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**A Magazine Devoted to the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism**

Editorial Board: V. J. JEROME, Editor, ABNER W. BERRY, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN,  
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## Tasks Before the Peace Camp\*

by Fred M. Fine

SINCE the last enlarged meeting of our National Committee in April of this year, the struggle for peace, both internationally and in our own country, has entered a new and sharper phase. But the outlook for the inciters and organizers of another world war becomes ever less favorable and therefore in turn they become increasingly desperate. In certain bourgeois circles, and in the war-mongering press, mischievous speculation is constant on the imminence of war. This is part of their technique of "artificial alarms."

### CARTELISTS INTENSIFY WAR PREPARATIONS

For us there can only be the realization that the American cartellists who seek world domination are busy

continuously intensifying the preparations for a World War III. Economically, politically and militarily they are pushing down the path toward war. For us also there is the confident knowledge that the obstacles in the path of the warmakers grow ever more formidable and present an ever greater challenge to the gentlemen of the Pentagon, the White House and the Wall Street temples of finance. Above all else, the intensification of the peace struggles of the masses throughout the world underscores the gap between the feverish desire of the monopolist warmakers for a world bloodbath and their ability successfully to organize it and carry it through.

The American Big Business organizers of the war front have, since last April, found it more difficult to veil their war machinations with lip service to peace and democracy.

\* A Report delivered at the meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held September 16-18, 1949.

Their ugly objectives and naked preparations for war grow more brazen with the increasing desperation of their economic illnesses, which are of a fundamental and incurable type. This being the case, it is understandable why U.S. Defense Secretary Johnson said recently in House Foreign Affairs Committee hearings: "I am suspicious of all this disarmament talk." More than simply being suspicious of disarmament talk, the bipartisan saber-rattlers have saddled the nation with a staggering war-making budget, and the North Atlantic Pact emerges ever more clearly as an instrument of strategic and military aggression.

As preparations for war take on a feverish tempo, a group of America's biggest brass were rushed to Western Europe to speed the strategic plans of American aggression. Apparently the unlimited confidence and blind faith in the all-powerful atomic bomb is being eaten up with moods of uneasiness and pessimism. It is being widely observed that the imperialist and militarist rulers of America are not putting their former complete reliance on their highly touted "omnipotent" bomb.\* This is in part the meaning of the North Atlantic bloc. They are looking more and more for invasion troops. As the cynical and soulless Congressman Cannon said, "Let us equip soldiers

of other nations and let them send their boys into the holocaust instead of sending our boys."

Thus the frenzied war preparations have now moved over to the plans for rearming Western Europe. Senators and admirals on U.S. warships make friendly visits to bloody Franco, as our dollars, guns and military advisors are devoted to the armed suppression of the national liberation movements of the peoples of Greece, Indonesia and Viet Nam. At the same time, State Department and Pentagon strategists thrash about seeking for new answers to their crisis in the Far East, including the bipartisan proposal for another 75 million dollars to be spent by President Truman on "Operation Rat-hole." This will help as much as the billions already spent which finally showed up as arms captured by the Chinese Revolutionary Armies and turned against their oppressors. The Wall Street puppet Romulo, enemy of the people of the Philippines, leagued with the whipped and bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek, is feverishly casting about for an Asian Benelux, in a vain attempt to halt the sweep of the national movements of emancipation.

The Vatican and the reactionary hierarchy have become an integral part of the bankers' war machine. Using religious terror for the achievement of reactionary political ends, conspiring with all that is repugnant and oppressive, the Vatican has launched a crusade for "the peo-

\* This statement was made one week before President Truman's disclosure (on September 23) that an atomic explosion had been set off in the Soviet Union—a historic announcement that has created consternation among the warmongers.—Ed.

ple's minds, souls and pocketbooks" as a prelude to taking the people's bodies as cannon fodder.

One special feature of the stepped-up war drive which is now being exploited to the limit is the employment of Fifth Columnist agents in a frantic effort to disrupt the peace front. The corrupt megalomaniac and renegade from the Communist movement, Broz Tito, has eagerly volunteered for this despicable role. Evidence is piling up to indicate that the history of Tito's perfidy goes back long before the issuance of the warning in the first Communist Information Bureau statement. The Belgrade Government, step by step, has moved over to the complete betrayal of the international camp of democracy and peace. It is turning over the economic life of Yugoslavia into the hands of foreign capital. It has surrendered its national sovereignty and become an agent of American imperialism, as Tito accepts the handouts of Wall Street dollars. Transforming his country into a police state which terrorizes the people and the finest representatives of the Yugoslav working class, the Tito gang have become fascist arsonists for the imperialist warmakers who would heat up the cold war. All the Hollywood techniques of painting Tito's renegade face with the phony, rouged glamor of a so-called "independent" Communist cannot hide the Judas skull of the betrayer of the Greek partisans and collaborator with the Royalist-fascist

government of Greece, the torturer of Soviet citizens, the jailer of Yugoslav Communists, the conspirator against the Albanian people and borders, the fomentor of anti-Soviet and war hysteria, the purchased agent of Wall Street. Not only workers holding Communist beliefs, but also those who deluded themselves that Tito's defection was a passing family squabble, indeed, all who desire world peace today, must needs see the true Tito as he has emerged. Tito cannot for long conceal the Belgrade Government's sell-out role—as he performs his Wall Street assignment, attempting to disrupt and disorient the peace and democratic front. The 20 million dollars which this mercenary has received from the U.S. Export-Import Bank, the 250 million dollars which he is seeking from the World Bank; the gifts of steel mills; the credits for mining machinery—all spell out the true meaning of Tito's service to Wall Street. His direct orders from the Pentagon and Acheson's offices are to provide new slanders against the Soviet Union for Wall Street arsenals of war propaganda and to furnish bauxite, mercury, copper, lead and zinc for the guns and bombs of imperialist aggressor armies.

It is not necessary at this meeting comprehensively to examine all the aspects of the program and activities of the warmakers. Suffice it to say in summarizing this section, that as the problems of the warmakers grow more numerous, their actions grow

more ferocious, more desperate.

The very attacks on the Communist Party through the frame-up trial in Foley Square, the deportation drives, the hoodlum raids, the Fineberg laws, the sponsoring of Mundt-Ferguson, Ober, Broyle and Tenny bills, the Taft-Hartley Law and police clubs on picket lines, the savage burnings, bombings and lynchings of Negroes by the K.K.K. elements and government agents, the fascistic mob violence, as typified by Peekskill, organized and defended by police and government officials—these are all part of the growing reactionary pattern belonging to the preparations for military adventures; and they exhibit the state of jitters and bad nerves of the warmongers.

#### GROWING STRENGTH OF THE PEACE CAMP

On the other hand, the camp for peace grows ever stronger, more powerful, and more confident as wider masses move over from a passive role into the fighting role of peace partisans. More and more, these masses recognize and take inspiration from the Soviet Union's position as the leader and main support of the world peace front.

Throughout the world, peace congresses are rallying the representatives of all strata of the people, arming them with a militant peace program, and undertaking to counter each new move of the warmakers. It is these developments that under-

score the hollowness of the Anglo-American war bloc. The signatures on pacts are worthless paper without the people. In the meantime, in sharp contrast to the crisis-ridden capitalist world, the Soviet Union is making giant strides in the transition to Communism, and the People's Democracies are making ever greater advances on the road to building Socialism and winning a continuously rising standard of living.

In contrast to the sick condition of the industries in Western Europe with the growing armies of unemployed is the situation in the New Democracies:

In 1949-53 the aggregate volume of industrial production in Czechoslovakia is to increase by 57 percent and the number of workers by 18.5, and in Bulgaria, by 119 and 17 percent respectively. The per capita industrial output of Poland in 1955 will be more than four times what it was before the war and the new factories will need 300,000 additional workers. Hungarian industry, which is to expand more in the course of 1950-54 than it did in the 50 years preceding, will find jobs for 300,000 more workers. . . .

The overall living standard in Hungary in 1954 will be 50 percent, and in Poland, in 1955, 100 percent, above the prewar level.\*

The outstretched hand of peace of the masses of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is grasped in friendship and for support by the workers

\* D. Petrovsky, "People's Democracy Raises Living Standards," *New Times*, No. 35, 1949, pp. 12-13.

in capitalist lands who yearn for peace. The representatives of these peace-loving nations are now once again taking the struggle for peace into the U.N. sessions, speaking to friends of peace over the world from this world tribune.

No more crushing or decisive blows are being struck against the very foundations of the war camp than the military and political victories of the Chinese people. The "running dogs" of imperialism are truly running with their tails between their legs. The aroused Chinese people are settling scores with their own warlords and ending for all time foreign imperialist oppression and exploitation of China. The Chinese revolutionary people's armies are leading 450 million people into the peace camp.

Thus are being marshalled the growing legions in the struggle for a lasting world peace; thus are mighty hammer blows being struck at the war machine and world-domination schemes of American imperialism. But this is not yet the sum total of the obstacles confronting the ill-fated architects of a third world war.

#### SHARPENING OF THE INTER-IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES

Among the numerous problems and contradictions that hound and doom the plans of the Anglo-American war incendiaries is the acute and growing problem of inter-imperialist rivalries. These rivalries exist be-

tween France and England, between the United States and each of the countries of Western Europe, between Great Britain and Western Germany being rebuilt under the leadership of American-German cartelists and notorious Nazis prominent in German administrative and political circles. And above all, there is taking place a sharpening of the rivalry between American and British imperialism.

This has been especially highlighted by the so-called financial talks held in recent days in Washington between the bankers and banker-diplomats of England, Canada and the United States. The insoluble problems which compel the organization of these financial conferences, and the inability of the negotiations to solve any of the fundamental problems of a near-bankrupt Britain reeling from one emergency to another, graphically confirm the declaration of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs last February on the North Atlantic Pact that:

Far from rendering any substantial practical assistance to the member states, this new group has not, as we know, prevented the aggravation of economic difficulties in a number of West-European countries. . . .

The Wall Street drive for world domination and Anglo-American cold-war policies have driven England to the brink of bankruptcy, and Britain's sovereignty and wealth are increasingly violated by the

American finance capitalists. British ruling circles find themselves sinking deeper and deeper into an economic crisis. The craven, cringing Labor Party misleaders of the British masses, pursuing a bipartisan foreign policy with the Churchill Tories, come seeking some emergency palliatives, alternately pleading for mercy and threatening to turn eastward as American bankers sharpen their claws. Here we see a fine example of the ethics of the jungle law of imperialist competition.

The six billion dollars of American taxpayers poured into Britain have only worsened the condition of the British masses. For the aim of this "boon" was to lay Wall Street hands on British industries and to batter down further the living standards of the British people. As American capital jockeys with its junior partner, planning new war-making adventures, the Wall Street gang muscles its way into more British industries and hijacks more and more of Britain's slave colonies for American capital investments. Thus, Wall Street tightens its grip on and sucks away ever more the sovereignty and wealth and very life-blood of Great Britain.

Mr. Snyder and his fellow-American negotiators in the so-called "Dollar Conferences," speaking for the ruthless and cold-blooded foreign and economic policy of Wall Street, drove a hard bargain.

It comes as no surprise that no solution was found to the British

crisis. It was to be expected that for a few crumbs which a self-respecting sparrow would pass up the American bankers used Britain's desperate position to force new surrenders and commitments from the British government representatives. The negotiations were used to force Great Britain into line on a common policy in the Far East. The unpublished agreements undoubtedly call for giving up trade with New China—trade that Great Britain needs so desperately—and certainly call for stepped-up war preparations, including direct intervention against the Chinese people. The bargaining also meant, according to all press reports, that the burdens on Britain in the intensification of the cold war in Europe were increased. One of the further results of the conferences will be new inroads by U.S. capital into the British preserves in the Near East, which more and more of late have been invaded and taken over by Wall Street investors.

Together with this, there is also the committee set up to carry through an intensified program of investment of American private capital in British industries. It is no wonder that fear and concern have been expressed in all Western European capitals as to where the alliance with American imperialism is leading them.

Certainly, the British workers, small farmers and small business folk will feel the new pinch in their bellies as the pressure for devaluation of the pound sterling builds up,

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resulting finally in a further sharp reduction in the living standards, more speed-up and harder work, and general undernourishment and poverty.\* More and more sentiment is mounting in Great Britain for a breakaway from the degradation and the dire consequences of the Marshall Plan-North Atlantic Pact alliance. The Soviet-British agreement for a shipment of one million tons of Soviet wheat to the hungry masses of Britain has given greater meaning to the growing demand that the shameful and suicidal partnership with Wall Street be ended, and a self-respecting policy of trade with the Eastern European nations be instituted.

The same pattern and theme that dominated the Anglo-Canadian-American talks ran through the recent sessions of the World Bank and Monetary Fund. In these meetings, shrouded in secrecy over the objections of the delegates from the People's Democracies, with Yugoslavia playing the role of a vassal of the Western Powers, the U.S. bankers called the tune not only for Britain, but for all Western European nations. Eugene Black, Wall Street boss of the World Bank and Fund, in the hard-boiled tones of a mortgagee foreclosing loans, demanded devaluation of all the European currencies and further attacks on the living standards of the masses in the capitalist countries.

\* Two days after this Report was rendered, the devaluation of the pound by 30.5% was announced by Sir Stafford Cripps.—Ed.

Both the so-called Dollar Talks and the meeting of the World Bank and Monetary Fund call attention to the inescapable fact that the entire capitalist world is sinking into an economic crisis. These conferences, far from solving any of the insoluble contradictions in which the imperialists find themselves trapped, can only result in a deepening and sharpening of the crisis. The barren results of the conferences find the Anglo-American imperialists stepping up war preparations and seeking new military adventures as their answer, thus attempting to find political and military compensations for their cancerous economic ailment.

This explains in good measure why the outlook is for more feverish efforts to hammer out anti-Soviet blocs, for more "artificial alarms" and provocations, for greater use of those corrupted elements willing to serve as an imperialist "fifth column" to disrupt the peace front, for more of the huge armament budgets financed out of the meager wages of the wage earners and unemployed.

As D. Zaslavsky says in an article entitled "Atoms and Blocs"\*:

True, the European capitalists need U.S. Dollars, but then the U.S. capitalists need allies. American capital is every bit as dependent on Western Europe as the bankrupt capitalists of Western Europe are on Wall Street. Less than ever before is there any truth in the claims of the American million-

\* *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!* May 1, 1949.

aires that they are "saving" Europe. If anything they are saving themselves from economic crisis and political ruin.

As the general crisis of the contracting capitalist world deepens, as the peace movement of the masses broadens its scope and intensifies its activities, it becomes ever clearer and more certain that should the imperialist warlords, out of desperation, and in spite of the will for peace on the part of the overwhelming majority of mankind, attempt a new bloody adventure, they will be decisively rebuffed by the people of every country and accounts settled with them even more effectively than with the fascist-Axis aggressors.

#### THE GROWING PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A.

Since early spring, there has also been the steady but uneven emergence of a growing peace movement in our own country. The Marshall Plan and our foreign policy have only worsened conditions for the workers. The workers' living standards are further depreciated by the onerous taxes to finance the world-expansion program of Wall Street. Ever greater masses, and particularly the Negro people, sense that the violence and governmental attacks on civil liberties are the inevitable accompaniment of our foreign policy. Thus, the fight for peace becomes more and more intertwined with the fight for wages, against speed-up, for jobs, more adequate unem-

ployment compensation, health and pension programs, housing, public works, civil rights, equal rights for the Negro people, the demands of youth and women. Nothing in the life of the worker is left untouched by the war drive. This is the Achilles' heel of the war-makers.

But the peace movement does not yet measure up to its responsibilities, nor to what is possible even now. The fight on the Arms Aid proposal graphically proves this.

Various sectors of the peace front are coming into being and give increasing promise of the possibility of a coalescence of these various expressions of the people's sentiment for peace as a basis for a powerful peace front. Following the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held in New York, there has been the delegation to the great World Congress for Peace which met in Paris and Prague. Another important harbinger of the gathering peace forces was the emergence of the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives to the North Atlantic Pact, which sponsored several national meetings of representatives of broad, non-Party peace adherents and whose leaders sponsored a number of petitions and open letters, with increasing hundreds of representative leaders from every walk of life lending their names to these public statements. The most significant of these open letters was the outspoken condemnation of the Arms Aid proposals signed by 1,200 prominent citi-

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zens, among them many leading Protestant churchmen. In a number of localities, especially on the Pacific Coast, in Chicago, Denver and New York, local committees have come into being against specific aspects of the bipartisan war drive. More and more, strong peace sentiments are being articulated among many denominations of the Protestant Church, perhaps the most significant of these being the influential Quaker report, in which hundreds of groups have exhibited interest. Among youth and women, there are increasing meetings, public statements and area committees on the issue of peace.

Most recently, there has taken place the tremendously important Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City. This Congress is a direct outgrowth of the Paris-Prague Congress. U.S. participation at the Continental Peace Congress was an advance over the U.S. participation at Paris.

Between 200 and 225 delegates participated from the States. Delegations came mainly from the Pacific Coast; from sections of the South such as Texas, New Mexico, the Carolinas; from New York; and a scattering from Chicago, Denver and other cities. Generally speaking, there were fewer nationally prominent names than might have been expected, certainly fewer than at the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held in New York. But this was compensated for in part by the size and geographical distribution of the delegation. In composition, the

delegation was mainly professional, cultural, white collar and youth. The trade unionists constituted at the most about 10-12 percent of the delegation, with only the fur workers, F.T.A., I.L.W.U., and Cooks and Marine Stewards represented nationally. The Progressive Party and its various state organizations, together with the A.S.P., had the largest number of delegates. There was some Negro representation, but it was far from adequate, though some of the broadest elements in attendance were from among the Negro people, including a member of an American Legion auxiliary from a town in Texas and several local leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. The Communist Party had an official delegation. In other words, the American delegation, while relatively large in size, was mainly constituted of the more advanced forces in the peace camp.

#### PROBLEMS AND TASKS FACING THE PEACE FORCES

The character of the U.S. delegation to Mexico City once again emphasized the growing need for: (1) greater leadership, participation and extension of the ranks of organized labor in the peace movement; (2) more effective enlisting of the broad Negro masses, who more than any other section of the population can be rallied to the anti-imperialist peace front; (3) the finding of common ground by the Left-progressive forces and the establishment of unity in action with those adherents of peace

who are not yet ready to accept the program or the leadership of the World Congress for Peace or the Continental Congress for Peace, although in other countries these congresses are supported by people of varied political affiliations and views.

To put it differently, the great task before the peace partisans in our country is: (1) to clarify the thinking of, strengthen and broaden every segment of the peace front, with special emphasis on the working class and the Negro people; and (2) to coalesce and unite *all* peace forces into one powerful, centrally-coordinated peace front, including the many who are led or influenced by those who feel that the Soviet Union shares with the United States the responsibility for the war danger and armaments race. It would be an underestimation of the world character of the fight for peace if progressives failed to see the importance for the U.S.A. of the world-wide peace movement stimulated by the Paris Congress for Peace and did not work to establish ideological and organizational affinity with this main center of the world peace camp.

Unclarity on the role of the Soviet Union, reflected in church, pacifist, and some cultural and scientific circles, as well as within sections of the labor movement, is also in evidence among some individuals in the more progressive section of the organized anti-fascists. Pressures from the war-fomenters and the considerable confusion in the broad

ranks of many who yearn for a stable peace, have led a few who know better to echo some of the anti-Soviet slanders. Some do this in order to prove that they are not Communists or influenced by Communists.

But veterans of the progressive movement, who have withstood in recent years one assault after another from Red-baiters of every stripe, have learned that the objective of these divisive elements is to intimidate and blackmail progressives, to scare them away from courageous and consistent positions. The purpose today of the warmongers who insist that one must attack the Soviet foreign policy, if one is not to be labelled a Communist, is no different. Hydra-headed reaction has merely brought its tactic up-to-date. This is no time for any progressive to be shaken by the new onslaughts, no matter how crafty and violent they may be; for the peace forces—under militant leadership, and with a clear program—number millions among their supporters in every land.

Some progressives are honestly confused. Others perhaps feel, mistakenly, that if they make statements equating the Soviet Union and the United States in the responsibility for the war danger (which of course requires that one flies in the face of facts), then this will facilitate the coming together of all those who seek the road to peace. But this position of "a plague on both your houses" is wrong and harmful, and can only weaken the peace front.

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There is no better proof of this than the fact that the loudest applause for these concessions to the war-inciters comes from the very same groupings that are most vociferous in their support of the North Atlantic Pact, the Arms Aid program and the entire bipartisan war drive. The agents of Tito have precisely this fifth-column task of seeking out every soft spot in the peace front, of infecting it with doubts and vacillations and enmeshing it in webs of anti-Soviet fabrications, thus sapping away the energies of the rising peace movement.

The peace coalitions of Western Europe and Latin America prove to the hilt that a *correct* peace program can be and is being embraced by workers of many political parties, creeds or affiliations, and that millions in capitalist lands see the Soviet Union as the bulwark and bastion of the world forces for peace.

#### THE SOVIET UNION—BULWARK OF THE PEACE CAMP

The most clear-thinking members of the peace camp understand that the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies have an unassailable record for peace. Who has struggled consistently for the carrying out of the Potsdam agreement? What nations have been the advocates of disarmament, have fought to strengthen the United Nations, have called for a program of friendly East-West trade? What government spokesmen have

always emphasized and reiterated with limitless patience that the two social systems can co-exist in a world of lasting peace, given of course, the willingness for peaceful collaboration by the imperialist powers, whose ruling classes today conspire against the peace aspirations of the people.

This is understood by many millions who do not as yet understand that a Socialist country that has ended exploitation of man by man, that has ended the class basis of the jungle law of capitalist foreign policy, cannot possibly practice colonialism or be guilty of intervention into the internal affairs of sovereign nations. These millions respect and take courage from the peace program of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European People's Democracies, even though they may not yet fully understand all of the scientific reasons why war is the very antithesis of a Socialist nation's way of life, and that peaceful construction of an abundant life, while living at peace with its neighbors, is inherently characteristic of a Socialist nation.

Where in the Western world have there been great peace congresses of thousands of representatives, of citizens from every walk of life that have received the unstinted cooperation and support of their government—except in the Soviet Union and in the People's Democracies? It was only a few weeks ago when such a great peace congress was held in the Soviet Union, co-sponsored by the Central Council of Trade

Unions (which might very well serve as an example to the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods). But this Congress and its decisions were not only a public expression of the love and desire for peace on the part of Soviet citizens. In the U.S.S.R., the Soviet state—the government, and all its departments and government spokesmen—leads, participates in and encourages the struggle for peace.

It is these facts that make tens of millions throughout the world who are not yet adherents of socialist ideas, look with hope and inspiration to the Soviet Union for great assistance in the task of establishing a stable world peace.

#### THE PATH TOWARD A UNITED PEACE FRONT

For the Communists and the most advanced progressives, the fight for peace and the building of the people's democratic front calls for the most patient, flexible and unflagging efforts to unite with all honest partisans for peace. It means stubbornly seeking out the road that leads over to unity in action and in joint committees on partial issues, on single issues, and on comprehensive peace programs — in specific localities, among workers in specific industries, until these streams merge nationally and all-conclusively. It means strengthening every single segment of the peace front, particularly the working-class sector. It means build-

ing the unity of Negro and white in the combined struggle against the war-makers and the pro-fascists.

It also requires vigilance against and the ruthless exposure and combating of the Tito agents, and all other forces which consciously and dishonestly seek to befuddle, split, disorient, demoralize and paralyze the emerging peace movement.

The principles of the United Front have always meant that each of the participants may agree to disagree on matters on which there is no common view, thus reserving the right to think and speak out on matters on which they disagree. But there is recognition of the need to find common ground in the way of a program and particularly to link hands in joint action around issues on which at least limited unity can be achieved. The blunt truth is that without a maximum of unity on a minimum program, reaction can get the upper hand. Those who would continue to be leaders among the people will realize this classic truism and seek the outstretched hand of all who honestly seek world peace, or should be prepared to be pushed aside by the great mass of workers and peace-loving people who are determined to have a stable peace.

We hope that those who agree with the proposals—all or in part—of the report on American-Soviet relations issued by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) will realize that this concept of

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the united front is urgently required, if the peace forces are to be strong enough to enforce peace. The Quaker report calls for "discussion and constructive criticism."

There are many constructive proposals in the program for peace advanced in the Quaker report that have much in common with parts of the peace program of many other groups. While in disagreement with some of the fundamental analyses and some of the recommendations in the Quaker report, we Communists state that the important thing to emphasize in this critical hour are those proposals on which there can be unity. Millions of Americans can unite on such demands as:

1. Extend East-West trade; establish trade relations with the new China. End United States restrictions on normal trade with Eastern Europe.

2. No intervention in the internal life of another country; respect the sovereign will of each and every people.

3. Prohibit the production and use of atomic energy for war purposes; outlaw the atom bomb now and destroy existing stocks; reduce all armaments.

4. Establish the economic and political unity of a democratic, peace-loving Germany under Four-Power supervision, deciding all problems on the principle of unanimity.

5. Strengthen the United Nations and through the U.N. develop and

extend cooperation and the search for mutually satisfactory solutions of economic and social problems among member states. Convoke a conference of the big powers, particularly the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and adopt a pact for peace.

6. Use armament funds for public housing and social welfare.

7. Liquidate, and oppose the formation of, aggressive pacts and blocs.

8. Oppose rearmament of Western Europe and reactionary and fascist governments.

A number of these demands, and many others on which there can be unity in essence and even in language, are similar to those that appear in the Quaker recommendations. The program of the Quakers would be greatly strengthened if it showed clearly the urgent need of all peace-loving Americans to join hands in a common effort for peace.

#### ROLE OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

Of inestimable importance to the struggle for peace and the building of the people's democratic front is the role of the Progressive Party. Born in the struggle against the warmakers, its founders were urged on by the realization that when Truman became President "the men who hated Roosevelt moved in on Washington and the saboteurs of Roosevelt's policy came out of hiding."

Today, in the various municipal

and state elections, the candidates of the Progressive Party have put in the center of their program and campaign the fight for peace, the struggle against the bipartisan war program. This is best illustrated in the New York City elections in the candidacy for Mayor on the A.L.P. ticket of Vito Marcantonio, the number one fighter in Congress for peace, and in the A.L.P. endorsement of Ben Davis for re-election to the New York City Council.

The uneasy sleep of the war mongers is haunted by thoughts of the important 1950 elections, in which the Progressive Party and its peace program will play a more important role than ever. Currently, the unprincipled scribblers for the kept press, especially the reactionary Social-Democratic press, are stooping to new low levels even for them, to attempt to force the world peace figure of Henry Wallace into retirement from politics. Mr. Wallace has answered these shabby and barren tactics with the statement "I have never run away from a good fight. . . . I am staying in this one all the way." Tito agent Adamic, under State Department instructions, seeks with blandishments and guile to corral individual leaders of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, with an eye to 1950.

The lesser-evil mask of President Truman has slipped somewhat. The partisans of peace will strip this war mongering little Bonaparte of his threadbare cloak, and ever greater

peace-loving masses will rally under the banner of the peace party.

### BUILDING THE TRADE-UNION BASE

At this time I wish to single out before this meeting a few specific tasks which will help strengthen segments of the peace front and at the same time are crucial to the development of an effective, all-inclusive united peace front.

It has often been noted that a sorely felt need in the emerging American peace front is strong, active labor participation. The main obstacle preventing our labor movement from playing the historic role which labor is playing in almost every other major country in the world where there is a peace movement, has been Right-wing labor leaders, who dominate most of the councils of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the independent unions. Many of these gentlemen are tied to the war chariot of the big employers. When a Philip Murray says that the issues are not the wage demands of the workers, or the rights of the Negro people, or organization of the unorganized, or autonomy and democracy for the various C.I.O. affiliates, but that the issue is "Moscow or Washington," he not only does violence to the yearnings of his membership for a stable world peace, but inevitably betrays their economic and social interests as well. This has become graphically clear in recent weeks.

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local union officers of all unions, regardless of the attitudes of their top officials, have lost patience with the harmful policies of these labor recruiting sergeants for another world war, and have moved out on their own to rally the ranks of labor for the peace struggle.

In recent weeks there has emerged, as an outgrowth of an Open Letter against the war drive sent to President Truman by a number of Ohio rank-and-file trade-union leaders, the movement for the Labor Peace Conference to be held in Chicago on October 1. This movement has shown great promise because the organizers, realistically analyzing the sharp division in the top ranks of labor and seeing the polarization that has taken place in the high union councils, have convened a congress of labor of a grass-roots character. More than 2,500 local union officers and shop chairmen, stewards and committeemen have endorsed and are sponsoring the call.

Fraternal delegates have been invited from the trade-union movements abroad. A representative of the Arrangements Committee was sent to Mexico City to establish fraternal ties with the peace-loving workers of other lands. The Congress takes place, coincidentally, on the International Day of Struggle for Peace, October 2, which was proclaimed by the Continuations Committee of the Paris-Prague World Congress for Peace and endorsed by the Mexico City Peace Congress. It

was heartening news for all partisans of peace that tens of thousands of calls for the labor gathering were requested from every part of the country, indicating widespread rank-and-file interest in the Conference.

The front for peace in the U.S.A. will be fundamentally strengthened and invigorated by the emergence of this critically important Labor Peace Conference. It is to be hoped that the Conference will provide for a program of peace activities that will mobilize millions of workers for the peace movement and act as leading sector of the entire front.

#### SIGNIFICANT ROLE OF THE COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN- SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

One organization that emerges to the fore, with ever greater importance for the peace front at this time in view of some of the problems which I discussed earlier, is the Council of American-Soviet Friendship. This organization has done yeoman service, not only in bringing the facts to the American people about life in the Soviet Union and working for American-Soviet friendship, but in generating united peace activities, particularly against the North Atlantic Pact and the Arms Aid program.

With the mounting chorus of slanderous voices being raised against the Soviet Union, this organization is making an historic contribution to the American peace movement.

As V-J Day receded into history

and the Truman Administration and its bipartisan supporters betrayed the grand design of Franklin D. Roosevelt for Big-Three Unity and American-Soviet Friendship, some of the summer soldiers of democracy fell by the wayside. Apparently the sponsors' list of the Council was not exempt from defections. Nevertheless, the Council courageously spoke out at the height of the hysteria around the Kasenkina incident, and issued invaluable factual statements when the warmongering press was particularly rabid in its incitements against the Soviet Union in regard to the February 1948 victory over reaction in Czechoslovakia.

This has led in several communities to a renaissance of rank-and-file support for the program of this organization.

While of course we understand that the program of the Council is not one that duplicates that of the Communist Party, does not embrace or endorse a socialist program and is strictly and genuinely non-partisan politically, it certainly will be expected by friends of peace that American-Soviet friendship advocates, organized specifically for that purpose, should be among the first and most active in repelling the lies and baseless charges of the anti-Soviet camp.

Undoubtedly all progressives will give support to the conferences, tours, 32nd Anniversary meetings, and organization efforts of the American-Soviet Friendship Council now being announced in their mailings.

The 32nd Anniversary of the So-

cialist Revolution in the coming November takes on unprecedented importance for the genuine advocates of friendship between the American and the Soviet peoples. Certainly this year a perfunctory marking of the anniversary of the emergence of the Soviet Union could only reflect a failure to understand the overwhelming importance of working for friendship between our two nations. It would indicate failure to take into account the unrestrained grinding of the propaganda mills of the warmongers. No major American city can afford not to mark the Anniversary of the birth of the U.S.S.R. this November with appropriate gatherings.

#### GROWING ROLE OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Another organization of growing importance to the peace front is the Council on African Affairs, which, in addition to its program of aid to the colonial masses of Africa, has become the most important anti-imperialist organization among the Negro people. This is in part due, no doubt, to the courageous and inspiring leadership given to this organization by the world-loved peace champion, Paul Robeson. Robeson's historic declaration in Paris, in spite of the vituperation and abuse from the midget chorus of imperialist apologists, found a ringing response in the hearts and minds of hundreds of thousands of Negro and white workers. His detractors are doing

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their vilest but his voice has become a clarion call to the millions who yearn for peace. Unfortunately, this organization has until recently limited its main activities to the Eastern seaboard. But of late, the welcome news has been announced that the organization is undertaking to bring its program to many other major metropolitan centers. Certainly, the efforts of the Council on African Affairs merit the support of every peace advocate.

#### DEFEAT THE MILITARY AID PROGRAM!

As we Communists seek to build the United Front for peace and undertake to help strengthen every sector of the peace front, we are all confronted with the urgent challenge of the bipartisan proposal to re-arm Western Europe. The timetable for the passage of President Truman's arms appropriation bill was disrupted and temporarily stalled by the strong opposition sentiments in every corner of our land. The North Atlantic Pact was harder to sell than the Marshall Plan, and President Truman now finds the arms aid program even more difficult to sell.

Ever larger numbers of American people see no convincing reason for plundering the pockets of America's small taxpayers to re-arm reactionary monarchist and fascist governments in the anti-Soviet bloc. Many are asking why these dollars are not used to increase unemployment insurance

and public housing and health programs.

Truman, in his search for persuasive arguments, has made the interesting point that the arms aid program was intended to perform the same "service" as do arms for policemen within the United States. This analogy is more apt than even Mr. Truman realizes. For it is precisely the role of imperialist gendarme of the world, last-ditch fighter against social progress and world peace, that the bipartisan foreign policy aims at. Yes, there is a truly inextricable tie between the pistols of the state troopers and county deputy sheriffs at Peekskill and the arms which Truman would send to the monarchofascist government of Greece or to the whipped and desperate Chiang Kai-shek regime or to bloody Franco. Yes, there is a striking similarity between the tear-gas bombs and the blackjacks of the strikebreaking police used against the Bell strikers (Airflex), and the armaments being earmarked for Western Europe. The program of war and fascism domestically and internationally is one and the same program. The fight for peace and democracy is one and the same fight.

There is still a little time left to mount a more effective fight against the arms appropriation. The very fact that the House of Representatives voted a 50 percent cut in the appropriation registered some of the existing peace sentiment. The maneuvers of Senators Vandenberg and

Dulles, while dishonest and with momentary partisan motives, since they are certainly for much more than this down-payment on the arms program, also reflect a realization that the arms appropriation is not a popular measure. The peace forces in America must use every moment left to score a serious defeat for the cold-war policy.

#### TASKS BEFORE THE COMMUNISTS

In conclusion, comrades, our Communist Party clearly realizes that the struggle for peace is the single most important task in the building of a people's front against monopoly reaction. We Communists understand that the struggle for peace is at the same time the struggle for the rights of labor and of the Negro people. The struggle for democratic rights and the struggle to improve the living conditions of the people can be waged effectively only if they are fused with the fight for peace. Therefore, our branches and leading committees must unflinchingly explain to the non-Party masses that the maintenance of peace requires an active struggle, and that no struggle for the immediate needs of the people can be divorced from the struggle for peace.

The Communists must set an example in building the militant and united movement of the working class as the main condition for the successful struggle in defense of peace. It is particularly the Commu-

nists who bear the heavy responsibility in the ideological struggle for peace.

Our agitation and propaganda must be tireless in exposing and combating chauvinist nationalism, with which the warmongers are attempting to poison the minds of our people and particularly the youth. We must teach the masses from every platform and through the printed word the true essence of proletarian internationalism. As true patriots and proletarian internationalists, we have the proud task of teaching the truth about the role of the Soviet Union as the head and bulwark of the world camp for peace and democracy.

In an editorial in the June 15 issue of *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!* this responsibility was placed as follows:

If the Communist Parties are to defeat the enemy decisively on an ideological front they must treasure like the apple of their eye the purity of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook; they must not cede to the class enemy one single brick from the majestic and monolithic edifice of Marxism-Leninism; they must irreconcilably combat all theoretical distortions.

In giving ideological, political and organizational leadership to the peace forces of America, and in our unremitting effort to build the united front for peace, we can and must strengthen the influence and build the ranks of our Communist Party, the most consistent and courageous fighter for peace.

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# The Defense of the Party\*

by William Schneiderman

WE ARE NOW RAPIDLY approaching a crucial moment in the history of our Party, one that will test its qualities to the utmost. With the end of the trial nearly upon us, we have the two-fold task in the next few weeks of taking the most immediate, urgent steps in the mass campaign in defense of the Party, and at the same time preparing our Party for its tasks at the end of the trial, whatever its outcome. We approach the period ahead with realistic optimism in the ability of the Party to fulfill its tasks and with profound confidence in the ultimate decision of the American working class.

This Plenum has sounded the alarm against the growing fascist danger in the country, which is an accompaniment of the imperialist war drive. It is clear that the onslaught of reaction is undermining even the traditional forms of bourgeois democracy, a process that is symbolized by a Tom Clark replacing a Frank Murphy on the Supreme Court. As we warned, the trial of the Twelve was the signal that charged the political atmosphere of

the country with fascist violence, not only against the Communists, but against the democratic rights of all Americans.

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But this Plenum has also noted the growing resistance on every front against each and every aspect of the drive of reaction. It has made the keynote of its deliberations the organization of effective resistance to check and defeat the camp of war and fascism, through the development of a united front of struggle as the central feature of our mass work; in the economic struggles, in the fight for Negro rights, in the fight for peace, and in defense of democratic liberties, especially in defense of our Party's leaders.

What must be understood is that the character and scope of the struggle we and all progressive forces are able to conduct in the next few weeks can have an important bearing on the outcome of the trial. At this moment, when the very legal existence of our Party is at stake, it is the solemn responsibility of every one of us to leave no stone unturned for the all-out mobilization

\* Excerpts from a Report at the meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held September 16-18, 1949.

of the Party and all people who stand for the Bill of Rights in a campaign of mass pressure on Truman and McGrath to end this monstrous frame-up. And let us approach this task with the sense of urgency that it demands.

We must understand that the kind of fight we are able to develop will determine whether public indignation and mass opposition can stay the hand of the enemies of democracy who seek to outlaw the Party completely following the trial.

At this concluding stage of the trial, the main emphasis of mass pressure must be directed to Washington.

What we must seek to accomplish in the coming weeks, and after the trial, whatever the outcome, is to convince the broadest sections of the people that this trial strikes a blow at the civil liberties of all Americans. For, to place a political party and its doctrines on trial before the courts, instead of leaving judgment of its principles and program to the people, is a long step in the direction of thought-control and a police-state. The Party was not placed on trial for any single instance of an overt act, but for its beliefs, and "conspiracy to teach" its beliefs—a science of society that has been taught for a hundred years throughout the world, and outlawed only by reactionary Prussianism, Czarism, and fascism. How well the trial at Foley Square has demonstrated that it is

impossible to get a fair trial in the class courts of capitalism with their despicable use of stool-pigeons and provocateurs, with a class-biased judge and rigged jury system! Many unions have learned from bitter experience the meaning of this "justice."

The trial itself has already let loose a wave of fascist violence—anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-Communist, and anti-labor—of which Peekskill was the foulest product. The Truman Administration, responsible for launching this heresy trial, must take responsibility for Peekskill and every other fascist outrage which was encouraged and fomented by the hysteria whipped up around the trial. And we must also give bi-partisan "credit" to the role that Dewey played in the Peekskill events and since.

If the authors of this frame-up trial are allowed to go through with their pro-fascist intent, this will let loose new dangers for the entire American people. Reaction will try, by legal as well as extra-legal means, to outlaw the Party and any organization or individual that takes up the fight on any progressive issue in the people's interests. It will unleash a new drive against civil liberties and for repressive legislation; will revive the Mundt Bill and Hobbs Bill, and like legislation in the various states; and step up the deportation drive. It will thwart the drive for civil rights legislation for the

Negro people, and put the Dixiecrats in complete control. And it will create an atmosphere that will not only make the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law impossible, but will open the door for new and more drastic anti-labor legislation.

All this, however, will come about only if this reactionary drive meets no organized mass resistance. It can be beaten back if the masses see in this trial, not solely the issue of Communists on trial, but something that strikes at the fundamental rights of everyone. If we can make this clear to the great majority, then we can win the battle against the outlawing of our Party. We must so conduct the struggle that large masses of non-Communists will vigorously take the position that, while they may disagree with the Communist Party on this or that issue, they will fight for the civil rights of Communists to advocate their program.

With a few exceptions, we have up to now not been conducting that kind of fight on a broad united front basis. This, notwithstanding the fact that the assault on civil liberties is arousing ever-increasing alarm among broad sections of the people, and that big mass movements have developed which have won outstanding victories in the case of the Trenton Six, in the fight against the Ober Bill in Maryland, the Broyles Bill in Illinois, and the Tenny bills in California. Even the *New York Times* took note of this

wide-spread sentiment when it published an editorial on the provisions of the Mundt Bill, stating: "No matter how carefully drawn it may be, any bill that endeavors to strike at a political philosophy will almost inevitably be so broad in its terms as to infringe the basic liberty of freedom of thought that is, and we hope always will be, the American birthright." (The same could with consistency be said about the Smith Act, under which the indictments were made against our Party.) The *Journal* of the American Bar Association states editorially that the U.S. Constitution undoubtedly gives all citizens the right to advocate Communism if they so wish. Other leading newspapers have expressed similar opinions. Of course, while this shows some divisions in bourgeois ranks on the Mundt Bill, which can be utilized, it should not lull us into assuming that the danger of the Mundt Bill is over.

There is every possibility that the same broad movement can be developed around the defense of the Twelve and merged with the general fight for democratic rights. But this battle will not be won only as a defense fight. It is taking place in the midst of great economic struggles, and in the shadow of a developing economic crisis. It is taking place when in many cities and states elections are under way this fall, as well as preparations for the 1950 elections, with the attendant public

discussion of issues and the great opportunities for making these election campaigns, not only great public forums, but arenas for struggle around the vital domestic and foreign policy issues. This battle is taking place at a moment when the Negro people's movement has reached a new high point of political maturity in its struggle for liberation. And it is taking place as the fight for peace reaches new levels and embraces ever-greater masses.

In each of these fields of struggle, where great united front movements and coalitions are in the making, we must find that common bond which makes the defense of the Party's rights a part of their struggle. We must say to the workers in the steel and other industries: The same trusts that refuse wage-increases, that break strikes, and that put over the Taft-Hartley Act, are the ones that are behind the trial of the Twelve. We must say to the unemployed: The same forces that refuse you jobs or adequate relief are the ones that seek to outlaw the Party which led the first great unemployed movement. We must say to the Negro people: The white supremacists and Dixiecrats who enforce lynch law and Jim Crow are now trying to enforce "legal" lynch law against the Party that fights for Negro rights. And we must say to the masses that hate and fear war: The forces that are whipping up a war hysteria want to destroy the

Party that fights for peace.

Above all, the defense of our Party rests on our ability to give leadership in these struggles, of a higher quality than we have ever given before. And in participating in these struggles, we say that our Party, in the face of any and all attempts to outlaw it, in the face of any and all legal or extra-legal harassments, will continue its fighting vanguard role in behalf of the American working class and the American people. The fight for the legality of the Party remains our central task, and we will continue to take this fight to the masses.

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However, we must at the same time establish every necessary guarantee and take every measure that will steel the Party's fighting capacity and spirit, and adapt our organization with the greatest flexibility to new conditions. What we must accomplish in the shortest possible time is the organizational and ideological consolidation of the Party. This means applying to whatever circumstances may arise the basic concept of Party organization, as outlined in Comrade Winston's reports to the Convention and the last Plenum, in regard to methods of work and leadership, industrial concentration policy, and the relationship of the Party to mass work.

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the question of our cadres, not only at the top, but in the lower Party organizations. Comrades with fighting capacity and working-class roots must be brought forward. It is of the greatest importance that the leading cadres in the localities, sections, and clubs learn to develop the greatest initiative, political and organizational, without always having to wait for directives. We must fight against any business-as-usual attitude, on the one hand, or, on the other, against any defeatist attitudes that lead to retreat from the struggle, or sectarian approaches that narrow down the possibilities of involving the masses in the struggle.

We must sharpen our vigilance against the infiltration of enemy agents, provocateurs, and stool-pigeons. Although this warning has been issued before, there are instances of looseness and "tolerance" on this question among some Party members. I would add a warning that many Party members do not realize that there is a widespread use by the enemy of information given to psychiatrists.

But the infiltration of the enemy is not limited to their paid agents. It is also carried through by means of the ideology of the bourgeoisie. Against this ideology and against its carriers in our ranks we must wage an equally vigilant struggle.

We have already heard a report on the role and activity of the Tito gang, that counter-revolutionary con-

spiracy operating under the mask of "Communism" in the service of Anglo-American imperialism. We have seen how the Trotskyites tried to split the united front Bill of Rights Conference in New York, and succeeded in confusing some liberals who did not see the role of the Trotskyites as fascist police agents. And we see how the bourgeoisie uses Browder and the "Left" renegades in its efforts to disrupt the Party.

We know that the enemy, at a time of the sharpening danger of war and fascism, will try to destroy the Party, not only by assault from without, but by disruption from within. And we must therefore guard the unity of the Party and strengthen its discipline.

Above all, we must sharpen the struggle to hold true to the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party against all opportunist deviations from that line, Right or "Left."

The increased role of Social-Democratic and A.D.A. forces on the political scene demands that we step up our struggle against them as fronts for American imperialism in preparing the way for its program of war and fascism. But we must at the same time never forget that these forces have sowed deep illusions among the masses, that they have strong ties with the labor movement, and that it would be most harmful to adopt a sectarian approach to the masses influenced

by them. We must rely on a united front approach, and not on name-calling, in order to expose to the masses, on the basis of their own experiences, the true role of these helpmates of imperialism.

We have not yet completely overcome all the opportunist tendencies among the Left trade-union forces. Among these forces it is still necessary to fight against two main tendencies: 1) accommodation to the class-collaboration policies of the reformist trade-union leadership and avoidance of struggle against them; and, 2) sectarianism in the conduct of the struggle, which results, not in winning allies but in fighting alone.

The struggle against white chauvinism must continue to hold the central place given it in Comrade Perry's reports at the last Plenum and at this one. This struggle in our Party must be translated more speedily from its present ideological stage to the stage of consistent practical application in unfolding the struggle for Negro rights. We must devote special attention to the struggle for jobs through the trade unions, a struggle which has been held back by the effects of white chauvinism on many trade-union comrades and by our failure to wage this struggle more effectively.

Our fight on the ideological front must aim to instill a higher Party consciousness in all our members, and especially among the Party activists, because only this will guar-

antee that they will respond to and fulfill the greater and more rigorous demands that will be made upon every Party member.

Above all, we must master the application of the tactic of the united front as the central feature of our mass work. Comrade Dennis' exposition of our united front coalition policy, in his speech at the Party Anniversary rally in Madison Square Garden, should be our guide in building the united front, especially in the fall elections and in the preparations for the 1950 election campaign. This means, first of all, promoting the united front of the working class and advancing the leadership of the working class in the broader, people's coalition against war and fascism. It means achieving unity of struggle with all possible forces on any single issue, on a small or large scale, despite differences on other issues and on larger political questions. It means, primarily, the development of unity of action from below. Such an approach creates the basis for developing the struggle on higher levels and opens up great opportunities for generating mass movements and struggles that can go over to the counter-offensive against reaction, merging with the advance of the forces of democracy and peace on a world scale.

The magnificent defense conducted by our Party leadership at the trial confirms the fact that the

Communist Party is the most consistent defender of the democratic rights and liberties of the American people. It has demonstrated anew that the Party teaches and advocates, not force and violence, but principles in keeping with the most advanced thought and aspirations of mankind and with the best American revolutionary traditions. It has shown that all the efforts, all the energies of our Party have been devoted to the

struggle to beat back the threat of war and fascism, precisely because ours is the Party of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Socialism.

Such a Party can never be destroyed. Imbued with this spirit, we can fulfill our tasks honorably. With our roots deep in the working class, with the closest ties to the American people, we will fight and we will win.

## Wall Street "Optimism" and The Developing Crisis\*

by Alexander Bittelman

DESPITE THE seasonal pick-up in industrial production and employment during August, there is no indication whatever of a reversal of the main economic trend, which is a developing economic crisis. Moreover, all major factors in the internal and external position of American capitalism at the present time point to the continuing development and deepening of the crisis and to the approach of an economic crash of catastrophic proportions. This confirms fully the analysis of the economic situation adopted by the April Plenum of our National Committee.

We must first note the extent of the decline of industrial production since November 1948. For the eight months of the developing crisis industrial production dropped nearly 17 percent from 195 to 162 (taking 1935-1939 as 100)—one of the sharpest drops for any comparable period in the history of economic crises in the United States. This can be seen by the following facts. From 1929 to 1930 the monthly average of industrial production declined 17 per-

cent, which is a slower rate of decline than the present one. And this is not changed by the fact that the rate of decline from 1930 to 1931 and 1932 became faster and more precipitous. In the crisis of 1937-38, the monthly average of industrial production for the first 12 months declined 21 percent, which is not much faster than the rate of 17 percent for the first eight months of the present economic crisis.

Very important is the fact that production of steel dropped 28.6 percent from November 1948 to July 1949, and 30 percent from March to July 1949. Despite the August pick-up, steel production in that month was 18.4 percent below November 1948, and 20 percent below March 1949.

We must note, secondly, the rapid rate of growth of mass unemployment during the first eight months of the developing economic crisis. According to the figures of the Census Bureau, unemployment increased from 1,831,000 in November 1948, to 4,095,000 in July 1949, a growth of 123 percent. This is a very sharp rate of growth. And while the absolute official figures are doctored to

\* A Report delivered at the meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held September 16-18, 1949.

suit the official "optimism" (actually unemployment in November was closer to 3 million and in July it went much beyond 6 million), the indicated official rate of increase is more or less correct.

It is significant that the developing economic crisis assumed these extensive proportions (a 17 percent drop in industrial production and a 123 percent rise in unemployment) notwithstanding the fact that expenditures by government, much of them for war preparations, were continuously on the increase. Total government expenditures (Federal, State and local) were running at an annual rate of 35.9 billion dollars in June 1948, 39.2 billion in September, 40.3 billion in December, 42.1 billion in March 1949, and 43.1 billion in June 1949—an increase in the annual rate of government expenditure of 20 percent (*Survey of Current Business*, August 1949, p. S-1).

Now, as to the pick-up in August. During that month industrial production, according to preliminary estimates of the Federal Reserve Board, rose about 4 percent, bringing the figure up to the June index number of 169. And the Census Bureau reports a rise of total civilian employment from 59,720,000 to 59,947,000, an increase of 222,000, which is obviously insignificant.

But government spokesmen, especially secretaries Snyder, Sawyer and Tobin, seek to create the impression that these figures indicate a

turning point and the approach of a new upward swing. This they pretend to see particularly in the fact that non-agricultural employment in August rose 1,368,000 above July, which they interpret as the beginning of a new upward swing in industrial production. Yet even Dr. Nourse, Chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, rejects these fantastic interpretations. Replying to questions by reporters, he said "he did not believe the process of 'disinflation' had been completed." He said "the country now was experiencing the normal seasonal upturn and the question was whether the trend would continue normal, go above normal, or fall below that level" (*New York Times*, September 9, 1949).

As to the course of unemployment, even the Census Bureau can report only an insignificant decrease of total unemployment (a little over 200,000) while admitting the existence of large numbers of part-time workers, employed for from several hours to a couple of days per week, and that the number of these has doubled since last year.

The August pick-up is primarily seasonal, taking place in several consumer goods industries (textile, shoe, furniture, clothing, refrigerators, paper, etc.) as well as in steel. It is the belief of many capitalist interpreters that the August rise in steel production, for example, may have been caused by the fears of a steel strike

and the consequent spurt of steel orders. The seasonal and very limited nature of the pick-up in August can be seen from the continuing serious declines in a number of crucial sectors of the economy.

Carloadings, for example, in the week ending August 27—the pick-up month—were 16.2 percent below the like week of 1948 and 19.3 percent below the corresponding period in 1947. And for September the figures are: the week ending September 3 was 5.8 percent below the preceding week and 21.4 percent below last year; the week ending September 10 was 11.3 percent below the preceding week and 20.9 percent below last year (*Wall Street Journal*, September 2, *New York Times*, September 10, and *New York World-Telegram*, September 15).

Very revealing is the course of the construction industry. Total construction in August was only 3 percent above July and 2 percent under last year, which is not much of a pick-up. More important is the fact that *industrial* building showed no advance and that Federal and state building is mainly responsible for holding up the rate of construction (*Wall Street Journal*, September 6). This explains the fact that the shipment of plumbing fixtures in the second quarter of this year was 3 percent below the first quarter and 23 percent below 1948 (*Wall Street Journal*, September 7). This shows again that private construction, both

residential and industrial, is sharply below that of last year.

There is a continuing decline in mass purchasing power. Payrolls in manufacturing have decreased at least 15 percent since November 2, and the intensity of capitalist exploitation, including the terrific growth of speed-up, is mounting. It is clear that the existence of an army of nearly six million totally unemployed and more than twice that number of partly employed will continue to limit and undermine the capacity of the masses to buy the necessary means of existence. Their standards of living are being driven down.

Similarly with the purchasing power of the masses of working farmers. According to estimates of the Department of Agriculture, farmers' cash receipts from marketing in August were 18 percent below last year. Receipts for September were forecast also at about 18 percent below last year. Farm receipts for the first nine months of 1949 are expected to be about 11 percent below the corresponding period of last year (*New York Times*, September 14). This most certainly means a devastating rate of decline in the income and purchasing power of the small and working farmers, taking place in the face of the *maturing of a deep agrarian crisis of overproduction*. At the same time, monopoly profits show no significant declines and in spots continue to rise.

The struggle for markets has grown considerably more acute since the economic analysis of the April Plenum of our National Committee. The sharp drop of U.S. exports in July—18 percent below June and 12 percent below July last year—is indicative of the sharpening imperialist rivalries for world markets and of the deteriorating economic situation in all capitalist countries. The sharp decline in U.S. imports in July—19 percent below the monthly average for the first six months of this year and 19 percent below July last year resulting from the developing economic crisis in this country, is seriously aggravating the economic situation in the other capitalist countries. This is so especially for the economic situation in England and in the British empire (*Wall Street Journal*, September 2, 1949). The inevitable effect of these developments is, in their turn, to create conditions for the further development and deepening of the economic crisis in the United States.

The fact is that all other capitalist countries, especially England, are on the verge of the outbreak of an economic crisis which is impending in the capitalist world economy. Contrast to this, the magnificent growth of the Socialist economy of the Soviet Union and of the socialist-transitional economies of the European People's Democracies. The further development of the Marshall Plan, which has proved its complete bank-

ruptcy as a means of "economic recovery" of Western Europe and as a means of preventing the developing economic crisis in the U.S., has created new contradictions between American imperialism and the Marshall Plan countries, chiefly between American and British imperialism, as well as between the Marshall Plan countries themselves. The now planned rearmament of Western Europe, flowing from the North Atlantic war pact, is aggravating further the economic condition of Western Europe. For the United States, the stepped up armament program and war preparations at home and abroad may for a time continue to retard the rate of development of the economic crisis. And it is beyond doubt that this program of armaments and war preparations is creating conditions for an economic crash of catastrophe proportions, as analyzed by the April Plenum.

The current Washington negotiations between the U.S., Britain and Canada, to find an imperialist way out of the deteriorating economic position of Britain, of the developing economic crisis in the U.S. and of the impending economic crisis in all capitalist countries, reveal daily the acute state of the sharpening imperialist contradictions, as well as the determination of American imperialism to make other peoples, in addition to the masses of the American people, pay the cost of the developing crisis and the coming crash.

It is certain that these negotiations can produce nothing to stop the developing crisis in the U.S. or to prevent the imminent outbreak of an economic crisis in the other capitalist countries, especially England. What these negotiations can and may produce is sharper attacks by the imperialists of all countries upon the standards of living and upon the civil rights of the working class and of the masses of the people. They can and may produce a sharper war danger and more intense war preparations by Wall Street imperialism and its allies. They can and will produce a further sharpening of the basic Anglo-American imperialist contradictions covered perhaps by certain temporary and transitory agreements. From an economic standpoint, all of this can only add up to new conditions for the further development of the economic crisis in the United States and for the coming of an economic crash of catastrophic proportions.

And this is exactly what the Washington talks are beginning to produce. The American government has compelled the British government to devalue the pound. Thus American imperialism scored a significant victory over British imperialism, a victory which opens to the Wall Street monopolies new avenues of economic and political conquests in the British empire and in the so-called "sterling bloc." Thus also conditions are being created for an intense sharpening of

all Anglo-American imperialist contradictions, for a much sharper struggle for markets among the United States and the Marshallized countries, as well as between these countries themselves. Finally, as in all such situations, tendencies will increase in the imperialist camp to try to solve these sharpened contradictions at the expense of the non-imperialist and anti-imperialist camp (the Soviet Union, the New Democracies, the new China, the colonial countries, the smaller nations, the masses of the capitalist countries, etc.) and on the path of preparing a new world war.

But what will all this do to the developing economic crisis in the United States and to the oncoming economic crisis in all capitalist countries? The first and most immediate effect of the currency devaluations (pound, franc, etc.) is to materially worsen the economic conditions of the masses in all these countries. For the workers and all toilers of these lands devaluation spells wage cuts, higher cost of living, lower income, lower standards of living, lower purchasing power. This spells a more rapid advance of the economic crisis. Hence, United States exports to these countries will decrease at a more rapid tempo. Hence, a deepening of the economic crisis in the United States.

Secondly, these currency devaluations are being followed by a more intense struggle of England and the

other Marshallized countries for the *American market*. And a sharpening competition in the American home market between foreign and American goods, *under the conditions of a developing cyclical economic crisis* must have the effect of deepening and hastening the rate of development of this crisis.

Thirdly, the devaluation of the pound and other capitalist currencies, dictated by Wall Street, is only part of a much larger American imperialist scheme. It is the scheme of driving down the living standards of the workers in the Marshallized countries and also of the workers in the United States. Thus the determination of the Wall Street monopolies to cheat American labor of the so-called "fourth round" of wage increases and to whittle down the pension and insurance demands is part of the same Wall Street scheme which produced the devaluation of the pound and the other currencies: make the masses pay for the economic crisis. And it is obvious that these Wall Street policies to cut down the purchasing power of the masses in the United States are deepening and aggravating the course of the developing economic crisis in this country.

Murray, Reuther and Co. have adopted as their own the recommendations of Truman's fact finding board in the steel industry—the recommendation outlawing wage increases and hampering the fight for pensions and insurance. In doing so,

Murray & Co. have not only betrayed the current economic demands of the workers of their own union and of the American working class as a whole. These Wall Street lieutenants have also assumed responsibility for the further development and deepening of the economic crisis in the United States and for the oncoming economic crisis in all capitalist countries. Furthermore, Murray & Co. have also assumed responsibility for the longer range plans of Wall Street—*the plans to drive down the living standards of American labor; the plans to eradicate even the tradition of a higher American standard of living as they seek to eradicate the revolutionary and democratic traditions of the American people; and the plans for low wages, long hours and intense speed-up.*

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This means that the program for meeting the developing economic crisis, for protecting the working class and the masses of the people from the consequences of the crisis and for resisting the drive of the monopolies to make the people carry the main burden of the crisis—the program adopted by the April Plenum—retains full force and must be brought into more active operation in the daily mass work of all Communists and Communist Party organizations. It is the program which says:

a) Protect the living standards of

the masses of the people. Make the monopolies pay the cost of the economic crisis.

b) End the "cold war." For a peace pact between the United States and the Soviet Union.

c) Defend the democratic liberties of the American people. Defend the Bill of Rights against the attacks of monopoly reaction.

d) For the unity of labor. For the unity of the American working class with the workers of all countries.

e) For the equal rights of the Negro people. Full support to the struggles of the Negro people for national liberation. For the equal rights of the masses of the national groups.

\* \* \*

In conclusion, let us note a certain change in the nature of Big Business propaganda about the economic situation. The first public reaction of Big Business to the economic decline was "pessimistic." It was the purpose to impress labor and the people generally that with business on the decline, and with prospects uncertain, wage increases and other material improvements were impossible. Now the attitude has changed to conditional "optimism." The idea is to impress the masses that the business decline is coming to an end, that the

outlook is good, but that the only uncertainty are the demands of the workers for wage increases, pensions, insurance, etc.

Edwin G. Nourse issued a "warning" that labor disputes may spoil the present "cheerful picture." The *New York Herald Tribune* argues that "In the highly competitive market of today [?] . . . crippling increases in labor costs must be avoided or cutbacks in employment and production are virtually certain to ensue" (September 10).

The nature of Big Business economic propaganda varies, but the objective is the same. It is to cheat labor of vitally needed wage increases, health insurance, pensions, etc. It is therefore of major importance to clarify before the masses the true economic situation, to expose the treacherous game of the reactionary trade-union leaders and to help mobilize the fighting capacity of the workers for a successful struggle for wage increases, pensions, health insurance and other improvements. At the same time, much more attention than heretofore must be given to defending the interests of the unemployed, especially to combat the discriminations against Negro workers, and to promote the fight for the entire program of the Party to meet the developing economic crisis.

# Next Stage in the Struggle For Negro Rights\*

by Pettis Perry

AT THE April 1949 Plenum of the National Committee of our Party we noted that the intensified drive of American imperialism toward war and world domination was simultaneously heightening the atmosphere of chauvinist ideology and increasing the bestial attacks on the Negro people. This estimate has been more than confirmed by events since that time.

Witness, for instance, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan terror against the Negro people. In New Orleans, constant beatings and arrests are inflicted upon the Negro people who show a desire to exercise their "Constitutional rights" to vote, and in New York City hardly a month goes by without one or more outright killings of Negroes by police.

Of course, the most dramatic episode in the whole sphere of violence against the Negro people and the democratic masses of America generally occurred at Peekskill. The Peekskill incident has demonstrated in an unmistakable manner to the great majority of the American peo-

ple that reaction is driving hell-bent for the establishment of fascism in our country. Peekskill has created great alarm and indignation among the masses of Negro people. They see Peekskill as a real threat to their own well-being and to that of all liberty-loving people. It is not accidental that the entire Negro press from one end of the country to the other has reacted and continues to react in a very determined manner to this terror.

Ever-growing sections of the Negro people are taking a stand against it, and even though many of them are not yet ready to support Paul Robeson's advanced anti-imperialist stand, they are solidly determined that his right to be heard must be maintained at all costs. One of the sharpest reactions to this Peekskill outrage was expressed by the conservative *St. Louis American*, a Negro paper, in its editorial of September 8. The editorial says:

. . . But the plight now transcends Robeson and overshadows the press—our whole American Bill of Rights, which guarantees protection "for those whom we dislike and bitterly disagree

\* A Report delivered at the meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held September 16-18, 1949.

with" is in danger of being toppled— not by the Communists, but BY THOSE WHO CLOAK THEMSELVES WITH THE CRY THAT THEY ARE FIGHTING COMMUNISM AND HAVE A RIGHT TO ACT AS HOODLUMS. LYNCHERS, STORM TROOPERS WITH THE KU KLUX KLAN! . . . That is also the pattern by which Hitler and his bunch came into power. We now seriously ask: IS IT HAPPENING HERE NOW?

There is an increasing understanding on the part of the overwhelming majority of the Negro people that the reactionaries, in their attack against Robeson, are striking at the very heart of the main desires and aspirations of the Negro people.

These attacks are coupled with the developing economic crisis, which is falling with double impact upon the Negro people. This was made clear in Comrade John Williamson's article in the June issue of *Political Affairs*,\* which points statistically to a rapid decline in the economic conditions of the Negro masses. Negroes are rapidly being eliminated from industry after industry. In some states this process has practically been completed. This is true in California. It is also true in such states as Connecticut, where, for example, in a certain General Electric plant that employed about 1,500 Negroes during the war and about 400 or 500 a year ago, only about a dozen are

working at the present time. This fact speaks volumes about the plight of the Negro people.

The growing unemployment among the Negro people affects the entire Negro population. That means that Negro middle-class and small-business people are facing the immediate danger of being wiped out. Negro business is based on the existing Jim-Crow market, and is dependent almost entirely upon the Negro community. Therefore, the deepening crisis is bound to affect all strata of the Negro population, including the Negro professional and small-business people. And while we must keep in mind that the problem of the Negro workers is the main and decisive problem of the Negro people, yet it must not be forgotten that the plight of the Negro middle class, both upper and lower, creates real possibilities for united struggle on the economic front and on the front of civil and democratic rights.

#### THE RISING TIDE OF STRUGGLE OF THE NEGRO MASSES

What is the reaction of the Negro masses to the growing ferocity of these attacks on their economic conditions and civil rights? Are they taking these attacks in a passive manner, waiting and hoping that the imperialist bourgeoisie will undergo a change of heart and solve their problems for them? No! This is not the main trend current among any section of the Negro population.

\* "Defend and Extend the Rights of Negro Workers."

The Negro masses are depending upon their forces and those of their allies to change the situation.

This is clearly seen in a whole number of states. In Birmingham, Alabama, this is shown by a mass movement, first initiated by the Negro property owners, ministers, lawyers, teachers, etc., in united struggle against the attempt of the Klan to drive them out of certain neighborhoods. It is seen in Chicago in the rising mass movement, supported by white progressives, against the bombings of the homes of Negro people.

This is seen in Florida, where the Negro masses, despite the terror unleashed by the Klan in that state, have joined with the white progressives in an attempt to defend the Groveland victims framed up and sentenced by the Florida authorities; young Charlie Greenleaf, who is only 16 years old, was given life imprisonment, while Samuel Shephard and Walter Irwin were sentenced to die in the electric chair—all on the usual lying charge of "rape." Their N.A.A.C.P. attorneys, Franklyn H. Williams and Horace E. Hill, had to run for their lives immediately after the jury pronounced the verdict.

The mood of militant resistance of the Negro people can be seen in North Carolina, where a rising movement is developing around the defense of the Daniel cousins. This movement is beginning now to embrace the general fight against police

brutality and the ever deepening unemployment situation.

There is developing in Louisiana and many other parts of the South a very broad movement for the right to vote. This movement is being met with extreme terror—to such an extent that in the first seven months of this year there were 13 cases of extreme police brutality, including two murders engineered by the police in their attempt to drown the Negro people's struggle in blood. But this terror is being confronted in Louisiana by the emergence of a broad movement in New Orleans for civil rights and against police violence.

One of the broadest movements in the entire country is developing in Cleveland. This movement has already united between 20 and 30 of the most important organizations in that city against the "loyalty" oath and Truman's purges of Federal employees in that area. This development will undoubtedly have wide repercussions among Negroes, who are bearing the main brunt of Truman's "loyalty" oath purges. There is hardly any place in the Federal government service where discrimination and Jim-Crow in employment have not reached them.

One might mention, also, the tremendous upsurge of the Negro people in New York around the Peekskill attack, as witness the recent Golden Gate mass rally in Harlem, and a whole series of similar developments throughout New York

—developments which are now beginning to move a broad segment of the population into militant activities to defend the rights of the Negro people and the democratic rights of all people. The fact that Comrade Ben Davis has been a part of this entire development makes it understandable how the people, especially the Negro people, more and more are beginning to view Ben Davis as a symbol of the aims and aspirations of the Negro people. This development will undoubtedly have a very positive effect on the outcome of the Ben Davis election.

The National Convention of the N.A.A.C.P. reflected the growing upsurges to a much greater extent than at previous conventions. The militancy of the membership, breaking through all the traditional red tape, established a broader basis and greater possibilities for the progressives to fight through on a local level on issues and on a program without being hamstrung by the national office. The last convention showed that the Negro reformist and pro-imperialist elements had to give heed to the rising clamor and demands of the membership for a serious fight for civil rights and a struggle for the economic well-being and political rights of the Negro people. The convention adopted a more advanced position for political action than previously, including a campaign to register one million Negro voters in the South.

The National Convention of the

Elks, just concluded, voiced a conviction that the United Nations was defense of the Daniel cousins. This peace, if the nations of the world made the attempt to weld the United Nations into such an instrument. This peace sentiment was dramatically expressed in a mass march of over 10,000 people from the convention hall to the site where the United Nations was founded, symbolizing the growing concern of the Negro people for the cause of world peace and security.

What do these various movements express? They reflect the ferment taking place among the Negro masses in struggling for their liberation, in resisting the pressure and attacks of the pro-fascist forces in the United States. As already indicated, these movements are characterized by their varied and diversified forms of activity. They are, however, mainly limited at this point to one issue—the question of civil rights.

#### THE DANGER OF NEGRO REFORMISM

In the present situation, Negro reformism is becoming an especially serious menace within the Negro movement. The role of the Negro reformists is to hold back the struggle of the Negro masses at all costs, to try to dull and deflect this struggle and prevent it from landing any significant blows against American imperialism. This is seen in the role of such forces as Walter White, who claims to have discovered a new

method to de-color the Negroes by changing their complexion through chemical processes. Thus, the Negro question would be solved by a new coat of paint, as it were, in the process of which the "peace and quiet" of American imperialism would not be disturbed in the least by the Negro masses. This menace of reformism is to be seen further in certain currents present within the leading council of N.A.A.C.P., currents oriented on the line of preventing or attempting to prevent at all costs unity between the N.A.A.C.P. membership with the Left-progressive elements in the unions and other people's organizations.

There is every possibility that as the struggle sharpens A. Phillip Randolph will come out of hiding, where he has been during the last year, ever since his betrayal of the Negro masses in their struggle against Jim-Crow in the army. The re-emergence of Randolph will undoubtedly constitute an attempt to contain and confine the Negro movement and its fight for jobs to a purely legislative fight for an F.E.P.C., this so-called fight to be carried on by lobbying on the part of Mr. Randolph, with an occasional prophetic speech whose objective would be to prevent a united mass struggle on the part of the Negro people and their allies.

One of the most confirmed reformists is Horace Cayton, columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier*. As regards Peekskill, his line was

wholly consistent with the line of the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, in its issue of September 10, showed by eye-witness accounts that this was a violent attack against the Negro people and all anti-fascist forces; yet Cayton comes to this conclusion:

. . . many Negroes have fear of retaliation. The tragic part of the entire matter is that it is not and should not be considered a racial matter. It is a question of America's attitude toward the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. . . .

This is a denial of the fascist-like character of the Peekskill attack. It is a denial of the national oppression of the Negro people. It is a denial of the special feature of the Negro question. Cayton pretends to condemn the attacks against Paul Robeson and his supporters, yet he comes to the strange conclusion that Peekskill had no special significance for the Negro people, that this was purely an anti-Communist and anti-Soviet outburst. So, on the one hand, Cayton in his column appears to voice his indignation at the mobsters, and, on the other hand, his indignation against the masses who were struggling against mob violence. This is typical of the role of Negro reformism at the present time.

Some of these flunkies of imperialism are bought with the crumbs that fall from the table of capitalism. Other elements in the camp of the reformists are capti-

lators to the pressures of capitalism. Our Negro comrades have a special responsibility to unmask these scoundrels in the eyes of the Negro masses.

It is not for nothing that during the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, when the petty bourgeoisie showed its true stripes as vacillators, Marx had this to say about them:

Lacking faith in themselves, lacking faith in the people, grumbling at those above, and trembling in face of those below . . . dreading a world-wide storm . . . nowhere with energy, everywhere with plagiarism . . . without initiative . . . —a miserable old man, doomed to guide in his own senile interests the first youthful impulses of a young and vigorous people. . . .

This gives a true and clear picture of certain Negro reformist elements today.

In the unfolding of the Negro movement, it is imperative that our Negro comrades raise high the banner of struggle against Negro reformists. The central task, which devolves upon our white comrades, is systematically to carry on the struggle against white chauvinist ideology. The fight now against white chauvinism, on the one hand, and Negro petty-bourgeois nationalism, on the other, is an indispensable task for uniting the Negro people and the white workers. Without this two-front struggle in the present period, no such unity is possible.

#### RESULTS AND LESSONS OF THE PARTY'S STRUGGLE AGAINST CHAUVINISM

What did we learn in our recent struggle against white chauvinism? We learned that the ideology of large sections of the Party was under the poisonous influence of white chauvinism.

We learned that it is impossible for our Party to conduct a militant class struggle on any question without a heightened understanding of the Negro question.

We learned that the fight against white chauvinism cannot be successfully carried out unless the ideological struggle is tied to the mass struggle for Negro rights.

While it is incorrect to state that the fight has been only ideological, what must be said is that we have made more headway on the ideological front than in unfolding mass struggle for Negro rights. Thus, the fight is quite uneven. This must be changed. It must also be said that without this ideological struggle against white chauvinism in the past period we would not have the mobility and militancy in the Party on the Negro question that we have at the present time.

The main weakness we must register today is the lack of a serious and sustained fight for jobs within the shops and industries. As yet there is no significant mass movement that we know of within any shops or industries around the burn-

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ing issues confronting the Negro workers, even though it is conceded that the Negro workers are hardest hit by the developing crisis. Another main weakness at the present time in the struggle against white chauvinism is our failure to take this struggle out among the white masses either in industry or in the community.

All of this does not mean, however, that we have won the fight on the ideological front and have failed on the mass front. It would be a serious error to draw that conclusion, because we still have a long way to go on the ideological front.

The action of the Food, Tobacco and Agriculture Workers' Union in publicly calling upon all of its white officials and members to re-examine their whole ideology on the Negro question, with the view to eliminating all influences of white chauvinism and strengthening the possibilities of developing unity among the Negro masses, is something that all of the Left-progressive unions should emulate. A step of this kind would greatly influence large sections of the labor movement.

We have some comrades, even at this late date, saying that their contributions to the fight against white chauvinism will be to remain silent on this question, because otherwise they might be discovered as harboring white chauvinist tendencies. It should be pointed out to these comrades that to keep quiet is no solution to their lack of understanding

of this question, nor is it any service to the Party. Hence it would be better for these comrades to participate both in the discussions and the struggle against white chauvinism. Only in this way will the Party be able to help them clarify their understanding and strengthen their fighting capacity.

Other comrades regard this struggle as a kind of "hysteria" rather than a political warfare against imperialist ideology, against one of the main ideological weapons of the white ruling class. Certain comrades still fail to see that there can be no successful fight for peace, no successful anti-fascist, anti-imperialist coalition, without the most intense struggle against white chauvinism. These comrades do not understand that without such a struggle and successful fight, there can be no effective, militant labor movement in America.

Thus we are forced to the conclusion that we must still teach our comrades that the question of national liberation is a bed rock in the struggle for socialism. Be it said, therefore, for those comrades who want to remain silent on this question, that we will not always base ourselves on what they say but very often on what they don't say—and especially on what they do or fail to do on this question.

To summarize this point, the following task confronts us. We must take the ideological and political struggle against white chauvinism

out among the broad, non-Party masses of the whites, especially the white workers. We must link it up very concretely with mobilizing the non-Party white masses in the struggle for Negro rights. We must intensify our efforts to overcome completely the ideological weaknesses in the struggle against white chauvinism in our own ranks, concretely and energetically. We must give special attention to the fulfillment of these tasks in the South.

#### IMMEDIATE TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

The reactionary forces of the South openly state that the Negroes must be disfranchised as the major method to assure the rule of the Southern Bourbons.

The Dixiecrats, in their 1948 Handbook, say:

... Negro voting means Negro rule in some of the finest sections of the South because the Negroes outnumber the whites in those sections sometimes as much as ten to one. . . .

The key to breaking the rule of the Southern Bourbons is to unleash on a mass scale a movement of the Negro masses of the South, united with white workers and poor farmers, North and South. Such a mass movement would be a valuable contribution to the whole progressive and democratic movement of the country.

How are we to stimulate and encourage the broadest and most ef-

fective movement among the Negro people?

In order to realize this great historic task we must give full support to the aspirations of the Negro people for representation in higher office, especially in the South. That means encouraging Negroes to run, not only for election to the city council and state legislature, but for such posts as sheriff, judge, district attorney, and for the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. In such states as Mississippi and South Carolina, where the Negro population is almost 50 percent of the total population, Negro people's candidates should be encouraged to run for the office of secretary of state and even for governor. And we should expect the maximum amount of support from the white progressive forces around such candidates.

Progressive forces in such places as Memphis and Birmingham, where Negroes constitute well over 40 percent of the population, should develop movements aimed at putting forward Negro candidates for mayor, city attorneys, etc.

In the North, there are still too few states with Negro Congressmen. There are still an insufficient number of cities with Negro city councilmen. In all of the areas with large Negro populations, the Party districts should use every opportunity to fight for Negro representation in the Supreme Courts of their respective States.

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Such an approach would help to stimulate the movements in the South that are already taking place around the question of the right to vote. It would stimulate the developing movements among sections of the Negro people in the South who are aspiring to win Negro representation in political office.

Above all, this approach would help to broaden the concept of local self-government in the Black Belt, and would give an impetus to the practical struggle for the realization of the right of self-determination.

We must develop the intense campaign for Negroes to be on the U.S. Supreme Court. The vacancy left by the death of Justice Wiley Rutledge should be filled by a Negro: this must become the demand of the whole progressive movement and the basis for an intensive campaign.

In this connection, the campaign for the re-election of Comrade Davis should be viewed in a new light. All support must be given to the building of a National Citizens Committee for the re-election of Councilman Davis in every district. The broadest number of Negro leaders, trade-union leaders and prominent white progressives should be gotten to become a part of this committee. It is extremely important that all districts work for the sending into New York of Negro and white leaders who would speak in behalf of Comrade Davis. This would dramatize our approach to Comrade Davis's re-election and would serve

as an important factor to weld the unity of the progressive forces and the Negro people.

Despite the attacks of the bourgeoisie in the past period, it is clear that the masses are moving ahead, with some partial successes. The victory in the case of the Trenton Six, with a new trial won despite the opposition of the State of New Jersey, is very important. The tremendous enthusiasm that the new Ingram Committee is developing among the Negro masses is also encouraging. After a delegation went to Georgia to visit Mrs. Ingram, the Negro people and their allies are taking on new hope, and the delegation to the United Nations during this month will further inspire them to strike new blows against the fascist and pro-fascist forces in our country. Still, the Trenton Six case, as well as the Ingram case, must receive much more support from the labor and progressive movements than they have received to date.

The movement in Los Angeles to win jobs for Negro workers has forced four banks, including the Bank of America, to hire Negro cashiers and tellers. This is of national significance, and the campaign should be emulated throughout the country.

This raises the question of building the Civil Rights Congress into a broad movement for democratic rights, a movement which will effectively meet the attacks of the Ku Klux Klan and other pro-fascist

forces such as we witnessed in Peekskill. With strong support of all forces, the C.R.C. can play this role. In the past period, the C.R.C. has made outstanding contributions in the fight for Negro rights, especially in the fight against police brutality, as was dramatically portrayed in the Trenton Six case. The C.R.C. can play a great role in helping to unify the Negro people and their organizations and especially can it do a great deal to unite the Negro people and the white progressives.

The betrayal of election promises by the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party is already beginning to create disillusionment on the part of a growing section of the Negro masses. This disillusionment, however, is not yet resulting in any break-away from the bourgeois two-party system. But it does provide the basis for broader unity, if this movement is assisted now.

The movement developing among the Negro people today requires greater breadth, programmatically and organizationally. To accomplish this, it is necessary that in every area these movements of struggle for Negro rights should be strengthened and broadened on the largest possible united front level.

To achieve this, the following should be considered:

1. A mass fight for jobs and the economic security of the Negro people, with special attention to Negro women, who are the hardest hit by the crisis. Negro women have been

almost completely eliminated from industry; therefore, no fight for jobs can be complete without putting forward special demands for Negro women, with particular attention to the question of seniority. We must keep in mind that Negro women were the last to enter industry and therefore have accumulated far less seniority than anyone else. The fight for jobs is part of the fight against unemployment. It is a part of the whole struggle against the reactionary capitalist offensive against the working class. It is estimated that 1½ million of the approximately 6 million people unemployed are Negroes. Thus, while the Negro population constitutes only 10 percent of the total general population, 33 percent of the unemployed are Negroes.

This being so, it is clear that the main highway leading to the Negro masses is the fight for jobs. While many areas are carrying on job struggles, these are limited in the main to jobs in retail shops and stores. This is notable as far as it goes, but it is far from sufficient to meet the needs of the present situation. We must insist that this fight be taken into the various industries. Only by waging a serious fight in industry for the job rights of Negro workers can the labor movement guarantee the unity of Negro and white. If the labor movement and the progressive forces in the major industrial centers speeded up the development of united Negro Labor

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Councils within their respective districts, this would enable the progressive segment of the labor movement to unify and stimulate the Negro workers, thereby giving them, also, a much greater opportunity to exercise leadership over the whole Negro community. It would help greatly to unify Negro and white workers. And, what is imperative, it would facilitate the assumption of a new political role by the Negro workers, the role of the leading and dynamic force in the Negro liberation movement. If unity along these lines is not advanced, the progressive forces in the labor movement will be weakened and the Negro people's liberation movement will suffer greatly.

Is such unity of Negro and white possible? Do we see any visible signs of a developing new relationship between the white workers and the Negro people? To both these questions the answer is yes. Since the beginning of our intensive fight on the Negro question, a new consciousness and militancy is arising among sections of the working class. This is shown in the unity built between A. F. of L. and C.I.O. workers in the fight for jobs for Negroes in the banks in Los Angeles. It is shown in a whole number of areas in the fight for Negro rights, as in the fight around the case of the Trenton Six. It is shown in a number of areas in the Southern states, where a section of the white workers is beginning to acquire new under-

standing of the Negro question. It was shown in Gary, where the Left-progressive white forces, united with the Negro people, established a beachhead in Gary and smashed through the Jim-Crow policy on the beaches. It was established in the Stuyvesant Town housing project in New York, where broad sections of people are storming the Jim-Crow housing policy of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. And it was shown, above all, in the dynamic role of the organized trade-union forces at Peekskill. While this development is not uniform or complete, as we accelerate the fight against white chauvinism and the fight for Negro rights it will be shown that the broadest unity of Negro and white can be accomplished—not "next year," but now.

In view of the immense unemployment, activities on a very broad scale in the fight for economic security should be developed without hesitation in the Negro communities and every major Negro center and industrial community. This fight should be directed against all of the red tape that Negro workers come up against in receiving relief checks. It should include a struggle for increased relief and extension of the time period for receiving relief. Again it should be emphasized that all strata of the Negro community can be united around these demands, precisely because they are in the interests of the whole Negro community. The broadest unity with the Negro peo-

ple's organizations in this fight is imperative.

2. The movements that are developing now around the struggles for Negro rights are developing mainly around the civil rights issues: against police brutality, against the K.K.K. activities, against frame-ups, for the right to vote. These movements must be further developed on the broadest united-front basis with all people's organizations.

3. To enhance the struggle for Negro rights, a major necessity is the organization of mass, united-front conferences that would concern themselves with the burning problems of the Negro people of the respective areas. In the industrial districts, the heart of such conferences should be the fight for jobs and economic security. These conferences should concern themselves with an analysis of the work and role of the respective state legislatures as regards civil rights, and with the role of individual congressmen and senators as it relates to the fight for civil rights on a nationwide scale.

4. The greatest encouragement should be given to a South-wide conference of united-front character that would take as its starting point:

(a) South-wide unity against the K.K.K.;

(b) economic problems as they affect the South, with particular emphasis on the plight of the sharecroppers and tenant farmers;

(c) and, as major consideration, the involvement of the broadest strata of the population in the movement to guarantee the registration of one million Negro voters in the South and to provide the broadest stimulus and encouragement for Negroes to aspire to higher offices in the South.

5. Every encouragement and consideration should be given to the question of promoting a people's national conference during the early part of 1950 as a means of generating the broadest type of united, militant struggle on a national scale to force through a civil rights program during the second half of the 81st Congress. Such a movement would be a great stimulus for developing the united political action of the Negro people and their progressive white allies. And it would certainly go a long way toward helping to strengthen the alliance of the Negro people with the Progressive Party and above all strengthening the unity of Negro and white workers.

We must keep in mind that the fight for Negro rights is an integral part of the general fight against fascism and for the advance of democracy on a world scale. At the same time, the Negro question is a special question, the concrete basis of which is the oppression of a subject nation by American imperialism within the continental boundaries of the United States.

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## TOWARD A UNITED FRONT OF THE NEGRO MASSES

One of the greatest problems confronting us today is how to unify in the broadest sense the Negro masses and their organizations around the issues of the day. This question must be answered in every district. The tactic of the united front must be aimed at unity on the broadest scale, without expecting the same level of consciousness or development in every Negro leader or considering, as some comrades do, that all Negroes "are the same" and therefore react in the same way. The starting point must be the actual level of the people that we are dealing with, and the aim, at all times, to raise them to a higher political level; we must learn how to work and develop relationships with all possible allies. Never losing sight of our vanguard role, we must work with them and find proper methods of criticizing them when necessary. At the same time, we must reject and struggle against sectarianism, always keyed to the necessity for the broadest unity, and avoiding situations of "breaking" with allies over tactical differences. We must always remember that unity on one or another issue does not mean readiness of all to support a maximum program.

The cementing of the unity of the Negro masses on advanced programs is necessary, possible and ur-

gent. The recent experiences in state after state only confirm the possibilities for broad united-front movements. Local chapters and state organizations of the N.A.A.C.P., lodges of the Elks and other fraternal groups, church bodies, as well as other Negro people's organizations, have combined with the C.R.C. and the Progressive Party, and in many instances with our own Party, in common action in defense of Negro people's rights.

Our approach to the N.A.A.C.P. and other Negro people's organizations should not be based on, or limited to, the consideration of whether or not the national leadership is following a reformist policy or a militant policy, but rather, what are the moods and the sentiments of the masses in this organization, and what is the possibility for unity with them? If unity can be developed in addition on top levels, well and good; if not, what is decisive is how can the organization be influenced, worked with, etc. An important factor in building this unity would be to develop the broadest ties with the church movement.

The developing experiences in united-front action for Negro rights indeed hold a richly significant potential for ever-greater unfolding of the struggle. Their value, therefore, lies not only in the specific issues and area of struggle to which they were first related, but in greatly expanding the militancy and con-

sciousness of the Negro people's movement as an advanced section of the anti-imperialist people's coalition.

We must overcome in the coming period a key weakness that runs throughout our Party, the failure of our Party to grow in membership, as it should grow in the midst of the many struggles that are beginning to develop in every state. We must change this picture and realize

that only by systematic building of our Party among the Negro masses and the working class can the mass movements of the Negro people successfully develop in a consistent way as a powerful advance force in the struggle for peace and democracy, against imperialist war and fascism. This is the path at this concrete moment to advance toward eventual socialism.

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# Organization for Struggle\*

by Betty Gannett

THE NEED to seek out those organizational problems that demand solution to place our Party in fighting trim, able to face any and every eventuality, is today a prime political task which demands the concerted attention of our entire Party leadership. For Communists, organizational methods and forms are not a fetish to be adhered to mechanically under all conditions. Guided by Communist principles of organization, we recognize that forms and methods of organization grow out of the political situation at hand and have the aim of fulfilling the objectives of our work in a specific period.

Any neglect of organizational tasks, any toleration of organizational sloth, looseness, or routinism, most especially under conditions of the present, can only hinder the Party from facing up to the vital political requirements of today. The emphasis of this meeting on the urgent need to effect a greater organizational and political consolidation of our Party, to enable it to make rapid changes in organizational forms and methods of work, means to give this ques-

tion a new political stress under the current conditions of growing reaction. It means to achieve a vigilant and flexible stabilization of the Party, with a higher mobility, quality of performance and discipline on the part of every organization—and every member.

## A NEW FIGHTING SPIRIT

In evaluating the work and status of our Party, one must point to the fighting spirit that now pervades our ranks, a spirit heightened in struggle against the arrogant offensive of the Wall Street ruling circles who, in their fearful frenzy, are bent on the violent destruction of all democratic and progressive expression and organization, and are determined to outlaw the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party.

The enemy speculated on disunity and defections, even wrote columns, manufactured in the "anti-Red mills," of an "inner crisis" in our ranks. But the fundamental health, morale and fighting determination of our Party is attested to by the firm initiative, boldness and leadership displayed by our Party on a whole host

\* A Report delivered at the meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held September 16-18, 1949.

of issues confronting the American people.

In the past months, considerable sections of our membership have been steeled in some fierce encounters with the enemy—in Los Angeles, Gary, Chicago, Denver, Birmingham, Baltimore, Trenton, Pittsburgh, etc.—and not least of all, in Peekskill. Coming face to face with combined legal and extra-legal terror, which is a hallmark of fascism, Communists and large numbers of militants proved their courage and discipline. Facing the harassment, persecution and even imprisonment by the state apparatus, Communists proved their staunchness and steadfastness. It is no wonder then, that the prestige and authority of the Party and its leadership were measurably enhanced as a result of these struggles.

There has been a marked increase this year in the Party's development of, and participation in, struggles around many issues which have stirred masses into action.

Very few strikes have taken place in which our Party, both directly and through its members in the involved organizations, has not played an important role, clarifying the issues, showing the workers how to win their demands, stiffening their morale and militancy, arousing support for the struggle in the communities and among non-labor sections of the population.

Communists in the shops have been instrumental in organizing

movements against speed-up and growing lay-offs, for wage increases and on thousands of smaller grievances now mounting steadily.

Since our Party unfolded the struggle against white chauvinism on a national scale, there is not a district in the North or South which is not involved in one or another struggle for Negro rights—whether it be against the increased violence of police brutality or K.K.K. lynch terror; whether it be to protect Negro families from K.K.K.-inspired mobs out to preserve their "lily white" restricted zoning areas, or to smash discrimination in swimming pools and on beaches; whether it be, if still only in isolated examples, the fight for jobs and against indiscriminate lay-offs, or for upgrading of Negro workers; whether it be to win the freedom of the Trenton Six, the Ingram family, the Daniel cousins and others among the dozens of framed-up Negro men and women. Ever-greater unity and solidarity of Negro and white is being forged around all these issues.

Our Party has actively participated in struggle against hundreds of abrogations of democratic rights and has given unity and direction and inspired militancy in the decisive battles against repressive state legislation, odiously exemplified by the Maryland Ober Law, against the revived Mundt-Ferguson Bill, against the continued un-American violations of the Bill of Rights by the

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The Party is more active today than it has been since we rid our ranks of the paralyzing effects of Browder-revisionism. The sluggishness and passivity that plagued the Party then are being rapidly overcome by an expanding mobility and the ready response of ever-larger numbers of activists. Our Party is once again proving its ability to lead and organize in struggle the working class, the Negro people and other oppressed sections of the population.

#### ACTIVATE EVERY MEMBER

In taking note of this positive development, we must however, point to the continuing gap between our increased participation in struggle and activities on the one hand, and, on the other, the organizational and ideological consolidation of our Party, that is, increasing the mobility

and effectiveness of the Party's work and enhancing the entire Party's mastery of Marxism-Leninism.

Pressed as we have been by many complex problems arising on all fronts of the class struggle, and with our leadership involved in the trial at Foley Square, we in the Party center, and this is also true of most districts, have neglected important organizational questions, tended to minimize the decisiveness of organization in the fulfillment of our political objectives. We have moved from issue to issue, but in such a way that we have not always kept in the forefront the indispensable need of strengthening the Party, vigilantly fighting to achieve the highest degree of organizational effectiveness of every Party organization.

An examination of our work shows that we have tended to rely upon a section of our membership to man and carry through the various campaigns, giving up the systematic struggle for the activity of *every* member, of *every* club organization. We are operating in the main with an activist corps and not sufficiently through and with the basic Party organizations. As a rule, the work is stimulated and developed by the higher committees, who have become the mobilizers of the so-called "shock brigade" which is thrown on this or that front as an issue comes to the fore. Generally, we have become a Party predominantly of central campaigns, which,

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effective as they may be, do not result in moving the entire Party membership, or extending the ties of the clubs with the people in their communities and shops.

We would be guilty of a most serious error if we underestimated the effects of the offensive of reaction upon the inactive section of our membership. Communists too do not live in a vacuum. They too feel the terrific pressures of reaction. To the extent that our membership is involved in action, they become steeled, attain a clearer perspective of the struggle, secure renewed confidence in the working class and our Party. Those whom we fail to activate, whose ties with the Party are generally insecure, are in danger of losing political perspective and tend to withdraw further from Party activity.

Inactivity of any section of our membership serves as a brake upon the whole Party. The essential task is to draw these members into the political life of the Party, into mass activity. This will require a long and persistent struggle. But that struggle must be waged—organized on a sustained basis—ideologically winning over these members, one by one, to a realization of what is at stake in the present situation and the role that individual members of our Party must play to stem the tide toward fascism in our country.

Of central importance today is the need to anchor the work of every

Communist in the working-class and Negro people's organizations, cementing the ties of every Communist with non-Party masses.

#### FOR FULL CLUB INITIATIVE

The fight for such involvement of every member is inseparable from the fight for the club, the effective functioning of the basic organization of our Party. We have often said that the center of gravity of Communist leadership must be shifted toward developing the bold initiative and mass work of the clubs, especially in the key shops and industrial areas. This is a living expression of the operation of democratic centralism in our Party. And today this is a prime necessity, if we are to develop self-reliant, independently functioning Communist organizations.

The consolidation of our Party cannot come about as a result of an inward turning to the perfecting of the forms of Party organization, but depends in the first place upon giving our clubs an outward orientation—club initiative in the direction of mass work. *Organization today, as always with Communists, is organization for struggle.*

We cannot forget that it is on the club level that all the many tasks of our Party converge. It is here, the basic point of "production" of our Party, where these tasks have to be understood and applied in relation to a given group of workers among whom the club conducts its activity.

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It is not easy for the club, presented with so many problems and tasks, usually with the same emphasis and importance, to select and concentrate on the key tasks. Nor is it simple for the club to know how to propose activity in the various fields which would place concrete tasks before the members and help initiate mass actions. Under such circumstances our clubs are overwhelmed, the agendas of clubs cluttered, our club organizers harassed; routinism and formalism crowd out political content in work, and our members leave club meetings feeling they have not had the opportunity to discuss their own problems, their own mass work, and to gain from the club political enlightenment and guidance for the conduct of their struggle.

We must achieve considerable change in the system of leadership to the clubs. In improving our operative leadership it is important to review the system and methods of leadership of our sections, who remain the closest leading link to the clubs. Our section personnel cannot be servicing agents handing down tasks mechanically to the club, but they must establish close leadership ties with the club, assisting them in applying concretely the tasks facing the whole Party to the problems and conditions of work in the community and shop.

Mechanical uniformity in directives must be replaced with more concrete operative leadership, recog-

nizing that each club is a special entity, having its own problems arising out of the *specific* needs and problems of the workers in a *specific* shop or community. This does not mean that we have a narrow localized approach to the club, without seeing it in the full context of the Party's work and role nationally. Rather this means we must elevate the club to the point where it can perform on a community and shop basis the role of vanguard that the state committee performs on a state level, achieving maximum confidence in its ability to provide leadership to the people in their sphere of operation. In other words, our clubs must learn to stand alone.

Primarily we have to help the clubs, while encouraging and expanding their independent work and expression, to seek out those issues in the community and shop around which to bring into being united-front movements, working relationships between Communists and non-Communists, of a more durable nature. Only to the extent that we succeed in unfolding unity movements in every community, shop and industry, within and among existing organizations, shall we succeed in bringing into being the type of united front and people's democratic coalition that can decisively influence the events in the nation.

Under present conditions, this outlook for the clubs requires that we assure the organization of the group

system in every club. As yet we must admit there are some comrades who seriously underestimate the importance of the groups to enhance the mobility of the Party and the development of the club's mass work. Groups established on an activity, territorial or mass organization basis can be instrumental in revitalizing the whole political content and life of the club by bringing into the club meetings the thinking, the experiences, the results of the work of each individual Communist, and the collective mass work of the group as a whole. For the group is in a better position to establish close ties with the individual Communist, discuss his mass work and help to direct and improve his activity. The objective of every group shall be to establish connections, develop and influence actions of a section of non-Party workers in an organization, territory or shop.

In the communities we need both the club and the group. Each has an important function to perform. The club remains the center of political coordination and guidance to the work. The group is subordinate to the club, having a specific role in the over-all objectives of the club, subject to the guidance and check-up of the club as a whole. In the shops, as we have stressed so many times, the need is speedily to reorganize the Party on the basis of smaller clubs.

#### TODAY'S RECRUITING TASKS

We have not yet overcome the paradox of increased membership participation in mass work, on the one hand, and the absence of Party building on a systematic day-to-day basis, on the other. It is pointless to speak of Party consolidation without constantly refreshing our ranks with new militant workers who come forward in the struggles.

Clearly, the reason for the unsatisfactory status of Party recruiting, is not the absence of contacts—of people whose working-class militancy and devotion warrants membership in our Party. While there may be clubs, and some members, who are isolated from any struggles, this is not true of the Party. In the Ford, Singer and Goodrich strikes, in the Johnson activities in Chicago, around the Peekskill events, in the petition campaign for the nomination of Ben Davis, in the dozens of struggles for Negro rights, we worked with hundreds and thousands of militant Negro and white workers. We secured thousands of subscriptions from auto, steel, packing-house and electrical workers in the last *Worker* subscription campaign. Why, then, so few recruits?

Shall we draw the conclusion that workers today refuse to join the Party, that they have been repelled by the viciousness and terrorization of the anti-Communist campaign? Of course, there are those. There are many also who in the light of the

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Taft-Hartley affidavits, the firings of Communists from jobs, the persecution of the foreign born, despite their sympathies with the Party's program and principles, hesitate to join our Party. But it is also a fact, that there are countless others who are ready to join our Party, and those who hesitate, for one or another reason, can be won for our Party with proper work. Experience throughout the world confirms the fact that while reactionary assaults upon the working class may create fear in some workers, it deepens the class hatred of large numbers of others, bringing forward new working-class fighters who look to the Communists for leadership.

There are a number of things, however, that should be said now on this question.

First, under conditions of today, less so than previously, recruiting cannot be left to spontaneity, to automatic processes. If we are to build our Party today, recruiting must be carefully organized and planned. Recruiting today demands a battle for each new member. For the worker who joins our Party today must be more ideologically convinced than before, understanding the role of our Party, in the drive to halt fascism and war and to advance on the road of social progress. He has to have all questions and doubts answered patiently and forthrightly. Thus, recruiting today inevitably is a more *prolonged process, on a more*

*selective basis*, requiring a substantial improvement of the ideological side of the every-day struggle and activity. This should in no way bolster any false notion about the impossibility of recruiting today; but it should alert us to the reality of the task to which we must rise in our unflinching resolve to build the Party.

Secondly, is it not a fact that we seldom include in our evaluation of struggles the degree to which we have built the Party?

Yet, the conscious fight for recruiting into the Party of the best and most advanced workers requires the same detailed planning and organization as the struggle itself. We must overcome the situation where, on the one hand, we say we do not recruit because our members are isolated from the workers and the Negro people, and, on the other hand, we fail to recruit when our members are in daily contact with hundreds and thousands of non-Communist workers. Let us not forget that there can be no vanguard role of the Party where the Party does not exist. And it is in struggle that we can select and win for our Party tested fighters.

Thirdly, we must create the feeling of confidence among the workers asked to join our Party, that we are deeply concerned with their security and welfare and are taking all necessary measures to guarantee this.

Finally, without a consistent fight

for Party building on the part of the political leadership of the Party on all levels there can be little or no change in the status of recruiting. Experience this year confirms this once again. Several districts which gave some attention to recruiting record results not attained elsewhere.

These contrasting results cannot be explained by more favorable possibilities in one or another district. Few Party organizations have such vast contacts with industrial workers as our Party in Michigan, Illinois and Ohio. Few districts have such broad mass ties as our Party in California and New York. The inadequate results in Party building are directly attributable to the time, attention and struggle put up for Party building by the Party leadership.

We are not projecting a national recruiting campaign, but we do recommend that each state organization, on the basis of its own possibilities and needs, work out its own problems of Party building with major emphasis upon recruiting from the industries of concentration, from the most oppressed sections of the workers already in motion, the Negro people and the unemployed.

#### FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONCENTRATION POLICY

Ours is a working-class Party, and consolidation means primarily consolidation of our working-class base, planting deep and immovable roots

among the workers. Comrade Winston at the last Convention signaled this when he said that "the central task before the Party is the fight for shifting the main base of our Party to the working class." This remains the over-all decisive question today, and the most essential element of the organizational consolidation of our Party. Strengthening the proletarian base of our Party can be accomplished only by bringing into our Party new workers from the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working class, Negro and white, particularly from the trustified shops and industries. There is no other way of achieving any substantial change without this.

The pressure and complexity of the new problems our Party faced in the last period has tended to divert us from holding firm to a policy of industrial concentration as the main system of work of our Party. The new level of understanding of the essence of concentration achieved at our National Convention had an immediate effect on the work of every district. For a number of months after the Convention every district critically evaluated the results of its concentration work, took many important political and organizational measures to implement and extend its concentration policy. But the fact remains that the steps developed in the months after the Convention, the new awareness

of the significance of concentration, have not yet brought about any definite changes in the status of our Party in most of the shops and industries.

This is not to say that some important results were not achieved, as for instance, the effective mobilization of our Party in Ohio in furthering the interests of the auto workers in a number of key shops; the involvement of a substantial number of Party members in the bitter longshore struggle in New York; the movement around speed-up initiated at Ford's which culminated in the strike around this issue, despite the sabotage of the Reuther leadership; the support for increased wages developed in a whole number of steel and rubber locals, etc.

Why, nevertheless, has that spurt of activities not resulted in a satisfactory growth of our Party in these shops and industries?

Among the numerous reasons I would like to stress the following:

1. We have not yet mastered the technique of bringing all major issues and campaigns beyond leaflets to the workers in the concentration industries, winning and organizing them around these questions as a fundamental objective. It is these workers first of all who must be enlisted to support and lead in the fight around the issues that affect the welfare, rights and conditions of life of the working people. The col-

lective telegrams for the freedom of Winston, the petitions for quashing the indictment, the activities around the labor peace conference, the activity around the freedom of the Ingram family, are some examples in this direction which must be further implemented and extended.

2. We have by far not won the battle to get the Party, as a Party, to carry through a concentration policy. We cannot yet point to the realization of Comrade Winston's emphasis that a fundamental improvement in the social composition of our Party will be achieved only by the entire Party and not a selected few. Concentration still remains in the main a task of only a small section of our Party: the shop comrades, some select concentrators, some comrades drawn into the distribution of shop papers, the *Worker* and leaflets. And here, I do not want to minimize in any way the results achieved with these forces.

But the entire Party leadership, every committee in our Party, every section and every club, must see clearly its responsibility to the workers in the concentration industries. All sections of the Party must be steeped in the problems of the workers in these industries, receive regular reports of what is happening, become familiar with the issues confronting the workers, able to follow developments. All clubs must see their tasks as implementing the

direct work in and outside of the key shops, being alert for workers in their territories or organizations coming from these industries, cultivating such contacts.

Clubs in the communities must seek out for special concentration those organizations to which workers from these industries belong, while at the same time orienting all progressive organizations to build themselves primarily among these workers. The development of these organizations among the workers in the basic industries, will not only help implement the work inside the shops, but will give a new political content and stability to the work of these organizations themselves.

At open air meetings, community mass meetings, the issues before the workers in the key industries should be raised, creating a tie between the community and the shop, soliciting support for struggles that develop in such shops and industries. Community issues should be related to the wages and working conditions of the workers in the main industries to show their intimate connection. The State editions of the *Worker*, which contain special pages and many important articles on the industries of concentration, should not only reach the workers of specific shops, but should be used by all clubs as a means of bringing to the people these questions which affect so keenly the whole community.

3. We have not yet faced squarely

some of the unresolved questions of the work, function and building of the shop clubs. There is not one amongst us who cannot list in detail the unsatisfactory political and organizational status of the shop clubs. But, we must admit that to know the disease is not enough; we must also know the cure. Here, it is not a question of making a blueprint to solve all problems at one time, but to start resolving some of them.

If it is important for our clubs generally to learn how to stand on their own feet, this is especially important for our shop clubs—the main link of our Party with the workers. For the shop club itself a concentration perspective must be hammered out—to give leadership to the needs of the most oppressed and exploited in the shops, winning a foothold among these workers. We have to break down the existing shop clubs in such a way as to provide a more compact area of operation for each Communist, and for each group of Communists, so that they can work with and influence a specific group of workers and not the shop in general. Every shop Communist must surround himself with a core of workers he knows intimately and consults with regularly.

Secondly, we have to see that the shop club is given the opportunity to map out policy to meet the problems in the shop and is not constantly faced with an already worked out

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policy which it is asked to execute. We have made very little headway in this direction and are still plagued with this condition of work which stifles the political initiative of the shop clubs.

Thirdly, we have to systematically, on the basis of the conditions and relation of forces in the shop, help the shop club and each shop Communist to develop on a permanent basis united front rank-and-file movements around the issues to protect the interests of the workers.

And, finally, we have to help our shop comrades to learn how to keep their ears close to the thinking of the workers, to discuss the issues agitating the workers, to determine the questions which demand clarification, always with the view of conducting a systematic exposure of capitalist exploitation and elevating the understanding of the worker.

The need for building our Party in a more decisive way among the workers in basic industry is not some narrow organizational objective. The attacks on the labor movement, the class collaboration policies of the reformist leaders, only emphasize that without a Party in the shops to provide militant leadership to the workers, reaction will succeed in regimenting the unions, making them powerless as organs for defending the economic interests of labor and for increasingly obtaining for labor an independent class outlook and policy for action. For cer-

tainly without a Party having strong ties with the workers it will be impossible to elevate the working class to an understanding of its role as the foremost champion of the unity of all people against the advancing threat of fascism and war. Without a Party in the shop, no effective struggle can be waged for the minds of the workers, to break them away from the ideological influence of the ruling class, and to win them for the ideas of Socialism.

Thus, building the Party among the workers in industry is linked to our ability to fulfill the tasks history has placed before our Party.

The tasks outlined in Comrade Winston's Report to our National Convention still remain the guide for today. We must master the essential content of that Report and translate it into an industrial concentration policy which will extend our Party's connections with the workers, enriching thereby the proletarian quality of our work and our cadres.

#### LAUNCHING THE REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

In the light of some of these problems the National Organization Department projects before this Plenum the launching of this year's registration of our membership on October 1, utilizing the last quarter of the year for an examination of our work, a review of our clubs and

membership and fighting for a maximum Party registration. In recommending that the registration start October 1, we keep foremost in mind the need of making rapid headway in the consolidation of our Party.

In order to assure a maximum registration it will be necessary that, starting now, we fight to overcome the serious lag in Party dues payments.

Since dues payment is an expression of the member's organizational tie with the club, and the degree of contact of the club with the member, the low dues payment is a danger signal, which requires a determined organized fight to overcome. In the light of this we have recommended that September and October, during our celebration of the 30th anniversary of our Party, we organize the mass visiting of our members; discuss with them the concluding phase of the trial at Foley Square; convince them to participate in one or another activity around the trial; and provide them with a copy of Comrade Foster's *Twilight of Capi-*

*talism*, in the course of collecting all arrears due.

During this period also we urge all districts to prepare to carry through the yearly national subscription campaign for *The Worker*, striving to regain the losses in circulation during the summer months, reaching a new high level in the circulation of *The Worker*. The distributed memorandum outlines the ideas for this campaign, and the National Press Conference to be held in mid-October will serve as the springboard to launch the campaign.

Clearly, it has not been possible to introduce here a number of questions related to the topic of this Report. We expect to supplement this in the course of our individual meetings. But we hope the discussion will center attention on some of these questions and that our collective endeavor will help us move with greater speed ahead in resolving those tasks that are central to consolidating our Party and preparing it to meet the stormy weather ahead with confidence.

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# The Titoites—Servants of Imperialism\*

by Rudolf Slansky

*General Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*

AFTER THE BREAK with the Communist Parties, the clique of Yugoslav nationalists slipped into the bog of capitalism with lightning speed. Those who a year ago still tried to conceal from the Yugoslav people their hatred of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, are now, with the full consent of the imperialists, imitating their anti-Soviet language and even trying to excel them.

In order to crush the revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia, and to eradicate the deep sympathy of the Yugoslav people for the Soviet Union, the Tito clique has set up a fascist-Gestapo regime. It is annihilating the best, honest sons of the people. Yugoslavia has been turned into a concentration camp; power has been seized by the agents of imperialism who are doing their utmost to earn the praise of their masters. The Tito clique is a gang of murderers, lusting for wealth and filled with hatred for the socialist camp.

The Tito-ites, who are doing nothing whatsoever against the imperialist camp, have concentrated all

their forces in the struggle against Socialism.

How can anti-imperialist speeches be made or the predatory and military plans of the Anglo-American monopolists be exposed when the Tito-ites are establishing extensive trade relations with them and are asking for credits, when they have gone over to the camp of foreign capital!

Everybody today knows what it means to orientate foreign trade on the capitalist countries and to ask for credits from the American monopolists. It means placing one's country and one's people at the mercy of the imperialist exploiters, being subservient to them; it means carrying out the orders of the imperialist creditors and giving them a free hand in the internal affairs of the country; it means allowing them to dictate home and foreign policy. The working people of the Marshall countries—Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Britain—are well aware of this.

This is the path being taken by Yugoslavia where power has been forcibly seized by the clique of bourgeois nationalists. This makes it clear why the representatives of the Yugo-

\* Reprinted from *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy!* September 1, 1949.

slav bourgeois-nationalist clique are systematically spreading the lie that the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies want to keep Yugoslavia on the level of a backward agrarian country and to exploit her. The Yugoslav traitors have to make these false assertions in order to impress upon the Yugoslav people that the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies are hostile to Yugoslavia and that, therefore, an alliance with capitalism is the "lesser evil." The Tito-ites assailed Czechoslovakia when it was forced recently to annul its trade agreement with Yugoslavia because the Yugoslav Government was not meeting its obligations. Yugoslavia failed to deliver valuable raw materials stipulated in the agreement; but it eagerly sold these same materials to the capitalist countries. Yugoslavia thus owed us for goods. The Tito-ites claimed that Czechoslovakia, too, was only interested in exploiting Yugoslavia and that Yugoslavia was not benefiting from trade with Czechoslovakia.

Such assertions are made by the Yugoslav vassals of the imperialists with the object of deceiving the Yugoslav people and impressing upon them the advantage of turning to the capitalist West and trading with it.

In his speech at Pola on July 10, Tito said: "We will be paid in foreign currency for the copper, lead and other ores which we sell to the West and with this money will pur-

chase the machines and other things we need. We are asking for credits and will accept them [from the Western capitalists—R. S.] for we need these credits. And those who grant such credits will also benefit from this for we shall use these credits to purchase goods and machinery from them."

Thus, according to Tito, Yugoslavia did not benefit from its trade relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. On the other hand, it found trade with the Anglo-American monopolists beneficial and profitable! And this trade will be beneficial and profitable even though based on onerous credits granted by the Anglo-Americans!

This is how the Yugoslav nationalists want to build "Socialism" with their own forces! What kind of "socialist construction" is it that the Anglo-American imperialists are so ready to support? It is the kind of "Socialism" needed by the imperialists, the kind that will serve their interests and help them exploit the Yugoslav people. As in the case of the Marshall countries, the imperialists will supply Yugoslavia with the minimum of machinery and other valuable goods, will begin to flood Yugoslavia with the type of goods they must dispose of in view of the approaching crisis; they will purchase, at their own price, Yugoslav copper and tin to meet their war needs.

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in Belgium. Belgium is selling Congo ore to the Americans and is forced to buy American goods. This is undermining Belgium's industry and swelling the country's unemployed army. The onerous terms of American trade and credits account for the acute financial crisis that today grips such a highly industrially developed country as Great Britain. Britain, too, is beginning to realize what economic dependence on the American monopolists means.

Tito is simply deceiving the Yugoslav people when he tells them that the American robber imperialists will treat "socialist" Yugoslavia better than Britain.

The Yugoslav nationalists are beginning to dance to the tune of the Americans. They already support the imperialist instigators of war by carrying out anti-Soviet provocations. They are spreading nationalist slanders against the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Albanian and Romanian peoples. They have reached agreement with the Greek monarcho-fascists for joint struggle against the heroically battling Greek people. In foreign policy they have passed into the camp of imperialism; they are ruthlessly wiping out the genuine revolutionaries in the country.

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To justify their despicable collaboration with the imperialists, a collaboration that has been steadily growing since the betrayal of the socialist front, the Yugoslav nation-

alists claim that the People's Democracies also are trading with capitalist states. In this connection they particularly point to Czechoslovakia, whose foreign trade with the capitalist countries, they claim, is extensive and who, they allege, is also receiving credits from the West.

Here, again, the Tito-ites are distorting the actual state of affairs. Since February 1948, the capitalists have been so "fond" of Czechoslovak People's Democracy that they are not giving Czechoslovakia any credits! They are so "fond" of Czechoslovakia that they are steadily whittling down their trade with that country, and the American imperialists are even refusing to sell Czechoslovakia different kinds of machines and industrial equipment. The U. S. Government has gone so far as to withhold the export license for machines which have already been paid for to the sum of 26,500,000 dollars. We are not receiving equipment for a steel mill which we purchased from the "Slabbing" firm in the United States and for which we have paid 14,000,000 dollars. Yugoslavia, on the other hand, is being supplied with this equipment.

But the Western capitalists "hate" the "Socialism" of Tito, Rankovic and the rest to such an extent that they are ready to negotiate with them, to conclude trade and economic agreements with them and to increase considerably Yugoslavia's foreign trade turnover. Yugoslavia

recently signed a trade agreement with France which provides for a yearly exchange of goods to the sum of 12 billion francs. Also, a five-year investment agreement (15-20 billion francs) was signed. In December 1948, an Anglo-Yugoslav financial and trade agreement was signed, providing for a £15,000,000 exchange of goods. This agreement also stipulates the payment of £4,500,000 by Yugoslavia for the nationalized property of British capitalists. An agreement has been signed with Trizonia whereby Yugoslavia will receive goods to the sum of 19,000,000 dollars in the course of the year, while Yugoslav deliveries will total 15,800,000 dollars. Apart from grain, Yugoslav supplies will mainly consist of pyrites, copper, antimony and bauxite, in other words, the strategic materials needed by the Ruhr's iron and steel industry. Here it should be noted that 1948 imports from Western Germany reached the sum of 1,000,000 dollars while Yugoslav exports were only 6,000 dollars.

Yugoslavia also signed recently a trade agreement with Italy.

At the end of March the *New York Herald Tribune* reported that the number of U.S. export licenses to Yugoslavia was increasing. In the meantime, the Yugoslav nationalists are selling copper to America. Metals, including copper and tin, to the value of 15,000,000 dollars were offered to the firm of Philip Brighter alone.

Yugoslavia has recently been negotiating with the Export-Import Bank for a 20 million dollar credit and with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a 250,000,000 dollar credit (according to the *New York Herald Tribune*). The Americans have already expressed their readiness to support the request of the Tito clique. Mr. Hoare, Chairman of the American Commission of the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, stated that, in general, the international bank does not grant credits to "Communist countries." He recalled that Poland had been refused credit in 1947, and Czechoslovakia in 1948. However, this bank is providing the money for the carrying out of certain plans in Yugoslavia. In exchange, it will have the right to control the use of the money granted to the Yugoslav Government. As a sign of gratitude to their capitalist partners, the Yugoslav nationalists have pledged to pay the British, American, Belgian and Swiss capitalists for their industries nationalized in Yugoslavia, and the pre-war debt of nearly 2 billion dinars to the United States.

All this clearly reveals the direction in which the Tito clique is heading Yugoslavia. It is orientating its economy, more and more, on the capitalist countries, is growing increasingly dependent on these countries and is steadily subordinating Yugoslavia to the imperialists.

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ing in Czechoslovakia. The volume of foreign trade with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies is steadily increasing. We know that Socialism can be built in our country only with the help of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. In general, there can be no Socialism in our country without the support of the Soviet Union. We have clearly seen that our economic relations with the Soviet Union are relations of a new type, impossible between capitalist countries.

The Soviet Union is rendering us disinterested, generous aid on the principle of equality. Proof of this is the assistance the Soviet Union gave during the drought years in Czechoslovakia. Without this assistance, our country would have been faced with famine or would have been forced to throw itself at the mercy of the Western imperialists. The Soviet Union is helping us by supplying us with the valuable raw materials and machines which the capitalist West has refused to sell us and also by purchasing our industrial goods which the West is refusing to buy. The Soviet Union has also granted us a gold loan without making any discriminatory stipulations.

This support has enabled Czechoslovakia's economy to free itself from dependence on the capitalist West, and to secure the country's steady economic development.

The example of Yugoslavia clearly shows that a country which deprives

itself of the reliable support of the Soviet Union is bound to become subordinate to imperialism.

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There is nothing new in the fact that, for the purpose of deceiving the people, the worst and bitterest enemies of Socialism pretend to be socialists. Hitler and Himmler, too, claimed that they were socialists and even called their fascist party a socialist party. Tito and Rankovic are as much "socialists" as were Hitler and Himmler.

Every honest and progressive person will pose the question: how can it be that, in Yugoslavia, anyone who supports the Soviet Union and the international socialist front is hounded just as viciously and, maybe, even more viciously, than in the capitalist countries? How is it possible that Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia are persecuted and arrested in the same way, and maybe even more brutally, than in capitalist countries. How is it possible that the Yugoslav ruling circles speak of the great land of Socialism, of this principal bulwark of progress, with even greater hatred than the representatives of the most reactionary governments in the capitalist countries? How is it that the representatives of the Yugoslav ruling circles are abetting the struggle of the monarcho-fascists against the heroic Greek democrats, that they have sealed the Yugoslav frontier to the democrats (as they themselves

admit) and are allowing Greek monarcho-fascist bands to cross this frontier in order to reach the territory of democratic Greece, that they are taking the same stand as, for instance, Turkey, on the Greek question?

This is due to the fact that, now that its leaders have betrayed the front of democracy and Socialism, Yugoslavia has become a bourgeois republic and a vassal of the imperialist countries, as predicted in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties. And it is not a question of a bourgeois republic where at least the remnants of formal democracy have been preserved, where the revolutionary working-class movement enjoys at least the minimum legal pos-

sibilities. Yugoslavia has become a State of brutal police terror which in no way differs from the Hitler regime of terror. The Yugoslav nationalists are inveterate bourgeois reactionaries, vassals of American imperialism whose anti-Soviet, war policy they are carrying out. And the Yugoslav people are today made to bear the burden of Tito-ite treachery.

However, the reign of terror of the Yugoslav fascists cannot last long.

The Yugoslav people and their working class, supported by the whole socialist democratic camp, will find the strength to overthrow the fascist-Gestapo regime of Tito and Rankovic, and, relying on the international forces of the working class, will take the path of building real Socialism.

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# The Browderite Conception of History

by Gilbert Green

[We are pleased to publish the following article, written under the severe conditions imposed by his imprisonment in the Federal Detention House in New York City, by Comrade Gil Green, Chairman of the Communist Party in Illinois, member of the National Committee of the Party, and one of the defendants in the thought-control frame-up trial taking place at Foley Square.

[Comrade Green, excerpts from whose courtroom testimony were published in the September issue of Political Affairs, is one of the four Communist leaders who, at this writing, are still victimized by an indeterminate jail sentence vindictively meted out by a class-prejudiced judge.—Editor.]

AS THE READERS of *Political Affairs* are aware, the government indictment against the 12 is hinged upon a single "overt act"—the act of rejecting Browder revisionism and reconstituting the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles. It is this which the Prosecution cites as the unforgivable "crime" and the great "conspiracy."

Finding myself one of the "premature" victims of this legal abomination, and compelled to give the government an advance payment on its pound of flesh, I decided to compound the "felony" by spending some of the "time" on my hands in a further exposure of Browderism, especially its most recent chicanery.

The importance of this task had

occurred to me many times, but I was made doubly aware of it as I sat in the courtroom listening to repeated assertions of both the Prosecution and the Court that Communism as such was not on trial, only the *specific* brand of Communism as advocated, taught and practiced by the defendants and their party. As for the Browder "type of communism" the government could find no fault whatsoever.

Thus, it became obvious that the self-same Truman Administration, which is striving with such sadistic fury to portray Communism as a sinister diabolical plot begot of the devil himself, is not averse, however, to differentiate between what it considers the "good" or Browder type of Communism (read: bourgeois

communism\*) as against the "bad" or Foster type (read: Marxism-Leninism).

And in the international arena it is most anxious to clasp to its bosom every traitorous scoundrel or police agent, who can pass himself off as either a "converted" Communist, or a "national" brand of Communist. Thus, the working-class traitor and Communist-pretender Tito is hailed as a "great patriot" and a "new found ally" in Wall Street's economic, political and military "cold war" against Moscow. And when in the western zone of Germany, a tiny handful of police agents arrogantly proclaim themselves as a self-styled "Free Communist Party," this is treated as sensational front-page news, as if this unsavory stew had not been cooked-up in Washington's Pentagon Building in the first place.

In this scurrying to give support and approval to renegade "Communism," which of course is no Communism at all, the bourgeoisie is inadvertently paying a tribute to the great and growing influence that Communism enjoys throughout the world, especially in the ranks of the working class. Thus, in Yugoslavia, the great name of Communism is being used by Tito to fight against the real Communists and in the interests of imperialism, in the same way that the Nazis called themselves National-Socialists in order to try to destroy the movement for social-

\* From Lenin's expression "bourgeois socialism."

ism and to plunge the world into war.

It is true, of course, that in the United States reaction does not have to cloak itself in socialist or communist phrases. This is because the masses here have not yet accepted socialism as the goal. But they do cherish democracy. That is why profascist reaction in this country cloaks itself in democratic slogans, while peddling the big lie that communism is anti-democratic. But from this it would be false to conclude that the Browder type of renegade Communism has no function to perform for the bourgeoisie.

At a time when the American people must learn the bitter truth that despite their own progressive desires, it is their country and none other which has become the new seat and center of world reaction, at a time when it must be patiently explained again and again that their main enemy is no longer abroad, but here at home, in the form and shape of Wall Street imperialism—at such a time, anyone who casts doubt on this cardinal truth, anyone who discovers a new "progressive" role for American imperialism, is nothing more than an apologist and lackey of Wall Street, whether he be conscious of it or not.

And when this is done in the name of Marxism, as does Browder, the crime is all the more reprehensible. Browder challenges the Communist analysis of the role of U.S. monopoly capital in the world today. For him,

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the Wall Street man-eating tiger could be transformed into a mild, milk-sipping kitten, if only the American Communists would desist from goading the poor beast.

#### APOLOGETICS FOR WALL STREET AND THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION

Browder's thesis, which he repeats *ad nauseam* in some nine separate pamphlets written in the past year, is essentially this:

1. That U.S. imperialism can still play a progressive role in world affairs. Instead of acting the parts of Shylock and Simon Legree, it can be gotten to play the role of the Good Samaritan.

2. That it would be playing that progressive role today, were it not for two tragic occurrences—first, the untimely death of Roosevelt, which deprived the bourgeoisie of "intelligent" leadership, and second, the ousting of Browder from his position in Communist ranks which deprived the working class of its "intelligent" leadership.

3. That even after the death of Roosevelt, Truman would have continued Roosevelt's progressive policies, had the American Marxists but followed the advice and leadership of Browder. Under such circumstances, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Military Arms Program and the whole "cold war" against the Soviet Union could and would have been avoided.

4. That the same failure of "in-

telligent" leadership in the Communist Party is responsible for the sharpened struggle within the labor movement, for the setbacks suffered by the Left in the trade unions, for the vitriolic Red-baiting and anti-Soviet attacks of top C.I.O. officials.

Thus we see a complete and shameless apologia for American imperialism, the Truman Administration and the labor bureaucrats. And all this, mind you, in the name of Marxism!

Lest the readers of *Political Affairs* accuse me of exaggeration, let me at this point refer them to but one example: Browder's pamphlet, *The Miracle of November 2*. In this pamphlet he analyzes the meaning of last November's election and gives his estimate of the Truman Administration. And let me quote rather copiously from this "profound" work, so that the reader may judge for himself to what depths of charlatanry this false miracle-maker has descended.

In this pamphlet, written about a month after the election, Browder is beside himself with joy at the Truman triumph. For him, "the main political result" of the election "transforms the author of the Truman Doctrine into a flaming angel of peace. . ." (p. 4). "Truman," says Browder, "presented himself as a new Roosevelt whose program a liberal weekly has justly described as 'the most radical program presented by a major political party in our lifetime'" (p. 4).

To understand this "miracle," Browder takes us on a Cook's tour "behind the election campaign," to "review the record since the death of Roosevelt," and to "make a provisional estimate of Truman as a political personality, as revealed by this record" (p. 5).

At the outset, Browder rejects the charge that Truman ever intended to depart from Roosevelt's path. "Truman," says he, "took seriously his pledge to carry on Roosevelt's promises" (p. 6). "He conscientiously consulted with Roosevelt's closest advisers and associates [apparently that's why he replaced them with bankers and brass-hats in his Cabinet!—G.G.] . . . he studied Roosevelt's papers and memoranda . . . he sent Hopkins to Moscow and himself went to Potsdam . . . he confirmed all the important commitments which had been made by Roosevelt in the course of the war, laying the foundation for the peace settlement which Roosevelt had intended" (p. 6).

But even Browder must admit that these commitments were never lived up to. How does he explain this? Was it Truman's fault? Not on your life. These commitments were "sabotaged" by underlings. "Roosevelt," explains Browder, "had often experienced such sabotage and knew how to fight against and overcome it," but poor "Truman had not this ability" (p. 7).

However, Browder's miracle-man learned fast. He "learned that he

would have to fight on all fronts to maintain Roosevelt's course . . . against the Churchill crowd abroad, the Republicans at home and the Right wing within his own Democratic Party. He began to organize such a fight immediately after he had found himself ostensibly [ostensibly?] sponsoring Churchill's war-mongering speech at Fulton, Missouri, by appearing with him on the platform" (p. 7).

But fate was cruel to Honest Harry, the Battling People's Champion. Despite his best intentions he found it impossible to go through with his fight. In fact, unable to "fight 'em," in the best tradition of Missouri politics, he decided to "join 'em."

"Why did events take this suddenly disastrous Right turn?" asks Browder. "To find an answer," says he, "it is necessary to come to a definition and understanding of the political personality of Truman" (p. 9). And for this purpose, the versatile Browder lovingly stretches his boy Harry on a studio couch and proceeds to psychoanalyze him, substituting the materialist with the matress interpretation of history.

"We will make some progress in understanding the political man," we are told, "if, with strict objectivity, we simply ask ourselves if it is possible to locate amidst the bewildering contradictions and switches in his record as President, any single constant factor. If we can, this will probably give the key to under-

standing the real Truman" (p. 9).

Now, of course, there is such a constant factor. It is Truman's constant and consistent defense of the predatory interests of American monopoly-capital. But this is not the factor Browder is looking for; in fact, it is the one he seeks to conceal.

Delving into the dark, murky corners of Truman's subconscious mind, Dr. Browder finally locates what he is looking for—the factor of factors, which, when understood, "reduces all confusions to a certain sensible order" (p. 9). And this is "a very simple thing"—"even rather primitive," we are told, namely that "the guiding thought of President Harry Truman has been first, last and all the time, the ambition to be elected President in his own right" (p. 9).

"Once this factor is grasped as the central point, everything in the Truman record falls into place, like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle, and we have a coherent picture of the political man" (p. 10). A coherent picture, yes, but only of the political mind of Earl Browder!

How this "constant factor," together with the "wrong policies of the Communists" under Foster's leadership, changed the whole role of American imperialism in the world is the next stirring chapter described by Browder.

It seems that Truman needed allies in his fight to "defeat the Churchill camp, the Republicans and the Democratic Party Right wing."

Where could he get these? "Who could best help Truman to organize and lead this fight? . . ." (p. 1). Obviously only the Left. So, "Truman turned to Henry Wallace." "Wallace was to be his ground-breaker, to open up the way" (p. 8). He sent Wallace on a mission to Madison Square Garden to appeal to the Left for support. "The battle for Truman's election in 1948 was to open with that speech—that was its main significance for Truman" (p. 11).

But the Wallace speech did not bring about this rapprochement between Truman and the Left. It resulted in the very opposite, in "the miserable collapse of this great project," in "the Wallace expulsion from the cabinet," and "led directly to the announcement five months later of the ill-fated Truman Doctrine" (p. 8). Quite a flip-flop! And all because of one speech in Madison Square Garden!

But this is quite simple to understand, if one just bears in mind Browder's great psychiatric discovery of the "constant factor" that makes Harry tick. You see, according to Browder, "the Left-wing crowd" in Madison Square Garden "booed" certain Red-baiting passages in the otherwise noteworthy speech of Wallace. It was this heckling, believe it or not, that brought about the Truman switch and thus altered the immediate contours of history. Truman, Browder tells us—and who else so understands the Truman

mentality—then realized that “he had fallen between two stools,” that while “he had broken openly with the Right wing,” his overtures to the Left wing “had been rejected, with cat-calls.” “In the practical language of Jackson County politics, ‘there ain’t no percentage in that’” (p. 12).

And so, “He quickly surrendered to Byrnes’ ultimatum,” “dismissed Wallace from the cabinet,” and decided “to abandon the fight for the time, and surrender to the reactionaries” (p. 13).

“And thus it came about,” concludes Browder, “that America turned into the path of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan and the ‘cold war’” (p. 14).

Was there ever written unadulterated hogwash greater than this? Imagine! We are asked to believe that the basic orientation and policy of the mightiest industrial nation and imperialist power in the world, had been determined by two rather insignificant facts: the frustrations of a little Missouri politician who wanted to be president “in his own right,” and some heckling at a Madison Square Garden meeting! Now it truly can be said that we have heard everything! Henceforth, who are we to challenge the claim of certain “historians” that the whole history of the human race would have been radically different had only Cleopatra’s nose been shorter; that France would have won the Seven Year’s War had only Louis XV not been so enamored of Madame Pom-

padour; that World War I would have been avoided had only a Duke not been assassinated at Sarajevo; and that World War II was caused because an Austrian paperhanger was a frustrated painter!

Browder’s November 2 “miracle” can be summed up as follows: The people sensed that the alliance between Truman and the reactionaries was not a marriage of love, but of convenience, and that Harry’s heart was really with the Left. Truman in turn sensed that the people wanted more and not less of Roosevelt’s policies. He therefore appealed to them on that basis and was elected. Thus a “miracle” took place and, “The author of the Truman Doctrine of 1947 became the bearer of the people’s peace mandate of 1948” (p. 13).

And, “Now that Truman is no longer an accidental President, but a real one, he has won for himself the opportunity to become a new man in other and more important ways” (p. 24). For the “combined reactionary camp has been dealt a heavy blow,” “the ‘tide’ is no longer running their way,” and “the prospect for progressive legislation is brighter than in many years” (p. 27).

Compare this Browderite trash with the crystal-clear analysis made by our Party and contained in an article by Eugene Dennis shortly after the elections. Dennis wrote\*:

\* “The Main Lessons of the 1948 Elections,” *Political Affairs*, December 1948, pp. 1052-1053.

"For one thing the Dewey-G.O.P. defeat undoubtedly creates some temporary illusions about Truman, the Democratic Party and the new congress. But while the Administration may make certain maneuvers and concessions to the people, particularly in regard to domestic questions . . . it will proceed with the North Atlantic-western union war alliance and with other key aspects of the imperialist bipartisan war program." And further, "We are not entering another New Deal 'era'. The Administration and the bipartisan congress are committed to an anti-Communist drive at home and abroad, to an aggressive imperialist war policy and a war economy."

Events since last November have certainly confirmed the correctness of our Party's analysis, which did not base itself on nonsensical psychotic "factor" theories, but on a Marxist analysis of the class relations on both a world and national scale.

#### THE CLASS NATURE AND ROOTS OF BROWDER- REVISIONISM

This pitiful hanging on to the coat-tails of Truman; this search for subjective factors to explain objective developments; this unprincipled attempt to pin responsibility for the disastrous course of the Truman Administration upon the most principled and consistent opponents of these policies—the Communists, is but the logical outcome of a com-

plete departure from, and betrayal of, Marxism.

Browder refuses to admit that U.S. monopoly capital is a reactionary force and that as the *dominant* imperialist power in the capitalist world, it cannot but play a reactionary aggressive role in world affairs. For him, there just *must* be a progressive role that U.S. imperialism can play, and if it does not, then the fault lies neither with it nor with Browder's analysis—but with the Communists and their policies(!).

And while no Marxists and few progressives would agree with Browder's shallow — nay, ludicrous, — explanation of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the whole reactionary course of the Truman Administration, and while Browder as an individual is bereft of influence, it must be said that there are more than a few well-intentioned people who share to one degree or another, some of the wishful thinking and illusions which underly the Browder position.

For Browderism is not an individual phenomenon, but an ideological expression of the imperialist bourgeoisie at this given juncture of history. Browderism's specific role is to feed the confusion, vacillation and conciliatory mood of the petty-bourgeoisie, which hopes to soften the contradictions of world capitalism at a time when these cannot but become sharper. It nurtures in particular the thinking of a certain section of the petty-bourgeoisie which was

strongly influenced by the Roosevelt era, but which never understood the concrete world and internal class relations that made that period possible. These petty-bourgeois liberal elements not only supported Roosevelt's policies but they literally worshipped him as an individual—as the hero who “single-handed” “tamed” the monster of monopoly capital and harnessed it for “progressive” social ends. Having no confidence in the people and their struggles, having no understanding of the leading role of the working class in the historic sense, these elements today find themselves in a blind alley. They seek a new Messiah who will save them—a new Roosevelt, preferably in Truman's flesh. They continue to harbor the illusion that if only Truman saw the light of day, if only he displayed a bit more firmness and courage, if only the Left humored him more and harassed him less, then, miracle of miracles, everything would be alright again and America would pick up exactly where it left off with Roosevelt.

Hence they utterly fail to grasp the great and decisive changes in world relations that have taken place consequent upon World War II. They fail to comprehend that the old Roosevelt period can no more be resurrected than Roosevelt the man, and that in the new world situation of today the broad coalition against the monopolies, fascism and war has to go forward with a qualitatively new class content and class

alliance. Anything else is idle day-dreaming, wishful thinking, or outright deception, as we shall prove in the course of these articles.

Much of the petty-bourgeois dream of a softening or disappearance of the class struggle, of the development of a new “progressive” imperialism, represent the false ideological baggage of yesterday, carried over into the present. Harmful and wrong then, they are doubly harmful today. If they continue to persist in the thinking of masses, even in the working class, this is to be explained by the fact that the material conditions which made these possible (full employment, relative “prosperity”), continued into the postwar period and even strengthened certain illusions about a “new” “progressive” capitalism. But with the drop in the production index, with the rapid rise in unemployment, with the return to the conditions of chronic crisis in agriculture, mining and textile, and with increasing signs of the maturing economic crisis all about us, the material economic foundation for these illusions is already being badly shaken and will soon be shattered.

But that does not mean that opportunism will disappear of itself. In fact, the very sharpening of the class struggle will give rise to new expressions of this on the part of some individuals. This is already to be seen in tendencies among some people to recoil from the struggle, to desert the fight, to give way to

moods of pessimism or despair—in other words, to run for cover from the intense ideological and often physical assault of reaction.

And let us make no mistake: never have the American people been subjected to so powerful a form of intimidation; never has monopoly capital so insisted that everyone stand up and be counted. Today, anyone who even mildly dares to question, let alone criticize, U.S. foreign policy is accused of treason to the nation and of being an “agent of Moscow.”

In face of this withering barrage we sometimes witness tendencies even among honest progressives to “prove” their patriotism by indulging in “a little bit” of Red-baiting and anti-Soviet baiting on their own—a practice which, if persisted in, inevitably lands such practitioners four-square in the camp of the imperialists and the war-makers. Here and there, this tendency expresses itself in “looking for” or exaggerating differences with the Communists so as to avoid being labelled “fellow traveler”; or, of deluding oneself that there is some “middle ground” from which vantage point one can safely avoid taking sides in the struggle between the forces of peace and progress and those of atomic war and a new fascism.

While the Communists do not ask progressives and liberals to give up their own independent positions and outlooks in order to join in common struggle, we do expose the fal-

lacy of those who believe that they can find sanctuary on some non-existent middle-ground. And it is none other than Earl Browder who has set himself up as the ideologist for this “third force” theory.

In his pamphlet, *Where Do We Go From Here?* Browder tells us where he would like the progressive movement in this country to go—it is in the direction of an American form of the European “third force.” He mercilessly castigates the Party leadership for its failure to recognize that “in Europe the ‘third force’ is reactionary, while in America it still had the potentiality of playing a progressive role” (p. 47). And our refusal to grant this, he declares, only proves our inability creatively to apply Marxism to American conditions!

Why does Browder make this distinction between the United States and Europe? Because, he tells us, “the important fact” is “that the ‘third force’ in Europe is reactionary because there the task is the immediate transition to socialism, which the ‘third force’ opposes. But in America the ‘third force’ still has progressive potentialities because the chief immediate tasks still remain those of such character that they can be accomplished within the framework of capitalism” (p. 47). Thus, the “sharp difference” is but “a reflection of the different respective stages of the class struggle on the two continents” (p. 47). Furthermore, adds Browder, the Com-

munists are guilty of cultivating "opportunistic illusions" [sic] by masking the "true nature of the Wallace new party as, in program, composition, and leadership, the American counterpart of the 'third force' parties in Europe" (p. 47).

Thus to Browder, the Social-Democratic "third force" of Western Europe, set up at the direct orders of the U.S. State Department, is to be equated with the third party movement in this country which has as its objective the struggle against the predatory bipartisan program of Wall Street imperialism! Only a man gone completely mad, or one who has degenerated so swiftly that he cannot even recognize the pro-imperialist Social-Democratic swamp into which he has fallen, can compare the "third force" with the third party. It is like comparing a horse chestnut with a chestnut horse!

One would expect that having shown us the "progressive potentiality" of the "third force" in the United States, and also having characterized the Wallace third party movement as an American expression of this, that Browder would embrace and support the Wallace movement even on the basis of his own tortured logic. But oh no, Browder's heart belongs to Truman, even though he is more than generous in his advice as to where the Wallace movement ought to go.

Browder exposes his full political depravity when he glibly tells us that the "third force" in Europe is not an

inherently reactionary development; but only reactionary in a relative sense—in the sense that the immediate task "is the transition to socialism." But this is arrant nonsense! In the first place the reactionary character of the European "third force" has nothing at all to do with whether the immediate issue is or is not that of the transition to socialism. A movement such as the "third force," which came into being precisely in order to split the unity of the working class, to cloak the aggressive designs of American imperialism with pseudo-socialist and democratic phrases, to chain these countries to Wall Street's anti-Soviet war chariot — such a movement would be reactionary under all circumstances, and under *no circumstances whatsoever* could it be conceived of as "progressive." Not in Europe! Not in America! Not even in Shangri La!

In the second place, "the transition to socialism" is not the immediate issue in all of Europe, in the first place! The transition to, and the actual construction of, socialism are the issues in the new People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. But then again the "third force" is no force in these countries. Only in Western Europe, precisely in the Marshall Plan countries, do we witness this "third force" in operation. But in these countries the *immediate* issue is not the transition to socialism, but the struggle for peace—the struggle to keep these countries from becom-

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ing economically and politically enslaved to Wall Street, from becoming transformed into *places d'armes* for World War III. And in the resolving of this immediate issue, the "third force" is only the Social-Democratic wing of the "second force"—the force of American imperialism and its native Quislings and lackeys, directed against the *only* other force possible, that of the working class and common people.

And in the United States, too, despite all differences in the "respective stages of the class struggle," the issue today is that between two forces, not three—between Wall Street, its parties and lackeys on the one hand, and the great mass of the American people who want peace and democracy on the other hand.

Of course, neither force is fixed or frozen. We are living in a period of great movement, flux and change. Many of those who today adhere to the camp of imperialism only do so unwittingly, because their eyes are still closed to the real issues. When their eyes begin to open they will be on the other side—the *only* other side. As for the third party, it is "third" only in the sense of an *electoral* party, not in the sense of *class* or *political* alignment. There are, and can be, only two camps today—that of peace and democracy and that of war and imperialist reaction! Anyone who says that between these two camps there can be an independent "third force" is

either a fool or a knave, and Browder is no fool.

#### BROWDER'S "INTELLIGENT" EVALUATION OF THE ROOSEVELT ERA

As has been previously stated, Browder's whole revisionist system of thought (and it is a system) revolves around the central thesis that it is possible for U.S. imperialism to play a progressive role in the world of today. Even his mental gymnastics resorted to in explaining why Truman did as he did were but the contortions of a man refusing to face the facts, refusing to see American monopoly-capital as the ultra-reactionary force that it is.

In his pamphlet, *World Communism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Browder sets out to establish theoretical justification for his position. With cynical scorn he refers to the Party's analysis of monopoly capital as a "new dogmatism," in which "to speak of anything progressive coming out of American imperialism is the 'crime against the Holy Ghost,' is the 'original sin' of 'revisionism,' it is the unspeakable word which puts the man who utters it outside the pale, to be shunned like a leper" (p. 32).

It is no accident that Browder makes this insulting comparison between the Party's adherence to the principles of scientific Marxism, and the blind fanaticism of religious superstition. Such invidious comparisons have been made before, always

by the enemies of Marxism, and not infrequently by those who, like Browder, plead for "tolerance" and the "right" to emasculate Marxism.

Browder's line of argument runs like this: If Truman's policies are to be called "imperialist," what about Roosevelt's policies? Was Roosevelt not also a spokesman for American capitalism in its monopoly or imperialist stage of development, and were not his policies therefore also "imperialist"? Further, if this be true, then is it not also self-evident that the designation "imperialist" means nothing, for it only evades the key question: Are these imperialist policies "progressive" or "reactionary"? For, says Browder, Roosevelt was a progressive, and at the same time he "was first, last and all the time an American imperialist" (p. 33). Hence, to make the word "imperialist" synonymous with the word "reactionary" is false. That is why "Marxists, sworn enemies of imperialism on a world scale, found in imperialist America, under the Roosevelt type of leadership, the still existing capacity for a progressive role, sufficiently important in its world effects to demand the open and direct support of the Marxists" (p. 32).

Yes, it is undoubtedly true that Roosevelt, too, represented the interests of American capitalism (monopoly capital). It is an historic fact that notwithstanding his tirades against the "economic royalists," and their tirades against him, that pre-

cisely during the period of his leadership, the monopolists greatly accelerated the process of concentration of capital into their own hands, tremendously expanded their productive machinery and laid the groundwork for a domination over the world's markets and territories undreamed of before.

In what sense then, can one speak of the Roosevelt period as "progressive"? Only in a *relative* sense: only in the sense that a new, more immediately sinister reactionary force had arisen in the world—Nazi Germany. This rise of German fascism constituted the *main danger, the main enemy of world mankind, the main threat to the peace and democracy of the world and to the independence of nations*. It was in relation to this more immediate fascist imperialist threat that American imperialism receded into a less reactionary, a less menacing position.

Furthermore, the rise of fascist Germany constituted a threat, not only to the democratic peoples everywhere, but also to the world positions of U.S. and British imperialism. And this threat grew in direct proportion to the success of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan in conquering weaker nations and peoples.

Thus, for a certain historic period, two normally antagonistic forces—the working class and the mass of the common people on the one hand, and an important section of monopoly capital on the other, found themselves temporarily confronted

with a common foe. For both of them, this foe constituted the main enemy at the moment, although for entirely different class reasons. To the working class and the anti-fascist peoples generally, the defeat of Nazi Germany was necessary for the defense of their national independence and their democratic liberties. To the American bourgeoisie, the defeat of Nazi Germany was necessary in order to destroy its most virulent and most aggressively dangerous imperialist rival and to enhance thereby its own imperialist world position.

The course and the role of Roosevelt were directed toward this objective. In this role, despite many vacillations and concessions on his part, he was frequently compelled to give battle to the most reactionary pro-fascist circles of monopoly capital whose intense class hatred for socialism and democracy blinded them to the danger that Nazi Germany represented to their own imperialist interests. These circles preferred not only to come to terms with Hitler, but also to follow his example within the United States.

Thus, the Roosevelt period was "progressive" and those of his policies were "progressive" to the extent that they reflected the progressive interests of the working class and the nation; even if some of these temporarily coincided with the far-from-progressive interests of the bourgeoisie. And if Browder wants to know why the policies of Truman are called "imperialist," and why this

characterization does have meaning, it is precisely because these policies in no wise reflect the progressive interests of the American working class and nation, but only the sordid, ultra-reactionary interests of Wall Street imperialism.

The role that Roosevelt, as the representative of the bourgeoisie, played in World War II cannot, however, be explained solely on the basis of the interests of U.S. imperialism. It was not inevitable that the U.S. should have found itself in alliance with the U.S.S.R. in the anti-Hitler coalition. In fact, as we know there were strong capitalist circles that wanted to pursue a different course. These circles which found expression through the Hearsts, McCormicks and Lindberghs, through the Vandenberg, Tafts and Wheelers, believed that the interests of U.S. imperialism could best be advanced by reliance upon, and even an alliance with, Hitler.

A basic factor that helped determine the course of the U.S. in World War II was the mood and struggle of the people, and of the labor movement in the first place. In those struggles the Communist Party played an increasingly significant role. Without this basic force Roosevelt could not and would not have pursued the course he did. This was even more clear in the progressive measures adopted under Roosevelt on the domestic front. Here it is obvious that it was the

struggle of the unemployed, the strike struggles, the beginnings of a people's coalition led by labor that won such reforms as the Wagner Act and social insurance. In the course of these struggles, both before and after the election of Roosevelt following the big crisis that began in 1929, labor also began to act at least in some measure as an independent political force. It was this new position of labor and the people's struggles that in turn helped shape the Roosevelt foreign policy.

Those who start out from the premise that American imperialism is, or can be made "progressive," or who seek a new common foe that can once again "unite" capital and labor, can only end up in joining the imperialists in their unholy crusade against the most progressive force in the world—the Soviet Union and the world camp of democracy headed by it. Thus, this attempt mechanically to repeat history, to try to "go back" to the "honeymoon" period of yesterday, can only give aid to the imperialist war mongers. For these, too, seek to propagate the false notion of a postwar "equivalent," in which the Socialist Soviet Union has replaced fascist Germany as the national foe.

But if Browder understands nothing at all about this, neither does he understand why it was that German imperialism originally took the path of fascism and world conquest, while American imperialism, hard-hit by the same world-wide economic

crisis, took another path. And yet this must be understood if one is to grasp why it is that under the new world conditions of today American imperialism has embarked on the same ignominious and suicidal course trod but yesterday by German imperialism.

Browder does compare the rise of Hitler in Germany with that of Roosevelt in the United States. He shows that both of them came to power at approximately the same time. "Both were swept to power by the effects of capitalist crisis, and their immediate measures to meet the crisis bore more than a superficial resemblance" (p. 8). "But," adds Browder, "both paths [that of Roosevelt and Hitler] had something more deeply in common than their surface aspects already noted. Both accepted the existing capitalist system (imperialism), and both made its preservation the key to all their detailed policies. The goal of preserving imperialism they held in common; the means of reaching this goal (that is, their policies) became completely different, so different that Roosevelt led America into war against Hitler, and into alliance with the U.S.S.R., the country of a rival system, of socialism. But Roosevelt never abandoned his goal of preservation of the American system (imperialism). Roosevelt's *policy* proved more successful than Hitler's" (p. 31).

This is undoubtedly true. But what is the explanation for the two

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completely different policies adopted by Hitler and Roosevelt? The essence of Browder's answer to this question is revealed when, in the same pamphlet, he also compares Roosevelt with Churchill. In doing so, he asks: How is it "that the strongest imperialism [U.S. imperialism] played the more progressive role?" And he answers that "this apparent paradox . . . is to be explained within the terms of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of imperialism, which by no means excludes the influence of *intelligence* upon the course of history. Roosevelt's greater progressivism, in comparison with Churchill, arose from his *more intelligent understanding* of the realities of the war, and not from a less single-minded devotion to the preservation of capitalism" (p. 35).

So, "intelligence" becomes the determining factor between the policies of a Hitler, a Churchill and a Roosevelt! And once again we are back to the typical Browderite subjective interpretation of history!

Of course, we neither wish to deny nor deny the role of intelligence. Nor do we wish to detract in the slightest from the credit due Roosevelt as a highly intelligent representative of his class, especially as compared with the muddle-head, Truman. But to explain the whole course of contemporary world history by the personal qualities and mental attributes of single "great" individuals, is not Marxism, but a mockery of Marxism.

Great men do leave their mark on history. No one would deny that, least of all Marxists. But Marxists know, as George Plekhanov made clear more than a half-century ago, that "influential individuals can change the *individual features of events and some of their particular consequences*, but they cannot change their general *trend*, which is determined by other forces." And furthermore, that "talented individuals . . . are themselves the product of this trend; were it not for that trend they would never have crossed the threshold that divides the potential from the real."\*

What were the general and particular causes that brought about an objective trend in Germany that catapulted the madman Hitler and fascism into power, while in the United States it caused the trend of which the bourgeois-democrat Roosevelt was the "intelligent" spokesman?

To understand what took place, it is not enough to recognize, as does Browder, the general feature common to both; namely, the world-wide economic crisis that severely paralyzed the economic life of both the United States and Germany. It is also necessary to note that which was different: that while U.S. capital still had considerable reserves and maneuvering room at its command, German imperialism had neither. This can be seen in the fact that while American imperialism had

\* *The Role of the Individual in History*, International Publishers, New York, 1940, pp. 48 and 52.

emerged from World War I as the main, if not the only, victor, for the first time a creditor nation and world power; German imperialism emerged prostrate, shorn of its pre-war markets and colonies, its territory and population reduced and its economy greatly weakened and over-burdened by reparations and debts.

Thus, while the American bourgeoisie could "bend" to the gale of the mass pressure for work or bread, for an alleviation of the mass hunger and suffering, this path of concessions and reform was closed to the German bourgeoisie. Faced with a growing ferment among the masses, with a political crisis that could well have led to a revolutionary upheaval, the German bourgeoisie left the path of "intelligence" and decided to "shoot-the-works"—to plunge headlong into the mad gamble of counter-revolutionary fascism and a new war of revenge, not only to recoup the humiliating defeat of 1918, but to conquer the world. And in this "win-all lose-all" game, the sharper Hitler held but one lone card—his anti-Communism. And if for a number of years this single card was sufficient to trump the much higher economic and military hands of British, French and American capital, this was only possible because the Western imperialist powers recognized Hitler-Germany as the counter-revolutionary force that would crush the Soviet Union and not as their own deadly imperialist rival.

But the important point to note is this: if the German bourgeoisie did take what history has proved was a suicidal course, this was not due to any lack of "intelligence." Finding itself in a blind alley, it turned to desperation as a policy. Nor could it stop its imperialist gorging half-way. Its whole empire built on sand, its economy geared only to war, it had to continue its mad gallop to destruction.

If the American bourgeoisie did not pursue the path of military adventures in the '30's, the reason is also to be found in particular objective causes. First, it still could obtain a larger share of the world market by methods of so-called "peaceful" penetration and competition. With its more efficient industrial machine it could undersell its world competitors even in their own markets. That is why it placed such great emphasis on the Hull reciprocal trade agreements which sought to reduce and where possible eliminate all tariff walls and to win for U.S. capital "favored nation" treatment even within the British empire orbit.

Secondly, American imperialism desired peace and the maintenance of the status quo, not because it was "peace loving," but because it was ill prepared from a military point of view to enter an armed struggle for the redivision of the world.

Historically, the United States had never been a military power. This was so because the United States had developed as a great continental

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empire with a huge internal market and with few direct colonies. A large military force was necessary neither for internal security reasons nor for purposes of defense. It could only prove to be a heavy financial burden. Thus, American imperialism, even though it had already entered upon the path of larger armaments, was in no position to seek a military redivision of the world—nor was this as pressing for her as for German imperialism.

It was this objective fact which was referred to by Ercoli (Togliatti) in his Report at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935. After tracing the profound antagonisms between British and American capital which manifest themselves around the globe, Ercoli pointed out that "the military power of the United States and its strategic position in the Pacific Ocean do not yet correspond to its strength and its economic development, in spite of the tremendous growth of its armaments during the past few years."

"Thus," continued Ercoli, "we are confronted here by an imperialist state which does not set itself *immediate* goals of conquest, I emphasize—*immediate goals of conquest*, and which is interested in gaining time, in postponing an armed conflict as long as possible, and in employing the time thus gained to strengthen its own position."\*

#### THE POSTWAR POSITION AND ROLE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

How different is the situation today? No longer does American military power lag behind its economic development. The United States is now armed to the teeth. Its military expenditures have multiplied more than ten-fold as compared to the pre-war period. The one-ocean Navy has now been expanded into a two-ocean one, and the U.S. has supplanted Great Britain as the foremost sea power in the world. For the first time in American history there is now peace-time military conscription. Scores of new military bases dot the five continents and the seven seas, so that it can now be said without exaggeration that "the sun never sets" on the American "empire." And to top it off, there is the constantly growing stockpile of atom bombs. Truly a far cry from the picture at the time of Ercoli's Report!

And this profound difference in military power is only a reflection of the equally profound changes that have occurred in U.S. imperialism's world position. By a combination of circumstances, American imperialism has emerged from World War II as the single dominant power in the capitalist world. With its German and Japanese rivals vanquished, and its British and French allies weakened and even enfeebled by the war, U.S. monopoly capital occupies a monopolistic position, one from

\* *The Fight For Peace*, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1955, p. 31.

which it strives to keep the rest of the capitalist world on rations.

Thus, there is an immense difference between the world position of U.S. imperialism before the war and now. And there is obviously also a considerable difference between the present world position of American imperialism and that of Germany at the time of its plunge toward fascism. For one, the U.S. is neither a militarily defeated nor a "have not" power, as was Germany. Nor is the ruling class in this country confronted by an immediate internal political crisis and the imminent danger of a revolutionary upheaval. And yet the law of the uneven development of capitalism operates in such a way as to propel American imperialism—the power that gained the most loot and booty from the last war—to the path of new military adventures and world conquest.

The reason for this is to be found in the fact that American capitalism's tremendous industrial expansion brought on by the war has far outstripped its market possibilities. Even its newly won world positions cannot save it from the consequences of a new economic crisis and from the downward pull of the ever-deepening general crisis of the world capitalist system.

With more than 60 percent of world capitalist production concentrated in the United States, the disparity between productive capacity and market possibilities (the basic contradiction of capitalism), is much

more pronounced than it was even before the war, and is in the long run more acute for American imperialism than for any in the world. Thus her imperialistic appetite for new markets, for new investment fields and for ever-greater monopolistic control of the world, is far from satiated.

But just at the time in world history when the concentration of capital into huge international cartels and trusts has reached a point of development where one imperialist state has the preponderance of economic and military strength in the capitalist world, and where no other single imperialist power or combination of such powers can today challenge this hegemony, a new world force has arisen which blocks the path of American imperialism toward complete world mastery. This force is that of the great world democratic movement, which has been given a mighty impetus by the anti-fascist victory in the war. At the head of this world-wide people's force stands a great world power, the *only* other *decisive* power in the world today. This power is not an imperialist state, but an anti-imperialist one, a socialist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And alongside this great socialist state there have arisen a number of other new democratic, anti-imperialist, and Communist-led states in Eastern Europe and in China.

Thus, the world of imperialism is daily shrinking, while the world of

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anti-imperialism is growing. The capitalist world is no longer divided into fascist imperialist states on the one hand and "democratic" imperialist states on the other. The *main* division in the world of today is between the camp of predatory, aggressive imperialism, dominated by U.S. capital, and the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union.

In the light of this entirely new postwar world situation, to contend as does Browder, that American imperialism can be either coaxed or coddled into playing a progressive role, is simply "out-of-this-world." It was the change in the world relationship of forces that brought the change in the U.S. foreign policy, and not the other way around. And while the active intervention of certain individuals had much to do with the execution of this shift away from Roosevelt's policies of American-Soviet friendship, this was not its *basic* cause. Had a radical alteration not taken place in the world relationship of forces and in the world position of American imperialism, no single individual, not even a Truman as President, could so drastically have brought about an alteration in foreign policy and commitments in so short a period.

Of course, the untimely death of Roosevelt, coming as it did just as the war was ending, left its mark on the subsequent course of events. But it would be naive nonsense to believe, as Browder would have us

do, that if Roosevelt had remained alive nothing would have changed.

It is worse than idle folly to speculate today as to what course Roosevelt would have pursued had he survived the war, just as it is futile to debate what course Lincoln would have pursued had he survived the Civil War. Both of these men must be judged historically by what they did do, and not by conjectures as to what they would have done under entirely different circumstances.

One thing is however certain. In both instances, the ending of the war brought with it a shift in class forces that could not but be reflected in class and political alignments. With the military defeat of the Southern slave-owning class in the Civil War, it was not long before the victorious industrial bourgeoisie of the North began to fear the democratic consequences of its own bourgeois-democratic victory, began to compromise and betray its war-time pledges and to come to terms with its former foe.

So, in this war, too. As soon as victory over Hitler was assured, in fact before it was actually assured and won, monopoly capital began to fear the world-wide democratic consequences of this victory. It especially feared the new influence and strength of the Soviet Union and the great surge of the colonial and other peoples for complete freedom from every form of imperialist exploitation and oppression. It was this *new force*, the democratic mass movement which became the new main enemy

for monopoly capital.

Thus, to try to perpetuate the class alliances of yesterday into the entirely different conditions of today is to create a monstrosity. The continuation of Roosevelt's policies of U.S.-U.S.S.R. collaboration requires for the postwar a new type of people's coalition—one uniting all anti-monopoly and non-monopoly forces of the people against the main enemy of today, U.S. monopoly capital.

And if our Party during the war had based itself on a Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the situation as constantly demanded by Comrade Foster, we would have realized then the inevitable change in class relations that was bound to occur when the war was over. Thus, we would have been more conscious of the need to leave a "class imprint" on the anti-fascist struggle. This would have further enhanced our indeed great contribution to the war effort, while at the same time making it more difficult for the monopolists and their lackeys to betray the fight for a lasting peace and for democracy when the war was over.

When all this is shown by our Party, Browder retorts that this only proves that we have no perspective

short of Socialism. He accuses us of fatalism, of believing that it is impossible to have the co-existence of the world of Socialism and the world of capitalism without an inevitable third world war. But this, too, is only because Browder himself has no perspective except that of an alliance with monopoly capital.

It is of course possible to preserve the peace and prevent a third world war. It is possible to achieve the fulfillment of the agreements made at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. It is possible to prevent fascism in the United States.

But this brings us to a new aspect of the subject, one which we shall cover in a second article on Browderism to appear in next month's *Political Affairs*. In this second article we shall deal with: Browder's coalition theories versus the Party's coalition policy; Browder's position on whether fascism in the U.S. and a third world war can be prevented; who is responsible for labor disunity and why some of the Left-wing set-backs; Browder's economic theories and his new panacea for avoiding an economic crisis; and the relationship that Browderism bears to Titoism.

[To be continued]

# A United Democratic Front Defeated the Ober Law

by Philip Frankfeld

ON AUGUST 15, Judge Sherbow declared the infamous Ober Law unconstitutional and Maryland moved out of the shadow of fascism. This decision was a victory for the entire American people and a tribute to the stubborn, unflinching fight that the workers and people of Maryland have waged for their democratic liberties.

The Ober Law aimed to establish the first police-state in the Union. It decreed that any member of a "subversive" group was liable to 5 to 10 years in jail and a fine up to \$10,000 and that leaders of so-called subversive groups were liable to 20 years in jail and a fine of up to \$20,000. The definition of "subversive" and "subversive organization" was framed so loosely that anyone advocating any change in the existing order of things could be subject to jail terms. The law also provided for a special assistant to the Attorney-General, whose sole job would be to hunt and convict "subversives" in the state. He commanded the resources and police powers of the city, county and state governments under the law. In effect, the Ober Law established thought control in Maryland, with

the aim of stifling all expression of opinion and terrorizing the people with heavy jail sentences.

The Ober Law was not intended merely for Maryland. It was to serve as a model for all other states to follow. In 18 other states, bills were drafted closely patterned after the Ober Law.

It was no accident that this bill was first introduced in Maryland. Maryland is a Jim-Crow state. Typical of most "border" states, it combines some of the worst features of the North and the South. Maryland's role in the Civil War wavered between the North and the slave-owners' Confederacy. The political life of the state is dominated by a combination of Big Business interests (Bethlehem Steel, Glenn Martin, shipping interests, etc.) and Bourbon reaction, which is entrenched on the Eastern Shore, where the Black Belt begins. The Democratic Party in the state, closely akin to the Dixiecrats, has been the ruling party for generations. The reactionary Roman Catholic hierarchy plays a specially important role in the political life of the state, particularly in the large working-class communities, where it is

strongly entrenched. Finally, the trade-union movement in the mass-production industries was organized only in the past decade, with the birth of the C.I.O. The progressive forces within the labor movement are as yet quite isolated and weak, and Maryland lacks a tradition of militant struggle for civil liberties.

The Ober Bill was framed with the direct participation of Edward C. Morgan, a former F.B.I. agent; Robert Stripling, chief investigator of the House Un-American Committee; and Representative (now Senator) Karl E. Mundt, co-author of the Mundt-Nixon and now the Mundt-Ferguson Bill before Congress. It was rushed through the State Senate, with a unanimous vote. In the House, there was only one dissenting vote. Such an atmosphere of fear and hysteria had been created, that it was considered political suicide to vote against the bill. When the legislators heard that a Citizens' Committee had been organized to sponsor a referendum petition, they suspended the rules of the House and Senate and passed another bill declaring the Ober Law to be an emergency law. Thus, the Ober Law went immediately into effect and could not become inoperative as provided by the State Constitution's statute on referendums. Until the decision by Judge Sherbow, Maryland lived under the Ober Law.

Reaction in Maryland pursued a

carefully developed plan, relying heavily on a big barrage of pro-democratic demagoguery. The Ober Commission's report and the preamble to the Ober Bill reek with demagogic references to "defending democracy," "preserving the American way of life," "safeguarding the Constitution and the Bill of Rights," etc., etc. Bearing in mind the legal battle that reaction knew was in the offing, it even inserted a clause in the bill which declared that "Communism was a clear and present danger to the state of Maryland and to the government of the United States."

At our Party's 14th National Convention, Comrade Dennis reported that the development of fascism followed a different pattern in different countries, as determined by differences in national traditions, relationships of class forces, etc. He pointed out that American reaction was advancing toward fascism under the banner of "preserving democracy and defending the Constitution." The correctness of this analysis was borne out to the hilt by the policy employed by reaction in Maryland in its successful campaign to pass the Ober Law.

#### INITIATIVE IN HANDS OF REACTION

For a long time, reaction held the initiative. As early as April 1948, a state-wide Committee against "un-American Activities" was set up em-

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bracing 40 organizations and claiming to represent 90,000 persons. The Committee included the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Catholic War Veterans, the Catholic Church, the Catholic Daughters of Maryland, the Kiwanis, the Real Estate and Apartment Owners' Associations, etc. There was one Jewish group represented—the Jewish War Veterans. Not a single trade-union local or Negro organization was included among the 40.

The real power behind this Committee never appeared publicly. This included the labor-hating, Big Business employers in Maryland, who have never accepted the trade unions and dream of a day when they can return Maryland to the status of being one of the nation's worst open-shop and low-wage states. Such corporations as Bethlehem Steel, Glenn Martin, the Celanese Corp., the big shipbuilding and shipping firms, etc., stayed in the background, but gave substantial support and encouragement to the work of this Committee. Ober himself is a corporation lawyer representing large shipping concerns. Others on his Commission represent substantial industrial interests in the state.

This Committee raised tens of thousands of dollars. It drafted an amendment to the state constitution and put on a high-pressure campaign to get it passed. It bought ad-

vertisements and radio time, and issued hundreds of thousands of leaflets. Reaction succeeded in passing Amendment No. 7 last November by better than a two-to-one vote. Only the Communist Party campaigned against this "anti-subversive" amendment. No other progressive organization spoke out against it during the elections.

The Committee then smuggled through a resolution in the Legislature setting up the Ober Commission. The progressive forces in the state once again were extremely slow in realizing the significance of this Commission, which, after 6 months of operation in secrecy, without a single open hearing released its 115-page report. The Commission recommended the passage of an "anti-subversive activities" bill (the Ober Bill) which it had worked out to the last comma.

At the first public hearing at Annapolis, the forces of reaction were able to rally large numbers of Roman Catholic women to jam the hearing room. The reactionaries outnumbered, outgeneraled and outmaneuvered the progressive forces in every possible way. The progressive people's opposition movement was still unorganized and dispersed, whereas the fascist forces were working unitedly under a single command. Holding the initiative, feeling triumphant by the seven-to-one edge they held over the progressives, reaction engaged in an orgy of Red-

baiting, labor-, Negro- and Jew-baiting. This hearing was a most serious defeat for the progressives, but it resulted in galvanizing the movement into action. From that point on, the progressives went into battle, with the understanding that they had to win—or elementary democratic rights would be wiped out.

Judge Sherbow's decision came as the climax to a long, militant struggle against the Ober Bill and Law. The Court's decision, giving expression to the best of our deep-rooted democratic traditions, reflected the judgment already expressed by tens of thousands of aroused people fighting to defeat the Law. The people's victory had already been won in the streets, neighborhoods, shops, union halls and churches before the official, legal victory was won in the courts.

The movement against the Ober legislation was slow in getting started, but a great people's democratic coalition movement was quickly created. Built on the solid foundation of Negro-white unity and under the leadership of the working class, it was this movement which finally defeated the Ober Law. This signal victory of the people demonstrates once again that fascism is not invincible, that fascism can be beaten, once the masses are moved into action.

Two of the main lessons that can be learned from the struggle in Maryland are: (1) Wall Street's fascist offensive can be defeated even

when it has already succeeded in setting up a "legalized" police-state. Victory can be wrested from its hands even at the last minute; (2) it is the gravest danger to overestimate the strength of the forces of fascism and underestimate the strength of the working class and its allies. Through correct and effective mass work, mass struggle and united mass resistance, the armor of the enemy can be pierced.

#### A CORRECT COALITION POLICY

The Maryland victory had to be planned and fought for before it was won. A correct tactical policy was essential. From the very beginning, the Party realized that the vital task of defeating the Ober Law could not be carried by itself, nor by any narrow united front of Left-progressive forces in the state. Since the law imperilled the democratic rights of all sections of the population, the key task was to rally and unite all of the pro-democratic forces to conduct a common struggle to defeat the Ober Law. The Party rejected any idea that such a broad, labor-Negro-middle-class movement could not be established.

The first step was to warn the people of the fascist danger, to break through the conspiracy of silence which shrouded the whole reactionary campaign. The meaning of the Ober Commission's report for the various sections of the population

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therefore had to be popularized. Analyses prepared by progressive organizations showed concretely how the Ober report and proposed bill hit, not only at the Communist Party, but at the labor movement, the Negro and Jewish peoples' organizations, the teachers, etc.; and the analyses became the basis for a mass ideological campaign. Various progressive organizations reacted quickly; yet each organization functioned on its own. But after the first public hearing, it became obvious that a minimum of united action was imperative.

It had become obvious that the tactical line pursued up to that time was not geared to bring into being a mass people's coalition against the Ober Bill. For weeks, efforts had been made and time spent—unsuccessfully. The policy was at first designed to build an anti-fascist, anti-monopoly united front in Maryland, and this policy had proved ineffective because it was too far advanced. The perspective that had been developed was correct; but the path that was being traveled was leading away from achieving that perspective. A sharp turn in policy was called for.

Meanwhile, an advertisement against the Ober Bill was prepared by a group of conservative Baltimoreans, including a number of anti-Communists and A.D.A.'ers. Within one week's time, more than 160 outstanding educators, at Johns

Hopkins' University and Morgan College (the leading Negro college in Maryland), nationally-renowned professional people and artists, the entire leadership of the Negro people's movement in the state, top officials of the C.I.O. (including the steel, auto workers' and Amalgamated Clothing Workers' unions, a group of 14 rabbis and leaders of Jewish community organizations, a large group of prominent women, Negro and white ministers from almost every Protestant denomination, endorsed and publicly signed this advertisement.

When this advertisement appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* papers, it created a sensation. Similar advertisements were published in the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Jewish Times*, etc.

The protest movement was spurred on to the point where, in a few days, thousands of telegrams poured into the House demanding that the bill be defeated. Hundreds of delegations, small and large, visited the representatives when they left Annapolis over the weekends. A mass picket line of hundreds was thrown up in front of Frank J. Ober's office in midtown Baltimore. The picket line then paraded through town with banners and placards and distributed thousands of leaflets. Radio time was purchased by unions, the Progressive Party and other groups to expose the Ober Bill. Literature in the hundreds of thousands of

copies was issued by various organizations.

When the time came for the second hearing, the opponents outnumbered the supporters of the bill by better than 10 to 1. To this hearing came: the Maryland school teachers' association, social workers, librarians, the A.D.A., the Civil Liberties Union, Local 24 of the Shipyard Workers, a large group of Negro spokesmen and others.

Reaction had not succeeded in rushing the Ober Bill through the House as it had managed to do in the Senate. A month's delay had been won, but that was not enough time to change the situation decisively.

When the bill became law, the struggle entered a new stage. Literally overnight, a new, broad Citizens' Committee sprang into existence. In the course of the struggle, many new forces had been recruited into the battle to defeat the Ober Bill. Many outstanding liberals and Negro people's leaders assumed leadership in the new Citizens' Committee. Instead of retreating, the Citizens' Committee had decided to continue the fight. It worked out a two-fold policy: (a) to collect 10,000 signatures in order to guarantee a people's referendum in November 1950; and (b) to test the Ober Law in the courts.

Although the Citizens' Committee was truly representative of all sections of the population, the C.I.O.

leaders failed to go along with it. The C.I.O., like the A. F. of L., was pledged to fight the Ober Law, but "in its own way," the leadership said.

The Citizens' Committee was the broadest kind of a coalition, united to defend bourgeois democracy in the state against ultra-reaction. Many of its leading figures were not concerned with defending the rights of Communists. To the degree that their interests coincided with those of the Communists, to that degree mutual support was established by indirection rather than directly. Life itself forced them into a temporary and involuntary common struggle with the Communists against the Ober Law.

The press made a serious effort to Red-bait the committee; but not a single person withdrew from it in the face of this attack.

#### PETITION DRIVE

With the establishment of the Citizens' Committee, the pro-democratic camp assumed the offensive by going to the working class and to the people of Maryland.

Many hundreds of rank-and-file workers, Negro and white, trade unionists, Negro people, professional and white-collar workers took a most active part in the campaign to collect signatures to petitions. But the very backbone of the canvassers, those who worked hardest and were most selfless, were the Negro and

white workers and trade unionists. They worked day and night, including weekends, to meet the legal requirements. Women, and especially housewives, made an outstanding contribution in collecting signatures. The Progressive Party of Maryland provided the most experienced workers in the petition drive. The drive ended several weeks ahead of schedule, with 15,580 signatures. These were obtained mainly in working-class areas and among the Negro people, as well as among sections of the lower middle-class.

To achieve these results, more than 100,000 homes had to be visited. Representative John Newcomer, the sole member of the legislature who voted against the Ober Bill, joined the Citizens' Committee and took an active part in the campaign.

#### NEGRO-WHITE UNITY, CORNERSTONE OF UNITED FRONT

The very heart and core of the people's democratic coalition was the solid Negro-white unity established in Maryland. Without it, the struggle to defeat reaction could never have been successful. Although the Negro people constitute slightly over 15 percent of the state's population, the committee's estimate of the signatures revealed that almost 50 percent came from registered Negro

workers, farmers and middle-class people.

At all stages of the struggle, the Negro people's leaders and their organizations responded courageously and participated actively in the battle. The *Baltimore Afro-American* carried a crusading editorial against the Ober Law. The N.A.A.C.P. officially sponsored the referendum. The Negro Bar Association of Baltimore, the Elks, Frontiers Club, Interdenomination Ministerial Alliance, Baptist and Methodist Churches, Federation of Women's Clubs, and many others, participated in the referendum drive.

The Negro leaders were at all times closely integrated in the movement and identified as leaders of the struggle against the Ober Law. Of the six lawyers who handled the case for the Citizens' Committee, three were leading Negro attorneys in Baltimore. On all levels of leadership, Negro-white unity was visible demonstrated during the whole course of the fight.

The reaction in the Negro community against the Ober Law was as immediate as it was universal. The law was sized up for what it was—reactionary legislation directed against the just national and democratic aspirations of the Negro people in Maryland. The struggles for Negro rights that white progressives had previously initiated (the Maryland Theatre fight, the tennis-court case, the struggle for jobs and relief

for Negro jobless, etc.) and the fight waged against white chauvinism in the ranks of progressive organizations, helped to cement the bond of unity between the Negro people and the progressive forces in the state.

#### ROLE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The rank and file of labor made the decisive contribution in the struggle to defeat the Ober Law. The working class saw the law as an extension of the Taft-Hartley Act, threatening the very existence of their unions. Steel, ship, maritime, textile, railroad, garment, electrical, furniture and building-trades workers provided the great bulk of the canvassers and signatures. Such unions as the United Mine Workers of Western Maryland, the I.L.G.W.U., U.E., MC&S, Furniture, Mine, Mill and Smelter, etc., participated officially in the petition drive. The membership of Local 24 of the Shipyard Workers likewise endorsed the referendum drive.

At first, the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. issued fighting statements against the Ober Commission's report and proposed bill. Both labor federations spoke out vigorously over their radio programs. The C.I.O. sent an official delegation to Annapolis to speak out against the bill. At the last A. F. of L. convention, a strongly worded resolution against the Ober Law was adopted.

Thus, the early role of the top

officials of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. was a positive one. But as the struggle waxed hot with the passage of the law, these officials withdrew to "safer" positions, although at no time did they retract their statements against the Ober Law.

The Left-progressive-led C.I.O. unions, and the militants within the A. F. of L. and the Right-led C.I.O. unions, spearheaded the struggle against the Ober Law in the ranks of labor. They took a most active part in the fight and helped to bring about defeat of the law.

#### THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Our Party strove to fulfill its vanguard role at all stages of the struggle to defeat the Ober Law. The Party correctly stressed the anti-fascist character of the struggle. It strove to raise the understanding of the masses as to the root causes of the reactionary attack. It answered the slanders directed against it and repeatedly presented its immediate program and its basic program for Socialist America. The Party vigorously defended its right to exist legally, and linked this up with the very existence of democratic rights for all sections of the population.

Far from running for cover, the Party remained on the offensive throughout the struggle against the Ober Law. Intensifying its campaigns against the aggressive Atlantic Pact and for action on unemploy-

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ment, rent control and Negro rights, the Party membership at the same time threw itself boldly into the battle against the fascistic Ober legislation.

The great majority of the Party membership displayed firm loyalty and devotion to the Party and came through the struggle imbued with a heightened fighting spirit and solidarity. Only in one instance did the Party face the problem of actual desertion by one of its activists. He was an old-time Party member and organizer of a section. Refusing to abide by a Party decision not to leave Maryland, thereby showing political cowardice, he was expelled as a deserter under fire.

The Party functioned throughout the period of the Ober Law. Party discipline was at its highest point, and every comrade was active. The Party was more deeply involved in mass work and theoretical studies and emerged from this period of severe testing more matured and experienced than ever before.

The Party also made its unique contribution to the struggle against the Ober Law. At the Annapolis hearings, for example, George Meyers, Labor Secretary of the Party in Maryland, came forward as the outstanding figure by his brilliant statement and courageous stand. A separate court test was also undertaken by the Party, and the Party's full program of immediate demands and its ultimate goal of Socialism were laid

before Judge Sherbow and the people of Maryland.

The Party gained a whole new, rich experience during the struggle against the Ober Law. The inner fiber of our Party is as eternal, indestructible and powerful as are the ideas and truths of Marxism-Leninism.

#### NEXT TASKS

The Ober Law is but one of the fascistic offshoots of the cold-war policies of the Truman Administration. The drive of Wall Street reaction toward fascism at home is the domestic counterpart of its policy of aggressive war and mad dreams of world conquest.

Reaction in America is employing both "legal" forms and extra-legal methods. Foley Square is the sharpest expression of the first method. Peekskill is the clearest manifestation of the second.

The use of the one does not preclude the use of the other method. As reaction meets with defeats on the legislative, political and juridical battlefronts, it will attempt to resort, more than ever before, to extra-legal violence against the progressive and labor movements and the minority groups.

Judge Sherbow's decision that the Ober Law was unconstitutional, while a victory for the people, does not complete the people's struggle. Reaction is now appealing to a high-

er court in Maryland notorious for its reactionary composition. But if this State Court of Appeals is made to feel the sentiments of the people against the Ober Law, then—and only then—the chances are good that Judge Sherbow's decision will be upheld.

The people's democratic front was built around a single issue and on a state level. But that issue is a continuous one: the fight against the forces of reaction and fascism in Maryland and throughout the country. This means that a broader, more permanent united front must be established, on a higher level of politi-

cal understanding, and directed against fascism and imperialism, against the Wall Street monopolists. It must reach the maturity of understanding the need for fighting in defense of the rights of the Communists as a decisive part of the struggle today to defeat the drive to fascism and war.

It is above all the vital duty of the Communists in Maryland to draw all the lessons from the great common experience shared by the thousands who defeated the Ober Law, and to help build a more powerful democratic-front movement based, in the first place, on the working class.

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# Decree of the Polish Republic Guaranteeing Freedom of Conscience and Religion

The Decree Issued by the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Poland on August 5, 1949.

(Full Text)\*

I. The Polish government guarantees freedom of conscience and religion to all its citizens.

II. Whosoever infringes on the rights of a citizen because of his creed or absence of religious affiliation is liable to imprisonment up to five years.

III. Whosoever forces another person to participate in religious worship or whosoever prevents another person from participating in such worship is liable to imprisonment up to five years.

IV. Whosoever misuses religious freedom by refusing to let another person participate in a religious ceremony because of his political, social or scientific activities or beliefs is liable to imprisonment up to five years.

V. Whosoever outrages the religious feelings of others by publicly desecrating religious objects or places of worship is liable to imprisonment up to five years.

VI. Whosoever publicly foments religious conflicts or sanctions them

is liable to imprisonment up to five years.

VII. (1) Whosoever publicly insults, scoffs at, or humiliates a group or an individual because of religious affiliations or convictions or because of absence of religious affiliations is liable to imprisonment up to five years.

(2) Whosoever commits physical violence against a person because of his religious convictions or absence of religious affiliations is liable to the same punishment.

(3) Whosoever commits any other criminal act against a group or an individual because of religious affiliations, convictions or absence of religious affiliations is liable to imprisonment.

(4) If any action described in Paragraph 3 results in death, serious injury, disturbance of peace and order, or jeopardy to public safety, the person committing the act is liable to imprisonment for a period not less than three years, for life, or the death penalty.

VIII. (1) Whosoever misuses religious freedom and freedom of con-

\* Reprinted from *Poland of Today*, published by the Polish Research and Information Service, New York, September 1949.

science to pursue aims hostile to the form of government of the Polish Republic is liable to imprisonment for a period not less than three years.

(2) Whosoever makes preparations to commit an act in violation of Par. 1 is liable to imprisonment.

IX. Whosoever misuses religious freedom for personal gains, takes advantage of human credulity by spreading false rumors, or by misleading others through deception and overt acts, is liable to imprisonment.

X. Whosoever takes part in an agreement, the purport of which is the commission of any crime under Articles III to IX, or whosoever deliberately joins a crowd which collectively commits such a crime, is liable to imprisonment.

XI. Whosoever contrary to his duty fails to intervene in the commission of such a crime is liable to five years maximum imprisonment.

XII. Whosoever in any manner instigates, encourages, recommends or publicly sanctions the committing of a crime defined in Articles II and XI is liable to imprisonment.

XIII. Whosoever is found guilty under this decree may be deprived, by the court, of his public and civil rights.

XIV. All cases arising under this decree are under the jurisdiction of Courts of Appeal.

XV. The provisions of the Criminal Code of 1932 and the Decree of the 15th of July 1946 concerning crimes especially dangerous during the period of national reconstruction are set aside in cases arising under the present decree.

XVI. The Minister of Justice is charged with the execution of this decree.

XVII. The decree goes into effect upon the day of publication.

#### ERRATUM

Due to a regrettable technical mishap in the printing of our September issue, two lines of type print were dropped out of the article, "The Communist Party—Leader of the Struggle of the Unemployed," by David Carpenter. The sentence opening the first complete paragraph in the second column of page 86 of that issue should have read as follows:

"To defeat the sabotage of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and mobilize the trade-union rank and file, the Communist Party, the T.U.U.L., and the Unemployed Councils organized the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance, under the leadership of Communist Louis Weinstock of the New York painters' union."

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