It requires the coordinated and sustained might of simultaneous, powerful, military offensives from the West and South, together with those from the East, such as are now being launched.

Your committee also had before it for consideration a proposal to incorporate in the resolution the slogan "Victory over Hitlerism in 1944." In our judgment it is possible to bring about the defeat of Hitlerite Germany in 1944 through the maximum concerted military actions of America, Britain and the U.S.S.R. However, we deem it inadvisable at this moment to *sloganize* this perspective and possibility. For this might tend to obscure the enormous tasks ahead to mobilize our country for the unprecedented and gigantic battles which still have to be fought and won, especially to secure a total war effort decisively to carry through the Allied invasion of Europe.

But, in rejecting the proposed amendment, it is clear that we do not reject the intent and aim embodied in the slogan. On the contrary, we consider it necessary to make clear before the nation that the chief and fundamental political-military question now confronting the United Nations is to seize on the

present opportunity to complete the invasion of Europe, to reduce the length of the war and speed victory. And this means now everything to reinforce and ensure the most rapid success of the Allied blows against Nazi Germany from the West, East, and South.

In this connection we wish to emphasize that it is incumbent upon all patriotic forces to continue to unmask and isolate the cautious calculators who counsel that the scope of the Second Front should be limited. For these forces would prolong the war and make it more costly. They endanger victory and bring grist to the mill of the appeasers who are working for a compromise peace with the Nazis and their Japanese confederates.

Moreover, it is essential to put the nation on guard against the reckless and subversive policies of the defeatists and their fifth column. For now, on the eve of the most decisive military battles and the final phase of the national election campaign, these treacherous forces are increasing their activity. They are trying to undermine the position of our Commander-in-Chief. They are renewing their slanders and attacks upon our Allies. They are instituting strike provocations. They are fomenting class hatred, as well as religious and nationality antagonisms. And they are preparing to seize upon the difficulties and heavy casualties resulting from the opening of the Second Front in order to try and create moods of panic, distrust and defeatism. These pro-fascist forces must be unmasked and crushed now, before it is too late.

Finally, we believe that one of the soundest, most effective and constructive ways to raise the question and to facilitate the earliest victory over Hitlerism is to place clearly before the American people *the all-decisive* question of ensuring the most rapid fulfillment of the military and practical agreements of Teheran. For the essence of Teheran, the core of its historic accords, lies in welding the firmest unity of action of the American-Soviet-British coalition, especially now in the development of full coalition warfare on the European continent. It is precisely this phase of Teheran which is now being unfolded and must be resolutely supported, and upon which the edifice of an enduring peace and a united family of freedom-loving nations can and will be constructed.

* * *

Among the proposed amendments, it has been sug-

gested that we indicate more clearly in the resolution the role of American leadership in helping win the war and in solving the problems of the peace. Your committee is in agreement with this proposal and has endeavored to incorporate this idea at the end of Section 2 of the resolution.

We, of course, are opposed to the concept of American leadership as advanced by a Henry Luce, a Herbert Hoover, or a Lammot du Pont. For we do not conceive American leadership as American domination or rule over the world or over subject nations.

However, we Communists have always advocated America's democratic leadership and initiative in international affairs. This is why, for instance, we consistently fought over the years for America's leading participation in a system of collective security to quarantine the aggressors, to stop fascism and war. This, too, is why we have steadfastly advocated since the beginning of this people's war of national liberation that the U.S.A. should take the leadership in developing a close and long-range alliance with the Soviet Union and the other United Nations to achieve victory and establish a durable peace. This is why we are proud of the initiative and the great contributions of President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull in helping bring to fruition the Moscow and Teheran conferences and accords. For, in our opinion, the fulfillment of the agreement of Teheran will, among other things, enable America to play a leading and decisive role in the world, to assure its progressive destiny.

Of course, there are some persons like Messrs. Hearst and McCormick who allege that the international commitments entered into at Teheran by our President and Commander-in-Chief constitute a forfeiture of American sovereignty and national interests, a "surrender to Moscow and Downing Street." There are others who claim that the accords of Teheran, as well as of Moscow, signify the resurrection of "power politics," of a big stick wielded by the "Big Three." And there are other gentlemen akin to these, like Mr. Dewey, who choose to veil their hostility to Teheran by evasion and silence.

Suffice it to state briefly that the agreement of Teheran does not represent the sole interests of any single country, but the common interests of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, and all other freedom-loving peoples. Moreover, it is only by the fullest democratic participation and influence of labor and the people in

the affairs of our nation, and by resolutely pursuing the policy of Teheran—of firmer alliance with the Soviet Union and Britain—that America will be able to contribute its full part in expediting victory and in effecting a lasting peace. It is only in this manner that America can play a leading role in shaping the democratic future of mankind, help solve the acute problems of post-war reconstruction, and aid the expansion of world trade and economic prosperity.

Further, it is only by a policy of amity and cooperation of the two most powerful nations in the world, of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., that America's leading position in the world can be advanced, that her political and economic ties and influence can be enhanced. Contrariwise the policy of the Hearsts and McCormicks, of the anti-Teheran and Munichite forces, of the advocates of chauvinistic and imperialistic "nationalism," would isolate and weaken America, would surround us with enemies instead of friends, would create economic chaos and instability, and would embroil us in wars and internal strife.

As for the cry that Teheran ushers in power politics, the following should be stated. In "power politics," as the term is traditionally used, a state or combination of states employs force or the threat of force in international relations for self-aggrandizement at the expense of other nations and peoples. It is a policy bound up with imperialist domination, rivalries and blocs, with imperialist oppression and exploitation, with the pressure and rule of big nations over smaller or weaker ones.

However, the policy of Teheran is the antithesis of "power politics." It pursues democratic objectives. It is directed toward the destruction of world fascism and tyranny, the creation of a family of free and independent nations, and the securing of a just and durable peace.

Of course, Teheran does signify power: the power of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the joint power of the United Nations to crush Hitlerism and the Axis. This power is harnessed to policy, to the policy of democratic aims and the alliance of the liberty-loving nations.

The power of Teheran, of course, is the denial of power to the forces of fascism, of aggression, of appeasement. For it is power in the service of the peoples. It is power in the furtherance of the war effort of America and all the United Nations, of our national security and a peaceful future. This is why

we sharply raise in the resolution the need of guaranteeing the timely and sustained implementation of the Teheran decisions.

* * *

The next main point stressed in Earl Browder's report and in the principal resolution, a central question that is indispensable for every policy and tactic which we project, is the supreme urgency to reinforce national unity during the war *and* the elections, and to extend and consolidate this unity after the war to cope with the problems of reconstruction and the maintenance of a lasting peace.

A few comments are here in place regarding certain aspects of our election policy. Undoubtedly, one of the severest tests of our national unity will take place in the next months, during the final period of the crucial Presidential and Congressional election campaigns. For this will coincide with the heaviest fighting on the military fronts. This too will materialize amidst the most desperate efforts of the appeasers and defeatists to seize the reins of governmental power and to steer America onto the path of a "soft" peace, a negotiated peace with the Hitlerites and the Mikado.

Precisely now voices are being raised, even within the labor movement, advocating that labor and the other win-the-war forces should abandon an electoral policy of national unity, of non-partisanship—a policy of unity which is so essential to influence the most effective prosecution of the war, as well as victory in the elections.

Thus, some progressives reason as follows: since Hoover's candidate Dewey is the most likely Republican Presidential nominee, and since on a national scale the pro-fascists are operating on the electoral field primarily through the Republican Party; and, on the other hand, since President Roosevelt is the non-partisan candidate of the majority of the American people—that, therefore, in view of all this, labor should assert itself not only in more active support of Roosevelt, but also more directly in behalf of the Democratic Party as a whole.

On the surface this might seem plausible, especially since in most states and Congressional districts the majority of candidates who are the best supporters of Roosevelt and the nation's war policy are participating in the elections as candidates of the Democratic Party. Yet, a deeper analysis of political events and alignments will show that all factors, including the out-

come of the primaries, require that labor and the people pursue a resolute course of anti-fascist national unity now and throughout the elections, as well as after the war.

Insofar as the elections are concerned, suffice it to re-emphasize that the war is not yet won, that all patriotic forces, irrespective of party affiliation, need to be unified to assure victory in the elections and the successful conclusion of the war. But a partisan election approach would divide, not unify, the nation. It would militate against the re-election of President Roosevelt. It would play into the hands of Berlin and Tokyo, which are counting upon and working for an anti-Administration and defeatist outcome in the election.

Secondly, it should be noted that the results of all the primaries reveal that both the Democratic and the Republican Parties received in most cases a minority vote in comparison with the total registered electorate; that only a non-partisan, win-the-war policy can enlist the active support of the independent voters, as well as an influential section of the Republican adherents; and that, whereas the majority of the Republican candidates are aligned with the reactionary Hoover-Dewey-Taft-Vandenberg forces, some twenty million patriotic American citizens traditionally vote for or support the candidates of the Republican Party.

Further, only a policy of national unity, of genuine non-partisanship in support of the President and the Government's war program, can unite and mobilize the bulk of labor, organized and unorganized. Only such a policy can make labor's growing independent political strength fully effective and decisive. For only a policy of national unity for victory could enable the labor movement to develop such an effective nationwide crusade as it has organized for the Fourth Term. Only such a policy could enable the people to defeat or eliminate such reactionary anti-Roosevelt candidates as Dies, Starnes, Holman and Costello, or can bring about the defeat of a Fish or Nye, as well as the re-election of a Marcantonio. Only such a policy can really prepare the way for the re-election of the President and the election of a new Congress, unlike the present obstructionist Congress dominated by Republicans and Bourbons which was elected in 1942 to the detriment of the nation at war.

It is clear that only a policy of national unity in the elections can and will succeed in influencing all forces, from the most progressive to the conservatives,

to rise above partisan considerations and support the continuation of the anti-Axis leadership of our President and Commander-in-Chief, as well as bring about the election of a coalition Congress pledged to victory.

By a policy of national unity and non-partisanship in the elections we mean concretely this: the organization of the most extensive unity of action of all patriotic Americans around President Roosevelt. We mean opposition to, not neutrality toward, any candidate running against the Commander-in-Chief. We mean, further, the concerted action of all patriots to eliminate from public life the obstructionists and defeatists of whatever party label, and to elect a Congress and state legislatures dedicated to victory over fascism, and representative of the democratic majority of the people.

In line with this, it is necessary, among other things, to scuttle and defeat the so-called third-party movements such as have been initiated in Michigan and Illinois by the Trotskyites and the anti-war Social-Democrats, as well as the divisive fourth-party movement of Dubinsky in New York. For these movements, which parade under the guise of independent labor and liberal political action, are in reality reactionary political diversions designed to divide the camp of national unity and to hamstring labor's full contribution to the war and victory in the elections.

In combating these bogus and disruptive third-party movements which are being organized in the present election campaign as instruments of opposition to the war, to Roosevelt, and to the great C.I.O. Political Action movement, we, of course, do not set ourselves against third parties in principle. We Communists understand that today, under wartime conditions, a policy of electoral non-partisanship, of judging men and issues on their merits instead of by party labels, is decisive for pursuing an intelligent and effective policy of national unity in these fateful elections. We recognize that labor's independent political role in this election campaign can be advanced only along the path of labor's unity, through its independent and many-sided organization and activity, and in cooperation with all other patriotic forces through the electoral medium of the established two-party system.

However, we Communists also recognize that the American two-party system and the alignments within and around the major parties are changing. We understand that today the Democratic and Republican Parties represent various coalitions and groupings—

some pro-war and some anti-war, some pro-fascist and others anti-fascist. We know that after the 1944 elections the organized political movement of labor, of the Negro people and of other democratic forces which are now operating through the existing two-party system—primarily today through the channels of the Democratic Party—may initiate or undergo still further changes.

But whatever form political realignments may take after the 1944 elections—whether primarily through an existing party or through the organization of a third political party, as a major party in the country—its main base and leadership will come from the working class and popular forces, in alliance with all win-the-war forces in both major parties; and it will represent, under new conditions, the main patriotic forces of national unity which are now functioning through the two-party system. In other words, a new party alignment should and must represent the decisive majority of the people and not a small and isolated minority.

Be this as it may, it is clear that now as never before victory in the elections, the re-election of the President and the election of a Congress which will support the government's victory program, will require not only the greatest clarification of all win-the-war issues, but likewise the further unity and independent mobilization of the people, especially of labor, A. F. of L. as well as C.I.O. It will necessitate the maximum mass registration of all voters, including guarantees for providing the opportunity to vote for all servicemen. It will require the continued organization of varied independent, non-partisan, political organizations and movements of the workers, the farmers, the city middle classes, the Negro people, the youth, as well as of the wives, parents and sweethearts of the servicemen.

But this can be effectively achieved only on the basis of the broadest unity of action of all patriotic forces regardless of class and party affiliation, in support of the President and the nation's war policy, in support of a resolute win-the-war Congress, in behalf of the objectives of Teheran and the concrete immediate demands of the people.

* * *

A most important factor in determining the course of national unity now and in the period after the war, as Browder has stressed, is the approach to the internal problems of reconversion and our post-war econ-

omy as a whole. For without concrete measures undertaken *now* to implement the Economic Bill of Rights proposed by the President, without achieving approximate full production, employment and adequate social security for all—national unity would be adversely affected now, while after the war it would be undermined and short-lived, and our country would face grave dangers.

In this connection, a few words might be appropriate regarding our general outlook and approach to the problems of our domestic post-war economy in the light of present social conditions. To begin with, we Communists, who believe that a socialist society will provide the only final solution to the problems of unemployment, exploitation, aggression and war, consider that a sound post-war policy for America depends upon the realization of the Teheran program and its favorable economic perspectives. It depends upon achieving the greatest unity of the United Nations, especially of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain; and likewise upon forging solid national unity within our country toward this end. It depends upon recognizing the fact that while the majority of the American people are not yet ready to support the establishment of socialism—of a workers' state and the common ownership of the means of production—they are ready and willing to work and struggle for the right of full job and social security for all Americans.

Our policy for approximating full production and employment in the United States in the post-war period under existing conditions of private enterprise is *twofold*. It embraces full opportunity and incentives to industry to reconvert and expand, *as well as* the responsibility of private industry to substantially raise the purchasing power of the people.

It involves the protection of property rights, of capital investment and returns, *as well as* assurances to safeguard the property and human rights of the workers and veterans against insecurity, a low standard of living and dispossession of their homes, *as well as* protection for the farmers, tenants and sharecroppers against foreclosures and evictions.

It includes the right of private enterprise to develop its productive capacity and to plan for and cope with the problems of reconversion and a flourishing peacetime economy, *as well as* the right of labor and all democratic forces to organize, to bargain collectively, and to exercise freely the Bill of Rights.

It entails the obligation of government to plan jointly with industry for foreign markets, to underwrite foreign credits and loans, and at the same time to provide Federal aid to solve emergency problems of economic dislocations, hazards and unemployment.

Moreover, our immediate post-war policy toward the monopolies, which also is guided by considerations of national unity, is *twofold*. We favor full opportunity for finance capital to function and engage in interstate and foreign commerce, trade and the export of capital. *At the same time*, we insist that the monopolies shall comply with the laws of the land and that they shall adhere to the accords of Moscow, Cairo and Teheran. And we advocate the curbing of those monopolies and cartels whose policies and practices contravene and undermine our national interests and world security.

* * *

In the resolution we have correctly declared that Teheran marks an epochal turning point in world history. But we also realize that the mere adoption of the decisions and policies of Teheran is not in itself sufficient. These accords must yet be fully realized.

That is why in Earl Browder's report and in the resolution, we stress the key political role of labor and all other popular forces. This is why we emphasize that the democratic intervention of the masses, particularly of the trade union movement and of our own Communist organization, is so essential for success in the elections, is so vital to strengthen the anti-fascist unity of the nation now and after the war.

The forms of national unity and the relationship of forces within the camp of national unity are constantly undergoing changes and modifications. But the goals of national unity today and for the immediate post-war period are and will remain clear and definite. For the coalition of forces composing our national unity is brought together and cooperates to win victory over Hitlerism, to secure the democratic aims of Teheran. This opens the way to forge united action in the post-war stage to promote full production and employment, social security and democratic progress.

Whatever changes may take place within the camp of national unity on the morrow, the class content of national unity will remain essentially the same after the war as today, though the role of the working class and other democratic forces should and must be

strengthened. For vital objective factors which already have brought together patriots from all classes, from the working class to the win-the-war sections of big capital, will operate after the war: namely, the collective need of the free nations to prevent the recurrence of fascism and war, and the necessity to ensure the national security and democratic welfare of our country and people.

This does not mean, of course, that national unity will be strengthened automatically, that it can be left to chance. Nor does it mean that there will not be strains and difficulties in consolidating national unity in the final stage of the war and after, such as during the difficult period of reconversion.

To complete successfully the Anglo-American invasion of Europe and to bring the war to a victorious conclusion—as well as to achieve victory in the elections—a stubborn and resolute effort will be required to rally the nation ever more firmly around and in support of our Commander-in-Chief and the Declaration of Teheran. Toward this end, labor and all other anti-fascists, including the Communists, have a key and indispensable role to perform in order further to unify, organize and guide the American working people and all other win-the-war forces, especially on the fronts of war production and in united, progressive political action.

This is why the unity of all anti-fascists is so crucial. For without the joint action and solid cooperation of all anti-fascists, of Communists and non-Communists, national unity will be unstable and weakened. On the other hand, the initiative and unity of the working class and its Communist vanguard, acting in concert with all other patriotic forces, can and will help unify the nation to guarantee a favorable outcome of the elections, to shorten the war, destroy fascism, and secure a stable peace and orderly social progress.

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With these remarks, I conclude the report of your committee on the main resolution.

Your committee ventures the opinion that Earl Browder's report and the resolutions based thereon will meet with the hearty approval of the delegates. For today, as never before, as our rich and creative pre-Convention discussion has demonstrated, our Communist organization is solidly united on all issues of program and policy.

We have a common point of view born of common

experiences and devotion to the welfare of our country and people, and enriched by our Marxist science and understanding. We have supreme confidence in our national leadership, headed by Earl Browder. And we take great pride in the fact that at this decisive point in world history we have forged a unity and program of action based on the interests of our nation and people—one which will strengthen the Allied invasion and our national war effort and will help implement the epochal decisions of Teheran.

DISCUSSION

MORRIS CHILDS, *Illinois*: We of the Illinois delegation wholeheartedly accept and support the resolution and Earl Browder's inspiring report and program of action given us here today.

I want to place before this assembly two aspects of the resolution which in my opinion need to be emphasized again and again—the nature of our foreign policy and the question of national unity. Perhaps we who come from the Middle West are somewhat more sensitive than others regarding these particular questions. This is not because our people of all classes are less patriotic, but because we are in a daily struggle against those who would destroy our unity and subvert our country. I am referring to the pro-Hitler cabal led by Col. McCormick. This struggle has given us a greater awareness of the difficulties created by Hitler's fifth column in our country.

While everything seems to point to the imminent invasion of the continent, the defeatists have not given up their last-minute efforts to save Hitler and prevent the opening of the second front. The enemies of the coalition, from the *Chicago Tribune* to the Social-Democratic sheets like the *New Leader* and the *Socialist Call*, are shouting that "the Administration has no foreign policy." When Secretary of State Cordell Hull delivered his important speech a few weeks ago where he detailed our policy as based upon the Moscow and Teheran agreements, Col. McCormick, in an editorial, wept for the "patriotic" Poles, the Finns and their Baltic neighbors, who, as the *Tribune* pointed out, have been sold out by Mr. Hull for Communist votes. Norman Thomas in the *Socialist Call* under his own signature called Mr. Hull's speech a defense of imperialism and characterized our foreign policy as "a cartel of governments to exploit the weak."

The modern Copperheads are trying hard to convince our people and our soldiers that they have nothing to fight for. They depend on disunity in order to achieve a negotiated peace. The *Chicago Tribune* day in and day out works for Hitler and disunity. Col. McCormick even uses the same language as Dr. Goebbels. The *Tribune* is opposed to Teheran, to any kind of cooperation with the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Like all defeatists, the *Tribune* is working and hoping that the coalition will break up. In a recent editorial Col. McCormick referred to the Allied coalition as a "Pluto-Bolshevik Alliance" and referred to our national unity as the "Wall Street-Communist Alliance." The defeatists have an understanding with Hitler, a sort of reciprocity agreement. They use his disunity propaganda here and Hitler uses the American brand in Europe. We should pay serious attention to our resolution which says: "Everything must be done now to rally nationwide support around our Commander-in-Chief in behalf of our nation's war policy to unmask and to route the appeasers."

GUS HALL, *Cleveland*: . . . The resolution places the issue squarely when it states, "The course of the war, the unity and fate of the nation, are at stake in the outcome of these elections." These are simple words with profound meaning. The elections must be conducted on a new plane and in accord with the stake involved.

Certainly, labor's responsibility in these elections is on a different plane than in any previous campaign. Labor's responsibility is not only to itself and the job of fully mobilizing its own vote, but also that of being the decisive force in uniting the entire nation. Labor in this election must become the strongest force for national unity. What we do here at this convention is something new not only for ourselves but for the labor movement and for the United States. Only as we appreciate this more fully will we bring our policies and program to the nation and make our full contribution to victory in the election campaign.

Labor's participation in the election campaign is a new field of activity and this requires constantly greater understanding of issues. Because this is a new field, it is natural that there will be hesitations and mistakes. While we must appreciate this, yet we must also recognize that history will never excuse such

hesitations and mistakes which bring defeat and disaster for the nation. It is our responsibility to point out not only the perspectives which can be achieved by victory, but also the perspective of years of barbarism as a result of defeat.

In Ohio we underestimated these [defeatist] methods and the role of such forces as the Coughlinites Martin Sweeney. Part of his campaign was the violent insurrection of the Duke County farmers associated with Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party and the Farmers' Guild, who destroyed federal property and started mob action against the O.P.A. Sweeney also had support from such war profiteering employers as Mr. Jack of Jack & Heinz, and of the Coughlinites pro-fascist United Mothers organization. Such groups must be more vigorously exposed. Once the American people really see what is at stake and their role in the conduct of a people's election campaign in the course of a people's war—then this election campaign will become a fully organized crusade which will guarantee victory.

NED SPARKS, *Wisconsin*: . . . There is no "third" or "independent" position that a third-party movement can maintain relative to the decisive issues of winning the war and securing a durable peace. Third-party movements in this war period must either operate as a part of the win-the-war coalition or as an instrument of the defeatists. The American Labor Party of New York, for example, has become a vital expression of labor's initiative and leadership in welding the win-the-war coalition in New York State. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota has rendered a great service to the unity of the win-the-war coalition through merging with the Democratic Party and bringing its valuable traditions and forces into the common struggle.

In Wisconsin, however, Bob LaFollette and the defeatist leadership of the Progressive Party are now openly trying to push the Progressive Party into the channels of defeatism *out* of the win-the-war coalition that expresses the interests of the rank and file, and *into* a position that finds common ground with the defeatist Republicans. To accomplish this LaFollette finds it necessary to strengthen the idea of the need for the continued existence of the separate role of the Progressive Party as a party of so-called "liberalism," in opposition to the growing non-partisan win-the-war coalition of Progressives, Democrats and

win-the-war Republicans. The platform of their recent state convention, therefore, couples with an out-and-out America First foreign policy a program of "liberal" domestic planks, entirely dissociated from the war, and therefore actually lifted into the realm of unreality. The anti-monopoly slogan is misused to attract the support and loyalty of the progressive minded voters in spite of their distrust of the planks on foreign policy.

The outstanding new note in the Progressive Party platform is the more open hostility to the Soviet Union, specifically championing the Polish Government-in-Exile, and covertly rejecting Teheran. This position merely demonstrates the political common denominator between the defeatist LaFollette leadership and the defeatist Hoover Republicans. Bob LaFollette's attempt today to disrupt the growing coalition movement around support of the war and Roosevelt can no more bring victories to the Progressives than the corresponding policy did in 1938. On the contrary, it is a policy orientated on throwing victories to the defeatist Republicans.

BELLA DODD, *New York*: . . . This is the first convention of the Communist Party or Communist Association that I have ever attended. It is a unique convention to me. Here the delegates are concentrating all of their energy and thinking in trying to solve the problems facing America. Many conventions try to make deals and agreements with various people. This is a new step for me since now I directly associate myself with the Communist movement.

I want to speak today about New York State and New York State elections. I feel a certain kinship with the delegates of California. New York and California can well be decisive in the national elections. The combination of Dewey and Warren on a national Republican ticket represents a danger which the American people are not aware of, and which you with all your strength and intelligence and imagination must make them understand.

In New York State we have the obligation to see to it that sharp party lines are obliterated as far as possible. I know the upstate New York region and I know the Republicans in this state are not for Tom Dewey even though the Dewey Republicans have captured the machine. If we can start a registration movement now to double the registration, we will find many Republicans in New York State op-

posed to Dewey. The Republicans of this state are farmers, hard workers. They have boys in the Army. They are concerned with bringing the boys home safely. They have nothing in common with Tom Dewey, the man who denied their boys the right to vote; the man who makes no provision for post-war problems; no provision for the wives and children of these soldiers. It is important that we go into Republican ranks and speak to these farmers.

JAMES W. FORD, *New York*: We can place the problems of the 13,000,000 Negroes of our country and their own organizations, alongside the organized labor movement, as decisive forces in our country to be united in the election. One fundamental contribution Communists have made in these twenty-five years, to the Negro people and the nation, has been the strengthening of the Negro people's movement for the 1944 elections and the unity of the Negro people for their freedom and liberation.

An example of what is necessary to further unite the Negro people is seen in the non-partisan organization of Negro leaders in the 1943 elections. That conference demonstrated unity and solidarity, regardless of party labels, especially against the threat and danger of the Republican reactionaries who try to split the Negro people. This sort of unity is now necessary. In Michigan, organizations of the Negroes are being organized in support of President Roosevelt for a fourth term, for the establishment of a permanent F.E.P.C. and equality and rights for the Negro people. Down in Baltimore, Maryland, we find the Negro people uniting their organizations with a strong demand for a fourth term for President Roosevelt. In California the Negro organizations, unions in particular, also call for a fourth term for Roosevelt. This swell among the Negro people for President Roosevelt is the key to the organization of the Negro people in 1944. The majority of Negro Republican leaders are lining up against the reactionaries of the G.O.P. because of the danger that the Hoover-Vandenberg-Dewey Republicans, tied up with the reactionary poll-tax Democrats of the South, offer to the life of the Negro people.

The racial policies of German fascism and Japanese militarism have enabled the Negro people to understand fully that this is their war. The Negro people are growing in political stature and are beginning to understand the need of crossing party lines and unit-

ing around men and issues. The Negro people are recognizing the gains they are making in industry in alliance with the great trade union movement; the gains they are making because of their close connection with the great democratic forces around President Roosevelt.

The task of the Communists in this new period, as far as the Negro people are concerned, is to aid in every way possible to further this unity, to make clear to them the danger of the Hoover-Vandenberg-Dewey reactionary clique around the Republican Party. We believe and we know that the great words of our leader, Earl Browder, this morning on this important question will not only penetrate and permeate our ranks, but will penetrate and permeate the great masses of the American people. One of the characteristics of this period in which we are living is that not only we Communists, but the great masses of American people, are taking part in these struggles in the north, south, east, and west. There is a deep current developing in the South that can be carried through only by fully uniting behind President Roosevelt and for his re-election in 1944.

WM. Z. FOSTER, *New York*: The present elections, as Earl Browder has repeatedly stated, are the most important since 1864. At stake are the Teheran decisions with their profound significance both nationally and internationally. Victory for Roosevelt would mean the carrying out of these decisions, whereas victory for the Hoover-Dewey-McCormick Republican machine would gravely jeopardize them. All over the world, the democratic forces are hoping for a fourth-term for President Roosevelt, while Hitler and international reaction are basing their hopes upon a Republican success.

To win the war and the peace it is indispensable to maintain the Roosevelt Administration in power. Roosevelt is leading us to victory, a Dewey would give us a peace equivalent to defeat. The war issue must be thus squarely placed before the nation. A Dewey would not prosecute the war to complete victory, smash fascism throughout Europe, or formulate a democratic peace. Throughout the war the Hoover-Vandenberg-Dewey forces have shown a constant tendency to come to agreement with fascism.

Secondly, there is the vital election issue of post-war collaboration among the nations to maintain world peace and to lead in economic reconstruction, as

outlined by the Teheran Conference and as expressed by Earl Browder at this Convention. During the war the thinking of the American people on international matters has profoundly altered. Isolationism has received a mortal blow, colonialism has fallen into deep discredit, a friendly attitude has developed towards the U.S.S.R., and the conviction is now almost universal that the United States must become part of a post-war world organization of states. Excepting for the most reactionary elements, of the duPont, Hearst, McCormick stripe, American capitalists realize that the United States will have to collaborate, in the post-war stage, with the U.S.S.R., in the United Nations. Their wide acceptance of the Moscow and Teheran agreements evidences these new moods.

Therefore, with Roosevelt continued in office and backed up by the labor movement, the United States, after the war, would continue in collaboration with its present war allies, to maintain world peace and to work upon the gigantic tasks of economic reconstruction. This would guarantee that the Teheran agreement would be essentially realized.

In view of the strong trend among the American people toward international cooperation, Dewey finds it necessary to hide demagogically his real position on international affairs. Significant of his true position is his cheek-by-jowl friendship with American isolationists, his erstwhile condemnation of the Roosevelt Administration for recognizing the U.S.S.R., his proposal to the Mackinac Conference of Republicans for an American-British alliance obviously to be directed against the U.S.S.R., his hyper-critical attitude toward the Teheran agreement, etc. To elect to the Presidency a man holding, either now or in the recent past, such reactionary ideas would be to invite disaster to the whole democratic program laid down at Teheran.

Thirdly, the post-war period will require a program of world-scale economic reconstruction for vast areas devastated, whole populations impoverished, industries wrecked, government debts piled mountain high, world markets shattered, and oppressed classes and peoples everywhere demanding freedom and a better life.

In the post-war period the influence of the Soviet Union will be immense in the economic and political reconstruction of the world. It will be a decisive factor in maintaining international peace; it will provide a huge market for imports; its socialist economy will

astound the world with its swift recovery from the war's ravages and its rapid advance to mass prosperity. But the capitalist system generally will be able to alleviate its problems only if it takes the path, already indicated, toward greater democracy and a more planful organization of its economy. The formation of the U.N.R.R.A. and the projected eight-billion-dollar currency stabilization fund are only foretastes of the far-reaching economic measures still to come. Private enterprise, while given full opportunity and production, will have to be supplemented by governmental policies which will involve curbing harmful practices of monopolies and cartels, state assistance in the organization of foreign trade, the planned industrialization of backward countries, etc.

The leadership of the Republican Party and its big monopolist backers show no comprehension of post-war economic needs. On the international scale they have proposed nothing adequate to meet the grave post-war problems, and on the domestic scene, judging from their various pronouncements, they would try to face the post-war period by driving millions of women out of industry, by letting the restored 40-hour week take care of six or eight million more workers, and by forcing several million others to walk the streets unemployed. This is the real meaning of Governor Bricker's plan of a 100-billion-dollar national income, which would be equal to only about \$70 billion in pre-war values.

The Republican leadership is depending upon a post-war boom, after the first readjustment period, to solve the economic problems after the war in the foregoing limited sense. Any endorsement it may give to social insurance, government works, lowered tariffs, or government planning, to protect the workers and to keep the industries in operation is of a perfunctory and auxiliary character. Such a post-war boom, which would necessarily be very limited in scope, could not solve the profound post-war economic problems.

In short, a Roosevelt Administration would offer the opportunity to realize the economic perspectives opened up at Teheran, whereas a Republican administration would blot out such perspectives.

Fourthly, as to the vital question of extending American democracy as an important part of a growing world democracy. A progressively strengthened democracy is necessary not only in the liberated countries but also in the United States and all of the

victorious capitalist countries. Only democratic governments with a solid people's base will be able to take the necessary fundamental steps for decisive victory in the war, to rout out fascism, to maintain world peace through a collaborative United Nations, and carry through the far-reaching post-war economic reconstruction—in short, to realize the great goals outlined at Teheran. The national unity, consisting of the anti-Hitler forces of all classes, must be one in which labor and other democratic elements play a decisive role. In Europe a sign of this new democratic national unity is the inclusion of Communists in various anti-Hitler provisional governments of the occupied countries. In the United States, it is to be seen in the growing influence of the labor movement and of other democratic forces. Our main resolution hits the nail squarely on the head when it says: "The camp of national unity, which is composed of the patriotic forces of all classes, from the working people to the capitalists, rests and depends upon the working class, the backbone and driving force of the nation and its win-the-war coalition."

The Teheran policies must be fought for, and the biggest fight we now have on the home front is to defeat reaction in the elections. President Roosevelt has behind him a substantial majority of the American people, and his strength is constantly growing, as many recent local elections show. But let us not underestimate the opposition. The forces arrayed against Roosevelt are very powerful. While the bulk of American capitalists want to win the war and to have post-war international cooperation to maintain world peace, nevertheless many of them because of their opposition to Roosevelt's labor and social policies, are working, either covertly or openly, to defeat Roosevelt, whose reelection is fundamental to the success of Teheran. The same opposition is to be found in at least ninety per cent of the press in the North and West. The reactionaries, likewise, have secured a powerful hold in the agricultural areas, and they are also busily provoking anti-Roosevelt movements among the large national groups of Germans, Italians, Poles, and Irish.

The win-the-war, win-the-peace forces have a stiff fight ahead in the elections. But the struggle can and will be won, particularly if we pay attention to the systematic application of the non-partisan policy of educating the voters to rise above party lines, to vote for the win-the-war Roosevelt Administration.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, *California*: . . . The defeatists see in the post-war problems the most vulnerable point in our national unity. They interpret "free enterprise" to mean "freedom" from any form of governmental planning—"freedom" from governmental intervention to correct some of the worst abuses of monopoly capital. Such "freedom" would head this country toward economic disaster and all its political consequences.

An example of this defeatist line can be seen in some of the recent speeches of Governor Warren of California on post-war perspectives. The kindest thing we could say about them is that they reveal ignorance of the economic facts of life and blind partisanship against the Roosevelt Administration. But, above all, they reflect the influence of the Hoover school of economics and its concurrent reactionary political outlook. After stating the obvious fact that California, with its million of new war workers, will face an enormous problem in reconversion to peacetime production and employment, this advocate of "states' rights" proceeded to flay the Federal Government for having no plans to meet post-war problems which he admitted were too big for any one state to solve. But in the same breath he opposed what he called "super-imposed planning agencies of Government" as interfering with private enterprise.

In dealing with the state's own post-war plans, his conception of the role of government is solely to prepare a public works program, and he gives the perspective of permanent mass unemployment rather than expanding production. He shows no conception of what is involved in solving the problems of reconversion of war industries and the inevitable temporary economic dislocations. He proclaims that California must solve its own problems. Warren has made a unique contribution to the discussion of post-war problems by raising the issue of "the West versus the East." According to him the West is being economically strangled by "Eastern capitalists" who will not permit industrial expansion on the Pacific Coast. So he is mobilizing for a struggle between what he calls "Western interests" as against "Eastern interests." It is undoubtedly true that the West will have some special problems to solve in regard to reconversion to peacetime. But "West vs. East" is a totally false issue, and a dangerous slogan promoting sectionalism, which has reactionary and even fascist connotations, reminiscent of fascist demagogy about

"Eastern capitalists" and of the Southern Bourbons' cry of the "South vs. the North."

Post-war reconversion problems on the Pacific Coast, and the industrial expansion of the West, can be solved only in relation to the national economy as a whole. The vast possibilities for Pacific trade, estimated in the billions, with the nations of the Far East, open up far-reaching prospects for American industry which cannot but result in building up the Western states as the gateway to the Pacific market. The "East vs. West" slogan does not envision a prosperous America, but an America of restricted production and markets at depression levels, in which each section will fight for a larger share of something of which there is not enough to go around. It is, therefore, necessary to combat and expose Warren's demagoguery, and especially so because too many people who should know better are being influenced by its glibness.

WILLIAM NORMAN, *New Jersey*: . . . I want to deal only with that part of the report and draft resolution as it specifically concerns the elections and as it confirms the situation in New Jersey. . . .

Since November, 1943, the Republican Party has been building a political machine which has made all former conceptions of political machines in this state seem tame by comparison. Under the guise of fighting boss politics Governor Edge has become the most sinister boss in the state. To defeat this pro-Hoover defeatist Republican leadership, the pro-Roosevelt forces in the Democratic Party must exert every ounce of strength between now and November. The coalition of forces represented by the Democratic Party, including such stalwarts as Elmer Wene, Mary T. Norton, Mayor Murphy, May Brunner, and Mayor Kirk of Elizabeth in collaboration with labor and all sections of the population, is the key to the electoral victory of the camp of national unity in 1944.

The candidacy of Elmer Wene, Congressman from the farm area, for U.S. Senator, is in itself no guarantee that the farmers will be won to the pro-Roosevelt camp. The farmers of the state must be made to understand, as do the bulk of the people in New Jersey, that the continuance of President Roosevelt's leadership and his policies for the next four years is the precondition for their continued prosperity now and after the war. It would be fatal for them and the nation if they fell prey to the argument of the de-

featists that the interests of labor and the farmers are contradictory.

A decisive question in strengthening the united coalition of pro-Roosevelt forces is the question of labor political unity—the unity of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods in New Jersey. The crucial importance of the hour requires the greatest statesmanship of the three arms of labor to resume in 1944 what was so auspiciously started last November. There do not seem to be any insuperable obstacles to making this a reality. The State Federation of Labor is unanimously on record for a fourth term for the President, and so is the C.I.O. That the unity of the labor movement will have complete endorsement of the membership of both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. and will give added encouragement to all pro-Roosevelt forces is evidenced by the growing draft-Roosevelt movement which is sweeping through the state.

RAY HANSBROUGH, *Illinois*: . . . The report made by Comrade Browder will be welcomed by the Negro people throughout the country because it expresses their desires and aspirations, especially that section which deals with the discriminatory practices in the armed forces of the nation. Our people are looking forward to the day when the army of our country can become one people's army and not two separate armies based on color.

We must do everything within our power to help force and facilitate the non-partisan movement of the Negro people in support of the President for a fourth term. Recently there has been announced in the city of Chicago a Call for a Negro People's Illinois and Mid-West Assembly. This Assembly will take place in Chicago on June 24 and 25, on the eve of the Republican Convention. There is no doubt in my mind that this assembly of Negro people in the Mid-West will have a profound effect on the actions of the Negro people at the polls in November. It is expected that at this Negro People's Assembly both Negro Republicans and Democrats will go on record for drafting the President for a fourth term and setting up the machinery for mobilizing the Negro people of Illinois and the Mid-West to guarantee that the Negro people will vote on the side of victory, for the President and the winning of the war.

In the fight for victory over the common enemy

and victory at the polls in November we must be alert as to the role of certain leaders within the ranks of the Negro people. In this instance I refer primarily to A. Philip Randolph, Director of the March-on-Washington movement. He has issued a call for a conference to take place at the same time as the Republican Convention, June 25 and 26, in Chicago. Randolph plans to project a program to be presented to both the Republican and Democratic conventions and to call upon the Negro people to support the party that agrees most fully to the proposals of the March-on-Washington movement. We must convince the masses of Negro people that there can be no illusion as to the possibilities of influencing the Republican Party to do anything along the line of helping the Negro people. The best interest of the Negro masses and the nation as a whole lies in their united support of Roosevelt and his win-the-war policy.

HENRY HUFF, *Seattle*: . . . I am happy to greet this splendid convention with the announcement that the defeat of the pro-fascist Undercoverite Senator Holman, from the State of Oregon, has just been conceded in the Oregon State primary elections.

Since the January Plenum one of our major tests of the 1944 election struggle was the Seattle municipal elections. And we are more than ever before concerned with certain divisions in the labor movement of Washington which weakened the whole win-the-war unity behind the win-the-war candidates in the Seattle municipal elections and allowed the Langleyite chief stooge, Mayor Devon, and the most reactionary councilmanic candidates, to slide back into office. In spite of the fact that a greater degree of labor unity was achieved in the Seattle elections than in any previous elections, it was chiefly the division centering around the Langley-Devon supporters in the State A. F. of L. Executive Council, and especially in the Boilermakers Union, which was responsible for the defeat of the win-the-war, pro-labor, pro-Teheran candidates.

But in those elections deep inroads were made against the defeatist candidates and their policies, and valuable lessons were learned by labor and by the win-the-war forces of all classes. This gives reasonable assurance that labor and the people of the Northwest can make a valuable contribution to the defeat of the pro-fascist obstructionists on a national scale and rout their staunchest supporters from positions of power

in the three states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho in the Pacific Northwest.

The Washington State Legislature was significant for two things: the unity of the Democratic Party forces around a minimum state win-the-war program, and the complete indifference of the Gov. Langley Republican machine to the war needs of the state and nation. The unity achieved in joint caucus by House and Senate Democrats and expressed in legislative action revealed a new situation, new alignments already maturing and taking place, furnishing an example for all win-the-war forces to emulate, to guarantee victory at the polls in November. In order to win, the Democratic Party in Washington must eliminate any remaining tendencies toward factional Right and Left Wing oppositional approaches and in the crucial 1944 election struggle to unite the party, from Left to Right, behind Roosevelt and Teheran on a basis of proportional recognition of all representative sections of the party from the labor-Washington Commonwealth Federation groupings to forces representing business and employers, the so-called conservative groupings.

FRANK CESTARE, *Eastern Pennsylvania*: . . . The Eastern Pennsylvania delegation listened with a great deal of interest, particularly to that section of the report of Earl Browder that dealt with the need for the development of the broadest unity of all forces around the decisions of Teheran. He showed us the need for fighting for these decisions and our experiences in Pennsylvania have amply proven the correctness of this fact. Where the policy of Teheran was fought for and championed, there the broadest unity of all forces was established, a unity which gave expression to the opinions and sentiments of the people of Pennsylvania.

We should start thinking about some of the questions raised in Browder's report, particularly in relation to the post-war questions and reconversion, particularly in our state because of the diversified character of our industries.

Within Pennsylvania national unity has been strengthened as a result of the recent actions on the part of both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. on the fourth term for Roosevelt.

Labor has a great responsibility to this camp of national unity. It has the task of helping to rally all forces in support of our President, particularly help-

ing to rally the farmers and the middle class in the state, for Republicans consider the farming population as their backbone and strength in the coming 1944 elections. In the April 25 primaries a heavy write-in vote for Roosevelt took place on the Republican Party ticket and of course in the Democratic Party an almost unanimous vote on the part of all the registered Democrats was expressed. Through labor's independent political action in Pennsylvania we will be able to rally large sections of the independent voters and the Negro people in the community in support of the President, in support of the policies that he stands for, and thereby help to rally broader sections of the population.

OLETA O'CONNOR YATES, *California*: The California primary elections held last Tuesday confirmed and strengthened the national pro-Roosevelt trend already seen in other primary elections throughout the nation. For two years now California's state government has been led by one of the favorite sons of the Hoover Republican forces, the keynoter of the coming Republican Convention, the man who has often been put forward as the ideal Vice-Presidential running mate with Dewey—Governor Earl Warren. Nevertheless, the voters last Tuesday established the fact that the state is strongly pro-Roosevelt and the widely proclaimed Republican landslide failed to materialize. The primary elections showed: (1) a swing away from Warren-Hoover domination; (2) a tremendous support for pro-Roosevelt candidates; (3) a repudiation by the people of the anti-Communist, race hatred candidates of reaction.

California voters elected fifty-two Democratic National Convention delegates, all pledged to a fourth term for Roosevelt—a real unity slate. San Francisco and Los Angeles alone showed 202,647 votes for Roosevelt; 129,000 for the Republican delegation. Democratic Senator Sheridan Downey, heading the field of Roosevelt candidates, won an overwhelming victory. On the Democratic ticket Downey received more votes than all his ten opponents combined. Even more significant is the fact that Downey was runner-up on the Republican ticket, getting more support from Republican voters than some of the state's main G.O.P. leaders. Here already is evidence that the people are beginning to cross party lines. There is now a definite opportunity of transforming the anti-Roosevelt majority of the state's

twenty-three Congressmen into a majority supporting Roosevelt policies.

This primary election dealt the reactionary anti-Communists a smashing blow. Los Angeles voters send a third member of the Dies Committee to an inglorious retirement. Congressman John Costello lost the election when he failed to get the nomination of his own Democratic Party.

Election activities were not the private property of the old party machine and machine politicians—policies and activities were largely determined by the unprecedented initiative of all sections of labor and by the most far-seeing elements within the Democratic Party. During the pre-election period, for example, thanks mainly to the work of labor, thousands of men and women in the precincts, shop stewards in the shipyards and the unions, were made deputy registrars to facilitate registration of voters. A huge number of people were registered in this way. Any number of worker deputies registered four and five hundred voters on the job—one registered 3,500 men and women through his own efforts alone. Many Democratic Party clubs, which had long been defunct, were revived chiefly through this type of registration activity. Everywhere the power of united labor, particularly where it was carried into the neighborhoods, was demonstrated.

MAX WEISS, *Western Pennsylvania*: . . . The resolution states that the majority of the American people support the President and the nation's victory policies, that the most consistent win-the-war forces are to be found in the ranks of labor and in the broad democratic and people's movements; that these forces, together with the pro-Roosevelt forces in the Democratic Party, form the widest and most dependable base of the supporters of the government and victory in the 1944 elections. This estimate of the present relationship of forces is, and must be, our starting point. The defeatists would like nothing better than to give an opposite impression to the masses in order to demoralize and disorientate them. The conclusions from a number of by-elections were so distorted as to conjure up the picture of a vast and growing trend away from President Roosevelt.

This majority support to the policies of President Roosevelt was likewise demonstrated in the defeat of a number of the most outstanding and virulent opponents of the President. In West Virginia a na-

tionally significant contest of this character took place in the Democratic primaries. Here the arch-defeatist, friend and propagandist for the Nazis—Rush D. Holt—was snowed under by a vote of more than three to one by the pro-Roosevelt candidate Judge Clarence D. Meadows in the gubernatorial race. In Western Pennsylvania, where there was no opportunity for this issue to be dramatized within the Democratic primary in the absence of a contested nomination. More than 7,500 write-in votes were recorded in the Pennsylvania Republican primaries for President Roosevelt as the Republican nominee for President. This action of a significant proportion of registered Republicans of Pennsylvania confirms the correctness of the whole approach of the resolution to the task of bringing into the election coalition that large section of the American majority which supports Roosevelt and which in their party vote affiliation are either independent or registered Republican.

The endorsement of President Roosevelt for a fourth term, under the leadership and at the initiative of Phil Murray, by the Convention of the Steel Work-

ers Union, the most decisive C.I.O. union in this area, an endorsement which was preceded by similar action taken at the Pennsylvania State C.I.O. convention, as well as by numerous unions and local C.I.O. bodies in both Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, opens wide the door to new major contributions to electoral victory by labor.

The A. F. of L. is characterized by the fact that the pro-Roosevelt sentiment of the masses of workers in the A. F. of L. is sweeping aside the dead hand of the Hutcheson-Woll Republican clique and beginning to change the relationship of forces in the A. F. of L. This changing relationship of forces in the A. F. of L. was dramatized by John L. Lewis' withdrawal of his application for entry into the A. F. of L., which clearly signified a defeat for the Hutcheson-Woll-Dubinsky forces and a defeat for John L. Lewis as well. The significance of this defeat will not be lost upon the mass of miners who are and always have been in the main for President Roosevelt. It is another of a cumulative series of events which are beginning to create cracks and strains within the U.M.W.A.

NATIONAL UNITY FOR VICTORY, SECURITY AND A DURABLE PEACE

RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON THE REPORT OF EARL BROWDER

1. AMERICA NOW ENTERS the most decisive phase of the war. The crucial Anglo-American invasion of Western Europe is under way. Hitlerite Germany and its satellites can be quickly crushed as the mighty onslaught of blows now being organized from the West and South are fully developed and coordinated with those from the East. For the historic offensives of the Red Army, together with the powerful blows of the British and American airmen, the successes of the Mediterranean campaigns, and the heroic struggles of the partisans in Yugoslavia, Greece, France, and Poland have brought the Nazi monster to the verge of catastrophe. While in the Pacific area the important advances of the Anglo-American forces, coupled with the valiant struggles of the Chinese people, have brought about a favorable turn in the war against militarist Japan. However, heavy and

decisive battles still lie ahead. Fascism is severely wounded, but not yet destroyed. Unity and the supreme military effort of all the United Nations, emulating the epic role of the Soviet Union, are necessary to shorten the war and to guarantee victory.

2. The attainment of full coalition warfare by the Allies will hasten victory and pave the way now for the close and friendly cooperation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition to secure a lasting peace and orderly post-war reconstruction. Therefore, the road ahead toward the complete military destruction of Hitlerism and the Axis, toward the security of America and all of the United Nations, the way to abolish the "scourge and terror of war for many generations," lies in the timely realization of the historic concords of Moscow and Teheran. It depends on the rapid fulfillment of the military decisions of these epic conferences, as

well as the Cairo agreement. It rests upon the progressive unfoldment of the political accords to advance the liberation of Nazi-occupied Europe and to bring about a democratic family of nations. Above all, it rests upon the continued, firmer, and long-range collaboration of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Britain as the leading coalition of the United Nations. And this, too, is the way to enhance America's great and constructive role in world affairs, its progressive destiny.

3. To hasten victory and to realize the objectives of Teheran it is essential to strengthen national unity on the home front now and for after the war. The broadest unity and cooperative relations must be established among all patriotic forces ranging from Communists, laborites, and independents to Democrats and Republicans. All ideological, political, and religious differences must be subordinated to welding a stronger national unity for the common national interest, for victory over fascism and a durable peace. Everything must be done now to rally wider nationwide support around our Commander-in-Chief in behalf of our nation's war policies, and to unmask and rout the appeasers and pro-fascists. Greater cooperation and the mobilization of all forces must be achieved on the political and production fronts to aid in carrying through the Allied invasion of Europe, to speed the defeat of the Hitlerite and Japanese imperialists. Everything, including the national election campaign, must be geared to winning the war. Everything, including post-war planning, must be directed toward advancing victory and consolidating the unity within and among the United Nations now and for the post-war.

4. The 1944 elections are the most important Presidential and Congressional elections since those of 1864. The course of the war, the unity and fate of the nation are at stake in its outcome. The decisive issues in these fateful elections are: the victory program of our Government and Commander-in-Chief; Teheran and the firmest unity of the American-Soviet-British Coalition; the national unity and security of the United States; full production and maximum employment; safeguarding the welfare and democratic liberties of the American people, of the veterans, the workers, the farmers, the Negro people, the youth, and small business.

All alignments are taking place around these inter-related issues, around the cardinal question of win-

ning the war and securing a durable peace. The majority of the American people support the President and the nation's victory policy. The most consistent win-the-war forces are to be found in the ranks of labor and in the broad democratic and people's movement. And labor, especially, is displaying growing activity and political influence. These progressive forces, together with the win-the-war pro-Roosevelt forces in the Democratic Party, form the most dependable and widest base of the supporters of the Government and victory in the 1944 elections.

However, the camp of national unity is not yet a single and a united coalition. An important section of the win-the-war camp are members and followers of the Republican Party, while millions of other American citizens are independent in their party affiliation and vote. These forces have not yet been fully and effectively brought into the national victory coalition. But most serious is the inadequate unity of action between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., the continued division within the labor movement brought about and fostered by Woll, Hutcheson, Dubinsky and John L. Lewis. This is the single greatest obstacle toward more solidly uniting the nation and securing victory for the win-the-war forces in the 1944 elections.

The appeasers and defeatists are endeavoring to use the elections to prolong the war, to bring about a compromise peace with Nazism-fascism and to establish a pro-fascist government within the United States. These un-American forces are a minority, but they are powerful and bold. They threaten victory in the elections and the war. Led by du Pont-Hearst-McCormick and Patterson, they are operating on the electoral field primarily through the reactionary Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg-Dewey machine of the Republican Party, and the Reynolds-Wheeler wing of the Democratic Party. They are likewise using such treacherous fifth-column groups as the America First Party, Peace Now, and the Coughlinites and Trotskyites, as well as the reactionary anti-Soviet circles among the Social-Democrats.

These obstructionist and defeatist elements dominate and influence a powerful bi-partisan bloc in Congress which impedes the government's war program. They mask their treasonable activities and have acquired considerable strength through their skillful manipulation of partisan and sectional interests, through fostering disunity in the labor movement and

the nation, through their appeals to religious, national and racial prejudices, through violent anti-Communist, anti-Soviet and anti-British baiting, and through their demagogic play upon existing wartime economic strains and difficulties which they themselves have accentuated by their obstruction of the Administration's economic stabilization program.

To guarantee victory in the 1944 elections it is necessary for all patriotic Americans to steer a firm course of national unity, of common action, to speed the prosecution of the war, to ensure the continuance of Roosevelt's leadership and anti-Axis policies, and to secure the election of a victory Congress, supporting the President, dedicated to the program of Teheran and representative of the entire coalition of national unity. It is necessary for the people to insist that an end shall be put to all partisan policies and conflicts and that a resolute struggle shall be waged against all defeatist and negotiated-peace groups and activities. And it is supremely imperative to advance labor's political organization, its united activity and its active collaboration with all other patriotic forces, irrespective of party labels.

5. To reinforce national unity in the approaching climax of the war and to create the internal conditions for establishing national unity in the post-war period it is necessary to secure maximum production, jobs and social security, and to strengthen American democracy.

(a) For this purpose, it is essential to adopt a post-war economic program to approximate the levels of wartime production and full employment. Such a program should embrace the President's Bill of Economic Rights which, if adopted and carried into life, could provide the basis for economic well-being and a prolonged period of national unity under our present system of private enterprise. Whereas the bulk of the American people are not yet convinced of the need for a more radical solution of our social and economic problems through large-scale nationalization of industries or through the establishment of socialism, all patriotic forces, including the adherents of socialism, can and must bend every effort to promote the maximum of economic security, production and employment that can and must be achieved under capitalism.

The nation can and must be united to bring about the expansion of domestic and foreign markets, and of production and employment, now made possible

through realizing the great prospects of security and economic welfare opened up by Teheran. Private enterprise should be given full opportunity to cope with the problems of production and jobs. But to attain maximum employment and production in the post-war, it will be necessary to bring about a rapid and substantial increase in the purchasing power of the American people. It will require government and industry planning for the extension of foreign trade and the granting of extensive long-term credits, advanced or underwritten by the government for the economic reconstruction of Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. It will also require that those policies and practices of the monopolies and international cartels which stand in the way of expanding production and world markets, which oppose the national interest and endanger world peace, shall be fought and curbed.

(b) Furthermore, it is necessary to adopt a special program which, on the basis of fully meeting the vital needs of war production, can adequately cope with the rising problems involved in changes in war schedules and in the process of reconversion. During this period, subject to military requirements, the government should follow a policy enabling private enterprise to rapidly reconvert, with special aid to agriculture and small business. But private industry must accept the goal of approximate full employment and the national policy that where and when it fails to attain this, to that extent the government must assume the responsibility to do so. Without such a positive and responsible approach on the part of government, industry and labor, national unity cannot be established or maintained in the post-war. In order to meet the difficulties and hardships that will inevitably arise as a result of dislocations during the period of reconversion, it is essential to protect the interests of labor and the veterans, Negro and white, women and men. Toward this end it is necessary to improve and extend the system of federal social insurance, veterans' aid and rehabilitation; enforce trade union standards in all industries; establish effective price control and rationing; develop an adequate public works and housing program; and give labor full and adequate representation in the Government and all agencies responsible for reconversion and production.

(c) To consolidate the unity of the nation now and in the post-war, to preserve American democracy, it is equally urgent and necessary to rally and unite the

American people to safeguard the Bill of Rights from reaction and fascism, and to defend and extend all democratic liberties. Toward this end it is necessary to counteract and wipe out all forms and manifestations of anti-Semitism, Jim Crow, anti-Catholicism and Red-baiting. It is imperative to abolish the poll tax and all restrictions on the right of franchise of American servicemen and civilians. It is essential to guarantee that all servicemen are assured full opportunity to vote in the 1944 elections. It is vital to liquidate all discrimination against the Negro people. It is essential to defend the rights of labor, particularly the right to organize and bargain collectively. Above all, it is necessary to vigilantly combat and rout the pro-fascists and defeatists, to outlaw the fifth column and to prohibit all negotiated peace and other treasonable propaganda and activity.

6. To further strengthen the national war effort, the unity of the nation and orderly progress in the post-war, it is essential to build a stronger labor and democratic mass movement. For the camp of national unity, which is composed of the patriotic forces of all classes, from the working people to the capitalist, rests and depends upon the working class, the backbone and driving force of the nation and its win-the-war coalition. Therefore, the consolidation of national unity now and after the war requires the strengthening of the nation's most consistent and democratic bulwark. It requires the further organization of the unorganized and the building of the trade unions into still more powerful defenders of the nation and the democratic liberties and economic rights of the working class and people. It requires the extension of la-

bor's united action on the political and economic fronts, particularly the unity of action of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods. It requires the most resolute development of labor's political initiative and influence, with labor's full and adequate participation in the Government. Likewise, it makes most urgent the task of forging the common action of all anti-fascists, including the Communists, of strengthening the ties between labor and the other sectors of the democratic population. Further, it makes necessary the building of all the mass organizations of the people, not only of the workers but also of the veterans, the women, the Negroes, the farmers, the youth and the nationality groups.

7. At this fateful moment in the history of our country and the world, we Communists, as patriotic Americans, renew our sacred pledge to the nation to subordinate everything to win the war and to destroy fascism. We dedicate all of our efforts and resources to help realize the promises and perspectives of Teheran, to speed victory over Hitlerism and the Axis, to forge a durable peace, to promote democracy, security and social progress. Toward this end we shall redouble our activity to forge national and labor unity, and to advance the unity of the anti-Hitlerite states and peoples, including the international cooperation of labor. And to enhance our contributions to our country and people, we shall resolutely endeavor to strengthen the patriotic and vanguard role, influence and base of our organization; further master the advanced science of the working class, scientific socialism, and steadfastly carry forward the great democratic traditions of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

Constitution of the Communist Political Association

REMARKS ON THE PREAMBLE BY EARL BROWDER

I WANT TO PRESENT to you the draft of the Preamble to the Constitution which was recommended to the Convention by the National Committee. First I will read the preamble and then make some comments upon it. It reads as follows:

"The Communist Political Association is a non-party organization of Americans which, basing itself upon the working class, carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln, under the changed conditions of modern industrial society.

"It seeks effective application of democratic principles to the solution of the problems of today, as an advanced sector of the democratic majority of the American people.

"It upholds the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and the achievements of American democracy, against all the enemies of popular liberties.

"It is shaped by the needs of the nation at war, being formed in the midst of the greatest struggle of all history; it recognizes that victory for the free peoples over fascism will open up new and more favorable conditions for progress; it looks to the family of free nations, led by the great coalition of democratic capitalist and socialist states, to inaugurate an era of world peace, expanding production and economic well-being, and the liberation and equality of all peoples regardless of race, creed or color.

"It adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation; it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradiction between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American tradition and character.

"For the advancement of these aims, the Communist Political Association establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution."

I will now make a few observations about this document.

First, by the adoption of this Preamble, we will definitely establish the name of our new organization, the Communist Political Association. There has been considerable discussion in the last three months as to whether the new organization should maintain the name Communist, which indicates its character in terms of long-range perspective and program, or whether some other name should be adopted which would place the emphasis upon the tasks of the next period in which we are engaged. The great preponderance of opinion was shown to be on the side of maintaining the name Communist in our organization. In this discussion it has been clearly established in the minds of all of us, I believe, that this is not a question of principle; it is a question of what is most conducive to the practical success of our work and it is in this sense that we, I believe, will register here that preponderance of opinion that flows out of the discussion to maintain the name Communist.

The second word in the proposed name, Political, was subjected to some criticism to the effect that any organization of Communists is necessarily political and therefore it is not necessary to put the word in the name. But as against that argument there was also the consideration that precisely at this moment when we are emphasizing the dissolution of the party form of our organization and the non-partisan character of our politics, we need to emphasize that non-partisan does not mean for us non-political. And therefore it is of considerable value to emphasize the political character of our organization by putting the word in the name.

The third term in the proposed name—Association. There have been a number of proposals that have arisen in the discussion for some variation of that term. I will not review everything that came forward in the whole discussion because that will take too long, since we received in the National Office from the lower organizations of the party, proposals embodying more than seventy different names. The large majority of the proposals that came in included the term Association. Others used the term League and

the final decision seemed to be between these two. In the discussions in our committee it seems that the final choice between Association and League turned not upon logic but upon atmosphere. Somebody disclaimed all logic in his approach but expressed the feeling that League carried the atmosphere of a narrow association where Association carried the feeling of an atmosphere where we associate with everybody and this logic of feeling overcame the scientific argument that league was a word of one syllable and easy to pronounce and association is a word of five syllables and hard to pronounce. So we went against all logic and science and came with the proposal to adopt the five-syllable word Association.

Now, as to the character of the Preamble itself. It requires little explanation, I think. We have tried to condense into 300 words the essential features of our whole immediate and ultimate program. As to whether we have succeeded in this or not, you must judge and pass upon. We have given in this Preamble the firm basing of our movement upon the best traditions of America from the American Revolution on, and at the same time we have very carefully eliminated any suggestion that this means a tendency to try to return to the past; that, on the contrary, it is a complete facing of the future on the basis of the best achievements of the past. We have tried to give a clear and brief statement which identifies us as a particular minority sector of the American democracy and at the same time, and in the same sentence, establishes a complete identification of our sector with the camp of democracy as a whole. We have included the specific support of the classical documents of American democracy and the struggle against all its enemies, the enemies of popular liberties. We have included the identification of the historical period in which we are making these changes, that is, in the midst of war, and do not feel that this war is something outside of the course of history which will be

REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTION BY ROY HUDSON

THE UNITED endorsement of Brother Browder's estimate of the role and tasks of American Communists in the light of the historic Teheran Conference is registered in all the resolutions and

forgotten, but is that factor which is laying the foundations for the whole future. And by the wording of this Preamble which identifies the historical moment, we believe we are writing something permanent also and giving a complete characterization of the historical significance of this war and its character and the success for which we strive.

And finally, we give the statement of the principles of scientific socialism, including its essential programmatic character, in such a form as to completely adjust it to the tasks of today, to completely refute all the misrepresentations and slanders directed against scientific socialism, to place it in its character as an international movement, science being always and everywhere international in character. At the same time we place it very specifically for America as something which will and must be realized in characteristic American terms, in a form and manner consistent with American tradition and character and as something which arises in the practical order of the day, when it is practical to speak of the democratic choice of the American people deciding the transition to socialism in our country.

We believe that in this draft document we have given a satisfactory and adequate correlation of immediate tasks with the ultimate historical aims; we have given a correct statement of the relationships between the nation and the world family of nations; we have given a guide which can be taken not only for the immediate period of the war but for this whole immediate next period of the development of our country and the world in the stage of history arising out of this war. This is not a temporary guide of the day; this is a document which will be valid for many years to come.

In this sense, we present this Preamble for adoption at this Convention as a guiding point from which we will hammer out the detailed provisions of our Constitution.

recommendations on the Constitution discussed by our membership. The record shows that not a single local or state organization has opposed Earl Browder's January report, the draft of the main

resolution, or the line of the proposed Constitution. Most of the submitted recommendations dealing with the Constitution registered wide understanding of the necessity for the Communists to develop those policies and that type of organization which correspond to the tasks confronting our nation and the world, that will strengthen the contributions of Communists toward realizing the decisions of Teheran.

The Constitution Committee is in complete agreement with the political line of the draft Constitution. Our recommendations for changes in the draft do not modify the basic line of the Constitution. These changes, which are contained in the revised draft, now before you for action, have been made by unanimous vote of your committee.

We hope that the changes recommended will help enable the Communists to speedily fashion a great patriotic instrument to further the unity of our nation and the United Nations in order that victory may be achieved, enduring peace secured, and a better world established in the future.

We seek to formulate a Constitution upon which we can base our organization, achieve greater strength with which to fight for those aims, purposes and policies advanced in the report of Comrade Browder and contained in the resolutions we have adopted, and expressed in the Preamble.

Simplicity, the establishment of such rules of democratic procedure as will guarantee that the will of the membership shall prevail and that will preserve the unity of our organization, have been striven for by your committee. We have also been conscious of the fact that it is the desire of all to establish an organization whose procedure and form will be characteristic of most American organizations, particularly of the labor movement.

In its work your committee has been especially guided by the resolutions it received from state and local organizations as well as from individuals dealing with the draft resolution. In the main, most of the revisions or additional suggestions are based on these many recommendations.

A total of 272 specific recommendations were received. In addition there were undoubtedly many other recommendations adopted by clubs which were referred to the various State Conventions. Thus the draft Constitution has received a wide and serious examination throughout the country.

The question that received the largest considera-

tion was the name of our organization. Resolutions or recommendations dealing with that numbered 127 and seventy-one different names were suggested for consideration.

The next question that received the greatest amount of attention was in regard to dues and the distribution of income—forty-six recommendations dealt with problems in this category.

Twenty-one of the resolutions dealt with the methods of amending the Constitution and calling conventions.

Another question receiving major attention related to the article entitled "Membership," with twenty-three recommendations sent in. Twenty-five of the recommendations dealt with a whole series of questions, all of which are important but for the purpose of this report are grouped under the heading of Miscellaneous, because the number dealing with each specific question is small.

The desire for simplification and clarity is reflected in the fact that twenty-five recommendations were of an editorial character.

Finally, four of the recommendations were general in character and did not make specific recommendations.

The number and character of the recommendations received and the questions dealt with served to help focus the attention of the committee and this Convention on those problems the membership considered deserving of attention and action.

* * *

Since we have already voted on the name of our organization by adopting the Preamble, after the analysis of the various recommendations for the name of the organization by Brother Browder, I will proceed to some of the recommendations made directly on the provisions of the Constitution.

On the article dealing with membership. The provision for admitting all persons without regard to race, creed, color or religious opinion is, of course, in keeping with American traditions and principles and the scientific principles of socialism to which we adhere.

The provision for admitting into membership any person without regard to his political affiliation is clearly necessary in the light of the non-party character of our organization and its basic policies, and needs no further comment. In accepting into membership people without regard to their political affli-

ation we, of course, do not have the desire nor intention to create Communist blocs in existing political parties. The Communists have a long-established policy against any kind of organized groupings in trade unions and other democratic organizations of the people.

Political parties customarily limit their membership to those who have established the right of franchise. As we are a non-party organization, we do not limit membership to registered voters. We accept into membership people 18 years and over. Throughout the country there is a growing feeling that 18 years is a proper age of political maturity. The idea has become widespread that if people of 18 are old enough to fight for our country, they are old enough to exercise the rights of citizenship. Our Constitution gives expression to this view, held widely by most Americans.

Likewise in regard to non-citizens. We are an American organization concerned with advancing the interests of the American nation and its people. As such, the article provides that only those who are loyal to the nation and prepared to defend its interests are eligible for membership. While unquestioned loyalty to the nation is insisted upon, people who may not yet have become full citizens will be eligible for membership. This, of course, does not apply to those who refuse to exercise their right and opportunity to become citizens.

As a patriotic organization, we will consider it a duty to urge all non-citizens who intend to reside in our country to become citizens. But where they are prevented from doing so by undemocratic and restrictive laws and rules, even though they have toiled to help build our nation, have been loyal to its principles and traditions, are prepared to defend the nation with their lives, as so many non-citizens already have done, then we will join with all Americans to seek to change these measures that deprive people of rights intended them by the Constitution of the U.S. We will also welcome them into our ranks, where they can express in an organized manner their devotion to our country, and where they will have an additional medium of studying the history of America, the duties of citizenship, and the common tasks that face all Americans in our day.

* * *

In judging all matters concerning the Constitution, your committee always used as its guide the ques-

tion: What procedure will best correspond to that which is common to most organizations and familiar to the average American? This was especially so in connection with the recommendations concerning the officers of the Association.

In most American organizations, and especially in the labor movement, the chief officer and political leader of the organization is the president, who as a general rule serves as the chairman of the leading body. Likewise, nearly every organization has officers elected to serve in the capacity of secretary and treasurer. Finally, it is customary to have vice-presidents, the number usually being determined on the basis of the size and needs of the organization.

For these reasons your committee feels that the article recommended unanimously by the Political Committee, providing for the election of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, is both necessary from the point of view of proper functioning of the organization, and at the same time will help us to establish an organization that corresponds to American custom and practice.

* * *

In the original draft Constitution Article VIII, Section 3, was not included, and therefore a word or two is necessary. It reads: "The practice or advocacy of any form of racial or religious discrimination shall be grounds for expulsion from membership." In the Preamble and the article dealing with membership we have already clearly committed our organization, as a basic policy, to fight for the full equality of all people and for the unity of all Americans regardless of race, creed or color, for the uncompromising struggle Communists have always conducted against Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism and all other forms of discrimination, is a matter of public record. However, a number of recommendations considered that this point deserves added emphasis, particularly because of the increased efforts of un-American forces to spread the poison of race discrimination, by spreading anti-Semitism and incitation against the Negro people. In order to emphasize our uncompromising determination to struggle against such foes of democracy, we propose its inclusion in the Constitution.

* * *

A large number of resolutions were submitted dealing with the question of dues. While most of these resolutions made specific recommendations deserving consideration, there was expressed in many

of them different principles for determining the dues rate of our organization. Therefore, your committee felt that in determining our dues rates we must also keep in mind certain general propositions and clearly establish the approach upon which our dues rates are based.

For any organization to function and realize the policies determined by its membership, a certain amount of finances is required. The most stable source of revenue for any organization must be the dues paid by the membership. This is true for every organization and ours can be no exception. Dues therefore represents an obligation common to every member which must be fulfilled if the organization is to fulfill those tasks collectively decided upon. Further, the number of dues payments is one expression of the degree of organized support an organization has for its policies and helps determine how much authority and consideration they receive by the nation. The payment of dues is an important matter in which the individual expresses his support for an organization and its policies. Therefore payment of dues must be a condition of membership in our Association as it is in any other organization. To adhere to this principle is to base ourselves upon a policy recognized and accepted in every organization.

However, we must also bear in mind that this correct policy is defeated when dues are excessive or based upon a principle that is not commonly understood or prevalent. Then the growth of the organization is hindered, and dues becomes a barrier to membership for many who otherwise agree with its program.

If we desire to establish an organization whose practices, procedures and obligations are similar to those prevailing in most organizations, we must recognize that this cannot be accomplished if our dues system is based on the principle of income.

There is nothing wrong with the principle—but the fact remains that even those who are accustomed to organization are unfamiliar with this principle. Very few trade unions, for instance, have a dues system based on this principle. The most important task for us is to win larger masses for our fundamental program, and not to undertake the added burden of also winning them for a system of dues payments, which, generally speaking, they are not familiar with.

How then, should we approach the question? First of all we believe that a uniform dues rate, common to all members, should be established. That is the form generally customary in most organizations, especially in the labor movement. The rate should be low enough so that the amount would not be a barrier to membership and high enough to provide the minimum revenue necessary for the organization to plan its work. Likewise the dues rate should be of such a character that the payment of dues can properly be considered a minimum requirement which each member must meet in order to retain membership in the Association.

Establishing a single dues rate does not mean that no provision should be made for special cases such as unemployed members, who certainly cannot be expected to pay the same dues as members that work. We must proceed to solve such problems on the basis of the special circumstances instead of arbitrarily placing a member in this or that dues category because of his occupation or income. For instance, why should a housewife who may have a fixed income of substantial character, be exempt from paying regular dues? Or why should a single person be entitled to the same plea for special consideration that a head of a family with the same income could legitimately make?

With these brief comments, we place the Constitution of the C.P.A. before you for consideration.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

P R E A M B L E

THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION is a non-party organization of Americans which, basing itself upon the working class, carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln, under the changed conditions of modern industrial society.

It seeks effective application of democratic principles to the solution of the problems of today, as an advanced sector of the democratic majority of the American people.

It upholds the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and the achievements of American democracy against all the enemies of popular liberties.

It is shaped by the needs of the nation at war, being formed in the midst of the greatest struggle of all history; it recognizes that victory for the free peoples over fascism will open up new and more favorable conditions for progress; it looks to the family of free nations, led by the great coalition of democratic capitalist and socialist states, to inaugurate an era of world peace, expanding production and economic well-being, and the liberation and equality of all peoples regardless of race, creed or color.

It adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years' experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation; it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradiction between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American traditions and character.

For the advancement of these aims, the Communist Political Association establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution.

Article I. NAME

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be Communist Political Association.

Article II. PURPOSES

SECTION 1. The purposes of the Association are to assure to its membership adequate information, education and organized participation in the political life of our country in cooperation with other Americans for the advancement and protection of the interests of the nation and its people.

Article III. MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Any resident of the United States, eighteen years of age or more, regardless of political affiliation, race, color, national origin, sex or religious belief, who subscribes to the purposes of the Association shall be eligible for membership.

SECTION 2. Any person eligible for membership according to Section 1, who accepts the program and policies of the Association as determined by its Constitution and Conventions, who is active on their behalf, reads the press and literature; pays dues regularly and holds membership in an Association club shall be considered a member.

Article IV. INITIATION FEES, DUES AND ASSESSMENTS

SECTION 1. Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention.

SECTION 2. The income from dues and initiation fees shall be distributed to the various subdivisions of the Association as determined by the National Convention.

SECTION 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee. All local or district assessments are prohibited except by special permission of the National Committee.

Article V. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. Every member of the Association who is in good standing has the right to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees, in a manner provided for in this Constitution.

SECTION 2. After thorough discussion in any club, committee or convention, decisions are made by a majority vote, and all members are duty-bound to carry out such decisions.

SECTION 3. Association members disagreeing with any decision of a club, state or county committee have the right to appeal such decision to the next higher body, until they reach the National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final.

SECTION 4. No member shall be eligible to be elected

to an office or committee, or to vote in the adoption of policies or in the election of officers, committees or delegates who is three months or more in arrears in the payment of dues.

SECTION 5. Every member is obligated to fight with all his strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon the American people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy, or to interfere with the unqualified right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country.

Article VI. STRUCTURE

SECTION 1. The basic organization of the Association is the club, which shall be organized on a community basis in cities, townships or rural areas.

The officers and executive committees of the clubs shall be elected by the membership by secret ballot once a year. Except for newly-organized clubs, these elections shall take place in January of each year.

The clubs shall meet at least monthly, but shall establish standing committees, to be provided by the By-Laws, whose task shall be to function continuously and develop activity under the direction of the club executive committee.

SECTION 2. The state organization shall comprise all clubs in one state organized in such subdivisions as may be established, as provided for in this Constitution.

The highest body of the state organization is the State Convention, which shall convene every two years, and be composed of delegates elected by the conventions of the subdivisions of the Association or by the clubs in the state. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of numerical strength.

The state Convention shall elect, by majority vote, a State Committee, a President, Secretary, Treasurer and such other state officers as it may determine. The State Committee may be composed of regular and alternate members. It has the responsibility to carry out the Convention decisions and direct the activities of the state organization between state conventions.

The State Committee shall elect from among its members a State Board, which shall be responsible to the State Committee.

Special state conventions may be called by either a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of clubs representing one-third of the membership of the state.

SECTION 3. District organizations may be established by the National Committee. Where these cover two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committees, elected by and representing the Association membership of the states composing these districts. The rules for convening the District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the state organizations.

SECTION 4. State and District Committees shall have the power to establish all necessary subdivisions, such as county and city organizations and committees, and the rules for election of such committees shall be the same as those provided for the State Committees.

SECTION 5. In matters of a state or local nature, the clubs, state and county committees have full autonomy and the right to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and Constitution of the Association and its Convention.

SECTION 6. All officers and leading committees of the Association, from the club executive committees to the highest committees, shall be elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Every committee must report regularly on its activities to the body that elected it.

SECTION 7. Any Association officer may be removed at any time from his position by a majority vote of the body which elected him, or by the committee to which he is responsible.

Article VII. NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

SECTION 1. The highest authority of the Association is the National Convention. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years. Only National Conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Association and its membership, except as provided in Article VII, Section 7.

SECTION 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of the numerical strength of the state or district organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee.

SECTION 3. Prior to conventions, adequate time shall be allowed for discussion in all Association clubs of the main resolutions and problems coming before the convention. During this discussion all Association

organizations have the right to adopt resolutions and propose amendments to the draft resolutions of the National Committee for consideration at the convention.

SECTION 4. The National Convention shall elect a National Committee by a majority vote. The National Committee shall be composed of the national officers and other regular and alternate members. Alternate members shall have voice but no vote, except where they replace regular members absent from meetings of the National Committee.

SECTION 5. The officers of the Association shall be: President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer, and shall be elected by a majority vote of the convention.

SECTION 6. The number of members of the National Committee and number of Vice-Presidents shall be determined by a majority vote of each National Convention.

SECTION 7. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Association between National Conventions and is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention. The National Committee represents the Association as a whole and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem facing the Association between conventions. The National Committee organizes and supervises its various departments and committees; conducts all the political-educational and organizational work of the Association; elects or removes editors of its press, who work under its leadership and guidance; organizes and directs all undertakings of importance to the entire Association; administers the national treasury. Special conventions may be called by the National Committee by a majority vote or by a vote of two-thirds of the State Committees. The National Committee shall submit a certified, audited financial report to each National Convention.

SECTION 8. The National Committee shall elect a National Board. The National Board shall be charged with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and work of the National Committee between its sessions. The number of members of the Board shall be determined by the National Committee by majority vote. It shall be responsible for all its decisions to the National Committee. The duties and responsibilities of the Vice-Presidents shall be determined by the National Committee or National Board.

Article VIII. DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES

SECTION 1. Conduct or action detrimental to the working class and the nation, as well as to the interests of the Association, violation of decisions of its leading committees or of this Constitution, financial irregularities, or other conduct unbecoming a member of the Association, may be punished by censure, removal from posts of leadership, or by expulsion from membership. Such conduct or action by any committee may be punished by removal of the committee by the State or National Committee, which shall then order new elections for said committee.

SECTION 2. Adherence to or participation in the activities of any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy, whereby the majority of the American people have maintained power to determine their destinies in any degree, shall be punished by immediate expulsion.

SECTION 3. The practice or advocacy of any form of racial or religious discrimination shall be grounds for expulsion from membership.

SECTION 4. No member shall have personal or political relations with enemies of the working class and nation.

SECTION 5. Charges against individual members or committees may be made by any member in writing to the club of which he is a member, or to the leading committee having jurisdiction. Clubs shall act upon charges directed against anyone holding membership in that club.

SECTION 6. All parties concerned in disciplinary cases shall have the fullest right to appear, to bring witnesses and testify.

SECTION 7. The club or leading committee having jurisdiction shall have the right to decide by majority vote upon any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by leading committees are subject to approval by the body to which they are responsible.

Article IX. APPEALS

SECTION 1. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final.

Article X. AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any regular or special National Convention.

Article XI. RELATIONS AND AFFILIATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

SECTION 1. The Association shall cooperate locally and nationally with all organizations whose activities contribute to the welfare and furtherance of the interests of the working people and the nation.

SECTION 2. Organizations—local, state or national—which subscribe to the purposes of the Association as set forth in this Constitution and desire to become affiliated with it may be accepted, upon such conditions as the National Committee may adopt, by Asso-

ciation Committees in whose jurisdiction the application is made.

Article XII. BY-LAWS

SECTION 1. By-Laws may be adopted, based on this Constitution, for the purpose of establishing uniform rules and procedure for the proper functioning of the Association organizations. By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the National Convention, or, between conventions, by majority vote of the National Committee.

SECTION 2. State By-Laws not in conflict with the National Constitution and By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the State Convention, or, between conventions, by majority vote of the State Committee.

Perspectives on the Functioning of the Communist Political Association

BY JOHN WILLIAMSON

EARL BROWDER'S inspiring report, which set forth the character of the Communist Political Association, has laid the basis for discussing the specific organization-educational features of the Association's work. A thorough understanding of these features is vital to the translation of the discussion and decisions of this Convention into living practice.

We come to this Constitutional Convention of the Communist Political Association able to report that 24,000 Americans of every walk of life, every industry and every section of the nation have been enrolled in the Communist recruiting campaign initiated on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12. Already on May 1 over 20,000 new members were enrolled. At that time nine large districts had overfulfilled their objectives. While Ohio was pacesetter in the early stages of the campaign, Michigan, New Jersey and Western Pennsylvania scored highest in results. Other quota-filling districts on May 1 were Wisconsin, Illinois-Indiana, the Northwest, Eastern Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

There were those who thought that this goal could not be reached. They predicated their thinking on the

idea that a political-educational association as distinct from a political party would not be able to attract new members in large numbers. The success of the campaign has dispelled these fears and the thousands of new members will be an additional effective force in election activities in the coming months. We have the largest recruiting results in the history of the American Communist movement, precisely when we have been participating in the most intensive political mass work. We see the great possibilities opening for the building of the Communist Political Association, when with only a fraction of our strength mobilized, we have such results.

This considerable increase in Communist membership in the opening months of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary year strengthens substantially the national war effort, to which the Communists have consistently subordinated everything. Every individual Communist is contributing to the war effort in some capacity. Even prior to this recruiting campaign, nearly 10,000 Communists were on leave in the armed forces. Fifty per cent of the membership were war production soldiers, pacesetters in strengthening their

unions and increasing production. Nearly 15 per cent were Negroes, attracted to our ranks by the uncompromising struggle of the Communists for full equality of the Negro people.

This successful recruiting campaign has many lessons, positive and also negative, that must be mastered in connection with the new role and tasks of the Communist Association as distinct from a political party. The main lessons are:

1. The drive for enrollment in our organization at the moment when new major developments in Communist policy were causing animated, widespread discussion throughout the nation, reflected confidence in the growing political maturity of democratic and progressive America. The response to this call for new recruits evidenced the understanding and support of Communist policies by large numbers of non-Communists—although only the most conscious of these have joined the organization.

2. Likewise, the campaign demonstrated the understanding and unity of American Communists, who in unprecedented numbers—from 15 per cent to 35 per cent in the various districts—were involved in recruiting. This greater participation was achieved in the midst of an intense Enlightenment Campaign to promote understanding that we are “solving problems for which there are no precedents in history and no formulas from the classics which give us the answer” (Browder). Further, this increase in the number of recruiters took place in the course of active participation by the membership in political struggles of the people and their organizations.

3. Although we made only the first beginnings in adopting new methods of recruiting and reaching into new strata of workers, the recruiting did bring about a further improvement in the social composition of the party. A comparison of the new recruits with those registered as of January, 1944 and 1943, indicates this:

Category	Per cent in Recruiting Drive	Per cent in Registration Jan. '44	Per cent in Registration Jan. '43
* Industrial Workers	58	46	42
* Basic Industrial Workers	38	27	23
* Trade Unionists	49	52	51
Negroes	37	14	10
Women	43	46	43
Housewives	44	43	43
Professional and White Collar	17	25	29

* The nearly 10,000 Communists in the armed services were not included in the analysis of membership registration; otherwise these categories would be substantially increased.

A critical analysis of these figures reveals certain weak aspects.

The decrease in the percentage of trade unionists recruited can be traced to:

a. Failure to establish satisfactory political and organizational ties with all members formerly in shop and industrial branches, and as part of this problem, less systematically organized political discussion and press activity among non-Communist but progressive shop workers and trade unionists.

b. Very unsatisfactory recruiting among women shop workers; of the women recruited, 23 per cent are shop workers, 43 per cent housewives, and the remainder white-collar workers, professionals, and service trades employees.

Of particular significance is the continued substantial increase in basic industry workers, now reaching an all-time high level of 38 per cent. In many basic industries the new recruits in this campaign equal half or more of the total Communist membership in that industry as of January 1, as the following will show: auto-aviation, 70 per cent; coal mining, 55; aluminum, 90; steel, 55; packing, 50; shipyard, 49; and railroad, 60.

Indicative of the thinking of the coal miners, despite the efforts of John L. Lewis to confuse and mislead them, is the fact that in this year's recruiting campaign nearly three times as many coal miners as last year joined the Communist organization. This fact shows the possibilities of reaching out with our influence among the miners in the coming months.

The most significant feature of the composition of the new recruits is the fact that one-third were Negroes, and in some districts over one-half. To a greater extent than ever before, these were Negro workers in industry. This is a reflection of the tremendous prestige the Communists have won among the Negro people through their consistent struggle for Negro rights. It highlights the nationwide influence of the election of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to the New York City Council. It signifies that the Negro people have in their great majority rejected anti-Communist prejudices and misconceptions, that they recognize and accept the participation—and often the leadership—of Communists in the common fight to wipe out Jim Crowism and all forms of discrimination in our national life.

4. Compared with past years, the growing national

scope of the Communist organization was demonstrated by recruiting activity which reached into every part of our country. No longer does New York State overshadow all other districts; although it proudly remains the largest state organization. The splendid recruiting achievements of Michigan, Western Pennsylvania-West Virginia, New Jersey, Illinois and Ohio present new perspectives to many of our district and state organizations.

The prerequisites for organizational strengthening of the Communist movement are exemplified in the recruiting campaign. Various districts can point to one or a combination of some of the following as the reasons for success:

a. Effective participation in electoral or other mass political activities and struggles of the workers in the shops and communities, as in Ohio and Illinois;

b. Consistent and bold championing of the struggle for Negro rights in the factories and trade unions as part of the general community struggle for full democratic rights for all minorities, particularly evidenced in Detroit and Eastern Pennsylvania;

c. Connecting recruiting with systematic and extended mass educational activities, especially increased circulation of *The Worker*, as in Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New Jersey, and Wisconsin.

Clearly, we are not in the stage of large-scale recruiting at public mass meetings. The role of the individual Communist in recruiting is decisive. To the extent that an ever-larger number of individual Communists personally contacted their co-workers in the shop or local union, or at gatherings in house meetings, or in community work, or among those to whom they had sold literature or a subscription for *The Worker*, in that measure recruiting was eminently successful. The best results were attained when the member was known to his co-workers as a Communist. To the extent that the club becomes a real community force, and its leaders are known as community leaders of mass movements, it will be possible to increase the recruiting of local key personalities. Similarly, to the extent that the club concerns itself with the main problems confronting the labor movement, and the County Committees find supplementary methods of clarifying Communist trade unionists and increasing educational-press activity among all trade unionists, will we finally include among our recruits a substantial majority of trade unionists.

The change of name from Party to “Association”

is a means of facilitating and strengthening unity, understanding, and activity of the broad democratic current in American political life. If we adapt our functioning and methods of activity accordingly, this change opens up the possibility for the Communist Association to reach this year the much-coveted goal of 100,000 members and thus further strengthen the democratic camp in the midst of a most bitterly fought election struggle.

To realize this goal we need clarity on the role and functioning of the Association as distinct from a political party. The need for this enlightenment is further emphasized in view of the fact that there are 33,000 members who have been less than a year in the Communist organization.

* * *

The specific programmatic character of the Communist organization was explained by Earl Browder as follows:

“Our party is something more than just another organization. It has many features similar to those of other organizations, but it is a special kind of organization. It is this first of all because, as a Marxist party of the working class, its policies are based on science and are the product of science. It is this because it strives to free the material and intellectual forces of production from all obstacles to their unlimited development in the service of mankind, because it strives to keep the path of progress open and, as such, is the champion and transmitter of all that is best and enduring in human culture, thought and knowledge.” *

Those who have speculated that this change of name means fewer responsibilities or activities are incorrect. The solution of particular problems will be facilitated, but we are going to have many more problems. The fundamental role of the Communist organization described above by Earl Browder is a permanent feature of a Marxist organization.

Some people have mistakenly reduced the significance of the change of name to a belief that the Communists will not have their own independent candidates in elections. Such people have failed to think through the entire significance of the change as it will express itself in new methods of work and different relationships with other organizations.

Two particular questions have been raised in the pre-Convention discussion:

1. What did Earl Browder mean in his Detroit

* *A Talk About the Communist Party*, Workers Library Publishers, pp. 15-16.

speech of April 7 when he referred to us as a "non-partisan political-educational association"?

2. How will we function as an association, both nationally and especially in the club? What is new and different in our functioning as an association, as distinct from a political party?

The general answers to all such questions were given in the report of Earl Browder and the speeches of Gene Dennis, Roy Hudson, and John Williamson at the National Committee Plenum of the Communist Party in January. In providing an orientation to the more specific aspects of the questions, we recognize that certain answers will be found in the course of the work of the Association itself.

However, we must warn against an oversimplification and certain vulgarizations, which would lead to any one of three dangerous tendencies:

1. To have the Association continue to function as in the past, with only a change of name.

2. To reduce the Association exclusively to an educational association.

3. To fall into the tendency, common to many members, especially new members who do not yet understand the Marxist program of the Association, to see in the activity and program of a progressive but non-Communist mass political organization the answers to their immediate desires for mass political work and, hence, to see little use in also belonging to the Communist Association. If such ideas took hold, we would face many serious problems interfering with our growth and effectiveness.

Because these dangers are present we must bring clarity on all these questions.

* * *

Today, on the political field we shall begin to experience problems similar to those faced and solved years ago on the field of economic organization and struggle. Years ago, before there was a mass trade union movement, the Communists, through their shop branches and shop papers, and also through the T.U.U.L. unions, pioneered and directly undertook activities that normally belonged to the as yet non-existent mass trade union movement. We became the rallying center and organizers of economic struggles around grievances in the departments or shops. We helped plow up the ground and sowed the seed for the building of unions in the mass production indus-

tries that later embraced all industries. We contributed much to the early experiences in organizing the first picket lines, the functioning of the shop stewards, etc. For some years, with a mass trade union movement, which has developed its own leadership cadres, issues its own newspapers, conducts education, etc., we have not had the same type of responsibilities and therefore we do not have the same organizational relationships with the trade unions. We are not jealous of this development. On the contrary, we are proud that we contributed to it.

Of course, this does not mean that we are no longer interested in problems of the labor and trade union movements. In fulfilling our vanguard role today, in the course of normal political activity, we are contributing toward political clarification—sometimes through struggles where we stood almost alone in the beginning—on the following issues which are still on the order of the day:

1. Labor's voluntary relinquishment of its strike weapon, in the interest of the nation's stake in the present war of national liberation. This meant struggle against the efforts of John L. Lewis, the Trotskyites and Social-Democrats to exploit the legitimate grievances of many workers and manipulate them for defeatist and anti-national unity aims.

2. The need of a positive attitude toward the entire question of reconversion and post-war planning, in the interest of labor and the nation. Instead of a perspective of "slugging it out," the policies of Teheran, if realized, make it possible for the labor unions to strengthen themselves and their influence through active collaboration with government and business in the maintenance of wartime production and national income levels in peacetime.

3. The growing sentiments within the A. F. of L. membership and leadership for a policy of joint labor action and active partnership in the national win-the-war coalition behind the Commander-in-Chief and the consequent defeat of the reactionary policies of Hutcheson, Woll and Dubinsky.

4. The all-decisive character of the "Draft Roosevelt for a Fourth Term" movement which has its origin and roots in the masses of the people. Some labor leaders, however, think support of Roosevelt should become a bargaining question. As if the danger to our nation from Hitler-fascism and its native American Fuehrers were a bargaining question! While the Republican Party is the main vehicle for

reaction in the elections, it does not hesitate, as in Michigan, to operate through a "Left" third party—the Michigan Commonwealth Party—in its design to help the Deweys and Hoovers defeat Roosevelt. Yet, some labor leaders fail to adopt a clear-cut policy of struggle against these divisive elements.

Thus, under present-day circumstances, which differ from years ago, we continue to fulfill our normal responsibilities toward the working class and its organizations.

Our approach today is that of politically equipping our own members with an understanding of the main issues of the day. In this way, they within their trade unions and the Communist organization through its general propaganda among workers will be able to contribute to the strengthening of the membership, leadership and unity of the trade unions and to help labor achieve independence from those influences which interfere with its full participation in the war, with fulfillment of its responsibilities to the nation, while adequately defending its economic and political interests.

* * *

On the political field we see the beginnings of a process of mass political activity and organization. Here also the Communists have pioneered over the years, raising the flag of independent labor political action. Today, under the specific conditions of the war, they emphasize the fact that not only must labor organize itself politically, but it should become the organizer of a firm coalition of all pro-Teheran forces in preparation for the crucial November elections. This development of mass political organization takes on various forms—A.L.P., Democratic-Farmer Labor Party, C.I.O. Political Action Committee, Joint Labor Committee, Democratic Party Clubs, etc.—and after the fall elections may assume proportions of a further large-scale political realignment.

It must be clear that the changing of our electoral status does *not* mean either of the following, as has been mistakenly stated in some pre-Convention discussion:

1. That we are merging with any other organization and losing our independent role as a Marxist political-educational organization.

2. That we are going to operate exclusively through one of the major parties.

While it is absolutely correct to change from party

to association in order to collaborate more effectively with all other democratic forces within the political life and structure of our nation, this does *not* mean our liquidation as a separate Marxist organization.

The Association is the form of our adaptation to the two-party system, under the specific American conditions of the organization and political maturing of the working class and other democratic sections of the population. But, as a non-party association, we are by no means neutral. Because we are a Marxist organization, we contribute to the strengthening and broadening of the democratic camp, by waging a political struggle on every vital issue in the interest of the workers and the nation.

Similarly, our status as an association does not mean that we are joining or merging with either the Democratic or Republican Party. As Earl Browder states, "We are taking the line of issues and not of parties and of choosing men as they stand for or against issues, without regard to party labels." * We aim at creating conditions *whereby we can collaborate most freely and effectively with any and all win-the-war groupings*, irrespective of what party they may be working through at the moment. The emphasis is on the strengthened collaboration with broader sections of the labor movement, the Negro people, middle class, professionals, etc., who are developing greater political understanding and activity. The majority of labor will undoubtedly still operate nationally through the Democratic Party, but that in itself is secondary. Large numbers, belonging to other parties or to no party, will vote as independents in favor of the re-election of President Roosevelt. Understanding these developments, one will see clearly why Earl Browder emphasized in Detroit that the Communist organization would be a "non-partisan political-educational association."

* * *

As regards the functioning of the Association, we emphasize that this means manifold increase and improvement in every aspect of political-educational activity, on a national, state and local club basis. We must become known as an organization whose grasp of Marxism provides us with correct answers to the complex political problems confronting the people. While the members belong to, and are active in, every

* *Teheran and America*, Workers Library Publishers, 1944, p.47.

type of mass organization—political, economic, cultural, fraternal, etc.—the Association in its own name will speak out boldly and with initiative on all issues and policies. We will bring political clarity to the masses of America on all issues and developments, such as:

1. The urgent need of developing a broad non-partisan all-class movement, with labor as its firmest section, in support of the election of a win-the-war Congress and a fourth term for the President.
2. The realization of the Teheran policies in America.
3. The post-war possibilities of full production and employment for all America.
4. The unmasking and crushing of the fifth column.
5. The urgency of labor's unity of action and the effective exposure of Lewis, Woll and Dubinsky in the labor movement.

However, the Communist Association, as a Marxist political-educational organization, will not stand on the sidelines merely as educator or propagandist. All its political-educational activities must lead to further organization and action of labor and the people. With greater effectiveness, the Communist Association will strive to react and contribute to the development of mass activity involving the maximum masses around all vital issues, whether in a neighborhood, a shop, an industry or in the nation itself.

Nationally and on a state scale, the extension and improvement of our mass agitation and propaganda work will include:

1. Greater appreciation, utilization and increased circulation of the *Daily Worker*, with its immediate editorial reaction to all new developments and problems. Similarly, as regards *The Worker*, except that, as a more popular paper, it must become a mass organ of over 100,000 circulation during the first year of the Association. The content and circulation of organs like the *People's World*, *Morning Freiheit* and *New Masses*, etc., must become a chief concern of leading Association committees.
2. A well-planned and controlled publication program—pamphlets, leaflets, books, etc. *The Communist* should receive special attention as a guide to the political development of all cadres, and its circulation and study should be the concern of all committees.
3. The Association should develop on a national and state basis an entire program of lectures, forums, debates, mass meetings and radio programs.

4. Association committees should issue and publicize widely official statements on each new development of importance, whether international, domestic or local.

5. The Association should collaborate and help in the development and growth of all labor and progressive schools of a Marxist-Leninist character.

Within the Association, increased attention should be given to Marxist educational study to equip the members to wage an effective struggle on the ideological front, especially against Social-Democratism. This should take on various forms, including club activities, memoranda to the actives on new questions (such as the realization of the Teheran program, the Baruch Report, the President's second Bill of Rights), as well as cadre training, with special attention to Association members in trade unions and other mass organizations.

All this type of activity must become the direct responsibility of the leading committees of the Association. The responsible leadership of education, press, literature and school work of the National and State Committees will call for the assignment of one of the most able comrades. At the same time, in each district, the entire Executive Committee and the State Secretary shall be intimately connected with all of this work.

However, this should not be misunderstood as reducing our function to classroom education. Our political-educational work must always result in activity among labor and the people, and their organizations. Changing from Party to Association does not liquidate the vanguard role of our Marxist organization, although new forms of work must be adopted. Fulfilling our vanguard role today means creating such clarity and understanding and developing such activities as will influence millions of Americans—first of all, working people and their organizations—to strengthen and extend the coalition of all Americans who favor the policies outlined in the Teheran Declaration for the winning of the war against fascism and the perspectives of economic well-being and enduring peace for the post-war epoch. *Through such mass political-educational work, on a scale and in forms never before engaged in, rather than in isolated or competitive independent activities organized by the clubs in their own names, will the Communists influence and actively participate in the broad mass*

movements of the people—and first of all, the labor movement.

* * *

As the basic organizational unit of the Association we have the club. The club takes on increasing importance and must, in its own scope of activity, acquire political authority and competent leadership. We must at the outset guard against the narrow conception of the club as limited exclusively to community problems; rather we must see it, in the broadest sense of the term, as a political club concerning itself with problems of labor and the nation among the people of the community. The club should carry on systematic and extensive political educational work in its community in line with the policies of the National and State Committees. The political-educational work of the club must be of such a caliber that it provides the average active Communist with the political understanding and clarity which he seeks, otherwise the club will not be fulfilling its function. The work of the club must be organized with this firmly in mind.

Let us examine specifically the relation of the individual Communist to the club. No longer can there exist even the remnants of the artificial division of Communist work "versus" mass work. Effective Communist work means primarily work in mass organizations. The great majority of Association members will belong not only to trade unions but to other political organizations (A.L.P., Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, C.I.O. Political Action Committee, Joint Labor Committees, etc.). The quality of the contribution of the Communists as members of these mass organizations will depend on whether they have intimate political connections with the Association club. From the Association they expect and will derive that which no other organization can give them and which they keenly desire—namely, Marxist understanding for contributing to the formulation and execution of the needed everyday policies.

In the past, inadequacy of this necessary political guidance has been the major weakness of the club. From now on, with our members branching out into far more varied activities and organizations, it is clear that they will not have time for the same kind of Communist club activities as heretofore. The club, accordingly, must change the character of its activity. Its primary task is to provide political fellowship and

clarity on all issues by promoting among its members Marxist-Leninist understanding and thus equipping them for more effective work and leadership in all spheres of activity—in the shop, trade union, political party, or community organization. This guidance should be provided through rich political discussions in the club, through the discussions and functioning of club activity committees, and the effective individual work of the club membership committee. It will especially be furthered by the regular reading of the *Daily Worker*, *The Communist*, the club paper, and other literature. The effectiveness of the individual Communist will be increased to the extent that every club establishes a close and comradely political relationship with the individual member.

How will our Association members work in trade unions and other mass organizations? Communists will work in a democratic manner in all organizations and movements, with all other honest, patriotic forces in behalf of issues in the interest of labor and the nation. They will work without any special discipline or organization and, as always, will subordinate themselves to decisions democratically arrived at. Experience has demonstrated to millions of Americans that Communists, because of their Marxist understanding, are devoted to labor and the nation in the day-to-day political and organizational activities, small or large.

It is our responsibility to see that our Communist trade unionists derive from the life and activities of the club and from the *Daily Worker* adequate guidance on all general questions that confront the labor movement. In addition to discussing general subjects affecting the labor movement, the club can organize special educational meetings of members concerned with a specific industry and its problems. The club Labor Chairman should strive to become acquainted with the specific problems confronting the unions. The Labor Chairman should provide Communist trade union members with all important articles and pamphlets on issues and problems confronting the labor movement, so that the club members can keep abreast of new developments. The Labor Chairman shall encourage all members who are eligible, to join and become active in a union.

The State or County President should strive to know the main problems confronting the labor movement, as well as the problems of all other sections

of the population. In large districts consideration should be given to selecting one of the most politically competent leaders as the *Daily Worker* Labor Editor, in order to establish a close and normal connection between the *Daily Worker* and the local labor movement.

Wherever the individual Communist is active, his work will be complete only when, in the course of mass work, he wins readers for the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, distributes or sells literature, discusses with his co-workers the policies of the Communists, and recruits into the Association.

* * *

Now, let us examine the relationship between the Association club and the community. If we were to function as in the past, we would face many difficulties. By reacting alertly to issues and boldly popularizing our position on developments, we shall avoid any activities that would compete with the general progressive mass movement of the community. For instance, instead of resting satisfied with selecting its own delegation to visit the local Congressman on an issue such as the soldiers' vote, the club will undoubtedly discuss this problem, issue its own statement, and seek to influence other community organizations to send a representative delegation which will include, preferably, a representative of the Communist club. In other words, we will gladly relinquish formal auspices, in the interests of welding together large sections of the population. However, it is important for the club to realize that often there will be no such delegations unless it is alert and takes initiative in such matters.

In rendering full support to progressive activities or in helping to organize broad community movements the Communist club should strive to become an officially accepted component of all such mass movements. The club should contribute its maximum efforts to these movements both through its collective activities, and through the work of individual Communists belonging to community mass organizations.

Of course, this does not mean that the club should on no account conduct its own independent mass activity. There may be instances when other mass organizations or movements remain inactive with regard to certain specific issues or deal with them inadequately. The Communist club in such cases should, naturally, develop its own activities.

In our relations with other community organizations which are part of the win-the-war coalition, the Communist club emphasizes work *with* them and *not through* them. Thus, a member of the Communist Association who is selected to run as candidate on one or another political party ticket, whether for a major or minor office, puts forward his candidacy as a member of that particular party, and not as a member of the Communist Association. However, in a normal and natural way, it should be the definite orientation of the Communists in other political organizations to be known as members of the Communist Association. For, precisely that membership equips them to be among the most far-sighted and sensitive in regard to issues and enables them to develop mass activity and organization. Their candidacy for political office is comparable to the nomination of Communists for office in a trade union. Such nomination is based on their record in behalf of the workers and the union. True, many Communists get elected by their union membership because it has learned from experience that the candidate who is a Communist has particularly good qualifications, by virtue of the understanding he derives from being a member of the Communist organization.

Communist clubs should react in their own name to every event and should issue public statements—their own on local issues, and those of State and National Committees on broader issues. In regard to such issues we should make serious efforts to bring together leaders of organizations or representative leaders from shops to exchange opinions and to discuss with them the Communist point of view in order to work out a joint approach to such questions.

* * *

With this understanding of the Communist Association, it is clear that while maintaining a structure and minimum organizational requirements compatible with the character of a Marxist political educational association, we must grant greater autonomy to the lower organizations, emphasize that democracy is a "two-way street" from top to bottom and bottom to top, and eliminate all rigidity of organization. The main feature of all guidance and directives by leading committees shall be explanation of our policies; and, as regards the practical tasks of the Association itself, the directives shall emphasize *how* to fulfill these tasks in the course of everyday mass work.

Within the Association there must be a cutting down of administrative detail that involves a large body of members. Simple and minimum records must be the order of the day. Political-educational work should be the essential content of all organizational work. Greater initiative and responsibility by clubs and County Committees must be encouraged. The *Daily Worker* must be appreciated by *every Communist* as the daily voice of the Association leadership reacting to events and explaining policies that concern all labor and the nation.

The concept of leadership in all committees of the Association is to have represented, in addition to the minimum of functionaries, those who are leaders in all phases of mass work—predicated, of course, on their meriting election to Communist Association committees—as a result of Marxist understanding, ability, and devotion to the working class and the nation.

* * *

The emphasis on political initiative of the member and the club clearly makes necessary more effective political-educational work, in which the following are prerequisites:

(1) The entire Association must solve the problem of circulating the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. The carrying through of the tasks of the Association is bound up with a decisive and rapid increase in the circulation and influence of these papers.

(2) The Communist political-educational work, both among our own members and the people at large, must be the concern of the entire leadership. Indeed, this is the essence of their concern. There can be no organizational work whose content is not political education in one form or another. There must be a unity in content and direction of what has previously been separated into two departments—organization and education. As part of this problem, it is clear that we need to develop a corps of speakers and educators, instead of limiting our speakers' list to a few leading comrades. We must develop an entire range of effective and popular mass meeting speakers, irrespective of whether or not they hold official national posts in the Association. Likewise, as to educators in the Association. We shall avail ourselves of the maximum of our old corps of Marxist educators, but we must quickly increase their number. We must, further, demand of all our educators a new approach

to make their work most serviceable on the basis of the problems of today. Our educators today cannot limit themselves to academic class-room education but must master the technique of taking current issues and problems as the starting point for deepening the understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

(3) While we have much to be proud of in our past literature and publication activity, this also should be better planned and controlled by the Association itself. Especially is it necessary to plan a publications program which will provide the Association members with literature that will deal with current issues, while the issues are pressing.

These and all other phases of political-educational activity will be the concern of the entire leadership, starting with the President. The secretary of the Association club or Committee should combine the responsibility of organization, education and press, although assignments of specific phases of this work can be given to others, if necessary. The post of *Daily Worker* correspondent or Labor Editor, as already stated, clearly belongs to one of the most responsible Communist leaders in each state or district.

* * *

What are the perspectives of growth of the Communist Association? The success of the recruiting campaign, conducted while we were in the process of discussing the organizational change, gives a clear and positive answer to the question. To the extent that we learn to function along the lines indicated, there will open up great perspectives for building the Association into a really large organization. The expectations are not unreasonable that, with effective work, we can conclude the year 1944 with 100,000 registered members.

This raises a question that has received considerable attention in the pre-convention discussion and specifically in the recruiting campaign, namely: Who may become an Association member? The question has variations such as: Must one believe in socialism to be accepted into the Association? or: Suppose one believes the Communists to be a constructive force for national unity and agrees with their immediate program but definitely believes in the present social system, would such a person be accepted into the Association?

The Preamble to our Constitution describes briefly the character of the organization. It states, in part:

"It [the C.P.A.] adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years' experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation; it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradictions between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American tradition and character."

Further, the very nature of the program of the C.P.A. means that each member shall devote his full energies to defend the nation and the working class and actively participate in and strengthen the organizations of labor and the people. The Constitution specifically provides that each member must accept the Association program and policies.

The reference to the acceptance—not necessarily the full understanding—of the Association program, including the Preamble, answers the question raised above as to acceptance of the principles of socialism as a condition for membership. It is placed in its correct relationship to the building of the Marxist organization under present-day conditions. Robert Minor, in one of the series of "Questions and Answers" in the *Daily Worker*, elaborated on this question, in a way we can well repeat:

"Great masses of workers, the very best of the working class, are moving by millions into the labor movement, and many thousands are becoming willing, and in many cases eager, to find the explanation of the tremendous events of the time. That they come to the Communist organization is proof that they want to find their way forward. It would be utterly absurd for us to require of every worker applicant at this time an exact understanding of the laws of development of modern history, and therefore a fully developed belief in socialism. It would be sectarian and non-Marxist on our part.

"We can ask of new applicants to membership in the Communist organization only loyalty to the principles that are already comprehensive to all workers, devotion to the most basic duties of action today; plus a willingness and eagerness to study the program and the history and the theory which will make them thorough Communists. And above all a willingness to fight, to sacrifice in the war of mankind against Nazi enslavement is the first requirement for entering the Communist movement."

* * *

We have taken a historical step in our Convention. To get the maximum results will necessitate not only political clarity but a new orientation on the part of every club and every committee. Every one of us must learn to work in a new way in accord with the general ideas outlined in the Convention decisions. We must display an energetic and convincing activity—wage a struggle, if necessary—to achieve this.

We are confident of success, because today our membership is becoming more and more conscious of the role and the contribution of the Communists over the past quarter of a century. As we look back across these years, we see how the Communists raised high the banner of struggle for the economic and political rights of the people. Outstanding in this struggle has been our contribution to the understanding and organization of the great trade union movement and the Negro people's movement. We see the consistent contribution of the Communists to the defense of our nation against the threat of fascism.

As we look ahead, toward the decisive victory over the forces of fascism, there opens up the perspective of ushering in an era of orderly democratic progress for all peoples and nations. We pledge ourselves to full collaboration in that course. The activity and further strengthening of the political influence, the press and the organization of the Communist Political Association are aimed at increasing our contribution to our nation's progress, now and in the post-war era.

In conclusion, let us be clear that our entire discussion of the functioning of the Communist Association—its organizational and educational activities—aims at making it easier for the Association, on the basis of its Marxist program, to contribute more effectively to the American nation, precisely because it is the foremost political force of the American working people. History has confirmed the contribution of the Communist movement in America to our nation and its people. The aim of the Association is to strengthen the traditional vanguard role of Marxists in the new historical setting when national unity is the guarantee of victory. We can look forward with confidence to an unprecedented growth of our Marxist organization in the months and years ahead.

DISCUSSION

PHIL BART, *Illinois*: . . . The organizational recommendations made by Delegate Williamson make

it essential to take into consideration certain forms and methods which have as yet not been developed. I wish to stress one or two main points here. First, the activities of the clubs and the relationship of the members to them. We now have in many large cities clubs ranging in membership from 100 to 300, and some reaching 500 and 600 members. These are substantial organizations and leadership takes on greater importance than ever before.

What kind of activity committees can we develop? They must be committees which not only organize the work of individual members but relate the work of these members to the community, and the problems facing the nation. Let us take for example, a Women's Committee of a Communist Association Club. Such a committee should not be merely one which raises issues and brings them to the club, but the responsibility of this women's committee is to join other forces in the community with a common interest which are seeking a solution to the same problems. This committee becomes the instrument of the club for creating unity with other organizations around such problems and issues facing the women of the community and the nation. This holds true of all other committees—civic problems, anti-discrimination, veterans, etc. As a result we can create a broad leadership in the club, developing the work in such a manner that the members will work together with others around the needs facing the country.

The second point I wish to make is on the question of education. As a result of the recruiting drive, we have increased our membership by some 35 per cent. If we consider those in our organization a year or less, this would reach 60 per cent of our membership. We enrolled men and women who for the first time were in touch with Communists. Our members approached them in the shops, the unions, brought them to our clubs where we discussed the policies of our organization. These people now have to find a place in our organization, and an education which is in conformity with their past practices and past experiences. Many of them have read little of our publications, have seen our press only occasionally, and some not at all. This mass education of thousands in our Association, education which must be considered in relation to the public character of our Association, will require a new approach. The whole conduct of forums, reviews of books and pamphlets, the publication of our leaflets and booklets, must be

of a more simple and popular character. While recognizing that we must explain our program, at the same time our material must be attractive and appealing to new people with the aim of answering a major problem and advancing its cause.

ANN BEISWENGER, *Michigan*: I wish to express the complete and enthusiastic agreement of the Michigan delegation with the report of Brother Williamson. During the period of intensive discussions of the policies of our National Committee, leading up to the dissolution of the party and the change to Communist Political Association, we had the most rapid expansion of our organization in Michigan. We reached 170 per cent of our original recruiting goal. Seventy per cent of the new members are auto workers, of whom a large number are Negro workers. That is eloquent testimony to the favorable response of large sections of labor and the people of Michigan to our new policies. It shows the fundamental changes in the political understanding of labor and the people, especially the Negro people, brought about by the impact of world events and particularly by Teheran.

A further growth in our membership in Michigan requires that Communists in the U.A.W. improve their political work. Unprincipled factionalism must be curbed by developing a movement for unity of all pro-Roosevelt, anti-fascist forces in the union and communities. Every channel, such as meetings of club chairmen, executive secretaries, legislative directors, will have to be utilized in equipping the Association club leadership to give guidance to hundreds of trade unionists on the role of the labor movement and correct political and economic policies. More than this, concrete help should be given to individual Communist auto workers, to equip them to fight for a unity policy below, to ensure unity in the C.I.O. Political Action Committee, in the Democratic Party and among other progressive forces in the precincts.

For this reason we need labor committees, which will help guarantee understanding as well as execution of the unity policy. We still have the job of establishing functioning labor committees in Detroit and this will be done only by giving them sustained guidance by the state officers.

One of the key problems is establishing the public role of the Association clubs in the communities. An example of a beginning in this direction was made by a club initiating a meeting of representatives

of important community organizations, including representatives from the C.I.O. Political Action Committee, other organizations and the club, to organize a "get-out-the-vote" campaign in the community.

DOXEY WILKERSON, *Maryland*: . . . Brother Williamson reported that about one-third of the new recruits are Negroes, about 8,000 of whom entered the Communist organization in the last few months. This reflects a real upsurge in the prestige of the Communist organization in the Negro community and presents us with an unparalleled opportunity and a very real challenge, both of which have important implications for the manner in which we operate our clubs in predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

Will we fully integrate the Negro membership in the Communist Association? Will we activate the thousands of new Negro members and make them into effective leaders of the Negro people? Leaders of the Negro people are more urgently needed today than ever before.

Brother Williamson's discussion of the new role of our community clubs provides the key to the answer to questions which now face us. He emphasized the new forms of work, especially new forms of Communist clubs in the neighborhood, broad political clubs working in the interest of the nation as a whole. He set forth the goal of each Communist being a political leader in a mass organization. What does this mean to our clubs in predominantly Negro neighborhoods? There is a common political issue which tends to unite all Negro people—Negro democratic rights. Whoever in the nation or community moves to further Negro democratic rights will command the allegiance of the Negro people. Whoever neglects these rights will become alienated from the Negro people.

The Negro members of our organization belong to many organizations. They belong to churches. They belong to a whole series of fraternal organizations—the Elks, the Masons, the Daughters of the Eastern Star, the Sons of Moses, and what have you. They belong to a number of such local and national Negro protest organizations as the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, and the National Negro Congress. In increasing numbers they are becoming a part of the great trade unions in industrial areas. What is necessary is first to integrate these members into the Communist organization and second, through them,

to influence the Negro community. We must activate our Negro brothers and sisters in the mass organizations to which they already belong. We should take definite organizational steps to interpret to all of our members their responsibility as Communists in their mass organizations, emphasizing the fact that work as a Communist is not merely inner organization work, but is primarily establishing political influence in the mass organizations to which they belong. We certainly must give greater attention than we have in the past to the training of Marxist Negro leaders.

LOUIS BUDENZ, *New York*: . . . The *Daily Worker* and its weekly companion, *The Worker*, receive their leadership from the Communist movement. Communists have nurtured these papers, have raised funds for them and worked hard year in and year out to gain them readers. The papers in turn have been the instruments through which the Communist movement got out its message to wider groups of people, reaching out to new friends and influencing new minds.

This will always be the chief function and duty of the *Daily Worker*, to be the medium used by the movement to bring itself closer to the people and the people closer to the Communist movement. It will be a daily educational center, with its weekly addition, for our Association members and for the progressive-minded working people throughout the nation. We are certain that with the new emphasis on dynamic educational work the outstanding work that the press will have to perform in these respects will be even greater than before. The emergence of new issues before the nation—issues raised by the coming invasion and the prospect of victory over Hitlerism—serve to assure that this will be the case. We need urgently in such a situation a technically competent press. It should be one that stands up in appearance and in the presentation of its case with the rest of the nation's press, but which is of the deepest and most unique value because it contains a message—the Communist-inspired message.

It is in this light that we consider the introduction of the tabloid form into our daily and weekly papers. The tabloid aims to bring about a streamlined presentation of the Communist message—to make more effective that message by making it quicker to grasp, easier to read, more readily accessible to thousands of

new readers. In a nutshell, the tabloid is devised in order that through this more popular form we will be able to reach much wider circles of potential readers, potential Communists, potential allies in the work ahead. The tabloid has already begun to represent a more definite integration of the Association with our press. We have now been in a position to introduce regular columns by Earl Browder and Robert Minor, systematizing such contributions.

The tabloid is the machine gun replacing the older form of weapons. Let us make full use of it today.

Now let us consider the circulation of the paper. All our experience proves that we can get the maximum circulation only through cooperation of the Association and its members. A cause paper in the final analysis can be built and strengthened only by believers in that cause. We have to start with this in any consideration of new circulation or of maintaining the circulation our papers have.

There have been some theories developed which have not been so helpful. One of them has been that subs alone are needed to build the circulation of *The Worker*. Do we want to get subs? Of course we do. Another has been that newsstands alone will do. Do we want newsstand sales? Most decidedly. Even these things, subs and newsstand sales, depend upon the activity and alertness of our members. That activity of our members can and must consist of buying regularly at newsstands, of inducing others to do this, of having certain clubs adopt newsstands, of seeing that there are no returns and that thereby the paper is not wasted.

But figures show that in addition to subs and newsstands we need to rely on the good old bundle order, with papers sold on a voluntary basis, and this for *The Worker* in particular. This is closely intertwined with the election campaign. We are prepared to get out special editions during the election campaign of 10,000 of each particular issue for the states.

As to the *Daily Worker*, we can congratulate the members of our Association on the progress made. Here the chief point has been—and experience has shown must be—club subs. I can say without going into details that our sub list on the *Daily Worker* is now at the highest point in the history of our paper. This not only shows that these subscriptions can be obtained, but the club sub has become something on which we can rely much more than

before. Outside of New York City, particularly, the club sub has been effective. This is something on which we can build in a bigger and more general way.

This, of course, does not negate bundle orders in any way. The state of the circulation shows that if we had held the bundle orders we would have had a higher circulation.

The tabloid in itself is no "Open Sesame" for the things we have to do; it is a symbol of the fact that we wish to make our press the most effective in style and format as an assurance that we want with equal emphasis to make the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* the most representative of Communist thought among the masses of the people.

CARL WINTER, *California*: . . . In our state of California, the unprecedented achievement in the recently concluded Communist recruiting drive, we consider of added significance because it was accomplished in the face of a state discriminatory law against Communists, the Dillworth Law, and the operation of the Tenny or "Little Dies" Committee.

With respect to the responsibility of education of the Association, I should like to cite the experiences we had in Los Angeles following Browder's masterful analysis of the Teheran Conference. We felt immediately a great demonstration of renewed interest in the fundamental teachings of Marxism, a searching through the old volumes and a questioning attitude in the classes in an effort better to understand the new events and the new class relationships. We responded to the demand for increased Marxist study by organizing a seminar on a weekly basis, headed by our County Secretary, for fifteen full-time Communist workers in Los Angeles. This seminar undertook to re-examine the lessons we had taught in previous classes in the fundamentals of Communism, to seek out the motive forces and the developing currents in political life that would show the continuous trend of development between the new period in which we live and the past experiences. As a result of this self-study and organized discussion we trained fifteen qualified teachers, who conducted a series of classes in which 250 students participated. There are now taking place sixteen classes, embracing close to 400 students, in the fundamentals of Marxism on the basis of such a review.

I should like to refer to the radio series we recently concluded in Los Angeles and San Francisco, which called forth the greatest interest and response on the part of the listening audience in the history of the Communist organization. Basing ourselves upon the birthdays of Lincoln, Washington, Jefferson and Jackson, drawing conclusions for today from the experience of these past revolutionary leaders, we had the pleasant experience of receiving not only inquiries but applications for Communist membership by telephone and mail. In a radio broadcast in which I participated with a local manufacturer in Los Angeles on "War and Post-War Problems," this owner of a local factory said: "I am glad to be here. I am here firstly because I am curious about the Communist Party and the stand that it now takes. I am here also because I believe I'd be a pretty poor type of American citizen if I weren't willing to discuss any national question with any other citizen of whatever group. I believe that our main job is to win the war and this makes it necessary for all groups to cooperate toward this end."

ISRAEL AMTER, *New York*: . . . Today in New York, and I presume throughout the country, attendance at club meetings is between 20 and 40 per cent. Over a period of a few years we have investigated the causes of small attendance and have arrived at certain conclusions. What do we find?

If we take an average club, we find that the Executive Committee tries to limit the amount of routine business to be taken up at the club meeting, so there will be adequate time for discussion. Some clubs also arrange forums and socials. But, with the best of intentions, in most clubs the discussion is formal and cannot be exhaustive because so little time is allowed for it. Secondly, we find that small attendance is due in part also to the high cost of living in the organization. I do not refer to dues alone, but to many contributions for maintaining the club, sending telegrams, purchase of literature, etc. New members who come to the club are usually timid and do not come forward readily. Hence there is fluctuation in attendance at the meetings of the club.

How can we retain and develop the interest that brought the new recruit into the Communist movement? Certainly, through activities that involve the self-interest and self-initiative of the individual.

I suggest that the membership be broken down on the basis of activities groups, and that the members be permitted to select the activities for which they have a liking or inclination. (1) Research—education, press, publicity, with the necessary subdivisions; (2) Legislation; (3) Cultural; (4) Social; (5) Mass activities such as inter-racial, inter-faith, price control, and any other the club considers requisite for carrying out its work. There should either be a director of each of these committees or a small committee in charge working under the club executive. The director or committee in charge will be the best means for contacting the membership of the group through drawing them into those activities which they have selected of their own accord.

We in the United States can be proud of the history of our country. It was Comrade Browder who directed the attention of our organization to the study of history, encouraged research and the writing of history, and undertook himself to delve deeply into these questions. Today we can say that as a result of the path hewed by Browder there is an orientation among young historians and authors of historical novels toward a Marxist approach to the history of our country.

However, the United States is composed of many national groups. Here and there in history books they receive mention. But what do we know of the history of the national groups as they have developed in the United States, the traditions they brought to this country and how these traditions have been remolded on the American scene as a contribution to our own history and development? Here is a new field for historians and authors of historical novels. This question will open up fascinating angles of American life and make a rich contribution to the history of the development of our country.

SAM DON, *New York*: . . . John Williamson has already set the tone and given us a practical approach to the discussion of organization and education. What is new here can be contrasted to the educational work in the Communist Party. Of course, one cannot draw a sharp distinction. Yet we must emphasize that the contrast lies primarily in the emphasis on public education. A great political maturity of the working class and American society as a whole has made America intellectually and socially more alive than ever before. If the Association is

to participate more actively in public and political life its educational work must be in tune with this inquiring mind of America today.

What should be the main function of public education today? First of all in the community clubs of the Association; and secondly, in the labor movement. The object should be to influence and strengthen the political-educational activities, to enhance the role of labor in the eyes of public opinion as a whole, and, to help establish Marxism as a legitimate science, as a school of thought in the United States.

Take the issue of public education in relation to Browder's report. One of the profoundest contributions made by Browder was his discussion of Anglo-British contradictions. If the clubs would really develop forums, symposiums to discuss Browder's report in relation to the economic program, to the policies which were discussed here on reconversion, this would help bring forward the new role of the Association. I cannot think of any more effective method to tie up political and educational work than by popularizing from day to day the current issues, the Browder report, the issues discussed here.

D-Day will bring the invasion close to the heart of every community. Here is a great responsibility for the clubs. The clubs must play a great role in strengthening and maintaining the morale in the invasion stage. Why do the appeasers and defeatists raise the issue that we have no foreign policy? They tell the people that we do not know what we are fighting for. Imagine, when the casualties come in and this idea is in the minds of the mothers, wives and sweethearts. How will they stand up under the grief of the casualties? Unless we educate them on the foreign policy in terms of the meaning of Teheran, we open up a field for the defeatists and appeasers. That is why the club should be in the center of the public life of every community.

We were all thrilled with the fact that our organization has grown by 24,000. This is a big achievement. Over 33,000 members of the Association are one year or less in the Communist movement. Here is a great responsibility for Marxist education. The best way to educate the new members is to give them not only the heritage of the country and the labor movement, but to give them the heritage of the twenty-five years of existence and struggle of the Communist movement in the United States. If we give them that heritage new mem-

bers will quickly turn into experienced older members. Also, pedagogically speaking, educate them in living Marxism, show them Marxism in action through the policies of the Communist movement, the history and development of Communist policies. This is correct Marxism, and it is correct pedagogy. Surely without the *Daily Worker* you will not educate the new members, nor carry through popular education.

Brother Williamson already referred to the question of propagandists. The guarantee of popular education and education within the Association lies in the development of propagandists who will be well-informed and well-cultured. Unless we train such a corps of people, well informed and well-cultured, we will not really bring Marxian issues and current issues on a Marxian basis to the public and to the membership. To streamline the work of our Association we should train men of public affairs—that must be the keynote and approach for training of personnel of the Communist Association.

All of us must be keenly aware that educational work is mass work, that this work must not just be confined to a handful of specialists, although we do need specialists, but in the future every president of a club, beginning with the presidents of our state organizations, must place on their daily calendar the problem of education. Unless we do that we will not live up to the great educational and cultural stirrings taking place in the country and we will not successfully bring to the people the issues raised in Browder's report.

BILL LAWRENCE, *New York*: The future functioning of the Communist Association cannot be separated from the conditions which gave rise to the Association and the objectives for which it was formed. Just as our political perspectives are based on unprecedented events, so must we adjust forms and methods to meet new unprecedented conditions. We must display the same boldness and imagination with regard to forms and methods of organization as we do with respect to political policy.

In discussing forms, size of a club, etc., the first principle to establish is will such forms provide the members with the most effective instruments to realize the decisions of this convention? Will they aid the Communist club to merge with other patriotic Americans in a joint effort for a speedy termina-

tion of the war, for a people's victory in the 1944 elections, and for establishing the basis for a durable peace?

Let us take for instance the "independent role" of the club. We can more satisfactorily deal with this question if we define the tasks of a Communist community club today: (1) To help the people understand the need for their fullest mobilization for victory, including sacrifice for one's country, lest the defeatists succeed in diverting individual sorrow into channels of opposition to the Administration; (2) To aid in the efforts of the A.L.P. to rally an unprecedented vote, guaranteeing that the Empire State will be in the F.D.R. column on election day; (3) To help make certain that the democratic will of our men and women in the armed forces will be expressed by their vote in the elections; (4) To aid in the election of win-the-war candidates to state and federal legislatures; (5) To help strengthen every organization and movement in the community furthering the interests of the people and the nation.

Take the question of the soldiers' vote. We are all acquainted with the manipulations of Governor Dewey and his controlled Legislature to hinder the maximum expression of the soldiers in the 1944 elections. Our goal is to reach the greatest number in the armed forces, thus making it possible for them to vote in spite of Governor Dewey's hamstringing. Of course, the Communist club can issue a leaflet, hold an open-air meeting, and carry on other similar activities. But we still have to reach the soldiers with the ballot. While it is important for the Communist club to take the initiative, its first objective should be to involve the organized labor and people's movements in such a project, to provide all members of the various organizations with ballots printed by the C.I.O. Council. Under such circumstances there may be an absence of independent activity on the part of the Communist club in the narrow sense of the word. But if the Communists work correctly in such a movement all concerned will know the role Communists played in helping the soldiers to vote.

In the past, during elections, Communist clubs conducted what was known as "independent activity," the center of which was the Communist candidate and his program. In the future, the Communist community organizations, starting from the premise that issues and men are decisive and not par-

ties, will seek to aid and strengthen the candidate who fights for national unity, speedy victory over the Axis and a peaceful solution of the post-war domestic and international problems.

A Communist club which will occupy its time with administrative and inner matters will face the problem of isolation. Its meetings will be poor and the members will cry, "What is our independent role?" A Communist club working with community organizations, whose members are active in people's movements, will find its meetings rich and it will be known in the community.

MAC WEINER, *Eastern Pennsylvania*: The important lesson which our recruiting drive in Eastern Pennsylvania emphasized was the possibility of building the organization in the process of a struggle to apply a correct political policy. With a weekly goal of 150 recruits, we at first recruited less than fifty members a week, and once only fourteen. When our organization was able to discuss and understand the policies outlined by our National Committee on the Teheran Conference, we made rapid headway and overfulfilled our goal by reaching 1,600 new members.

With the aim of drawing into active life and establishing close and friendly relationships with our hundreds of new members, we have initiated an intensive follow-up campaign. First, the strengthening of the life of our community clubs, developing their new role as political educational clubs; and personal visiting of the new members. We are stressing the role of the recruiter in going back to visit the new recruit. In visiting our new members we are centering our emphasis upon acquainting the new member with the *Daily Worker* Club Plan and getting those who have not yet subscribed to do so.

The second point of emphasis is acquainting our new members with the activities of the club and discussing with them how they can utilize the club and its facilities to help in their work. Of course, this means our clubs have the responsibility of establishing those facilities and developing committees and activities that will serve the needs and interests of these members, especially educational activities, forums, symposiums, and with the utmost variety and flexibility developing committees and activities as varied as the interests, the time and needs of our members.

We are also launching a program for development of club leadership, a training program, which will equip our club executives and leaders with the knowledge and abilities to guide the hundreds of members in their new activities. Our understanding of committee work has broadened to include the concept of these committees functioning publicly, inviting the people of the community to attend committee meetings, to participate in executing the decisions of the committees, inviting speakers from the community, etc. In this way not only a regular club meeting will provide the organized channel for the members to function politically, but every phase of club life.

CARL REEVE, *Washington*: There are a series of acute community problems in the Northwest growing out of the war situation. The population of Washington and Oregon has increased by over 350,000 war workers and their families. Housing, transportation, child care, youth recreation, lack of nurseries, are all acute problems. The Isaacs Congressional Committee revealed that the reactionary Republican machine of Governor Langlie withheld funds and has made Washington one of the worst states in the union in providing necessary social services for war workers and their families.

The Communist Association clubs now have the task of organizing broad community activities, in the unions and neighborhoods, to force the Republican administration to take care of these vital needs. The clubs also have to help untangle the red tape of registration, particularly, to help the soldiers and their families so that the maximum number of soldiers will be able to vote under the hampering state laws. The Communist clubs have to carry on a more intense educational campaign among the people, particularly in the unions, to expose the defeatists.

The out-and-out traitors like Mrs. De Lafayette Washburn of Tacoma and Seattle, and the seditious Trotskyites and Lovestoneites are concentrating in the key war centers of the Northwest. The defeatists of all stripes have combined to hold a full-time school in Seattle in June under the auspices of the Friends Service Committee in an attempt to form a Peace Now Movement. Along with the Republican spokesmen, like Councilwoman Powell, there are so-called pacifists and Norman Thomas Socialists. One of the directors of this school is the

Lovestoneite fascist traitor Bertram Wolfe. These Trotskyite and Lovestoneite Nazi agents must be exposed and driven from public life.

Brother James Ford's recent tour added great strength to the united struggle of Negro and white against Jim Crow. When James Ford was coming to Seattle we reserved a room for him in the best hotel in the city. When this hotel found out that Brother Ford was a Negro they suddenly changed their mind and said they had no room. For three days they were too busy to see us. Meanwhile many trade union leaders protested to the hotel. A meeting was held with the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations set up by the city council and the Mayor at the time of Ferdinand Smith's visit to Seattle. This committee also protested to the hotel. Finally we wired the manager if he did not see us with twenty-four hours we would bring suit for violation of the state equal rights bill. Then the hotel management informed us they had changed their mind and found a reservation for Brother Ford. This was a victory of Negro and white unity against discrimination.

The important role of the labor committees in our clubs can be seen from the fact that over sixty per cent of our Association membership is in industry, particularly in aircraft, lumber, shipyard and maritime, and almost half, or 1,500 members, are in the A. F. of L. The labor committees will play an important part in bringing to the entire club discussions on important trends in the labor movement, the fight for labor unity, labor's role in the elections and will help in the political education of the trade union members themselves.

MARTIN YOUNG, *New York*: In his report on the nature and function of the new Communist organization Brother Williamson outlined among other tasks the new forms and content of the educational activities of the Communist Political Association. Ever larger numbers of Americans are seeking Marxist education in order not only to understand the world we live in, but also to change it. This development is brought about in the first place by the war of liberation. It is also brought about by the growth and maturity of the American working class and its extended leadership in our national life.

One of the greatest educational institutions in the country today is the trade union movement. What is outstanding is the fact that a trade unionist

and his trade union are rapidly becoming the tribune of the people, concerning themselves not only with the welfare and the immediate needs of the workers, but also assuming ever greater responsibility for the fate of our nation. This was always the hope of Marxists, now being gradually realized.

We have a right to assume that, with the growing recognition of the contributions Communists make to the welfare and the victory of the people, it will become possible and easier for the Marxist movement to avail itself of the most effective means and established channels of people's education. In the first instance, we are naturally concerned with the working class and its economic organizations—the trade unions. In this respect we do not look forward to any insurmountable obstacles since in respect to the most important and decisive question—our nation's victory—there is agreement and unanimity between Communists and the overwhelming majority of organized labor. Most often, Communists in the trade union movement, because of their Marxist understanding, help organized labor understand better and deeper its own decisions and policies, and thereby elevate the working class to a higher level of leadership and responsibility.

In his report Brother Williamson raised some very serious problems concerning the future Marxist education of the members of the Communist Political Association itself. This year we will celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the American Communist movement. At no time in the history of Marxism in this country were we confronted with such complicated new problems as we are today, the solution of which can be realized only through the most fundamental knowledge of scientific socialism and its living application to our world of reality. The educational forces of the Marxist movement have to be increased manyfold and, while we should think in terms of specialized training of selected people, we must realize above all that the mastery of Marxism of the period of wars of national liberation must become the common property of every Association member. Any other approach to Marxian education excludes the education of the working class and the people.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, *New York*: Yesterday and today we had the happy opportunity of having the difference between living and dogmatic

Marxism illustrated to us. In his keynote address and remarks on the Preamble, Earl Browder capped the brilliant exposition of living Marxism which he began at the National Committee meeting of last January and which he has developed more fully in his latest book.

The emphasis on political education in the Association is absolutely correct. We must remember that the Marxist movement was, from the very beginning, an educational movement. Education is a working-class tradition and is the very basis of our movement. What is new at the present time is that the labor movement of America has reached such political maturity that new vistas have opened up for our educational work.

We can facilitate and accelerate this educational process by providing literature that will deepen the workers' understanding of the issues and problems that are multiplying on every side. We have in mind, not the brief penny pamphlets we have issued in the past, but pamphlets that develop each subject more fully and can really serve as educational aids, attractively designed and printed in color, so as to be inviting to the eye. Agitational material must more and more be issued locally by the state organizations, and this too can be greatly improved in quality and technical appearance.

Our education must correspond to the aims of the labor movement at the present time. Trade unions are carrying on tremendous educational work, not only formal education but broad cultural work. A number of trade unions have recently begun to open bookstores in their headquarters. The more such bookstores and the more schools and classes they initiate, the better for labor and the American people. It will help to develop a generation of intelligent fighters for the people's interest.

Marxists always believed and taught others to believe that the study of the accumulated knowledge of the past helps us to understand the present and to illumine the possible course of future development. That is why we recently decided to launch a campaign around the Lenin Home Library. Earl Browder spoke at the National Committee meeting about the legacy of Lenin and what it means for Americans. We are making this legacy available now, and in this campaign for the Lenin works we expect great assistance to come from this convention.

We must reach the public libraries with our Marx-

ist literature. That is an important means of bringing our work to the public's attention. It is very interesting to note in this connection a discussion in the *Journal of the American Library Association* which had previously published a list of recommended books on the Soviet Union. Some of the notorious anti-Sovieteer authors were left out, but a contributor to the *Journal* inquired why the writings of Lenin and Stalin were omitted from the list, since libraries are supposed to present authoritative writings and if Americans are to understand the policies of the Soviet Union, the writer argued, the libraries should include in their recommended list books by Lenin and Stalin which are available in English translation.

We have been able to make an important contribution to the study of American history. We have published several works: a study of the Populist Movement by Anna Rochester; Franklin's book on *The Rise of the American Nation* and the book by Dr. Morais, *The Struggle for American Freedom*. Dr. Foner has been working on a number of smaller studies on American history. There is now a greater hunger than ever for such books.

The first book that will face us when we return from this convention is the new book of Earl Browder, *Teheran—Our Path in War and Peace*. This book will be available within a week or two, and I hope all the delegates will take the necessary steps to see that it is widely distributed. We expect to publish a quarter of a million copies and this book should aid enormously to equip and prepare our members for the great tasks ahead of winning victory in the war and the elections and of fully realizing the fruits of the Teheran agreement.

RITA MALONE, *New York*: I am very happy to be given the high honor of speaking on the report of Brother Williamson. The convention is really wonderful but, in my mind, as a club leader, the report of Williamson, while I know it must be studied and will need rereading, put the Association on a new line. I tried to think of it in terms of our own community.

The Chelsea Club at the present time has 565 members. Our Executive Committee and membership have been able to do some effective work in assisting our community to become a real win-the-war community.

Not so long ago, as a representative of my club,

I was forced to withdraw from committee after committee in the community. Some of the leaders of the community even refused to sit next to me at meetings. I was pretty isolated from things as a whole. At present, our club is really in the bosom of the community. I think there's a reason for it. A great part of our community has not been involved in real war activities. We set out to guarantee that our people would unitedly support and participate in war activities. When it became known that the Communists would participate actively in the Fourth War Loan Drive the people in the community felt that the fulfillment of the goal was a practical guarantee. The drive in the West Side led the entire city. Several leaders in this drive became widely known throughout the city.

Our club was presented with a scroll for our work in the Fourth War Loan Drive. The head of the drive was one of the leaders of the Republican Party. He came to our club about two months ago to present the scroll. This scroll was presented to us at a public meeting. By the way I was the highest individual seller in that area—the organization did it, not me—but on the basis of that the community leaders decided to recognize my personal work by making me area chairman of the Fifth War Loan Drive. It is not an easy job—it is a tremendous area. At a public meeting everyone was informed that we were taking on this job.

On the basis of this work, although last July 1 I had to publicly withdraw from the C.D.V.O., this last month my name was proposed as a member of the board of governors. A speech was made, and the proposal seconded by an outstanding community leader—and now we are helping to formulate the policy for the community as a whole.

During the recruiting drive we decided not to neglect the Red Cross. We got sixty members active in the Red Cross; completed a terrific Red Cross drive and went over the top in the recruiting drive.

FREDA KATZ, *Ohio*: It certainly was a great pleasure to listen to the club chairman who just spoke before me. Our club has a membership of 155. We are glad to hear the experiences of such a large club and above all I appreciate the report of Delegate Williamson because it not only lays out the main methods and ways of work, but it really gives us something concrete to work on.

I would like to cite some of the experiences in the 30th Ward of Cleveland. One of the main problems we had was to get our members active. We tried all kinds of methods but didn't seem to get much results. In the last period, working closely with the other win-the-war forces in our ward, a new situation has developed. Our members see more clearly their role as members of the Communist Association and its relation to activity in the trade unions and other mass organizations. We have very good relations with the Democratic Party, Labor's Joint Committee and other organizations which have been built around joint struggles for subsidies, soldier vote, etc. Today when important problems arise in our ward, the leaders of the Democratic Party, the Labor Joint Committee and the Communist club discuss them and jointly plan action.

This didn't happen suddenly. Of course, we were active in the last election, in support of the progressive win-the-war councilman. He won. After that the forces of labor and the Communist club were able to work together. After the elections we discussed the soldier vote. Then later on, we were able to work together in the primary elections in such a concrete manner that we were able to divide responsibilities and establish a very close working relationship of all the progressive forces in the ward. All the election material which went out was discussed jointly by the Democratic Party, the labor forces and the Communist club.

The result of our work in collaboration with others was that the vote for Lausche in almost every part of the ward was about 10-1. In a section of the ward, predominantly Jewish, where there was always a heavy Republican vote, there were 340 votes—304 Democratic, with only 36 Republican and almost 300 of the 304 voted for Lausche.

As a result we achieved a number of things. We brought the issues before the people, won the respect of our community and were able to work unitedly with the other progressive organizations in the ward. In addition we have activated to a large extent the membership of the club and convinced them of the type of activity that can be carried on in our ward. We are already discussing the possibilities of a joint "4th Term for Roosevelt Committee" to include Democrats, Republicans, all types of people who wish to join such a united movement in the ward.

I might mention that in the last recruiting drive we went over the top. Our quota was fifty. We recruited seventy-two.

ANDY ONDA, *Connecticut*: . . . Brother Williamson in his report pointed out that we cannot function as in the past, that inability to break with the past methods of work will make it impossible for us to make our fullest contribution. Our organization in the past tended to work alone. It tended to be separate from the decisive people's organizations in the city and in the community. This tendency to work alone as a political party was also reflected in its agitation and propaganda.

In the last two years or more, our Communist organization already began to develop a course of work in line with the one indicated here by Brother Williamson. This is especially emphasized in the preparations for the 1944 elections, where we can make a big contribution. Our clubs and our membership already recognize the necessity of participating in the coming election campaign not separately from other people's organizations, but together with them. They are working together in the labor committees being formed in the wards and other political subdivisions, in this way helping to bridge the gap between labor and the community. Our members and our clubs are, or can be, part of the non-partisan "Roosevelt for Re-election" committees set up on a ward or community basis. Our members together with other forces are working with leaders and active adherents of the political parties. This gives our membership and clubs an opportunity to participate directly in this all-important 1944 election campaign; gives them an opportunity as Communists to inspire this movement to overcome all tendencies that dampen the ardor of the people in developing organizational forms to achieve their hopes and aspirations.

To give one example on post-war production problems and reconversion. In one city we mailed Browder's *Teheran and America* to a number of labor leaders and industrialists. They reacted keenly to this pamphlet. They invited speakers of our organization to a meeting of industrialists. A Communist was invited to one of the biggest churches in town and as a result the people who read the pamphlet and participated in the meeting were instrumental in getting the State War Planning Committee to carry

out the proposal originally made by our clubs to organize clinics on an area basis for reconversion and post-war planning. In this connection we learned two things—not only the possibility of working with all other sections of the people under these new conditions, but the practical results and influence we can exert in this period.

SID STEIN, *New Jersey*: In his inspiring report Brother Williamson spoke of the need for clarifying the character of our organization, uprooting any liquidationist tendencies that might arise as a result of the failure to see the tremendous contributions a Marxist organization can make in areas where the labor movement is involved in political action. A partial answer to any such tendency is already indicated by the enrollment drive we have just concluded. In our own state we experienced a high mark in recruiting in those counties where the Communists helped in the development of a relatively great activation of labor on the political field. Starting out with a goal of 700 new members, our state organization has enrolled 1,150 new members into our ranks—165 per cent of our original goal.

Our organization has further extended its membership to the most important sections of the people in our state, strengthening our ties with the trade unions, the Negro people and decisive national groups.

In our state we have learned that collaboration does not preclude our independent thinking and projecting of policy, but is a prerequisite for it. Outstanding is the initiative of our State Secretary, Brother Norman, and our State Executive in helping

RESOLUTION ON BUILDING THE C.P.A.

WHEREAS, the delegates here assembled, representing the expressed desires and spirit of Communists throughout the country, have launched a new Communist political-educational association dedicated to the consolidation of anti-fascist democratic unity and the further advancement of our nation's progress, and

WHEREAS, the Communist Political Association comes into being at a time when the Communist

the whole labor movement and the win-the-war camp reorientate themselves on the whole question of Hague and thereby lay the foundation for greater unity in the democratic camp; as well as place former Governor Edison in a position where he must come out actively in support of the President or be discarded by every win-the-war force as a person who could not rise above partisan considerations in this hour of crisis and decision.

The role of individual Communists in mass organizations is exemplified by our shipyard members, who emerged from the struggle against disunity as the most dependable forces to be relied upon by every win-the-war trade union leader in carrying out the program of their union convention, and the C.I.O. Where our members proclaimed their Communist affiliation, the conscious collaboration of Communists and non-Communists was strengthened and extended.

We have witnessed the great opportunities for collaboration between our organization and others. For example, in one of our counties the County Executive Secretary of our organization contacted the Mayor of an important city, offering help in the election of a candidate in which we were mutually interested. The offer was accepted. The candidate was elected and the Mayor spoke to the head of the C.L.U. about the role of our organization in the elections and the head of the C.L.U. reported it in a routine and accepted fashion to the joint political action committee. Our Communist Political Association will undoubtedly succeed in making collaboration of Communists and non-Communists the accepted rule in the camp of national unity.

movement added to its ranks many thousands of new members, demonstrating that ever larger numbers of Americans recognize the need for a stronger Marxist organization to enhance their patriotic contributions to our nation and the welfare of our people, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention urges all Communists to strive to build the C.P.A. into an organization of 100,000 members by the end of this year,

inviting and enrolling into the C.P.A. the most patriotic and politically alert people in every sphere of community life, of the labor and progressive movement; and to raise for the consideration of the C.P.A. the launching of a three-month membership enrollment campaign at the beginning of 1945 for 50,000 additional members, and be it finally

RESOLVED, that the C.P.A. shall further consolidate its organization through the systematic education of its membership in the science of Marxism, the democratic heritage of our country, the contributions of the American Communist movement;

The Heritage of the Communist Political Association

Excerpts from Report on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Communist Party

BY ROBERT MINOR

IT WAS in the Socialist Party that most of the early leaders of the future Communist Party found their first political consciousness. I believe the oldest of those was a certain housewife who in 1897 joined the "Social Democracy of America" organized by Eugene V. Debs and later merged in the Socialist Party. That housewife who joined the Socialist Party nearly half a century ago under the magnetic persuasion of Debs is sitting on this platform today, one of the foremost of our leaders—Ella Reeve Bloor. In 1901 a young chemical worker, William Z. Foster, joined the Socialist Party. In 1907 the great mass movement in defense of William D. Haywood, leader of the Western Federation of Miners, who was framed up on a false murder charge in the trade union struggles of the West, brought many thousands of workers into the Socialist Party. Among these recruits was a sixteen-year-old Kansas boy, Earl Browder. At just the same time, in 1907, and under the influence of the same mass stimulus of the Haywood case, at the age of 23, I joined the Socialist Party. In 1909 there appeared in the workers' political movement the man who was to become the founder of the Communist Party, a son of a Cleveland longshoreman. It was C. E. Ruthenberg. . . .

Those were times of great strife in America, the dawn of the epoch of imperialism. William J. Bryan

and shall devote special attention to the training of its membership and leading personnel for service to the community and organizations of the working people through the development of a corps of specialists in civic affairs, in such fields as reconversion, post-war planning, legislation, service to the labor movement and other people's organizations. To this end the Association shall give full and systematic consideration to the study and circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, the *Communist* and the great works of Earl Browder, *Victory and After* and *Teheran—America's Path in War and Peace*.

called for measures to head off the development of a great mass workers' Socialist movement and declared that its growing influence was due to the fact that the Democratic Party had been "too conservative." Woodrow Wilson said "we are at the threshold of revolution," and Theodore Roosevelt formed the Bull Moose Party, appropriating—as Lenin pointed out—everything he could copy from the program of the Socialist Party that did not literally call for the abolition of capitalism.

It appeared likely there would be both a break-up of the two-party system which then had such a deadening influence on American national life, and a belated beginning of the independent political movement of labor. But the Socialist Party did not become a mass party, and no general labor party took permanent form. . . .

WORLD WAR—1914-1918

The World War of 1914-1918—the reactionary character of that war—found expression inevitably in savage reprisals against the labor movement. "Labor support of the war" was the name of a grim tragedy in which trade union leaders and a small fringe of highly skilled crafts participated with some narrow advantage, while all efforts at organization of the masses of labor were met with blood and iron at the

hands of state and federal governments. Behind the scenes the struggles of labor and capital were raging. The momentous frame-up of the A. F. of L. trade union organizer Tom Mooney in San Francisco, who was sentenced to death on the gallows, ostensibly for murder, but really for an attempt to organize among the mass of unskilled workers, resulted in the greatest defense movement that ever swept the American Federation of Labor—a portent of the future. It became one of the stimuli not only for a movement for rejuvenating the trade unions, but also for the formation of a Left wing of the Socialist movement. It is characteristic that many of the outstanding supporters of the defense of Mooney later became leaders of the Communist Party. Wholesale prosecutions and incredibly savage sentences immured practically the whole leadership of the I.W.W. Thus the most extreme of the acts of repression were directed toward preventing the spread of trade union organization beyond the narrow confines of the skilled crafts. But even the craft unions were savagely attacked by the "Open-Shop" movement. . . .

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION— NOVEMBER, 1917

The biggest event of centuries was the Russian Revolution. All organizations of the world claiming the character of workers' institutions were faced with the necessity of meeting the question—*for* or *against* international solidarity in support of that revolution. The Socialist Party had to pass through the great political "clearing house." . . .

FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, 1919

The Communist Party was founded in September 1919, by the majority of the members of the Socialist Party.

All of the younger members of our movement should be reminded that in 1919 the Socialist Party, by a great majority, voted to join the Communist International. But the National Executive Committee under Hillquit sat continuously during the referendum, and as fast as the news of the vote came, the party organizations that voted in favor of the party's joining the Communist International were expelled from the party. Their votes were not counted. On the day the voting began the Socialist Party had 104,000

members. While the votes were being counted 78,000 of these were expelled, and at the end of the vote the Socialist Party had 26,000 members left. The Communist Party was founded by the majority of the members of the Socialist Party. . . .

Inevitably the weaknesses of the past in the labor movement and in the old Socialist Party came forth to plague the new Communist Party with sectarianism and factionalism. Factionalism of an unprincipled character, arising from such sources, interfered with all our relationships within the party and between the party and the trade unions. Ruthenberg, with his great political capacity and his prestige as the founder of the party, was the party's leader beyond question. But all the strength of his great personality was required to hold together the warring factions into which the party remained divided up to and after his death. . . .

The death of Ruthenberg in March, 1927, was the heaviest blow to the party. Ruthenberg had been the very symbol of the life and unity and ideals of the party. His death left us in the worst possible situation, due to the long-standing factional division. This factional division made it impossible to prevent the rise of the adventurer Lovestone to virtual control of the party for a period of many months which ended, as all such struggles invariably end, with the expulsion of this group of opportunist adventurers in 1929.

THE LEADERSHIP OF EARL BROWDER

The history of our movement shows that every crisis in the national situation, every turn in history resulted for us in a test and strengthening of leadership. Ruthenberg stood the test as the founder of our Communist Party. Two and a half years after his death we came to the great turn, the economic crisis of 1929. A tremendous reorientation had to be made, new leadership brought forward, mass struggles led.

A "tribune of the people" had to be found. He was found and has measured up to the highest test. His name is Browder.

Lenin said: "Not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its political representatives able to organize a movement and lead it." Such a man is Earl Browder. If you ask me to define in a couple of words the main characteristic of Browder, I would say it is political courage. This explains the great stature of Browder

and is inseparable from his great clarity of mind in theory and practice. Political courage includes but is something more and bigger than the courage of an isolated individual. It is a kind of courage that seeks out and finds a similar courage in the people. There are lots of leaders who have personal courage standing as individuals above the masses. The peculiarity about the old Jacobins of the French Revolution was that they not only had personal courage but also knew how an equal courage could be found deep down among the people. The Communists are the modern Jacobins. Their courage proves in the end to be the courage of the people, incorporated in such a man as Browder.

With the coming of the leadership of Browder and the serious engagement in mass struggles, the Communist Party achieved real unity for the first time. It was only through discarding the rotting sectarian elements, the non-Communist adventurers, and bringing forward of strong, Marxist leadership and the corresponding sound policy, that the party was able to perform its duty in the great struggles of 1929 and the '30s for social insurance, for organization and support of the many tremendously effective demonstrations of the unemployed movement, for the veterans' bonus march, etc. A milestone marking a new period of national policy was passed when the first unemployment relief measures were adopted as a result of the people's struggles.

COMMUNIST POLICY IN THIRTY YEARS OF WAR

Our Communist Party conducted well its struggle against war and against the imperialist forces of our own country. There is hardly one of the older veterans of our movement but bears the scars of prison in this struggle, and more than a thousand of our younger comrades in the prime of youth died in the struggle against the Hitler war of conquest in its first episode—in Spain. . . .

* * *

The distinction of the Communist movement is not in having discovered the inevitability of war, but in having discovered the scientific laws of motion of society which make war inevitable, and in having shown that these laws *do not apply to all of history—that they can and will be outmoded, rendered obsolete, and how. . . .*

Compare the Europe and Asia of thirty years ago with Europe and Asia as they will be at the end of the present war—and the relationship of the United States to those continents—and you will see the profound change in “the world and capitalism” that has made the difference.

At an early stage of this war, in 1940, we said that its most decisive characteristic would prove in the end to be that the conflict began at a time when the most powerful state in Europe and in Asia was not a capitalist state, but a socialist state.

We are witnessing now the vast consequences of that fact—first in the colossal military victories that have made certain the early triumph of the arms of the United Nations, and secondly in the political and economic stability that the socialist state is able to impart to the general situation in the two continents that include the old cultural centers and the main mass of the population of the world.

It was never thought—for instance in Engels' time—that there would be a world like this, a capitalist world, but one in which a single very great and invincibly powerful socialist state would rise, surrounded by capitalist and pre-capitalist countries. It could not, therefore, have been foreseen a half century ago that the greatest war of all time would occur under conditions that would make it possible for the victory to be won and the peace and the post-war economy to be organized by the combined strength of such a socialist state and the two most advanced capitalist countries. Nor do I mean anything so simple as that the controlled economy of socialist Russia is alone decisive. On the contrary, the United States and Great Britain are capable of “miracles” of economic organization *on a capitalist basis* under an extremely high degree of control and on a vast scale. That in the world market there will be no “general demoralization, . . . hopeless confusion of our artificial machinery in trade, industry and credit, ending in general bankruptcy” is due neither to the socialist state alone nor to the capitalist states alone, but to the *modus vivendi* of the two, each making a peculiar and powerful contribution that could not be made by the other. . . .

BROWDER'S LEADERSHIP IN FOREIGN POLICY

The change in the world situation imperatively demanded a radical transformation of the foreign policy

of all nations—especially of the United States because of its relative strength and influence. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia at the end of 1934 set off the warning signal of the coming second world war—and clearly foreshadowed the alignment of opposing forces in that war. Our demand was for military sanctions against Italy and for a coalition of nations desiring peace, to be headed by the United States, Russia, Great Britain and France, in order by superiority in arms to impose a peaceful course upon the German-Italian-Japanese Axis or to defeat those powers in war.

To Earl Browder we owe a leadership in this policy which is one of the finest pages in the history of our country. Browder's bold political initiative, guided and given sureness of aim by the knowledge that we can never offer the nation a foreign policy that is not fully in accord with the national interest, made his many important public pronouncements on foreign policy a part of the nation's political life that could not be ignored. . . .

It was the fashion to say that we established this policy “after Russia was attacked.” But our first demand for such a coalition was made on behalf of Ethiopia in 1935 (and even this is antedated in substantial fact by our similar demand on behalf of China). Our second demand for such a coalition was made in a plea for the defense of Republican Spain in 1936; and our third demand for the defense of the Republic of Czechoslovakia in 1938.

The key of this policy is found in the fact the socialist state had grown to be enormously strong, capable of being the most effective bulwark of peace. In earlier years, when the socialist state was relatively weak and had not yet developed a powerful socialist economy of heavy industry as the material base for its future military strength, the advanced sections of the labor movement of all countries, including ourselves, had placed the greatest emphasis upon the slogan: “*Defend the Soviet Union!*” We are very proud of the achievements of the worldwide labor movement under this slogan, and especially of our British brother workers' action in preventing a military attack by Great Britain against Soviet Russia in 1926. In terms of America's revolutionary history, we compare our position in defense of Soviet Russia to the position of the young Lafayette in defending the newly born and weak Republic of the United States. We, like the French under Lafayette, were defending

the most glorious aspirations of all mankind and the true interests of our own country.

But when the socialist state ceased to be weak and became the most powerful state of all of Europe and Asia, the weight of our emphasis naturally changed. The weak spot in world democracy and point of greatest danger of world war was not to be found in the vulnerability of a socialist state, but in the fact that the democracies of the capitalist world were leaving themselves naked to the sword of reaction centered in Germany. Our policy hinged, not so much upon the help that other countries could give to the Soviet Union, as upon the urgent necessity that the peace forces of the world be united so as to make full use of the colossal strength of the Soviet Union, through which course alone could the coming world war be avoided.

It has been said that the course we advocated was influenced by the Communist International, and it is pointed out that Browder went abroad during these critical years of the Ethiopian invasion and of the Munich treaty, for conferences with brother Communists of all countries in France and Moscow. At this we merely smile and ask: “Didn't it prove to be a pretty good influence?”

It is said that the policy of the Communists all over the world was in full support of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. To which we reply that if this correct policy had not been the policy of Russia the consequences would have been disastrous for our own country. . . .

After Germany had taken possession of the resources of sixteen conquered nations of 400,000,000 population, comprising almost the whole of the European Continent, and thought herself strong enough to attack Soviet Russia—it became, after all, a war in which the strength of Nazi Germany, vastly increased by the addition of all the armaments, armament plants, industries and food sources of continental Europe, was pitted against the socialist state.

The course of world civilization turned upon this contest.

Without reservation I say that when the German armies were defeated before Moscow and Leningrad, and then at Stalingrad, and again at Kursk and across the Dnieper—the whole course of world history was changed.

A half century that began with a world dominated by imperialism came to an end.

Europe became a continent on which the strongest force is not a capitalist state, but a socialist state. The cultural center of the old world can therefore never again be the center of imperialism.

Asia becomes a continent whose problems, however complex, can never again be solved through invasion by imperialist armies. It will cease to be the starving half of the human race.

The United States becomes a country which, remaining a capitalist country, and indeed having become a far more powerful one, breaks through the third great barrier that obstructed our economic expansion in the 168 years of our national life. The first was our colonial status under England; the second was the slave-economy of the South; the third has been the increasing disproportion between our expanding production capacity and the shrinking market—aggravated by the constant threat of war, threatened collapse of credit, and the instability of existing states. This barrier is being broken through as a result of this war and the victory—but only because of the peculiar condition that marks this war as different from any that preceded it. Another war of the type of 1914 would have wrecked the United States. The peculiar condition of the present war lies in the fact that the colossally difficult military problems, the victory and the post-war peace and economy of expanding production are taken into the hands of a long-time alliance in which cooperation with socialist Russia is the *sine qua non*.

PROBLEMS OF EXPANDING AMERICAN ECONOMY

The chief problem of capitalism is the market problem, and two years before the economic collapse of 1929, Joseph Stalin observed that "the main crisis of capitalism" then was the result of the separation of the vast country of Russia from the world system of capitalism.

But the only concept of *re-inclusion* of Russia in the system of world economy seriously considered by the dominant circles of our country at that time was the concept of re-inclusion by military conquest. Such was the only thought on the subject that ever entered the heads of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover—it was a view they held under the tutelage of the most backward and reactionary and feudal rulers in Europe and Japan. On August 13, 1931, when the economic crisis was at the height of its fury and Hoover, then

President, was desperate for a remedy for the economic crisis, he told the *San Francisco News*: "To tell the truth, the ambition of my life is to crush out Soviet Russia." (Taken from *New York Post*, June 30, 1944.) Even in 1940, a form of this policy was expressed by Thomas E. Dewey, the pupil of Hoover, when he said "recognition of Soviet Russia" was "a conspicuous and most unfortunate departure of the Administration of President Roosevelt from the policies of his predecessors," that he wanted the United States to "stop trying to make deals with Russia," saying "we need no such partnerships." Such a policy in a time of development toward war meant not only making of that war inevitable, but was even a choice of sides in the impending conflict.

When Hitler was preparing to conquer the entire world, his plan was represented—and at Munich accepted by Chamberlain and Daladier—as the supreme attempt to carry out the policy of re-inclusion of Russia in world economy by military conquest.

The failure of this attempt, its end in military disaster, is the most momentous event in the history of wars. That this is true from the point of view of the military profession is obvious. That this is true in *political* history and will have proportionate gigantic effect in the development of world *economy* is the fundamental fact that must be seen by any who wish to understand the present and the future.

It has become possible for the first time in history to organize both the economic and the political conditions for "peace for many generations." . . .

THE "SORCERER" AND THE "NETHER WORLD" OF PRODUCTION

We of the great capitalist countries—and most particularly we of the United States—were in a position like that described by Marx in 1848: "a society that has conjured such gigantic means of production and exchange . . . is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells." (Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 211.)

Our own productive forces—because of our success in developing them to dimensions greater than the size of any market we can find—would drive us on to our own destruction under the conditions that existed until now. A seriously large expansion of the world market had become a hope abandoned by economists and turned over to the military general staffs—prior

to the present new situation crystallized in the Teheran treaty. Why? Because, as not only Marx and Engels and Lenin and Stalin, but also all other sensible people long ago knew, there is not "*under capitalism* any means of remedying the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side, and the division of colonies and 'spheres of influence' by finance capital on the other side—other than by resorting to war." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 90.)

If that law of capitalism continues in full force, unmodified by new conditions, then the United States must rapidly go into a third world war for the very reason that our productive forces exceed any market that can be had on the old basis, and we must fight our biggest commercial rival—England—for possession of what market there is.

But the capitalist "sorcerer" is now no longer in the dire predicament of 1848, when Marx wrote, nor is he where he was when Lenin wrote until 1924. The economic corollary of the agreement of Teheran is the establishment of a stable and solvent market in which to dispose of the gigantic production of the economic "powers of the nether world" that our capitalist society has conjured up.

The "sorcerer" of modern capitalism *alone, i.e.,* separate and apart from, and antagonistic to, the stabilizing influence of the enormous socialist state in Europe and Asia, could not solve the problem of markets. There is not a single large-scale industrialist in the world who does not know this. But the question is no longer whether capitalism "alone" can solve the problem. For there is no longer in this world any such thing as capitalism "alone." And there never will again be such a thing as capitalism "alone." For, as Stalin said even so long ago as July, 1930, "capitalism no longer represents the *sole* and *all-embracing* system of world economy. . . ." (Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 314.)

All problems of world economy now are problems, no longer of what capitalism can do in an exclusively capitalist world, but of what can be done by capitalist states plus a very large and strong socialist state whose economy has that stability and vitality that are peculiar to its own system.

We must remember that there are now only three great powers in the world—other than the Axis powers that are to be defeated. The three are the United States, Russia and Great Britain. Outside of

the United States, Russia and the United Kingdom, there is a world market of roughly two billion people. Of these, 1,500,000,000, three-fourths of the people of the world, are "next-door" neighbors of Soviet Russia on the continental land mass of Europe and Asia. One-fourth, or 500,000,000, are in the rest of the world.

There *cannot* be any other solution either of the military problem of survival in the war or of the market problem of survival after the war, than the one indicated by Teheran. . . .

THE HOME MARKET AND WAGES

We used to say—quite correctly under the conditions of the past—that so long as the instruments of production and exchange of our country remain the property of the capitalist class, there exists a severe limitation upon any substantial rise in the standards of living of the masses. If that were true now, there could be no large and rapid rise in the home market of the United States, and a serious crisis would be inevitable.

But the enormous change in the whole world situation has made that conclusion obsolete. With complete economic realism we now base our policy, not alone upon an expansion of foreign markets, but also upon the feasibility and necessity of an enormous increase in the home market of the United States through a correspondingly large rise in the real wages and real incomes of the working, farming and professional classes of Americans.

Some who mistakenly think such an increase in the home market cannot be achieved cite "Marxism" as their authority. Their contention is that so substantial an advance in money wages as would be required to help keep our industrial plant going under capitalism would necessarily result in a corresponding advance in the cost of living—so that the purchasing power of the masses would remain approximately no more than what it was before. These oversmart critics call this an inexorable law of capitalism that they think can be overcome only by the abolition of capitalism in the United States.

We know this dogma by heart, and we have heard it put forward a thousand times as "Marxism." From the time I joined the Socialist Party thirty-seven years ago I heard Oscar Ameringer say that in his favorite speech, always the same, year after year until he died,

illustrating it with his fingers and thumbs to show that: "You push up wages, and up goes the cost of living; you push down the cost of living, and down goes wages." Oscar gave that speech at a convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers I attended twenty-odd years ago; every delegate knew from personal experience that it wasn't true, but politely applauded, because this was the dogma deeply imbedded in the old Socialist Party—preached as "Marxism"—the "moral" being that you cannot do anything about it except "under socialism."

It was less urgently important to refute that dogma at a time when, anyway, though for different reasons, it was practically true that the advances in money wages were largely negated by a rise in living costs.

But the dogmatic and false theory that a general rise in wages must result in a proportionate general rise in the cost of living has ceased to be merely a stupefying drug and become a virulent poison. Even within our own Communist movement a small number of sectarians recently fell back upon it as a "Marxist principle" with which to oppose the policy of the Association.

This "theory" has nothing in common with Marxism, however. It was against that dogma in the mind of the good old carpenter, John Weston, that Marx made the famous speech you now read in the pamphlet, *Value, Price and Profit*. Against the same dogma were written also some of the finest passages of the first volume of *Capital*, and a decade later some of the best of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

"LEATHER-TONGUED ORACLES" OF CATASTROPHE

But the supposed "Marxism"—opposed by Marx—was brought to this country by the German followers of Lassalle. It was a reactionary theory taken over by Lassalle from the worst enemies of the labor movement who called it the "theory of the 'Wages Fund'" in several decades of struggle for suppression of the trade unions in England. Lassalle called it "the Iron Law of Wages." "Under present-day conditions, under the rule of the supply and demand of labor," he said, the law that "determines wages is this, that the average wage always remains reduced to the necessary basis of subsistence that . . . is requisite for existence and propagation." (Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 572.)

"But," said Marx, in protesting against it, "this prejudice was first established as a dogma by the arch-Philistine, Jeremy Bentham, that insipid, pedantic, leather-tongued oracle of the ordinary bourgeois intelligence of the nineteenth century. . . . In the light of his dogma the commonest phenomena of the process of production, as, e.g., its sudden expansions and contractions, nay, even accumulation itself, become perfectly inconceivable. The dogma was used . . . especially in order to represent one part of capital, namely, variable capital, or that part convertible into labor-power, as a fixed magnitude. The material of variable capital, i.e., the mass of the means of subsistence it represents for the laborer, or the so-called labor fund, was fabled as a separate part of social wealth, fixed by natural laws and unchangeable." (Marx, *Capital*, Kerr edition, Vol. I, pp. 668-9.)

Engels fought this "theory," pointing out that false economists had "proven" for fifty years and more "that socialism cannot abolish poverty, which has its basis in nature, but can only generalize it, distribute it simultaneously over the whole surface of society." (Engels, Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 573.) He complained that at the unity congress of the German Socialists in 1875: "our people have allowed the Lassallean 'iron law of wages' to be foisted upon them, a law based on a quite antiquated economic view . . . whereas Marx has proved in detail in *Capital* that the laws regulating wages are very complicated, that sometimes one predominates and sometimes another, according to circumstances, that therefore they are in no sense iron but on the contrary very elastic. . . ." (Engels, Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 589.)

So you see there is no "Iron Law of Wages."

There is absolutely no "law" of political economy that precludes under certain conditions such an increase in real wages as, for example, the doubling of the consumption of commodities of American workers—approximately the doubling of the domestic market. On the contrary, the national need for such a rise in the home market for American goods, through a rise in real wages in corresponding proportion, has become an inescapable result of economic laws and is already forcing itself upon us as a deliberate national policy, necessary to the nation as a whole.

An enormous increase in productivity of labor has resulted from the transformation of industrial technique; where we used to produce eighty billions, we now are producing about 150 billions of dollars' worth of commodities, and, with reconversion to peace pro-

duction, we will have a productive capacity of 135 to 150 billions. But, at the same time, it is estimated on the basis of the old market dimensions, that we will have a domestic market of eighty billions and a foreign market, of three to five billions, leaving a production capacity of fifty or sixty-five billions more than we can sell, therefore the need to cut down production to the amount that can be disposed of in the market, and hence several tens of millions of Americans unemployed, apparently permanently.

The problem, therefore, is whether the consumption and the purchasing power at home and abroad can be increased so as to absorb sixty to sixty-five billions of dollars worth of our commodities that would otherwise be overproduction.

Therefore, not only the labor movement but also intelligent business men must cooperate to overthrow the false notion that a general rise in wages and salaries, even of enormous proportions, within our country would not result in a proportionate increase in the home market. The truth—which is of fundamental importance to the future of the nation—is that an enormous increase in the home market is possible through a proportionate general rise in wages; the general rise would be real, not fictitious wages, not as the sectarians claim—not purely nominal wages.

The question is then posed: Can there be a general rise of real wages above the value of labor power? (We are using the word "value" in its scientific sense.) The answer is: No. Real wages cannot be raised above what is scientifically known as the value of labor power. "On the basis of the present system labor [power] is only a commodity like others. It must, therefore, pass through the same fluctuations to fetch an average price corresponding to its value." (Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*, p. 55.)

But the value of labor power is subject to wide variation, radical change. As Marx said:

"The value of the laboring power is formed by two elements—the one merely physical, the other historical or social. . . .

"Besides this mere physical element, the value of labor is in every country determined by a traditional standard of life. It is not mere physical life, but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from the social conditions in which people are placed and reared up. The English standard of life may be reduced to the Irish standard; the standard of life of a German peasant to that of a Livonian peasant." (Marx, *Value, Price, and Profit*, p. 57.)

Marx gives a striking example of the United States. At that time (1865), the law of supply and demand, in determining the limits of the value of labor power, in the United States, favored the working man. "Hence," he said, "the relatively high standard of wages in the United States. Capital may there try its utmost. It cannot prevent the labor market from being continuously emptied by the continuous conversion of wage laborers into independent, self-sustaining peasants."

He points out that the fixing of wages and hours "is only settled by the continuous struggle between capital and labor." He showed that it is the biggest mistake to assume that the quantity of the "means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer" is unchangeable or uniform in all countries. Not only does this quantity "vary according to the climate and other physical conditions of his country," but—

"On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilization of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free laborers has been formed. In contradistinction therefore to the case of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labor-power a historical and moral element." (Marx, *Capital*, Kerr edition, Vol. I, p. 190.)

And what is the "historical and moral element" that enters into the determination of the "necessary wants"—and thus the purchasing power and therefore the volume of the domestic market—after this war? The "habits and degree of comfort" in which the American working class was formed, the "traditional standard of life"—as we have pointed out—were the highest in the whole world, due to specific American conditions.

THE "HISTORICAL AND MORAL ELEMENT" AND TRADE UNIONS

The "historical and moral element" will include a vast trade union movement growing beyond its present 13,000,000 members, with a firm determination to retain the rights of organization, a generalization in the major industries of the system of collective bargaining essential to the no-strike policy, a standardization and putting into force of the Federal

Government pledge of responsibility for general employment.

Every industrial nation that has a powerful and free trade union movement is winning this war. All that have not are losing the war. After this war there will never again be an industrial nation in which the organization of industry in powerful and free trade unions with collective bargaining is not a general condition.

The "historical and moral element" influencing the standard of American living after the war is guaranteed in the already achieved strength of the labor movement, and in the established policy of the trade unions, of national unity with all patriotic forces of the nation for the winning of the war and for the solution of the post-war problems—a national unity that is expressed in the support of President Roosevelt and in the growing knowledge on the part of the nation that the alternative would be national disaster.

Real wages, in terms of purchasing power, and the real income of the farmer, the intellectual, the white-collar man and woman, can be raised under the present capitalist system.

This would not be so if the new and colossal events of which we have spoken here had not vastly changed the whole world situation and thus the situation of the United States, which is by far the greatest capitalist country and therefore the one most dependent upon a favorable general market condition. But this world situation has changed not only in its material aspects, but also in its worldwide "historical and moral elements."

We would be as blind as a one-eyed bat if we did not see that the historical and moral element of which we speak is a worldwide one, and that it can never again be otherwise than worldwide. A world economy in which, beyond a shadow of doubt, socialist Russia will be advancing its standard of living and its culture with giant strides, will be a world economy tending to stimulate a general rise in consumption of commodities all over the world—including our own country, which has for three generations led all of mankind in standards of living.

Supremely important is the trade union aspect of this. The purchasing power of the nation cannot be raised to the necessary extent by agreements between a fragment of labor and a fragment of capital. It can be raised only if trade union organization and "Wagner-Law" bargaining are made practically uni-

versal, or at least made a *general condition* throughout the country. It can only be accomplished as a national policy and with full federal government participation.

We have spoken of the great changes that have already taken place in the trade union movement—the building of the great industrial unions and the quadrupling of the number of members of the trade unions as a whole.

But just as surely we are on the eve of another enormous change—the further enlargement of trade union organization to cover practically the entire field of industry in all countries of the world.

It used to be assumed that in capitalist countries the trade unions could achieve the organization of only a part, even a minority part or a small fraction, of the workers. I have noticed that in Lenin's brilliant speeches of 1920-1921 in which he annihilated the "theories" of Trotsky on trade unionism (see the first eighty pages of Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX), he spoke of the trade unions as, under the conditions of a socialist state, embracing "nearly the whole" of the industrial working class, leaving the assumption that in capitalist countries such a wide organization of the workers was not a prospect of that time.

But now the changed situation in this country and the whole world completely banishes from modern life the idea that only a fraction, or a minority, of the industrial workers can be included in the trade unions in capitalist countries.

There are 54,000,000 wage-workers in American industry now, of whom 13,000,000 are organized in the trade unions—less than 25 per cent of the total. Or, if the minimum figures are taken for industrial wage workers in the strictest sense, excluding salaried persons, etc., it is still admitted that less than half of the industrial workers are organized now in the United States, even after the tremendous progress that has been made in the past twelve years.

To imagine that under the present new conditions there is a "law" binding the trade unions of capitalist countries to remain under the old limitations of size would be the biggest mistake. We must get rid of all such dogmatic thinking. To imagine that the trade unions can accept a condition of 20, 30 or 40 per cent of organization of industrial labor, and merely to consolidate its strength on that basis during the period of completion of this war and in the tremendous post-war days to follow—would be to fall

into a fatal sleeping sickness. It would be a danger to the whole of American national policy—for both capital and labor—based upon an expanding world and domestic economy.

During this war the trade union movement transformed its whole policy in regard to production, entering into active cooperation with employers and the government for the highest possible production for war. Organized labor's participation and initiative in raising productivity of labor are of enormous consequence.

Our national perspective now is that there will never be a return to a policy of deliberate resistance to increase the productivity of labor. This far-reaching question was settled only provisionally as a war measure in the early stage of the war. But so fundamental a thing cannot be a subject of makeshift. There must be a clear view of the enormous consequences of (a) a newly and greatly expanding world and domestic market, (b) practically universal trade unionization of decisive industry with "Wagner-Law" collective bargaining in all fields, and (c) the carrying out of the President's declared program of federal government assurance in respect to employment. . . .

THE NEGRO AND EXPANDING ECONOMY

The "historical and moral element" for the expansion of the national economy especially in the Southern States—it is already quite clear—must and will include the elimination of the specially "reserved seat" in poverty for the Negro part of the population.

From its day of birth the Communist Party has fearlessly championed the cause of the American Negro people. A clearer understanding of the aims and principles of the labor movement had to be obtained. The opportunism of the old Socialist Party had to be cast aside in order to make this possible. The relationship of the struggle of the labor movement, with its immediate and ultimate aims, to the struggles of the oppressed nationalities of the whole world, and its relationship to the struggle of the American Negro people in particular, had to be established clearly in the program and policies of the workers' political party before we could seriously begin its great and noble task in this field. In our earliest days we made progress on the Negro question, we stated the program in a generally correct approach, and we were becoming more and more the

recognized standard-bearers of the Negro people in a few communities in large cities of the North.

But it was only in the 1930's that our party began really to be a leader of mass struggles on behalf of the Negro people. In the midst of economic ruin of the South in the crisis of 1931 came the effort to send the nine "Scottsboro" boys to the electric chair—the old lynch story that has always been blazoned through the South when the price of cotton goes down to six cents a pound. And our party was the first and clearest to see that the historic prosecution of nine Negro boys between fourteen and twenty years of age had nothing whatever to do with any crime of these Negro children, but was an attack on the Negro people as a people in the economic crisis, intended to put the vilest exploitation and reaction firmer in the saddle. We fought for the lives of those nine boys and we won.

Three generations ago, when the Republican Party still had some of the old traditional character as a party of social and economic progress, Frederick Douglass said, "The Republican Party is the ship; all else is the sea." Many of the present generation of Negroes learned by the historic Scottsboro struggle that the Communist Party was the ship and all else was the sea.

The Marxist movement regards the struggle of the Negro people as, in its essence, a struggle of an oppressed people for their national liberation—a *national* question. This is not an "erroneous" theory. On the contrary, it was precisely this basic theoretical concept that gave our party the ability—which some people thought "uncanny"—to reach straight down to the root of popular support of the campaign to save these boys. The struggle is essentially a "national" struggle. The character of our approach is that we support this struggle with all our strength, a support that takes the form of the alliance of the labor movement with the Negro people for their national liberation, the abolition of their inequality. The labor movement must support the right of an oppressed people to national self-determination unconditionally. For a number of years, during which the general position of the trade union movement was unresponsive to this duty, the right of self-determination necessarily appeared as including a perspective of a separate national existence of the Negro people if such should be their own free choice. But the rapid development of events brought a changed situation. At

a very important school discussion in New York Earl Browder recently made a short speech in which he stated that such a placing of the question, as though the choice of the Negro people were in doubt, is now obsolete. He pointed out that the Negro people have already exercised their right of choice in self-determination. By a series of political developments, they have made their decision manifest and their irrevocable decision is to remain a part of the American nation.

How does it come to be possible now to make such a statement? For this to be said, three things were necessary. First, it was necessary that large and decisive organizations of the trade union movement should take a correct position in regard to the admission and full participation of Negro workers as equal members of the unions and the economic life of the country. This tremendously significant phenomenon has come about in the greatest of the unions of the C.I.O., and some progress has occurred in some of the unions of the A. F. of L. Secondly, the Negro masses themselves and their most decisive leadership must have been reorientated by the development of such new facts in American social life. This has happened as well: the tremendously effective vision and clarity of great leaders among the Negro people responded immediately to improvement in the situation. Thirdly, it was necessary that the Marxist political movement among the workers should also be established among the Negro masses, drawing in the best leaders of both, establishing a common policy for consistent, persistent struggle.

That many partial successes in all these aspects have been achieved is indicated by such events as the election of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., as a city councilman of the biggest city in the world, not by Negro votes alone, but by a combination or alliance of the Negro community with the white voters of the trade unions and a general progressive mass of white citizens influenced by the trade unions, by the Communist Party, and by their own sense of the need of national unity.

We are now at a stage when we have correctly raised the slogan that the Jim-Crow system can be abolished in the United States. In the campaign of Ben Davis last fall we raised this slogan—that “It Can Be Done” and it had powerful effect. The Jim-Crow system will be abolished. We can already see signs of rapid progress in the South as well. One theo-

retical aspect of this question must be faced. It is that the abolition of national oppression is a bourgeois-democratic reform; and such reforms are achievable within the framework of capitalism—rarely, it is true, and only under exceptional conditions. But those rare and exceptional conditions are exactly produced by this war of national liberation that embraces the whole of the world, when the Negro people pursue the correct course—the “Fred Douglass” course of full support of the war—and when a powerful labor movement takes sides with the oppressed peoples. . . .

THE “THIRD” BATTLE GROUND

Because of the rapid, bold and far-reaching changes in policy we are now making, in disregard of many now obsolete landmarks, many people say that we have deserted Marxism. At times our critics make it easier for us to answer them by saying that we have “deserted Marxian *dogma*.”

There are no dogmas in Marxism and one of the most important aspects of development of our Marxist movement for twenty-five years has been our learning not to make Marxism a dogma. One of the worst ways of being unfaithful to Marxism is by being faithful to dogmas—thereby failing to look sharply for every turn and development of history, thereby failing to keep our movement alert to the development of new scientific understanding in moments of vast change like the present. A theory cannot be called Marxist unless it constantly develops.

THEORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Some people—mainly non-Communist friends—feel uneasily that we are doing an injustice to the Marxian doctrine on the question of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*—or else that the Marxian doctrine on this subject has proven to be wrong and that we ought to say so, but fail to do so. We know that all of the great founders of scientific socialism affirmed that the Marxist view of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the very “core” of that science.

As Lenin said: “The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental question of the modern working class movement in all capitalist countries without exception.” (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 241.)

Marx himself declared that what he had done was

not the discovery of the existence of classes and class struggle, but “to prove: (1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular, historic phases in the development of production*; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*; (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*.” (Engels, *The Selected Correspondence of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, p. 57.) So we can easily understand Lenin’s saying: “A Marxist is one who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.” (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 33.) We can see how it is that some people might think that either one is bound to preach the adoption of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all capitalist countries—for instance, in Italy and Yugoslavia and France, at the present time—or else that Marxism has been proven to be wrong and ought to be discarded.

But those who reason that way are applying an abstract formula to a living situation without first reducing the whole matter to concrete analysis. Quit puzzling over the dictatorship of the proletariat as an abstract conception, however, and put it in concrete form, and the matter clears up. Then you will see, first, that there is nothing more thoroughly proven by history than the correctness of the Marxian doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Secondly, you will see that we Communists are nevertheless correct in saying that such a proposal to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat would be one *hostile to the whole of Marxist theory*, as well as stupid and—in real effect—*reactionary*.

Not as an abstract formula, but as a concrete and real fact—*what is the dictatorship of the proletariat?* Does it exist somewhere in the world in the form of real human beings, organized in a state?

Yes, a state of 180,000,000 people was established as a dictatorship of the proletariat in 1917 and developed to be stronger than the states of Germany, or England, or France, or Japan, and infinitely stronger than the old Russian Empire had been. It exists as a state which built up a powerful machinery of production, abolished exploiting classes and achieved a monolithic national unity and patriotism, with the largest, strongest, most capable military force in the world, engaged with us as our most powerful ally in the biggest and most successful military job of history. This state is the political and economic cen-

ter of gravity of the two continents of Europe and Asia of 1,700,000,000 people, three-quarters of the population of the world—and is universally and correctly regarded by all peoples on earth as the strongest friend of national freedom and democracy.

This is the concrete form of the matter.

Is there anything in these facts that would indicate that the theory on which this state was founded is a failure, or that it is or was a “mistake”? Has any other form of state withstood better the test that is characteristic of history of this time—the severest test of arms that has ever been faced by any state in all of history? Has some other form of state proven more durable, or effective, or more capable of evoking the love and patriotism of its people?

This, my friends, is the way a Marxist will approach the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat at *this time—after it has ceased to be merely a scientific formula, and ceased to be an experiment*, and has become a *concrete and firmly established fact that has already profoundly affected the course of world history*. Let’s engage in no foolishness to the effect that the view of Marxism has become obsolete or proven invalid. No other scientific theory has ever received a more complete validation from history than this. The theory of Marxism on this subject of the dictatorship of the proletariat—which Lenin called “the core of Marxism”—is correct.

Then, how to apply our theoretical understanding?

Again—be concrete. We are not speaking of Shangri La, but of Europe and Asia and the United States and the Western Hemisphere. Under what conditions? Under the *real conditions*—conditions brought about by the second great world war—in which the whole balance of history is turned for democracy by the strength of an enormous democratic republic, which was founded as the type of state called the “dictatorship of the proletariat” in Russia in 1917. The growth of that state into a democracy of invincible military power and its entry into the alliance of the United Nations, not alone for victory in the war but also for many generations of peaceful economic cooperation after the war, opening up a whole range of possibilities as to longtime peace, of expanding world economy in place of bankruptcy, of assurance of employment with a rising standard of living, and the unprecedented possibility of winning great social advances in democracy by peaceful democratic procedure—all this has given the subject a new and more

vital interest as Lenin said, "in all capitalist countries without exception." It is not a matter of forcing life into a formula, but of taking for our country and for the human race the full benefit of the new possibilities of peace and well-being.

This is a matter of tremendous theoretical interest to the *whole* of thinking mankind.

If the "dictatorship of the proletariat" had *failed* in Russia in October, 1917, or if, after partial success, it had gone down to defeat in its first desperate years—it is obvious that we today in America would have to face this whole field of problems in an entirely different way. We would perhaps have then to face it in a way much more literally resembling the course which the Russians had to follow, though the repetitions found in history are never exact.

But the theory and practice of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin did not fail.

THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN HISTORY

Some people, especially writers in the commercial newspapers, profess to be worried about the Communists' "betrayal" of Marxist principles in regard generally to the role of violence in history. They put forward the notion that after this greatest and most murderous of wars is over, there must, in the logic of Marxism, then come "another war," a sort of a "socialist war."

This, of course, is criminal nonsense.

We do not retract, but insist upon the Marxian view of the role of violence in history, as expressed, for instance, in 1905 by Lenin:

"Great questions in the life of nations are settled only by force. The reactionary classes are usually themselves the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to 'place the bayonet on the agenda' . . ." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 126-7.)

It is doubly necessary in the present situation to insist upon the accuracy of this conception because only by the assembling now of all of the country's *force* can we survive as a nation. But a lot of people misinterpret this thought of Lenin's to mean that in handling the great questions in the life of nations we must forever resort to force in the sense of military force, that this is a perpetual condition of the great affairs of the life of nations—that the force continues, but *never settles anything*.

But Marxists are distinguished from those who

think as for instance Bismarck did, that wars will forever be necessary "to set the clock right" from time to time. What Lenin said is not merely that great questions are settled *only* by force, but also that they *are settled*. Pacifists describe such events as the French Revolution and the American war against slavery as being ineffective, as settling nothing; they think that after each great event of military violence everything turns out just as it was before, with nothing gained; *that nothing is settled* by military conflicts; they even say that Lincoln's war to preserve the Union against the slave power was "needless," and that the Russian October Revolution "settled nothing." But the truth is that these great military conflicts did settle the most profoundly great questions in the life of these nations, and did have a permanent and far-reaching effect upon the whole world.

The correct view held by the governments of the foremost capitalist countries and of the socialist country, is that even the *question of future wars* can be and is being *settled by military force now in this war* . . .

"MILITARY LITERACY"

Only through democratic policies that include universal mastery of the art of war by all of the democratic peoples can war be banished from the face of the earth—this is what present history compels all men to see. As the requirements of modern industrial civilization brought us to universal elementary knowledge of reading and writing, so now the requirements for the preservation of democratic civilization at this stage impose upon us a universal "literacy" in arms—the social requirement of compulsory military training and obligatory service in the armed forces of every democratic state. The pacifist prejudice against universal military training and obligation of military service have no more justification than the prejudice of a century ago against universal literacy and compulsory attendance at schools. We as a nation must revive the tradition of the democratic role of the United States Army and Navy in our national life and must show its present continuity with the traditions of Washington, Jefferson and of Lincoln, its necessity to the national existence while its inseparability from the people must become manifest in universal service and the rapid elimination of remaining "racial" segregation and undemocratic political discrimination. . . .

THE GROWING TREE

We who have fought for a quarter of a century to build the Communist movement would not be content to speak on this occasion only of "old-timers," and let it go at that. Our work must be tested by the question: How well have we "old-timers" succeeded in making our Marxist movement a living organism, renewing itself with an expanding leadership of younger cadres—teaching, training, seasoning younger men and women as leaders and bringing them forward to positions of responsibility, including the very highest responsibility?

Our party has produced younger cadres of leadership. I shall pass over hundreds of them to mention only a dozen or so. I have in mind Gene Dennis, Gil Green, Ben Davis, John Williamson, Bob Thompson, Roy Hudson, John Gates, Henry Winston, Blackie Meyers, Alice Burke, Louise Todd, Anne Burlak, William Schneiderman, Pat Toohey, Arnold Johnson, Max Weiss, Bella Dodd and Helen Allison. Any selection of names such as I have made here merely by way of illustration is to some extent arbitrary, with many omitted whose names I leave to you to recall in each field. Especially you will recall the names of the younger cadres of trade union leaders, knowing that there is not a single field in which we have made so great and decisive advances in developing splendid young men and women leaders as that of the trade unions.

I leave their names to you. In your local organizations you have right at hand, young men and women whose capacity has been developing in the party and can develop now still faster, under the new conditions in the Communist Political Association. Among us are young men and women who need only the spark of our movement to develop them into the type of Browder, of Bob Thompson, of Ben Davis or Elizabeth Flynn. But remember that there can never be such people without their being developed within our Communist Association; for, as Lenin once told some Russians who were complaining that they had no such leaders as the German workers had in the person of August Bebel—"the party makes its Bebels." And remember that a big distinction of our Association from the Socialist Party is that we do not confine our leadership to revolutionary-minded lawyers and other intellectuals, but that we find them above all in the workshops and trade unions.

As it is said in the Preamble to our new Constitution, our Communist Political Association takes its form in the midst of the greatest struggle of all time and could not be independent of the deep currents of history that are expressed in this war. On the contrary, its form is shaped by these currents. We must always remember that we are politically an organic part of the most highly developed industrial nation, an organic part in the sense that our movement is inevitably present and necessary in such a nation. In this great crisis of world war—the most fateful of all time—the course that many countries took could not but depend largely upon the course taken by the United States, the most powerful capitalist nation. But the path of the United States could not be independent of the possibility of establishing a *national unity* in which the two principle classes—*labor and capital*—could find a common ground. And here is a stubborn fact: Every dogma of sectarianism in the labor movement, everything that one had learned by heart in the splendid fights of the past under quite different conditions—even the best of things that one had learned, if they were repeated by heart as "Marxism" without considering their relation to the concrete situation—became a formidable obstacle to our taking the course that led to national unity. And we can make no concessions, through excess modesty, to the long-abandoned theory that a national unity including labor and capital takes place in any country of the modern world with the non-inclusion of the Communist political organization.

The real question before the Communist Party became this:

Had the American working class become "sufficiently developed to act as a class?" (Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 561, footnote.) And had the Marxist movement within the labor movement become *mature* enough to ride over and break down the accumulated pseudo-"Marxian" dogmas—really Lassalleian dogmas—of a century? Was the American Communist movement *subjectively* strong enough to fight successfully for its life against the Dies type of agents of the foreign enemy and simultaneously to fight and extirpate the old remainders of sectarianism in its own ranks?

And—*objectively*—had the prestige of the Communist political movement grown strong enough in relation to the labor movement to convince the great

decisive masses in the war industries that there does not exist a "Marxist" reason for not supporting this war—that their whole strength must be thrown into winning the war at all costs, that national unity must be the aggressive policy of labor?

That the answer is "Yes" is the great culminating fact of the history of the Communist Party that came to life in Chicago in September, 1919, and which now passes on its heritage to the Communist Political Association.

* * *

It is a heritage won in a century of heroic struggle by the labor movement and by the greatest thinkers of mankind. We can be worthy of it only through equally heroic struggle in the huge military task of today, and the political struggle to align our great nation united in support of that military task.

At every step we remember that the seventy or

eighty million Americans whose breadwinners work in the factories and mills and on the railroads and ships at sea and on the farms—are made stronger to perform their enormous duties to the nation and to their sons and brothers on the fighting front by the collective strength of great modern labor organizations. Isolated they could not make the necessary contribution. We know also that in the modern world there does not and cannot exist a labor movement in which the finest of its members do not form the highest aspirations and seek the scientific means to realize them. That scientific means is Marxism. There can be neither a strong modern labor movement nor a secure democratic nation where there is not also a freely developing Communist movement.

We serve our country and our labor movement by building to a magnificent structure the Communist Political Association.

HONORED GUESTS OF THE CONVENTION

ROSE BARON *New York, N. Y.*

LOUIS BARTH *Paterson, N. J.*

FRED BIEDENKAPP *Providence, R. I.*

ELLA REEVE BLOOR *Coopersburg, Pa.*

EMMET (PAT) CUSH *Pittsburgh, Pa.*

WILLIAM DIETRICH *Denver, Colorado*

JACOB GUREVICH *Hartford, Conn.*

SAMUEL HAMMERSMARK *Chicago, Ill.*

LEO HOFBAUER *New York, N. Y.*

MRS. CHASE ISAACS *Baltimore, Md.*

ALFRED KNOTSON *Minot, North Dakota*

ARAM ZARTARIAN *New York, N. Y.*

YETTA LAND *Cleveland, Ohio*

SAM LEE *Philadelphia, Pa.*

WILLIAM MC KIE *Detroit, Michigan*

JAMES REID *New York, N. Y.*

ESTHER SCHWEITZER *Cleveland, Ohio*

DAN SLINGER *Wilmington, Delaware*

JOHN TAYLOR *Oakland, Calif.*

ALFRED VALENTINE *Chicago, Ill.*

SADIE VAN VEEN *New York, N. Y.*

LOUIS WEISS *Boston, Mass.*

ANITA WHITNEY *San Francisco, Calif.*

WELCOME TO HONORED GUESTS OF THE CONVENTION

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, *New York*: When the National Committee placed the question of Twenty-five Years of the Communist Movement in the United States on the agenda of this Convention, it decided to invite a number of oldtimers of our movement. We asked each of the various Districts to recommend, and to send to this Convention, one or two such comrades. About twenty-five of them are now on the platform. These twenty-five comrades were invited because we felt that this convention

should do honor and pay respect to these oldtimers who have helped build our movement during all these years. Some are charter members of the Communist organization and many of them have been connected with the general labor or Socialist movement for many years prior to the foundation of the Communist Party.

These comrades, of course, are only typical of many more who are not present here today. It seems that Communists are made of durable stuff. They live

longer than other people usually do. It seems that if you want to stay young, there is no better "fountain of youth" than the Communist movement. We have on this platform comrades who, if they had the time to talk here, would fill many history books with their experiences in the labor movement.

I just made some calculations. The average age of those present on the platform is about 65 years. If we total the ages of those on the platform, and also "throw in" the chairman and the secretary, we have just about 2,000 years, and that is a lot of years. Many of these veterans are celebrating fifty, sixty or more years in the labor movement. They represent many important occupations, decisive trades, and they played a very important role in founding many of the unions in those particular industries—steel, mining, electrical, building, shipyards, auto, communications, needle, textile, and also in farming. We also have two or three representatives of the professions—law, insurance, and one oldtimer here almost made the ministry but instead of that he is now managing a bookstore in Chicago. The various nationalities represented here typify the United States. We have many native Americans but we also have Norwegians, Germans, Russians, Irish, Jews, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Scots, Mexicans, representing those national groups who came to this country and brought with them the culture as well as the skills of their homeland. All of them helped to build unions and strong labor organizations. We are sorry there is not time to introduce each one separately. A few of them, however, will speak.

I believe we should not only speak of those who are here, who are the living oldtimers. Before they are introduced, we should mention some of the names of those who helped to build and found our Communist organization, and make it what it is today, who have already passed on. I would like to speak, first of all, about the founder of the Communist Party and its first secretary, Charles E. Ruthenberg. Also, the great labor leader, Bill Haywood, the brilliant journalist John Reed, Jack Johnstone, great labor organizer, Hal Ware, farm leader and son of Ella Reeve Bloor, Moissaye Olgin, the editor of the *Freiheit*, the great orator; Markoff, a great teacher; J. Louis Engdahl, veteran fighter for civil liberties; Jakira, one of our oldtime party organizers; Harry Gannes of the *Daily Worker*; Boruchovitch of the needle trades; N. Golos, a quiet organizer and worker of our move-

ment, and the last of the comrades to depart, Anna Damon. All these have played a great role in our movement and have helped build it and we take this opportunity to honor them as well.

REMARKS

DAN SLINGER: I joined the United Mine Workers of America at the age of 11 years, in 1889, when it was known as the Progressive Miners. Since that time the miners have gone through many struggles in our country. I just want to cite some of the struggles of the miners.

In 1919 the Illinois miners decided that they didn't like getting back to "normal," which meant a reduction in wages. A wild-cat strike developed involving some 60,000 workers. That wild-cat strike took place and the final result was that it resolved itself into a fight against the administration of John L. Lewis. It was a real struggle.

In the formation of the Mine Workers Union it took nine months of long bitter struggle before we found the right organization in Illinois. But we did win some things under Governor Heller's administration in Illinois. A law was passed in Illinois that gave to the miners an eight-hour day.

After these struggles of the miners we found that there was something missing, that the militancy of the miners was being directed wrongly and the Trade Union Educational League was organized. This organization began to do some good work in organizing workers for militant action. It was through this organization that we organized first a Progressive Miners organization and then the Save the Union Miners Committee.

In all these struggles it was our Communist organization that guided the miners of the country in their struggle against the coal operators. When the Mine Workers Union was in the throes of organization it was the Communists active in the National Miners Union that won the campaign to save the Union. The miners recognize this fact because the National Miners Union saved the Mine Workers Union of America at that time.

Those of you from West Virginia should remember that the miners in West Virginia have written a page in history that will never be forgotten in the organization of the workers of that state.

All these things I am saying to you because now I

am not a miner. We find that in Illinois and many other states John L. Lewis has appointed officials through whom he controls the policy and the program of the United Mine Workers of America. This hold of his must be broken by the miners themselves. My advice would be to the miners of those states where they have set-ups placed there by Lewis, to call a conference of the miners in those states where Lewis has appointed his officials.

I want to call the attention of the delegation here to the fact that just about fifty years ago today, when a great strike of street-car workers took place in Philadelphia, the chairman of our convention today, Brother Foster, at that time only 14 years of age, became a prominent leader of that street-car strike.

I know the miners. I know their militancy. I know that if they are approached directly they will support President Roosevelt in the coming elections.

With the slogan to elect President Roosevelt, and the carrying through of Teheran, you are going to build the independent political action of the workers in America. I am positive that there are hundreds of thousands of miners who are going to join in this struggle.

SAMUEL LEE: I am very proud to contribute a few words of encouragement to this grand gathering which I see before me. I can see that the struggles which have been waged so continuously for unity and organization have brought results. I can see more results from the unity at this gathering than I have seen in the past twenty years of experience in labor struggles. And I can understand how we have brought about this unification in our Communist ranks. It is that adjustment, that new understanding of Marxism-Leninism from which comes the strength of our movement. Unity is the only way that we are going to be able to continue to carry out the struggle and achieve the goal which we have set for ourselves—that is, a free and independent America, free from the fascist menace, where men, women and children, regardless of race, creed or color, can live free from care and want and will have the right to determine the kind of government they are to live under.

PAT CUSH: Brothers, I am only allowed three minutes in which to travel a life of 58 years in the labor movement. Can it be done? Well, I'll try to do the best I can just now. However, I am writing my

memoirs which will appear under the title "Iron, Steel, last but not least, Blood."

It appears to me that the chairman, or whoever arranged this program, was laboring under the impression that because my name was Emmett Patrick that I have kissed the blarney stone and they have taken this as a precaution to stop me from going too far. However, with your kind indulgence, I'll try to tell you a little of my life and experiences in the steel mills.

In 1879 I participated in my first strike at the age of 11. At the age of 15, in 1883, I participated in the next strike. And the next strike was at the age of 21 when I was the local president of the largest local in the American Association of Iron & Steel Workers of North America. That strike lasted only one week. It was won successfully by the workers due to one particular thing and that was their political organization. The workers in Homestead had a thoroughly organized independent political party. Due to the fact that the A. F. of L., headed by Samuel Gompers at that particular time, followed non-partisan policies, the workers of Homestead did not extend their organization beyond the confines of the Allegheny.

Three years later the great strike of 1892 took place. The workers in the town of Homestead were involved. It was at this time that the infamous Pinkerton detectives came into the town of Homestead and there they met their first defeat at the hands of those hardy steel workers; and that is the reason why the Pinkerton detectives are not functioning today. The writers who have written up the Homestead strike have purposely thrown a wet blanket upon two particular phases of that strike of very deep interest to all of us here today. One phase is that the man who played the most important part in that battle was a young Negro named Sam Burgen. He confiscated a three-foot cannon from the boat of a river captain and brought it up to the river where the Pinkerton gang was operating and that was the chief reason why the Pinkertons surrendered to the fighters behind the barracks on the river.

Another thing that has been kept secret from the workers all this time is the fact that they had a strong political organization. This was not done by accident. It was done by design. And immediately after that strike was over the Carnegie Steel Company got busy and they organized in every steel town in the United States a political organization that strangled

every government force that existed in small towns which in any way functioned in a democratic manner.

I want to say one or two things about the Irish. I am sorry to say that there is one Irishman in the world that is not doing his duty in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor. De Valera is the man who would deny or prevent the Irish nation from getting a seat at the peace conference table. I met him when he came to this country. It was my privilege to sell \$1500 worth of bonds in defense of the Irish Republic. The Irish workers throughout America are not aware of the fact that the first government and the greatest statesman who gave recognition to the Irish Republic, was the Soviet Union and under the leadership of Lenin. Comrade Lenin was the first statesman in the world to recognize the significance of the Easter Rebellion and to say this is a fight of a valiant people who have struggled for several hundred years for their freedom and independence. The Irish workers in America should and must know this.

MOTHER BLOOR: It is a great privilege, a great honor, to be the Mother of such a tremendous group of labor men and women of the people who have gathered here today. You have been saying Brother and Sister, but I am sure I don't want you to ever change my name as Mother.

I am not going to tell you the story of my life because that's all written in a book which you can read. I think Brother Robert Minor has given us such a summary of the last twenty-five years that we should appoint him to write us the history of the labor and radical movement of America.

One of our writers who passed away this year—I say "ours" because that means he belongs to the people—Art Young, sent us all a New Year's card the night before he died. And in that card he said, it's a long road but now we are arriving somewhere, we are getting somewhere. And up in the corner he put Teheran. An old man, taken away from us suddenly, but he saw the vision. We have had that vision pointed out to us very wonderfully in this convention.

And I can say to you, fellow workers, in this great new organization, it's not a sad thing or a sacrifice to be an old-time member of the labor movement. We don't like to talk about the past. You just listen to them. They all talk about the future. Sam Lee of Philadelphia said he wanted to give you all en-

couragement and I don't think you need much courage, but I would like to say to you with all my strength: Go forward with hope and courage and faith in the great leadership we have built up in this great movement of ours, expressed so wonderfully in our new political educational organization. Thank you.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER: May I say a few words in response to the greetings from our honored guests, veterans of the Communist movement and the struggles of the trade unions. One thing we should bear in mind, particularly the younger generation. The splendid movement we now have, our Communist organization, the magnificent trade union movement, and the national unity we have been able to build up around the war—all these things didn't come of themselves. They are not a matter of just a few years' effort. They are the work of generations. To lay their foundations workers have put in their whole lives, workers unknown to the general public, workers who received no remuneration from any organization, workers who devoted their lives selflessly to build up our present-day great movements.

These veterans that we have assembled here today, who are typical of many others in our organizations, are of this type of workers and fighters.

It seems to me that we should have at least two general lines of appreciation of the work of these veterans in our movement. First, because they have spent their whole lives in this struggle, and it has been a plenty hard struggle, as we all know. But there is something else more important than even this for which we should honor them. This second thing that the oldtimers deserve credit for is the fact that through all these years they have been able to discern the true path of working-class development, to follow the correct road that has finally brought them together here in this Communist convention.

Now don't think that this is a small matter. It's the supreme achievement of these veteran fighters. Many organizations have risen and fallen during the decades covered by these comrades' work. The Socialist Labor Party, for example, was once the organization on which the workers, the most conscious workers, among them many today in our ranks, pinned their faith. But the Socialist Labor Party, cursed with sectarianism, passed off the scene. But during its existence many militants wore their lives out in de-

voted work. Others confused by its errors were lost to the movement and were unable to see the next step forward in the path of struggle and became inactive when it died.

Then we have, somewhat later, the I.W.W. I don't know how many of you present know much about the I.W.W., but it was an organization that focused the attention of hundreds of thousands of the very best sons and daughters of the American working class. It carried on some of the finest struggles in the history of our labor movement. Through the I.W.W. many of these veterans on our platform also passed. And when that organization disappeared from the historical stage, our veterans did not become confused and lost in despair, as many thousands did, but were able to see the mistakes of the organization, why it could not be the center around which the finest and most conscious elements of the working class could gather. They were able to go forward in the fight.

And then we had the Socialist Party. We know how hundreds of thousands of workers pinned their faith on the Socialist Party and worked for years to build it up. We also know how many of them fell by the wayside, thousands, tens of thousands, as the S.P. pursued its long road to eventual failure. The class struggle is not an easy thing. It has lots of victims, those who became worn out in the struggle or confused.

It was no small matter in all this rise and fall of organizations to be able to see the correct line to follow, but these veterans that we are honoring were able to do just that. I think this is their greatest achievement. For to find the path of progress is the greatest task before us at all times.

When I listen to the speeches of these oldtimers, they raise many memories in my mind. For example, Pat Cush spoke of Homestead. I wonder if the younger generation really understands what the word Homestead means? That's a sacred word in the history of the American working class, the great strike in 1892 of the Homestead steel workers. It was there that the trade union movement, the primitive craft union movement in this country, came into its first major collision with monopoly capital, with the trusts. They lost that strike and the problem that was brought to a head at Homestead was never really solved by the trade unions of this country until the rise of the C.I.O. and the organization of the trusti-

fied industries. The old veterans of the Homestead strike can well be proud that today the workers of the United States have mastered the problem of organizing these basic industries. Just a few days ago we had the inspiring example of the magnificent convention of the Steel Workers of America, which included the Homestead mills and all the rest.

I remember the Homestead strike. I remember it in Philadelphia as a boy (I didn't get active in the labor movement until a couple of years later myself), but I remember when the troops marched away, the Philadelphia National Guardsmen, to put down the Homestead strike. One incident stands out in my memory even yet. There was a man in the camp where one of the Philadelphia regiments was stationed, and on the parade ground one day he cried out to the assembled troops, "Three cheers for the Homestead strikers." For this—I don't know whether Pat Cush remembers the incident or not—for trying to win support among the troops for the strikers, this man was hanged by the thumbs for seven hours. His name was Henry Iams. We shouldn't forget such names in our history.

The old veterans passed through many hardships in their long struggle. Let me go back to the steel industry, which was the center of the struggle in the United States ever since the days of Homestead. I remember in the campaign of 1913 during the attempt of the A. F. of L. to organize the steel workers, an A. F. of L. organizer was seized by a gang of steel company thugs. He was taken down to the bank of the Allegheny River at night and told, "Now start to swim." He did swim and they fired at him as he attempted to cross the river, but he never reached the other side. These were the conditions these oldtimers faced.

But let's not think that the oldtimers alone had a hard fight. Even as we look out upon the world now we can see the peoples of the world engaging in the most desperate struggle in the history of the whole struggle for freedom, in this great war to smash fascism. But today we have strong forces, great organizations, and the people are more and more prepared and more ideologically developed than they were in these earlier days we have been speaking of. This present great struggle we are now carrying on is going to be brought to a victorious conclusion much quicker than the unionizing struggle that had its first beginnings in Homestead.

The last words I want to say is that the youth of our organization should make it their special order of business to become acquainted with the traditions of our movement. Comrade Browder has spoken to us so many, many times on the traditions of our country, the traditions of our movement. Let us become familiar with the history of our movement and the history of our nation, not simply because we want to become learned people, but because we want

to learn the lessons that this history has to tell us.

The best thing we can say to these oldtimers who are gathered here on our stage, who are seated among our convention delegation and scattered in our organization, to those who are honoring us here with their presence, we will do our very best to live up to the splendid traditions that they have set for us in their life's work.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

REMARKS OF MORRIS CHILDS

MORRIS CHILDS, *Illinois*: I believe this afternoon in the discussion we have seen the truth of the words of Earl Browder given to us yesterday when he said that we are facing the future on the basis of the experiences of the past. Bob Minor's eloquent and brilliant report here today verifies this. It shows that the history of the Communist organization is the history of the American labor movement and that in the Communist Association we are organizing now we have that Marxist corps, that body of men and women rooted among the masses, equipped with the science that makes it a vanguard movement and a guiding force under the leadership typified by Earl Browder.

The Resolutions Committee proposes the adoption of the resolution before you in its essence, with only minor editorial changes here and there, regarding some word or phrase. The committee in charge of the 25th Anniversary of the Communist Movement is proposing to the incoming National Committee a program of action from the month of June through September, organizing meetings, publishing pamphlets and books and other such data, in commemoration of the history of the Communist movement in the United States.

RESOLUTION

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY of the Communist organization arrives at a supreme moment in the war. It occurs at a time when the entire nation girds itself to carry through the invasion of the Nazi-held European continent.

The Communist organization, as an organic part

of the American working class, attained its maturity in two and a half decades of great social struggles in which it has actively participated. Throughout this period the special role of the Communists, who believe that eventually the majority of the American people will establish a socialist society as the highest form of democracy, has been that of representing with great vision and bold thought the interests of the American working class and the nation.

The history of the Communist organization is also the history of the American labor movement of the past two and a half decades. It is the glorious heroic story of the American working class, when in a span of a decade it overcame its relative historical backwardness; when from 3,000,000 organized workers in American industries, it attained the giant-like stature of 13,000,000 organized workers. The Communist organization equipped with the science of Marxism, functioning as a vanguard detachment of the working class, has been helping American labor to come into its own, thus also creating the pre-conditions for merging the best interests of the American labor movement with those of the nation as a whole.

The policies of the Communist Party, initiating in the Hoover crisis years the struggle for unemployment insurance, farm relief, veterans' aid, etc., heralded the oncoming of the era of progressive legislation for social insurance, promoting closer cooperation between worker and farmer and other democratic forces.

By virtue of its far-sighted policies, since the early formative years of the Communist movement, the party helped to stir the American labor movement into the great organization drives in the basic indus-

tries. By their yeoman's services and self-sacrificing organizational activities the Communists in the shops, led by Foster, Browder and Johnstone, helped to crash the gates of the company-union towns and to set labor free to organize into the present mighty industrial unions in the basic industries. With political steadfastness and with trade union unity as a goal, the American Marxists have helped the labor movement to turn the erstwhile openshop forces into citadels of trade unionism. And today the organization of the unorganized has enabled labor to become the backbone of national unity and the spearhead in the battle against fascism.

It is indeed fortunate today, when national unity and the elimination of every vestige of partisanship are the supreme issues for the guarantee of victory, that American labor, by virtue of its present economic and political strength, is in a position to discharge its historic responsibility of helping to unite the nation for victory and peace, for the realization of the objectives of Teheran.

History will record everlasting credit to the American Communist movement and Marxian thought in the United States for their share in contributing to the great patriotic role of American labor in our nation's war for the defeat of fascism, in the strengthening of the international labor and anti-fascist ties of our country.

Through the battles for civil rights, to smash the frame-up system, in the fight to free Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, and other victims of reaction, the American Communists have worked to safeguard our democratic liberties and helped to place on our statute books the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Since the very first days of its existence the Communist Party battled for Negro rights. No social-political movement in the United States since the Abolition movement can match the contributions of the Communists in initiating the great modern Negro movement for social equality and the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Constitutional Amendments.

The battles waged for freedom of the Scottsboro boys, against discrimination and Jim Crow, prepared the way for the inclusion of millions of Negroes into the trade unions. And it is the growing unity between organized labor and the Negro people which has brought the greatest advance toward Negro equality since the Emancipation Proclamation.

The alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement will also pry loose the "white supremacy" stranglehold with which the Southern Bourbons attempt to hold back the advance of democracy in the South and in the nation. Above all, the struggles for Negro equality have helped the Negro people, despite continued injustices and discrimination, to rally behind our Commander-in-Chief in this great war for national liberation. And the gains made in these struggles are the forerunners of still greater victories yet to be achieved in the full integration of the Negro people on a basis of complete equality in the democratic life of a free and united America.

The rise of Nazism-fascism has from its inception imperiled the national interests and safety of our Republic. Our national security has rested first of all on the development of a correct foreign policy, expressing the true national interests of the country. The Communists pioneered in awakening the American people to the menace of fascism in the defense of China, Ethiopia and Spain. They championed the struggle against Munichism and for collective security—the main vehicle for the realization of an effective foreign policy to stem the Berlin-Tokyo Axis drive for world conquest.

Basing themselves on the national interests of the country, the Communists have steadfastly promoted the friendship and collaboration of the United States and the great land of socialism, the Soviet Union—that mighty anti-Hitler alliance which has now become the keystone of war-time and post-war unity of the freedom-loving peoples and nations. The Communists have championed the unity of action of world labor and the democratic nations, and have helped the American people to participate in bringing about the triumph of the policy of collective security, which has now emerged in the mighty coalition of the United Nations, of the comradeship-in-arms of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

No "foreign agent" cry could deter the Communists from their struggles for a correct foreign policy and international labor solidarity. In all the vicissitudes of our country's foreign policy of the past years, neither physical nor ideological terror could swerve the Communists from the program of collective security, the path of working-class internationalism, of merciless struggle against fascism.

The Communist Party became an important public

factor in the life of the country through years of struggle to overcome its own sectarian weaknesses, cementing its ties with the working people from whom it draws its strength.

It has learned to accept the highest test, demanded by the science of scientific socialism from the vanguard of the working class, that Marxism is a guide to action and not a dogma; that while firmly adhering to the tested scientific principles of Marxism, those principles must be constantly enriched through self-criticism and living, changing reality.

It has performed a service to the labor movement and the nation by waging an uncompromising struggle against the Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, and other fifth column groups and their agents, as well as against reactionary anti-Soviet circles of Social-Democracy.

The history of the Communist Party is the epic of the great transformations in the political life of the nation during the past quarter of a century.

It is the history of how well the Communists learned to meet those changes, not only to recognize them at the moment of their occurrence, but in time to project needed changes in policy and organization. Thus they have been able to stimulate great mass movements which have helped the working class to realize its creative capacities, to overcome its sectarianism toward other historically progressive social groupings, and to emerge as a great national factor in the life of the nation.

The emergence of the Communist organization as a mature and influential factor in the labor movement and life of the nation, is inseparably associated with the leadership of Earl Browder. Under this sterling leadership the Communist organization has learned how to apply Marxist scientific method to living reality, to foresee events and keep pace with them,

and, above all, to pursue a correct and steady course. Under his leadership, the party became united and grew strong, able to orient itself, effectively and in time, to unprecedented historical events. Earl Browder has given the Communist organization a profound understanding of American history and democratic traditions, and how to develop the great democratic achievements of Jefferson and Lincoln into living instruments for continued social progress. He has enriched American life with Marxian thought.

On the threshold of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Communist organization, the Communists have resolved to relinquish their status as an electoral party and have organized themselves as the Communist Political Association, continuing their Marxist activities as a working-class political-educational association. They will thus be better able to make their maximum contribution toward welding the anti-fascist unity of the nation to enable America consistently to fulfill its great role in the war and the peace. In doing so, the Communist organization is continuing the Marxist practice of adapting organizational forms to the needs of a changing political situation. It is carrying forward and consolidating nearly a century's efforts to establish a firmly-rooted American working-class organization of Marxists, inspired by our nation's democratic tradition and dedicated to the national interests and democratic aspirations of the American people.

The delegates assembled at this Convention resolve to build the Communist Political Association into a powerful political-educational organization of Communists which will aid the nation and its working class to speed victory over barbaric German and Japanese imperialism, destroy fascism, and strengthen the alliance of the United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and the other United Nations for a just and stable peace and democratic progress.

Latin American Delegates Greet C.P.A. Convention

SENATOR ELIAS LAFERTE: We Chilean Communists have declared ourselves in accord with the report of Earl Browder to the January Plenum of the Communist Party. This report was discussed and published in our theoretical review, *Principios*, of

last April. We also want to express our full support of the magnificent report given by Comrade Browder to this assembly. We believe with Comrade Browder that all our policy must be based on the Teheran conference and its agreements.

There are many problems I would like to treat specifically, such as economic and post-war questions, but now I shall limit myself only to some of the key problems that we face. According to the statements of the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Wallace, next to the Soviet Union, the country which has the greatest number of Communists is my country, Chile. These successes do not make us giddy, but on the contrary make us weigh the responsibilities we have in the people's movement of our country. It is with this in mind that our party works so that national unity becomes a fact in the least possible time.

The working class of our country is the most developed politically and has the greatest class consciousness of all the Latin American countries. In Chile there are ten political parties. The Chilean Democratic Alliance is formed of the following parties: The Radical Party, a majority party which has the greatest number of representatives in the Chamber and the greatest electorate. The President of the Republic is a member of this party. It is composed of the middle class, capitalist elements and to a lesser degree of workers and employees. The Socialist Party, which has a representation of five Senators, fifteen Deputies and some 150 Councilmen, is composed of working class, middle class and petty-bourgeois elements. The Communist Party has four Senators, fifteen Deputies and 120 Councilmen. It is composed in its majority of workers with a few middle class elements. The Communist Party of Chile has at present 45,000 members and 65,000 voters. The Democratic Party with two Senators in Parliament, nine Deputies and sixty Councilmen, is composed of middle class and artisans. And, finally, there is the Socialist Toilers Party, with two Deputies, thirty Councilmen, and consists of workers and intellectual groups. Within the Chilean Democratic Alliance you also find represented the Chilean Confederation of Labor and the Women's Democratic Alliance. The former represents the working class in general and the latter the women's movement of various social sections.

Another organization for national unity is "Unity for Victory," a broad organization which embraces various political and social sectors of the country as well as various national groups. This organization has as its aim the raising of funds and materials for the United Nations and occupied countries. Up to

date this organization has collected over a million and a half pesos, half of which went to the Soviet Union and the rest to the other nations proportionately.

We have in Chile, the "Civilian Defense," an organization created by the government for the preparation and mobilization of the Chilean people for national defense.

In addition there is also the Committee for Low Cost of Living. It is necessary to say in this connection that in our country the cost of living is very high and the wages very low. The people therefore find themselves undernourished and confronted with all sorts of financial difficulties in spite of all the efforts made to give a satisfactory solution to this situation.

The Youth Organization, the Chilean Confederation of Labor, and the Women's Democratic Alliance also form part of the national movement. All efforts are directed toward seeing that these movements of national unity have one program through which they can be mobilized and at the same time be represented in the government through State Ministers.

Another of our great tasks consists in building a single party of the working class. This task was begun in June of last year. The unification which we want to achieve is the unification of the following parties: Socialist Party (of Marxist traditions); the Socialist Toilers Party and the Communist Party of Chile. The efforts made up to now have not yet brought the desired results but we can state already that in the coming month of June a serious step will be taken for that unification with the incorporation of the Socialist Toilers Party into our party, which will influence favorably the Socialist Party. The Socialist Toilers Party will be incorporated in the Communist Party with its 8,000 members and its two representatives in the Chamber of Deputies. In the efforts toward unification "Committees for Unity" have been formed among the rank and file and in the leading committees, as an intermediary step, to arrive at the formation of a single working-class party. The 13th and 14th Plenums of our party have studied the situation, coming to the conclusion that in order to obtain success on the road toward national unity it is necessary to eliminate the obstacles existing in some parties with the purpose of giving to the workers one single program and one single leadership.

Another event of great importance which has been achieved in my country and which has great perspectives of a continental character was the meeting of the parliamentary representatives which took place in Santiago de Chile on April 14 commemorating the day of the Americas. In this meeting participated representatives of the Deputy Chambers and parliamentary representatives of eleven countries: the United States, Mexico, Haiti, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Colombia, Peru, Chile and Uruguay. Parliamentary representatives of Cuba could not participate in this assembly. The other countries that had no representation are countries where at present no parliamentary forms of government exist. It is necessary to say in passing that in some countries where parliamentary forms exist democratic liberties, however, are very limited. This assembly was of great importance since it was a serious step toward continental unity whose objective was correctly presented in the speech of the representative of the Chamber of Deputies of Uruguay. However, it is necessary to reiterate that the basis of continental unity embracing all the countries of our hemisphere resides in the national unity in each country, since only with the broad participation of the people and national unity in each respective country can continental unity be a great force for winning the war, for progress of our nation and the well-being of our people.

When I return to my country I will make known the decisions reached here to dissolve the Communist Party of the United States, and show how it is a firm step toward achieving national unity of the North American people.

At the same time I will also speak of the formation of this new Association which so well follows the objectives for broad unity of the people in the war against fascist barbarism and to assure a durable peace. Together with winning the war by means of arms, we must prepare ourselves to crush the Nazi fascist ideology which is the breeder of this criminal massacre of peoples by fascism. It is for this reason that I am of the opinion, and this is also the opinion of the workers and of the Chilean people, that we have to make the greatest efforts to succeed in eradicating from all the countries of Latin America the nefarious principles of totalitarianism whose flame already begins to burn in some of our South American countries.

And, finally, I want to express my gratitude for the cordial invitation which was extended to us to participate as fraternal delegates in this great meeting.

This broadens further the perspectives for a rapid, deep and close understanding between the people of the United States and the people of my country.

AUGUSTO DURAN, *Colombia*: I am honored to be here today. I had limited time to write my speech after a long and hard trip from my country. Nevertheless, I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure to give you in general outline the situation of my country, Colombia.

First, I want to bring in behalf of my party warm greetings to the Communists of the United States and the people you represent. These warm greetings are especially directed to our beloved comrade and leader, Earl Browder.

The presence of the Latin American delegates here shows once more the close friendship between the peoples of Latin America and your great country.

We did not come here as tourists. The hatred of fascism by the Latin American people is great. The friendship between the Latin American countries and the people of your country laid the foundation for a struggle for victory over fascism; and is also laying the foundation for the period after the war to prevent fascism from raising its head again. This close friendship between our people is an indication of the correctness of the Teheran perspectives. The Teheran perspectives were not just a piece of paper but came from the profound aspirations and desires on the part of all peoples.

That is why we share the opinion of Comrade Browder when he says that Teheran is not a maneuver. It is not just words. It is much more. Teheran is a new stage in the historic development of the world. This understanding is widespread throughout Latin America. The people of Colombia also understand the real meaning of Teheran and the close friendship between our peoples.

The reactionaries in Colombia are trying to say that the Good Neighbor Policy is simply a maneuver on the part of American imperialism. The Communist Party of Colombia with all the means in its power explained to the Colombian people that the Good Neighbor Policy is not the property of a single man but rather the desires and determination of the American people to carry through this Good Neighbor

bor Policy, the people who have armed forces shed their blood for the victory over fascism.

As you already know from the press, Colombia has recently gone through a most profound political crisis. Utilizing the top layers of the Liberal Party, which has the majority of the population behind it, the reactionaries attempted to bring about division. As a result of that Lopez was forced into a position to withdraw his candidacy for the presidential election. The Communist Party of Colombia understood immediately that the withdrawal of Lopez would mean the beginning of the end of democracy in Colombia. That is why the Communists, having the support of the people in Bucaramanda, raised the slogan of Lopez coming back into power. When Lopez came back from the United States in January the Communists together with sectors of the Liberal Party organized throughout the cities he visited big demonstrations under the slogan "Lopez Come Back to the Presidency." In order to avoid and prevent the withdrawal of Lopez the Communists together with the Confederation of Labor in Colombia decided to organize a general civic strike to force Congress to withdraw the bill which compelled the withdrawal of Lopez. When the Senate considered the withdrawal of Lopez from the Presidency there was so large a demonstration before the building that the Senate was forced to drop its proposal for his withdrawal.

We won this big battle over the reactionaries in Colombia and we are ready to go on toward other big victories.

Colombia, following the leadership of other nations, declared war against the Axis and signed the United Nations pact. Because of the reactionary activities in the country, it has not been possible until now to mobilize the whole country on a war footing. We shall now concentrate all our effort so that Colombia becomes part and parcel of the United Nations in the struggle for national freedom.

Despite the fact that our party is small to carry out the tasks I have outlined, yet we have great influence among the masses as well as among a substantial section of the Colombian bourgeoisie. There is talk in Colombia that, due to the activities of the Communist Party and the Colombia Confederation of Labor, the liberal and democratic institutions have been thus far saved from reaction.

The Communist Party of Colombia has been until

now a small party, meeting all kinds of difficulties, including the existence of an opportunistic group within its ranks and in the leadership. We have been successful in getting rid of these difficulties and are faced now with the perspectives of broadening ourselves to become a mass organization.

Our party, which in 1940 had only 5,000 votes in the elections, secured 20,000 votes in 1944—and elected eighty Councilmen, one representative to Congress and one to the Senate. I cannot give you the exact figures of the membership of the party but I would like to give you a few illustrations to show you the increased growth of the party. Up until the beginning of this year, due to the opportunistic leadership, we had only forty members in Bogota. This year, as a result of eliminating the opportunistic elements, we have today 600 members in the capital of Bogota alone. We have a small paper but through this small paper we have been able to develop our work successfully.

These are all the positive things I have to say with regard to the Communist Party of Colombia. We have the objective of becoming this year a party of the great masses of Colombia in the task of mobilizing these masses to save democracy and the democratic institutions. We hope that at the next Conference of your Association our delegation will be able to report to you the growth of our party and its extended influence, so that the Colombian people can occupy a dignified position among the United Nations peoples fighting for democracy.

At the end of this year the Communist Party of Colombia will have its Second Congress. I bring here the request to have a delegation from your Political Association to that Congress, hoping that our beloved Comrade Browder will head that delegation.

JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER, Puerto Rico: It is a joy and privilege for me to address this Constituent Convention of the Communist Political Association.

As a Puerto Rican I bring you a fraternal, fighting and anti-fascist greeting in behalf of my people. This political gathering is of outstanding importance. The dissolution of the Communist Party and the establishment of the new organization, the Communist Political Association, will facilitate the unity of the democratic forces of this nation in the struggle to defeat fascism and obtain a victory in the war. For

us Puerto Ricans this gathering has another importance also. The organization of this association will assist the democratic forces of this nation to find greater and more efficient means with which to help my people obtain the recognition of their national independence.

Speaking in regard to the independence of my nation I must refer to that most important political event in the world which took place in the capital of Iran—Teheran. In that city the leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin; the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt; and the Prime Minister of the British Commonwealth, Winston Churchill, met in conference. As representatives of the three contracting powers they signed an agreement that now bears the name of that city. That agreement assures as a fundamental and permanent policy of the United Nations that all those nations whose peoples have dedicated themselves in mind and heart to democracy, will be welcome in the family of democratic nations, as free and independent nations.

It is not necessary to insist that Puerto Rico is a nation—a Latin American nation. It is well to add that the people of Puerto Rico have dedicated themselves for more than a century, in mind and heart, to democracy. Already since the beginning of the past century there appeared the first signs of national integration, the first patriotic groups were formed, and the first Puerto Ricans were lined up before the firing squads of the Spanish Empire for their ideas of national independence advanced by the political philosophers of the eighteenth century which encouraged the birth of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere.

This is the political tradition of the Puerto Ricans. In the ideological field the Puerto Rican nation

has given the Western Hemisphere the most notable theoretician of liberal democracy, Hostos, who in the '80s of the past century wrote to the Chilean Senator Guillermo Matta that "Puerto Rico had to be organized democratically until such time as it is ready for a more socially advanced form of government." Those words still motivate the present movement of national liberation.

The facts are many to prove the democratic militancy of the people of the Puerto Rican nation. It has taken this war, however, to give the Puerto Ricans the supreme opportunity to prove the mature extent of our nationhood and democratic consciousness. For despite well-meaning counsels that Puerto Rico postpone the demand for her independence until after the war, the Puerto Rican people insist that her independence be recognized immediately. Yes, independence for Puerto Rico now. And proof of her democratic consciousness is evident in the fact that Puerto Rico has placed herself on the side of the United Nations, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the people of the United States for the defeat of fascism in the field of battle and its elimination from the political life of the world.

Earl Browder, the leader of your organization, has correctly stated that Teheran nullifies Munich. Earl Browder stated at this Convention that your organization will support the re-election of President Roosevelt against the domestic and foreign reactionaries. I believe that such a measure is beneficial for the people of the United States, and in the interest of the Puerto Rican nation.

I reiterate my Puerto Rican and anti-fascist greetings to this great convention.

[Greetings were also delivered by Salvador Ocampo of Chile and Congressman Luna of Peru.]

BROWDER GREET'S FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM LATIN AMERICA

I am very happy to respond to the important messages we have received tonight from our neighbors in the South. We note with great regret the absence of many of our friends from Latin America who would have liked to have been here, but who were prevented from arriving by the difficulties of war-time travel. I refer particularly to our old and beloved friends from Mexico and Cuba.

We know that in every Latin American country we have friends and co-workers. We also know that they are doing magnificent work in their own countries. We know that they are holding up their end in this war, something that many of us tend to forget because our eyes are largely fastened upon the great tasks on the battlefields in Europe. We do not always realize what a difficult part is being played in this

war by the democratic forces in Latin America. Against greater difficulties than we can conceive of, and with only a little fraction of the resources which we have at our disposal, they have been holding that great territory against the assaults of fascism over a long period—and too much of that time with very little help from the United States.

We saw this dramatically expressed in the recent meeting of the International Labor Organization in Philadelphia. One would have expected that the labor representative of the United States in that organization would have been in the forefront in protecting and advancing the policy of the United Nations and the policy of our own country in resisting the encroachments of the Axis in our hemisphere. But we saw that this task had to be taken up by the Latin American labor delegates, under the able and brilliant leadership of Vicente Lombardo Toledano. And we saw, to our great shame, that the Latin American delegates who were fighting for the interests of the policies of our country, the United States, had to overcome the resistance of the American labor delegate, Mr. Robert Watt.

So we know that our Latin American brothers and sisters are really carrying on the war and in many cases doing it with greater efficiency and greater honor than some of the representatives of our own country, and we thank our Latin American comrades for the services that they have rendered. (*Applause.*)

* * *

Not only in the war do we understand the great services that they have rendered to us. We know in the post-war world they are going to play a role of tremendous importance, and of tremendous importance to us in the United States. I want to say a few words about just one aspect of the post-war problem of Latin America in relation to the United States.

We need Latin America very much in the post-war world. We need Latin America especially because our whole system of civilization in this country, the whole continued operation of our economy on which we depend for our daily bread, depends upon finding other lands that will relieve us from the tremendous production of our factories that we don't know how to consume ourselves. And we are depending upon Latin America to help us out in this respect. "Please, Latin America, take a lot of our goods off our hands in the post-war world."

Some people think the Latin Americans need us. In a way, yes, they do. But they don't need us nearly as badly as we need them. Even if they don't get our goods after the war, they can at least continue along as they have for hundreds of years. But if they don't take our goods, we are going to have a catastrophe in this country such as we won't know how to meet. We cannot continue without their countries as markets. So we turn to Latin America, as we are turning to Africa and to Asia. We say: "Please, you other countries in the world, we are producing machines; we are going to produce more and more of them after the war. When the war market is gone, we are not going to be able to use these machines ourselves. We must find customers. Please be our customers and help us keep our factories going."

We hope the Latin American countries will be gracious enough to listen to our request—"Please be our customers."

We are learning also that it is no good for us to have Latin America as customers in the same way as we had them in the past—that is, under the terms laid down by short-sighted and greedy monopolists, with the imperialist mentality, who went into Latin America as conquerors, using commodities in the place of the sword and bank credits in the place of guns. They went to enslave the Latin American economies and to subvert their democratic structures, and to distort their industrial development so as to transform those countries into appendages, colonial appendages of the North American metropolis.

That kind of market is no good to us any more because that kind of market is too limited. It simply will not solve our problems. The only kind of market in Latin America that really responds to our need is that provided by Latin American peoples who are modernizing their countries in every respect, industrializing them. And that means a different kind of customer from the old colonial customer. All the old colonial features of our economic relationship must be wiped out because otherwise the market is going to be too small.

We have to have a huge and growing market and the only nations that could give us a huge and growing market are nations which buy not only the chief consumption commodities but our most expensive machines. We want Latin America to take locomotives in large numbers, rails, heavy machinery. We want them to buy from us the means of production

so that they can go into business for themselves in a modern way.

So we want a new relationship with Latin America. We want strong Latin American democracies standing on their own feet, nobody able to give them any orders of any kind, because that is the only kind of customers that can buy the goods in the volume that we must sell and that is the only kind of customers that can pay. And eventually, of course, Latin America is going to pay us for everything we send them. And they are going to find it easy to pay because they will not pay by the intensified exploitation of their own people. They will be able to pay because their own people will be becoming more wealthy all the time, with rising living standards and rising demands. They will be able to pay because through an all round modern industrialization, they will be able to produce wealth as we produce it in the United States. We hope they will be able to produce it even more efficiently than we have done so far. (*Applause.*)

* * *

We have great hopes for the future relations between the United States and Latin America—and I must say that we are not expressing merely our own point of view on this. We have a growing degree of agreement with capitalists in the United States who are more and more awakening to the fact that the old type of colonial profits has no future for them, capitalists who are more and more prepared to do business with the Latin American peoples who are sensible to the need to organize themselves democratically with strong governments, and to make plans for their own national industrial modernization and to do business much more reasonably than they ever did before. They are beginning to feel a growing strength in Latin America and they have respect for strength. So we have great hopes for the future of our continental relationships. Even though we have strong and stubborn reactionary and imperialist, blindly imperialist, forces in the United States, and though we warn our Latin American neighbors they must be aware of these forces and be prepared to defeat them when they come down to their countries—nevertheless we must also say that the future does not belong to these blind and greedy and shortsighted imperialist forces in our country. Their day is finished although they will not depart from the historical scene until they are licked and re-

moved. Their day is finished because they can no longer answer even the problems of the American capitalist class. With their methods they can't produce markets big enough for American industry, and therefore more enlightened men have to come into the direction of American capitalism. Such enlightened men are beginning to appear, and they are going to become strong because the forces of history are with them. They are the only men who know how and have sense enough to begin to cooperate with the labor movement, to find common policy with the labor movement of this country and of Latin America. They are the only ones who can sit down and talk with such men as Lombardo Toledano about the plans of Latin America. These are the kind of American capitalists to whom the future belongs in this country, because they are the only kind of men who can go out and get a market—who can get the only kind of market that is not going to choke us after the war because we don't find customers. The men who can find the market for America's surplus products in the post-war world, are the men who are going to shape our western hemisphere, if not a large part of the western world.

And in this question of finding the markets that they must have if our industries are to continue to operate—in this task we expect tremendous cooperation from our Latin American friends. We promise them our full collaboration in seeing that those relationships are placed on the basis of complete equality and common interest between the Latin American countries and our country. We promise them that we are going to be working here to remove the last traces of colonialism from the policy of the United States toward Latin America. And we want to see, and we expect to see, the Good Neighbor Policy so deepened that it will find expression in the exchange of goods between this country and Latin America—an exchange which North American capital will find it profitable to finance from this country for a whole period of years with long-term credits. We expect it to be an exchange in which Latin America will become rich enough to pay off the bills in the course of industrialization, and to stand on a basis of equality with us. Together we will fight for that kind of extension of the Good Neighbor Policy. Not only must it express itself in our economic relationships, but it must expand those economic relations tenfold in the next few years.

REMARKS OF BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., New York: . . . Before introducing the resolution on Latin America I would like to make a few personal remarks. Any extended introduction of the resolution is entirely unnecessary because the presence of our Latin American guests, the distinguished leaders of the Latin American people who are here today, dramatizes perhaps more than anything I can say the importance of Latin America and our responsibility to it. There are no new things that I would say, but perhaps one or two old things might well be re-emphasized.

The principal thing that we should keep in mind is that our responsibility to Latin America is a responsibility to ourselves in America and that the fight for the independence, the economic well-being and the power of the Latin American republics to command their own destinies is a fight which is one and the same as our fight for victory in the war and in the peace envisioned and made possible by the Teheran agreement. We cannot fully protect our own interests; we cannot guarantee the progress and the victory of the United Nations of which our country is a part, unless at the same time we guarantee the fruits of that victory to the people of Latin America.

To know what Latin America means to us let us imagine what the situation of the United States would be if the fascists were able to seize control of the governments and the democratic institutions of the people of Latin America. We would then see how completely surrounded we would be, how hopeless our situation would be as American citizens, and how the safety and security of our country would be very deeply in danger. We can therefore, with all of our hearts, thank the people of Latin America, all the republics and the democratic forces, of which the Communist Parties in these countries are an integral and effective part, that they have been able to keep their countries almost without exception away from the torches of the Hitlerite Axis and its gang, and particularly Franco, who has special ways and means of reaching into Latin America. We should be very much concerned, once again in our own interests, that Hitler and the fascists have been able to establish here and there—primarily in Argentina—a puppet regime of their own, and we can then see our very deep responsibility to the people and the democratic

forces in Argentina that they shall be able to defeat and rout this fascist dictatorship which at this moment controls their country.

It was my privilege and honor to attend the National Convention of the Communist Party of Mexico about two weeks ago, and to carry to the people of Mexico, through the Communists and other democratic forces, our greetings, our concern, and our pledge; and by our pledge I mean certainly the pledge of the democratic forces in our country, including our own new Communist Political Association.

It was a very great convention. They had an open session of that convention in the Palace of Fine Arts, which is the official government building in Mexico City. The hall was filled, attended by some 3,000 people, the overwhelming majority of whom were not members of the Communist Party of Mexico. In this convention were assembled representatives of national unity, the deep progressive thought and consciousness which pervade the people of Mexico and the people of Latin America. A personal representative was sent to that convention by the President of Mexico, Avila Camacho. This personal representative, who spoke, greeted the convention and expressed agreement with the main approach and the main report given that night by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Mexico, Encina, and said that the government was willing to work with all those forces who approached the problems of Mexico, both domestic and foreign policy, both war problems and post-war problems, in the manner that Dionisio Encina had approached them that night at the convention.

At a subsequent session of the convention there were representatives from pretty nearly every section of the Mexican people. A representative of the C.T.M. who spoke at one session declared that certainly it was not conceivable that the organized workers of Mexico could fulfill their destiny, make their major contribution to the war and the post-war period, without continuing a very close collaboration with the Communist Party of Mexico, and the same feeling of cooperation and collaboration was expressed by Encina.

Certainly that is a relationship which shows that the Mexican democratic movement has advanced very far, and is maturing.

May I say that the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Mexico, Encina, a young fellow of splendid ability, has the love and cooperation of large sections of the people of Mexico, and the respect of its enemies.

I was given a tremendous ovation, an ovation which appeared to me not so much to be directed at myself, but certainly to the democratic forces in our country, and particularly to Earl Browder. Certainly there is a very deep consciousness on the part of the Mexican

RESOLUTION ON LATIN AMERICA

1. The Hitlerite enemy has long been preparing political and military diversions in the Western Hemisphere, in the desperate hope of delaying or disrupting the Anglo-American invasion of Europe and of torpedoing the growing anti-Axis unity of and within the Americas. A center for these operations has been established in Argentina, where the G.O.U. military dictatorship subjects a great democratic people to fascist terror in order to carry on the task assigned it by Berlin. The fascist coups in Bolivia and Paraguay, as well as the happily unsuccessful attempt on the life of the Mexican President, Avila Camacho, have convinced our government that the pro-Axis dictatorship in Argentina—the first completely fascist regime to be established on Latin American soil—has aggressive designs against the peace and security of the hemisphere.

We applaud Secretary Cordell Hull's decision to withhold recognition from the Bolivian junta, and to suspend relations with the Farrell-Peron clique in Buenos Aires. We hope and believe that these steps will be followed by other measures for cooperating with the democratic forces on the continent and withdrawing every semblance of support from such pro-fascist and subversive groups as the Mexican Sinarquists and the agents of the Spanish Falange. To this end the rectification of our relations with Spain is essential, for while Franco remains the link between Hitler and American fascism, the democratic peoples of Latin America are bound by the closest ties of tradition and culture to the Spanish Republicans struggling for the unity and liberation of their fatherland.

people for the Negro people here in America. They are exceedingly proud of the increasing democratic gains which we are making in behalf of Negro rights in our country, and they saw me as a symbol of that, because they, too, are part of the great colored family of peoples all over the world which constitute the majority of people, and who are also victims of the fascist ideology of white supremacy, and they recognize that new gains made by the Negro people in this country are gains that are made against the reactionary, pro-fascist circles in all countries.

2. Labor in the United States, particularly the C.I.O., has made some progress in developing fraternal relations with the Confederation of Latin American Workers—Latin America's great trade union movement. This must be developed further. Friendship and solidarity among the labor and people's movements of all the American republics will serve the national interests of each of them, and the common cause of the United Nations.

3. We need to begin planning now for the deepening of the Good Neighbor Policy and its projection into the post-war reconstruction period. Rapid industrialization of the Latin American countries, and a rising living standard for their peoples, are indispensable to the maintenance of our own present levels of production. Private industry and government, in conjunction with all the United Nations, must work together in opening up these great new American frontiers. Long-term credits at minimum interest rates, government-underwritten, will be required. Policies and practices of international cartels or of U. S. monopolies which infringe upon the national sovereignty, obstruct the industrial and democratic development, and exploit the peoples of the other American nations must be curbed by inter-American governmental intervention.

4. The maintenance of the Puerto Rican nation in colonial bondage against the will of its people is inconsistent with the aims of our national war effort and harmful to our relations with Latin America, as well as the peoples of Asia and Africa. We defend the democratic, social, and economic gains achieved

by the Puerto Rican people through the Popular Democratic Party and the trade unions and popular movements. We condemn the efforts of reactionary and defeatist groups in this country to rob them of these gains through reactionary attacks on Governor Tugwell and the Roosevelt Administration. We call upon our government to take immediate steps toward the liberation of Puerto Rico and its recognition as an independent nation and will support all constructive moves which will facilitate this.

5. We hail the Presidents and peoples of Mexico, Cuba and Chile, through whose efforts the great anti-fascist fighter Victorio Codovilla has been freed from the Argentine terror. We urge the government of

Wage Policy

REMARKS OF NAT GANLEY

NAT GANLEY, *Michigan*: Your Resolutions Committee has made a number of minor changes in language in the draft resolution on Wage Policy. We also added some new formulations revolving around the following three points:

First: As amended, the resolution will specifically refer to the Little Steel Formula. This wage formula established an approximate balance between wages and prices by allowing wage increases up to 15 per cent. Since the cost of living has risen above the 15 per cent mark the rigid application of the Little Steel Formula merely retains the current unbalanced relationship of wages to the price structure. The re-establishment of the wage-price balance is an important feature of the steel workers' wage demands. This balance is part of any sound wage stabilization policy and is essential for the maintenance of the highest level of war production and morale. Since the reactionary appeasement coalition of Hoover-Dewey Republicans and poll-tax Democrats in Congress has succeeded in preventing the rollback of prices, the wage-price balance can be maintained now only by adjusting the Little Steel Formula in accordance with increased living costs. This is not a narrow partisan demand because proper wage stabilization will help stabilize the entire war economy. Hence, the wage demands of the steel workers deserve the active sup-

port of the entire nation. As Earl Browder said in his splendid report, the wage question must become a matter of public policy rather than isolated settlements.

Second: False distinctions are being made by some people today between war industries and so-called non-war industries. In reality, all industries are part of our present war economy. Regardless of its specific character, each industry and trade has its part to play in aiding the Allied invasion of Europe and speeding the defeat of the Hitlerite and Japanese imperialists. Hence labor's efforts to secure wage adjustments must continue on the basis of the strictest adherence to the no-strike pledge in all industries, trades and work places. At present we favor strikes and economic chaos in the fascist-dominated nations. For the same reason, we want national unity and economic stability in our own nation. Labor's fighting weapon today is not the strike. It is effective political action conducted in a manner that will strengthen national unity. The resolution can be improved by making it clear that through political action we can achieve a rounded-out economic stabilization program consisting of a sound wage policy, price control, subsidies and an equitable tax program.

Third: The labor movement, through united action and in close collaboration with the government, can

Chile to sever all relations with Nazi Germany and the Axis. In the interests of the Brazilian nation, which is making such splendid contributions to victory over fascism, and in those of the whole hemisphere, we call upon President Getulio Vargas to release the patriot Luis Carlos Prestes. We ask our own government to use its great influence in behalf of the thousands of labor leaders and anti-fascists imprisoned in Argentina and Paraguay and to help save the lives of hundreds threatened with execution in El Salvador. This will hearten the heroic anti-fascists of all lands, especially in the countries enslaved by the Hitlerites and Japanese. It will bring added strength to the United Nations and peoples.

also win certain wage adjustments under the existing powers of the War Labor Board. Such wage adjustments can be secured through upgrading, regardless of race or sex; job reclassifications; merit increases based not only on the worker's qualification but also on his increased production; and by the equalization of wage rates between male and female, between Negro and white workers. In connection with upgrading, your committee has added to the resolution that special attention must be given to the integration of demobilized servicemen into industry on the basis of the job ratings and skills which they acquired while in the service. The workers who fulfilled their war obligations on the home front will consider it an honor and a privilege to support such upgrading.

The resolution made it clear that victory for a sound wage policy requires the defeat of the reactionary Congressional coalition and such defeatist employers as Sewell Avery and their henchmen in the ranks of labor—the Lewises, Trotskyites, etc. It requires the united action of labor as was demonstrated by Daniel Tobin in influencing the A. F. of L. to take a constructive stand in the Montgomery Ward case. It requires close cooperation between labor and the farmers, middle classes and patriotic employers. It requires the strengthening of labor's support for the policies of the President. Only on this basis can the justified demands of the steel workers, as well as the wage demands of many other workers, including the millions in the white collar category, be realized.

An increase in the purchasing power of the workers, farmers and middle classes, and the proper distribution of this increased purchasing power, are an urgent requirement for the conversion period and post-war reconstruction. The prosperity of the nation as a whole requires a policy of constantly improving the living standards of the people to assure maximum production and employment. It is from this standpoint that we must achieve the complete elimination of existing wage inequalities, including the North-South wage differentials, secure the expansion of the social security program and answer the problems of unemployment during the reconversion period as proposed in the report of Earl Browder.

The guaranteed annual wage demand of the steel workers falls in the same groove of aiding our national prosperity, and hence should receive the support of win-the-war Americans of all classes. The realization of this demand is made possible by the

great financial reserves of large industrial corporations and the tax laws that protect industry against losses for the first two years of the post-war period. Freedom from the fear of post-war insecurity would increase production for war victory now and aid efficient production in the post-war world. On the basis of a year-round job security, together with the necessary trade union safeguards, conditions would be created for increased wage earnings, for increased production, wherever such systems are desirable by both management and labor.

Thus our wage policy has as its paramount consideration national unity for victory in the war and the establishment of post-war security.

DISCUSSION

DAVE DAVIS, *Eastern Pennsylvania*: . . . The problem of wage stabilization comes directly within the orbit of establishing a sound policy toward stabilization on the home front. The question of increases in pay to meet the rising cost of living is essential at the present time not only for the reasons stated in the resolution but also from another angle which must be considered. Due to cutbacks, as well as changes in production in general, many workers in the country are beginning to get a cut in the number of hours of work, a cut from an average work-week of fifty-eight to sixty hours, to what is considered a normal work-week, that of forty hours. Such a cut actually means for these workers a cut in their weekly take, up to 30 and 35 per cent because the hours being cut are overtime hours. With the cost of living not stabilized and still rising, these workers, if they are to continue to make their best contribution to the war effort, must have a readjustment in their wage earnings, and I believe this is especially essential in the steel industry.

This brings us to the second question, making wage policy a problem for the entire nation and not just for one plant or industry. From this point we must welcome the recent developments of the steel workers, oil workers, electrical and radio workers, who have agreed to make their demands in support of the change of the Little Steel Formula a joint demand. If we make the wage issue an issue involving the entire people and not only the workers in the organized industries, we have a broad approach to many sections of our population.

MAX PERLOW, *New York*: . . . The appeasers and anti-labor elements are trying to smear labor by claiming that its demand for increases in wages is against the Wage Stabilization Program and will cause inflation in the country. The same elements who have been fighting the President's seven-point program and who caused the defeat of the President's proposal to limit profits are at present criticizing labor because the steel workers are demanding an increase in wages. It must therefore be made as clear as possible that the demand for increases in wages over and above the Little Steel Formula in no way subverts the Wage Stabilization Program, and in no way proposes to eliminate the formula as a formula, but rather demands the enforcement of the intent of that formula at the time it was adopted.

At that time the 15 per cent increase allowed by the Little Steel Formula covered the increase in the cost of living between Jan. 1, 1941, and May 15, 1943, as recorded by government statisticians. According to the report of the labor members of the President's committee to investigate the rise in the cost of living, the total cost of living has risen 43.5 per cent since Jan. 1, 1941. Even according to the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which we consider inaccurate, the cost of living has increased by 23 per cent.

Labor supports the Wage Stabilization Program 100 per cent. The C.I.O. is at present conducting a campaign to involve all of its affiliates in support of stronger O.P.A. legislation and assists the O.P.A. in its efforts to control prices. The increase in wages which labor demands is at present the only way to

RESOLUTION ON WAGE POLICY

1. THE wage demands of the steel workers deserve the active support of the entire nation, because the balance between wages and prices can only be maintained by adjusting the Little Steel Formula in accordance with increased living costs. The steel workers, now as in the past, are championing the interests of the entire labor movement. They are fighting for a sound wage stabilization policy essential for the maintenance of the highest level of production and morale, demanded by the needs of the war and the post-war reconstruction.

realize the original intent of the Little Steel Formula, that is, to equalize wages and prices.

In putting forward demands for wage increases we must at the same time explain to the workers the procedure of the W.L.B., emphasize and re-emphasize that under no circumstances will we get involved in strikes, and that the no-strike pledge given by labor to our Commander-in-Chief will be completely adhered to. We know quite well that W.L.B. procedure is not one which expedites decisions very speedily. In many instances, particularly in dispute cases, balking employers cause endless delays, stall on submitting their briefs, and finally appeal decisions. Even when a decision is made, and the parties are ordered to comply the employers still refuse to abide by the decisions. These cases have increased recently, as the result of the Montgomery showdown. According to the information from many regions, it is the latest policy of the anti-labor and anti-war employers to definitely challenge the powers and rights of the W.L.B. It is therefore necessary at this time to see to it that the W.L.B. is voted the necessary appropriations and support, so that its decisions may be expedited.

Production must roll. Every stoppage and any interruption in production means a breach of labor's pledge and gives encouragement to those provocateurs of the Sewell Avery kind who want to provoke strikes, cause discouragement, disunity and dissatisfaction in the ranks of labor. Our wage policy, therefore, is the basic link in the relationship of labor to our war.

Fulfillment of the steel workers' demands together with the enactment into law of socially necessary war legislation recommended by the Administration and supported by labor and the people generally will lay the basis for the amicable adjustment of all outstanding wage demands and will help stabilize the entire war economy. It will serve to defeat the provocations of such defeatist employers as Avery and their henchmen in the ranks of the labor movement (the Lewises, Trotskyites, etc.) who are attempting to provoke strikes and create economic chaos on the

home front in the midst of our nation's supreme effort to deal the death blow to our Axis enemies.

The satisfactory settlement of the steel wage dispute will set an example and serve as a criterion for all other necessary wage adjustments required for maximum production and economic stabilization. The steel wage issue, therefore, stands above narrow partisan consideration and requires the same statesmanship and support from all sections of labor as was demonstrated by Daniel Tobin in influencing the A. F. of L. to take a constructive stand in the Montgomery Ward case.

2. The demands of the steel workers, as well as the demands of many other workers including the millions in the white collar category, are fully justified. Labor's share in the national income has declined while profits continue to soar to new and unprecedented heights. The workers' real income has been undermined by rising prices, higher taxes, and deterioration in the quality of consumer goods essential to the workers. That labor's grievances can and must be met has been given added emphasis by the report of the Pepper-Thomas Committee of the United States Senate which recommended, after careful study, that all limits on wages and salaries of less than \$200 per month for married men, and \$150 for single men, be removed.

3. The one-sided and unbalanced functioning of the Administration's wage stabilization program is primarily due to the disruptive influence of the reactionary Congressional coalition of Hoover-Dewey Republicans, and the Reynolds bloc of Southern Bourbons and Wheeler Democrats. This coalition reflects in Congress the activities of reactionary and defeatist elements and that section of industry which places greed and self-interest above the interests of the nation. These forces obstruct and undermine the stabilization program of the Roosevelt Administration and strive to dislocate the war economy with the aim of turning popular dissatisfaction to partisan advantage. The wage difficulties are also often aggravated by certain Administration agencies which strive to appease the reactionary forces and adopt an inflexible position on the question of necessary wage adjustments.

4. Labor's efforts to secure wage adjustments and remove inequalities in the wage-price stabilization program must continue on the basis of the strictest adherence to the no-strike pledge in all industries,

on the basis of subordinating everything to win the war. Labor can win its demands only by the fullest development of effective political action conducted in a manner that will strengthen national unity and achieve a rounded-out economic stabilization program, a sound wage policy, price control subsidies, and an equitable tax program. This demands united labor action, close cooperation between labor and the farmers, middle classes, and patriotic employers. It requires the strengthening of labor's support for the policies of the President as against all those who wish to undermine and nullify the policies and leadership of the government. For these policies provide the foundation for achieving not only direct wage adjustments, but also the complete elimination of existing wage inequalities, including those arising from discriminatory practices against Negro and women workers, and North-South wage differentials. Through united action, and in close collaboration with the government, the labor movement can most effectively win, under the existing powers of the War Labor Board, wage adjustments through upgrading, job reclassification and merit increases based on increased production, as well as help ensure the expansion of the social security program and the adoption of other measures to meet the problems of dislocation and unemployment during the period of reconversion. Special attention must be given to the integration of demobilized servicemen into industry on the basis of the job ratings and skills acquired while in the service.

5. The demands of the steel workers for a guaranteed annual wage should receive the support not only of the entire labor movement, but of all those who wish to strengthen national unity for victory and to assure a peaceful and orderly post-war development. The adoption of a guaranteed annual wage will not only represent the new level of progress in labor's striving for security, but will also advance the social welfare and democratic development of the nation as a whole.

The great financial reserves of the large industrial corporations and the tax laws that protect industry against losses for the first two years of the post-war period make it possible for large-scale industry to grant the workers a guaranteed annual wage. Moreover, the country's post-war perspective of full production and maximum employment makes the adoption of a guaranteed annual wage essential to the or-

derly progress of our nation. Such a policy, if adopted for all workers, would immediately solidify national unity. Freedom from the fear of post-war insecurity would give added impetus to production for victory and would provide a powerful stimulus in striving for efficiency in production now and in the post-war period. On the basis of full employment or a guaranteed annual wage, together with necessary trade union safeguards, conditions would also be created for the establishment of a system of increased wage earnings to correspond fully to every increase in production.

6. The granting of the wage demands of the steel

Reconversion

REMARKS OF GILBERT GREEN

GILBERT GREEN, *New York*: In behalf of the Resolutions Committee I wish to place the Resolution on Reconversion before the convention for its consideration and action.

This resolution is not meant to supply an exhaustive analysis or program. Rather, it does hope to focus attention on the primary characteristics of the problem, and upon the essential steps that must be undertaken to meet it.

The first point it stresses is that we will be facing difficulties of reconversion long before the last shot in the war has been fired.

Present military production programs already call for large declines in production to begin shortly. James F. Byrnes, War Mobilizer, told the Academy of Political Science a few weeks ago that "the cutbacks" in the Army program approved for 1944 and 1945 amount to \$16,750,000,000 and these do "not include the air service."

These cutbacks are taking place with ample allowance made for all possible military emergencies. In other words, they are not based upon the expectation of an easy or rapid victory in Europe. This means that far more drastic reductions will take place as soon as a successful outcome of the European phase of the war is assured.

We face then the prospect of sizable unemployment of experienced factory workers in the midst of

workers is a prelude to similar adjustments for all industrial, agricultural, government, and white collar workers and calls for intelligent statesmanship and foresight on the part of government, employers and labor. The paramount consideration must be national unity for victory and post-war security. The principle of sound economic stabilization now and a policy of constantly improving the living standards and purchasing power of the people based upon maximum production and employment is a vital cornerstone for the prosperity and well-being not alone of labor, but of the farmers, small businessmen, and of the nation as a whole.

the war effort. The magnitude of this problem may become apparent during the election campaign and perhaps during the most strenuous military effort the United States will have ever undertaken.

That is why the resolution is emphatic in the belief that we dare not postpone action on the matter of reconversion until some indefinite date in the future. It must be grappled with now.

Of course, once we have agreement on this premise we run into another potent danger, one likewise stressed by the resolution—the danger that in the rush to reconvert we shall lose sight of what is still task number one—the winning of the war. This danger is not to be underestimated and may assume the proportions of a tidal wave, especially as the war in Europe reaches its climactic conclusion and people think that it is all over but for the shouting.

An ostrich-like refusal to face the immediate problems of reconversion is not, however, the way to meet and overcome this danger. Only careful planning and preparation now can remove or minimize the danger of panic later—a panic that may express itself in the flight of workers from essential war industries while they are still needed, or the reckless scramble of business groups for immediate all-out reconversion.

In considering reconversion to civilian goods production, both for the period prior to and after the end

of the European war, the following basic principles should be applied in order to avoid conflict with war needs:

1. Military and Lend-Lease requirements must be assured. Every control should be exercised to assure no interference with meeting the production schedules for the military and Lend-Lease requirements.

2. Similarly, the war-supporting production (*i.e.*, transportation and agricultural equipment and repair) must also be assured as per schedule.

3. Only after satisfying the above two prior demands should the remaining available production resources be utilized for the manufacture of essential goods. These available resources should likewise be allocated according to plan, with an eye to the most efficient and orderly reconversion to civilian production.

The key to the effective application of these guiding principles is to be found in the maintenance and strengthening of production, priority and price controls. This point may seem obvious, but the main pressures operating in Washington and industry today are for a relaxation of production controls. One of the reasons for this is the fear of manufacturers that partial and gradual reconversion may give their competitors undue advantages in capturing post-war markets. The more successful the concern was in obtaining war contracts yesterday, the more stubborn is it today in refusing to permit others to resume civilian production. Thus, while it may be possible to resume partial production of washing machines, for example, some large manufacturers of washing machines may not be able to get into production because of their war contracts. They are afraid that their competitors (who are either not so heavily engaged in war production or who have idle facilities in excess of such production needs) will capture new markets.

The failure to iron-out difficulties of this kind results in an all-or-nothing approach to reconversion. Yet these problems can be solved without giving undue advantages to any special interest groups and even on the basis of protecting the competitive positions of those manufacturers who may be unable to resume civilian production until the war is over. A number of proposals have already been made to meet this situation, one of which is to eliminate brand names during the period of reconversion and to produce an inferior but uniform product to be distributed to each manufacturer of such equipment ac-

ording to, say, their 1941 percentage of total sales.

The resolution stresses the importance of the period of reconversion as a transition period in which will be tested the ability of the nation to unite its ranks and solve its problems in an orderly and democratic fashion. This will be a period of great difficulty and also of great danger. We warn against those irresponsible and reactionary circles who look to the period of reconversion as the moment to unleash an attack upon labor rights and standards and in this fashion upon national unity. The Montgomery Ward provocation, organized and engineered by Sewell Avery, is part of a wide and dangerous conspiracy to create class warfare on the eve of the European invasion, to bring about the defeat of Roosevelt in the November elections and to destroy labor rights and gains in the immediate post-war period. The Averys must be answered in the first place by a united labor movement, but also by all responsible and patriotic sections of business, big and small, who should realize that failure to promote national unity in the post-war period can result only in national catastrophe.

Labor, too, must be ever vigilant against those who would create moods of panic and despair within its ranks in order to foment precipitous and dangerous strike actions. Labor must act in a united and responsible fashion, relying ever more upon its political action for the safeguarding of its basic rights, and the redress of its grievances, and coming forward ever more as the champion and spokesman for the interests of the nation as a whole.

DISCUSSION

WILLIAM SENTNER, *St. Louis*: . . . Too many of us in the labor movement are almost completely unaware of the degree of planning and the beginnings that are now taking place in almost every community, every county, city and state. I also believe that we are not sufficiently aware of the deep concern with which municipal, state and county government leaders and leaders of industry, owners of small shops are viewing this problem. For example, the state of Missouri, in the main an agricultural state with two main cities, Kansas City and St. Louis, had 178,538 workers in industry in 1939 with earnings around a billion dollars a year. At the present time, in the war industries alone, in plants that cost our govern-

ment \$468,000,000, there are 138,000 workers who earn \$2,780,000,000. The new workers in the new industries created since 1940 by government money alone in ten major plants in two cities in the state of Missouri are earning twice as much as the total industrial population of that state in 1939, and the total number employed has increased over 130 per cent. There has also developed in the state an agricultural industry.

This problem of reconversion as I see it, definitely affects the people who depend upon our industrial economy as well as our agricultural economy. In discussing solutions to this problem I think that the Vanderburgh County Agricultural Post-War Planning Council set up a very fine post-war planning committee on agricultural post-war planning which summarizes this. They say: "The purpose of this committee is to develop a sound program for agriculture that will maintain a standard of living in keeping with American ideas and, if possible, prevent disaster in the readjustment period following the war. We recognize the interdependence of industry, agriculture, and labor, also the necessity of full productive industrial employment, for if the objectives of all post-war planning are accomplished we must have a coordinated program. While agriculture shares many problems with society as a whole, the suggestions of this committee are confined largely to those problems primarily affecting agriculture."

HAROLD SIMON, *New York*: The union of which I am a member, the U.E., has taken the lead in attempting to tackle and solve some of these problems of reconversion. In approaching these problems we have been guided by two principles. In examining our facilities we must see where we can further utilize our manpower and machines for war production. Where we cannot integrate our facilities into war production we must begin to make preparations now for full peacetime production.

Concretely, I want to deal with one problem—the machine tool question. Machine tool production has been on a decline now since the spring of 1943. At the present time the industry is running about 50 per cent of capacity. It has done a splendid job in creating the tools necessary for war production, but it has finished its job for America and the world as far as war production is concerned. All the tools needed have been secured and have been made avail-

able. Therefore we have been discussing how to further integrate the industry into the war production program. Our shops cannot produce landing barges or heavy trucks, but they can produce the parts that go into making them. They can produce component parts in order to produce further for the war effort, that is, pumps, transmissions, valves, Radar equipment, bearings, etc. These can be done at our plants, and I want to point out that where we have been able to convince management of this, there we see that the plants are going full blast.

WILLIAM McKEE, *Michigan*: I am in full accord with the resolution on reconversion I want to give you some impressions of what has been happening in our industry. Here it is not a question of conversion to civilian production. Here it is a question of lay-offs now in vital war work. I am engaged in an industry where we have some 80,000 men. During the last four or five months we have had probably some 6,000 men laid off. Last week information was given to our union that some 10,000 people were going to be laid off with seniority as far back as 1935. The union officials brought up the question with the company and told them specifically that if this question of laying off was going back to 1935, they were going to demand a reduction of working hours to thirty-two hours per week so that there would be no lay-off. The company realized they would not get the plant working effectively on a thirty-two-hour week and agreed to halt the contemplated lay-off of the men working in the plant since 1935.

I think the problem is too vital to solve it on the basis of reducing hours of work to thirty-two per week. The company informed us they would not be able to get any more war contracts; that there was no intention of going back to civilian production, or reconversion. This would mean that the men would be laid off until the war was over. We took up the question with the military authorities, who decided to call in the War Production Board, the War Manpower Commission, employers as well as the unions. Organizing conferences with the War Manpower Commission, the War Production Board, the military and naval authorities, as well as the company and union, is one way to overcome lay-offs in plants specifically doing war production work.

JEAN HALL, *California*: I am a welder in one of

the large aircraft plants in Southern California, a plant of some 30,000 workers. For some time now there have been steady lay-offs, with a corresponding decrease in production and morale. Already we have returning servicemen and the responsibility of seeing them placed in jobs commensurate with their skill and with consideration for their seniority.

Donald Douglas, the "Henry Ford of the aviation industry," expresses views with which we can agree. He says: "We have been giving a great deal of thought to post-war planning but that is a problem in which industry alone cannot play the deciding role. The government, with its vast powers and controls, necessarily must play a part in any post-war program for the nation. But we are ready and anxious to do our part." And he mentioned the development of foreign markets for the plane industry, stating that China "will be in drastic need of transportation airplanes and, if she were given help in starting airlines, could become a tremendous market."

There has also been the suggestion of converting the "home" plant into a plant for prefabricated houses,

RESOLUTION ON RECONVERSION

THE PROBLEM of reconversion cannot be postponed for action until after the war. It must be grappled with and mastered in its basic aspects now, not only as a post-war task but as a prime war consideration. This is so because the process of reconversion will get under way long before military hostilities have completely ceased, in fact, it has already begun in the form of considerable cutbacks in war orders. Therefore, any failure to treat this problem as a serious and immediate one may have the most dire consequences upon national unity and morale during the most crucial military phase of the war and on the eve of the November elections.

The period of reconversion will be a difficult and trying one. Millions of workers will be thrown out of work and forced to seek new employment. Furthermore, millions of servicemen will be returning to the labor market precisely at the time when industry will be least prepared to absorb them.

It is to be hoped that the reconversion period will be relatively short, but it will probably last from one to two years. It will represent a period of transi-

tion from wartime to peacetime economy, a period in which the answer will be given as to whether the war is to be followed by orderly progress, based upon national unity, or whether the country is to be rent apart by internecine class strife.

that is, houses built in units and assembled on the lots. The fact that much the same machinery can be used for prefabricated houses as well as airplanes opens up new possibilities in the field of conversion and a partial solution of the housing problem. The question of lay-offs is particularly formidable in Southern California. Never before have women, Negro and Mexican workers been employed in such numbers. It is of vital importance that labor, management and local government get together and discuss this problem in light of the social effects of mass lay-offs of women and minority groups. Layoffs must be regulated not only according to seniority but on a proportional basis which will take into consideration these special groups of people who are new in industry.

The U.A.W., of which I am a member, has taken an important and initial step in drawing up a post-war plan. It is a comprehensive plan taking into consideration the planning and organization of industry geared to a peaceful economy, the problems of returning servicemen, housing, transportation, child care, price control and other consumer problems.

At this moment it is necessary to stress the danger arising from a mechanical and one-sided placing of the problem without regard for the continued and growing needs of the war effort. The best way to minimize this danger is to prepare and plan now to meet all our reconversion problems. Only to the extent that war needs permit do we favor the immediate reconversion of excess or idle plant facilities for civilian production.

It is in this basic respect that the Baruch-Hancock report on reconversion is essentially sound. We agree with its premise that "preparations for demobilization are inseparable from the actual conduct of the war," and that the government agencies that did the mobilizing also have to do the demobilizing. If this is coupled with the adoption of the Baruch-Hancock proposals for an extension of the

Price Control Act and of the priorities system to cover the period of reconversion, we have a few basic guarantees that the process of reconversion will not run counter to the needs of the war and will be orderly and controlled.

A second danger that must be signalized is the disturbing tendency of various groups to approach the problems of the reconversion and post-war period from narrow class and selfish partisan points of view, instead of taking as their starting point the needs of the nation as a whole. An important means of avoiding or minimizing this danger is labor's initiative in proposing practical plans to management and government in the interests of the nation as a whole.

If national unity is to be maintained and even strengthened in the period of reconversion, the nation as a whole must assume responsibility for adequately meeting the trying needs of those thrown out of work, and especially those demobilized from the armed forces. Industry should be encouraged to invest so as to reconvert as rapidly as possible to peacetime production. The main burden of providing full employment must rest upon private enterprise. To stimulate this process, we support the Baruch-Hancock proposals for the speedy termination and prompt settlement of war contracts, but call for far more adequate and stringent measures which would guarantee the protection of the nation against fraud.

In respect to war plants and surplus materials owned outright by the government, we favor their sale or lease to private owners, but on the condition that the purchaser or lessee guarantees the utilization of their full productive capacity. Where surplus tools and materials cannot be disposed of in this fashion, we favor their outright sale on long-term credits to foreign countries for purposes of reconstruction or industrialization.

While private industry has the major responsibility for providing full employment in the post-war period, the problems of reconversion will be so multiple, complicated and difficult as to require the joint and united efforts of industry, labor, farmers and the government. The government, by setting up a special board on reconversion, including representatives of industry, labor and the farmers, must work out plans not only for meeting the human emergencies that will arise, but for guaranteeing the most orderly and rapid reconversion of private industry. Likewise, small business will require financial assistance from the gov-

ernment in order to meet the conditions of reconversion and to be able to compete with larger business units. And, above all else, the needs and rights of veterans to jobs and social security must be ensured by timely governmental and Congressional action.

In order to meet the human needs of the period of reconversion and to cushion the shock and dislocations of this transitional period, we propose that labor, management and farmers unite in support of the following practical measures:

1. A federal law to meet the problem of industrial demobilization, such as the Kilgore Bill. This law is to extend adequate supplementary unemployment insurance benefits to all workers thrown out of work. These benefits are to be paid for by the federal government and to be included as part of the cost of the war. Payment to start promptly upon loss of job and to continue until employment is found. The law is to remain in effect for two years after cessation of all military hostilities.

2. The planning of a comprehensive public works program for both rural and urban areas in the form of slum clearance and public housing, super-speed highways, rural electrification, river valley developments, flood control, soil conservation, reforestation, schools and hospitals. These to be planned by city, state and federal government and to be put into operation as a subordinate but yet important means of providing employment during the period of reconversion, and after that period to absorb any possible existing slack in employment. The municipalities and states bear a special responsibility in promoting such public work programs as they are today in the main in solvent financial positions as compared with the federal government.

3. As unemployment develops, due to dislocations arising from reconversion, we urge the immediate return to the shorter work week at adequate union wage standards.

4. An adequate severance pay—let this be treated in the same responsible fashion as the termination of other war contracts.

5. Provisions against abrupt layoffs—at least two weeks prior notice for all workers.

6. Protection of seniority rights, especially of servicemen. Special measures to guarantee that the Negro workers and women do not carry an undue share of the burden of mass lay-offs.

7. Labor-management-government cooperation to

provide workers with all available information as to job prospects and reconversion plans for a given community or industry.

8. Increase the purchasing power of the workers, farmers and middle classes. Protect this by maintaining a floor under farm prices and a ceiling over all prices of both farm and industrial products.

Servicemen and Veterans

REMARKS OF ROBERT THOMPSON

ROBERT THOMPSON, *New York*: The line-up of forces on the soldier vote issue is one of the most significant and revealing developments that has taken place in America since the beginning of the war.

The Hoover-Dewey-Taft leadership of the Republican Party, and the forces associated with it on the soldier vote issue, have decided that it is better to risk the wrath of the American people rather than let our servicemen and women vote in the fall elections. With this decision, they make public their judgment of the role our front-line fighters will play in the political life of our country if given the opportunity. This judgment is one of the most striking testimonials yet given to the patriotic caliber of our armed forces and their personnel—even though it is one of those testimonials given in reverse form and unintentionally.

By their stand on the servicemen's vote issue the forces represented in the leadership of the Republican Party reveal their fundamental attitude toward the soldiers fighting this war. It is an attitude largely determined by fear. The Republican Party leaders are afraid of men in uniform—because these armed forces are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the fascist enemies of our nation. They are afraid because these astute politicians heading up the pro-fascist defeatist forces in our country know that men engaged in this type of struggle—this kind of war—learn political as well as military lessons.

The basic considerations which motivate the pro-fascist defeatist forces in this country in their drive to deprive our servicemen of their democratic rights in the fall elections will operate with even greater strength as the war progresses and in the post-war

9. Adequate labor representation on all government bodies handling problems of reconversion and production.

10. Likewise it is essential that such vital measures for protecting the welfare and rights of the veterans, as the G.I. Rights Bill, shall be enacted into law without delay or crippling amendments.

period. Their stand on the soldier vote issue is an admission that they have no common ground, no community of outlook or interest, with our servicemen and the people either during this patriotic war or in the world which will emerge from it.

This does not mean that the Hoover-Taft-Dewey gang and the forces in American life they represent have given up hope of utilizing the servicemen for their own purposes and against the interests of the nation. They will increase their efforts to corrupt and demoralize our armed forces unless effectively curbed. They may well try to bring about conditions of mass unemployment and disorder in the post-war period in an effort to create moods of frustration and desperation among the veterans.

The stand of the labor movement, and of the other patriotic forces with which it is aligned, in support of President Roosevelt's courageous non-partisan fight for the voting rights of our servicemen is not based on transient and superficial considerations. It expresses the fundamental relationship between the fighting front and home front in this war. It is an expression in the political field of the unity of purpose and outlook which exists between fighters at the front and workers on the production lines—a unity which is forging victory in this war and which will continue after victory has been won as a principal foundation of post-war national unity.

The relationship between our men in the armed forces and organized labor growing out of the character of this war places great responsibilities on the shoulders of the unions. In order to fulfill these responsibilities the influence of pacifism, which considers wars in general and armies in general as

breeding grounds for reaction, and which retards the development of labor's policies in the field of servicemen and veterans' affairs, must be rooted out of the labor movement. Narrow and sectarian policies must be avoided like the plague they are. The full statesmanship of organized labor must be applied now on the fields of legislation and economic planning in order to ensure full and adequate provisions for the veterans of this war as they return to civilian life.

Our servicemen are playing a foremost part in laying the foundation for the kind of world envisaged in the Teheran declaration. With the fullest support of all patriotic forces on the home front they are going to complete the laying of these foundations by carrying this war through to full victory.

In the post-war world which emerges from this war they are not going to undermine the foundations of an orderly and democratic world which they helped to lay at the cost of their own blood. They are going to build on these foundations. They are going to build as an integral and important part of the labor and democratic movement, as an integral and important part of the post-war camp of national unity. It is the enemies of democracy who have cause to fear the role and the organized strength of the veterans of this war.

RESOLUTION ON SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS

1. The finest of an American generation is in uniform. In our country's war effort theirs is the place of highest honor, heaviest sacrifice, and severest hardship. The blood which they are shedding gives a sacred character to the responsibilities of the home front in ensuring the victorious prosecution of the war and a durable peace.

2. In order to fulfill its special obligations to our men and women in the armed forces, the nation must ensure the success of the courageous non-partisan fight led by President Roosevelt to secure for all servicemen and women the ability to fully and effectively vote in the 1944 elections; extend the morale, cultural and welfare services and ties linking the men and women of the armed forces with their patriotic countrymen on the home front; secure for Negro men and women in all branches of the armed forces and civilian life equal treatment and oppor-

DISCUSSION

PAUL CROSBIE, *New York*: I had hoped that another veteran of the first World War, very active in American Legion affairs, would be here to speak on the resolution, but he is not yet in town. You know the American Legion was organized in 1918-19 as an instrument of big business to keep the veteran rank and file and labor in line. Today we find from coast to coast that the posts of the American Legion give wholehearted support to the war. We as delegates to this convention, returning to our communities, should exert every effort to see to it that the returning veterans are integrated as rapidly as possible into the veterans' organizations. We should resist the proposal to set up a new veterans' organization, but build, strengthen and make more progressive the existing organizations. There is nothing wrong with the constitution and organization of the American Legion if the rank and file organized within it makes it as democratic as the trade unions. You delegates who represent organized labor must be on your toes to see to it that the clash between the returning veterans and organized labor built up by the press is smashed and that the interests of the returning veterans and organized labor are united.

tunity; extend and improve the system of democratic education and orientation courses in the services.

The activities and influence of defeatist forces and their press aimed at creating in the ranks of servicemen and women opposition to our country's war policies, distrust of our country's allies, hostility toward our country's Commander-in-Chief, and enmity toward organized labor must be effectively curbed and suppressed.

3. Further: The government and the American people must meet in full their fundamental obligations to our servicemen and women as they return to civilian life, especially to guarantee them jobs and social security, and this is an immediate, current problem, as well as a post-war matter, for already 80,000 servicemen are being discharged each month. Therefore, advance planning and legislative and organizational measures must be inaugurated and

adopted now to insure returning servicemen and women a full and secure place in the productive life of the nation in industry, agriculture, and the professions; opportunity for educational and vocational training; comprehensive social insurance, improved provisions for medical care, rehabilitation; maintenance at adequate standards of disabled and maimed veterans; as well as adequate pensions and federal aid to the dependents of all veterans.

The constructive participation of representatives of organized labor together with government and management in post-war planning on the needs of returning veterans must be further developed. The activities of organized labor in the legislative field must be increased in behalf of measures vital to servicemen and veterans, such as the bill approved by the Disabled Veterans of America (H.R. 2950) eliminating barriers to the employment of partially disabled veterans in existing state employment compensation laws, and the American Legion "G.I. Rights Bill" (Servicemen's Aid Act of 1944 which should be enacted and improved). The special problems of veterans entering industry, such as partial disability, lack of seniority, and union initiation fees, must be

Women

REMARKS OF ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, *New York*: You have before you the resolution which has a rather general title, "Women." I hope you have read it carefully. There are a few changes, not too serious in character, but in language and construction, and one brief amendment, which I will indicate.

This is an overall resolution dealing with the major problems in relation to women today. Under the limitations of a resolution, of course, there are neither details nor argumentation, and under ordinary circumstances I would be tempted to make quite an extensive speech in elaboration of this resolution. But times have changed. We are a new organization. We

RESOLUTION ON WOMEN

American women are making splendid contributions to the war efforts of the United Nations. As members of auxiliaries to all branches of the armed

met in a manner which will protect the common interests of the veterans and labor, and strengthen the bonds of unity between veterans and organized labor.

4. Unity of purpose and effort between servicemen at the front and workers on the production lines is forging victory. A continuation of this unity after victory is essential if our country is to move forward in the solution of its internal problems in the construction of a durable peace. It is an indispensable condition of post-war national unity and will be one of its strongest and indispensable bulwarks.

In the national interest, as well as in the interests of our servicemen and organized labor, the constructive role of the labor movement must be strengthened by the entrance of returning veterans into the ranks and leadership of the trade unions. The established veterans' organizations, such as the American Legion as well as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, must be further built. Cooperation and unity of action between organized labor, the American Legion and other established veterans' organizations must be strengthened in the field of veterans' and servicemen's affairs and on all matters vital to the nation.

are establishing new methods of work, and I am very glad to announce to you, in consequence, that the Arrangements Committee has decided, in view of the importance of this subject and the many ramifications of the problems raised which should be discussed in detail, and the many women who are here competent to discuss these problems, that a special session of the Convention has been arranged for Wednesday morning, to which all district organizers and organizational secretaries will be asked to be present, to which all women delegates are also summoned to be present, and to which there will be invited guests and many of the other delegates.

forces, and as nurses, they demonstrate exemplary devotion and courage. As workers in industries and on farms, they help to send a constant stream of es-

sential supplies to far-flung battlelines and for the European invasion under way. As housewives they cooperate in rationing, price control and salvage; women volunteer in civilian defense, and in Red Cross and hospital work; they donate blood, buy War Bonds, and collect relief funds and clothing for war-torn areas.

American women realize today that "Fascism is the most deadly foe of women." The cruel suffering of children and the aged, the deaths of millions of helpless civilians, the horrible degradation of women by the Nazis, cry out for vengeance. Support on the home front of the supreme military efforts of the United Nations to crush the Nazi menace to world civilization will help guarantee economic security and enduring peace for future generations. It is necessary resolutely to combat all forms of eleventh-hour defeatist propaganda calculated to destroy morale among women, especially wives and mothers of soldiers, a shameful unscrupulous exploitation of their natural anxiety about their loved ones. It is necessary to increase enlistments in the auxiliary armed forces and as nurses, which are inadequate today, and to counteract slander-campaigns calculated to impair the service of women in the auxiliary armed forces.

It is our nation's sacred debt of honor to provide adequate financial aid for dependents of our fighting men and improved pensions for families of those who gave their lives or were disabled in defense of our country. It is the responsibility of the labor movement to encourage and to assist in organizing wives and mothers of soldiers in defense of their rights and those of all servicemen, especially the opportunity for soldiers to exercise their right to vote in the national elections of 1944.

All political parties are unanimous on one point, that the women voters will be the decisive overwhelming majority in the 1944 elections. To guarantee a full registration of all eligible women voters, white and Negro, especially in the South, and to mobilize them on a non-partisan basis to re-elect President Roosevelt, is imperative for the welfare of our country and the world. American women must see this election as a most important home-front job to guarantee victory and the complete extermination of fascism from the face of the earth. This is the

major responsibility of all women citizens for 1944.

As American women from the homes enter public life they are increasingly alert to their responsibilities as workers. Approximately three and a half million are organized into trade unions. Their integration into the labor movement is important to protect and advance trade union standards. Adequate training, placement, upgrading, equal pay for equal work, and equitable seniority which takes into account (as with the Negro people) their previous lack of opportunity to establish a rating, are some of the basic shop issues affecting women. In the trade unions consistent efforts are essential to organize all unorganized women workers; to conduct classes; to place women on committees and in posts as organizers, to elect them to offices, etc. Women workers' problems are trade union problems. Their solution can immeasurably strengthen the labor movement.

There are eighteen million women wage earners today. The majority carry a double burden—domestic routine added to a job. Adequate provisions for child care, hot meals at plants, marketing and laundry facilities are their imperative needs in order to reduce overwork, illness, absenteeism, and to safeguard the health of mother and child. The experiences of our allies, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, along all these lines are valuable examples for us to emulate. If we are to guarantee uninterrupted and increasing war work by women (to overcome labor shortages), *child care is a major need today*, and adequate legislation is required at once.

A large number of young married women workers are likely to return to domestic life when the war is over. But after every previous war larger numbers of women remained at work than worked prior to the war—unmarried women, widows, wives of disabled soldiers, women who are self-supporting or supporting aged relatives, etc. Such women workers must be free from the fear of dismissal. The labor movement must guarantee to all women the future perspective of their right to work, to full union membership and to protection against discrimination because of sex or color. This is in harmony with the vast possibilities the Teheran agreement presents—of full employment and an adequate standard of life for all.

The South

REMARKS OF DAVID CARPENTER

DAVID CARPENTER, *Texas*: In presenting the resolution on the South to this convention of the Communist Political Association we delegates from the Southern States wish to emphasize the inter-relationship between the South and the other regions of our nation, the effect of political, social and economic conditions in the South on the rest of the United States, and the equal responsibility of every section of the American people, irrespective of region, for helping to bring about changes in the South.

The recent forced retirement of the infamous Martin Dies, the defeat of Joe Starnes, and the victories of Lister Hill and Claude Pepper bring into even sharper focus the political importance of the South to the entire nation.

The full economic and social development of the United States in the interests of the people has been hindered for many generations by the remnants of feudal agriculturism in the Southern States. A reactionary "white supremacy" minority, ruling by intimidation, coercion and terrorism, against the will of the vast majority of the Southern people, has held back the utilization of the immense human and material resources of this region. These heirs of the pre-Civil War feudal slavocracy have kept the South in poverty in order to enrich themselves.

Today these reactionary "white supremacy" elements, who stifle democracy in their own states, through one-party minority rule and a political system based on the poll tax and racial discrimination, in alliance with the pro-fascist defeatist Republican groups in the Northern States, are hampering national governmental policies for winning the war and achieving a durable peace, based on the Moscow and Teheran agreements. The Rankins, Dieses, Cotton Ed Smiths, O'Daniels and Byrds do this in utter defiance of the will of the majority of the people, both North and South.

This great patriotic war for survival our nation is now waging, however, has set into motion social forces for rooting out these relics of feudal agriculturism by completing a task left over from the Civil War—that of integrating the South into the indus-

trial economy of the American nation. The urgent need of war materials has forced the federal government to subsidize the building of huge war plants and the increased exploitation of the tremendous natural resources of the South. This has resulted in an influx of finance capital and the creation of a new class of Southern industrial enterprisers. It has brought into being an immense new working class recruited from the white and Negro workers who formerly worked the farms or serviced the dominant agricultural economy. It is setting into motion the forces for integrating the Negro people completely into the life of the South, without which the entire South cannot move forward.

The economic basis for eliminating all the social evils of the South is thus being established, because, as Georgia's Governor Ellis Arnall has said, "Every ill with which the South is afflicted is due to one cause—the poverty of our people. The racial problem is an example. It is an economic problem."

The future of the South is limitless. T.V.A. Chairman David E. Lillienthal has declared: "The South is the No. 1 region of the United States, and economic progress here within the next twenty years will be the greatest the nation has ever seen."

War Production Board Chairman Donald M. Nelson has pointed out that "The South cannot be prevented from moving swiftly into an era of industrial and social development that will astound the world and add enormously to the strength of this virile democracy of ours. . . ."

But this great economic and social development of the South cannot move forward at the tempo necessary unless there is a suitable political climate in which it can flower. The backward-looking advocates of a feudal slavocratic agriculturism must be eliminated. The reactionary poll-tax "white supremacy" minority must be uprooted. The new social forces in motion in the South are beginning to discharge their responsibilities in this regard. Broad democratic movements in the Southern States are revolting against the minority domination of these reactionary elements. The trade union movement, grow-

ing by leaps and bounds, is organizing its membership for political action. The Negro people, preparing to play their proper role in the political life in the South, are organizing and educating themselves politically.

The recent Supreme Court Texas primary decision lays the basis for releasing the political forces among the Negro people.

These forces, however, are hamstrung by the reactionary minority, who have built up in their many decades of domination a complete control of the political machinery of the Southern states. The united effort of all patriotic Americans, irrespective of region, will be necessary to break these fetters.

The entire nation must be mobilized to end the poll tax, to enforce the Supreme Court "white supremacy" decision, to end Jim Crowism, to break the economic chains which keep the South in a backward state.

DISCUSSION

ANDY BROWN, *Alabama*: In every city and state in the South today there is a movement developing to enable the people who are disfranchised to become registered voters. The coming week there will assemble in Louisiana a conference to form some Southernwide organization for the purpose of getting every disfranchised person in the South registered. This resolution will serve as a guide to action for many of these forces and at the same time lay the basis for the fulfillment of the words Mr. Browder spoke here this morning, that Jim Crow, the poll-tax and, I may add, the white supremacy of the old semi-feudal society, will be forced to go.

ALICE BURKE, *Virginia*: . . . The attempt of the most reactionary sections of the poll-taxers to break the overwhelming unity of the people for the support of President Roosevelt's policies and for his re-election, through the so-called "Byrd for President" drive, failed miserably. Even South Carolina, which became so desperate when the Supreme Court decided that Negroes had the right to participate in the Texas primaries that they called a special session of the State Legislature and within a week amended some 140 bills to prevent Negroes from exercising their right of suffrage, only two days ago relegated poll-taxer "Cotton Ed" Smith to an alternate instead of a dele-

gate to the national Democratic Convention, and defeated the disruptive anti-Roosevelt slate of delegates.

Senator Bailey is having a few headaches in his state of North Carolina. Recently Winston-Salem, scene of the recently organized C.I.O. of 12,000 workers, took political action seriously and registered over 2,000 workers in two weeks, workers who never voted. Many were Negroes who previously were refused registration through devious educational qualifications.

A historic thing happened recently in Virginia where, for the first time since the formation of the Democratic Party, Negro delegates were elected to the state Democratic Convention. This was made possible by the tremendous showing one Negro lawyer made in his race to the City Council in Newport News, Va. His campaign was actively supported by all kinds of elements, Negro and white, from labor to business, and it was based on a demand for the rehiring of six Negro principals and teachers fired because they organized a movement for equalization of teachers' salaries. Three of the Negro delegates to the Convention are the fired teachers and principals. Out of thirty delegates from Newport News six are Negroes.

Just three days ago the Virginia Federation of Labor Convention had as one of its welcoming speakers David Alston, Negro leader and District President of all I.L.A. locals. He stated: "We must banish forever the poisonous fluid of racialism which has polluted the stream of humanity for unnumbered years, and still is rampant in the world even in this great country of ours. Three hundred and twenty-five years have flown down the stream of human life since the first twenty Negroes came within the borders of this commonwealth. We are the only group in America which did not come here in search of opportunity or religious freedom. We did not come here fleeing tyranny. We came here because we were brought here in chains. American society owes a special duty to my people. That duty is to give them the same privileges and the same rights, the same immunities that every other American citizen enjoys." This address of a Negro was hailed by the entire convention, which gave him a standing ovation. And the convention amended the Constitution to guarantee that four of the sixteen State Executive Board members would be Negroes.

WILLIAM PATTERSON, *Illinois*: . . . Who among us has forgotten the report of the National Emergency Council in the early period of the Roosevelt Administration? This council spoke of the South as the No. 1 problem of our country and pointed to the tremendous wastage of labor power, the great illiteracy in the South. The victories that have taken place lay the basis for bringing the South as a new force into American economic and political life. It lays the basis for bringing about the end of the sharecropping system and peonage.

We are witnessing in our country the unification of the Negro people in struggle. This present period offers, for the first time since the Civil War, the opportunity for the unification of the Negro people as a whole. Then there emerged a Frederick Douglass under whose leadership all of Negro America was unified. After the Civil War, with the freedom of the Negro slave, division arose and we saw the emerging of the Booker T. Washingtons, the Kelly Millers and others representing various strata of the Negro people. Today, under the impact of this national liberation war when there is the possibility of ending segregation, Jim Crowism and lynchings, there again arises the possibility of complete unification of the Negro people. We now see developing from among Negroes who have come out of the South men like Benjamin Davis as the elements around which the Negro people are going to be unified. These unified Negroes are not going to tolerate reactionary forces in their ranks. There is going to arise a clear and distinctive differentiation between those Negroes who are seeking to divide national unity by asking the Negroes to follow a line of their own, and those forces that are linking the Negro together with all other elements of national unity.

MARY JAMES, *Alabama*: I refuse to go back

RESOLUTION ON THE SOUTH

(Submitted by the delegates from Virginia, North and South Carolina and endorsed by the National Convention.)

We, Southern Communists, delegates to our National Convention, are deeply proud of the magnifi-

home without having the opportunity to tell you in brief of a very recent most bitter struggle we in Alabama have witnessed in our state since the war began.

The anti-Roosevelt forces represented by Jim Simpson and his crowd are scattered throughout the state controlling about a dozen county small-town newspapers which have been attacking the Negro people in the most vicious Hitlerite way, attacking the Southern Negro Youth Congress, etc. It was a sort of lynch mob spirit which aroused the utter disgust of the decent-minded people of the state.

We were also ashamed of the fact that Mr. Hill, the best man that we had in the Senate, did not come out forthrightly and tell the people of Alabama how he stood and repudiate Simpson's attack on the Negro people and on the people of Alabama and the nation as a whole. He was inclined to give in to the Simpson crowd by not taking a forthright stand on the attacks Simpson was making by injecting the race issue into the political campaign. Hill gave in and told the people: "I too am for white supremacy. I voted against the F.E.P.C. I will continue to vote against the anti-poll tax bill." And he did.

However, during the course of the campaign, just before May 2, the day of the elections, a statement was issued by a prominent leader in Birmingham, Judge Louis C. Charleton to about a thousand people throughout the state and surprisingly enough got 400 answers from leading white people, expressing their disgust and concern that the race issue was being injected in the campaign. These answers were signed by ministers, teachers, superintendents of education, probate judges and most of them by Baptist and Methodist ministers. While this statement was not printed until after the primary election it had a great result and it indicates to us the possibility of a new period opening up for the South.

cent war record of the Southern states. Our youth is helping man the ships, planes, tanks and guns with which America's armed forces, together with those of the other United Nations, are smashing Hitlerism and the Axis.

Southern labor and industry from the shipyards,

nines and mills of Virginia to the oil fields and airplane and chemical plants of Texas are producing vital materials for victory. Our farms, fields and ranches are supplying great stores of food and other war essentials.

The South has become a vital area of war production and manpower. This war has shown more clearly than ever before that the South occupies a key place in American political, economic and social life.

In the crucial 1944 elections the majority of the people and the electorate of the thirteen Southern states support the foreign policy and war program of the Roosevelt Administration and are backing the President for a fourth term.

Growing industrialization and the advance of the progressive labor movement below the Mason and Dixon line, and the increased unity of Negro and white, of worker, farmer and businessman, are re-invigorating the political life of the South.

Not only labor and the farmer, but many Southern industrialists as well, are rallying in support of the President's policies. This is stimulating new democratic currents, as evidenced in the re-nomination of Senators Pepper and Hill, the defeat of Starnes, the withdrawal of Dies' Congressional candidacy, and increasing Negro participation in primaries.

But the war contributions of the South are being achieved under the heavy handicap of an unrepresentative ruling minority, based upon Northern as well as Southern reactionary vested interests. This unrepresentative minority in the South is still able to retard democratic advance and social and economic progress in the Southern states and hence in the country as a whole. Through the system of poll-tax "white supremacy" and the one-party, minority rule system, the Southern Bourbons are also able to exercise a disproportionate influence on the Congress and on the conduct of national affairs. For this purpose they have formed an unholy alliance with obstructionist and defeatist Republicans.

We believe that patriotic Americans, Southerners and Northerners, increasingly realize that the reactionary Southern Bourbons are a cancerous growth within the nation. The needs of the war and the democratic developments in the South press for the immediate solution of the problem of the old political backwardness, the residue of slavery, that hamper the life of the Southern states. This requires, among other things, the advancement and full integration of

the Negro people in the life of the South on the basis of equality.

The "peculiar" institutions of the South, reflecting the persistence of the old slave relationships, are a costly burden in the task of forging a united nation for victory. Bourbon rule in the South, maintained in flagrant disregard for the democratic aspirations of the Southern people themselves, provides a reactionary vantage point from which the pro-fascists conduct Hitler's political warfare within and against our country.

It is not only we of the South who suffer from discriminatory wage scales and semi-feudal plantation relations. Such practices serve not only to lower and retard the economic and social standards of the Southern people, but also jeopardize the welfare of all Americans. For, by restricting the purchasing and productive power of the South, as well as its democratic life, the Poll Taxers shackle the country's economy in its entirety and falsify our democratic processes.

National unity for victory and a lasting peace demands that the South be completely integrated in the national economy and participate fully in the nation's post-war efforts to expand our economy and improve our national well-being. The rights and liberties of the people of the South must be safeguarded and promoted. Toward this end it is necessary to organize and establish unity of action of all win-the-war forces, especially of labor, farmers, liberals and the Negro people in the South and throughout the nation, in securing the adoption of such measures as—

(a) Federal action under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Constitutional Amendments to achieve the extension of the right and practice of voting to the entire adult population.

(b) Guarantee of freedom of activity to the trade unions and all other labor and progressive organizations, including the right to organize and bargain collectively.

(c) Abolition of the poll tax and the Jim-Crow system.

(d) Enforcement of the recent Supreme Court decision regarding the rights of Negroes to participate freely in all Southern primaries and elections.

(e) Termination of the seniority system governing

committee appointments and advancement in Congress.

(f) Establishment of equal pay for equal work in all Southern industries, irrespective of race, age or sex, equivalent to prevailing rates in the North.

(g) Termination of all freight rate differentials operating against the South.

(h) Expansion of federal aid to all sharecroppers and tenant farmers; extension of T.V.A. and the rural electrification system and provision of adequate governmental assistance to all farmers desirous of converting existing one-crop agricultural areas and enterprises to the production of new and diversified crops.

(i) Liberalization and extension of the system of federal social insurance, health and educational aid to

Poll Tax

REMARKS OF PETTIS PERRY

PETTIS PERRY, *California*: The poll tax in the South is one of the vicious ways in which the reactionaries remain in power. It is through the existence of the poll tax that reactionary forces like "Cotton Ed" Smith are returned to office in election after election. This reactionary bloc, together with the Republican Party, has gathered around the Hoover forces of the North.

It is this second point that I wish to emphasize here because I think it is sometimes overlooked. Only a few days ago the *Los Angeles Times* came out with an editorial in which they attempted to prove that the reason the anti-poll tax bill had not been

RESOLUTION ON ANTI-POLL TAX BILL (H.R. 7)

Ten million Americans, six million white and four million Negro citizens, in eight states are disfranchised by the poll tax. The constitutional right of these citizens to vote, to participate fully and freely in our democratic political life, is thereby impaired or denied.

The poll tax, as well as the "white primary," is a political device by means of which an unrepresenta-

all Southerners regardless of color or occupation.

(j) Establishment of an adequate federal fund providing for long-term credits at low interest rates for the building and extension of new branches of private industry, agricultural undertakings, slum clearance and necessary public works.

These and similar measures are required to rehabilitate and reconstruct the South on a prosperous and democratic basis. These steps are equally necessary to strengthen the national war effort, to construct a sound post-war economy, and to protect and extend American democracy. Around this immediate program of action all labor and progressive organizations, all patriotic Americans, regardless of race, class or political affiliation, should unite their ranks and pool their common endeavors.

passed was the fault of the Roosevelt Administration and the whole Democratic Party. The *Los Angeles Times* overlooked the fact that not a single leader among the Republicans in the Senate stood up and demanded the limitation of discussion on the bill which, in all probability, would have insured its passage. Further than that, only the other day we were informed that the Republican Party leader in the Senate is now proposing a Constitutional amendment as a means of preventing the passage of the anti-poll tax bill. The proposal of this Constitutional amendment, requiring the approval of three-fourths of the states, is one of the means of shelving the anti-poll tax bill.

tive minority in the South flouts the will of the majority of the people of the thirteen Southern states, within Congress and without. It is a restriction on the right of the nation as a whole to fully ensure government by majority rule.

Moreover, today, the poll tax is a weapon in the hands of the pro-fascists in their attempt to create

disruption and disunity at home and in our relations with our Allies, the majority of whom are colored peoples. The struggle against the poll tax thus becomes a struggle for national unity, equality and freedom.

The passage of the anti-poll tax bill, H.R. 7, would greatly aid the nation to achieve an all-inclusive, maximum war victory drive, as well as to cement

Anti-Semitism

REMARKS OF PAT TOOHEY

PAT TOOHEY, *Michigan*: We are submitting to you a resolution calling for the organization of a gigantic struggle to eradicate all vestiges of anti-Semitism from our national life. As the blows of the Allied armies are about to land against the fascist enemy, and as the doom of fascism nears, the enemy is desperately moving everything in his arsenal to prevent that. And one of the means to which they resort in Detroit is the foul and vicious weapon and poison of anti-Semitism. The agencies spreading this poison are the fifth column. Their business is treason and their purpose is the creation of division to confuse and divide our people; and the technique which they employ is Red-baiting, Negro-baiting and the purveyance of anti-Semitism.

One year ago today we in Detroit saw the effects and influences, and felt the sorrow and pain, of the activities of these people when, as a result of the insurrection they organized in a deliberate effort on their part to disrupt the labor movement, divide the people's forces and make it possible for the enemy to advance, thirty-four men and women died.

We see in a series of American cities on a national scale the work of these forces emanating in many ways from Detroit, from the vicious movement of Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith, and the work of the Christian Front, the Klan and the whole array of fifth-column treasonable organizations.

The trial of the seditionists now going on in Washington provides our country with just a glimpse of

more closely the United Nations coalition for a speedy victory and an enduring peace.

This National Convention goes unqualifiedly on record for the continued campaign to abolish the poll tax. Likewise we call for the immediate enforcement of the Supreme Court decision abolishing the "white primary." We reaffirm the position of our President, Earl Browder, that on these issues "we are in principle intransigent, uncompromising, irreconcilable."

the extensive network of activities in which they are engaged in their attempt to betray this country and bring about its defeat. One of the main weapons in the arsenal of the pro-fascist forces of our country is that degenerate, immoral and anti-social weapon of anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism is alien to the traditions, the history, the beliefs and the culture and dignity of our people and our country. The American people, by and large, recognize anti-Semitism for what it is and reject it as they reject the slanders leveled by these enemies of our people against the Jewish people. It is not necessary to speak of the knowledge Americans have of the contributions and sacrifices of the Jewish section of the American population in our fight for victory and for freedom. The resolution is submitted here in order to direct the attention of the progressive democratic camp in this country to the absolute necessity of understanding that the struggle to eradicate anti-Semitism is the task of every American who holds dear and cherishes the coming inevitable victory of the forces of democracy.

As the resolution strongly points out, no honorable American can abstain from this battle. No decent man or woman may stand on the sidelines. The time has come when every progressive man and woman and organization in this country must adopt as its watchword—No Quarter to the Forces of Anti-Semitism.

RESOLUTION ON ANTI-SEMITISM

As America gears itself militarily and morally for the great Western invasion of Europe, the pro-fascists are growing daily more desperate. As part of their fifth-column activity, they are more intensely resorting to anti-Semitic agitation, with the purpose of confusing, dividing and weakening our national war effort.

The anti-Semitic assaults and acts of vandalism in Boston, New York, Connecticut, Chicago, and other places were not accidental, disconnected incidents. They were and are the preliminary skirmishes of planned and organized attack: attack at one and the same time on our Jewish fellow-citizens, and on our national unity and national integrity.

Anti-Semitism is degeneracy, moral, social, and political. It is a weapon in the hands of the most reactionary elements in our society, of the anti-democratic forces, of the fifth column, used with the intention of undermining our national unity and of corrupting the moral fiber of the weak and the misled, so that these elements, their ethical sense destroyed by participation in the baiting and assaulting of Jews, may be better tools for the destruction of the liberty of the American people as a whole. This is how the fascists have used anti-Semitism in Germany and this is how the Hitlerite outpost is using anti-Semitism in our country. The fomented anti-Jewish outbreaks are a form of Nazi invasion of America. Like the system of Jim Crow against Negro citizens, they are a part of the false and anti-scientific Hitlerite theory of a "master race."

The criminal technique of the merchants of anti-Semitism is cynically disclosed in the treason trial at Washington—in the anti-Jewish maneuvers of the indicted to turn from themselves the floodlight of accusation. This arrogance stems from their connections with the defeatist press and the defeatist sections of Congress. It should alarm America that those charged with sedition, in the midst of our national war for preservation, should be able to draw aid and comfort from some in high places who still remain free to work for their defeatist designs.

The vast majority of the American people recognize anti-Semitism for what it is, as an attempt to debase American life, and an endeavor to recreate in our country that Nazi horror from which Europe at long last is about to be freed. The American people reject the fascist slanders against the Jews, who, in the

tradition of Haym Salomon during the War for Independence, have played an honorable part in every struggle for the freedom and liberty of our country. In every community in which we live, in factory and in office, in every camp and on every ship, on fighting front and home front, we see our Jewish fellow-citizens working, fighting, and dying—heroically, as did bombardier Meyer Levin and thousands of others—in patriotic participation in the war our country is waging against the Axis.

Over the entire land a democratic movement is growing to destroy the Hitlerite anti-Semitic virus. We greet with warmth the formation of the National Committee Against Nazi Persecution and Extermination of the Jews, headed by Justice Frank Murphy—an inter-party, inter-faith, national-unity committee, the leading national center in the fight against anti-Semitism in our country and abroad.

Labor, especially, has recognized in anti-Semitism, as well as in Negro-baiting and Red-baiting, a weapon of fascism for weakening and destroying the working-class organizations, the backbone of anti-fascist national unity. The national bodies of labor—C.I.O., A. F. of L., and Railroad Brotherhoods—have condemned anti-Semitism. We appeal to all trade unionists everywhere to intensify the struggle against the fifth-columnist purveyors of racial and religious hatred. We appeal to the miners, with their splendid tradition of labor solidarity, not to permit the defeatist insurrectionist John L. Lewis to pollute the well-springs of labor brotherhood with the Hitlerite sewage of anti-Semitism. It is the duty of the trade union movement to repudiate and rout such confederates of reaction in its ranks.

We urge the indictment and arraignment before the bar of justice of Gerald L. K. Smith, Charles Coughlin and all other fascist ringleaders of anti-Semitism and race hatred. We urge the dissolution of the "America First Party," the "Christian Front," the Ku Klux Klan, and all other such un-American, traitorous organizations in whatever guise they may seek to reconstitute themselves. We urge full support for the speedy passage by Congress of the Lynch Bill (H.R. 2328) to bar from the United States mails all race-defaming matter, and for all further legislation to outlaw anti-Semitism, to make anti-Semitic activities a Federal crime.

Anti-Semitism is anti-Americanism. Its eradication is the concern and task of every American who holds dear the moral fiber of America, the democracy and national freedom of his country. No honorable American can abstain from the battle,

Farmers

REMARKS OF ARNOLD JOHNSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON, *Ohio*: Our approach to the farmers must be of a positive character—appreciating their great contributions to the war effort, their patriotism, and their problems as our problems. Victory in the war and in the elections by the win-the-war forces is a victory for the farmer. On this basis the Resolution on Farmers is presented to this convention.

The resolution does not attempt to deal with every concrete detail in every state—but it applies to every state. Only one amendment was made by the committee to the resolution and that condemns the demagogic misuse of the anti-monopoly slogan by reactionary as well as liberal forces playing into the hands of the defeatists. The specific application of the entire resolution must be made. As soon as we say that 43.5 per cent, or 54,000,000, of our population is farm and rural in towns of less than 2,500 population, then we can begin to appreciate the need of attention to farmers. If we include towns up to 5,000 population, then we have more than 52 per cent of the population of the entire country with their main ties and their main thinking as “farmers.”

Any serious approach to problems of the war and the elections must include the most serious concern and activity which unites the farm and rural population with all other sections of the population.

We often think of the eleven midwestern states as the farm belt, and yet we know that the South is over 60 per cent farming and rural population, and actually in every state the farm population is, or can be, decisive in determining the politics of each state. While Texas has the largest rural population of 3,503,435, Pennsylvania is a close second with 3,313,303. New York, Ohio, California and Illinois together with five Southern states each have over 2,000,000

no decent man or woman can stand on the sidelines.

At this Convention we pledge to intensify our efforts in cooperation with all other patriotic forces joined in the battle to destroy Hitlerism and the Nazi blight of anti-Semitism in American life.

farm and rural population. In Pennsylvania, Michigan and Ohio one-third of the population is rural; in Wisconsin, Indiana, Minnesota, Washington, Oregon and Missouri about 50 per cent is farm and rural; and in New York and New Jersey, about 20 per cent is rural.

Such proportions of the population are decisive at all times and this is especially true for 1944. When we recognize that the tendency of politics in the eleven midwest states is that about 90 per cent of the counties may be Republican in 1944—then we must see that any policy of neglect is extremely dangerous because national unity must include the farmers.

The founding of the Communist Political Association gives us a special responsibility to participate in the camp of the majority for winning the farmer and the farm organizations for win-the-war policies and for Roosevelt in the 1944 elections. This calls for such boldness and modesty as will demonstrate our confidence in the farmers and in our program. This requires concrete activity on such a scale that there will be a change not merely within certain states but on a national scale. Such activity must be developed by broad forces, including organized labor and the farmers as well as other win-the-war forces.

National unity forces must go to the farmers and that means that we as a force within the camp of national unity must go to the farmers with confidence and appreciation of the urgency for full participation in the camp of national unity. The problems of machinery, manpower and feed prices are not problems which can be solved by the farmers alone. Such problems must and can be solved only in the establishment of proper relations between the labor movement, the farmers and the win-the-war forces. Defeatist and pro-fascist forces, the Gerald L. K. Smiths and Cough-

lins, the Nyes and Hoffmans or La Follettes only aggravate such problems to the detriment and ruin of the farmers against the interests of the nation. For the solution of these and other problems, and for the establishment of a coalition of forces which will mean victory for the farmers, the initiative, the approach must be from labor and win-the-war forces to the farmers.

Not only must we approach the farmers on the basis of specific problems, but also we must find the way to approach different sections of the farm population on the basis of their specific needs. The wheat farmer has different problems from the fruit grower and different from the dairy or hog-raising farmer. The problem of the 2,286,962 farms of fifty acres or less which have 4.7 per cent of the farm land are different from the problems of the 100,531 farms of

RESOLUTION ON FARMERS

1. The American farmer has answered the call of our nation at war with enthusiastic patriotism and energetic effort. Sons of the farming population are serving in all areas of the world-wide battlefield and in all arms of the service. Millions of farm men and women are working in war production plants. And American farmers in cooperation with and under the leadership of the national administration have given the country the largest agricultural output in the history of the nation.

However, agriculture, as a vital part of the home front, is called upon to perform still greater services in the national war effort. Every ounce of food that the nation can produce—and more—is needed to feed our Army, the civilian population, and our allies. In this great people's war of national liberation, the need for food continues to increase with the Allied invasion of Europe and as the victorious march of our own armies and those of our allies liberates the enslaved peoples.

2. The full contribution of American farmers to victory and to national unity is threatened by Republican demagoguery and partisanship, and by the defeatists and the so-called “farm bloc”—a combination of anti-victory, anti-Administration and anti-farm forces. The “farm bloc” is an unholy alliance of Hoover Republicans and Southern Bourbons. It is a camouflage

over 1,000 acres which have 34.3 per cent of the farm land of the nation.

The application of the resolution requires a concrete approach which carefully considers the differences among and specific problems of the farmers.

Likewise the resolution calls for a positive approach to the various farm organizations, including the Grange, which has over a million members; the Farm Bureau, which has about 700,000 members and is now in a drive to reach a million; and the Farmers Union with a membership of 150,000 and a newspaper circulation of over 220,000; as well as other organizations.

On the basis of a concrete approach, with the resolution as a guide the farmers can and will be won for the camp of national unity and victory in the war and the peace, and will express themselves for Roosevelt in November.

hiding selfish non-farm interests, including certain food processing, meat packing and dairy industry interests. It is being used by the Republican high command for reactionary partisan purposes. It opposes the national endeavor for maximum production and economic stabilization and instead attempts to force upon the nation a policy of scarcity and inflation. The interest of the farmer and of the nation requires a farm economy of abundance with capacity production. The “farm bloc” would not only restrict the contribution of American agriculture to victory, but would also inflict upon the farmers a return to enforced scarcity, unprotected farm income, foreclosures, and agricultural ruin.

The attempt by reactionaries and defeatists to turn American farmers against American workers and against other groups in the nation is a stab in the back of our armed forces at the launching of the invasion of Europe and menaces speedy victory, the prospect for any lasting peace, security, and full production after the war. The demagogic misuse by reactionary as well as by liberal or progressive elements, of the anti-monopoly slogan among the farmers, plays into the hands of the defeatist forces. Unity of farmers, workers, industry and government must be the answer of all patriots to the agents and dupes of the Hitlerites who are now making a desperate attempt

to save Nazism-fascism by inciting to disunity and disruption within and among the United Nations.

3. A war-torn, devastated and hungry world needs all the food we can produce for war and post-war needs, for relief, and for rehabilitation. This demand for food is not temporary. Continuous post-war full production is the official policy of our government. It is the official policy adopted by the United Nations Food Conference. The fulfillment of the Moscow and Teheran agreements will enable our country to carry out a policy of international accord in respect to agricultural production, prices and marketing and is therefore an effective national responsibility for sound economy in agriculture. Thus new and promising perspectives are open for our whole national economy, including agriculture. A worldwide basis for friendly trade between nations, assuring ready markets needed for a large volume of home production and for mutually beneficial exchange—a firm economic foundation for a lasting peace—is the perspective opened to America and to the world in the Teheran Declaration “that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.”

4. A united America joined in firm alliance with the American-Soviet-British coalition, and subordinating everything to the winning of the war, is necessary for the full realization of the Teheran perspective. Teamwork and cooperation on the part of all groups in our nation, among themselves and with the Roosevelt Administration in support of the government's victory program, are essential. This means, among other things, bringing the unorganized farmers into the major farm organizations, unifying farmers of all organizations on win-the-war measures, and further developing working unity between the farmers and other patriotic groups, particularly labor.

Such unity will make it possible to promote the security and welfare of the American people as outlined by President Roosevelt in the proposed Second Bill of Rights. These rights can and should be achieved for American agriculture; the right to a decent living for themselves and their families; the right to produce the abundance which our great agricultural resources and scientific knowledge can yield; the right to sell their products at fair, stable prices, free from fear of inflationary booms followed by de-

flationary busts; and the right to security on the land for the farmers, sharecroppers and tenants.

This means united farm support of the Administration's price stabilization program, which includes effective government-supported price floors for the farmers as producers and price ceilings for the farmers and all others as consumers. This means full support of subsidies, production credit loans, Farm Security Administration, crop insurance, and the war food production programs of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the War Food Administration. It means the fullest cooperation of the farmers with labor, industry, and government in meeting farm manpower needs and in support of the Administration's farm labor mobilization program and of the farm training and placement system of the United States Employment Service. It means full support for a federal land resettlement program for returning veterans. It means, moreover, the fullest participation of the farm population in the national effort to secure the enactment of vitally needed war legislation, such as an equitable tax program; health, employment, and social security measures; reconversion measures which point toward continuous, post-war full production; and legislation which extends democracy and removes oppressive, discriminatory practices, such as the poll tax. It means special attention to the need for expanding Federal aid to Southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers, Negro and white.

5. The future of the American farmer is an integral part of the future of our nation and of the United Nations coalition. In 1944 the American people must elect a President and a Congress that will steer a resolute course for the full achievement of the Teheran perspectives of national and international cooperation for speedy victory and for a lasting peace, with approximate full production and employment and improved living standards. Therefore it is incumbent upon the farmers of our land to join with all other win-the-war forces, from workers and soldiers to business men, in non-partisan patriotic election campaigns to ensure the continuation of President Roosevelt's leadership and the election of a coalition Congress, representative of the entire camp of national unity, and pledged to the complete military destruction of fascism, to security and a stable peace.

Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill

REMARKS OF OTIS HOOD

OTIS HOOD, *Massachusetts*: I want to introduce the Resolution on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, a bill which would unify the present unemployment insurance systems on a state and federal scale to include practically all of the working groups in the country.

There is need for much more popularization of this bill. One reason why it has not received more attention in Congress is because a great majority of the people do not know what this bill is all about and have not swung behind it. This bill can be a very important one for the whole reconversion program which is under way now, about which we have heard many of the delegates speak.

The whole question of unifying and bringing up to date a modern unemployment system and also public health insurance is a vital part of the whole reconversion program.

RESOLUTION ON WAGNER-MURRAY-DINGELL BILL

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill is a vital legislative proposal that unifies, expands and improves existing social security legislation. It is a great step forward toward achieving an adequate national system of social security.

This measure creates a federal health insurance system. It unifies and extends on a national scale unemployment insurance. It creates a federal-state public assistance program. It extends the coverage of social security to include, in the main, the entire working population of the country. It provides social security protection for servicemen. It inaugurates a system of maternity benefits.

This bill should be resolutely supported. It should also be strengthened to provide adequate unemployment insurance benefits for the entire period of unemployment.

Passage of this measure is not only vital as a timely measure of post-war adjustment but is equally necessary as immediate war legislation. Cutbacks and

Many of us still remember the original fight that had to be put forward to get the public to understand the need for unemployment insurance. We had to fight for a rank-and-file movement in the A. F. of L. before the A. F. of L. finally accepted it and made it their issue. We do not have that same problem today. This bill has the endorsement of the labor movement, but has not been brought to the attention of the great masses of the people. It is time that we began to popularize the measures. The bill should be an issue in the 1944 elections. When candidates say that they are for unemployment insurance, for real health insurance, then we must ask whether they are for the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill. I think we have to make it a special point for the whole labor movement and for all political action committees in the 1944 elections.

preparations for reconverting from war to civilian production are taking place *now* during the war. The eleven million Americans in the armed services, and the millions in war and essential civilian production are vitally concerned that measures be taken now to provide for their security during and after the period of reconversion.

An adequate national social security program enacted now would be a war weapon of democracy—an inspiration for all Americans on all the war fronts, at home and abroad.

It is the responsibility of all Americans and especially of the labor movement to secure the widest understanding of the provisions and effects of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security measure and to organize the full weight of American patriotic will for its early enactment into law.

To this effort this Convention pledges its unqualified support.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, *California*: The resolution before you seeks to center attention on the question stressed by the section of Earl Browder's report dealing with the role of China in the war. All America pays tribute to the heroic struggle of the Chinese people in seven years of resistance against Japanese aggression. Her armies and guerrilla forces have fought, with whatever weapons at hand, against a brutal and barbaric enemy equipped with modern arms. The most brilliant page in that story is the magnificent fight of the Eighth Route Army and the epic struggle of the Chinese Communist Party for the unity of the Chinese people under the banner of national liberation.

But we must view with gravity the internal struggle within China precipitated by the pro-Japanese elements in the Kuomintang against the democratic forces of the people. At a time when China is desperately in need of all her strength to meet new Japanese offensives, some of her armies are arrayed, not against the invader, but against the most valiant fighters opposing the invader—the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies in the Northwest Border Regions.

We who were the first to fight for aid to China; we who today are among those consistently fighting for giving China every possible support, surely have the right to raise very sharply the question of putting at end to this condition approaching almost civil war; of putting all possible pressure on the Chungking authorities to call off the reactionary military clique, which has brought about this disastrous situation, in the interest of China, as well as the common interests of the United Nations coalition.

The press reports that at this moment representatives of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist-led forces are meeting in Chungking to negotiate a settlement of these issues. While expressing the fervent hope that an agreement will be reached, let us bear in mind that America's voice will have to be heard more strongly and sharply at this conference to overcome the obstacles and bring about a settlement.

Let us hope that Wallace's visit to China will facilitate such an agreement.

In calling for increased military aid to China we know that the coming invasion of Europe to destroy the Hitler end of the Axis will facilitate and hasten victory in the Pacific as well. Those people who call for the defeat of Japan first are deliberately seeking to divert us from the decisive struggle in Europe; they want neither the decisive defeat of Germany nor Japan. They demagogically play upon the difficulties of China's struggle in order to advance their whole defeatist line, which does China no service and is a serious danger to all the United Nations and their coalition strategy.

Furthermore, the Pacific First propagandists use racial incitement which disrupts national unity in our country and plays into the hands of the Japanese militarists. Hearst calls this a white man's war against the colored people, echoing the Tokyo radio in its appeal to peoples of Asia and the Pacific.

We must make clear that the quickest road to defeat of Japan lies through the coming second front in Europe. Aid to China need not wait entirely on the destruction of Hitler's armies in Europe. Already offensives in the Pacific are being stepped up and our armed forces are winning significant victories in cooperation with the armies of China and our other allies. We must increase military aid to China to the fullest extent consistent with our main strategic tasks in Europe. But we must also insist that the lend-lease materials to China shall be shared with those forces that have been doing the main fighting against the Japanese enemy, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies.

The greatest aid we can give to China is to use our influence to bring about the unification of all patriotic forces in China; to realize the declaration of the Cairo Conference and extend its application to all the peoples of Asia in order to mobilize them more fully in the struggle against the common enemy.

By cementing our coalition with China, as part of the United Nations, by our close military and political cooperation with China in the prosecution of the

war, we will lay the basis for our future democratic relations with the peoples of China and all Asia in the post-war world, in accord with Earl Browder's remarks last night on Latin America, in helping to reconstruct China as a free and democratic

RESOLUTION ON CHINA

1. For almost seven years the heroic people of China have defended their nation from the bestial Japanese invader. For a long period before the coalition of the United Nations was formed they valiantly held aloft the banner of national freedom and checked the rapacious plans of Axis aggression in the Far East.

Today we again pay tribute to the magnificent courage and tenacity of the Chinese people, of their soldiers, and particularly of their guerrilla fighters who have carried on relentless war against the invaders and prevented a consolidation of their gains. China's armies, ill-equipped against modern arms, have written pages of heroism by their epic struggle against the enemy. Of all China's armed forces, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, operating from bases in China's northwest, and overcoming the most difficult obstacles, continue to engage far more than their numerical share of enemy forces, to inflict heavy casualties upon the personnel and materiel of the Japanese and to deepen the roots of democracy among all those with whom they come in contact. These armies and the millions of patriots supporting them are the most stalwart fighters for China's freedom and firm defenders of the cause of the United Nations.

2. As the blows of the Allied forces against the Axis increase in frequency and in power with the opening of the second front against Hitler's forces in the decisive European theater of the war and the simultaneous stepping up of offensive operations in the Pacific, the American people view with grave concern the continuation of internal discord and disunity within China fostered by pro-Japanese, anti-United Nations elements in the Kuomintang. Symbolized by the military blockade of the Border Regions which form the base of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, by the long failure on the part of the Chungking authorities to give any aid what-

nation with our economic and political cooperation.

Thus America's role of world leadership, in war and peace, will be in a progressive direction to guarantee victory in the war and in the making of an enduring peace in a free and democratic world.

soever to these fighting forces, by the provocative and inflammatory statements and actions of Chinese fascists and defeatists in high positions, and by their hostility to all forms of democracy—that disunity threatens the continued existence of the Chinese nation and imperils the coalition war of the United Nations. It impedes the fulfillment of the Cairo decisions and undermines the position of China in future world relations.

3. Those within China who plot against their own people are aided by the defeatists and appeasers and outright fascists in this country who criticize and do everything possible to block the unfolding of the United Nations' grand strategy for victory. The so-called Pacific Firsters, led by Hearst and other pro-fascists, play directly into the hands of the divisive pro-Axis gang in Chungking. Under the guise of defeating Japan first, they seek to reverse the historic decisions of Teheran, and thereby would save both Hitler Germany and its Japanese ally from destruction. It is the task of all patriotic Americans, in aiding the Chinese people to overcome their difficulties, to expose and defeat this enemy in our own ranks. For only when the continent of Europe has been purged of Hitlerism will it be possible to come to the full aid of China in ridding the world of the rapacious Japanese imperialists.

4. The problem of speedily overcoming Chinese disunity, of forging China's national liberation front, is not the exclusive concern of the Chinese. It is a vital war problem which belongs to all the peoples of the United Nations. Therefore, the American people and their government must exercise their influence on behalf of the Chinese people in their struggle for national unity and independence. To this end we recommend, for one thing, the establishment of American military and consular representation in the Northwest Border regions.

5. China and the United States must work more

and more closely together in unison with all of the United Nations to realize the historic agreements of the Cairo Conference and the Declaration of Moscow. Such an alliance based upon an all-inclusive national unity of all anti-Axis forces within each nation is the precondition for unconditional victory and for the relation which must govern post-war amity. The United States has a great role to play not only in fighting a war of coalition with China but also in assisting in the future reconstruction of a liberated Chinese nation in concert with the Soviet Union and Great Britain. It is time now to hammer out that close

International Trade Union Unity

REMARKS OF BILL SULLIVAN

BILL SULLIVAN, *Ohio*: On behalf of the Resolutions Committee I'd like to put before you this resolution on International Trade Union Unity. There has been quite a controversy in labor for quite some time on this subject. Within the ranks of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. we have fought for this for some time now. I believe we agree that the great trade unions of the United Nations, especially Britain, the United

RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY

The achievement of international labor unity will help establish basic guarantees that the democratic nations will remain united to win the war, to establish a durable peace and to build a better world. Just as American labor is the backbone of our national unity and war effort, so the organized workers of the anti-Hitler countries must provide a firm foundation for the United Nations. World labor unity is indispensable for the full application of the decisions of Teheran, for hastening victory and for establishing a just and durable peace.

Division in the ranks of world labor aided the forces of Munichism in blocking united action by the democratic nations to stop Hitler Germany and the Axis before the entire world was engulfed in war. This division played into the hands of the anti-Soviet forces in the United States who long prevented our

alliance needed for the victory and the post-war stability of both these great nations and their allies.

In line with this it is necessary for America to coordinate its military efforts in the Far East more fully with those of China and to augment lend-lease aid to China, ensuring that adequate supplies also reach the Eighth Route Army. Likewise it is necessary to insure liberated China large-scale and long-term credits underwritten by our government for undertaking a gigantic plan of post-war construction under Chinese sovereignty and for promoting extensive trade between our countries.

States and the Soviet Union, should get together as soon as possible and especially sit in at the peace table. As a soldier of the last world war, labor was neglected at the last peace table. I am sure that if we vote overwhelmingly or unanimously for this resolution it will have a great effect throughout the ranks of labor in pushing for the realization of the content of this resolution.

country from achieving with the Soviet Union those common policies that would have brought these two great nations together and strengthened and aided the whole position of other freedom-loving peoples.

At long last international labor unity is on the order of the day. This was shown by the response of the trade unions throughout the world to the call for the London conference. The stand of American labor, as expressed by the C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods, as well as by many bodies of the A. F. of L., was an important factor in causing the British unions to call this world labor conference. The opposition of a handful of A. F. of L. leaders, who have long disrupted and paralyzed the ranks of world labor by objecting to the participation of the C.I.O. and the Soviet trade unions in a united international trade union movement, cannot stem the advance of unity

of action of world labor. However, American labor is still confronted with the necessity of isolating and defeating the reactionary policies of Hutcheson, Woll, Dubinsky, and Lewis, which still threaten the unity of the American and world labor movements.

Military expediency has prevented the convening of the world conference in London on the date scheduled. By urging that the conference should convene in the Western Hemisphere American labor will help assure that the postponement will not be used by the enemies of the United Nations to sabotage and undermine labor's unity. The convening of the conference in the Western Hemisphere can be hastened if the membership of the A. F. of L. will actively insist that their great organization take its proper place with the C.I.O. and railroad unions in the councils of world labor. It is to the best interests of the trade unions throughout the country to let their voices be heard on this vital question, and to establish direct contacts with the unions of their trades and industries in Great Britain and the U.S.S.R.

Acceptance Speech for Nomination to the National Committee

BY LOUIS WEINSTOCK

IT IS INDEED a great privilege and honor to serve on the leading body of the newly formed Communist Political Association, with leaders of the American labor movement like Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and scores of others, whose names I do not have time to enumerate, but every one of whom is a veteran of the labor and trade union movement.

I have been a member of the American Federation of Labor continuously since 1925. I feel that I know the trade union movement and the sentiments of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor as well as the CIO, the trade unionists who have made such tremendous contributions to our war effort, who have distinguished themselves not only in the factories, mines and war production plants, but also on the battlefields in combat against our fascist enemies. These trade unionists believe in the principles that were enunciated here yesterday, when the discussion

American labor has the special responsibility of establishing the closest ties with the great trade unions of the Soviet Union as a solid basis for uniting all labor on a world scale. Likewise the workers of this country have the responsibility of promoting the closest possible collaboration with the labor movement of Latin America in order to help fully implement the Good Neighbor policy and assure that the United States will be consistently a Good Neighbor to our sister nations throughout the American hemisphere.

When the full strength of American labor is joined with that of its brothers of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the other democratic countries there will be a great added assurance that victory will be won more speedily, that the coalition of the United Nations will endure, that democracy everywhere will be re-enforced, that powerful unions will be established in the liberated countries; that the forces making for an enduring peace, for prosperity and freedom for all peoples, will be strengthened.

took place on the preamble to the Constitution of the Communist Political Association and the Constitution itself.

This new organization carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln. It, together with other democratic forces of our nation, stands behind one of the greatest presidents this nation ever had, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The Association upholds the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights. It fights for freedom, liberty, democracy, and above all it fights for the things that are so dear and near to every trade unionist—the right to organize, the right to jobs, for social security, unemployment insurance, old age pensions and decent living conditions.

No honest American worker, whether a member of the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, can help but agree with the

principles and policies and resolutions adopted at this first Convention of the Communist Political Association.

As for myself, I not only am glad to join it, but I shall do my utmost to live up to these principles. I am convinced that the membership with whom, and in whose behalf I fought for unemployment and social insurance more than 14 years ago, with whom I have fought to clear the trade union movement from gangsterism and racketeering and for real trade-union democracy, this rank and file membership who have given me the honor to represent them in wage negotiations for many years will approve the action I have taken today.

Summary Remarks

BY EARL BROWDER

We have had a fruitful Convention. We have met in one of the most critical moments in the history of our country and of the world. We have faced unprecedented problems. We have avoided every temptation to fall into the pattern of copying the answers from the past; we have worked out new policies to meet an entirely new and unprecedented moment in our history.

We have not, however, cut ourselves off from the past. It is only the work and the thinking of the past that have armed us with the sure knowledge of the direction in which we must march in the present and in the future. We are people who have the greatest appreciation of the enormous work that has been done for human progress by the generations that have preceded us. We know that we are able to march forward into the future only because we have been lifted on the shoulders of the millions of heroes of the past who gave deep meaning to the words liberty and progress. We know that we are able to think clearly about the problems of today only because we sat humbly at the feet of giant figures of the past and thankfully learned from them. And we know that if what we have in the world today is important for future generations, it is only because from the great minds of the past we learned the continuity of the historical process. There may be setbacks, but there is progress. There is a continuous chain of cause

This is the only logical action that any advanced trade unionist can take in these historic moments. Our nation, gathered with the other United Nations, are facing the greatest battles ever fought. I am confident that the heroic deeds of the soldiers of the United Nations that have already participated in great battles, will inspire those millions of new soldiers who are entering the battlefield for the first time and they will give a mortal blow to the enemy of mankind. I believe, as the preamble of the Constitution of the Communist Political Association declares, that the great coalition of the great democratic capitalist and socialist states will open a better future for humanity.

and effect which can be studied scientifically. And the pure rays of the lamp of science can be thrown upon the present and the future.

We have learned how to be strong and bold as the spokesmen and fighters for this great current of human progress. It is a current that leads to an ever greater freedom, an ever greater mastery of nature, a greater mastery over the social problems of mankind. We have also learned the necessity to be modest in our personalities. This leads us to understand that no man or woman attains greatness in his own right. He gains it only to the degree that he can give service to this great historic movement of humanity and freedom.

We think—I believe all of us think—this Convention has given us a sure direction in the struggle. We can have confidence in this direction. We can be sure that the Convention has put solid ground under our feet as we go out to do battle against all of the enemies of human progress. We are sure that this Convention has laid the foundations for a much broader, deeper, closer, more confident collaboration, a more harmonious co-working between ourselves and our many allies in this country, who comprise the great majority of the American people. We can be sure that this Convention has armed us to be effective workers and fighters for closer consolidation of the great Anglo-Soviet-American alliance which leads the

United Nations. The united leadership of this alliance gives the only hope that exists in the world for the crystallization of a real family of free, democratic nations everywhere on this earth.

It is true, we have not satisfied everyone. Many people will express dissatisfaction with our Convention. But I think it will be found that everyone who gives a negative verdict upon our Convention will either be thinking about it in a way entirely dissociated from our nation's task today—that is, he will be thinking in terms of his own special ideological pre-disposition, his prejudices or his special interests—or else he will be tainted with a lack of enthusiasm for the completion of our nation's tasks in this war. That is so because no one who places the victory of our nation and its allies in this war as the first consideration can possibly have any other thought than that of accepting gladly the contributions that this Convention has made to our nation and to the Allied war effort.

Still, some people are dissatisfied, people who generally must be classed as patriotic and as wishing to win the war. We had, for example, this morning, in the eminent *New York Herald Tribune*, an editorial judgment upon our Convention of a very flatly negative character. The *Herald Tribune* seems to be overwhelmed by the fact that there are still Communists in America, and *organized* Communists, even after the Communist Party is dissolved. The *Herald Tribune* a year ago editorially demanded that the Communist Party should dissolve. At that time I addressed a letter to them publicly, which they printed, in which I challenged their conclusions but offered to debate the question with them. They refused to discuss the question. We proceeded to debate it on our own and we came to the conclusion that the *Herald Tribune* had been correct in recommending that the Communist Party be dissolved. And with different motives, and following a different line of reasoning, we came to the same conclusion today that they expressed a year ago.

Instead of being happy that they had converted us to their point of view, the *Herald Tribune* this morning expressed the greatest concern: some serious danger threatens our country; the Communists have taken an action which the *Herald Tribune* recommended one year ago!

We had the same experience in connection with some of the old leading figures of the New York

State American Labor Party, now the leading figures of the new ambitious project called the Liberal Party. Two professors, in fact doctors of philosophy, and therefore men with a lifetime of training in the laws of logic and the rigors of the pure intellectual processes—Dr. Counts and Dr. Childs—wrote a whole book, and published it, to prove the Communist Party could make only one contribution to America, and that is, to dissolve itself. And yet, when the Communist Party took the matter up in a practical fashion and proceeded to move in the direction of doing precisely what the two eminent doctors of philosophy had proved in a learned thesis, published in hard covers, was necessary, the two learned doctors of philosophy immediately forgot their book. They have not mentioned it in six months and I understand it has been withdrawn from sale. We have no public explanation as to why they changed their minds, but Dr. Counts and Dr. Childs, the eminent professors, now stand before the world as the great champions not only of the right of the Communists to have their own party, but they insist that the Communists must have their own party whether they want it or not.

Well, as I said, we cannot satisfy everybody, because the moment we try to satisfy some people and accept their proposals we find they change their minds. As a matter of fact, such people we never try to satisfy.

The only people we are really concerned with and profoundly anxious to satisfy, are those we want to convince that, though our ideas may differ somewhat from theirs, we have the same interests. They are the people we want to convince that they and we have to fight shoulder to shoulder together for these interests. We really want to convince are the great mass of think a little bit differently from them may make our cooperation with them even more valuable than if we were simple yes-men cooperating. The people that we really want to convince the great mass of the American people, the alert and intelligent workers of America, the business and professional people who are honestly trying to think through the problems of today and who are earnestly attached to the welfare of their country as their first consideration. Yes, we want even to convince that large number and great body of professors and doctors of philosophy who are badly represented by Dr. Counts and Dr. Childs. We want to convince the capitalists of America that we are serious and earnest in our proposals for a national unity broad enough to include capital and labor. We

want to convince every honest man and woman who understands the great crisis through which our country and the world is now living, the greatest crisis of all history, that Americans must learn how to think together, how to act together and how to unite in a new way in order that this world crisis shall not represent a setback for our country and for human progress. We want to guarantee that this great ordeal of fire—these great sacrifices that our country must make together with the other peoples of the world to emerge from this crisis—will not be the inevitable forerunner of another world crisis. We want to make sure that the price we pay for the solution of this crisis shall bring us up onto a new field of human progress for our country and the world, and that as a result of victory in this war we shall have plowed up the seeds of future wars and humanity shall be organized for peace for generations to come. We want to guarantee that the achievement of well-being and democracy for all within our own country shall not proceed through crisis after crisis and struggle after

struggle, but will be the product of intelligent collaboration of all intelligent men in America.

We think this is a realistic program. We are going to fight for it; we are going to welcome the collaboration of men and women from every circle and all strata of the American population toward this end. We are going to guarantee that if this goal is not achieved, it shall be clear to the world where the responsibility lies—clear that it does not lie upon the Communists or upon those who sympathize or work with the Communists, but precisely upon those who have tried to make the word "Communist" synonymous with the enemies of America at the very moment in history when Communists throughout the rest of the world have proved the most reliable allies of America in the greatest crisis our country has ever gone through.

We are convinced that the forces of democracy and progress and intelligence in America are sufficiently strong to guarantee the ultimate triumph of the policy put forth by this Convention.

Minutes—Communist Political Association Convention

MORNING SESSION
SATURDAY, MAY 20

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER called the assembled delegates, who had voted to dissolve the Communist Party, to order. Calling attention to the fact that in his statement preceding the motion for dissolution of the Communist Party Earl Browder had indicated the positive need for setting up a new type of organization to carry on essential work in this period, Foster asked for proposals. Foster recognized Israel Amter, New York.

Israel Amter, New York, introduced the following motion:

"That all those persons present here who were delegates to the Communist Party Convention, who are in agreement with the proposals for setting up a new organization and who believe this is in accord with the actions and sentiments of the state organizations from which they were sent as delegates, constitute themselves as an organizational convention to launch a new organization, the Communist Political Association."

FOSTER: You have heard the proposal and motion made. Will those persons who came here as delegates to the Communist Party Convention who are in agreement with the proposal for setting up a new organization, a Communist Political Association, who believe that this is in accord with the actions and sentiments of your state organizations, and desire to constitute themselves as an organizational convention to launch such a new organization, indicate that fact by saying "Aye."

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Gil Green nominated William Z. Foster as chairman for the first session of the Communist Political Association. Foster was unanimously elected.

Chairman Foster called upon John Williamson to nominate officers and convention committees. Williamson recommended the following officers and committees which were unanimously accepted:

SECRETARIES: Alfred Wagenknecht, Illinois; Audley Moore, New York.

PRESIDING AND NOMINATING COMMITTEE: Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Robert Minor, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson, Roy Hudson, Gilbert Green, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James W. Ford, Arnold Johnson, Ohio; Ella Reeve Bloor, Eastern Pennsylvania; William Schneiderman, California; Ann Burlak, Massachusetts; Morris Childs, Illinois; Max Weiss, Western Pennsylvania; Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York; Pat Toohey, Michigan;

Peter V. Cacchione, New York; Robert Thompson, New York; Henry Huff, Seattle; Doxey Wilkerson, Maryland; Alexander Trachtenberg, New York; Ben Gold, New York; Israel Amter, New York; Sam Don, New York.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: Rose Gaulden, New York, Chairman; Charles Krumbein, New York, Secretary; Mac Weiner, Eastern Pennsylvania; Jim Forest, Colorado; Helen Allison, California; Ben Careathers, Western Pennsylvania; Joe Godfrey, Western Pennsylvania.

RULES COMMITTEE: Oleta O'Connor Yates, California, Chairman; Martha Stone, New Jersey, Secretary; J. Lavin, New York; Fred Williams, Michigan; J. Robinson, New York; William McMurphy, Montana.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE: Eugene Dennis, Chairman; Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Secretary; William Schneiderman, California; Gilbert Green, New York; Morris Childs, Illinois; Max Weiss, Western Pennsylvania; Robert Thompson, New York; Bella Dodd, New York; William Norman, New Jersey; Nat Ganley, Michigan; David Carpenter, Texas; M. Williams, Illinois; Arnold Johnson, Ohio; Ned Sparks, Wisconsin; Pettis Perry, California; William Patterson, Illinois; Vic Kramer, Illinois; Ellen McGrath, Seattle; Ray Dennis, Ohio; Carl Ross, New York; Bill Sentner, Missouri; Max Perlow, New York; R. McKenzie, New York; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York; A. Blumberg, Maryland.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE: Roy Hudson, Chairman; Louise Todd, California, Secretary; John Williamson, New York; Ann Burlak, Massachusetts; Ben Gold, New York; Pat Toohey, Michigan; Peter V. Cacchione, New York; Ray Hansbrough, Illinois; Steve Nelson, California; Frederick Myers, New York; Charles Loman, New York; Bill Lawrence, New York; Rose Wortis, New York; Alice Burke, Virginia; Anita Whitney, California; Bill Sullivan, Ohio; Dave Davis, Eastern Pennsylvania; Otis Hood, Massachusetts.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION: John Williamson, A. Trachtenberg, Co-Chairmen; Sam Don, Secretary; James W. Ford; Doxey Wilkerson, Maryland; A. R. Onda, Connecticut; Nat Ross, Minnesota; Dave Goldway, New York; Jack Kling, Illinois; Carl Reeve, Seattle; Al Lannon, Maryland; Frank Cestare, Eastern Pennsylvania; Phil Bart, Illinois; Charles Krumbein, New York; Ben Careathers, Western Pennsylvania; Gus Hall, Ohio; Ann Beiswenger, Michigan; Herbert Benjamin, Missouri; Mike Saunders, Western

Pennsylvania; Elizabeth Barker, New York; Jack Green, Massachusetts; Martin Young, New York; Carl Winter, California; Fred Blair, Wisconsin; J. Woods, Seattle; Emanuel Blum, New York; May Forbes, Eastern Pennsylvania; Syd Stein, New Jersey; Betty Gannett; Ben Herbert, Illinois; Flo Woll, Ohio; A. Landy, New York; J. Mindel, New York; L. Budenz, New York; Sam Weisman, New York; Esther Letz, New York; Joe Roberts, New York.

PUBLICITY AND PRESS COMMITTEE: Louis Budenz, Chairman; A. Landy, Secretary; Sender Garlin, New York; Rose Tillotson, Minnesota; Abe Magil, New York; I. Begun, New York; Betty Riley, Ohio; Allan Shaw, Oklahoma.

* * *

Chairman Foster recognized Delegate Eugene Dennis. Delegate Dennis paid tribute to the men in the armed forces who have died gloriously on the field of battle. (The remarks of Delegate Dennis are printed in another section of this record.)

The Convention Assembly rose in tribute to the honored dead.

* * *

Secretaries Wagenknecht and Moore were called to the platform.

Chairman Foster called on Delegate Browder to deliver the main report to the Convention.

Delegate Earl Browder was greeted with a standing ovation by the Convention. The full text of Earl Browder's address is reproduced in another section of this record.

Delegate Robert Minor was recognized to speak on the untimely death of Anna Damon, leading fighter for civil liberties. A delegation was elected to represent the Convention at the funeral, consisting of Earl Browder, Robert Minor, James W. Ford, Ella Reeve Bloor, Alexander Trachtenberg, Anita Whitney, William Patterson, Otis Hood, and Fred Williams.

The Convention delegates elected Arnold Johnson, Ohio, as Chairman for the afternoon session.

The Convention recessed until 2 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION SATURDAY, MAY 20

Chairman Johnson called upon Rose Gaulden to submit the report of the Credentials Committee.

ROSE GAULDEN: The Credentials Committee received credentials for 229 regular delegates and 173 alternate delegates representing forty-four states. Of the total of 402 regular and alternate delegates 185 are workers direct from industry; 119 women; 64 Negro; 67 in the Communist movement five years or less; 152 are in from five

to ten years; 90 are in ten to fifteen years; 54 over 15 years and 25 are charter members of the American Communist movement.

Your Committee finds the credentials of all delegates in proper order and moves that they be seated.

Motion to accept the report of the Credentials Committee. Carried unanimously.

The Committee was discharged with thanks.

Chairman Johnson called upon Oleta O'Connor Yates to submit the report of the Rules Committee.

OLETA O'CONNOR YATES: 1. The order of business of this Convention shall be:

a. Report on Political Situation and Tasks of Communist Political Association—Reporter, Earl Browder.

b. Report of the Resolutions Committee—Eugene Dennis.

c. Report of Organization-Education Committee—John Williamson.

d. Report on 25th Anniversary of American Communist Movement—Robert Minor.

e. Reports of other committees.

f. Election of National Officers and National Committee.

g. Closing Remarks—Earl Browder.

2. There shall be three sessions of the Convention each day. The Convention shall be convened at 10 A.M. and recess at 1 P.M.; reconvene at 2 P.M. and recess at 6:30 P.M.; reconvene at 7:30 P.M. and adjourn at 10:30 P.M.

3. Reports of all committees to the Convention shall not exceed one hour.

4. Discussion on reports and resolutions shall be limited to ten minutes for each speaker and no speaker shall receive the floor a second time, as long as others have not yet spoken, without permission of the Convention. All resolutions shall be submitted to the Resolutions Committee before 6 P.M., Saturday, May 20. All proposed amendments to the resolutions and Constitution shall be submitted in writing to the Resolutions or Constitution Committee in advance, or during the discussion, on Saturday, May 20.

5. All actions of the Convention shall be determined by a majority vote of the regular delegates.

6. Alternate delegates shall have the right to speak in discussion but shall not have the right to vote, except in the absence of regular delegates. Each club delegation, in the absence of one of its regular delegates, shall designate an alternate to take the place of said delegate. Voting shall be by show of green delegate cards.

7. The chairman of each session shall be recommended by the Presiding Committee and confirmed by the Convention.

8. Except where otherwise indicated, this Convention shall be guided by the revised edition of Roberts Rules of Order.

The Rules of Procedure of the Convention were unanimously adopted. The committee was discharged with thanks.

Chairman Johnson recognized Delegate Robert Thompson, who presented three messages of greetings addressed to General Eisenhower, Marshal Stalin, and Marshal Tito. The greetings were unanimously adopted.

Eugene Dennis, reporting for the Resolutions Committee, introduced the main political resolution based on Earl Browder's report entitled "National Unity for Victory, Security and a Durable Peace." (Report of Dennis printed in another section of this record.)

The discussion following was participated in by the following delegates: Morris Childs, Illinois; Gus Hall, Cleveland; Ned Sparks, Wisconsin; Bella Dodd, New York; James W. Ford, William Z. Foster; William Schneiderman, California; William Norman, New Jersey; Ray Hansbrough, Illinois; Henry Huff, Seattle; Frank Cestare, Eastern Pennsylvania; Oleta O'Connor Yates, California; Max Weiss, Western Pennsylvania.

Motion that Convention adopt the main political resolution on Earl Browder's report to the Convention. Carried unanimously.

James W. Ford was elected Chairman for the evening session.

The Convention recessed until 7:30 P.M.

EVENING SESSION SATURDAY, MAY 20

The Convention reconvened at 7:30 P.M. with James W. Ford as Chairman.

Chairman Ford called upon Delegate Nat Ganley, Michigan, to introduce the Resolution on Wage Policy. Dave Davis, Philadelphia; Max Perlow, New York, spoke in support of the resolution.

Motion to adopt the Resolution on Wage Policy. Carried unanimously.

Gilbert Green, New York, introduced the Resolution on Reconversion. William Sentner, St. Louis; Harold Simon, New York; William McKie, Michigan; Jean Hall, California; spoke in support of the resolution.

Motion to adopt the Resolution on Reconversion. Carried unanimously.

Robert Thompson, New York, introduced the Resolution on Servicemen. Paul Crosbie, New York, spoke in favor of the resolution.

Motion to adopt the Resolution on Servicemen. Carried unanimously.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York, introduced the Resolution on Women.

Motion to adopt the Resolution on Women. Carried unanimously.

David Carpenter, Texas, introduced the Resolution on the South. Fraternal delegate Andy Brown, Alabama; Alice Burke, Virginia; William L. Patterson, Illinois; Mary James, Alabama, spoke for the resolution.

Motion to adopt the Resolution on the South. Carried unanimously.

Pat Toohey, Michigan, introduced the Resolution on Anti-Semitism.

Motion to adopt the Resolution on Anti-Semitism. Carried unanimously.

Arnold Johnson, Ohio, introduced the Resolution on Farmers.

Motion to adopt the Resolution on Farmers. Carried unanimously.

The Convention elected Pat Toohey, Michigan, Chairman of the Sunday, May 21, Morning Session.

The Convention adjourned at 10:30 P.M.

MORNING SESSION SUNDAY, MAY 21

The Convention convened at 10 A.M. with Pat Toohey, Michigan, as Chairman.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: We will now proceed to the consideration of the proposed Constitution. The first speaker will be Earl Browder, who will speak on the Preamble of the Constitution.

Earl Browder read the Preamble to the Constitution and stressed its programmatic character.

Motion to adopt the Preamble to the Constitution. Unanimously carried.

Chairman Toohey called upon Roy Hudson to submit the report of the Constitution Committee on the proposed Constitution.

Roy Hudson delivered extended remarks on the proposed Constitution (printed in another section of this record) and recommended action on the Constitution, section by section, Article by Article.

Procedure on acting upon the Constitution was adopted by the Convention.

Delegate Hudson read each section and article, followed by discussion from the floor, after which the respective section of the Constitution was adopted by the Convention.

Motion to adopt the Constitution as a whole including the amendments made by various delegates. Motion carried.

Delegate Hudson proposed the following Initiation Fee and Dues schedule:

1. The initiation fee for an employed person shall be 50¢ and for an unemployed person 25¢. The entire amount of the initiation fee shall be sent to the National Committee.

2. The dues payments shall be as follows:

a. The regular dues shall be \$1 per month.

b. Special dues of 50¢ or 25¢ a month may be granted to individual members by the Club Secretary on behalf of the club where special circumstances may warrant such reduced dues.

c. Provision for an annual dues payment of \$10.

3. The income from dues shall be distributed to the various subdivisions of the Association as follows:

a. 20 per cent to the club;

b. 50 per cent to the National Committee;

c. The remaining 30 per cent shall be distributed among the respective city, county and state organizations in accordance with decisions of the State Convention.

The proposal on dues received wide discussion and many amendments were recommended.

Motion to refer the proposed Initiation Fee and Dues schedule back to the Constitution Committee to consider the various suggestions recommended by the delegates. Carried.

Motion that all additional recommendations and suggestions be referred directly to the Constitution Committee. Carried.

Motion that, as delegates elected to the now dissolved Communist Party of United States, the Convention approve the certified public accountant's financial statement of the Communist Party which appeared in *The Worker* of May 21. Carried unanimously.

Chairman Pat Toohey called to the platform distinguished friends and fraternal delegates from a number of Latin American countries, and presented them to the Convention: President of the Communist Party of Chile, Senator Elias Laferte; Secretary of the Chilean Confederation of Labor, Congressman Salvador Ocampo; General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, Augusto Duran; Juan Antonio Corretjer of Puerto Rico; and Congressman Luna of Peru. The Convention gave them a rousing welcome.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was elected Chairman of the Sunday afternoon session.

The Convention recessed until 2:30 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION

SUNDAY, MAY 21

The Convention reconvened at 2:30 P.M. with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as Chairman.

John Williamson submitted the report of the Organ-

izational-Educational Committee. (The report is printed in another section of this record.) The following delegates participated in the discussion of the report: Phil Bart, Chicago; Ann Beiswenger, Michigan; Doxey Wilkerson, Maryland; Louis Budenz, New York; Carl Winter, California; I. Amter, New York; Samuel Donchin, New York; Bill Lawrence, New York; Mac Weiner, Eastern Pennsylvania; Carl Reeve, Washington; Martin Young, New York; Alexander Trachtenberg, New York; Rita Malone, New York; Freda Katz, Ohio; A. R. Onda, Connecticut; Syd Stein, New Jersey.

Motion to endorse Delegate Williamson's report on Organization-Education. Carried unanimously.

A resolution was introduced to build the Communist Political Association to 100,000 by the end of 1944; and to launch an enrollment campaign for 50,000 members in the early months of 1945. Carried unanimously.

A resolution was introduced on building the circulation of the press. Carried unanimously.

The Convention elected Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., as Chairman of Sunday evening session.

The Convention recessed until 8 P.M.

EVENING SESSION

SUNDAY, MAY 21

The Convention reconvened at 8 P.M. with Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. as Chairman.

Chairman Davis read greetings to the Convention from the Communist Parties of Ireland, Puerto Rico, Mexico, England; as well as greetings from Florimond Bonte from Algiers sent in the name of the twenty-seven French Communist deputies and from Lucien Midol, member of the Communist Party of France and Secretary of the French Railwaymen's Union.

Chairman Davis then introduced the fraternal delegates and guests from the Latin American countries, who delivered greetings to the Convention: Augusto Duran of Colombia; Senator Elias Laferte of Chile; Salvadore Ocampo of Chile; Juan Antonio Corretjer of Puerto Rico; and Congressman Luna of Peru. The speeches were delivered in Spanish and translated by Alberto Moreau, New York.

Earl Browder delivered a stirring reply to the greetings of the fraternal delegates from Latin American countries. (The remarks of Earl Browder are contained in another section of this record.)

William Z. Foster was elected chairman of the Monday afternoon session.

Announcement was made that the delegations would convene separate meetings during the morning session of the Convention, Monday, May 22.

AFTERNOON SESSION

MONDAY, MAY 22

The Convention reconvened at 1:30 P.M. with William Z. Foster as Chairman.

Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, Eastern Pennsylvania; Anita Whitney, California, were elected Honorary Chairmen of this session, devoted to the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the American Communist movement. The twenty-five honored guests, charter members of the Communist organization, present at the Convention, were asked to sit on the platform.

Chairman Foster called upon William Schneiderman, California, to introduce the Resolution on China in behalf of the Resolutions Committee.

Motion to adopt Resolution on China. Carried unanimously.

Bill Sullivan, Ohio, introduced the Resolution on International Labor Unity.

Motion to adopt Resolution on International Labor Unity. Carried unanimously.

Chairman Foster called upon Roy Hudson to make the supplementary report of the Constitution Committee on Initiation and Dues.

Roy Hudson submitted the following proposed schedule of dues on behalf of the Constitution Committee:

1. The initiation fee for an employed person shall be 50¢ and for an unemployed person 25¢. The entire amount of the initiation shall be sent to the National Committee.

2. The following dues payments shall be in effect until January 1, 1945:

a. Regular dues (for those earning over \$30 per week) \$1 per month.

b. Dues (for those earning from \$20 to \$30 per week) 50¢ per month.

c. Dues (for those earning less than \$20 per week) 25¢ per month.

d. Effective July 1, 1944, to December 31, 1944.

e. Dues for the last six months of 1944 shall be \$5.00.

3. The income from dues shall be distributed to the various subdivisions of the Association as follows:

a. 20 per cent to the club;

b. 50 per cent to the National Office.

c. The remaining 30 per cent shall be distributed among the respective city, county and state organizations in accordance with the decisions of the State Conventions.

Motion to adopt Supplementary Report on Initiation and Dues. Carried.

Motion by Delegate Hudson that all members joining the Communist Political Association, formerly members of the Communist Party, be admitted to the Communist

Political Association without payment of initiation fee. Carried.

Motion by Delegate Burlak that in view of the fact that 9,250 Communists are in the armed forces and may not be back by July 4 to take advantage of the no-initiation fee provision, they be permitted to join the C.P.A. without payment of initiation fee upon their return. Carried unanimously.

Chairman Foster introduced Robert Minor to report on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Communist Movement in the U.S.A.

Robert Minor delivered the report on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Communist movement. (The text is printed in another section of this record.)

Alexander Trachtenberg made brief remarks in introducing the twenty-five especially invited guests being honored by the Convention for their long years of service in the American Communist and labor movement. Dan Slinger, Samuel Lee, Pat Cush and Ella Reeve Bloor each spoke briefly.

Chairman William Z. Foster delivered an impassioned reply to the greetings of the honored guests.

Morris Childs, Illinois, on behalf of the Resolutions Committee, introduced the Resolution on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Communist movement.

Motion to adopt resolution on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Communist movement. Carried unanimously.

Motion to endorse the report of Delegate Minor on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Communist Movement. Carried unanimously.

After a brief intermission, the Convention continued its deliberations, with Ben Gold as Chairman.

Chairman Gold recognized Earl Browder to report in behalf of the Nominating Committee.

Delegate Browder described the manner in which the list of recommendations for the National Committee was selected and discussed by the delegations; that the recommendation of forty regular and twenty alternate members of the National Committee proposed by the Nominating Committee was arrived at after consultation with each delegation; that each delegation then met for several hours during the morning session to discuss the list of nominees and had the right to make additional nominations. After a thorough discussion, the vote took place by secret ballot. In reporting on the results of the balloting of the delegates, Delegate Browder pointed out that out of the sixty nominees sixteen received a unanimous vote (*i.e.*, 229 votes), twenty-one received one less than unanimous or 228, and the lowest vote cast for any of the sixty nominees was 215 votes. This meant that the sixty nominees received the overwhelming support of the delegates. Since the Convention, however, had the final vote on the nom-

inations, each delegate still had the opportunity to make additional nominations and each delegate had the right and duty to vote for or against any nominee.

The list of the sixty nominees proposed as regular members and alternates of the National Committee was then read before the Convention.

Chairman Gold asked for additional nominations. There being none, a motion was made to elect unanimously the sixty nominees for members and alternates of the National Committee. Motion carried unanimously.

For Members of the National Committee

Israel Amter, New York
Ella Reeve Bloor, Eastern Pennsylvania
Earl Browder, New York
Alice Burke, Virginia
Ann Burlak, Massachusetts
Peter V. Cacchione, New York
Morris Childs, Illinois
Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York
David Davis, Eastern Pennsylvania
Eugene Dennis, Wisconsin
Bella Dodd, New York
Samuel Donchin, New York
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York
James W. Ford, New York
William Z. Foster, New York
Nat Ganley, Michigan
*John Gates, New York
Ben Gold, New York
Gilbert Green, New York
*Rob Hall, Alabama
Ray Hansbrough, Illinois
Roy Hudson, New York
Henry Huff, Washington
Arnold Johnson, Ohio
Charles Krumbein, New York
Robert Minor, Texas
Steve Nelson, California
Pettis Perry, California
William Schneiderman, California
Robert Thompson, New York
Louise Todd, California
Pat Toohey, Michigan
Louis Weinstock, New York
Max Weiss, Western Pennsylvania
Anita Whitney, California
Doxey Wilkerson, Maryland
John Williamson, Ohio
*Henry Winston, New York
Carl Winter, California
Rose Wortis, New York

For Alternate Members of National Committee

Phil Bart, Illinois
Louis Budenz, New York
Frank Cestare, Eastern Pennsylvania
Rose Gauden, New York
Gus Hall, Ohio
Otis Hood, Massachusetts
Al Lannon, Maryland
William Lawrence, New York
Meridel LeSueur, Minnesota
*Martin Mackie, Minnesota
Audley Moore, New York
William Norman, New Jersey
Joe North, New York
Paul Novik, New York
Andy Onda, Connecticut
William Patterson, Illinois
Carl Ross, New York
Ned Sparks, Wisconsin
Alexander Trachtenberg, New York
Oleta O'Connor Yates, California

Chairman Gold introduced Louis Weinstock, New York, to make a short acceptance speech on his nomination to the National Committee.

Chairman Gold recognized William Z. Foster.

William Z. Foster rose to nominate Earl Browder for the office of President of the Communist Political Association.

Earl Browder was unanimously elected as President amidst great acclaim of the delegates.

Earl Browder rose to make nominations for eleven Vice Presidents of the Communist Political Association.

The Convention unanimously elected the following delegates as the Vice Presidents of the organization:

Morris Childs, Illinois
Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York
Eugene Dennis, Wisconsin
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York
James W. Ford, New York
William Z. Foster, New York
Gilbert Green, New York
Roy Hudson, New York
Robert Minor, Texas
William Schneiderman, California
Robert Thompson, New York

The nomination of John Williamson was placed for Secretary. Unanimously elected.

The nomination of Charles Krumbein was placed for Treasurer. Unanimously elected.

* On leave—elected in their absence.

Chairman Gold recognized Earl Browder to make a summary of the Convention.

Delegate Browder delivered a summary address. (The text is printed in another section of this report.)

The Convention adjourned at 6:15 P.M., Monday, May 22, 1944.

A banquet for all delegates and friends was held Monday evening, May 22.

A mass meeting was held at Madison Square Garden, Tuesday, May 23, where the policies and actions of the Convention of the Communist Political Association were reported on by Earl Browder and other speakers.

Appendix

MINUTES—THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION

SATURDAY, MAY 20

THE CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., was called to order at 10:30 A.M. by the National Chairman, William Z. Foster, with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner by the delegates.

Chairman Foster appointed the following:

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: Rose Gaulden, N. Y., Chairman; Charles Krumbein, N. Y., Secretary; Mike Russo, Connecticut; E. Levin, Louisiana; R. Ferguson, Illinois.

Charles Krumbein, Secretary of the Credentials Committee, was called upon to make a preliminary report. Krumbein reported that credentials had been received for 220 regular and 173 alternate delegates, representing forty-four states. The committee found the credentials in good order and presented a motion to seat all delegates.

Motion to accept Credentials Committee report. Carried.

CHAIRMAN FOSTER, declaring the Convention ready to proceed with its business, made the following remarks:

Our party has been in existence twenty-five years and during these twenty-five years, among the most stormy in the history of the American people, our party has found itself in the front ranks of every fight for freedom and every fight for the improvement of the people's conditions. During the course of those twenty-five years we have found it necessary to make many changes in our organization in order to enable our party most effectively to conduct this struggle.

At our last Plenum, as you all remember, certain very important changes were proposed by our Secretary, Comrade Browder. Since then these changes have been widely discussed in our party until I think it can be said that the party is now unanimously of the opinion that such changes must be made.

The National Committee therefore recommends that we take up this question of these changes as our first order of business at this convention, unless there is objection.

Is there any objection to this procedure? (No objection.)

Hearing none, we will so proceed. I will recognize Comrade Browder.

EARL BROWDER: On January 11 the National Committee of the Communist Party, in the interests of national unity and to enable the Communists to function most effectively in the changed political conditions and to make still greater contributions toward winning the war and securing a durable peace, recommended that the American Communists should renounce the aim of partisan advancement and the party form of organization. This proposal has been unanimously endorsed by all the State and District Conventions which elected delegates to this national convention.

It therefore seems most fitting that this Convention shall immediately confirm the actions of the State and District Conventions by declaring the Communist Party dissolved, clearing the way for the delegates assembled here, if they so determine, to reassemble in a new Constitutional Convention to found such a new non-party organization as they may find advisable.

With that purpose I propose in the name of the National Committee and in consultation with the most important delegations in this Convention, the adoption of the following motion:

"I hereby move that the Communist Party of America be and hereby is dissolved and that a committee of three, consisting of the Chairman, Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the party, be authorized to take all necessary steps to liquidate its affairs and that such committee be further authorized to dispose of all its property and to turn over any surplus that may remain to any organization or organizations that in their opinion are devoted to our country's winning of the war in which it is presently engaged and in the achieving of a durable peace."

I move the adoption of this motion.

Morris Childs, Illinois; William Schneiderman, California; Gilbert Green, New York, spoke in favor of the motion.

Motion to dissolve the Communist Party. Carried unanimously.

Motion to adjourn the Convention of the Communist Party. Carried unanimously.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

The historic Preamble and Constitution of the Communist Political Association, adopted at its founding convention on May 20-22, 1944, is now available in pamphlet form. It defines the character, role and aims of the new non-party political-educational organizations, as well as its democratic structure and method of functioning. Price 10 cents.