

Political Affairs
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The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Democracy (Draft Program of the Communist Party)

By National Committee, CPUSA

I. INTRODUCTION

Our country and its people rapidly are approaching a crisis.

The storm clouds of a major economic depression are nearly upon us.

Our nation's foreign policy has led us into a blind alley.

Our traditional liberties are vanishing, being replaced with the ugly menace of McCarthyism.

The American people face the danger that everything they believe in, everything they want this great land to be, is being turned into its opposite.

At a time of great national fear and anxiety the Communist Party submits this Program as an appeal to reason, an appeal to the common sense of our fellow Americans. The crisis of our nation cannot be resolved by any one group alone. Therefore, we offer this Program for the consideration of the working class and all Americans who are concerned with the welfare of our country.

We are convinced that only the widest unity of the American people can avert the disaster of economic ruin, fascism and war. Only the most open-minded and deep-going democratic debate can produce such unity.

Toward that end we submit this Program.

II. THE LOOMING DEPRESSION—THE DANGER OF HARD TIMES

Ours is a great land. The American people are proud of its inventive genius, its technical know-how, its tremendous industrial machine and vast natural resources. One would, therefore, expect to find among the people a sense of confidence in the future. But such is not the case. Whether in the huge shops of Detroit or the vast farmlands of Nebraska, there is a gnawing fear of impending economic ruin.

There is indeed cause for alarm. Signs of an approaching economic crisis are increasing. Production is falling. Unemployment is growing. Weekly earnings are declining as overtime pay disappears. The farmers are once again being caught in the desperate squeeze between high production costs and falling farm income. Small business bankruptcies are multiplying. Warehouses are loaded with \$80 billions of unsold goods, while the American people still owe the unprecedented amount of \$27 billions on installment purchases.

Human needs could easily absorb all that America can produce. But human needs and fabulous profits are opposite things. The corporations reap huge profits from the people's skill and labor. Corporation profits rose from \$6½ billions in 1939 to \$45 billions in 1953. In contrast, the Government's Bureau of Labor Statistics admits that more than one-half of all American families cannot afford to buy the minimum requirements for decent, healthful living.

Since World War II, Big Business and the Government considered renewed arms production as the panacea to prevent depression and to keep profits high. Military expenditures have increased more than twenty times since 1939.

But this is no answer. The increased expenditures for armaments and war are paid for by increased taxes and higher prices taken from the pockets of the people. Taxes today are more than twelve times higher than in 1939. The cost of living has more than doubled. Thus the real wages and buying power of the workers and farmers have been cut. "Cold war" politics also led to an embargo on trade with one-third of the world—the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. This reduced the ability to sell American goods abroad. Finally, the over-expansion of the armament industries makes ever larger appropriations necessary to keep them going.

The arms economy is proving to be not the road to prosperity, but to economic ruin.

Big Business has no remedy for the chronic threat of economic crisis. It knows only one way to keep its industrial plants running and its lush profits flowing—by bigger war preparations, leading to ever more barbaric wars. The "cure" it offers is worse than the disease.

The arms economy is strengthening the big monopolies at the expense of the nation—particularly of labor, the working farmers and small and middle-sized business. A few giant corporations have a stranglehold on the nation's industries. This hold is even further strengthened by the Administration's "give-away" program to the monopolists.

There is an ever greater subordination of government to Big Business. The Eisenhower Administration is an administration of, by and for Big Business. Corporate wealth—General Motors, U.S. Steel, Standard Oil and du Pont—America's biggest, richest and greediest trusts, run the U.S. Government just as surely as they run their own corporations, and for the same end of ever more exorbitant profits.

The monopolists are planning to turn the approaching economic crisis to their own advantage. They are preparing to put the American people through the wringer. They will throw millions of workers on the streets and attempt to cut the wages of those employed. They strive to reduce their own taxes while keeping them high for the lower income brackets. They want to crush and wipe out little business, to force millions of small farmers off the land, to push the small owner to the wall and to foreclose on his home and property. They want to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the Negro people and to put more of our youth into uniforms. In short, they want to place the burden of hard times on the backs of the "little people." This is what they mean when they speak of "limited recession" or "economic readjustment."

Above all, the monopolists will seek to use the approaching economic crisis to accelerate their drive for more and more armaments and for ultimate war.

But the American people are no longer going to accept hard times as just "hard luck," or as the process by which individuals are made "rugged" under capitalism. They refuse to blame themselves or fate for mass unemployment. They expect the economic system and the Government to guarantee them jobs at a living wage as workers, and a living income as farmers.

This very dread of economic depression is cleverly utilized by Wall Street to sell its "defense" program to the country as one to prevent depression and to safeguard peace. However, Big Business now fears the indignation and wrath of the people when they learn that they have been hoodwinked.

III. THE CRISIS IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY—THE DANGER OF WAR

This nation's foreign policy since World War II can only lead to disaster. It is a policy without a future. This policy has failed because it represents neither the national interests of the American people nor the cherished aspirations of all mankind for peace, national freedom and higher living standards.

The Wall Street trusts and cartels have set their course on completely dominating the nations, the markets and the resources of the entire globe. This they aim to do by a combination of bribery, cajolery, intimidation and ultimate war. This is the real cause for our Government's reactionary foreign policy.

This explains the building of air bases and military installations around the world. It explains the aggressive NATO war alliance and our headlong rush to rearm West Germany and Japan. It explains our intervention in Korea, and our military and financial aid to the oppressors and butchers of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Our country, which won its national freedom in a great revolutionary war against despotic colonialism, now strives to prevent other peoples from having their 1776. Our economic royalists shout "Communism," but what they are after is the tungsten of Korea, the rubber of Indo-China, the oil of Iran and Venezuela, the diamonds and gold of South Africa, the sugar of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the bauxite of Guiana, the fruit of Guatemala, the nitrate and copper of Chile, the tin of Bolivia, and the intense super-profits derived from cheap colonial labor everywhere.

No longer are the democratic forces of the world our allies and friends. Our new found "friends" are the nazis of West Germany, the militarists of Japan, the Franco fascist regime in Spain, the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Formosa, the white-supremacists of South Africa, and the military dictators of Latin America.

To call U.S. foreign policy one of "strengthening democracy and the free world," is to make a hollow and cynical mockery of words.

Powerful social forces are at work in the world that will not accept Wall Street dictation or domination. One third of mankind is emancipated from imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation and has taken the path of Socialism. The rise of the Soviet Union, its tremendous industrial and cultural advance, the victory of the Chinese people and the peoples of Eastern Europe, prove that Socialism is here to stay and is indestructible.

At the same time, the colonial and dependent countries refuse to continue to live in conditions of national oppression. They refuse to continue to let their resources be exploited for the benefit of imperialism.

The more economically advanced capitalist countries are likewise impelled to assert their national independence, to break away from the grip of Wall Street. They desperately need foreign markets to keep their industries running. U.S. capitalism cannot provide these. Instead, Wall Street seeks to monopolize all capitalist world markets for itself. Thus, these other capitalist nations are compelled to enter into ever fiercer competition with U.S. capital and to seek profitable trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The present crisis in U.S. foreign policy arises from the refusal of the ruling class to accept this new relationship of forces in the world. The "cold war" is the attempt to turn back the clock of history, to prepare a war for world domination behind the myth of Soviet aggression. Wall Street has done all in its power to build a world-wide coalition against the Soviet Union. But this coalition is now falling apart. Wall Street has no real allies. Even its present so-called allies cannot deliver on their commitments. The people of the world, including the American people, do not intend to goose-step to the martial music of Wall Street. They are tired of constant war tension, unbearable armament burdens, the threat of atomic devastation, and of both "hot" and "cold" wars. They want peace.

These defeats suffered by Wall Street's foreign policy, especially the ending of the Korean war, have led to a certain easing of world tension. This opens the possibility of putting an end to the "cold war" altogether. But to realize this possibility the American people must be on guard

against those ruling circles who pay lip-service to the need for a negotiation of differences but in reality place obstacles in the path of such peaceful settlement. The American people must demand an end to all world tension and the “cold war”!

IV. THE MENACE OF McCARTHYISM—THE GROWING DANGER OF FASCISM

Hand in hand with the drive toward war has been the attack on our democratic heritage. This grave danger to our democratic liberties is becoming understood by more and more Americans.

McCarthyism is on a rampage. It is trying to brow-beat into submission every independent point of view, every thinking person. It burns books and destroys art and culture. It aims to smash the labor movement, to further enslave the Negro people, to stir up racism and anti-Semitism, to gag the young generation, and to wipe out all vestiges of liberty. McCarthyism seeks to turn America into a land of yes-men, a land where patriotism is replaced with jingoism, independent thought with conformity, courage with servility.

The victims of the witch-hunt are many. They are in the first place Communists, but they also include men and women of varied political views. They are leaders of labor and the Negro people. They are the foreign born. They are men and women of science, gifted writers and artists, prominent churchmen and educators.

The gradual whittling away of our basic democratic liberties is not some post-war madness which will pass of itself. It represents an ominous and monstrous trend toward a full-fledged police-state and fascism. The McCarthys and McCarrans are not merely publicity-seeking demagogues, They are the conscious creatures of powerful ultra-reactionary monopoly interests. McCarthyism is the ugly | face of American Hitlerism, American fascism.

The attack upon democratic liberties these past years has been an integral part of the preparations of Wall Street for its war for world domination. It was designed to divide the country, to break up the popular majority that stood for President Roosevelt’s policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union.

The attack on the Communists, the witch-hunt, the attack on the whole New Deal and Fair Deal has nothing to do with the nation’s security. It is an expression of ruling class fear of the re-emergence of the progressive majority in which the American Communists were a part and a stimulating force.

To take this country through a depression and into a war, the ruling class needs fascist conformity, apathy, terrorized and submissive Americans. This is the meaning of McCarthyism.

Why has McCarthyism made such alarming inroads in American life? The last convention of the United Auto Workers-C.I.O. correctly noted that “under the guise of protecting us from the Communists” the worst villainy has become possible. McCarthy’s shady financial deals, Nixon’s slush funds, the Big Business looting of the public treasury in lush defense contracts and in tax, property, land and oil steals, have all been gotten away with under the guise of fighting Communism. Anti-Communism has become the biggest and best paying racket in the country. The American people are paying for this. They may pay for it even more dearly—with their very lives and liberties.

It is the Big Lie that the Soviet Union menaces this nation that has made possible the inroads of McCarthyism. McCarthyism has been able to utilize this lie to frighten and intimidate the country. The responsibility for this rests largely on those who helped cultivate and perpetrate this Big Lie. This includes the Truman Administration and the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. top leadership. By heir propagation of the hoax of the Communist menace, they have helped transform

McCarthyism from an insignificant contemptible worm into a dangerous and venomous rattlesnake.

Accepting the Big Lie, many of McCarthy's opponents say that they challenge only his fascist "methods" while agreeing with his anti-Communist "objectives." This stands everything on its head. McCarthy's objective is fascism; his method anti-Communism.

The danger which confronts this country is that of McCarthyism, of fascism. It can be defeated only when progressive Americans, whether they like or dislike Communism, begin to realize that Communism is not the issue in this country today or in the near future. The false issue of Communism has been cunningly injected and kept alive in order to distract the people from the real issue which confronts them, the imminent black-out of all constitutional liberties and the brutal imposition of an American type of fascism. This was the method of Hitlerism. It is the method of McCarthyism.

McCarthyism is trying to win complete political power through the present Republican Administration which is increasingly embracing the methods of McCarthyism.

Thus it aims to impose fascism on the country, to take it over through a program of unbridled intimidation and demagoguery. It aims to transform the present increasingly reactionary Republican Administration into an outright fascist government. This is the objective of McCarthyism.

Thus the danger of McCarthyism, of American fascism, is real, grave and growing. To defeat this menace, to safeguard the democratic rights and precious liberties of the American people is the first task of the hour.

V. THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM AGAINST DEPRESSION—FOR JOBS, PEACE, DEMOCRACY

The American Communists propose for our nation a five-point program of Human Welfare, Democratic Freedoms, and Peaceful Coexistence.

1. *Raise the Purchasing Power of the People and Curb the Power and Profits of the Trusts!*

To combat depression we urge the defeat of all wage-cut attempts and a militant struggle by labor to raise wages on all levels, to shorten the work-week without a reduction in weekly earnings, and to curb speedup. We advocate the lowering of consumer prices, an end to rent gouging, and a shift of the tax burden to the rich.

An anti-depression program requires government protection of home owners, small farmers and small business from mortgage foreclosures and bankruptcy. It requires a government guarantee of 100 per cent price parity and crop insurance for small and middle-sized farmers, and government loans and credit at low interest rates to small business and needy farmers.

To end the economic backwardness of the South and to raise the purchasing power of the people of that region, the government should institute agricultural reform measures aimed at helping the sharecroppers and tenant farmers, Negro and white, to become independent producers who own the soil they till. The wage differentials between North and South and between men and women workers should be ended and equal pay for equal work guaranteed to all, regardless of race, nationality, religion, sex, age or political belief.

2. *Spend for Human Welfare, not Warfare; for Homes and Schools, not Bombs and Battleships!*

The government has the responsibility to guarantee jobs and living standards. The giant plants which have been erected for the production of planes, tanks, atom and hydrogen bombs for war, need not be shut down. They can be converted to peacetime uses. For example, the giant

war-time aircraft plants can be converted into huge factories for producing pre-fab homes on an assembly line basis. A government-supported program of this kind can produce a minimum of 1,500,000 additional modern private dwellings a year. This would help wipe out the rat-infested fire-traps in which many of our people live and die. The government which built these giant war producing plants with the people's money must guarantee their continued operation, but for peaceful purposes. If private industry cannot or will not do so, the government can and must!

We propose a substantial increase in unemployment and old-age benefits; special measures to keep our youth from becoming a jobless generation and to guarantee all our youth free and equal educational opportunities; a federal health program; and a large scale federal program of flood control, conservation, power dam development and rural road building.

3. End the "Cold War" and Promote Friendship and Trade!

There can be no hope for a lasting peace and world disarmament without accepting the principle of peaceful coexistence between the capitalist U.S.A. and the socialist Soviet Union. This is necessary whether one agrees or disagrees with Socialism, whether one likes or dislikes the Soviet Union.

Peaceful coexistence does not preclude, but includes, a peaceful competition between the different social systems. It does exclude, however, a settlement by force of arms of the dispute as to which social system is superior.

To ease world tension and to restore the United Nations as an instrument for lasting peace we propose:

A return to President Roosevelt's policy of big power negotiation and agreement. This must include Peoples' China, the established and effective government of the great Chinese nation.

An end to the arms race and to the policy of encircling the globe with U.S. military bases. What is needed is a world ban on the use of all atomic weapons and an agreement for a drastic reduction in all types of armaments. We oppose the militarization of our youth and Universal Military Training.

The widest promotion of peaceful world trade. Our country, in its own interests, must take advantage of the immense markets for American goods available in the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. These markets can provide millions of jobs for American workmen for years to come. We favor the extension of credit to bolster world trade and to help overcome the hunger and underdevelopment of the colonial lands. The colonial and semi-colonial countries need machine tools, agricultural implements and farm products. But they rightfully reject fraudulent "Point 4" programs which aim at robbing them of their natural resources and keeping them as backward hinterlands.

An end to the policy of remilitarizing West Germany and Japan. The lessons of World War II prove that a remilitarized Germany is a threat to world peace and to the security of the U.S. We stand for a united, democratic and peaceful Germany.

No intervention in the internal affairs of other nations and the recognition of the right of all nations to govern themselves. This means an end to the Dulles policy of instigating civil wars in other countries and of aiding the oppressors of the colonial peoples of Indo-China and of all Africa and Asia. This means hands off Guatemala. We favor the right of full and unconditional independence for Puerto Rico; full equality and democratic rights for Hawaii; and complete political and economic freedom for the Philippines. The right of all nations to restrict and control all foreign investments on their territories should be recognized and respected. We favor a policy of the good neighbor to the Latin American lands and to all nations.

4. Defend and Strengthen Democracy!

We call for the defense of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, for an end to the “dictatorship of fear,” and for a turning back of the evil tide of McCarthyism. This requires the defense of the constitutional rights of all, including the Communists. To deny the Communists their constitutional rights is the first step to denying these rights for all Americans. This is the lesson of Nazi Germany. It is the lesson of the witch-hunt in this country. Labor leaders and former New Dealers are learning that they cannot obtain immunity from the witch-hunters by crawling on their knees and Red-baiting. In the words of Benjamin Franklin, “They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.”

We urge an end to the witch-hunting, the abolition of all Congressional witch-hunt committees, and a halt to the Gestapo-like political activities of the F.B.I. Political arrests and deportations must cease. Amnesty must be granted to Eugene Dennis, Benjamin J. Davis, Gus Hall, and the other Communist leaders and victims of McCarthyism. The attempts to outlaw the Communist Party and to deprive Communists of their citizenship rights must be defeated. The Smith and McCarran Acts should be repealed.

Labor’s right to organize and strike must be protected and all anti-labor legislation such as the infamous Taft-Hartley Act must be repealed and defeated. Strike-breaking by court injunctions or government decrees should be stopped.

Academic freedom and freedom of inquiry should be restored for America’s youth. Young people should be given the right to vote at 18. The time has come to end book-burning and know-nothingism, to put an end to the cult of violence in our movies, TV and literature, and to promote culture for peace and democracy.

5. Win Equal Rights for the Negro People!

Democracy is only as strong as its weakest link. All progressive forces should give full support to the valiant fight of the Negro people for their rights. This is necessary because the fight for the liberation of the Negro nation, for the rights of all the Negro people is an integral part of the fight for democracy, for peace, for the rights and living standards of labor and all the people.

If there were no oppression of the Negro people in our land, there would be no wage differentials between the North and the South. Thus, Southern white workers, together with their Negro brothers, would receive higher wages, while Northern labor could put an end to runaway shops and Southern cheap labor competition. In this way wage levels could be raised for the whole country.

If there were no oppression of the Negro people there would be no poll-tax congressmen. Without poll-tax congressmen it would have been far more difficult for the reactionaries to pass the Taft-Hartley, the Smith and the McCarran Acts.

If there were no poll-tax-Dixiecrat congressmen in Washington there also would be a better chance to get improved social security legislation, price and rent controls, more federal aid to education, a federal housing program, greater aid for the unemployed and the aged, and far more equitable tax laws.

Thus, the American people are paying for the shame of Jim Crow. This price is added to the humiliation and oppression heaped upon the Negro people. The Negro people should have their freedom because that is their right. They should have it also because all America has a stake in it, stands to gain by it. Democracy, like peace, is indivisible.

We urge prompt federal action to wipe out every form of discrimination in employment and job opportunities for Negro workers, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian and Jewish workers, and for women and young people. This can help end the practice of hiring Negro workers last and firing

them first, of denying them opportunities for advancement as skilled workers, or of employment as white-collar workers or professionals. A federal FEPC, strictly enforced, can help prevent the corporations from pitting one group of workers against another and from reducing wage standards for all workers.

We further urge federal civil rights legislation to outlaw the poll-tax, lynching, segregation and Jim Crow. Equal educational opportunities and the right to full representation should be guaranteed the Negro people, North and South.

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We call upon wage workers, working farmers, the Negro people, small business and professional people, upon the women and the youth, to join hands in a common fight against the ravages of economic depression, against the menace of McCarthyism—for jobs, peace, and freedom. We urge support for the anti-depression demands of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O., for the farm demands of the National Farmers' Union, for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for every proposal, every action, which can help save our people from threatening economic ruin, fascism, and war.

VI. WHAT HAS TO BE DONE—THE ROAD AHEAD

This Program for Jobs, Peace and Democracy is a program for America. It can be realized. It corresponds to the needs of the people under circumstances in which their liberties and living standards are in imminent danger of complete destruction and in which they are not prepared to accept Socialism as the way out.

The program outlined here cannot do away with the planlessness and recurring economic crises of capitalism. Only Socialism can do that. This Program can help, however, to delay the outbreak of an economic depression and to cushion its blow upon the people. It can save America from the clear and present danger of McCarthyism—can block war and fascism, save U.S. living standards, and maintain democracy.

No one group in America can achieve these things. The unity of all democratic and peace-loving forces is needed—unity on one issue, or a score of issues—unity irrespective of ideological and political differences on other questions and on longer range goals.

If democratic unity is to be welded, and in time, a major responsibility rests upon the organized labor movement. It must become the propelling force of a popular coalition movement which unites labor, the working farmers, the Negro people, small and middle-sized business and those groups of capital opposed to the McCarthy program of fascism and war. Such an alliance must also include the nation's professionals and intellectuals; its women, youth and nationality groups. This alliance, if it is to become fully effective, must include the Left and the Communists who have a vital and indispensable contribution to make.

Labor does not play its full role today. It does not give a clear and firm lead because it is unclear and divided itself, because its own ranks are infected with Red-baiting and the "cold war," because its top leaders still play the part of errand boy to Big Business politicians.

The responsibility for this rests on the official leaderships of the main trade union centers, the A.F. of L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods and Mine Workers. By their support of Wall Street's foreign policy and the anti-Communist drive they have misled the workers.

The labor movement must change its course if it is to save itself and help save the nation. It should practice the slogan, "an injury to one is an injury to all." This should govern the relationship of one section of labor to another, and of the labor movement to the farmers, the

Negro people, the professionals, intellectuals and small business people. This can be achieved only by an alert and active rank and file.

There are signs of a new awakening in our land. Larger sections of the people are beginning to speak up for peace and for a program of peacetime jobs. They are becoming alarmed over the menace of McCarthyism. Their opposition to the Eisenhower Administration is growing. The bitter fruits of the war drive are bound further to dispel many illusions. The people are compelled to enter more energetically and consciously into the struggle to defend their living standards, their democratic liberties, and their peace. The collision between the people and the foreign and domestic policies of McCarthyism must grow in volume and intensity.

Important sections of the labor movement are becoming increasingly conscious of the life-and-death need for labor unity. Some of these are also beginning to point in the direction of increased independent political action, are beginning to think in terms of forming a great political alliance under labor's leadership.

The immediate objective in 1954 must be to prevent the Eisenhower Administration and Congress from taking the country further down the road of McCarthyism. Defeating McCarthyism requires the turning of the present Administration out of political power, first by changing the composition of Congress in 1954 and then by electing a new Administration in 1956. This requires a new political majority so strong that it not only changes Administration but imposes on a new Congress and a new Administration a new course in domestic and foreign affairs.

The answer to our present national plight is not a switch-back to another Truman-type Administration. The Truman Administration, by departing from Roosevelt's foreign and domestic policies, only paved the way for the Republicans to grab political power and for McCarthyism to ride roughshod over the nation. What is needed is a new Administration which starts to build again where the New Deal left off.

Only the prospect of such a new Administration can inspire and rally the many millions of independent voters in the ranks of labor, the Negro people, the farmers, and the city middle classes, who when acting together, constitute a new political majority.

To unite a new political majority for 1954 and 1956 requires recognition that the two-party system remains the form through which the overwhelming majority of the American people now express themselves in politics. Except in special local and state situations, there is no immediate prospect that decisively large masses will break away from the existing two-party structure. This is particularly true since the struggle between the McCarthy and anti-McCarthy forces is likely to be very close. Under these circumstances the decisive sections of organized labor, without which a mass third party is impossible, will first attempt to fight out the issues within the ranks of the Democratic Party.

The key to both the crucial 1954 and 1956 elections lies in the ability of organized labor to come forward as a distinct political force even within the framework of the present two-party system. Labor must come forward with its own clear-cut progressive program for the nation, its own ties and alliances with other independent electoral forces, and its own highly organized and efficient election machinery. Its objective must be to help bring about a regrouping and realignment within the Democratic Party nationally and within the Republican Party in local areas.

The liberal and independent voters cannot create a new majority and defeat McCarthyism by giving the political bosses a blank check, for McCarthyism exists in both major parties and must be fought in each. They must, therefore, exert every effort to make their *independent* weight felt

in the determination of program and the selection of candidates, including, where necessary, the running of independent candidates. Organizations such as the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party, by pursuing correct unity policies and running candidates where necessary, can help clarify the issues and greatly strengthen the common struggle against McCarthyism.

The 1954 elections are crucial in determining the path America will take. McCarthy already has thrown down the gauntlet to the American people. What is needed is unity of every decent, honest force of our people, of all independent-minded voters, whether Democrats, Republicans, or Progressives. Such unity must set itself the objective of electing an anti-McCarthy Congress by defeating every McCarthy-McCarran-Dixiecrat type of candidate, every pro-fascist and rabid war monger. It is also necessary to bring into the halls of Congress a bloc of articulate and uncompromising opponents of McCarthyism, of courageous spokesmen for a further relaxation of world tension and for the defense of the people from the ravages of economic depression. Labor and Negro representation in Congress must be strengthened by electing a large number of trade union and Negro candidates. This will facilitate the election of a new Administration in 1956.

Only in the course of sustained struggle along these lines will the perspective of a mass third party of the people, led by labor and its allies, materialize. Labor will find that in many important battles it must wage within the Democratic Party, decisive as they may be in checking tin immediate danger of McCarthyism, will not transform that Party into a farmer-labor party. Labor must set its sights in the direction of a great party of its own, a party without Wall Street financiers, corrupt underworld racketeers, or Southern Dixiecrats—in short, a true united front party of labor and the common man.

As the American people succeed in electing a new Administration and blocking the immediate menace of fascism and war, a new stage of the struggle will begin to unfold. It is then that the perspective of subsequently electing a new type of government, a farmer-labor government, will begin to arise in our country. Such a people's government, based on a farmer-labor party, will represent the militant advance of the great majority. It will be a government in which the working class plays a leading role, serving the interests of the common people, and directed at curbing the power of the trusts.

VII. COMMUNIST AIMS AND PERSPECTIVES

The Communist Party, basing itself on the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, believes in Socialism as the ultimate solution for the problems of our nation. Modern industrial production under capitalism is a vast social process, but it is operated for private enrichment and not for the public good. It is this contradiction that Socialism would resolve. Socialism alone would utilize to the fullest the immense scientific and technical know-how of the American people, including atomic energy. It would forever end the scourge of economic crisis, unemployment, racial discrimination, fascism and war. It would build a land of peace and plenty, of knowledge and culture, of freedom and opportunity for all.

At the same time, the Communist Party emphasizes that the issue at the present time is not Communism. The choice before our people today is peace, security, democracy versus, the grip which the monopolists have on the country and their plans of fascism and war.

But while the issue today is not Communism, the true nature of the Communist Party and the role which it plays in American life is very much an issue. The American people must know the

truth about this issue lest the monstrous deception now practiced on them lead to the loss of the democracy and freedom they prize so dearly.

What is the truth about the Communist Party?

The Communist Party advocates a peaceful path to Socialism in the U.S. It brands as a lie the charge that it advocates the use of force and violence in the pursuit of any of its immediate or long range goals. It declares that Socialism will come into existence in the United States only when the majority of the American people decide to establish it. The Communist Party affirms its deep and abiding faith in the American people and their ultimate decision to establish Socialism. The needs of our nation cannot be served by any sect or conspiracy. For no progress, whether of a minimum or of a more far-reaching nature, can come other than through the will and action of a majority of the American people.

The Communist Party has no blueprint for the path to Socialism in the U.S. The American people will move along the path to Socialism as inevitably as other peoples and nations have done because ultimately there is no other solution to their problems. But they will do so in a form and manner which will be determined by the history, the traditions and the specific needs of the American people. No social system can be imported from abroad. Nor do we propose to do so.

Basing itself on these fundamental propositions, the path to Socialism in the United States which is advocated by the Communist Party envisions: the unity of the majority of the people to block the present imminent threat of McCarthyism, thereby upholding and defending the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and then, the forward march of that majority toward a strengthening of democracy and the election of a new type of government, a farmer-labor, antimonopoly government. The election of such an Administration and Congress would then open up the possibility for a peaceful advance of the American people to Socialism.

The Communist Party of the United States has its roots deep in the history and struggles of the American people and its labor movement. It is the inheritor and continuer of the best in American democratic, radical and labor thought and traditions. Its devotion to the true national interests of the American people is the source of its deep and abiding patriotism. That patriotism has been sealed in the blood of hundreds of members of the Communist Party who have died in defense of our country and our people.

American Communists believe in the defense of their country, and the people and territory of their country. We deny that the Soviet Union or any country led and ruled by working people threatens our country, or could threaten our country. We resolutely oppose “police actions,” wars of aggression, or wars of intervention in the affairs of peoples fighting to shape their own way of life as they see fit.

The false and despicable charge that Communists are “agents of a foreign power,” or “spies,” emanates from the monopolists who want, thereby, to cover up their own betrayal of the true national interests of the American people. It is the monopolists who are the agents of a foreign power—the power of the international cartels and trusts which they dominate and to whose greedy manipulations they subordinate and betray the interests of our country. Not what is good for our country, but what is good for General Motors determines the loyalty of the monopolists.

The Communist Party declares that it seeks no conflict with any church or any American’s religious belief. On the contrary, we stretch out our hand in the fellowship of common struggle for our mutual goal of peace, democracy and security to all regardless of religious belief. We stand on the fundamental principle of the Constitution which guarantees religious freedom by separating church and state, and, in the same spirit, we oppose the intervention of any church in political affairs.

The Communist Party considers the emergence of a powerful trade union movement during these past two decades as the most important and positive development in our national life. We are proud to have helped build it and to be a part of it. As a working-class political party we strive to influence the policies of the labor movement and deem it our right and duty to speak out against policies which we believe are harmful to labor and the nation. But we deny any intent to dominate or control the trade union movement and recognize and respect its organizational autonomy and political independence.

We proclaim our fraternity with all peoples who have pioneered the new frontiers of human history toward Socialism, with all peoples struggling to achieve their independence and national development. We affirm the good will and solidarity of our people with all those who stand for peace and progress. We seek to realize Abraham Lincoln's saying: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues and kindreds."

We are ready to work with all Americans, no matter what our past relations or present differences may be, to block war and fascism, to save U.S. living standards, to restore free exchange of ideas and debate on the great issues facing the nation. We propose a coming together of all progressive and democratic forces to consult with each other and to make such consultation and working together a habit. The grave problems of our nation cannot be solved otherwise.

We call upon all progressive and democratic forces to re-appraise their policies and activities in light of the nation's crisis. The American Communists pledge to do the same.

We urge mutual and friendly criticism among all groups concerned with saving our nation from fascism and war. We invite criticism of ourselves and of this Draft Program, and are prepared to publicly acknowledge all criticism that is just.

We urge upon all our members and sympathizers a most careful study of this Program and a re-examination of their daily activities, habits of work and thought, to bring them in line with it.

In full confidence that the objectives of this Draft Program can be realized, we call upon all members and friends, upon all anti-fascists, to spare no effort to realize this program of jobs, peace and democracy for America.

A Letter on the Draft Program*

By the Committee on Program Drafting

Dear Comrades:

The Committee assigned the task of drafting the Program has received the many criticisms and proposals relating to the draft and has attempted to take them all into consideration in its re-draft. The many criticisms that came in from leading comrades were very constructive and have led to many changes.

Now as to some questions around which differences were expressed. We deal with only the most important of these.

1. Two comrades expressed themselves in disagreement with that portion of the Program which puts forth the perspective of electing an Administration in 1956 which eases world tension and checks the immediate threat of fascism. These comrades assert that it is impossible to have such an Administration short of a complete political regrouping in the country and the emergence of a third party.

As this criticism goes to the heart of the tactical line proposed by the Program, it is necessary to spend some time discussing it. The tactical and strategic course which the Program attempts to outline includes three phases of development:

a) The struggle to *check* the present course of the nation and to help elect an Administration and Congress pledged to maintain peace and preserve democracy. This would not be an anti-imperialist or anti-trust government. It would be a government that accepts the reality of living with the Soviet Union, reduces world tension, is anti-McCarthyism and relatively liberal within the country. It would be an Administration and Congress brought into being by an exceedingly broad class alliance—the working class, the poor and middle farmers, the urban middle classes, non-monopoly groupings of capital, and the less reactionary circles of Big Business. It would be a broad coalition of class forces to block *extreme* reaction (McCarthyism) and to prevent the present *immediate* war threat. (We have dealt only with class forces. Such a combination would of necessity include the Negro people).

Such a government, in the eyes of the masses, would be a government which attempts to carry the nation forward from where the old New Deal left off. Because of the class combination of forces required for such a government, and because the labor movement is decidedly tied to the Democratic Party, it would have to come about before a third party is formed, or, not come about at all in 1956. Without such a perspective we have no *practical* alternative for 1956. For this is where the masses are moving, and there is a *fighting chance* of achieving such a government. The approaching economic crisis will shake things up and the crisis in foreign policy is bound to create further rifts and even sharper divisions within the ranks of big capital as well.

The Program does raise the objective of achieving a *check* of *extreme* reaction. What it says is required for this is greater unity and a new independence politically on the part of Labor and its allies, even without a break from the Democratic Party—even while they play more of a role within that party. In our opinion we must not hesitate to point toward such a government and to call for it. Without this our Party and the masses do not know what our objective is for '56. This position is inherent in our present line of policy and in the report and decisions of our National

* We reprint herewith sections of a letter sent to the members of the National Committee of the Communist Party by the sub-committee assigned the task of drafting the Program—*The Editor*.

Conference.

b) The second phase or stage of our strategy must be to help break Labor completely away from the Democratic Party, to launch a great third party and to move toward a government in which such a party would be the central (possibly not the only) force. It is preferable for the American people and for the peace of the world that this development take place while holding together the broadest combination that can be cemented to *block* McCarthyism and the present war threat. This means, concretely, that such a perspective of a new party and a people's government should not be thought of, or posed, as in opposition to a broader New Deal type of government. In fact, the masses will not move to a new party formation if by so doing they enhance the strength of *extreme* reaction by turning over the Democratic Party machinery completely to the McCarthyites, McCarranites, and Dixiecrats. Thus it seems to us that an immediate national third party development would shape up *only* if Labor is completely beaten in the Democratic Party nationally and the prospect of a New Deal type of government fades out of the picture. Such a development, while it would get an earlier national third party, would not take place under the most favorable conditions. Of course, in states where the McCarthy-McCarran-Dixiecrat forces have control of the Democratic Party, and where it is impossible to dislodge them from that control, state mass third parties may arise.

What we should favor and work for is an Administration and Congress in '56 which reduces tension and checks the present *immediate* fascist and war threat. Because such an Administration, due to its class character, would vacillate, hesitate, and tend to retreat; because the nature of the crisis in the country would be placing more and more demands upon it, conditions would arise in which a new party of Labor and the common people would arise nationally over *dissatisfaction* with the failures of the government to do all that has to be done. This would be a leftward development which masses would see as absolutely necessary to defeat reaction, not merely to check it. For extreme reaction would be getting even more provocative and dangerous, and more radical measures would be needed to rout it. Nor would it appear to masses as a call for jumping from the frying pan into the fire. For given such a leftward development the working class could also work out the practical alliance problems required to guarantee that in the course of this more basic realignment extreme reaction did not grab power. Let us remember that the crisis in the 1850's led to an all-around break-up of parties. The Whigs split, the Democrats also split. In fact, there were four presidential tickets in the field in 1860. We cannot exclude a somewhat similar development in the period ahead—a break-up of the Republicans as well as the Democrats. But this is not in the cards now, or even by 1956!

The Program refers to people's government, or farmer-labor government, interchangeably. Why the latter designation? It is to make clear that such a government would be a *radical* government, one far more advanced than can be obtained in the present phase of the struggle. While such a government would represent the *whole* nation against the trusts, it would in essence be built on two main classes—the wage workers and working farmers, in alliance with the Negro People. It would be a government emerging out of crisis and playing the role of a *transition* government, even though this transition could last for a relatively lengthy period. Further, the term farmer-labor has American roots. All mass third party movements since the Civil War have tended to represent this combination. Our own Party has repeatedly put forward the slogan of a farmer-labor party and government.

We consider that it is exceedingly important that our propaganda for a new party make clear in its very terminology the basic class alliance that is being sought and put the proper emphasis on the nation's producers—the workers and farmers. This together with the fact that we refer to

this as an anti-trust and anti-monopoly party or government helps clarify its basic class content.

The third phase or stage of our strategy encompasses the movement from a people's anti-trust government to Socialism. This has already been dealt with theoretically and politically in the writings of Comrade Foster. In this draft they are only touched on as it is our opinion that the Program should concentrate on the immediate tasks.

It seems to us that the above three stages of our struggle in this country must be grasped clearly by our Party. These are not mechanical stages. They overlap. But they are stages none the less. It is our failure to see all three at one and the same time which results in our constant moving from one extreme of policy to another. To see only the first, is to veer to the Right. To see only the second and third stages is to ignore the tactical problems today and to make "Left" errors. Once all three stages are seen and understood in their interconnections, we have laid the foundation for a development of Party policy for a whole number of years. Tactical shifts and changes can then be understood on the background of broader perspectives and not as just whims of the moment.

This it seems to us is the biggest and most important question posed by the Program.

The Comrades who are opposed to raising the question of a new Administration in 1956 argue that it is impossible to get anything different than another Truman-type Administration. They argue that it is possible to achieve some change in the composition of Congress, but that as respecting Administrations nothing positive can emerge short of an Administration brought into being by a mass third party.

In our opinion, these comrades err. In the first place, they completely ignore that which is NEW in the past year—the emergence of a powerful McCarthy movement as *the living and actual fascist threat of today*. One thing is now clear. In the U.S. no less than elsewhere, fascism must establish a mass base for itself in order to come to power. It is doing that in the McCarthy movement. The Truman Administration paved the way for this. The Eisenhower Administration is very close to the McCarthy forces of extreme reaction and fascism. It can (and may) be transformed into an out-and-out fascist Administration. But this can take place only as McCarthyism, as a movement, spreads and develops as a more powerful force. Also, with the fall of production and the growing indications of imminent economic crisis; with the fact that the bourgeoisie knows that it has lost its *immediate* chance of all-out war against the Soviet Union, the most reactionary, more predatory, most chauvinist and most war-minded sections of big capital turn toward fascism in the country to prevent a mass upsurge from taking place and a complete reversal of the present reactionary course of the nation. Thus the danger of fascism—something we have talked about for a number of years—is not the general threat it was before. It is a specific and immediate threat. McCarthyism is out to win Congress in 1954; to take the country in 1956!

The leaders of our Party must understand this. Every Party member must understand it. The masses must be told this. We must remember that while German Social-Democracy made the fatal mistake of pursuing the policy of the "lesser evil," that the German Communist Party erred in failing to *distinguish* between the specific Hitler fascist threat and bourgeois reaction in general. George Dimitroff, in his report to the 7th Congress of the Communist International, said: "In Germany, the Communists waited until the election of the Speaker of the Prussian Diet in 1932 before they declared they would vote for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party and the Centre in order to prevent the election of fascists."

We must prevent the election of fascists in 1954 and a McCarthyite Administration in 1956!

There is something else new, too. The Comrades fail to appreciate that the developing crisis

for the bourgeoisie must inevitably split its ranks—not as regards strategic goals, but as to tactical objectives. Dimitroff also pointed out that the bourgeoisie is never united when fascism arises. It is divided. In fact, fascism is needed not only as a means of holding the masses down (its main function), but also as a means by which to resolve the conflict in bourgeois ranks. It cannot be otherwise in this country. During the period of prosperity the differences in the ranks of the bourgeoisie tended to be concealed and obscured by the “successes” of the moment, by good times. Once the barometer points to stormy weather, once the failure of policy is apparent, then “harmony” disappears and is replaced by discord. It is this division in the ranks of the bourgeoisie which facilitates the possibility of a different type of Administration in 1956.

The comrades say that they can conceive of an Administration which would be subject to mass pressure and thus forced to check McCarthyism, but not one which we should aim to bring into being. This is strange reasoning. In the first place, the Eisenhower Administration is also subject to mass pressure and can be checked by it. In the second place, if what is meant is an Administration more *amenable* to mass pressure, then by all means we should attempt to get such!

The comrades argue also that such a more amenable Administration would not however be akin to the Roosevelt Administration. Granted that it would be different. But was the Roosevelt Administration a People’s Front? Was it really so radical? Was it always for an alliance with the Soviet Union? What position did it take on Spain? What about the Finnish War and the phony war period? What about Roosevelt’s “plague on both their houses” position during the crucial GM strike? Is it not possible that the comrades are idealizing the Roosevelt Administration? The fact is, that any Administration which wants to save the country from economic disaster and fascism would have to do more than the Roosevelt New Deal—even if it is only mildly liberal. The crisis of the nation is much deeper today; the remedy far more radical.

No, comrades, we must see things realistically and clearly. If the opportunity is muffed of arresting the course toward McCarthyism in 1954 and 1956, history may not provide another chance for quite some time. What is needed for this is an upsurge of the masses, a new independent role on the part of Labor and its allies and no dependence upon the Democratic Party.

To do this will be difficult enough with the present state of the labor movement, although economic developments will change much. To see only a mass third party as the answer to the present *immediate* crisis, is to close our eyes to what is possible and what we must help the masses achieve today.

2. Two other comrades took issue with the draft Program from the opposite point of view. They argue that it is dogmatic to say that the Democratic Party cannot be transformed into a farmer-labor party, a party of the common man. Therefore, they urge that we delete any reference to the need for a third party.

We disagree with this position. We have kept within the draft the statement that sooner or later, Labor, together with its natural allies (Negro people, working farmers), will be compelled to take the step of forming a great party of their own.

Here, too, we must be clear. It is true, of course, that history has a habit of being somewhat perverse, proving constantly that it is richer and more complex than the best minds can foresee. But, in our opinion, it would be a serious error to think that the Democratic Party—which not only is a party *of* Big Business, but which is *itself* a big business, with an immense patronage system involving billions of dollars—is a party which can be taken over by the labor movement. It is one thing to see the importance of that party today because the masses of workers are still in,

and with it, and because wide masses still hold it possible via the Democratic Party temporarily to stem the immediate drive toward fascism and war. It is quite another thing to see it as the mass labor-led party of tomorrow. If we were to adopt the position of these comrades we would in effect be strengthening all the illusions of the workers. We must be with the masses, and we must strive to accomplish only that which is possible at each historic moment, but we must at the same time constantly raise the sight of the masses to new horizons and new goals and never ourselves succumb to their illusions. In fact the sooner Labor makes clear that it is not wedded to the Democratic Party, the better able will it be to win concessions within that Party! Thus, the *perspective* of a new party is needed even to *win* the battle of today.

3. One comrade wrote stating that what was needed was not a program for the immediate period ahead, but one going into the more basic socialist answer to our problems. This comrade wrote that with the impending economic crisis the masses are going to be looking for more fundamental solutions, will be questioning the economic system as such, and that it is our job to begin to win the masses for the socialist way out. This comrade wrote that what we need is a Program: "The Socialist Way Out of the Crisis of Capitalism."

This comrade is correct to point to the need for a socialist mass education and to the fact that we have done too little of it recently. However, he is basically mistaken in thinking that an economic crisis in the country is going to make the issue of the moment that of capitalism versus Socialism.

In the '30's we were correct in our immediate partial demands, but we were incorrect in our over-all slogan of Socialism as the immediate answer to the question of a change in government. Not until 1935 did we see that the change in the world situation, the danger of fascism, and the very experience of the masses, required some partial slogans in respect to government change as well.

In the period ahead this will still be true. The only practical experience that the masses can fall back on in respect to liberal government is the old New Deal. This to them represented the first time that a government of the U.S. accepted the responsibility of intervening in the economy and giving them "a break." In an approaching economic crisis the country will be pulled in two directions—to a fascist solution and to a democratic solution. If on our part we were to place Socialism as the issue in the country, it would not only be unrealistic, it would play into the hands of McCarthyism.

This does not mean we should continue to ignore the propagation of Socialism and its explanation—we must *increase and improve this a thousand-fold*—but always in the framework of understanding what one comrade has correctly characterized as the "democratic task" before the nation, the solution of which alone can take us further in the direction of our ultimate socialist goal. Any time we pit the socialist way out against the more immediate historic task we must fail to either influence the course of events or win people for Socialism.

4. A comrade also criticized the Program as being too "Keynesian" and another comrade thought we must at least raise the slogan of "nationalization of the basic industries." On the whole question of Keynesism it is necessary to say the following: What big capital sees in this is one thing; what the working masses see in it is another. There is no doubt that Keynesism as an economism theory is reactionary, represents "vulgar" economics, because it conceals the basic cause of economic crisis and offers a "remedy" which is no remedy. It is also reactionary from a political point of view, for the big bourgeoisie sees in it government intervention in the economy, in the main, through armaments.

But the great masses of workers and farmers, most of whom never heard the name Keynes,

have taken, however, one thing from the Keynesism of the New Deal period: that the government can do something about economic matters and has a responsibility to do so. This thinking has entered the mass consciousness of our epoch and by so doing has become a material force, one which every Administration, even that of Eisenhower, has to cope with. Of course, this state of mind of the masses represents a step forward in their social consciousness, even though it has its negative side namely, the growth of new illusions in capitalism and in the solution of economic crisis through government intervention.

While we must give battle ideologically to the false theoretical premises of Keynesism; while we must give sharp political battle to those who favor armaments, we must do it in such a way as to grasp that which is *positive* in the political consciousness of the masses in order to lead them from their present level to higher ones. What does this mean? We, too, must not hesitate to hammer away on the government's responsibility for jobs and security. We must join with the masses in making this demand and in pressing ever more vigorously to achieve it—*jobs and security based on peace-time, not war-time, production*. (Of course, we know that the very logic of this struggle will lead the masses to face new problems and draw new conclusions.)

Let us take the question of "nationalization." It is not put forward as a slogan or demand in the draft Program. Why? Because it cannot be achieved in the immediate period and at this time does not correspond to what the masses are ready to fight for. But in a deeper sense the question of nationalization is in the Program. In what form? Where it says that the huge war plants must be kept in operation for peace-time work and that if private industry will not do so the government can and must. In our opinion this is the *practical* form in which the question of nationalization is going to arise initially in America as a mass issue. In fact, during the depression of the '30s it did arise in this form. Upton Sinclair led a great popular movement in California nearly winning the governorship, on a program of promising the masses to take over the idle factories and machines and to put them to work by the government. We must be prepared to see this issue arise once again.

These are a few of the questions that require explanation.

This letter has been written hastily so that it can accompany the redraft. Formulations, therefore, are not the important thing. The ideas are.

Study and Apply the Draft Program

By William Z. Foster

The National Committee, in its Draft Program, has presented a body of policy to the American people that meets their most urgent political and economic needs. The Program makes a deep-going analysis of the three great groups of problems now confronting the working class, the Negro people, the farming masses, and other democratic strata in this country—namely, those relating to the danger of a third world war, to the economic crisis now developing, and to the deadly menace of McCarthy fascism. The Draft Program also furnishes a clear line as to what must be done in all these instances. It is an effective working-class alternative to the monstrous program advanced by the reactionary Eisenhower Administration and to that of the Democratic opposition.

Now the big task is to spread the Draft Program far and wide among the toiling masses in this country and to get them to fight for it. Our job in this respect is threefold:

First, as the National Committee's Draft Program indicates, we must formulate a final text of the Program upon the basis of a thorough discussion of its many points of analysis and policy.

Second, our discussion should involve not only our own Party members and Left sympathizers, but also the broad masses of the workers, Negro and white. This means that we must, from now on, proceed to circulate the Draft Program among the masses in vast quantities. And the two phases of the discussion of the document—in our own Party, and among the broad masses—need to proceed simultaneously. It would be the height of sectarianism to discuss the Draft as it now is, first among our own members and then later to take it up with the broad ranks the workers. We must make no such Leftist mistake. Every plan to popularize and discuss the Draft Program must therefore include, from the outset, its broadest possible mass circulation.

The *third* phase of our task in connection with the Draft Program is to begin to organize the workers to fight for it. This organizational phase, too, must go ahead simultaneously with the discussion and the mass circulation. We do not want mere propaganda and agitation around the Draft of our National Committee. Above all, we must organize ourselves to get the masses to put it into effect. We must teach the workers not only how to think about their problems, but how to fight to solve them.

If we should fail to do this, the whole project would be hardly more than a shot into the water. Therefore, in considering our Draft Program, the matter of organizing the masses to fight for it must stand in the first rank. In the final analysis, the ultimate worth of the document will be determined by the number of workers, of Negro people, and of other democratic elements who can be educated and organized to fight for it.

Every Party Club, in handling the Draft, should do it in this threefold sense, of discussing it, of circulating it among the masses, and of organizing concrete struggles around its demands. Anything short of this is incorrect. This means that we have to carry our Draft Program—not six months later, but right now—to every type of people's organization that we can reach—trade unions, Negro groups, peace organizations, youth clubs, women's organizations, farmers' movements, etc.—in the sense of stimulating them to fight for its special demands. The toiling masses are ready for such a program and they will respond, if we approach them vigorously, on a wide scale, and in concrete terms of struggle.

In presenting our Draft Program to the broad masses, we must bear carefully in mind their mood. This is one of a developing fighting spirit.

The period ahead will be one of rising mass struggles in this country. In conformity with this

growing militancy let us approach the people. The great democratic masses in this country do not want merely to be talked to; above all they want to be organized and led in struggle to solve some of the many urgent problems that are pressing upon them from all sides.

The workers, the Negro people, and other toiling masses, rejoice at the real victories recently won by the world peace forces and the easing of international tension, especially in bringing about the Korean armistice. But they are aware that inasmuch as the United States is spending \$50 billion per year in military preparations and is building numberless air bases all over the capitalist world, there must be a real war danger in the world—even though they may often be confused as to the origin of this danger. It is our big job, therefore, to teach these masses, in concrete, organized struggle, how to fight for peace and against war, not only in a general sense, but also against every specific step taken by the warmongers.

It is urgently necessary to stimulate broad united front and parallel mass actions to bring to bear the moral-political force of the people in favor of the success of the impending Geneva Conference. It is necessary also to unfold activities for an end to the “dirty war” against the people of Indo-China, for the seating of People’s China in the U.N. and her recognition by our government, for the re-establishment and expansion of East-West trade, to the mutual benefit of all, against the rearmament of Western Germany, and for all effective measures to achieve reduction of armaments and the outlawing of atomic weapons. A day-to-day struggle must be conducted against the burdensome armament budget and Wall Street’s war program as a whole. The Draft Program shows how the warmongers can be defeated and the war danger eliminated.

The workers and their natural political allies also realize that there is a grave danger of an economic crisis that will ruin their living standards, and they want to do something about that. Our Draft Program gives clear basic answers to all these problems, and we must carry these answers to the masses and organize them to fight for a real anti-depression program.

Imperative is the development of united labor action for protection of the workers’ wages, for the shorter work-week, for increased unemployment benefits and social insurance, and for the immediate launching of a government-subsidized Public Work Program. The labor movement must be alert to the necessity of protecting the working and living conditions of the Negro workers, who already feel the heaviest brunt of growing unemployment. The beginnings of farmer-labor cooperation in support of the demands of the farming masses should be encouraged and broadened. Vital in all this is the need to organize the resistance the labor movement to new attacks upon the trade unions. Here, as in all other phases of our work around the Draft Program, the test will be the extent to which we can organize real mass struggle around its demands.

The toiling masses are especially waking up to the malignant danger of McCarthyism. There is already great stirring on this question; what is needed is solid leadership. We must teach them that McCarthyism is fascism, and show that failure to combat Red-baiting is suicidal folly. We must stress to the labor movement, to the Negro people, the extreme and special danger that McCarthyism holds for them. We must teach the masses the great significance of amnesty for Gene Dennis, Ben Davis, and the rest of the victims of the fascist laws now on the books in this country. We must help the people understand that the only possible sane outlook for the world is, as our Draft Program outlines, a peaceful co-existence between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. But all this will amount to very little if we do not, at the same time, organize the masses directly for concrete struggle in defense of the Bill of Rights, and to defeat every project of the fascists. The fight against McCarthyism must, of course, be linked up with the struggle against war and economic crisis.

The coming November elections will be of the most crucial importance. All signs now point

to a bitter fight between the forces of democracy and those of reaction—over questions of peace, economic program, and fascism. For and against McCarthyism will be a major question in the election campaign. We must give everything we have to the development of this great struggle, for which the Draft Program gives a highly practical line. This requires timely and effective organization of coalition electoral movements to defeat every McCarthyite and McCarranite candidate, to elect forthright anti-McCarthy candidates to Congress, as well as State legislatures, and to ensure the election of the maximum possible representatives from the ranks of labor and the Negro people.

In early summer, as has been announced, we shall have a broad national conference for the completion and application of our program. When that conference materializes it must be on the basis of a strong and developing mass movement around the issues raised in the Draft Program. This conference must be a great organizing gathering further to mobilize the masses for the growing struggles ahead, especially the Fall elections.

All this means that now we must not only discuss our Draft Program, but from now on organize to put it into effect. Our ability to develop this struggle will be the measure of our maturity as a Communist Party.