

# Study and Apply the Draft Program

By William Z. Foster

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

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

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

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

The *third* phase of our task in connection with the Draft Program is to begin to organize the workers to fight for it. This organizational phase, too, must go ahead simultaneously with the discussion and the mass circulation. We do not want mere propaganda and agitation around the Draft of our National Committee. Above all, we must organize ourselves to get the masses to

put it into effect. We must teach the workers not only how to think about their problems, but how to fight to solve them.

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

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

In presenting our Draft Program to the broad masses, we must bear carefully in mind their mood. This is one of a developing fighting spirit. The period ahead will be one of ris-

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

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

It is urgently necessary to stimulate broad united front and parallel mass actions to bring to bear the moral-political force of the people in favor of the success of the impending Geneva Conference. It is necessary also to unfold activities for an end to the "dirty war" against the people of Indo-China, for the seating of People's China in the U.N. and

her recognition by our government, for the re-establishment and expansion of East-West trade, to the mutual benefit of all, against the rearmament of Western Germany, and for all effective measures to achieve reduction of armaments and the outlawing of atomic weapons. A day-to-day struggle must be conducted against the burdensome armament budget and Wall Street's war program as a whole. The Draft Program shows how the warmongers can be defeated and the war danger eliminated.

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

Imperative is the development of united labor action for protection of the workers' wages, for the shorter work-week, for increased unemployment benefits and social insurance, and for the immediate launching of a government-subsidized Public Work Program. The labor movement must be alert to the necessity of protecting the working and living conditions of the Negro workers, who already feel the heaviest brunt of growing unemployment. The beginnings of farmer-labor cooperation in support of the demands of the

farming masses should be encouraged and broadened. Vital in all this is the need to organize the resistance of the labor movement to new attacks upon the trade unions. Here, as in all other phases of our work around the Draft Program, the test will be the extent to which we can organize real mass struggle around its demands.

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

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

from the ranks of labor and the Negro people.

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

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

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