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EUGENE DENNIS

AMERICA

AT THE

CROSSROADS

*Postwar Problems and
Communist Policy*

Foreword by William Z. Foster

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AMERICA AT THE
CROSSROADS: Postwar
Problems and Communist
Policy

by EUGENE DENNIS

With a Foreword by
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

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FOREWORD*

By William Z. Foster

Inasmuch as Comrade Dennis will make the main report and as I am scheduled to make the summary of this National Committee meeting, I shall, in these opening remarks, comment upon only one matter. This is the conclusive manner in which the course of economic and political events, here and abroad, and the strengthening of our contacts with the masses, have justified our Party's change of political line at its recent National Convention. Indeed, if we had not radically altered our policy, if we had continued to apply our former revisionist line, we would have by now found ourselves in a serious crisis in view of the present difficult national and international situation.

With the end of the war things have turned out altogether differently than Browder calculated in his revisionist system. He foresaw a postwar world in which the principles of Marxism-Leninism were no longer valid. Capitalism, suddenly rejuvenated and grown progressive, according to him, would work easily in peace and harmony with the Socialist sector of the world for the speedy healing of the wounds of the war. Imperialism would virtually liquidate itself and the great capitalist powers would automatically move towards the systematic liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The United States in particular, led, as Browder said, by a progressive bourgeoisie acting "intelligently in its own true class interest," would embark upon a world program of industrialization of backward countries that would bring prosperity and democracy to the peoples of these lands, and at the same time, would greatly advance the well-being of the whole American people. In our own country, Browder believed, a broad national unity would prevail, including the decisive sections of finance capital, within the scope of which unity the capitalists and workers would cooperate in

* Opening remarks at the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, held in New York City, November 16-18, 1945.

harmony to raise mass living standards and to strengthen the whole national economy.

But none of these things are happening. The postwar period is developing quite otherwise than Browder painted in his idyllic utopian picture of capitalism. The world capitalist system is obviously much deeper in its general crisis than Browder had any idea of. Serious economic and political tensions and struggles are developing in many directions. Imperialism, far from being dead, is exhibiting a poisonous vitality. The United States and Great Britain, instead of leading the less developed peoples into an era of expanding freedom and prosperity, are busily trying to crush by economic pressures and force of arms, the unprecedented movements of the colonial peoples of the Far East for national liberation. And hardly had the war with Japan come to an end than the American and British governments deliberately developed a sharp tension with the U.S.S.R. that actually has in it the danger of war.

Especially is the United States not performing the beneficent world-role foreseen for it by Browder. Instead of the great trusts and monopolies of this country seeking to develop world peace and democracy through the United Nations, they are, with the Truman Administration at their head, showing aside the U.N.O. and carrying on a policy aimed at establishing American imperialist domination of the world. This aggressive imperialist policy is manifest everywhere, in the Balkans, Palestine and the Far East, in Germany and Japan, in the shameless brandishing of the atomic bomb to terrorize the peoples of the world. And the heart of American imperialist aggression is the dangerous "get tough" policy toward the Soviet Union. If the Anglo-American powers are finally compelled to give the atom bomb secret to the U.S.S.R. it will be because they are afraid it has it already or soon will have.

The attempt of American imperialism to dictate to the U.S.S.R. shows how unrealistic were Browder's statements that America and Britain have once and for all abandoned the hope that one day the U.S.S.R. will cease to be a Socialist country. It exposes also the shallowness of his insistence, on

the eve of the San Francisco conference of the United Nations, that there is no important section of the American bourgeoisie nursing imperialist ambitions. And it tears to pieces his incredible statement at our recent National Convention that "American policy, whatever temporary vacillations may appear, is pressing toward the unity and democratization of China."

Browder's pronouncements on foreign policy sound very empty now in view of the world situation and very few there are in our Party who believe them. But Browder's line on foreign policy is no more empty than his analysis and slogans for the postwar situation within the United States itself. In consideration of the present belligerent attitude of the employers and of their reactionary stooges in Congress and in the light of the awakening militancy of the workers in the current huge wage movements, how absurd now appears Browder's support of the notion of a postwar no-strike pledge, his theories about the employers voluntarily doubling the workers' real wages, and his expectancy of such an easy collaboration between the capitalists and the workers as to signify virtually the liquidation of the class struggle.

Browder's bourgeois dream of the American capitalist class, with the British as minor partners, leading the world into a new era of peace, freedom and prosperity, a world in which the workers would have to dismiss all thought of socialism, has been rudely shattered upon the hard rocks of reality. In analyzing the world situation and in leading along the path of the peoples' progress, Marxism-Leninism has triumphed over Browderism, even as it triumphed earlier over the revisionism of the Bernsteins, Legiens, Gompers and Lovestones. Instead of casting aside the "old Marxian books and formulas," as Browder advised us, we will study them with renewed attention and diligence.

Our Party, in re-establishing its policy upon a Marxist-Leninist basis, has put itself in line with actual economic and political conditions. It is basing itself upon the firm conclusions that the capitalist system is not progressive but decadent; that imperialism is not dead but very much alive; that the class struggle remains decisive in capitalist society,

and that there is an indispensable need for a strong Communist Party to lead the struggle of the masses. Our Party realizes that the big bourgeoisie, especially of the United States, if given a free hand, as Browder proposed, would surely plunge the world again into economic chaos, fascism and war. And it understands that if the anti-fascist objectives of the war are to be realized in a long-enduring and democratic peace, the democratic forces of our country and the world will have to see to it themselves that the elementary programs of international collaboration laid down at Moscow, Teheran, Yalta and San Francisco are carried out.

The Party realizes further that these democratic forces are determined to do just that, what with the birth of the new democracy in Europe, the upsurge of the great national liberation movements in Asia, the democratic policies of the Soviet Union, the militant spirit of the American working class, etc.

Although the Party's turn in policy has already been fully justified by the course of political events, and by our improving ties with the masses, it would be a mistake to conclude therefrom that we have completed our turn in policy. This is by no means yet the case. It would be too much to expect that a Party which for many years was poisoned with Browder's opportunism would completely cleanse itself of this opportunism in just a few months' time. It is not strange, therefore, that there are still in our Party many hang-overs of the bureaucratic Browder regime — opportunistic methods of thinking and working that must be eliminated in order to put our Party on a sound Marxist-Leninist basis.

In this meeting of the National Committee, therefore, we must examine the work of our Party in a thoroughly self-critical and democratic spirit. We must systematically root out all vestiges of Browder's revisionism, and at the same time be on guard against the outcropping of Left sectarian trends. Only by proceeding in this way can we give our Party the clear policies, determined spirit, united leadership, and added mass strength which are indispensable if it is to play its full role in the great tasks that now loom ahead of our nation and the world.

I. AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE*

It is barely four months since the National Convention at which our Communist Party was reconstituted. But this has been the equivalent, in terms of human events, of four normal decades. This has been a period of United Nations victory, of profound changes and realignments, and of unfolding difficulties and strains in class and international relations.

During this short interval, the unconditional surrender of Japan has taken place, completing the military defeat of the Axis powers. This, together with the defeat of Nazi Germany—the heart and core of the Axis—marks the shattering of the chief centers of world fascism and aggression.

This victory of the anti-Axis coalition—of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain—has created the prerequisites for establishing a long-term peace. This is so, provided, of course, that the military defeat of Germany and Japan is followed by the complete destruction of fascism, by the uprooting of monopoly capital in these countries, and by the maintenance of the post-war unity of the Anglo-Soviet-American wartime alliance.

As signalized by our Convention, with the ending of the war, world democracy and the forces of social progress have been reinforced, notwithstanding the zig-zags of events and the desperate efforts of the imperialists and pro-fascists to turn back the wheels of history.

Despite its terrific losses, the Soviet Union has emerged from the war with its socialist system strengthened, with a series of mutual assistance and friendship pacts with its neighbors, and with its influence in the world enormously enhanced by its decisive contributions to the military defeat of fascism.

In Eastern Europe, there has taken place a strengthening of the new peoples' democracies, which are proceeding with

* Report delivered to the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, held in New York City, November 16-18, 1945.

basic agrarian reforms, with liquidating the vestiges of fascism, with the nationalization of the biggest enterprises, and the democratization of their countries.

The three and a half months since the defeat of Japan are also marked by the growing influence of the working class, especially of its Communist vanguard, in the camp of anti-fascist national unity in most European countries. This is evidenced in part by the outcome of the recent elections in France, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Norway.

The strengthened role of the working class is likewise manifested in the establishment of the new World Federation of Trade Unions which can become a powerful center for protecting the economic interests of the workers of all lands, and for international labor solidarity to promote peace and progress.

As part of the democratic upsurge of the people, there is also to be noted the rise of the national liberation movements in the colonies, especially in Indo-China and Indonesia.

However, as our Convention indicated, and as events have verified, this has not been the only line of political development since V-J Day. Alongside the democratic and anti-fascist currents and events, a different current, a counter-trend has come to the fore. This has been dramatized by what has happened in Washington and London, as well as in Chungking.

The relations between the members of the anti-Axis coalition have deteriorated. The collaboration of the Big Three has been undermined by the failure of the United States and Britain to speed and realize the fulfillment of the Crimean and Potsdam agreements in respect to completing the destruction of fascism in Germany and Japan and in their former satellites. Big Three unity, and hence world peace, is being imperilled and broken by the increasing anti-Soviet moves of Washington and London. At the same time, the solidarity of the United Nations is also jeopardized by the sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry between the United States and Britain, which grows from day to day, notwithstanding their anti-Soviet alignment.

International cooperation to provide even the most elementary relief for the war-devastated countries, and the furnishing of essential economic and financial assistance to help rehabilitate and reconstruct the economies of the war-stricken countries, have bogged down and are being balked. The majority of the peoples of liberated Europe, not to speak of the colonial peoples, are thus faced with the imminent prospect of unprecedented famine, malnutrition, and economic paralysis.

As part of this counter-trend, reactionary Social-Democracy, especially the Bevins and Attlees in Britain and the Blums in France, is steering a course to break up the wartime united front of the working class and the national front resistance movements. It is working, in conjunction with British imperialism to set up a British dominated Western European imperialist bloc, directed politically against the Soviet Union, but also economically against the United States.

Civil war against the Communists and other democratic forces of China has been unleashed by the Kuomintang, militarily supported by Washington. And armed force is also being used by the British, French and Dutch imperialists to crush the liberation movements in their colonies, also—withstanding the inter-imperialist contradictions in the Far East—with the aid of lend-lease munitions supplied by the United States.

American Imperialism Drives for World Domination

What is the primary source of these reactionary developments? What are the main reasons that the democratic and anti-fascist aims for which the peoples fought this anti-Axis war are being held back or thwarted in many parts of the world? The chief source of the difficulty and of the present discord among the United Nations lies in the reactionary drive of American imperialism, which finds expression to an ever increasing degree in the policies of the Truman Administration. And this places in jeopardy the opportunities created by victory to promote peace and democracy.

The United States emerged from this war as the strongest imperialist power in the midst of a weakened world capitalist system. Today the dominant sections of American monopoly capital aim to utilize in an imperialist way the gigantic post-war military and economic power of the United States. Despite important differences over methods, the big monopolists are united around one central objective—to achieve American world domination, to augment America's spheres of influence and trade advantages through oppressive policies toward other peoples, to buttress American and hence world capitalism. It is this which explains the main line of foreign policy of Washington since V-J Day.

The facts confirm this to the hilt. Byrnes and Dulles, in collaboration with Bevin and Attlee, torpedoed the London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. In place of unanimity of the Big Three, agreed upon at Moscow, Crimea and Potsdam, they endeavored to create a so-called "Big Five" combination—a combination led by the United States, in alliance with Britain, and with France and China acting as Anglo-American satellites. Washington is attempting to "get tough" with Moscow, and promotes and encourages anti-Soviet hostility and designs. It is an "atomic" imperialist policy that stirs the never-quenched Munichism of all the anti-Sovieteers to new hopes.

Similarly, the United States, aided by Britain, has sought to water down, to limit the postwar policy towards Germany and Japan agreed upon by the Coalition at Berlin. The Anglo-American cartels and trusts, tied by a thousand threads to the I. G. Farben industry of Germany, and with the Japanese trusts as well—and despite the growing Anglo-American rivalries—are working to prevent the destruction of the German and Japanese war potential based upon monopoly capitalism. They are seeking to resurrect in new forms the American-Anglo-German-Japanese interlocking and war-making cartel arrangements.

Likewise, the United States and Britain are interfering in the internal affairs and the elections of the Balkan and central European countries. They have established diplomatic, eco-

conomic and financial pressures and boycotts against the newly established democratic governments in these nations, while at the same time "playing ball" with fascist Franco Spain.

In the Far East, as a counterpart of the policy of a "soft peace" toward Japan, the United States is aggressively intervening, in a reactionary way, in the internal affairs of China. It is intervening with armaments, loans, credits, and diplomatic assistance on the side of the reactionary Kuomintang dictatorship. This intervention has reached the stage where American troops are now engaged not only in imperialist garrison duty, in supplying arms, in transport service and military training in China, but also are becoming involved in warfare on the side of the reactionary Kuomintang—and of the Japanese puppet troops as well—against the proved patriots of China, the forces that have instituted, in the regions under their administration, the only existing Chinese democracy.

The present course of America's policy in the Far East can be described as one of acting "soft" toward fascist-militarist Japan and getting "tough" with the forces and representatives of a democratic and united China. This stupid and dangerous imperialist policy, which is now being pursued by the Administration, is calculated to prevent the emergence of a strong and progressive China, to make China an American tool and appendage, and to erect a new anti-Soviet bulwark in the Far East.

This policy is doomed to failure. It ignores the real relationship of forces in China and in the Pacific area. It ignores the failure of all of the past "punitive expeditions" against the Chinese Communists. And it is as un-American as it is anti-China and anti-Soviet. For it is a policy which can only lead to prolonged civil war in China, to increased imperialist intervention by the United States, and to a further worsening of the relations of the great powers in the Pacific. In short, it is a Hoover-like policy which endangers peace and democratic progress in the Far East and hence in the world, as well as a policy which contracts instead of expanding foreign trade and economic recovery.

In Latin America, American imperialism intervenes directly in Brazil to curb democratic elections through the activities

of Ambassador Berle; while in Venezuela it sponsors a *coup d'etat* against the democratic camp.

To carry out its program of "power politics" and imperialist aggrandizement, as well as its general anti-Soviet orientation, the American government is building a colossal military machine. It is delaying demobilization, pressing for universal military conscription, and building up an enormous air power and a three-ocean Navy. As if to emphasize its aggressive intentions, the government seeks to intimidate the world by brandishing a so-called secret weapon, a weapon for offense and aggression—the destructive power of the atomic bomb. And, more and more, the intimidation and brandishing are taking on an anti-Soviet tone and direction.

This—the Administration's program—is an imperialist program which, if unchecked, can only have the most dangerous consequences for America and its people and for the peace of the world. For this is a program leading to the growth of reaction in the United States, to imperialist adventures, to anti-Soviet incitements, and toward the outbreak of a new world war.

The Reactionary Offensive Can Be Defeated

However, these reactionary imperialist developments need not and must not give rise to any moods of fatalism. The aggressive drive of America's predatory imperialists toward war and reaction can be impeded, and events can be given a new direction.

The reactionary offensive of American imperialism collides with the vital interests of all freedom-loving nations, while the natural and compelling common interests of the peoples of the United Nations operate in favor of those powers and forces seeking to maintain and consolidate postwar unity of the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition.

Among the peace-loving nations there are states that have demonstrated in the stern tests of the anti-Axis war that they are able to defend their national independence and security, and to thwart the plans of any aggressor power, or powers, to dominate the world.

In America and Britain, the majority of the people fought for peace and long for its continued maintenance. They can be mobilized for its defense and for effective opposition to all schemes for anti-Soviet adventures and a World War Number Three.

Whenever the imperialist or other reactionary actions of United States foreign policy are brought to light, the expressions of American democratic public opinion, however sporadic or disunited, have their effect upon events. Witness the removal of General Patton, made necessary by the public outcry at his sabotage of the denazification program, the influence of public indignation in the case of the Administration's "soft-peace" policy in Japan, and the opposition developed by American scientists to the reactionary May-Johnson Bill which has so far checked the enactment of this legislative measure for the chauvinistic, military and monopoly control of the atom bomb and its manufacture.

Also, there is a growing concern among the people about the menace of another world war. Already there have taken place initial protest actions against official American intervention in China, and against the recent deterioration of American-Soviet relations. And as a result of some of the recent activities initiated by the Communist Party and by the progressive labor movement, significant mass activities are beginning to be organized which can help influence in a progressive direction United States foreign policy.

Moreover, within the ranks of the American bourgeoisie there are sharp differences over the methods and tactics to be employed in advancing the imperialist interests of monopoly capital. This is reflected today in the editorial opposition of such organs of finance capital as the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* to the current program of the State and War Departments in China, as well as to the alarm expressed by these and other Big Business circles to the efficacy and the possible results of the Administration's unilateral position on the atomic bomb and on weakening American-Soviet collaboration. These intra-capitalist differences exercise a certain retarding influence upon some aspects of the present course of governmental policy. These are real differences even though they are not

decisive in determining the course of events. They constitute a secondary and temporary, albeit, an important indirect reserve for the consistent fighters for an anti-fascist and anti-imperialist policy.

But to utilize the existing favorable conditions established by the military defeat of the fascist Axis for achieving a prolonged peace, it is now necessary that labor and all democratic forces step forward boldly and unitedly to check the offensive of American imperialism abroad and at home, and to force a change in the policies of the Truman Administration.

This means, in the first place, that it is imperative to strengthen the unity of the Big Three and especially American-Soviet amity and collaboration—the cornerstone of world peace. Furthermore, it is necessary resolutely to expose and combat the anti-Sovieteers, the worst enemies of our national welfare and of a stable peace.

It is incumbent upon the Communists and all other champions of the genuine national interests of the American people to make clear that concerted action of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., which are bound together by common interests, can promote world peace, trade and security. It is necessary to explain how the consistent, anti-fascist foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. in the Balkans, the Far East and elsewhere, is designed to destroy fascism and prevent aggression and thereby contributes vitally to the national security of the United States and to the maintenance of international peace. It is essential to show how the request of the Soviet Union for six billion dollars of American credits will be honored by the record and stability of the Soviet system, and will augment American production and employment. It is imperative to hammer home the fact that the deepening and extension of the friendship and cooperation of the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union—the two most powerful countries in the world—will determine whether the future of mankind will be peaceful and progressive or whether it will be retarded and torn by a new world conflict.

Likewise, it is time to pass over from concern with, and criticism of, the Administration's reactionary foreign policy, to

active and concerted opposition to any and all imperialist policies and acts of the Government. The labor movement realizes by now that in the struggle for the defense of its economic interests, of its living and trade union standards, it cannot depend upon the Truman Administration which tries to appear, with diminishing effectiveness, as carrying the Roosevelt mantle.

In the fight for peace, also, labor cannot depend upon the Truman Administration which carries out the general program of the monopolists, both at home and in foreign policy. Labor's realization that it can depend primarily on its own strength and that of its popular allies to defend the domestic and social welfare of the people, must be supplemented by the realization that it must equally move toward an independent position in the struggle for peace and the organization of the democratic forces.

Truman Aids Monopolists' Expansionist Program

Labor has long been aware of the existence of the extreme pro-fascist groupings which operated to the Right of Roosevelt, that is, the Tafts, Hoovers, Vandenberg, and Wheelers, the DuPonts, Fords and Hearsts. Labor has no illusions about these extreme pro-fascist reactionaries.

But labor has not yet taken into account the fact that while the policy of the Truman Administration is not identical with these open pro-fascist groupings of monopoly, it nevertheless is true that the Administration—which expresses the general program of imperialism—carries out many phases of that reactionary clique's program. This is the case in regard to the Administration's policy toward China and the Soviet Union, as well as on a growing number of domestic issues.

By its departures from the Roosevelt policy of Big Three unity, by its imperialist intervention in the affairs of other nations, and by its accomodation to the extreme reactionaries on issue after issue in internal affairs, the Truman Administration promotes the bellicose and expansionist imperialist program of these reactionary forces and strengthens the camp of imperialist reaction at home.

While in all probability the Truman Administration, under the pressure of the masses and the effects of the new postwar international relations, may enter into new agreements with the Soviet Union and other United Nations, it cannot be depended upon to pursue a consistent, steadfast coalition policy for peace. For the Truman Administration, though still subject to popular influences, does not merely yield to but is actually becoming an instrument of the anti-Sovieteers, and of the other militant exponents of an "American Century," of U.S.A. world domination.

In view of this, while the American people must now, as never before, augment and intensify their fight and direct their heaviest fire against the Tafts, Hoovers, DuPonts and Hearsts, *they must at the same time place direct responsibility upon the Truman Administration for its imperialist course in foreign affairs.* They must vigilantly combat the government's imperialist program which is so harmful to America's true national interests. Only with this understanding, and with a plan of action growing out of it, can labor and the people wage a consistent, effective and successful fight for world peace and democracy.

In the struggle for a progressive foreign policy, which will serve the genuine national interests of the American people and the cause of world peace, it is possible to rally and unite the majority of the country. It will be possible to do this provided that the labor and Communist movements show the way to the rest of the people.

The anti-fascist workers, from the Communists to the progressives in the C.I.O., as well as in the A. F. of L., must immediately appear before the nation as the leaders in the fight for peace, and, above all, for American-Soviet friendship and cooperation, and for ending America's imperialist interference in China. They must speak out, organize public expressions of opinion and mass demonstrations in support of the policy of Big Three unity and peace, and in behalf of advancing China's independence, integrity, unity and democracy.

They must join hands with the returning veterans and their families, with the honest scientists, professionals and intellec-

tuals, with the Negro people and the working farmers, and with all other peace-loving groups and individuals. They must promote the world unity of labor, and concretely, through strengthening the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Likewise, labor and the anti-fascists, in organizing the broadest movement for peace should not hesitate to enlist the support of various non-labor groups and individuals—who, for one or another reason, and on one or another issue, can be drawn into a democratic movement against the preparations for war, against imperialist aggression, and for the strengthening of United Nations cooperation.

The movement for peace, led by and based on labor and the popular forces, should work with all possible allies, however temporary or wavering. We Communists, for our part, advance only one condition for such cooperation, namely, that it shall be unity of action on one or another phase of any of the following interrelated issues: to finish the destruction of German and Japanese fascism and the German and Japanese war potential by fulfilling the Potsdam Conference provisions, to consolidate the cooperation and solidarity of the United Nations under the joint leadership of the Big Three, to prevent new aggressions, to withdraw our troops from China and end every form of intervention in the affairs of the Chinese people.

To forge a broad and effective mass movement for peace, it is not enough to denounce American imperialism and the increasingly reactionary course of the Truman Administration in general. What is necessary now is to oppose each and every specific imperialist action of the government, as leading away from Tri-Power unity and peace, toward American "leadership," that is, toward aggrandizement and war. What is necessary is to struggle vigorously for American-Soviet unity and friendship and energetically to oppose the atomic policy of war preparations directed against the U.S.S.R., and to resist **American intervention in China.**

This requires, among other things, the bringing forward of various concrete slogans of action, such as:

Halt the drive of American imperialism towards World War III! Stop the reactionary intervention of the U.S.A. in China's internal affairs! Withdraw American troops from

China and the Philippines! Strengthen the American-Soviet-British coalition for world peace! Fulfill the Potsdam decisions of the Big Three to prevent the recurrence of German and Japanese aggression! Support the national independence movements of Indonesia and of the other colonial countries! No secrecy on the atomic bomb—for joint control by the Big Three! Stop the armaments race which can only lead to World War III! Speed demobilization and bring our boys back home! The war emergency is over—end the wartime powers of the President! America's national security requires Big Three unity, not compulsory military training! Mobilize America for 60 million jobs, not for a disastrous armaments race! Prosecute and curb the American trusts which are reviving their ties with and restoring the German and Japanese cartels! Open the books of the big corporations to the public! Feed and aid the war-devastated countries, on a democratic basis, without imperialist interference, so as to prevent famine, promote recovery and world trade!

These are slogans of struggle which can activate and unify wide sections of the American people. In line with this call to action, labor, especially the Communists and all other anti-fascists, have the duty of initiating a national crusade for peace. For upon the American people rests the historic responsibility of protecting our national security, wiping out the roots of German and Japanese fascism, halting the aggressive anti-Soviet and expansionist plans of the most powerful imperialists, and thus preserving world peace for generations.

In accord with this vital aim, we American Communists must move faster, must overcome a definite lag in initiative and mobilization; we must pioneer not only in analysis and propaganda, but equally in developing our own independent anti-imperialist actions, together with organizing the broadest common action of all anti-fascist and peace-loving forces. This means today resolutely to counteract United States intervention in the internal affairs of China and to restore and reinforce cordial relations and collaboration of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

II. SOME ASPECTS OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR JOBS AND SECURITY

Together with the paramount issue of creating a durable peace, the issues of jobs and living standards, as well as democratic rights, occupy the center of the American political scene.

Since V-J Day, the total national income has dropped over 25 per cent; the take-home pay of the workers has fallen on an average exceeding 40 per cent; while the outlook for monopoly profits is a rise to over seven billion dollars for 1946. This does not include a greater income derived from interest, rents and dividends.

Today, nearly four million workers are unemployed; of these a disproportionate percentage are Negro and women workers.

According to conservative government figures, the perspective is that there will be over eight million unemployed by the Spring of 1946; that is, eight million jobless, after the process of reconversion is in the main completed.

And if one takes into account the current sit-down strike of big capital against speeding economic reconversion, the reactionary trend and lethargy of the Administration, and the obstructionist policy of Congress in respect to solving the problems of employment and security—the economic prospects are far from bright. Furthermore, if together with this, we take into account the harmful consequences of the government's foreign policy, which are curtailing a rapid increase in large-scale exports and foreign trade—as well as the wartime rise in rationalization and technological improvements, which will increase labor productivity in the postwar from 25 to 40 per cent—if all this is taken into account—then it is clear that the country will enter the period of a so-called postwar "boom" with over eight million unemployed. Then, too, it is clear that the country will be confronted in the not too distant future with an economic crisis of large proportions. For the economic royalists are speeding the outbreak of the inevitable cyclical crisis of capitalism, whose depth and intensity will be aggravated by their policies.

This is the economic outlook. This is the way monopoly capital is shaping things politically, as well as in terms of its intended use of the carry-over provisions of the wartime tax program to finance its program of limited production and lockouts in the initial reconversion period. If there were any doubt on this score, an analysis of the domestic policy of the trusts and big corporations would soon dispel them.

A central feature of the present economic and political domestic situation is that Big Business is engaged in blocking reconversion, in curtailing postwar production and in creating a mass army of unemployed. Coupled with their drive toward world aggrandizement, the trusts are developing a reactionary offensive on the home front. Relying on a government gift of wartime tax rebates for whatever current losses are involved in curtailing production, they are holding back also because the effects of the repeal of the excess profits tax will not set in till after January, 1946.

The economic royalists are retarding peacetime production in order to lower wage standards, to defeat labor's demands for a basic increase in real wages and to insure greater peacetime monopoly profits. They are doing this in order to blackjack the government and the public into granting new price increases, drastic tax reductions, and the elimination of all price, priority and rationing controls. They are doing this in order to cripple and undermine the trade union movement, to eliminate the wartime economic gains of the Negro people and to promote a chaotic economic and political situation favorable towards realizing their reactionary aims in the coming Congressional elections.

Towards this end, Big Business, especially through the medium of N.A.M., is trying to provoke labor into wildcat, unorganized, defensive and premature strikes. It is carrying on nation-wide public relations activity in behalf of coercive anti-labor legislation, particularly for the enactment of compulsory arbitration or some form of "cooling-off" period. And it is stirring up the veterans, the farmers, the women and Negro workers in opposition to the trade unions, the seniority system, the closed shop, and maintenance-of-membership clauses. Likewise, the monopolies are sponsoring a whole

series of fascist groups and activities, such as the Christian Americans, the Youth for Christ, a refurbished K.K.K., a Gerald L. K. Smith movement, and a series of pro-fascist veterans' groups. And they are instigating, in a multitude of ways, a new wave of Red-baiting, Negro-baiting and anti-Semitic actions and provocations.

Congressional Hatchetmen for Big Capital's Program

The political spokesmen of the pro-fascist and economic royalists in Congress are faithfully abetting and executing the reactionary program of big capital. The notorious bloc of isolationist Hoover-Taft Republicans and the traditionally reactionary Southern Bourbons, aided by not a few conservative supporters of the Administration, have sedulously sabotaged a legislative program based on Roosevelt's Second Bill of Rights and the realization of 60 million jobs. They have emasculated or pigeon-holed the original Murray Full Employment Bill, the proposed \$25-for-26-weeks emergency unemployment insurance bill, the Wagner-Dingell Social Security Bill, the Wagner-Ellender Housing Bill, as well as the proposals for a permanent F.E.P.C. and for large-scale public works.

Instead, the reactionary and conservative majority in Congress has enacted a tax relief program for the corporations and the wealthy; it has adopted a resolution for a super-three-ocean navy; it is spawning a host of medieval and repressive labor curbs; it is trying to push through universal military training and to enact the infamous May-Johnson Bill to keep the atomic bomb a secret and to place the control of atomic energy under the dictatorship of military and monopoly interests.

At the same time, Congress, through its reactionary Un-American Committee, has launched a new Dies witch-hunt, designed to divert public attention from the failure of Congress to meet the needs of the people, to divide the democratic coalition, to isolate the Communist Party and the progressive and labor movements, and to establish a Hitlerian censorship over the radio and the theatre.

To meet some of the numerous needs of reconversion,

President Truman formally recommended in September certain minimum points of what might be termed a middle-of-the-road legislative reconversion program. But the President and his Administration have not fought even for this moderate program. The Administration has retreated, first on one and then on all the other of these relatively progressive legislative measures.

It has initiated the Labor-Management conference as a deceptive maneuver. It has done this with the implied threat that labor must accept "new processes of collective bargaining"—especially for the sake of the employers. It has done this in connivance with the employers, the A. F. of L. officialdom and John L. Lewis. It has suggested that the refusal of labor to knuckle under and be content with a token wage increase might result in forcing the trade unions to accept compulsory arbitration or mediation of economic struggles along the lines of the nefarious Railway Mediation Act.

The Administration utters pious words and engages in double-talk regarding full employment, unemployment insurance and wage increases. But these are demagogic maneuvers to retain labor support and to harness labor to its reactionary foreign policies. The Administration does not act, or does little, on its promises of domestic reform. It capitulates to the camp of reaction and surrenders position after position. It draws closer to, brings into greater governmental power, and relies more and more upon the reactionary Southern Bourbon oligarchy. However, the offensive of big capital, of political reaction, has not gone unchallenged. In fact, one of the features of the postwar situation has been the growing resistance and rising militancy of the labor and progressive movements. Following V-J Day, a powerful strike and wage movement has been set in motion. Important strike struggles have taken place in the auto and longshore industries, in textile and mining, in the machine building and electrical industries, and among the building service and studio workers. A. F. of L. as well as C.I.O. unions have been and are involved.

A noticeable aspect of these struggles has been the growth of C.I.O.-A. F. of L. solidarity and unity of action, as evidenced

in a number of the recent strike struggles in New York, Milwaukee, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco. And in many of these struggles, the Communists have played an active and an effective role.

There is now taking place a series of industry-wide strike votes, under the Smith-Connally Act, in the auto, steel, packing, railroad, and the General Electric and Westinghouse industries. These polls presage the imminent development of new and broader strike struggles, since industry continues to reject labor's legitimate and sound demands.

Far greater attention must now be given to the timing, preparation and organization of these pending struggles, as well as to the crucial problem of labor's public relations, and to securing allies from the non-labor sections of the population. Here, the lessons of former strike struggles, particularly the teachings and counsel of Comrade Foster on strike strategy and tactics, must be seriously studied and mastered.

Another sphere of mass action in which the fighting spirit of the labor and progressive movements and the activity of the Communists have manifested themselves, even though unevenly and inadequately, is in the field of political action. After victory over Japan, a series of state and regional mass delegations were organized by the C.I.O. to lobby in Washington. A number of important united front community actions were organized around labor's program for jobs and security. Likewise, the progressive labor movement began to concern itself with the municipal elections, particularly in such key industrial centers as New York, Detroit, Cleveland and Pittsburgh.

However, it must be mentioned that, as the strike movement advanced and the campaign for wage increases extended, there was a notable lag in many areas in combining these economic struggles with the vital question of expanding labor's independent and united front legislative-political action. It is to be hoped that such political activities as the conferences for jobs and security now being organized by labor and various middle class groups for December 7 and for early in January will meet with the necessary energetic and wide support which they merit.

Despite all difficulties, it is clear that it is possible to secure a favorable outcome of the approaching economic and political struggles. The majority of the American people are ready and willing to fight for security and jobs.

The present postwar outlook is far different from that following World War I. There is a new relationship of class forces within the country, as well as internationally. For one thing, the labor movement, especially its progressive wing, is far stronger. The American working class is better organized, more mature and politically active. It has broader connections with its natural allies, and through the C.I.O. it has taken an historic step in helping form the World Federation of Trade Unions. And, what is highly significant, unlike the last postwar period, the workers enter the immediate postwar situation, waging not only defensive battles, but also offensive struggles. They are fighting to raise their living standards, to safeguard trade union rights and democratic liberties, and to advance toward the goal of full employment. However, their Achilles heel remains—the division within the ranks of labor.

Taking into account the basic issues at stake and the urgent economic and political problems to be resolved in order to defeat the offensive of imperialism and capitalist reaction, what needs to be stressed in order to advance labor's economic demands and its other immediate interests?

First of all, it is essential to encourage, stimulate, and widen labor's unity of action in behalf of its current wage demands and its trade union and political rights. United action by the working class, by its trade unions, by its political parties—Communist and Labor—and by other anti-fascist organizations—is vital to the success of the struggle against the offensive of Big Capital, for jobs, security, and peace.

This requires that our Party and the progressive labor movement as a whole shall put an end to existing moods of fatalism and helplessness in the face of this all-essential task. It is high time to overcome the underestimation, not only of the necessity, but of the countless possibilities of achieving this objective.

Take the major question of joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. action: as evidenced by many recent developments, and especially by

the recent strike of the A. F. of L. longshoremen in New York, large sections of the A. F. of L. workers are moving in the direction of struggle and towards trade union unity of action as well.

Labor's Tasks in Struggle for Security

If the progressives in the trade unions, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., wage a stubborn fight for concerted action around such issues as common action for wage increases, as well as joint opposition to anti-labor legislation; for limiting jurisdictional disputes; for the Full Employment Bill and extended unemployment insurance; for the F.E.P.C. and the abolition of discrimination in employment and wage standards; for Hands-Off-China; for increased U.N.R.R.A. benefits; for an effective U.N.O.; for solid American-Soviet friendship; for realizing the Potsdam agreement, and other issues; there can be achieved a substantial advance in labor's joint action, and in the successful defense of the immediate interests of labor and the people.

To make the most rapid headway toward united labor action, greater attention must be given to such questions as the following: (A) The full lessons must be drawn from the mass revolt that broke out within the International Longshoremen's Association against Ryan; we must approach the A. F. of L. workers boldly with a program of struggle for their economic interests, for trade union democracy and international trade union unity—and develop a progressive movement from below, which can also draw in certain A. F. of L. officials. (B) It is imperative to strengthen and preserve the unity of the progressive labor movement, that is, of the C.I.O., and this means to strengthen the unity between the Left-wing in the C.I.O. and the major forces united behind Murray and Hillman in support of the progressive policies of the C.I.O., including vigorous action to organize the unorganized. (C) It is essential to wage a more systematic and uncompromising struggle against the Dubinskys, Lewises, and Trotskyites, who, together with the monopolists, utilize Red-baiting, demagoguery and class collaboration as the instruments for dividing and dispersing the working class and its organizations.

Secondly, it is imperative that labor develop a more active approach toward its allies, takes its case to the people, and shows that its fight is in the interest of all sectors of the working people. Thus, it is urgent that labor show that its fight for wage increases and higher living standards is vital to raise the national income, and thereby to increase the home market of the working farmers, small businessmen and professionals.

Further, to defend its own interests and the national welfare—to organize the democratic unity of the nation—it is equally urgent that the trade unions come forward more energetically and provide systematic leadership for the defense of the interests of the unemployed; for winning jobs, security and equality for the Negro people, especially for the Negro veterans and war workers; for the speedy demobilization of the veterans, the improvement of the G.I. Bill of Rights, for securing necessary legislation to provide jobs and housing for the veterans. Similarly, the needs of the working farmers, the women and the youth must be defended, and their urgent demands systematically championed.

In this respect it is incumbent on our Party to be alert to what is happening in the rural areas, and how critically urgent it is for the Communists, labor and other progressive groups to organize and influence the farm workers and the workers in the small towns, and to establish mass contacts and cooperative relations with the working farmers in the struggle for peace and full employment, and for specific points of a common legislative program. The people's fight against reaction cannot be fully successful unless substantial sections of the farmers are brought into common action with labor and are actively drawn into the anti-fascist democratic front and become one of its main mass pillars.

Therefore, as a first beginning, it is imperative that we orient the Party to undertake immediately certain minimum Party activity in a number of selected rural areas, that we help influence the progressive labor movement to establish and extend its relations with the most important local and state mass organizations of the farmers; and that special attention be given to establishing joint farmer-labor political action with

such progressively-inclined farm organizations as the Farmers Union, which itself should be built up and strengthened.

Likewise, and of paramount and extraordinary importance, is the need for labor and the Communists, to reach and influence the veterans and resolutely to fight for their rights. This requires that far greater attention shall now be given by the trade union movement to mobilize mass support for the vital demands of the veterans; that labor shall energetically counteract the extensive activities of the trusts and pro-fascists now being conducted to divide the veterans from labor and to poison them with anti-Semitism, Negro-baiting and Red-baiting. Labor and other progressives should likewise bend every effort to help organize and influence the veterans, on an all-inclusive factory and trade union basis as veterans, and especially in their existing mass organizations. Labor and the Communists should also promote the establishment of whatever new organizations may be necessary to organize the masses of the Negro veterans, as well as the seamen, who actually are war veterans. Further, we should re-examine the entire question of our approach to a number of the new veterans organizations.

Placing the Questions of Socialism and Nationalization

Thirdly, it is necessary that we Communists, in unison with all other advanced workers, should raise our sights, should give labor and all anti-fascists a clearer perspective and a way forward. As Communists, we understand that the fundamental solution to the problems of war and fascism, peace and progress, jobs and security, lies in the establishment of a socialist society. But we also recognize that the establishment of Socialism in the United States is not now on the order of the day, even though the American people are prepared to go much further than they have ever gone in order to attain full employment and a durable peace.

Therefore, while we Communists should and will utilize all events and issues to help educate the masses for a Socialist solution of their problems—the only fundamental solution—we must likewise show them that at present, only in the curb-

ing of the trusts and in the nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, railroads, mines and public utilities, and placing these under democratic control, lies the possibility for effectively expanding production, winning 60 million jobs, defending democratic liberties, and helping safeguard peace.

The demand for curbing the trusts and for nationalization (not to be confused, of course, with socialization, with nationalization under socialism), has a ready soil in the United States, as proved by a poll recently taken among workers which indicated that fully one-third of labor already approves the government ownership of the banks, railroads, utilities, etc. Among the farmers, the demand for public control and nationalization is traditional with regard to the banks, railroads and utilities.

Such measures are necessary in order to realize greater economic security and progress, as well as to promote a democratic foreign policy. They are also necessary in order to achieve the expanded foreign markets so vital to the farmers, the middle classes and the entire nation.

The struggle for nationalization under democratic controls, and coupled with the fight for peace and for the immediate and most pressing legislative and economic demands of the people for security, equality and jobs, must be taken boldly to the trade unions and their allies. This struggle will become one of the most powerful instruments for advancing the welfare of the people, and for welding a powerful anti-fascist, democratic coalition.

III. THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AND THE PROSPECTS AND TACTICS FOR 1946

The next group of questions which claim our attention flow from the results of the municipal elections and the outlook for the 1946 Congressional elections.

The important local elections held on November 6 reveal the following:

In most of the large industrial centers, a broad, but loose,

labor and democratic electoral combination was established, even though in such places as New York certain progressive groupings which supported the Newbold Morris ticket operated separately and apart from this coalition.

In many of the city elections, labor played a key or a very influential role within the democratic camp and in determining the election results. This was the case in New York, Detroit and Pittsburgh, and was especially evidenced in New York in the magnificent vote for the Communists and the Laborites Quill and Connolly, as well as in the stable A.L.P. mayoralty vote. Where labor had a common stand, as in New York and Pittsburgh, victory was obtained (though here I do not intend to pass judgment on the various candidates which labor supported, nor on the merits of labor's electoral coalitions). In Detroit, where the A. F. of L. was drawn away from support of a common candidate, the labor candidate for mayor was defeated, although the C.I.O. and P.A.C. succeeded in mobilizing the largest vote ever secured by any progressive mayoralty candidate.

In these elections the Negro people again exerted a powerful and progressive influence. In the main, they were aligned with labor. And a noteworthy expression of the vital progressive influence and role of the Negro people was seen in the triumphal re-election of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., in New York, in the election of Perry Jackson as Judge in Cleveland, and in the high vote received by Charles Hill in Detroit.

In most of the municipal contests, the virulent Red-baiting unleashed by the extreme reactionaries, the Social-Democrats and the Trotskyites, failed to influence decisively the outcome of the elections. In New York the spurious Liberal Party, led by Dubinsky, suffered a severe debacle. However, it is also true that in Detroit, where the labor mayoralty candidate capitulated to Red-baiting and initiated a competitive race with the reactionaries in anti-Communism, tens of thousands of voters were repelled and confused, disunity was created, and the election was lost. In New York, the fact that O'Dwyer opened his campaign with a Red-baiting speech served to limit the Communist and independent vote cast

for his candidacy. It also encouraged certain sectarian and anti-coalition tendencies within the anti-fascist movement.

A distinct feature of the elections was the role and vote of the Communists. The facts are that the Communist Party, particularly in New York, not only made signal contributions to the forging of the unity of the labor-democratic camp, but in so doing the Party maintained an independent and critical position toward its allies; this was particularly evidenced in the correct statements issued by Robert Thompson on the occasion of O'Dwyer's Red-baiting blast against the C.P. The Party developed a mass campaign around its own program, thereby multiplying its influence and vote.

Indicative of the increased electoral strength and influence of the Party are the following: in New York the Communist Councilmanic candidates, Ben Davis and Pete Cacchione, were re-elected with 123,000 first-choice votes, a notable increase over 1943; in Cleveland, in the midst of an unprecedented anti-Communist barrage, Arnold Johnson, Communist candidate for the School Board, received over 56,000 votes, an increase of over 20 per cent, in comparison with the previous election; in Boston, Otis Hood received over 26,000 votes, more than doubling his vote.

Obviously, in these contests, the Party membership, especially its active corps, demonstrated its confidence in, and its ability to apply, the political line of our National Convention. Evidently, too, thousands of non-Communists used this opportunity to pass their affirmative judgment on the recent changes in the Party's position.

Despite the influential Communist vote, the increased prestige and contributions of the Party to the democratic coalition, our Party is not yet an accepted part of the labor-progressive coalition. If this state of affairs is not overcome, it will seriously weaken and undermine the democratic coalition in the 1946 elections. For this leaves the door open to a reactionary Red-baiting offensive that could destroy the unity of the progressives and the gathering democratic coalition itself.

In this connection, it is necessary to emphasize the urgency of building the independent political organizations and coali-

tion tickets of labor and the progressives in such a way to unite and involve all anti-fascists, including the Communists, in the electoral lists, the leadership, activities and organizations comprising the labor-democratic coalition. The recent vote and increased political strength of our Party, as registered in the municipal elections, can and should facilitate this process.

Finally, in regards to the municipal elections, note should be taken of the fact that the independent-progressive voters exercise a decisive influence in certain big cities. In New York City, for example, both major parties are actually minority parties, and the combined mayoralty vote of the A.L.P., the No Deal ticket, the Liberal Party and the Fusion ticket exceeded that of either the Democratic or the Republican Party. As shown in several municipal elections, and particularly by the independent vote for the A.L.P., the Communist Party and the No Deal ticket, the two-party system is being increasingly questioned by growing numbers of progressive voters.

The Problem and Prospects of a Third Party

In this connection, the question naturally arises—is there a growing sentiment for a third party? We would say that there is the beginning of a trend of thinking in this direction, though there is not yet a crystalized mass movement, except in New York and in a few other localities.

There is increasing disillusionment among the masses with the Truman Administration and hence with the Democratic Party. Within the C.I.O., within many Negro organizations and among the independent voters groups, there is a deepening realization that it is necessary to strengthen and expand the independent political action of labor and the progressives. While the approach of most of these popular forces is to develop independent action along the lines of P.A.C. and N.C.P.A.C., there is also a growing minority sentiment for building a national third party. Similar trends are to be noted in the LaGuardia-Morris "No Deal" grouping, as well as among many of the followers of Wallace in the Democratic Party. In view of these developments, and taking into account

the imperialist course of the Truman Administration, and the historic need of advancing independent political action, it is necessary to re-examine the question of a third party.

Among the basic errors which we made as part of our former revisionist line, was to accept Browder's thesis that the existing two-party system was a permanent feature of American political life which doomed any third party movement to oblivion. Connected with this, and in keeping with the theory of the prolonged class collaboration of labor with the allegedly progressive sections of monopoly capital, was the thesis that it was harmful even to think of forming a national third party.

Life itself, particularly the postwar period, has demonstrated the falsity and dangers of the policy advanced to establish long-range collaboration in the postwar period between labor and big capital, such as represented in and by the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party. The political perspective in the country, the compelling necessity to develop independent political action, and the need to draw into a united democratic coalition broad masses who are influenced by, and vote for, the two major parties—all this makes it necessary as well as possible to surmount the obstacles in the way of moving in the direction of a third party.

It is not a question of projecting at this time, or even necessarily during the course of the 1946 elections, the question of organizing a national third party. But the question does arise of orienting the labor and progressive movements and of steering a course for establishing in time for the 1948 elections a new national party alignment representative of and based on labor and the broadest anti-fascist democratic coalition.

Labor and the progressive forces must have a perspective as well as an instrumentality to realize this. The American people must have an alternative to the two-party strait-jacket; they must be in a position to have a choice in 1948 other than between a Truman and a Dewey or a Vandenberg. Labor and the people must not drift into the position of having to choose a "lesser evil" in the next presidential elections. *This is why it is necessary from now on to create the conditions and*

base for organizing a major third party nationally, a democratic people's party, an anti-fascist, anti-monopoly party—with a mass trade union base and under labor's political influence. Likewise, this is the way to facilitate the establishment of government, representative of and based on the true democratic forces, and which will carry out a progressive policy.

In projecting this perspective and working toward it, it is necessary to guard against several dangers. For one thing, labor and the progressives must avoid any premature organizational steps. The majority of the labor and progressive movement still has to be convinced and won over for a third party. Therefore, in bringing forward the question of a third party, of a democratic people's party, and in enlisting support for such a move, it is essential that the advocates of a third party do not weaken their cooperative relationship with those anti-fascists who do not yet favor a third party. Nor can the progressive forces relinquish their struggle against the disruptive and sectarian "third party" moves of the Trotskyites, the Social-Democrats and the "Liberal Party." *Moreover, the third party issue must not be allowed to divert the maximum attention of all labor and progressive forces from the cardinal task of strengthening now such organizations and movements of independent political action as P.A.C. and N.C.P.A.C. during the course of the 1946 elections.*

Furthermore, while promoting the formation of a national third party it is necessary to combat any tendency to abandon the struggle to mobilize the people to exert that mass pressure which can influence the course of the Administration. But to influence effectively Administration policy, labor and the democratic forces must understand that the Administration is *not* a component part of the democratic coalition, and is *not* to be relied upon, even though a few individual members of the Administration are associated with or are part of the progressive coalition.

Therefore, while labor and the people must continue to fight for whatever progressive moves and proposals may be advanced by the Administration, they must do so without entertaining any illusions, and without entering into any long-term alliance with the Administration.

Popular struggle for any progressive measures advocated by the Truman government, such as were advanced in the President's message on reconversion to Congress in September, must be combined with an uncompromising struggle against every reactionary and imperialist policy of the Administration in foreign affairs. Similarly, such support must be combined with exposure of, and opposition to, every vacillation and move of the Administration to conciliate the camp of aggressive imperialism and pro-fascist reaction. It must be co-ordinated with a sharper struggle against the reactionaries within the Administration and against the reactionary forces and groups allied with or supporting the Administration.

Building the Labor-Democratic Coalition for 1946

Clearly, the 1946 Congressional elections will be a major political contest affecting the future of the country and the world. The reactionary and pro-fascist camp is leaving nothing undone to insure its victory, and it utilizes for its purpose not only the Republican Party but also the Democratic Party. The labor and democratic forces must organize now to meet this challenge with speed and thoroughness based on a full realization of what is at stake.

The main objective of labor and the democratic forces in the 1946 elections will be to defeat the camp and the candidates of reaction and fascism, of imperialist aggrandizement and war, as well as to rout all conciliators of this imperialist combination.

This will require the organization of the widest anti-fascist and democratic coalition. Here it should be emphasized that, while there was a loose electoral coalition of labor and diverse pro-democratic forces that supported the re-election of Roosevelt; while various labor and democratic electoral groupings took a common stand in the recent municipal elections; and while numerous loosely-knit coalitions come and go in the many struggles which have taken and are taking place around specific legislative, economic and political issues, the labor-democratic coalition which we speak of and work for, and which is so sorely needed, still needs to be welded together, unified and organized.

The existing loose, but broad democratic camp of labor and the progressives must yet be crystallized into an effective fighting and all-inclusive coalition. This is why it is necessary for labor and all anti-fascists to help initiate, rally, influence and consolidate the developing democratic coalition on the broadest possible basis, in the current struggles for peace and jobs, democracy and equality, as well as in direct preparation for winning the Congressional elections. This is why it is necessary to forge this coalition around labor, the working farmers, the Negro people and small businessmen, and the progressive organizations of the veterans, women, youth and the national groups—in many forms, around single or several coordinated issues, locally and on state and national scales, and in time to play a key role in 1946.

Labor's Tactics for the 1946 Electoral Struggle

To achieve its objectives in the coming elections it will be necessary for labor and all the democratic forces to work to defeat not only the Vandenberg and Shipsteads, the Wheelers and Rankins, but also the Connallys and Lesinskis. Conversely, it will be necessary to put forward a large number of labor and tested people's candidates running as independent candidates on an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly program. At the same time, in a number of electoral contests, it may be necessary for the popular forces to give conditional backing to certain supporters of the Truman Administration where this will be required to prevent the election of the most reactionary and pro-fascist elements.

To promote victory for the people in the crucial 1946 elections, it is decisively important to expand and strengthen the existing forms and movements of independent political action, of labor and the progressives. In most states in 1946, these will operate through the Democratic primary. This necessitates that labor continue to strengthen P.A.C. and N.C.P.A.C., particularly on state and city scales, as well as develop a comparable movement within the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods. This requires the formation of a network of independent coalition tickets and progressive citizens' commit-

tees, working in unison with labor around a clearly defined people's program for democratic unity.

Perhaps in certain cities and states, where the movement for independent political action makes the necessary advances and has a sufficiently broad basis, it may be advisable to move forward and form a number of local third party tickets on the basis of all-inclusive democratic people's parties.

In a number of other states, where the labor and progressive forces not only have their own independent political organization but occupy strong or commanding positions within the Democratic Party, they will work in the '46 elections to bring about a new relationship of forces within the Democratic Party so as to make these state organizations more representative of and instruments of the developing labor-democratic coalition.

But whatever the precise form in which labor's united independent political action should, and may, be developed in 1946, and which the Communist Party will bend every effort to facilitate, it will be necessary for our Party in certain legislative and Congressional districts, to run a selected number of Communist candidates for Congress and the legislatures. This is advisable in order that the Party may bring forward and most effectively fight for its immediate Communist program, may most effectively clarify the issues confronting labor and the democratic coalition, and may build up its own strength as a component part of, and in service to, the broadest camp of democratic unity.

Further, it should be stated, while in 1944 the Communist Political Association ran hardly any Communist candidates, we do not propose that in 1946 the Party should go to the other extreme and run candidates indiscriminately. In running Party candidates, we should be governed by our relations with the broad labor and progressive movement, and by whether these forces adopt a correct and independent electoral position; also, we should be governed by considerations of how best to strengthen our independent force and contributions to the labor-democratic coalition in the common effort to defeat the reactionaries and pro-fascists. Where we decide to put forward our own candidates, we must adopt a concentration

policy and carefully select a few districts in which the Party candidates have a chance to win, or can mobilize a sizable political vote, and can wage the most effective Party campaign for anti-fascist unity and labor-democratic independent political action.

These are some of the electoral tactics, mediums and political forms which we Communists, and which labor and its allies must develop and utilize to realize our common objectives in the coming Congressional elections.

Let us remember that the battle for 1946 is on now. Crucial primary contests, such as in Illinois and Pennsylvania, will take place next April. The political struggles which are now being waged in the fight for peace, for wage increases and for the adoption of a progressive legislative program in Congress, are shaping the alignments for 1946. Therefore, the degree to which labor augments its united and independent political action, and forges the broadest unity of all progressives, now, in the current economic and political struggles, will determine to a great extent whether or not a broad labor and democratic coalition can be crystallized in time and emerge successful in 1946.

IV. THE PARTY

All political events and developments since the Party Convention in July have completely confirmed the political line hammered out there. But, as we all know, it is not enough to have a correct line: the question is, how to apply it.

To what extent has the Party progressed in applying the decisions of our National Convention? In these four turbulent months since the Convention, and despite a multitude of complex and acute internal problems, the Party *has begun* to make the turn, though unevenly and all too slowly.

Because our policy and our tactics corresponded to the needs of the hour and the interests of the working class, we were able speedily to reorientate key sections of the progressive labor movement to the new postwar situation and to adopt a program of militant struggle in defense of the immediate interests

of the working people, particularly in the fight for jobs and security. In the past weeks we have made initial though far too insufficient headway in alerting the labor and progressive movements to the dangers of the imperialist course of the Administration and to the necessity for combatting the aggressive imperialist acts and policies of the Government, such as in the Far East and in relation to the control of the atomic bomb. We were also able to pursue an effective Communist election campaign, as an independent force and in cooperation with the broad labor and progressive camp.

We succeeded relatively quickly in exposing the House Un-American Committee as a menace to American democracy and to the labor movement, and we have begun to rouse effective protest against it. Here it should be stated that the Rankin Committee suffered a moral and political defeat at the hands of our Party, thanks to the forthright challenge of Comrade Ben Davis, and to the sterling and fighting role of Comrade Foster. This has been a victory for *all* the progressive and democratic forces in America, and should be understood as such.

At the same time, and in the process of developing our mass work, we have begun to place the Party on a sounder working class footing. The process of constructing the Party on a shop and factory basis is seriously under way. The preparations for reconstituting the Party in the South have been completed and by the end of the year the Party in the Southern states will have a membership, equal approximately to that when it was dissolved. Contrasted with the pre-Convention period, there has taken place a marked improvement in the collective work and functioning of the national and state leaderships.

However, we have a long way to go to complete the turn so that we may perform our vanguard role with the greatest dispatch and maximum fighting effectiveness.

In connection with some postwar international developments, we have been slow in reacting to certain events in terms of developing mass activity, in quickly passing over from agitation and propaganda to mass mobilization. This has been true in such cases as the lag in organizing a mass protest move-

ment against American imperialist intervention and interference in China and in the Balkans, and against the "soft peace" policy pursued by the Administration in Japan. This, too, has been the case in the sluggishness of our mass work in relation to the dynamic issue of the use and control of atomic energy, and to its imperialist expression in the "atomic," anti-Soviet diplomacy.

At the same time, there has been a tardiness in coping with the acute and mounting problems of the veterans, in broadening the struggle for Negro rights, and in organizing the unemployed. And, insofar as our work among the farmers and youth is concerned, this remains, as before, entirely unsatisfactory.

The Continuing Struggle Against Revisionism

In the course of executing the decisions of the National Committee, it has been revealed how deep-going was the injury to our Party caused by our former revisionist line, and how profoundly infected by the poison of Browderism our practices and habits of work had become. Recent experience has demonstrated that most of our Communist organizations and institutions became undermined by this corrosive influence to a degree and on a scale far beyond that which we assumed heretofore.

To carry out effectively the Convention decisions and to develop our political line further in accord with the new developments, an unremitting and ruthless struggle is required on all fronts against the remnants of revisionism. This necessitates, for one thing, that we put an end to the tendencies expressed in certain quarters to become disoriented by the maneuvers and zig-zags of the Administration, especially on domestic affairs, as well as to put an end to all tendencies to foster illusions or speculate whenever the Government enters into negotiations or diplomatic agreements with the other United Nations.

A stubborn and systematic political and ideological fight must be conducted now completely to transform our Party into the Marxist vanguard of the working class. Much greater

effort needs to be made to guarantee that our Party displays far greater political and organizing initiative; that we decisively overcome various tendencies to hesitate to speak out boldly and act in time on all major issues and events. We must be conscious as never before of the need for our Party to establish far closer ties with the working people, and to lead the masses by way of example, by greater political initiative, and by organizing our own Communist mass work, and to combine our independent activity with the most energetic development of the broadest united front actions.

To be successful, the struggle against revisionism also requires a relentless fight against rotten liberalism which conciliates both personal and political weaknesses, overlooks organizational looseness and carelessness, adopts a tolerant attitude towards Trotskyism, Social-Democracy, white chauvinism, and other ideologies alien and hostile to the working class, and which harbors non-Communist practices. This demands, for instance, a ruthless political struggle against those bourgeois-liberal concepts and practices which placed the Musteite-Trotskyite renegade, Louis Budenz, in a post of leadership, which tolerated his weaknesses and degeneracy, and which cultivated a non-vigilant attitude generally to the influences and agents of the class enemy.

The struggle against the remnants of Browderism, which is an essential prerequisite if our Party is to make serious headway on any political front, equally demands a determined effort to overcome the passivity that still affects many Party organizations. The fact is that in the various mass activities initiated by our Party in the post-Convention period, only a minority of our membership has been involved. And here it should be noted that just as Browder sits on the sidelines and adopts a policy of "watchful waiting," the concealed supporters of Browderism express their opposition to the Party line and leadership by sabotaging and withdrawing from all mass work, by remaining passive, by "digging in." It is true, of course, that the majority of those Party members who are passive agree with the Party's position; some are the victims of an old disease, others were impelled to inactivity by their

revulsion to Browderism. Yet it must be understood that passivity eats at the Party's vitals, slows the process of completing the turn, and provides a fertile soil in which the Browderites, the disrupters, and the class enemy can work.

Further, the fight to eradicate the vestiges of revisionism requires that we continue to conduct a systematic struggle against all bureaucratic tendencies, on the one hand, and, on the other, against all laxness, against violations of Party discipline and various petty-bourgeois attitudes expressed toward the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The fact is that certain bureaucratic methods and practices have not yet been fully eliminated from our work. This in turn hinders the realization of genuine inner-Party democracy, as well as makes far more difficult the task of combatting those who seek to weaken Party discipline and democratic centralism.

While the successful application and development of the political line and decisions of our Convention require a sharper and more consistent struggle against all remnants of revisionism, against Right opportunism, it also demands a firm and sustained struggle against "Leftist" tendencies, against sectarianism.

Combat All "Leftist" and Sectarian Tendencies

Since the Convention, the dangers from the "Left" have increased. Marked sectarian attitudes have come to the fore, manifesting themselves for instance, in tendencies to underestimate the organization of political-legislative mass action, to "play" with strikes, to ignore the given relationship of forces and to rely on spontaneity in calling strikes.

These Leftist moods and attitudes have also found expression in policies and practices designed to belittle and minimize the need of, and the possibilities for, waging a resolute struggle for labor's unity of action and for developing the common action of all progressive and democratic forces, no matter how diverse their ideologies, understanding and political affiliations. Such Leftist views crept into the practical work of our Party's municipal election campaign in certain cities, such as New York, and were responsible for limiting the vote of the A.L.P. and for weakening our ties with certain democratic

elements and groupings within the loose labor-progressive electoral coalition in which we participated. If such Leftist tendencies are not energetically opposed and uprooted, they could play havoc in 1946. They could wreck the consolidation of a broad, fighting, anti-fascist democratic coalition, inclusive of the Communists, which is so essential to insure victory over the camp of reaction.

Another sectarian tendency that hinders our mass work and our vanguard role, as well as the realization of our ultimate objectives, is the mechanical and abstract way in which certain comrades deal with the issue of socialism. Strange as it may seem, some comrades consider that our National Convention decided to raise the question of socialism almost as an immediate slogan of action, as the main theme for our current agitation and propaganda, or at least as the *one point which today differentiates our Party from all other working class and anti-fascist organizations.*

Obviously, as the Communist vanguard of the working class, we stand for and work toward the establishment of socialism in the United States. Precisely now, as millions of working people are groping for a basic solution to the problems of peace, full employment and democratic advance, we must and will ever more convincingly explain what socialism is, how it is the full and ultimate guarantee for a peaceful, free, and democratic world, how it has triumphed in the Soviet Union, how it is as natively American as it is Russian, how it could work here, and what must be done to achieve it.

For one thing, we should utilize the current discussions over the control and future scientific and industrial development of atomic energy to demonstrate to the millions that only under a socialist society, free from class exploitation and national oppression, will it be possible to harness and use atomic energy for the benefit of all the people and not the trusts, and only then can the manufacture of nuclear energy finally become a genuine instrument, in the true spirit of man's scientific endeavor through the ages, for peace and prosperity, and not for war and profits.

But in so doing, in educating and mobilizing wide masses

for the socialist way forward, we must not forget the historic needs of the hour and the immediate period ahead. We must remember that the *immediate* task of the American working class, at this moment in history, is not to establish socialism in the next period ahead; *it is to rally and unite labor and the people to defeat the reactionary offensive of imperialist reaction which is giving rise to new fascist dangers*; it is to strengthen American-Soviet friendship and cooperation to preserve peace; it is to curb the powers of the monopolies and to promote greater economic security and democratic liberties; it is to establish a democratic government which will follow a consistent progressive policy, a government responsive to and supported by the people.

Clearly, it is essential that our Party, from top to bottom, take up the cudgels against all Leftist moods and sectarian tendencies. For these infantile disorders and attitudes which are so harmful, even under "normal" circumstances, are bound to multiply in the period ahead, precisely as the Administration continues to unfold its imperialist program and as labor and the people sharpen up their position toward it and collide with it.

Therefore, it is imperative that our Party, now as never before, wage a struggle on *two fronts*. It is necessary that we conduct uncompromising political warfare against both the influences of revisionism and all other Right opportunist manifestations, and equally against sectarianism and all other influences of super-"militancy," self-isolation and narrow partisan interests and self-satisfaction.

To equip and gear our Party to carry out effectively our new political line and fully to meet the tests ahead, *it is of decisive importance that our Party maintain and reinforce its basic Communist unity, as well as vigilantly safeguard its security*. Now that we have a correct, Marxist-Leninist political line, nothing could be more disastrous to the interests and fighting unity of our movement than internal rifts, dissension and disunity. Nothing could be more dangerous to our welfare and obstructive to the progress and fulfillment of our Communist policies than passivity, factionalism and other concealed

or open unprincipled attacks against the unity and singleness of purpose and action of our Party.

Unfortunately, the post-Convention period has not been free from such threats and attacks which have adversely affected our work and have endangered the very life and unity of our Party.

On Guard Against Factionalists, Dissenters, Detractors

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

Unfortunately, since our Convention, there have been other assaults on the solidarity and unity of our Party. In Philadelphia, for instance, Comrade Sam Donchin sought to mobilize the District Committee against the National Board. This question will come before the National Committee later for separate discussion and action. However, it should be noted that, under the pretext of combatting "bureaucracy" and claiming to defend "the will of the National Convention," Donchin developed a factional and unprincipled attack on the national leadership.

Motivated by intensely subjective and petty-bourgeois opportunist attitudes and viewpoints of long standing, which regard Party discipline and firmness as "bureaucracy," and which attempt to confuse democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy with anarchy, with "freedom" to undermine the morale and unity of the Party, Donchin engaged in irresponsible and disruptive activity, at a moment when he

thought the authority of the Party leadership was unstable and weakened. As a result, the Eastern Pennsylvania District Committee removed him as District president. Donchin's demagogic and divisive activities paralyzed the work of the Party organization in the Philadelphia District for nearly two months and jeopardized for a while the relations between the National Committee and the Eastern Pennsylvania District Committee.

Mention should also be made of certain embryonic "Leftist" disruptive tendencies and groupings which have manifested themselves recently in a number of districts; of the provocative factional groups which were formed in our Texas and Connecticut districts; as well as the fairly prevalent practice of rumor-mongering and detraction which has spread throughout the Party during and since our National Convention. These, too, endanger or weaken the unity, well-being, and effectiveness of our Communist movement; these, too, damage our organization and aid the enemy.

There can be no doubt, comrades, that the attacks of the class enemy against the Party from without are more easily met than the direct or indirect attacks which are made on the unity, security and integrity of the Party from within.

This meeting of our National Committee must declare war to the end against all such harmful concepts and all individuals that place their personal views and private interests above the welfare and interests of the Party. We must expose, isolate and root out all those persons and influences that jeopardize or play with the unity of our Party. And while we should be patient, though firm, in dealing with those comrades who may be unclear or confused regarding Party policy, who voice honest doubts as to our program and tactics, we must also be merciless and uncompromising in coping with those individuals and grouplets who deliberately promote skepticism concerning the correctness of Party policy, slander and try to undermine the Party leadership, circulate injurious rumors, stir up inner-Party strife, and toy with the fundamental unity of our Party.

The Marxist-Leninist political unity and iron discipline of our Party are our greatest strength. These are priceless and

must be preserved, consolidated and fought for, come what may. This, too, is an indispensable prerequisite for enabling our Party to complete the turn, to perform its vanguard role with honor, firmness, skill and dispatch.

The Party Must Fulfill Its Vanguard Role

Comrades! We are now entering a trying and complex period of sharpening struggles. We are in the process of emerging from the first phase of the post-Convention period, from solving some of the acute internal Party problems, while beginning to apply our new political line in mass activity. Now we must pass over far more rapidly to rally, unite and influence the labor and anti-fascist movements, while resolving more fully our internal Party affairs, so as to meet and effectively cope with the greatest political problems with which the working class and our Communist Party have ever been faced.

Among the many important problems which we must now solve, I would like briefly to re-emphasize three urgent and inter-related tasks with which we are confronted in the coming weeks and months:

Firstly, we Communists should now undertake a national Party campaign designed to develop maximum popular opposition to the imperialist course of the Administration's foreign policy. In line with this, the National Board proposes that the Party launch a nationwide campaign, commencing now. During the first period of this mass campaign, we recommend that we concentrate on welding and reinforcing the unity of the Big Three, and on opposing America's reactionary intervention in the internal affairs of China and on withdrawing America's troops from China.

While the first phase of the campaign will be centered on counter-acting America's present policy towards China, as well as Japan, we must closely connect it with the central issue of forging and strengthening American-Soviet friendship and cooperation, and with such specific issues as the control of the atomic bomb and demobilization.

As a beginning, we suggest that the Party set itself the goal

of organizing hundreds of neighborhood and city mass meetings and demonstrative actions during the first month; and that we issue immediately, in hundreds of thousands of copies, a number of popular Party leaflets and folders, such as will analyze the events in China, the reactionary role of the U.S., and the harmful effects of China's civil war, which American imperialism is protracting, upon America's national security and world peace.

We believe that this campaign, concentrated around one central aspect of America's foreign policy, will enable the Party to make a vital contribution to the struggle for peace, for the unity of the American-Soviet-British coalition, and for a united and democratic China; that it will help unite and set in motion an anti-imperialist and anti-war campaign involving millions of progressive Americans; and that it can help administer a heavy defeat to the imperialist policies of the Administration and to the pro-fascists and war-mongers.

Secondly, it is necessary that we muster all our forces, our leadership and membership, successfully to tackle the questions of the mass economic and political struggles. These now come to the forefront as the campaign for wage increases, and the strike votes in the basic industries are placed for early decision. We must prepare ourselves and our allies to give the necessary political and organizational leadership to these maturing struggles, as well as to blaze the way, help rally, unify and lead the labor and democratic camp for victory in the 1946 elections.

Finally, we must bend every effort to consolidate and strengthen our Communist movement, ideologically, politically and organizationally. We should focus attention on solving the inter-connected questions of building our Party as a Marxist Party of mass action, rooted in the decisive sections of the working class, and of radically improving and expanding our Communist mass press and theoretical publications—both of which are essential to insure that our Party performs effectively its vanguard role.

Comrades, guided by our Marxist-Leninist science, let us, by our devoted and unflinching work in the interests of the work-

ers and all the democratic forces of the nation, render ourselves indispensable as the vanguard Party of the masses.

Let our work as Communists convincingly prove to the working class of our land that its interests and its destiny are bound up with its Communist champions, that attacks upon our Party are attacks upon all labor, that the growth and advance of our Party symbolize the growth and advance of the working class, of all anti-fascists.

These three inter-related tasks constitute a heavy assignment. *Yet, if we work correctly, clarify and mobilize the Party, steer a bold and courageous course, and protect the unity and security of the Party—we Communists can fulfill these and our other tasks, resolutely and effectively.*

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