THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
RARE BOOK AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION

THE RADICAL PAMPHLET COLLECTION

Finding aid prepared by David Kennaly

The Radical Pamphlet Collection was acquired by the Library of Congress through purchase and exchange between 1977-81.

Linear feet of shelf space occupied: 25

Number of items: Approx: 3465
The Radical Pamphlet Collection spans the years 1870-1980 but is especially rich in the 1930-49 period. The collection includes pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, posters, cartoons, sheet music, and prints relating primarily to American communism, socialism, and anarchism.

The largest part deals with the operations of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), its members, and various "front" organizations. Pamphlets chronicle the early development of the Party; the factional disputes of the 1920s between the Fosterites and the Lovestoneites; the Stalinization of the Party; the Popular Front; the united front against fascism; and the government investigation of the Communist Party in the post-World War Two period. Many of the pamphlets relate to the unsuccessful presidential campaigns of CP leaders Earl Browder and William Z. Foster. Earl Browder, party leader between 1929-46, ran for President in 1936, 1940 and 1944; William Z. Foster, party leader between 1923-29, ran for President in 1928 and 1932.

Pamphlets written by Browder and Foster in the 1930s exemplify the Party's desire to recruit the unemployed during the Great Depression by emphasizing social welfare programs and an isolationist foreign policy. Browder's *The Fight for Bread* (1932) and *Unemployment Insurance* (1935) and Foster's *Roosevelt Heads for War* (1940) were critical of both New Deal domestic programs and foreign policy. With the attack of the Soviet Union by Germany in June 1941, criticism of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal decreased dramatically. Emphasis shifted to cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States to win the war. As leading advocates of this CPUSA wartime policy, Browder wrote *Speed the Second Front* (1942), *Production For Victory* (1942), and *Teheran and America* (1944); Foster contributed *The USA and USSR War Allies and Friends* (1942) and *Steelworkers and the War* (1942).

Additional CP materials included campaign literature for state and local contests in Buffalo, New York; New York City; and Alameda County, California, and pamphlets by elected Communist officials Victor Marcantonio, American Laborite member of the US Congress, and Peter Caccione and Benjamin Davis, CP New York City Council members.

An interesting part of the collection relates to Blacks in the Communist Party. Prior to 1928 the Communist Party had little success recruiting from the Black community. After the Communist Party's much publicized defense of the Scottsboro boys, the CP was increasingly perceived by Blacks as the defender of minority rights. Topics of pamphlets addressed to Blacks include lynching, the Negro in sports, and segregation in the Army and industry. Black Communist leaders such as James W. Ford, CP Vice Presidential Candidate in 1932 and 1936, Benjamin Davis, and...
Henry Winston are represented. Equally valuable is material dealing with the Communist Party and youth. The CP through the Young Communist League and its campus arm, the National Student League, was a major force in the pacifist and isolationist movements on college campuses in the pre-World War Two era. Pamphlets such as *Fix Bayonets Against Whom* (1933), *Students Fight War* (1935), and *Youth Fight For Peace, Jobs and Civil Rights* (1940) reflect the CP's attempt to create a militant student body to oppose war, ROTC on campus, and conscription.

Most items relating to American socialism in this collection are found arranged under the Socialist Party of America (SP), its members, and affiliates. Included are pamphlets, broadsides, and posters of state and local campaigns in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Boulder, Colorado; Buffalo, New York; New York City; Portland, Oregon; Texas; and Kansås.

The collection contains pamphlets of the longtime Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas. A few items relate to his presidential campaigns; most are criticisms of the New Deal. These include: *The New Deal A Socialist Analysis* (1933), *Is the New Deal Socialism?* (1936), and *The Plight of the Share Cropper* (1934). Thomas' post-war works include *A Socialist Looks at the United Nations* (1945) and *World Government, War and Peace* (1948). The Eugene V. Debs materials in the collection are scarce but noteworthy. Some examples are his famous Canton, Ohio, speech (1918) and the testimony at his sedition trial. Other Debs pamphlets are: *Woman--Comrade and Equal* (n.d.), *Childhood* (n.d.), and *Children of the Poor* (n.d.).

Additional resources concerning socialism in America are pamphlets by Victor Berger, SP member of 68-70th US Congresses; James P. Cannon; Daniel DeLeon; William James Ghent, editor of *Appeal to Reason* (Publishing House, Girard, Kansas); Daniel Hoan, SP Mayor of Milwaukee; Harry Laidler, executive director, League for Industrial Democracy; the Socialist Labor Party (SLP); and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Although most of the Radical Pamphlet Collection is associated with communism and socialism there is a significant portion relating to anarchism. Many pamphlets in the collection were written by leading figures in European anarchism, published in the United States, and addressed English-speaking native and immigrant anarchists. In the collection are works by German anarchists Johann Most and Rudolf Rocker; Russians Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Petr Kropotkin; Italians Errico Malatesta and Carlo Tresca; and Frenchman Emile Armand. The collection has many of Emma Goldman's works including *Marriage and Love* (1914), *Anarchism What It Really Stands For* (1914), *The Crushing of the Russian Revolution* (1922), and the *Tragedy of Women's Emancipation* (n.d.) Resources for the study of native American anarchism include pamphlets by the individualist anarchists Benjamin Tucker and William B. Greene. Of special note is the...
anarchist newspaper *Fair Play*, published between 1889-90 in Valley Falls, Kansas. Native anarcho-syndicalism is represented by pamphlets, broadsides, songbooks, and posters published by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the "Wobblies." This material includes recent IWW items such as minutes of the 26th and 29th IWW Constitutional Conventions (1950, 1969) and strike publications from the San Francisco Bay area locals. IWW pamphlets in the collection are: *What Sort of Union is the IWW Asking You to Build* (n.d.), *Unemployment and the Machine* (1934), and *One Big Union of All Workers, the IWW* (n.d.).

The Rare Book and Special Collections Division has custody of two other collections relating to American radicalism. The first, the Anarchism Collection, consists of more than 2000 books and pamphlets by and about anarchists relating to anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism. Most pamphlets in the collection were published in the United States for French-, German-, Italian-, and Russian-speaking communities. A finding aid is available in the Rare Book Room for the use of this collection. Second is the House Un-American Activities Committee Collection. This contains 2000 pamphlets by suspected "radicals" and "radical groups" collected by the committee. The collection is arranged by title, and a finding aid to the collection is available.

The Manuscript Division has custody of the papers of some of the individuals whose work for a radical revision of the social and political status quo is relevant to the Radical Pamphlet Collection. Among these are the papers of the following: William James Ghent, Lewis Graham Hines, the La Follette Family, Reinhold Niebuhr, Richard Olney, Garfield Bromley Oxnam, A. Philip Randolph, Charles Edward Russell, Margaret Sanger, Horace Traubel. The records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the National Urban League can also be consulted in that division.

The Radical Pamphlet Collection has been arranged by author or organization when identifiable.
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