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# RESOLUTIONS

NINTH CONVENTION  
OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

1936

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

PUBLISHED BY WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC.  
P. O. BOX 148, STA. D, NEW YORK CITY. OCTOBER, 1936



209

*The Ninth National Convention of the Communist Party  
was held in New York City from June 24 to June 28, 1936.*

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## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REACTION, FASCISM AND WAR

*Resolution on the Report of Earl Browder, General Secretary  
of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.*

**T**HE Ninth National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. declares that the analysis of the world situation given by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International has proven correct.

The line-up of classes on the international arena and the tasks of the world labor movement continue to be determined by changes which arise from the general crisis of capitalism, the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, the advance of capitalist reaction and fascism, political crises in several countries, and the Leftward development of the toiling masses in all imperialist and colonial countries.

The decision of the World Congress has already proven a powerful weapon in the struggle for the unity of the working class against fascism and war. This is demonstrated most clearly by the outstanding successes of the French and Spanish working class in the forging of the united and people's front. The new socialist victories of the Soviet Union, the growth of the great Stakhanov movement, the triumph of Soviet democracy, the proclamation of the new Constitution of the Soviet Union, which for the first time in the history of mankind establishes genuine democracy, guaranteeing every citizen "the right to a job, study, and leisure", are bringing nearer to socialism millions of toilers in the capitalist countries, pointing the way to their final liberation from the miseries of capitalism and to the establishment of socialism in all countries.

### *I. Reaction, Fascism, and the Working Class*

1. Under the cover of democracy and the preservation of the Constitution, the offensive of capitalist reaction in the United

States is advancing. It carries for the working class and all the toilers the threat of permanent poverty and insecurity, a continually sinking standard of living and the steady destruction of the civil rights and democratic liberties of the masses. It thus opens the road to the coming of fascism in this country.

2. The toll of indescribable suffering already paid by the toiling masses for the economic crisis brought on by the capitalist system is beyond calculation. The American standard of living, never a reality for more than a fraction of the working people, has been shattered. There are 15,000,000 unemployed, 20,000,000 people are dependent on relief rolls. The total yearly income of the working people has been cut in half; the bulk of the farming population is being steadily reduced to the status of a landless peasantry. The youth of America continues without prospect of jobs or future. The same dark prospect faces most workers over forty years of age to be displaced from production and discarded, and still worse is the condition of the working people over sixty. The economic basis of the middle class has become narrowed and disintegrated. And 14,000,000 Negro people live under the constant threat of repeated Scottsboros.

These are the conditions that resulted from the crisis years under the Hoover administration, that the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination, with Landon, seek to perpetuate and to make even worse.

3. The course of the depression under the Roosevelt administration shows the following characteristics:

Business has recovered one-half of its depression losses (American Federation of Labor figures) but only 30 per cent of the depression unemployed have been put back to work, due to speed-up and rationalization; at the same time fresh millions of young workers have come to maturity and are vainly looking for jobs. In 1935, a year of Roosevelt recovery, profits of industrial corporations rose 40 per cent, but the average real income of the employed workers remained stationary and in some spots even decreased. For the less than 6 per cent increase in average weekly wages during 1935, the employed workers had to work one and one-quarter hours more per week and meet a 5.5 per cent increase

in living costs. The net result was no increase in real wages *and an increase in capitalist exploitation.*

Developments in 1936 show substantially the same tendencies in wages and living costs, and a sharper rise in working hours.

The employment and exploitation of child labor are growing, especially in textile. Speed-up is intensified, especially in the steel and auto industries.

Taxation is shifted systematically to the backs of the poor. Expert investigations disclose that between 1930 and 1935 the tax burden of the poor was proportionately more than doubled while that of the wealthier classes had been cut more than in half.

National income in 1935, still only two-thirds of 1929, has increased 10.4 per cent, but this has gone largely to corporation profits.

Farm foreclosures are again on the upswing. These are now carried on by the Federal Land Banks which, in the first eight months of 1935, have completed 7,926 foreclosures; and that is four times as many as in the corresponding months of 1934.

4. While emerging slowly and unevenly from the economic crisis, American capitalism has not yet overcome the special kind of depression because of the general crisis of the capitalist system. There are still no signs of an impending boom but evidence accumulates of the approach of a new economic crisis.

This is a land of unlimited possibilities for plenty and happiness for all toilers, but capitalism, the capitalist system dominated by the monopolies, stands in the way of realizing these possibilities. Monopoly capitalism in the United States, never able to use fully the existing capacities for production, has been mercilessly destroying the forces of production during the crisis years, especially the most precious productive forces—the working class. The United States Steel Corporation, controlled by Morgan, has been utilizing only a fraction of the capacity of its plants for the manufacture of finished steel products: in 1933, 28.7 per cent of capacity; in 1934, 31.2 per cent; in 1935, 38.8 per cent. During the ten-year period of 1925-34, industry has been using, on the average, no more than 67 per cent of capacity, even according to the basis of calculation of the Brookings Institution. The



truth is closer to about 50 per cent when we take not only the crisis years, but the whole length of crisis, depression and prosperity. American capitalism could not use more than about one-half of its productive capacities. Declining and rotting capitalism is choking the economic life of the country. Hence the 15,000,000 unemployed.

Agriculture is in even worse shape. While the farmer capitalists, the banks and the food speculators continue to enrich themselves and to acquire ever more domination over agriculture, the latter is continuing in deep crisis. A landless peasantry is becoming the central figure of American agriculture, accompanied by a terrific worsening of the conditions of life of the agricultural workers. And the Roosevelt agrarian policies, first projected by Hoover, policies of brutal destruction of the productive capacities of the country, policies that imitate the monopolies in industry, are of some help only to the rich farmers, slightly of temporary assistance to some sections of middle farmers. For the bulk of the toiling farmers (small owners and tenants) to whom the Republicans are determined to give nothing, the Roosevelt policies mean pauper relief on the one hand, and displacement of landless peasants on the other (50 per cent of the farmers own no land). For agriculture as a whole, these policies lead to deterioration of agriculture, a strengthening of the domination of finance capital in it and to a deepening of its crisis.

Foreign trade, while advancing slightly, still lags behind the growth in production. In 1935 it was not even up to 1931, which already was a crisis year. Imperialist rivalries for markets are growing most acutely, the capitalist machinery for world trade continues in disorder, and the danger of a new world war is sharpening every day.

New capital issues, still only 5 per cent for 1929, are showing an increase, but 93 per cent of the issues registered in 1935 were for refunding. Of the remaining 7 per cent only slightly over 2 per cent went for enlargement or improvement of plant and equipment.

An increasing replacement of outworn plant and equipment is taking place, especially in the steel and auto industries and in

the railroad industry, which accounts for the considerable rise in the production of capital goods. But an important feature of this development is the fact that this replacement is financed largely from old accumulations of funds for amortization (replacement) and not from new capital issues.

5. Improvement in business is a fact. It was brought about on the basis of the terrific destruction of the standard of living of the masses, partly by the operation of the natural laws of capitalism, by the Roosevelt spending program which went largely into subsidies and loans to corporations and banks, by war preparations and only slightly by Roosevelt's relief program. This improvement in business, chiefly improvement in the profits of the monopolies at the expense of the toilers, may continue for a while until overtaken by a new crash. But the capitalist system cannot and will not get out of its state of general crisis. Only the proletarian Socialist revolution, by overthrowing the rule of the capitalist class and establishing a Soviet government, will do away with the crisis and insecurity, will do away with the intolerable conditions of capitalist decline and decay. It will establish a socialist system of society as in the Soviet Union, where crises and unemployment are no longer known and where social security has become a reality and the well-being of all toilers is continually improving.

The experience of the last three years has proven conclusively that the claims of the ideologists of the New Deal that it will bring planned economy and security for the masses were only empty promises. Life has shown that, regardless of the personal wishes of some of the sincere believers in the planned economy of the New Deal, the anarchy of production, crises and insecurity are inseparable from the capitalist system, that only socialism under a Soviet form of government, as in the U.S.S.R., makes possible a planned economy without crises and exploitation. Life has shown that the attempt of the New Deal at "planned economy" (N.R.A. and A.A.A.), without abolishing capitalism and the rule of the capitalist class, has not only failed to abolish crises, anarchy and insecurity, but has intensified and sharpened the contradictions of capitalism. The New Deal was not a "step

toward socialism", not a "revolution", as claimed for a time by Norman Thomas, but a means of tiding capitalism over the worst phase of the economic crisis at the expense of the masses, leaving unsolved and even deepening the general crisis, the anarchy of production and the insecurity of the masses, precisely as analyzed by the Communist Party at the inception of the New Deal. The battle cry of reaction that the New Deal is socialism and even communism is a trick to confuse the issues. It arises from the implacable opposition of the monopoly capitalists to the slightest restriction even of their most glaring abuses and excesses, which the New Deal vainly sought to accomplish, and from their desire to discredit socialist planning, which they really fear, on the basis of the failures of the New Deal.

6. Under the impact of the terrific sufferings of the seven years of crisis, and deeply impressed by the socialist victories of the Soviet Union, the yearnings of the American masses for a social order free of crises, unemployment and insecurity have become widespread and most powerful. It is this profound yearning of the suffering masses for a new social order that underlies such powerful currents as the growing mass demand for a system of "production for use", "social justice", "economic justice", "share the wealth", "social security", etc. In the absence of a strong, independent political party of the working class, with the still prevailing political immaturity of the wide masses, and aided by the belief that the tremendous productive capacities and natural riches of this country by themselves offer a way out, these mass yearnings for a new social order become diverted into various utopian, reformist and even reactionary channels. Common to all these tendencies is the old petty-bourgeois illusion that poverty and insecurity can be abolished by certain changes in the sphere of credit, money circulation and distribution without abolishing the capitalist mode of production. Bourgeois radicalism and social reformism tries to build upon this basis such movements as "Epic" and "Townsend": on the other hand, fascist and semi-fascist adventurers (Long, Coughlin, Talmadge), exploiting brazenly the yearnings of the masses for a new social order and their petty-bourgeois illusions, seek to build up breast-

works of fascism and reaction with the backing of powerful sections of the most reactionary monopolies.

The attempts of the reactionaries to make use of the shameful attacks in Congress against the Townsend movement to swing Dr. Townsend and his followers in support of the Republican Party threaten to strengthen the most reactionary enemies of old-age pensions.

It is therefore the task of the Communists to establish firm contacts with the masses in these movements, to work within them, to develop common struggles for immediate demands on issues that are most vital to these masses, and, on the basis of such common work and struggles, to overcome their petty-bourgeois illusions and to lead them in the direction of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism which alone will realize their yearnings for a social order of security and plenty.

Our main immediate political task in this work is to win the masses in these movements for the Farmer-Labor Party. In carrying out this task, the Communist Party does not at all take a negative position on the issue of immediate struggle to weaken the domination of the monopolies in such spheres as credit, prices, money circulation and distribution. While systematically educating the masses to an understanding that only the abolition of the capitalist mode of production will wipe out the domination of the monopolies in the sphere of national credit and finances, the Communists will propose and support every practical measure that tends to weaken the monopolies. Norman Thomas' criticism of the Communist position on this question is reformist. It attempts to substitute the illusion of socialism without the Socialist revolution for tangible mass struggle against the monopolies today—the only means of improving the conditions of the masses and of preparing them for the revolutionary struggle for socialism. Furthermore, the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party, and the election of the Farmer-Labor governments (local, state and federal), and the organized readiness of the toiling masses to back these governments to the limit, constitute the only way of breaking the stranglehold of the monopolies upon the economic and political life of the country; that such struggles will create the

favorable conditions for the overthrow of capitalist rule altogether, the establishment of Soviet power and the building of socialism.

*The Offensive of Reaction and the Policy of the  
Working Class*

7. The most reactionary circles of finance capital, the monopolies around the Morgan-du Pont group, are determined to shift the burdens of the crisis even further to the backs of the toiling masses. Having profited by and grown stronger from the New Deal, the reactionary monopolies are now calling for more sweeping attacks upon the standards and rights of the masses. They use the deceptive slogans of "balancing the budget", "cheapening the cost of production", and "taking the government out of business". By this is meant:

(a) Cutting off all relief to the 15,000,000 unemployed workers and their dependents;

(b) No relief to the toiling farmers;

(c) Cutting wages, lengthening hours, increasing speed-up;

(d) Destruction of the trade unions;

(e) The outlawing of all fighting organizations of the workers and all toilers;

(f) Persecution of the foreign-born;

(g) The domination of Hearst in the schools and colleges;

(h) Murderous incitement of jingoism, anti-Semitism, racial discrimination and lynchings of Negroes in the spirit of the Black Legion and the Ku Klux Klan;

(i) Destruction of the democratic liberties and civil rights of the American people;

(j) Support for fascism and the fascist instigators of war everywhere.

The Morgan-du Pont clique, using the slogan of liberty, seeks in the forthcoming elections to rally all reactionary forces in the country for a systematic assault upon the democratic liberties of the toiling people, thus opening the road to fascism.

The chief political center of extreme capitalist reaction, which carries the threat of fascism today, is the Republican Party-

Liberty League-Hearst combination. To carry forward their offensive upon the standards and civil rights of the working class and all toilers, the most reactionary fascist-minded monopolies are rallying now around the Republican Party through which they seek to elect their president while utilizing both capitalist parties to strengthen their domination over Congress as well as over the state and local governments.

At the Cleveland Convention of the Republican Party the Liberty League and Hearst scored a complete triumph, wiping out every vestige of influence of the progressive Republicans. The domination of the most reactionary monopolies in the Republican Party has become stronger. It is these reactionary monopolies—Morgan-du Pont-Hearst—that have brought forward the oil-millionaire Landon and the Landon-men as the new face of the party in order to make it appear as the party of the small man. Thus the party of the most reactionary monopolies, despite internal friction and contradictions, is taking on fascist characteristics. In a manner similar to Hitler's, Landon's "practical progressivism" and his fraudulent pretensions at being a "small man" are intended to hide the fact that he is the spokesman and tool of the most reactionary and fascist-minded monopolies. Landon's fake "liberalism" is therefore fascist demagogy.

At the same time the reactionary monopolies, especially in the steel, auto and rubber industries, are storing up munitions and building up their own armed gangs, armies of spies and strike-breakers, ready to employ the methods of civil war against the workers, to prevent the organization and development of the trade unions. Together with these civil war preparations in the industries, partly revealed by the disclosure of the LaFollette and Black Senatorial Committees, the reactionary monopolies—the backers of the Republican Party-Liberty League-Hearst combination—are stimulating the growth of more open fascist formations such as the Black Legion, the Crusaders, the Sentinels, the Minute Men, the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations.

The most dangerous of these more open fascist developments is the attempt of Coughlin, Lemke and Gerald K. Smith to build up a fascist party in the United States. Basing themselves upon the

Townsend movement, the National Union for Social Justice, and upon the "Share-the-Wealth" groups, Coughlin & Co., employing the wildest demagoguery and incitement against all progressive forces in the country, are seeking to build up a fascist movement and party. The most immediate aim of these fascist adventurers is to help elect Landon in 1936 and to strengthen the forces of reaction in Congress. The putting forward of Lemke by Coughlin's Union Party is intended to help the election of Landon whose reactionary policies are expected to pave the way for fascism; while the concentration upon the Congressional elections through the medium of the Republican and Democratic Parties is meant to build up fascist strength in Congress itself.

To achieve these immediate aims and to promote the building of a fascist party in this country, Coughlin and Co. seek to divert into their fascist channels the "third party" sentiments and organized movements among the farmers, city middle classes and also among the workers. Coughlin and Co. are exploiting most brazenly the just dissatisfaction with Roosevelt among wide masses, as well as their opposition to the Republican Party and Landon, in order to help elect Landon by way of Lemke and to build on the basis of "third party" sentiment a fascist party. This most dangerous fascist maneuver must be exposed consistently by intensifying the struggle for independent political action and for the organization of the Farmer-Labor Party locally, by states and nationally.

In doing so, it is necessary to point out that the absence at this time of a strong Farmer-Labor Party is making it so much easier for Coughlin, Lemke and Smith to exploit the "third party" sentiment for fascist ends. It is necessary to point out, furthermore, that the responsibility for this rests upon the spokesmen of organized labor, on the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League whose failure to step forward on the road of independent political action has been the strongest single factor delaying the more rapid crystallization of a strong Farmer-Labor Party. And finally, it is necessary always to drive home the truth—advocated by our Party—that only a powerful Farmer-Labor Party can frustrate the fas-

cist designs of Coughlin to build a mass fascist party, that only a Farmer-Labor Party will constitute an effective barrier to the offensive of Landon reaction and Coughlin fascism.

The Communist Party, therefore, declares that the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against reaction and incipient fascism, demands the utmost unification and concentration of all forces of the working class and its allies in the fight against the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination and for the defeat of its plans in the elections of 1936. The Communist Party warns all toilers against the dangerous position, reflected in the policies of the Socialist Party by Norman Thomas, that it does not matter who wins the Presidential elections in 1936 and that "a Republican candidate will be no Hitler". The Communist Party insists that the American working class and all toilers cannot remain indifferent as to what kind of government will come into power as a result of the 1936 elections. While a victory of the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination in 1936 will not mean the direct and immediate establishment of a fascist regime in the United States, such a victory will strengthen the capitalist offensive upon the standards and rights of the masses, will stimulate reaction, and will thus immeasurably accelerate the growth of fascism, and, if not halted, bring nearer the day of its victory.

This does not mean the adoption of a policy of depending upon Roosevelt; Roosevelt has proven to be no barrier to reaction and fascism.

Roosevelt stands for capitalism. He defends primarily the interests of big business and the Southern landholders. In the beginning of his administration, the monopolies and the capitalist class as a whole were more or less united behind him in the initiation of the New Deal of which capitalism was the chief beneficiary. But as the New Deal had succeeded in carrying capitalism over the worst phase of the economic crisis, proving at the same time its inability to liquidate the crisis and to keep the masses in check, the most reactionary monopolies began to break away from Roosevelt; a new political center of capitalist reaction came into existence, the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst com-



ination. While continuing to retreat before the attacks of the Liberty League, and to give them concession after concession at the expense of the toilers, Roosevelt found himself compelled to engage in fighting speeches against reaction and in friendly gestures plus some concessions towards the workers and farmers.

Seeking to curb in some degree the most glaring abuses of the most reactionary representatives of finance capital (in the public utilities, munitions, banking and stock exchanges), in order to strengthen the capitalist system and raise the waning confidence of the masses in capitalism, Roosevelt inevitably comes into sharp collision with such elements as the Morgan-du Pont group. But because he stands for capitalism, and for the class interests of big business and of the Southern landholders, Roosevelt was led to give in to the attacks of the reactionary monopolies, thus strengthening reaction instead of weakening it; while at the same time, by his friendly gestures and concessions to the toiling masses (relief, section 7A, banking and public utility measures, etc.), Roosevelt and especially the policy of depending upon Roosevelt were demobilizing the masses and weakening their independent resistance to capitalist reaction, which is the only effective resistance. Furthermore, the just resentment against and the disillusionment with Roosevelt among the wide masses of toilers, taking place in the absence of a strong Farmer-Labor Party, tended to drive large masses into the arms of reaction and fascist demagogues (Hearst, Talmadge, Coughlin, etc.). This resentment was also feeding such movements as the Townsend movement.

Contrary to the complete triumph of the Liberty League in the Republican convention, the victory in the Democratic convention went to Roosevelt's "middle course", a course deliberately steered by Roosevelt between the camp of reaction and the camp of progress. While marking the emergence of a more audible progressive note in the Democratic Party platform and a slight strengthening of the progressive elements of that party, the victory of Roosevelt's "middle course" marks no fundamental change in the character of that party. It is not a barrier to reaction and fascism. Only the Farmer-Labor Party can become such a barrier.

Roosevelt's is not a middle course between capitalism and social-

ism. There can be no middle course between these two when the issue becomes the victory of the Socialist revolution or the continuation of capitalism. When this becomes the issue, when the Socialist revolution is on the order of the day, a so-called "middle course" becomes the most dangerous enemy of socialism and of the working class.

But the issue now is not capitalism or socialism. It is progress or reaction, fascism or democracy. And between these two Roosevelt is trying to steer a middle course. American labor and all progressive forces are vitally interested in making full use of this middle course for the defeat of reaction and for the building up of their own independent power. But under no circumstances can they afford to make this middle course their own.

The only correct policy for the working class is the one of independent political action in alliance with the toiling farmers, Negroes and middle classes. This means a policy of complete separation from both capitalist parties, Republican and Democratic, the independent organization of labor and its allies and consistent class struggle on the economic and political fields. It means the utmost development of the united front of the working class and its organizations and the building up of a powerful People's Front—a Farmer-Labor Party—as a coalition of the working class, the toiling farmers, Negroes and middle classes against capitalist reaction, fascism and war. This and only this will mobilize the masses into an effective barrier to reaction and fascism and will thus create the conditions for higher forms of struggle—for the Socialist revolution, Soviet power and socialism.

To carry forward these aims, it is necessary to expose and combat sharply the treacherous policies of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. dominated by the Green-Hutcheson reactionary clique. The "proposals" brought by Green to the Republican convention in the name of the Executive Council which called for the deportation of foreign-born militant workers, which opposed an amendment to the constitution in direct violation of the decision of the A. F. of L. convention, which failed to bring forth the demand for the 30-hour week without reduction in pay, or any other demands for the improvement of the conditions of the

workers, and which brazenly proposed the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union—these proposals once again exposed the Green-Hutcheson clique as flunkeys of capitalist reaction, of servants of the Manufacturers' Association and the Chambers of Commerce, agents of the Morgan-du Pont gang in the labor movement.

These fresh treacheries of the reactionaries in the A. F. of L., committed in the face of advancing reaction and the growing menace of fascism and war, are a direct result of the traditional reactionary reformist policy of so-called "non-partisan" political action, an inevitable consequence of class collaboration and opposition to independent working class political action. These treacheries of the Green-Hutcheson reactionaries spring from the same source as their opposition to the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions, an opposition which has led them to threaten the expulsion of the unions of the C.I.O. even at the cost of splitting the A. F. of L. These Hearst-Landon policies of the Green-Hutcheson clique, a direct continuation of Green's endorsement of Hearst's infamous "New Declaration of Independence", draw the line sharply in the labor movement between the flunkeys of the Morgan-du Pont reactionary combination rallying around Landon and Hearst, on the one hand, and the mass of the working class and all progressive and honest elements, fighting against the capitalist offensive, on the other hand.

The Communist Party will aim to isolate and help defeat the Green-Hutcheson servants of capitalist reaction, to rid the labor movement of their influence, to help build a united and powerful A. F. of L., resting upon industrial unionism and democratically administered, and to promote the establishment of a powerful party of the working class and its allies—the Farmer-Labor Party.

3. The Communist Party finds it necessary to criticize sharply the hesitation of the leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League to proceed boldly on the road of independent political action, on the road of coalition with the farmers and middle classes for the building of a Farmer-Labor Party. Contrary to the wrong views of Norman Thomas, the insistence of Labor's Non-Partisan

League upon the dangers of reaction and upon the need of defeating Landon is a progressive development in the American labor movement. It reflects, though not fully and consistently, the rising indignation of the masses against capitalist reaction and their hatred of fascism. This the Communist Party greets and pledges always to be with the masses and in their front ranks in the daily fight against this mortal enemy of all toilers. And because of that, the Communist Party has fought against the attitude of merely depending upon Roosevelt and of subordinating labor to him, an attitude which tended to separate labor from the farmers and middle classes, delaying the organization of the Farmer-Labor Party. Life and the correct criticisms of our Party have already succeeded in hastening somewhat the progress towards independent political action by Labor's Non-Partisan League as shown in the organization of the American Labor Party in New York State. Yet this progress is too slow in the face of the Coughlin-Lemke maneuvers. Further progress is still hampered by tendencies in Labor's Non-Partisan League to make Roosevelt's political line their own and to function mostly as an appendix to the Democratic Party electoral machine.

The grave dangers of such tendencies must be systematically brought to light and combatted.

The struggle against capitalist reaction and the danger of fascism in the U.S. is not a one-act affair of voting in the elections of 1936, although this is crucial; it is a daily struggle, economic and political, on all fronts, through the independent power of the masses against every attack of the enemy. Hence, nothing must be permitted to interfere with the organization of the independent power and struggles of the masses, and everything must be done to utilize the present election struggle for the utmost consolidation of that independent power of the masses and, in the first instance, the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions and the further promotion of the Farmer-Labor Party.

The realization of the above central aim will be seriously hampered by the policy of the Socialist Party which tends to help the election of Landon as well as by the idea that "if reform is

the way out, better stick to the Roosevelt Administration" (Norman Thomas). The way to fight effectively for reforms, that is, for the immediate improvement of the conditions of the masses (jobs, higher wages and shorter hours, adequate relief, higher incomes, civil rights, peace, etc.), is through the *class struggle* on the economic and political field, through independent political actions, through a Farmer-Labor Party. To adopt the Thomas idea of seeking immediate demands by sticking to Roosevelt is to adopt the worst variety of dependence upon Roosevelt. It means abandoning the masses completely to Roosevelt. It means cutting the very foundation from under the independent struggles of the working class for its immediate and partial demands and this leads inevitably to the abandonment of the struggle for socialism. Thus the Thomas policy means radical phrases for socialism and capitulation to capitalism in deed.

## II. *The United Front and Trade Union Unity*

1. Ever wider circles of workers are coming to realize the correctness of the declaration of the Seventh World Congress: *that at the present historical stage it is the main and immediate task of the international labor movement to establish the united fighting front of the working class.*

The question of the united front has already become a vital issue among the wide masses of workers and toilers in this country and the Communist Party is coming to be recognized by ever wider masses as the outstanding champions of the united front.

However, there is still lack of sufficient appreciation of what must be the *starting point and main content of the united front*. It is therefore necessary to explain and demonstrate in practice that:

"The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the latter against fascism, must be the starting point and form the main content of the workers' united front in all capitalist countries."

2. Our struggle for the united front with the Socialist Party has made certain progress. United action between the two parties, involving broad circles of workers and toilers, was achieved on

such important issues as the liberation of Herndon, the defense of the Scottsboro boys, and in solidifying the progressive forces in various trade unions. But these are only beginnings showing the great possibilities of united action. The beginnings of joint work between Socialists and Communists resulted in the unification of the unemployed movement and the student movement. Closely connected with these united actions and stimulated by them is the further Leftward development of the Socialist Party and the growing differentiation between the genuine Lefts and the reactionary Right wing.

The defeat of the Old Guard in the S. P. has created the possibilities for a progressive development both for the Socialist Party as such and for the labor movement as a whole. The Waldman group was defeated primarily because of its reactionary opposition to the united front, its counter-revolutionary pro-Hearstian attitude to the Soviet Union and its Social-Democratic policies generally. This defeat will strengthen the progressive forces in the labor movement and thus may compel a change of attitude on the burning questions of unity of action against reaction even on the part of some of the leaders of the Old Guard.

Within the Socialist Party, the possibilities for the more rapid development towards united front actions which were created by the defeat of the Old Guard are not yet materializing to any substantial degree. The Socialist Party, since its Cleveland convention, has not advanced materially on the path of the united front. On the contrary, it is showing signs of possible backsliding. The chief reasons for this are:

(a) The invasion of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, the ally of fascism, into the Socialist Party which is demoralizing the party and is driving it into a blind alley of isolation and of hostility to every progressive development in the American labor movement. The Trotskyist machinations everywhere to facilitate the advance of reaction and fascism, to obstruct the united and people's fronts, to hasten the unleashing of war by the fascist war-makers—these poisons are threatening the destruction of the Socialist Party as a force of value to the labor movement.

(b) The policy of indifference to the victory of Landon and

Hearst which is inevitably working out in practice as a policy of helping the election of Landon, a policy inspired by Trotskyist counter-revolution and Thomas reformism (socialism without the socialist revolution) which is discrediting socialism in the eyes of the labor movement, tending to militate against the Leftward advance of the masses and against the united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties.

(c) The policy of hostility to the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party, the sabotage of this movement in practice, on the reformist grounds occupied by Thomas that for Socialism there is the Socialist Party and for reforms, go to Roosevelt, a policy resulting inevitably from the Thomas' acceptance (under Trotskyite urgings) of the Liberty League's definition of the issue of the elections as "socialism or capitalism".

(d) The failure of the genuine Left Socialists to take up boldly the fight against the threatening Trotskyite degeneration of the Socialist Party and for a united front class struggle policy in collaboration with the Communist Party.

Conscious of these developments, the Communists must redouble their work for the united front with the Socialist Party along the following lines:

(a) They must continue to seek united actions especially in the shops, unions, other mass organizations and localities in defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the workers, thus proving in practice the possibility and need of the united front.

(b) They must patiently assist the Left Socialists in reaching a clearer political and ideological differentiation from reformism.

(c) They must expose firmly and thoroughly the counter-revolutionary and pro-fascist influences of Trotskyism.

(d) While greeting and supporting every tangible move by Norman Thomas toward united action, we must never fail to point out to the workers that his vacillations and inconsistencies, and especially his wrong election policies, are seriously hampering the growth of united action.

(e) To assist and encourage the genuine Lefts to assert their

political independence and to press forward for the united front and to clearer revolutionary positions, utilizing fully the December referendum.

(f) To seek to draw the Socialist Party organizations into joint work for local and state Farmer-Labor Party actions and to press forward for collaboration between the national organizations of the two parties in the election struggle for the defeat of reaction and in the fight for a national Farmer-Labor Party; and

(g) To work for joint actions in the struggle for peace while clarifying and combating the present position of the S. P. on this vital question as a compromise between Roosevelt "neutrality", Trotskyism and confused Left Socialism, a compromise which militates against an effective struggle against the fascist instigators of war.

The Communist Party will continue with all energy, despite all obstacles, to work for the united front between the Communist and Socialist Parties. It will utilize all occasions to approach the National Committee of the Socialist Party for united actions. And this the Communists will do "*without for a moment giving up their independent work in the sphere of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses*". The National Convention warns against all tendencies to slacken on this independent work—the most effective way of stimulating united action—as well as against all tendencies to mistake radical phrases for deeds.

Our attitude to the Old Guard is determined by its position and role in the labor movement. The orientation of the Waldman group seems to be definitely to become part of a Labor Party in the United States, aspiring to play in that party the role of spiritual and political guide along the lines of discredited Social-Democratic reformism. The Waldman group has openly admitted the fact that it cannot stand on its own legs as a party, but that its only salvation lies in becoming part of a Labor Party. This in itself is not incompatible with the growth of the Farmer-Labor Party movement, provided the Waldman group does not carry its reactionary, anti-united front position into the Labor Party movement, provided it does not seek to make this movement an arena



for Red-baiting and splitting of the working class ranks, provided, on the contrary, it honestly collaborates in the task of building up a Farmer-Labor Party as a true barrier against reaction and fascism, and provided Socialists and Communists also have the opportunity of participating in the movement and of influencing its course.

3. Our struggle for trade union unity has made important progress. As a result, the efforts of the reactionaries to divide the workers by the use of Red-baiting are meeting with lesser and lesser success. The movement for industrial unionism and trade union democracy is making big headway. The progressive forces of the A. F. of L. are becoming more solidified and conscious of their aims. The immediate tasks confronting us in the struggle for trade union unity are:

(a) To press forward more energetically on the issue of organizing the unorganized in the basic industries into industrial unions, democratically administered, and following a policy of class struggle. We must seek to isolate the reactionaries (in the auto and steel industries, etc.) who stand in the way of organizing the unorganized, demanding that the C.I.O. pass over from words to deeds, carrying on independent work of educating and mobilizing the masses for the realization of this aim; we must strive to win the craft unions for the policy of industrial unionism and for the support of the C.I.O. The strengthening of the Maritime Federation and the Transport Workers Federation and similar federations of craft unions will be a great step forward in the fight for the industrial form of organization and in winning the craft unions in support of the C.I.O.

(b) To raise sharply in the unions and among the workers generally the question of struggle for higher wages, shorter work-day and against speed-up. We must seek to widen and strengthen the strike movement to meet the increasing cost of living as one of the most important tasks at the present time;

(c) To expose and combat all efforts of the Green-Hutcheson reactionaries to obstruct the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions and to split the A. F. of L., to mobilize the masses to defeat the conspiracy of the reactionaries to split the

trade union movement which would tremendously benefit the offensive of reaction, to work for a united and powerful A. F. of L. built upon industrial unions, democratically administered and following a policy of class struggle. Above all to fight for the organization of workers in the steel, auto and rubber industries into powerful industrial unions;

(d) To expose the Green-Hutcheson clique as servants of the Hearst-Landon combination and to seek the defeat of the Green-Hutcheson clique in the A. F. of L. as the main enemies of the united struggle of the workers against their enemies;

(e) To explain patiently to the workers (especially the organized labor movement) that the policy of opposing the Farmer-Labor Party and of depending upon Roosevelt weakens and divides labor, and *to raise more widely in all unions the struggle for the independence of unity of labor on the industrial and political fields.*

4. To promote further the struggle for the unification of the unemployed movements, it is necessary to develop more systematically the daily struggles of the unemployed for their immediate demands. Only in such united daily actions in all localities will the unemployed movements become fully united. And on the basis of such mass struggles we must develop further the growing mass movement for unemployment, old age and social insurance, for the Frazier-Lundeen Bills, and for the Marcantonio Bill. The chief task is to organize the utmost mass resistance to every attempt to cut relief, and to seek systematic collaboration between Socialists and Communists as the best guarantee for the organization of such mass struggles.

5. The central task in promoting the unity of action of the Negro people remains the policy of bringing about a united Negro People's Front as initiated by the Negro Congress. The success of this movement demands more intensive mass mobilization for daily struggles against Negro discrimination (in unions, jobs, relief, education, etc.), against lynching and for equal rights. The main practical tasks are to build the Negro Congress, to promote the organization of the Negro workers in the unions, to improve our work in the South and to develop the Negro leading personnel.

6. The struggle for unity of action of the toiling farmers is still in its very first beginnings. An outstanding weakness in this field of the united front is the *lack of systematic daily mass struggles for the immediate economic and political interests of the toiling farmers*, resulting from a failure to adopt new policies, forms of organization and changed conditions. It is chiefly this weakness that enables the spokesmen of the rich farmers in alliance with Roosevelt to parade as the representatives of "all" farmers and in this way to submerge the demands and aspirations of the small farmers, the tenants and sharecroppers, especially the Negroes, as well as the bulk of the middle farmers. To overcome this weakness, and to improve our work among the agricultural workers, is the chief task of the Communists on the agrarian field.

7. Among the youth the struggle for the united front has made great advances. The further progress in this field will depend primarily upon the efforts of every Party organization, and of the Party as a whole, to make itself fully responsible for youth work and to render more assistance than ever before to the work of the Y.C.L. in realizing the line of the Sixth World Congress of the Y.C.L., to create a united mass youth league. The utmost concentration is required for the building of the American Youth Congress and to organize mass struggles for the Youth Act.

8. Women's work must cease to be the concern only of some few women comrades. It must become in fact, not alone in words, the daily concern of the Party organization as a whole. A serious beginning has been made and it must now be followed up by concerted action of the Party to apply new ways and methods to organize the millions of toiling women for the daily economic and political struggle for their special demands and for the demands of the working class and its allies. Especially we must work for the organization of women workers into the unions (Women's Trade Union League, etc.), for the development of struggles against the high cost of living, for peace and against fascism, and for the building up of leading personnel among women.

### III. *The Farmer-Labor Party*

1. The Ninth National Convention reaffirms the decisions of the November Plenum of the C. C., which said:

“The building of a Farmer-Labor Party at the present time is the most burning need of the working class of America, of the toiling farmers and of the middle classes. The building of such a party is the only way in which the working people of this country can seriously undertake to improve their intolerable conditions, to shift the burden of the crisis back to the shoulders of the rich, and to ward off the growing menace of capitalist reaction, fascism and war. It is the only way in which the working people can make an effective stand for their own interests in the national elections of 1936.”

2. We are now in the midst of a process of political realignment on a mass scale which inevitably affects the old capitalist parties. The two-party system continues to crack and these cracks are bound to become wider with the sharpening of the class struggle. The historically necessary separation of the American working class from the capitalist parties is on its way but it is a painful process which is meeting with great obstacles. *It is the central task of the Communists to overcome these obstacles and to bring about the separation of the working class from the capitalist parties without delay.*

3. The movement for independent political action and for a Farmer-Labor Party is making serious headway among the workers, toiling farmers, Negroes and middle classes. Local movements for Labor Parties and Farmer-Labor Parties are developing in many points. The idea of a People's Front against reaction, fascism and war, through a Farmer-Labor Party, is getting hold of wide masses of people. The support received by the Gorman resolution at the A. F. of L. Convention and, subsequently, the formation of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation in Wisconsin (though seriously weakened by insufficient labor leadership and failure to include the Communist Party), the Leftward development of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the growth of movements for independent political action among the Negroes (Harlem, etc.), the painful and partially successful struggles of the EPIC and similar movements, including Townsend Clubs,

towards independent political action—all these developments attest the vitality and spread of the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Indirectly, this is also seen in the fact that some of the opponents of the Farmer-Labor Party in the labor movements find it expedient to pay lip service to the Labor Party in general, while opposing all practical measures towards its organization. The fact that Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky found it necessary to organize Labor's Non-Partisan League and publicly to differentiate it from the official so-called labor committee of the Democratic Party is in itself a tribute, whether voluntary or not, to the powerful urge among the masses for independent political action and for a break with the capitalist parties. The formation of the American Labor Party in New York is another step in the right direction.

4. It has already been established that a presidential Farmer-Labor ticket in 1936 is no longer possible. This resulted from the fact that the main body of the trade union movement, excepting the reactionaries, has thrown its support to the policy of re-electing Roosevelt; and to the additional fact that the Socialist Party did not join hands with the Communist Party in past months in prosecuting the campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party. *Yet precisely because there will be no Farmer-Labor Party presidential ticket in 1936 it becomes necessary more than before for the Socialist and Communist Parties to consult and work together in the election struggle and in the promotion of the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.* Only in this way can both parties fulfill their mission in this period of leading in the mobilization of the masses against capitalist reaction and against the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination and of crystallizing the maximum degree of independent political action by the working class and its allies in the course of the forthcoming crucial election struggles.

At the present time it becomes of the utmost importance to carry on a joint struggle for the election of a strong bloc of Farmer-Labor Party Congressmen and for the winning of local offices (especially in one-industry towns) by Farmer-Labor Parties. The qualified endorsement of local Labor Parties by the Cleveland

Convention of the Socialist Party constitutes a rejection of the Trotskyist position on this question, though Trotskyist obstruction is increasing. While totally inadequate in the present situation, the resolution of the Socialist Party Convention on the Farmer-Labor Party offers an opportunity for the genuine Lefts to fight to bring in the Socialist Party as an effective force in the building of local Labor Parties and in the fight for electing a bloc of Farmer-Labor Party Congressmen. The formation of the Akron Labor Party, participated in by the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, together with the unions, and similar developments, will help us win the Socialist Party organizations to joint work for the Farmer-Labor Party.

5. The decision of the Chicago Conference, initiated by the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, marks a serious step forward in the development of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. The unanimous decision in favor of a national Farmer-Labor Party convention in 1936, the endorsement of the work for local and Congressional Farmer-Labor tickets, the adoption of a platform, the request to the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party to exert its efforts towards these ends and to collaborate with other representative organizations in this field and the creation of an Advisory Council—all this attests to the strength and vitality of the Farmer-Labor Party movement, reflecting the powerful urge from below in favor of a national organization. At the same time the Chicago Conference showed that the policies of the leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League of depending upon Roosevelt and of postponing the launching of a national party to a later date still exercise a restraining influence upon the trade unions in their desire to join and take the leading place in the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

The communications of Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky to the Chicago Conference, while varying seriously in shading and degree of positive attitude, all evidence a desire to maintain contact with the Farmer-Labor Party movement without, however, making any commitments on collaboration with it. The establishment and maintenance of systematic contact between the Farmer-Labor Party movement and Labor's Non-Partisan League would

already constitute a step forward. Yet this contact will become fruitful only to the degree that actual collaboration is carried on between the two movements in organizing the masses to combat the capitalist offensive and to defeat reaction in 1936 *by means of crystallizing the independent political actions and organization of the working class and its allies in the course of the daily struggles against reaction and the danger of fascism*. It is therefore of the utmost importance to mobilize the maximum pressure from the local unions upon the leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League in favor of such collaboration with the Farmer-Labor Party movement—pressure and support which will effectively counteract the great pressure upon Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky that is continually exercised from the Right (from Roosevelt, etc.).

6. In order to promote the movement for the calling of a national convention to launch a national party, and to gain for this movement the widest support among the trade unions, toiling farmers, Negroes and middle classes, it is the opinion of the Communist Party that this Convention should be projected as a national gathering of the representatives of all toilers *to mobilize the masses against the offensive* of reaction, to crystallize a mass movement demanding immediate action by Congress to curb the powers of the Supreme Court and to bring forth prominently and centrally *the mass demand for amending the Constitution*. In doing so, the Communist Party will not fail to point out to the masses the dangers of the reformist position (Socialist Party, S. D. Federation) that amending the Constitution will create a "democratic" way to socialism. The Communist Party will try to dissipate in the course of struggle all parliamentary and reformist illusions, and will always emphasize that the most effective way to curb the powers of the Supreme Court as one of the weapons of reaction is *through the independent struggles of the masses themselves through their unions and the Farmer-Labor Party*.

In view of the fact that the main campaign document of the Socialist Party—the platform—totally fails to bring in the issue of the Farmer-Labor Party; and in view also of the additional

fact that the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party inclines to treat the Farmer-Labor Party movement as a "rival" of the Socialist Party, there is clearly present the danger that the Socialist Party may be swung to an attitude of opposition and hostility to the Farmer-Labor Party movement, in fact, if not in words. To this danger the Communist Party draws the attention of the Socialist Party organizations and of the workers generally. It is our task to explain that, if that danger is permitted to materialize, it may not only interfere with the progress of the struggle of the masses against reaction but will certainly weaken the Socialist Party itself.

#### *IV. Policies in the National Elections of 1936*

1. The Communist Party will wage the coming national elections around the following main issues:

(a) To improve the material conditions of the toiling masses by shifting the burden of the crisis to the monopolies and the rich.

(b) To protect and extend the democratic liberties and civil rights of the masses.

(c) To break the stranglehold of the monopolies upon the economic and political life of the country.

(d) To preserve the peace of the United States and in the world.

(e) To promote the organization of the power of the working class and its allies for the higher stages of struggle, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

We must sharply expose the slogan of the reactionaries to "balance the budget" which will play a central part in the election struggles. We must show specifically that the reactionaries do not mean that the government should discontinue subsidizing the monopolies by plundering the national treasury. They seek the abolition of unemployment and of farmer relief and the prevention of genuine measures for old age pensions, and unemployment and social insurance. The Communist Party fights for a budget that provides adequately for the needs of the masses and that seeks to balance expenditures with income by means of steeply graduated



taxation of the monopolies and the rich. We will direct our main fire against the reactionary "balancers of the budget" as the main enemy, at the same time we will expose the proposals of the inflationists, especially those that seek directly to make the masses pay for the crisis by way of inflation (Coughlin).

2. In carrying on the election struggle around these issues, the Communist Party will seek to mobilize the widest masses of toilers, especially the organized labor movement, to combat daily the offensive of capitalist reaction, to bring about the separation of the American working class from the capitalist parties and the organization of the People's Front—the Farmer-Labor Party—to defeat the designs of the most reactionary monopolies (Republican-Liberty League-Hearst) in the 1936 elections—to defeat Landon and his stooge, Lemke—and to seek to accomplish these class aims of the proletariat by preventing Roosevelt from obstructing the crystallization of a Farmer-Labor Party and thus establish the unity of action of the working class and its allies.

3. The Communist Party will place on the ballot its own national, as well as local and state tickets, and wage a campaign for its candidates and platform.

*The Communist Party will appeal to the workers and all toilers to support the Communist Party and to vote for its candidates in the forthcoming elections as the best and only way of endorsing and supporting the struggle for unity of the working class and all toilers against the offensive of capitalist reaction, against the menace of fascism and war, against capitalism and for a Soviet government and socialism. We will point out to the masses that a vote for the Communist Party in the elections means:*

(a) To strengthen and increase the influence of the Party—the C. P.—which initiated the mass struggle for immediate relief to the unemployed and made the demand for unemployment insurance a major issue in the life of this country. A large vote for the Communist candidates in the elections means greater power for the unemployed in the struggle for relief and genuine insurance.

(b) To demonstrate the readiness of the masses to fight for their most burning immediate needs as formulated in the Com-

munist platform. This will be the most effective way of compelling tangible concessions from the capitalist class for the workers, toiling farmers, Negroes and middle classes.

(c) To endorse and promote the movement for the united front, for the unity of action of the working class and all toilers against reaction, fascism and war, the united front of which the Communist Party has proven to be the outstanding champion and only consistent fighter. A large Communist vote in the elections will hasten the growth of the united front of Socialists and Communists, the growth of the power of the masses to fight for their demands and to win them.

(d) To strengthen the movement for the organization of the unorganized workers into industrial unions, for trade union unity, for a united and powerful A. F. of L., and for consistent class struggle to improve the conditions of the workers.

(e) To promote further and more rapidly the movement for the Farmer-Labor Party. A large Communist vote will strengthen the movement for the Farmer-Labor Party and will exert a powerful influence upon the trade unions and the Socialist Party to join actively in the building of the Farmer-Labor Party—the only effective barrier to reaction and fascism in this country.

(f) To strengthen the vanguard of the American working class. A large Communist vote will strengthen that Party which unites the most conscious, creative, self-sacrificing and best disciplined part of the working class. It will strengthen the chief driving force in the labor movement, and in the life of the country generally, for progress, for class struggle against capitalist exploitation and capitalism, for clear and correct leadership of the masses against their exploiters, for the alliance between the workers and other exploited classes and groups without which victory is impossible.

(g) To widen and strengthen the fight of the youth, the women, the toiling farmers, the Negroes and middle classes, for their immediate demands and final liberation. A large Communist vote will create mass power for the correct demand and policies of the C. P. for the liberation of the Negro, youth, women, toiling farmers and middle classes.

(h) To elect into local and state governments and to the federal legislature fearless representatives and consistent fighters for the interests of the masses. A large Communist vote will succeed in electing Communists to many offices and will thus give the masses a new and additional weapon in the fight for their interests.

(i) In connection with our fight against reaction and the menace of fascism, it is necessary to strengthen the struggle for the protection of the foreign-born and to initiate a wide campaign against growing anti-Semitism.

(j) To build the power of those who struggle consistently for peace. A large Communist vote will immeasurably strengthen the peace forces of this country and will enable them to compel the carrying out of a peace policy that can keep this country out of war.

(k) To strengthen the camp of anti-fascism. A large Communist vote will mean a wider struggle against the danger of fascism and stronger, competent leadership of the mass struggle against fascism.

(l) To strengthen the army of socialism. A large Communist vote will increase the influence of the Party that stands for the socialist revolution and Soviet power—the only road to socialism. It will increase the power of the Party that has demonstrated the correctness of its policies in the socialist victories in the Soviet Union. It will increase the Leftward development in the Socialist Party and among the masses generally. It will enable the masses to fight more effectively for their immediate demands and to prepare themselves for the struggle for power and socialism.

*A large Communist vote in the elections will count immediately in the daily struggle for better conditions and will hasten the day of the victory of socialism in this country.*

4. In all states and localities the Communist Party organizations, while taking all steps for placing the Communist Party candidates on the ballot, will tirelessly work for the crystallization of wide Farmer-Labor Party tickets for the election of Congressmen and local officials. Where it will clearly serve the interests of the success of such Farmer-Labor Party tickets, and with the permission of the District Committees, the local organizations

will withdraw such local or state candidates of the Communist Party. Where Farmer-Labor Party tickets do not materialize, the Communist Party organizations will seek to establish joint Communist-Socialist tickets. In the absence of such tickets, the Communist Party organizations will carry on the campaign around their own candidates.

5. The Communist Party will utilize the campaign around its own presidential candidate to further the class aims of the American proletariat, as above stated, and will exert all its influence to promote in every way the independent political action of the working class and its allies.

Just as the American people in the past fought against tyranny and for the necessities of life—so will the Communist Party in the present campaign, utilizing the revolutionary traditions of the American people, continue the fight for the needs of the people against the Tories of today. The reactionary semi-fascist forces are raising the cry of “Americanism”, hoping to exploit the revolutionary traditions of the American people for their fascist designs. Under the slogan that Americanism of the twentieth century is Communism, the Communist Party will rally the American people in their fight for their present political and economic needs for the extension of their democratic rights, for a People’s Front, the Farmer-Labor Party, for a “free, happy and prosperous America”—for a Soviet America.

#### *V. Building and Strengthening the Communist Party*

1. The Ninth National Convention urges all Party organizations to follow the directives of the Seventh World Congress:

*“That only the further all-round consolidation of the Communist Parties themselves, the development of their initiative, the carrying out of a policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles, and the application of correct, flexible tactics, which take into account the correct situation and the alignment of class forces, can ensure the mobilization of the widest masses for the united struggle against fascism, against capitalism.”*

2. The organizational forms of our work must be adjusted to the political tasks confronting us. This will require a general simplification of organizational structure and practices and a

shifting of the center of gravity to winning and organizing the masses for the political line of the Party.

This demands the utmost concentration on the most important shops in the basic industries. To achieve this aim it will be necessary to reorganize the street nuclei in such a way as to enable the membership to devote their energies (a) to help build the shop and factory nuclei and (b) to work in the existing mass organizations (trade unions, fraternal, farmer, middle class, Townsend clubs, Coughlin groups, Negro, women, youth, etc.). This is the the new way of applying further the Party policy of concentration.

3. The question of developing and promoting leading Party personnel must become the concern of every Party organization. We must systematically and with perseverance carry out the Party's personnel policy to train capable mass workers, to promote them, to educate them, in a Bolshevik sense and to bring them before the masses as an example of working class leadership. This must no longer be done in a haphazard and hand-to-mouth fashion but in a planned, organized and systematic way, in a way of carrying out a policy of leading personnel.

4. The recruiting of Party members and of new readers for our press, especially the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, becomes a task of paramount importance. The existence of thousands of working class fighters (and farmers), sympathizers but not yet members of the Party, is a constant challenge to every Party organization—to the nuclei and fractions. The conditions are ripe for the growth of the Communist Party into a mass party and the election struggle presents the immediate opportunity. To bring these advanced and active elements in the shops, unions and other organizations into our Party is our immediate task. The example in recruiting set by some of the Section Organizers should be emulated by all Party members and functionaries.

The methods and forms of our agitation must be radically improved. Agitation that cannot win the masses for the Party's slogans is not Communist agitation. We must therefore take the utmost pains to make our agitation understandable and appealing to the masses. Our agitation must be quick to raise before the

masses all live issues of struggle and to show popularly the demands and slogans as well as the methods of struggle. Thus and only thus will our agitation help mobilize the masses for the daily fight in defense of their interests. This is the task, first of all, of our Party press (foremost the *Daily Worker*), and of all our leaflets, pamphlets, etc. It is of the utmost importance to build the *Daily Worker* and to bring it to the widest masses and to build up the *Sunday Worker* into a great weapon among the masses for forging the united and people's front against reaction. Also our propaganda must be made more popular, timely and concrete. In this sense we must further develop *The Communist* and all our propaganda literature.

To build and strengthen the Party means finally systematic struggle against all deviations from the Party line. First of all against sectarianism, the chief obstacle to our mass work, against all reluctance to apply the new tactical orientation of the Party in its daily mass work. Secondly, against every manifestation of Right opportunism, tendencies to become dispersed in mass movements and to submerge the independent role of the Party. The struggle against deviations must be carried on by the method of comradely persuasion, enabling the erring comrade to recognize and correct his mistakes in practical work. But merciless struggles must be carried on against those who stubbornly defend their deviations and attempt to disorganize the Party.

The Party must always present an iron front of irreconcilability to such hostile and counter-revolutionary tendencies as Trotskyism. The Party should enlighten the membership on the reformist opportunist nature of Lovestoneism (the attacks on the People's Front, on the policies of the Communist Party in building the Farmer-Labor Party and on the national aspects of the struggle for Negro rights).

These constitute the main tasks of the Party in the present period. It is the building of the united front of the working class and of the People's Front—the Farmer-Labor Party—as a coalition of the working class and its allies. *By getting hold of these tasks we shall build the impregnable resistance of the masses against the offensive of reaction and will create the prerequisites*

*for the next and higher stage of struggle—the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism through Soviet power. These are the great historic tasks confronting the Communist Party and every Communist in the United States. With boundless loyalty to our Party and to the great principles for which it stands, in the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage as taught us by Dimitroff—forward to struggle!*

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## THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

*Resolution on the Report of Robert Minor*

### *I. The Fascist Instigators of War and the Chief Sources of the War Danger*

1. We must face the acute menace of a world war. The overwhelming majority of the American people, the working class, the toiling people generally and all progressive forces are opposed to war and earnestly desire peace. This is attested by the fact that the organized labor movement (the last convention of the A. F. of L.), excepting the Hutcheson-Woll clique of reactionaries, went strongly in favor of peace and against the war-makers. Most of the organizations of the toiling farmers, middle classes, Negroes, youth and women have in the recent period expressed their unalterable opposition to war. Various peace movements in this country are broadening and are becoming active in the cause of peace and this is reflected also in many movements in the churches for peace. The struggle for peace—the central slogan of the Communists in the fight against war—expresses the most profound desire of the toiling people of this country.

2. Yet there still exists in these broad peace movements a great lack of clarity on how peace can best be maintained, which results in divisions and lack of unity of the forces of peace as against the forces of war. The overwhelming majority of the American people are determined to "Keep America Out of War", yet only a minority have already reached the correct conclusion that this is possible only by keeping war out of the world. Large masses of the American people are still under the illusion that the way to keep America out of war is by "isolation", by avoiding "foreign entanglements", by keeping out of world affairs, by "neutrality". Life has already shown that, despite the wishes of the people to keep America out of war by isolation and neutral-



ity, America is being drawn closer and closer to a new war and is today in just as great a danger of becoming involved in war as it was in 1914-1918. In fact, *life has shown that the very slogans of "isolation" and "neutrality", and the foreign policies based upon them, encourage and assist the war-makers at home and abroad and are increasing the war danger for America as well as for the world.*

3. The immediate danger of war, to America and to the world, comes today from two sources. "The first is in the Far East, in the zone of Japan. . . . The second seat is in the zone of Germany." (Stalin.)

Japan started by seizing Manchuria and unfolding a robber war against China; Mussolini followed by an attack on Ethiopia; next German fascism, the chief instigator of war in Europe, brought up its military forces to the French border, creating a direct threat of war against France and Belgium, preparing to destroy Czechoslovakia's independence, to annex Austria, to occupy Memel and Lithuania, to draw Poland into a war to its side and to create a base for war against the Soviet Union.

In the Far East, the Japanese-fascist military clique is trying to become the supreme master in Asia. It is dismembering China; it is creeping toward India, is stretching out after the Philippines and Australia, preparing for the decisive struggle for mastery of the Pacific.

In alliance with German fascism, and directly threatening the frontiers of the Soviet Union, *the Japanese military clique is preparing war against the United States and Great Britain.*

4. To fight for peace and for keeping America out of war therefore means *to fight for curbing the fascist instigators of war.* It means to curb the war aggressions, in the first instance, of the Japanese fascist-military clique and of German fascism and to fight against the supporters of these war-makers in the United States. Fascism, which rules by means of civil war against the people of its own country, has now become a direct war menace to the whole world. Hence failure to concentrate the blows of the working class and of all friends of peace on the international arena against the fascist instigators of war means to abandon

the struggle for peace. It means capitulation before fascism at home and abroad.

5. The war menace arises from the sharpening of the imperialist contradictions due to the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. And the reason the war menace has become so immediately acute is that German fascism was not stopped in time on its way to the seizure of power; because its military preparations were carried through with the connivance of all capitalist powers (including the United States) and with the direct support of the British government; because the British imperialists, together with the Hearsts, support the robber claims of German fascism. The passivity and irresolution of the League of Nations with regard to the Japanese attack on China and the Italian aggression in Ethiopia encouraged the arrogance and increased the impunity of the aggressors.

6. But the primary reason for the growing aggressiveness of German fascism and of the Japanese military clique is the fact that the working class did not succeed in breaking the resistance of some of the reactionary leaders of the Second (Socialist) International to the united front against the instigators of war. The fact is that the movement of the working class against war, and the pressure of the working class upon the capitalist governments, were weakened by the reactionary leaders of the Second International, by their abandonment of the united independent struggles of the workers against war, by the support of the imperialist policies of their bourgeoisie, by their practice of lulling the masses with the illusion that the League of Nations by itself would do everything to maintain peace.

7. It is possible to wage a successful fight for peace and to maintain it and in this way keep America out of war. This urgently demands that the American labor movement, together with the working class movement of all countries, carry out *a united international working class policy in the interests of maintaining peace*. This requires the restoration and consolidation of real international working class solidarity and a decisive break of the Social-Democratic Parties from the imperialist interests of their bourgeoisie; every possible support of the peace policies of the

Soviet Union—the strongest force for peace—and this calls for a determined struggle by the workers' parties against all counter-revolutionary attempts to misrepresent the foreign policies of the Soviet Union as identical with the policies of the imperialist countries and the Red Army as identical with the armies of the imperialist states. This requires further that, at each given moment, we must direct and concentrate the blows against the fascist aggressors and this calls for the exposure of every attempt to obscure the difference between fascist and non-fascist states, and requires a different attitude towards the aggressors and the victims of their attack. This requires also an independent struggle of the working class for the maintenance of peace, independent from the capitalist governments and the League of Nations. This policy excludes the subordination of the working class movement to the behind-the-scene intrigues of capitalist governments.

8. It is possible to wage a successful fight for peace and thus keep America out of war because the peace forces of the world are powerful. These forces include the working class and its allies in each country. They include the socialist fortress of peace—the Soviet Union. They include the oppressed nations and weak peoples whose independence is threatened by war. In addition, there are also some big capitalist states that are interested at present in the avoidance of war. Hence the possibility exists of the most extensive front of the working class, of all toilers, and of entire nations against the threat of imperialist war. *Only by joining this peace front of the world will the American people fight successfully to keep America out of war.*

## *II. The Fight for an American Peace Policy*

1. The American ruling class is for the status quo on a world scale. But the status quo is being destroyed by the Japanese fascist-military clique which, in alliance with Hitler and supported by the British imperialists, threatens a new world war. American imperialism is preparing for it. It is seeking to check the pro-Japanese maneuvers of British imperialism, hoping thus to establish a certain measure of Anglo-American cooperation against Japan, though such cooperation does not rest upon a

genuine peace policy and therefore cannot be very effective. It also maintains a certain and peculiar status of rapprochement with the Soviet Union—the strongest force for peace—although this rapprochement is in constant danger of being upset by the reactionaries and warmongers (Hearst, du Pont, etc.), especially if the independent peace struggles of the American masses do not create a sufficient counterbalancing force. Above all, American imperialism seeks to strengthen its military power for war, resorting to a policy of so-called “neutrality” as a bargaining weapon, as a weapon of putting up and securing the “best” conditions for participation in a coming war. In addition, American imperialism retains in force the Monroe Doctrine of conquest and monopoly domination of Latin-America which does not contribute to the strengthening of peace.

2. The 1937 army and navy budget of over a billion dollars is a budget of war preparations. While preparing for the naval race, provoked by Japan, the Roosevelt Administration is getting ready to increase the air force, to establish an aviation base in Alaska, to strengthen the fortifications in Hawaii, contemplating also the fortification of the Aleutian Islands and of the Philippines, to which the Japanese military clique is stretching out for conquest. These moves of war preparation are accompanied by an all-round strengthening and mechanization of the army. At the same time, fresh attempts are being made for the militarization of the youth through the schools and colleges and the C.C.C. The passage of the bonus at this time, forced upon Congress by the pressure of the veterans’ struggles, is closely related to these war preparations. Especially significant are the M-Day plans of the War Department, backed by Hearst and the most reactionary monopolies, which would utilize the war crisis for completely destroying the democratic liberties of the people and for foisting upon them the unrestrained rule of the Hearsts and du Ponts.

3. While the American bourgeoisie is *for* the status quo, the most reactionary and fascist-minded monopolies, those rallying around Landon-Hearst-du Pont, are in fact supporting the fascist instigators of war everywhere and are keeking to place the United States on the side of these war instigators. The isolation

and neutrality demagogy of the Hearsts and Coughlins is calculated to tie the American people to a policy of supporting fascist aggression, to a policy that draws the United States into war and that paves the way for fascism in this country.

4. Seeking to give expression to the status quo position of the American bourgeoisie, Roosevelt follows a certain brand of "neutrality". This tries to satisfy both his own hesitant tendency to collaborate in a measure with other peace forces for the maintenance of peace as well as the aggressive pressure of the Hearst and du Ponts to help the war-makers. The result in practice is a "neutrality" policy, the measure adopted by Congress, which gives virtual support to the instigators of war everywhere, a policy which gives aid and comfort to the Hitlers, Mussolinis and the Japanese military clique.

5. As against the isolation and warmongering "neutrality" policies of the Coughlins, Hearsts, Landons and du Ponts, in the first place, and also as against the Roosevelt brand of "neutrality" which results in capitulation to the Hearsts and du Ponts, the American workers and all toilers are vitally interested in fighting for a genuine and consistent policy of peace, a policy that rests upon the same principles of non-aggression and the indivisibility of peace as that pursued by the Soviet Union.

A true American peace policy must have the following aims:

1. To prevent a war in the Pacific which Japan is provoking.
2. To prevent war conflicts in Latin-America and in the Western hemisphere generally.
3. To collaborate with and to support the peace efforts of those powers that are working for peace in Europe and in the rest of the world.

The isolation demagogy of Coughlin and Lemke and their demand for an armament race and so-called "perfect defense" will lead this country blindfolded into a war on the Pacific. The "neutrality" of Landon is merely a shield for war preparations, a shield to cover up the war-making activities of the munitions manufacturers and their support of Hitler, Mussolini and Japan. The Roosevelt brand of "neutrality" has proven ineffective to check the Japanese war advances in the Pacific because Roosevelt

hesitated to collaborate wholeheartedly with the other peaceful powers, such as the Soviet Union, for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific as well as in the rest of the world. Collaboration among the United States and the Soviet Union and other peaceful powers for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific will constitute a power of such magnitude that the Japanese war-makers and their German fascist allies will not dare to proceed with their criminal plans.

A peace policy in Latin-America and in the Western hemisphere generally calls for a decisive rejection of the isolation demagoguery of the Coughlins, Lemkes and Hearsts and their incitement to American intervention in Mexico and other Latin-American countries. A peace policy in Latin-America must rest upon the complete equality of the small nations with the biggest (the U.S.), scrupulous observance by the United States of the national sovereignty of these small nations, non-intervention in their internal affairs, complete abandonment of the Coolidge-Hoover practice of the use of force for the collection of Latin-American debts to Wall Street, and the abolition of all unequal treaties. This means the abolition of the Monroe Doctrine. Only in this way can the Roosevelt policy become one of true "good neighborliness". And only on this basis would it be possible for the Latin-American countries to agree with the United States (at the forthcoming Inter-American Peace Conference) to work for collective security in this part of the world.

But such collaboration for collective security in the Western hemisphere will not materialize if the Roosevelt Administration give in to the Landons and Coughlins and tries to "unite" the American countries under the domination of the United States and in opposition to the League of Nations. This would be a disaster playing directly into the hands of Japan, Hitler and Mussolini who seek to destroy the League of Nations in order to remove even this slight obstacle on the path of their war advances.

Hence the third element of an American peace policy must include collaboration, not rivalry, with the peace forces of the other parts of the world, notably the Soviet Union and France.

It must include support of all those measures of the League of Nations that tend to curb the fascist aggressors and to preserve peace.

We must convince the American masses, who are for peace, that war as well as peace is indivisible. We must show that, while war is inseparable from capitalism, it is possible in the present world situation to keep this country out of war but only by fighting to delay, postpone and prevent the outbreak of the war prepared by the fascist aggressors. This means fighting for peace, world peace. This means concentrating the blows against those fascist, militaristic and reactionary forces at home and abroad that today constitute the threat to peace. This means to build up in this country a powerful movement of all toilers and all lovers of peace to fight daily and systematically, and independently of capitalist governments, against the fascist war instigators. This means the collaboration of the organized peace forces in this country with the peace forces abroad to support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, to combat the war-makers, to isolate them, and to check their criminal designs. Thus and only thus can the American people fight effectively to keep this country out of war.

6. The fight against the armament policies of Hearst-du Pont and the war preparations budget of the Roosevelt Administration can be carried on effectively only on the basis of struggle for peace. The demand of the warmongers in this country for armaments and war preparations cannot be combated successfully from the positions of isolation and "neutrality" or by playing down the danger of war. This danger is real and is growing more acute every day. It is precisely this real danger that the Hearsts and du Ponts and Coughlins are exploiting to drag on the people into supporting billion-dollar war budgets. It is therefore necessary to fight for an American peace policy, a world peace, which it is possible to maintain by the collaboration of all peace forces and which will convince the American masses that armaments and war budgets are not necessary, that they only serve the interests of the war-makers and munitions manufacturers.

7. On the basis of an American peace policy, resting upon the

principles of non-aggression and indivisibility of peace as practiced by the Soviet Union, the Communist Party will call upon the American toilers to fight for the following:

(a) Not a cent, not a man for armaments and war; all military funds for relief; (b) prohibit all government subsidies to the munitions manufacturers and war industries; (c) outlaw all private trading and transportation of arms; (d) down with the developing naval race which leads to war; (e) abolish the imperialist and war-provoking Monroe Doctrine, against the imperialist oppression of Britain and Japan in Latin-America, and active support to the liberation struggles of the peoples in Latin-America; (f) against the reactionary and militaristic M-Day plans of the War Department and support for the proposal of an early referendum to defeat these plans and to adopt a peace policy; (g) active support to the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders; (h) no support of any kind to the fascist war aggressors; (i) support for all those measures of the League of Nations directed against the instigators of war and for the maintenance of peace, collaboration of the American government with all peace forces towards that end, and especially collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

8. While fighting for this peace policy, the Communist Party will support every practical measure that leads in the direction of maintaining peace, always seeking to win the American masses to the struggle for a genuine and consistent proletarian policy of peace, to independent struggle for it, and to the revolutionary positions of Leninism on the struggle against war as embodied in the decisions of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International. In carrying out this fight for peace, the Communist Party will call upon the masses to support the fight:

*For the overthrow of the Hitler government, the incendiary of war in Europe; every possible support to the German people who are fighting for their freedom.*

*For the expulsion of the Japanese invaders from China, for a democratic Japan. Expulsion of the Italian plunderers from*



*Ethiopia; for the liberation of the Italian people from the oppression of fascism.*

*A world front of workers and farmers and all friends of peace against the instigators of war.*

One of the most potent weapons in the struggle for peace, for keeping America out of war, is the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the active support of these policies by all toilers and friends of peace. These peace policies flow from the socialist nature of that powerful country of the toilers. It is a policy of proletarian internationalism opposed to national and racial oppression and chauvinism which fascism develops to the highest degree. The peace policy and strength of the Soviet Union serve to defend not alone the Soviet country and its socialist life but the lives of the workers and toilers of all countries, the vital interests of all humanity, the interests of culture against the barbarities of war. Over these great international aims stands guard the mighty Red Army of workers and peasants. Collaboration between the United States and the U.S.S.R. would constitute the surest guarantee of peace in the Pacific and in the world, the surest guarantee of keeping this country out of war.

#### *IV. For the United Front in the Struggle for Peace*

1. We must concentrate on developing organized actions by the workers to enforce the stoppage of shipments of all supplies to fascist Italy and its military forces in Ethiopia; the stoppage of all shipments of munitions and war materials (scrap iron, cotton, oil, etc.), to Japan and fascist Germany. Beginnings of such actions have taken place in past months. Such must be developed on a wide scale to become really effective. This is how there will be forged in action the united front between Socialists and Communists and between the trade unionists and unorganized workers. This fight will draw in and receive the support of the widest masses of toilers and middle classes.

2. The Communist Party will work energetically for establishing united actions with the Socialist Party and its organizations in the struggle for peace. At the same time we must point out systematically that the Socialist Party has not yet adopted a

program of struggle for peace despite the fact that the membership of the Socialist Party is in favor of fighting for peace. We must point out further that the present official position of the S.P., as established by the Cleveland convention, is a harmful mixture and compromise of isolationism, "neutrality", counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, on the one hand, and some genuine efforts by the Lefts for peace, on the other. We must help the Lefts to press forward in the S.P. for the correct united front struggle for peace, especially to combat all counter-revolutionary attempts to misrepresent the truly international and proletarian foreign policies of the Soviet Union as identical with the foreign policies of the imperialist states and the Red Army as identical with the armies of the imperialist countries. We must call upon the Lefts to fight against all tendencies in the S.P. to obscure the difference between fascist and non-fascist states, against all tendencies that fail to take a different attitude towards the aggressors and the victims of their attacks, insisting at all times upon the independent struggle of the working class for peace. We must point out to the Lefts that failure to combat these tendencies vitiates completely their pledges to fight for the defense of the Soviet Union and for peace. In addition, we must point out the dangerous implications of the Thomas suggestion to satisfy the "hunger" of the fascist countries for raw materials, a suggestion which, despite all Thomas' subsequent qualifications, leads to capitulation to the fascist aggressors.

3. We must especially explain and clarify the following points:

a. Coughlin and Lemke, inspired by Hearst, demand that the United States be "self-contained and self sustained" avoiding all foreign entanglements, including economic and financial. As it stands such a demand is meaningless. The only thing that could give it meaning is a proposal that the United States discontinue at once all foreign trade and prohibit its bankers from making any investments outside the country. For a capitalist country like the United States this is an impossibility. Hence Coughlin and Lemke make no such proposals. In this way they expose the fascist fraud and deceit of their demand for a "self-contained and self-sustained" United States.

b. Coughlin and Lemke demand further that this country build up a "perfect defense" on land, sea and in the air and that these forces shall not be used "in foreign fields or in foreign waters". They give the lie to their own proposal by inciting war against Mexico. More important is the fact that "perfect defense" is an obvious fraud. Such a thing is an impossibility especially in modern warfare by air. If war is allowed to break out, such as a Japanese attack against the United States, the most "perfect" defense the U.S. War Department will put up will be a rapid bombardment from the air and sea of Japanese cities and possessions, that is, the U.S., will be compelled to wage war precisely in foreign fields and in foreign waters. "Perfect" defense will not save this country from war but, on the contrary, will hasten the armament race and the outbreak of war.

c. It is argued that if the United States abstains from participating in the quarrels of other countries, refuses to take part either in war or in sanctions and follows a policy of "neutrality", it will succeed in keeping out of war. This is a wrong conclusion. War threatens not only other countries *but also the United States*. In the present conditions of intense imperialist contradictions, the war which the fascist aggressors will launch cannot remain localized; it will grow into a world war. It is not capitulation to the warmongers that can guard the peace of this as well as other countries but only the international fighting front of the peoples against their aggression. For this, the toilers of this country must say: "We will always be on the side of the people that is subjected to a fascist attack". The fascist aggressor must be made to realize that in case he attacks he will have the working class and the toilers of all countries against him.

d. It is claimed that all governments are equally responsible for the war menace. An attempt is made even to refer to Lenin in order "to prove" that today, as in 1914-1918, we can make no distinction between aggressors and non-aggressors. The truth is that in 1914-1918 the world was divided into two military-imperialist coalitions which were equally striving to establish their hegemony, which had equally prepared and provoked the imperialist war. At that time there was neither the country of socialism

nor countries with fascist dictatorships. Now the situation is different. There are now: (1) the proletarian state which is the greatest fortress of peace; (2) definite fascist aggressors (Germany, Italy, Japan); (3) a number of countries which are directly threatened with an attack by fascist aggressors and the loss of their state and national independence (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria, etc.); (4) other capitalist countries (France, U.S.A., etc.), which are interested at the present moment in maintaining peace. It is therefore completely false at the present time to regard all countries as aggressors. Only those who want to conceal the real aggressors can distort the facts in this way.

e. It is claimed further that sanctions against the aggressors will lead to war and that pacts for collective security and mutual assistance raise illusions and lead to war also. The contrary is the truth. The increasing danger of war arises at this time just because the fascist aggressors feel they can go ahead with impunity. The greater the number of states, especially the biggest states in the world, which join the collective security pacts, and the greater the unanimity and consistency with which they stand for the real carrying out of such measures under the constant pressure of the masses of the people, the less will German fascism and the Japanese military clique be determined to begin war because this will mean all the greater risks for them. Collaboration between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific would be the strongest guarantee against the Japanese beginning war. Illusions arise only from the reformist tendency to depend on the League of Nations without mobilizing the masses for independent struggle and from the general reformist position that capitalism can be abolished without the socialist revolution.

f. It is asserted that the fight for sanctions and collective security blurs the class lines and weakens the class struggle. The lie to this assertion is given most convincingly by the struggle for peace in France. The Communist leadership in the building of the united and people's front which is fighting for peace resulted in the most extraordinary growth of the working class movement—unions and political parties—a growth of the class

struggle (elections, strikes, etc.), with great victories for the masses, a growing isolation of capitalist reaction and increasing leadership of the working class in the people's struggle against fascism and capitalism. The class struggle is weakened not by the fight for sanctions and collective security but by Social-Democratic class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and by failure to organize the united front of independent struggle of the masses for peace.

4. Recognizing that the American League Against War and Fascism has grown into an important force of united people's struggle against war and for peace, and that it is acquiring a wider base among the toiling masses as shown by its Third Congress, the Communist Party will work untiringly to help widen the base of the League, especially among the trade unions and farm organizations, as decided by its Congress. At the same time the Communists will work for systematic united actions for peace between the League and the trade unions, such as the C.I.O. and others. The Communists will favor a broadening out of the program of the League along the lines of struggle for a peace policy.

5. The Communist Party will strive to stimulate the struggle for peace by the trade unions. We shall expose the role of the Green-Hutcheson reactionaries as that of supporters of the warmongers and fascist aggressors. The proposal of these reactionaries to the Republican Party Convention to break off relations with the U.S.S.R., made at the dictation of Hearst and du Pont, a proposal which they did not dare to bring to the A. F. of L. Convention, is nothing less than an attempt to help Hitler and the Japanese military clique to begin war—war not only against the U.S.S.R. but also against other nations including the United States. Organized labor, excepting these reactionaries, is for peace. It is necessary to develop the fight of the unions for a peace policy and for collaboration with other peace forces to curb the fascist aggressors.

6. We must concentrate more than heretofore on making the youth play an active and decisive role in the struggle for peace. The struggle for the united front among the youth is serving effectively this purpose. It is necessary to render all possible

assistance to the further extension and organizational solidification of the wide youth front, the building up of the Y.C.L. into a non-Party mass organization, and the bringing in of the youth prominently in the peace struggles. The fight against the militarization of the youth in the schools and the C.C.C. must be widened and intensified. It is also necessary to undertake more earnestly the organization of women for the struggle for peace, especially in the existing mass movements and organizations.

7. The struggle for peace, for keeping this country out of war, is a vital phase of the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party. We should seek to have the Farmer-Labor movement make this struggle one of its main issues. The peace plank adopted by the Chicago Farmer-Labor Conference goes substantially in the direction of struggle for a peace policy. It is precisely under a Farmer-Labor Party in control of the American government, backed by the organized power of the people and its readiness to enforce its will for peace, that the United States would be able to pursue a genuine policy of peace and to fight effectively for keeping this country out of war by helping to keep war out of the world.

8. One of our immediate practical tasks is to help secure the widest participation of the American peace movements in the World Peace Congress to be held in Geneva, in September, 1936. Especially must we aim to bring about trade union participation in the World Peace Congress by an energetic campaign in all unions.

9. While carrying on the daily practical and political tasks as outlined above, the Communists must systematically educate the masses to the Marxist-Leninist position on war as embodied in the thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International and in the resolution of its Seventh Congress.

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## BUILDING A MASS PARTY

### *Resolution on Organization*

NEVER before were such large numbers of workers and toilers generally willing to listen to our message. The years of the crisis have made a profound impression upon the masses. Great changes are taking place in the labor movement. The prestige and authority of the Communist Party as the champion of the unity of the masses against capitalist reaction are growing. Ever increasing sections of the toilers realize that what is wrong is capitalism itself. More and more the masses lose faith in the ability of capitalism and the old parties which stand for the maintenance of the capitalist system to give them security. They look for a way out.

In this situation the Communist Party has been able to play a more important role than ever before in rousing and organizing the masses for struggle for their everyday needs, and to win wider circles to a sympathetic attitude towards the program of the Communist Party.

The membership of the Party has also made gains. There are today 50,000 organized Communists in the Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

### *For a Mass Party*

In this situation it is possible to build the Communist Party into a mass political party of the toilers in the immediate future. But in order to accomplish this task as rapidly as possible, the new conditions and the new tasks of the class struggle demand that the Party shall bring its whole organizational work and its structure in line with these needs. It must combine, in a more simplified structure that lends itself to the greatest efficiency and flexibility, the Leninist principles of organization and best traditions of the American political structure.

Emphasis upon inner Party organization is only for the purpose of strengthening the ability of the Party to organize the struggles of the masses. It can never become an end in itself. In this spirit we must broaden the scope of our organizational work. This requires detailed study of the most effective organizational forms and approach in every struggle, in every campaign. It is also necessary to study the successful organizational forms and methods of other organizations, including political parties, trade unions, Townsend movements, etc. The *Party Organizer* should devote its columns more than in the past to the study of these forms and methods.

### *I. Shop Nuclei*

Shop units remain the most important form of lower Party organization, the most decisive link of the Party with the masses of industrial workers. Since the last Convention, the Party membership in shop units has doubled, numbering now over 5,000 in 600 shop units; but the tempo of this growth is slower than in the period of 1933-34, despite the growth of the number of employed workers and especially of our improved trade union work in the past period. Today there are within the Party some 7,000 employed workers in street units, many of whom could be utilized to organize new shop units.

In the past period, despite this growth in numbers, we have suffered a general stagnation in the political functioning and activity of our shops units, and in some districts a setback. Important shop nuclei have disappeared, or no efforts are being made to build new ones. Very few of the shop nuclei are really conscious of their role, speak to the masses regularly through their shop papers, thus taking the lead in developing struggles in the factories, or participate enthusiastically in the recruiting drive.

This stagnation is mainly due to the lack of proper guidance by the leading bodies in the past period and to a certain extent to a minimizing of the role of this basic form of organization in the shops, in leading the work and guiding the policies of the respective trade unions. In most cases our trade union work has been carried on separate and apart from the shop nuclei.



## *To Strengthen Shop Units*

This Party Convention emphasizes that precisely now—in view of our main political tasks and our increased prestige and contact with the trade union movement—the entire Party turn its attention to changing the present situation of the shop units, by:

1. Direct guidance and attention to the shop units, their membership and problems by the Section Committees themselves, without lessening the direct contact of leading Party committees with leading trade union fractions or key progressives within the union. This should be done with full participation of the shop unit. We want the shop units to become, especially at this moment in steel, auto, and rubber, the driving force for organizing the unorganized, for building a progressive movement which will be an important factor in further developing inside the A. F. of L. the struggle for industrial unionism, and winning the decisive shop workers for a Farmer-Labor Party.

2. New methods of systematic Party training of the shop unit membership and leadership. This is the key to the solution of increasing the number of shop units, developing their effectiveness and initiative and organizing the majority of Party members in shop units.

3. By direct guidance of the Section Committee and by establishing other supplementary forms wherever necessary, improve the regularity and control of existing shop papers, and, above all, strive to have each of the 600 shop units issue regularly a paper, thus insuring us of a circulation of over half a million monthly Communist shop papers. Properly guided, this becomes a tremendous force for our Party.

4. By strengthening the shop units, through systematic recruiting, by concentrating on those workers in the shops who by their militancy, loyalty to their fellow workers, stand out as leaders. At the same time we must also undertake to utilize the 7,000 employed Party members in street units for building new shop units.

## *II. Industrial Units*

In regard to industrial units the Ninth National Convention concludes that where the process of reorganization of these bodies

was guided and controlled, this form of organization has proven its correctness in life. This form of organization helps the Party to:

1. Activize all Party members in one given industry with the aim of building shop nuclei in that given territory.
2. Activize all Party members in their respective trade unions and make the industrial unit the political leader of the respective local.

Therefore the Convention decides to organize industrial units on the following basis:

(a) As a transition form of organization in industries where a number of Party members are scattered in various factories. The task of this type of industrial unit is to concentrate on one of the factories with the aim of building a shop nuclei. Such an industrial unit must concern itself with the problems of that industry and become the driving force inside the union where such exists, and in organizing the unorganized. As soon as the industrial unit succeeds in recruiting an adequate number of workers in one given factory, the leading committee shall see to it that a shop nuclei is immediately formed there.

(b) As a permanent form of organization in those trade unions where the trade conditions do not permit the organization of shop nuclei and the local union is the only place where the workers come together (building trades, teamsters, hotel and restaurant workers, small shops in light industries, etc.). It is understood that in this form of organization there will also be Party members who are not yet members of the given union. To properly orientate this new form of organization, the leading committees on a Section scale are responsible for giving daily guidance.

We have to guard against the danger that the industrial units reduce themselves to mere fractions in the unions. The industrial units must be made conscious that they are the Communist Party in the industries or local of certain unions, and therefore, have to give political leadership to the workers by bringing in all political campaigns of the Party, systematically influencing the workers through the distribution of our press and literature,

issuing leaflets and bulletins, and organizing political discussions, forums, etc.

### *III. Branches*

The increased political activity of the masses, their growing readiness to break with the existing political parties, the need for building the Farmer-Labor Party, the need for making the neighborhood organization of the Party a more vital political factor in the localities, demand from our Party that we adjust the organizational forms in the neighborhood.

Therefore, the Convention decides that the organizational form of the Party in the neighborhoods shall be the branch, based on the political divisions and sub-divisions (ward, assembly districts, etc.). The branch will be composed of all Party members living in the territory of one political division or sub-division (who are not members of any other form of Party organization) and shall number approximately 50 members. The number of branches will be determined by the size of the Party in the political sub-division.

The branches of the Communist Party in the neighborhoods have the task of winning the masses there for the program of the Party. To achieve this aim, the major concern of the branches should be to link themselves up closer with the problems of the masses in the neighborhoods and, above all, with the organized masses of that particular neighborhood. The branch, therefore, has as its task the penetration of all existing neighborhood organizations. It must make every possible effort to involve these organizations in the struggle for the interests of the masses through united front activities — (housing, hospitalization, schools, improvement in relief, community centers, etc.).

#### *Public Branch Activities*

The branch also has the task of carrying on in the most systematic manner the broadest agitation and propaganda among the population in the form of public activities, such as mass meetings, forums, distribution of leaflets, in order to answer all the

problems facing the masses, and to win them for the Party position on various issues.

The most effective instruments in the hands of the branch for this agitation are the *Daily Worker*, *Sunday Worker* and the neighborhood paper of the Communist Party. The branches by reacting to the needs of the masses and raising the struggle to a higher political basis, linking up the local campaigns with the struggle against war and fascism, will stand out in the eyes of the masses as a real political leader and will succeed in mobilizing them around the program of the people's front.

In view of the fact that we are still in the process of readjustment, we expect the leading committees not only to give proper guidance along the above lines, but to intensify educational work in the form of lectures which will make every member conscious of the role of the branch. Without solving the question of capable branch leadership, no real change can be accomplished.

#### *IV. Political Readjustments in Structure*

The reorganization of the lower bodies along the above lines demands a readjustment in the structure of the Party. The Party structure wherever possible shall correspond to the existing political sub-divisions such as county, assembly districts, state, etc. In the larger industrial centers, wherever conditions are ripe and the Party has the proper forces, it shall establish city or county committees. In the large industrial centers the section form of organization shall be maintained.

Such readjustments will improve not only the political activities of the Party in the largest industrial centers, but on a state scale as well, permitting the State Committee to study state problems much more deeply and make of the Party a real political factor in every state of the union.

The state organization shall have at its head a state secretary as the political leader. In the large districts where the Party is already assuming the character of a mass Party, a state organizer shall be elected, whose major duties shall be the building of the Party. There shall further be organized a Membership Commission with a Membership Director at the head whose main task

will be to guide the recruiting and conduct continuous checkup on the attendance and activities of the Party members, and on dues payments.

There shall also be established an Educational Commission which shall have as its main task the guiding of the agitation and propaganda, and the organization of educational activities in the lower organizations, as well as the training of new leading forces. The largest state organizations, as well as the center, will have to set up a corps of agitators and organizers for the purpose of penetrating the small towns with the immediate program of the Party, and help the Party organizations in mobilizing the masses in the Party campaigns.

### *Adaptation of Organization*

While the resolution gives the orientation of how better to adapt the structure of the Party in the lower organizations to the new political needs, it must be understood that the readjustments of the lower organizations cannot be applied in the same measure to every state and every town. In the South, in certain Negro cities, as well as in company towns and others where special conditions exist, we must still maintain those forms of organization (small units, etc.), which not only permit the Party better to connect itself with the masses, but at the same time safeguard the Party members.

In industrial towns where there are one or two industries, where the life of the town is interwoven with the given industry, until there are sufficient forces to build shop nuclei the Party members in the factories shall be active in the unit of the locality which constitutes the Party in the town and guides all the activities of the Party members.

The building of the Party in rural towns and villages, among the farming population, is of the utmost importance for the winning of the farmers to our influence. The units of the Party in the farm territory shall be built according to the situation, taking into consideration not only the political division and subdivisions, and the communities, but also the activities of the farmers in their organizations.

### *Party Membership*

The lower organizations of the Party, shop nuclei, industrial units, branches, must become real schools of political education for the membership. The doors of our Party must be open to all those workers who want to join their forces with ours to lead the struggle for making our country a better country to live in, the struggle to free the toiling people from capitalist exploitation and oppression. It shall be the task of the units to make of every worker who joins the Party a full-fledged active Communist rather than to expect him to be such before joining the Party.

In order to keep these new comrades who come into our Party, we must give special consideration to their problems. We must develop such a system and approach that will enable us to utilize to the maximum every individual Party member according to his ability and possibility of work.

### *Meeting Dates and Dues*

To make it possible for the Party members to devote more time to their trade union activities, to their activities in the neighborhood organizations and not to overburden them with numerous Party meetings, thus making our Party more suitable and attractive for the many workers who would like to join our ranks, the Ninth Convention is of the opinion that wherever the State Committee thinks it advisable to adopt the system of semi-monthly meetings in accordance with the wish of the Party membership and organizational tradition of the locality, that such system be introduced.

Furthermore, there should be introduced a system of monthly dues payments according to a simplified scale, giving the units a full month to bring the dues of every Party member up to date. The new system of dues payments will go into effect upon decision of the Central Committee.

### *Education—Leading Forces*

A central problem confronting the Party today is the political weaknesses of the lower organizations in fulfilling the tasks of the Party regarding mass work. The reason for this is the insuffi-

cient political education of the Party membership and slow development of new leading forces.

The problem of improving the political education in the whole Party, of developing the Communist consciousness of the entire membership, making of every Party member a capable agitator and organizer, making of the lower organizations political bodies conscious of their Party role, depends on the ability and number of capable leading forces in the lower organizations (units, sections).

This calls for the intensification of our efforts to develop capable leading committees. The District and Section Committees must become real leading bodies able to estimate and react to every event, able to organize their work in such a manner that every member of these committees feels the responsibility for shaping and deciding the policies of the Party.

We must organize a schooling system that will guarantee the maintenance of the tempo in supplying the leading forces with the growth and the new tasks of the Party.

The *Daily Worker* can be utilized by the leading bodies as a guide for meeting the political and organizational problems. The *Party Organizer* can more and more become a medium for exchange of our organizational experiences, for the purpose of making these experiences available to the lower leading bodies and to all the Party members.

### *Effective Work of Communists in Mass Organizations*

Every Communist should be a member of a mass organization. It is in the first place obligatory for all Communists who are eligible to join the union in their trade or industry. The Communists in the trade unions must by their activities among the workers on the job, in the carrying through of the tasks of the trade unions, in their constant efforts to strengthen the numbers, power and influence of their union, by their imparting of their experience to their fellow trade unionists, prove in practice that just because they are Communists, class-conscious revolutionary workers, they stand in the forefront of the struggle for the immediate needs of the masses, and are the most active build-

ers of their union. A Communist who is not known to his shop-mates and fellow trade unionists as one who will do all to build the power of the union is not fulfilling his or her Communist duty.

At the same time the Communists in the unions must, on the basis of fully utilizing their democratic rights in accordance with the rules of the union, strive to convince the membership of their organization of the correctness of their position on all vital questions concerning the economic and political interests of the masses.

In order to carry through their work effectively, and to win the respect and confidence of the workers, all Communists must at all times take a position on every question that is in line with the policies of the Party, which always are designed to serve best the interests of the masses.

In the work of mass organizations that are sympathetic to the policies of the Party, while at no time shall Party members be drawn out of these organizations, or even asked to give up their duties without their consent and in consultation with the non-Party workers, it shall however be the policy of the Party not to concentrate more active forces in such organizations than is necessary to assure the best interests of the organization.

### *Onward to a Mass Party!*

The great possibilities for building a mass Communist Party at the present time make every Party member duty bound to be actively engaged in recruiting his fellow workers, his friends into the Communist Party.

The program of our Party must be brought to the millions. One of the best means of recruiting workers into our ranks is in the very heat of the struggle, in strike struggles, in unionization campaigns, in the united front struggle against war and fascism, in the struggle to build the people's front, the Farmer-Labor Party and, above all, in the coming election campaign. The way to develop mass recruiting is to recruit in every locality, in every organization. It is on this basis that our Party must develop a nation-wide mass recruiting campaign.



More than ever before we must concentrate our energies to dispel the prejudices spread among the masses by the reactionary forces, by the Hearst press, and prove to them that our Party draws upon the American revolutionary traditions and genuinely continues and develops these traditions; prove to them that the doors of our Party are open to all those workers, farmers, professional people, Negro masses, men and women who want to join hands with us and build the Party of the American working class.

### *For 100,000 Members*

The leading comrades, following the beginnings made in the last recruiting drive, must continue with vigor and enthusiasm to connect themselves closer with the largest possible masses, to recruit from among the best elements for the Party, so that their example will swing every Party organization and individual Party member into mass recruiting.

Our present Party of 50,000 adults and Young Communists is a strong basis to develop in the next period a mass Party of 100,000 members capable of coping with the new and manifold problems that present themselves to the American people, and building our Party as a most influential and determining factor in the present and future life of our country.

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