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

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Working-Class and People's Unity for Peace!

(Main Resolution of the 15th National Convention. C.P.U.S.A.)

I. THE GROWING WAR DANGER AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

1. THE EVENTS of the past two years have borne out the general analysis made by the historic 1945 Emergency Convention, as well as the estimate of the 14th National Convention of our Party in 1948 that the "decisive issues confronting the American people" are those of "peace or war, democracy or fascism."

Two main lines of development characterize the period since then:

a) a tremendous speeding up of Wall Street's drive toward war, and a consequent growing acuteness of the war danger, and

b) a great strengthening of the world peace forces headed by the Soviet Union, with a corresponding weakening of the world capitalist system.

The frenzied imperialist drive to-

ward war and fascism has now entered a new stage. This stage began with U.S. imperialist armed intervention in Korea and the seizure of Taiwan (Formosa), and the further threats of aggression against the People's Democratic Republic of China. It represents the going over from propaganda and preparation for war to armed aggression against other nations.

2. In the period since our last convention, Wall Street imperialism has further consolidated its domination over the rest of the capitalist world. However, this has solved neither the economic problems of Western European capitalism nor those of U.S. capitalism. On the contrary, since the end of World War II the general crisis of the world capitalist system has been greatly deepened. The strengthening of the Soviet Union, the first land of Socialism, the rise

of the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe and the liberation of the vast land of China has removed, for all time, 800 million people from imperialist domination. These developments have greatly undermined the whole structure of world capitalism.

This period has also been one of maturing economic crisis in the United States as well as in the rest of the capitalist world.

The sharp decline in production which took place in this country in October, 1948, and continued until the latter part of 1949, was but the first cold blast of the approaching economic storm. This sharp decline was coupled with a severe drop in farm income and multiplying signs of a growing agricultural crisis. Thus, the analysis made by our 14th National Convention of a maturing economic crisis was borne out.

However, a number of factors reversed the economic decline and distorted the "normal" development of the cyclical economic crisis. The upswing which followed surpassed the postwar high point of 1948. This resulted mainly from the cumulative effects of large-scale government spending for war, through the armament program and the Marshall Plan, plus the inflationary credit expansion that stimulated the building and durable goods industries. This reflects the operation of reactionary Keynesian concepts in the economic measures of Wall Street. But during the spring of 1950, this upswing

from the low level of the 1948-9 sharp drop was already showing more and more signs of instability, and the probability of a new, early and even sharper decline was indicated.

This decline was halted by the catapulting of the United States into the new stage of the war drive, into actual armed aggression against the peoples of Korea and China and a more frenzied preparation for all-out war, including the going over to a growing war economy. Thus, the present "war boom" was created. But this "boom" has not eliminated the factors making for economic crisis. The crisis has only been postponed. The war economy, far from "ruling out" the outbreak of an economic crisis, will by the very distortions it imposes upon the economy, sharpen the contradictions of capitalism and lead to an economic crisis of even more catastrophic proportions.

3. Wall Street is confronted with the growing contradictions between its immense productive facilities and its limited and shrinking market possibilities. It fears the consequences of a new economic crisis, the growing strength, solidity and prosperity of the Socialist part of the world, and the prospect of the collapse of world capitalism. Hence it sees no answer but the further intensification of its drive for complete world domination through war.

But just at the time in world history when one single imperialist

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state, the United States, has the overwhelming preponderance of economic and military strength in the capitalist world, a new world force has arisen which blocks the drive of Wall Street imperialism toward complete world mastery. This force is the world democratic movement, the camp of peace, democracy, national independence and Socialism, at whose head stands that great anti-imperialist, Socialist state, the Soviet Union.

It is this which explains the imperialists' hatred for the Soviet Union. They view war against the Soviet Union as "inevitable," because its peace policy stands in the way of their mad dream to conquer and subjugate the entire world.

4. The magnitude of present preparations for all-out world war can be seen in the first place in the recent declaration of a state of national emergency, which gives dictatorial powers to President Truman and aims to gear the entire economy to the war drive. It is seen in the renewed threat to use the A-bomb and in the stock-piling of A-bombs. It is further seen in the North Atlantic war alliance now implemented by the U.S.-directed move to re-establish a Nazi Army in Western Germany, and in the maneuvers to remilitarize Japan; the brazen alliance with fascist Franco-Spain; the drive to transform the U.N. from an organization that can serve world peace into an instrument for Wall Street's aggressive war designs; the sinister growth

of militarism; and the increasing destruction of civil and constitutional liberties, as part of a growing fascist menace. For it is through fascist measures that the ruling class intends to "prepare the rear" for the unpopular war of aggression and world conquest which it is feverishly hastening to launch.

5. The camp of peace and Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, has in the past two years advanced to the dominant world position. It embraces today not only the 800 million people in that sector of the globe which has taken the path to Socialism, but hundreds of millions in the capitalist and colonial nations. The salient features of this advance are:

a) The miraculous postwar economic rehabilitation of the Soviet Union, made possible by its Socialist foundation; the magnificent advance of the first Socialist state to Communism under the leadership of the great Stalin; and its tremendously enhanced strength and prestige as leader of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

b) The irrevocable victory of the people of China, under the leadership of their Communist Party, and the formation of the great Chinese People's Republic; the removal of 475 million Asian people from the orbit of imperialism, which has radically altered the world relationship of forces in favor of the camp of peace and democracy, while deepening the general crisis of world

capitalism.

c) The phenomenal rise of the great colonial liberation movement which is shaking the camp of world imperialism to its very foundations, thereby enormously strengthening the camp of peace. In Korea, Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines, Indonesia, Puerto Rico, and in all Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for complete national liberation cannot be crushed.

d) The consolidation and growth of the economic and political strength of the East European countries of People's Democracy.

e) The end of the A-bomb monopoly by U.S. imperialism and the consequent bursting of the myth of a successful A-bomb blitz war.

f) The organized formation of a world peace movement which speaks for the majority of mankind as symbolized more recently by the multi-million signatures to the Stockholm Peace Appeal and by the Warsaw Peace Congress.

g) The formation of the German People's Democratic Republic.

6. The world relationship of forces is not favorable to imperialism and war. These facts, on the one hand, indicate the realistic possibilities for preventing a third world war and, on the other, explain the mood of recklessness and desperation in the camp of imperialism and the growing acuteness of the war danger.

The contradictions within the imperialist camp are growing and as-

suming sharper forms, as can be seen in recent weeks following the U.S. military debacle in Korea. These will continue to grow as the suicidal character of the war policy becomes more apparent, and as U.S. imperialism seeks completely to destroy the national independence of its allies. The Anglo-American contradiction, the contradictions arising in Western Europe due to the Wall Street demand for a West German army and total war mobilization, are sharpening all imperialist contradictions as well as internal class contradictions. And last, but not least, it is only now that the American working class and the American people as a whole are beginning to realize the criminal folly of the Korean adventure and to see that the Wall Street program does not spell prosperity for them. It spells instead fabulous war profits for the class of idle rich. It spells lower and lower living standards for the bulk of the American people.

7. What the drive toward war is already costing the American people in lowered living standards becomes increasingly evident. In 1938, military expenditures cost an average of \$8.00 per capita in this country. In 1950 this amount will skyrocket to \$147.00 per person, while it is estimated that in 1951 it will reach the staggering height of \$307.00 per person. The so-called "pay-as-you-go" policy means that the American people must immediately pay for these armaments out of their own pockets

by increased taxation, direct and indirect. In October, payroll deductions were increased by 20 percent and will go up more in the future, as will the more concealed forms of taxation. Side by side with this, there is an inflationary rise in prices—approximately 17 percent—since June 1 — and it is still climbing. The meager housing program of the government has already been drastically slashed. Together with credit curbs, this means that the low income groups—the workers and particularly the Negro people—are doomed to remain in overcrowded, slum houses, and that this situation will even further deteriorate. It means the building of fewer schools for our children, despite the tremendous increase in the school-age population. It means the building of fewer hospitals, despite the dangerous shortage of these facilities today. For the farmers it means high taxes, and the drafting of masses of farm youth into the armed forces—while food profiteers operate uncurbed. For old folks on pensions, it means starvation or dependence on children. For young men, it means to be torn for years from home, school or job, and death on far flung battlefields. For sweethearts and mothers, it means the gnawing fear of a white cross and a gold star.

To cap the climax, President Truman in declaring the existence of a national emergency, has laid the basis for governmental strike-breaking and the outlawing of strikes; the

lengthening of the working day and intensified speed-up; and wholesale wage-freezes demagogically tied to price control promises must in the light of past experiences be viewed as false promissory notes. In this drive to beat down the workingmen's conditions and rob them of their hard-won rights, Wall Street's man in Presidential office is directly abetted by the labor misleaders as part of their total treasonous policy.

For the class of idle rich, for the multi-millionaire monopolists, the drive to war means exorbitant war profiteering. It also means that in the name of "preparedness" and "national defense" the government will undertake to regulate more and more of the nation's economy. Thus, the trend toward state monopoly capitalism, in which the government regulates more and more of the economy in the interests of the most powerful monopolies, has been given a new impetus by the intensified war drive.

8. It would be criminal folly for any American to believe that the peace of the world will be automatically preserved because the world camp of peace and democracy is stronger than the camp of imperialism and war. *Only the greatest vigilance, the most resolute action, the broadest front of unity, can guarantee that the hands of the war incendiaries will be stayed. A powerful movement for peace in the United States is an absolute pre-requisite for such a guarantee.*

How dangerous the present situation is can be seen by the events in Korea. We have witnessed not only the brazen armed intervention against the Korean people and the grabbing of Formosa as a military base for future war; but also repeated, provocative violations of the frontiers of China and the U.S.S.R. by American military aircraft. The United States imperialists have now made it clear that their aims in Korea are not only to subjugate the Korean people, but the Chinese and all Asian peoples as well.

9. From all of the above it can be seen that the struggle for peace is the central, all-embracing task for the whole present historic period. The future of our nation, the welfare of our people, depends on the outcome of this struggle. The war course of Wall Street and Washington has placed the United States in dire peril. *It is the sacred duty of our Party, of every worker, of every person who loves his home and country, to prevent a third world war with all its ghastly consequences.* Such a war would only spell death, destruction, untold misery and starvation, not only for other peoples throughout the world, but for our own people. *There is no greater patriotic duty than to prevent a third world war; for to save the peace is to save America itself from destruction.*

10. The defeats at the hands of the Korean people fighting for their land and freedom and the President's

threat to use the A-bomb have exposed Wall Street's adventurist, criminal war policy, with its costly toll of American lives and the barbarous massacres of countless Korean men, women and children. The recent period has witnessed a mass indignation and rapid growth in the expression of the peace sentiments of the American people and a visible growth in the development of an American peace movement. The formation of the Labor Conference for Peace marked an important step forward, as did the formation of the Peace Information Center and the launching of the Stockholm Peace Pledge campaign. The more than two million signatures for this Pledge obtained despite the conditions of mass intimidation in this country (arrests, physical assaults and loss of jobs), was a tremendous and significant achievement. The expanding women's peace movement was symbolized by the inspiring demonstration of 2,500 women at the United Nations to protest Truman's threat to use the A-bomb. It must also be noted that many broader movements for peace are developing around the Quaker proposals for peaceful co-existence of the capitalist United States and the Socialist Soviet Union, in support of the International Red Cross Appeal to Ban the A-Bomb, in the form of various national, state and local peace committees. A number of movements, though still unco-ordinated have

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taken the field in the demand to "bring the boys home" from Korea.

11. The most important fact that must, however, be noted by the 15th National Convention of our Party is that despite the great fear of war and the great sentiment for peace, there has not yet been crystallized in our country a broad, *organized* peace movement. This is so despite the fact that in recent weeks a powerful upheaval of peace sentiment has expressed itself throughout the length and breadth of the land. But unless this sentiment is crystallized and guided in the direction of an organized people's peace movement, there is a danger that it will be dissipated by a feeling of helplessness or diverted into the reactionary channels of the Hoover-Taft demagogues. In respect to a broad organized peace movement, the United States lags behind most other countries, even though the American working class and the American people have a major responsibility for curbing the war drive of the American ruling class.

12. The big task ahead is to unite all forces in our land that stand for peace. We declare our readiness to work together with anyone, regardless of his political views, so long as he truly desires peace. In time, all who desire peace must make up one great peace front. For the present, however, we must work for the achievement of the broadest united action and parallel action on one or more immediate

issues. Some of these issues are: for a peaceful settlement of the Korean war based on the withdrawal of American troops and a united, independent, democratic Korea; for hands off China; the banning of the A-bomb and the general reduction in armaments; the seating of People's China in the U.N. and its recognition by the U.S.; against the re-establishment of a Nazi German army and a re-militarized Japan; for a top-level U.S.-Soviet meeting to negotiate differences and secure peace; against the seating of Franco-Spain in the U.N. and its recognition by the U.S.; and for silencing all war incitement as a crime against the American people.

In order to achieve this, the united front from below is key, requiring the setting up of peace committees in shops, unions, mass organizations, towns and neighborhoods. It requires the unification of all the more conscious and advanced peace forces, their co-operation with all other peace movements and forces, leading also to greater association and co-operation with the World Peace Congress.

The Party must sharply combat all tendencies in its own ranks toward inconsistent, sporadic work on the peace front, whether flowing from moods of fatalism or complacency. It must truly place the peace issue in the center of all its work, particularly paying attention to the winning of the working class and the Negro people for this struggle, and con-

stantly bring home to the American people both the possibility and necessity of achieving the peaceful co-existence of the two social systems.

Special attention must also be given to the winning of the youth, who together with the women, have demonstrated the greatest initiative and mass response to the fight for peace. The mass resentment among the youth and women against the militarization of the young generation opens up new possibilities for an enhanced role of the youth and women in the fight for peace. It is possible and necessary to help organize a Negro people's movement for peace and greatly to broaden and strengthen the existing women's and youth movements, as well as to build specific peace movements among the nationality groups.

The Party leadership must take steps to overcome the general weakness in the mass popularization of the peace policy and Socialist character and achievements of the U.S.S.R. The idea of inevitable war must be countered with the fact of the possibility and desirability of the co-existence of the two social systems and their peaceful competition.

Of supreme importance is the struggle against the ideology of national or racial superiority—white chauvinism; Anglo-Saxon supremacy; anti-Semitism; attacks against the foreign-born, etc. Our Party must bring to the people the great principles of working-class and peoples'

internationalism. Effective assistance must be rendered to the Puerto Rican people in their struggles for freedom and national independence against the sharpening of the barbarous colonial regime imposed by Wall Street for 52 years, and the utilization of that country as a strategic, military and atomic-bomb base and as a political and ideological outpost for penetration into all Latin America. The responsibility of the American working class to the direct victims of Wall Street aggression and oppression, especially the peoples of Korea, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and all of Latin America, is particularly great.

The American people cannot evade, any more than the German people have been able to evade, the responsibility for the fiendish Lidices perpetrated by American hands, the barbaric inhuman bombardments that are obliterating Korean cities and villages, destroying industries and means of livelihood and annihilating masses of men, women and children.

II. THE MENACE OF FASCISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

1. The struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle for democracy, from the struggle against the growing danger of fascism. We Communists do not regard either war or fascism as inevitable. We are

profoundly confident that a fighting united working class and its allies can block both war and fascism. War and fascism both have their source in monopoly capitalism, in the decay of the capitalist system. U.S. imperialism is the most reactionary force in the world today, seeking to fascize, not only America, but every capitalist country.

While spurred on by the mad drive toward war, the process of fascization is also a major factor hastening the war drive, especially as it succeeds in intimidating and silencing the growing doubt, discontent and opposition in the ranks of the people. Thus, the fight for peace must of necessity include the broadest, most consistent and many-sided struggle for democratic liberties generally, and the rights of the Negro people in particular. Without this, peace cannot be won.

The labor misleaders and reactionary Social-Democrats bear a special historic responsibility for the growth of fascist reaction in the U.S. By their splitting of the working class, by their support of the pro-war, anti-Communist drive and their dependence on the Democratic Party they have so far been able to prevent the labor movement from exercising its full, united strength to defeat such pro-fascist measures as the Taft-Hartley and McCarran laws.

The outrageous imprisonment of the Party's General Secretary, Eugene Dennis; the vicious jailings of Carl

Marzani, the Hollywood Ten and the leaders of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the conviction of the eleven leaders of the Communist Party under the nefarious Smith Act; the sentences meted out to the courageous attorneys in the Foley Square and Bridges' frame-ups; the conviction of Harry Bridges; the constant arrests and harrassment of foreign-born working-class leaders; the growing list of contempt citations handed down by the House Un-American Committee; the attempts to revoke the traditional right to bail; the passage of the McCarran Act; and finally the dictatorial powers assumed by President Truman through his declaration of a state of national emergency, all indicate how menacing is the danger of fascism in this country.

2. The process of political decay is seen also in the special measures taken by the ruling class to pollute all channels of cultural expression, attempting to terrorize, intimidate or corrupt all workers in this field. The greatest of all people's artists, Paul Robeson; the gifted people's writer, Howard Fast; the progressive Hollywood writers; all are victims of this attempt to crush all progressive, people's culture.

Likewise, the growing legal and extra-legal terror directed against the Negro people takes on a qualitatively new significance in the light of the drive toward war and fascism. It aims to destroy the anti-imperialist

liberation movement of the Negro people, and even further to poison the minds of white Americans with the fascist racial theory of white supremacy.

This period also witnesses sharply increased manifestations of oppression and violence against the Puerto Rican people and the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest, as well as increased manifestations of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is being deliberately developed among the masses to divert their growing anger from the war-makers and monopolists.

The fact that for the first time in history our country has taken the path toward militarism, with a huge standing army of millions and with a larger and larger military caste, represents an exceedingly great danger, in the first place for our youth, but also for the whole nation. This influence of militarism can already be seen in the key positions occupied by military men in governmental posts and in the attempts to idolize brass hats like Eisenhower and MacArthur and to boom them as Presidential timber.

3. The McCarran Act, when considered together with the Taft-Hartley Act and the Smith Act, constitutes a major advance toward the establishment of a pseudo-legal framework for fascism. For unlike pre-war Germany, the fascist danger in the U.S. does not come with slogans of "Down with Legality" and

"Down with the Constitution." It is dressed up in legal and constitutional garb. In fact, the very process by which the Constitution and its Bill of Rights are being nullified is deceitfully presented to the people as the "only way" by which these historic rights can be defended.

The McCarran Act must be recognized as a qualitatively new break with traditional American constitutional democracy. For the first time in American history it gives a board of political appointees the right to judge and outlaw an opposition political party and other progressive organizations. It truly represents law by decree.

4. It is our task to unmask all liberal-sounding demagoguery and hypocrisy; to warn the people against legalistic illusions which are particularly strong in respect to the courts. At the same time, and just as vigorously, we must combat in our own ranks tendencies toward fatalism, toward underestimating the democratic will of the people and the possibility of organizing a much more effective mass defense of democratic liberties.

In the final analysis both tendencies, that of legalistic illusions as well as that of fatalism, lead to the same net result: opportunist passivity in the face of enemy attack. Both tendencies have found expression in our work these past two years, in the top leadership of our Party as well as in the ranks. The cause of

this is a failure to make a balanced and rounded estimate of the situation, without ever underestimating the fascist designs of the ruling class, but never conceding to it battles which it has not yet won and which it can be prevented from winning.

5. More than any other development, the shameful adoption of the McCarran Act, and the cynical performance of the Truman Democrats in proposing the concentration camp measure as a substitute, has opened the eyes of many people to the haunting realization that America is not immune to the fascist virus, and that it "can happen here."

The numerous victories won by progressive forces throughout the country against various pro-fascist and anti-Communist local ordinances point the way to the possibility of checking and defeating the drive to outlaw our Party and to establish fascism in our country. In the fight against the Callahan Act in Michigan, the Feinberg Law in New York, the Ober Act in Maryland, the Broyles Bills in Illinois, or the Los Angeles, Birmingham, Florida type of local ordinances, experience has shown that it is possible to weld the broadest unity movements, including forces that are anti-Communist.

Our Party rejects any notion that the American working class is unwilling to fight to maintain the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The history of the American working

class and its allies and the whole revolutionary democratic heritage of our nation indicate the deep attachment of the plain people of our land to democratic rights.

The Negro people, in its fight for first-class citizenship throughout the land, forms a tremendous reservoir of strength for the whole democratic movement.

6. The appeal of the eleven Party leaders, aiming to declare the Smith Act unconstitutional, is now before the Supreme Court. A decision upholding the unconstitutional Smith Act will most seriously further undermine constitutional liberties and can result in the long-term imprisonment of the Communist leaders as well as in the prosecution of thousands of others and in further attempts to illegalize our party. *The fight to wipe out the Smith Act, for the freedom of the Eleven and for the immediate release of comrade Dennis must continue unremittingly until complete victory.*

7. At this particular moment the fight for the nullification and repeal of the McCarran and Smith Acts must receive top priority. The breadth of the opposition to the McCarran Act makes possible and urgent the widest organized movement for its nullification and repeal. The Party must guard against any sectarian tendencies to narrow its scope or organizational form. At the same

time the Party warns against the attempt of certain Social Democratic and Administration forces to seize the leadership of this movement in order to compromise and betray it.

The fact that the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. top leadership has taken a position against the McCarran Act and for its repeal, is of considerable importance. But it is not enough to oppose it with mere statements. These leaders must be compelled to rouse their ranks and organize a mass fight for repeal. Thus prime importance attaches to the task of reaching the local trade unions, and of enlisting their support through resolutions, petitions, wires and demonstrative actions.

8. While the perspective of our Party must be to work for the nullification and repeal of the McCarran Act, it must not permit wishful thinking to conjure away the fact that this Act *is* on the statute books. Nor can we have any illusions that the Administration will interpret and apply the law with liberality. We must be on guard against new attacks aimed not alone against our Party but against all those who oppose Wall Street's suicidal war course.

9. As part of the fight against the fascist danger, our Party must also stand in the forefront of the defense of working-class, progressive and Negro people's culture. Our country needs, not the stifling of culture through censorship and blacklisting,

but its expansion in the service of peace and all the democratic aspirations of the people. This will be assisted by the further growth and activity of progressive organizations of the cultural workers, by a struggle against opportunism and corruption in the cultural field, and by the creation of a conscious mass audience and support for all art and culture at the service of the people. This must go hand in hand with a struggle against the fascization of the mass media of culture—the movies, radio, television, etc.

III. FOR A FIGHTING, UNITED WORKING CLASS

1. The key to changing the relationship of forces within the country in favor of peace, democracy and economic security, is to change the situation within the working class and its organized labor movement. Only to the extent that the working class begins to find the path toward class-struggle policies and labor unity can progress be made.

2. The treacherous policies of the top A. F. of L. and C.I.O. officialdom are aimed at tying the working class to the war chariot of Wall Street, to Truman and the Democratic Party. Today there is a growing merger of Right-wing bourgeois labor leaders (Green, Murray, Tobin) and the Social-Democratic type of labor leader (Reuther, Dubinsky, Rieve,

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etc.). Together they function as, and fulfill the role of, an American variety of Social Democracy in the trade unions. Although they do not yet find it necessary to mislead the masses with "socialist" phrases, they provide "welfare state" and "fair deal" window-dressing for the Truman Administration's reactionary policies at home and abroad.

Doing the bidding of the monopolists, the Murrays, Reuthers and Careys and their European Social-Democratic brethren, in unity with the reactionary A. F. of L. leadership, have attempted to split the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Latin-American Confederation of Labor (C.T.A.L.) and to set up their Wall Street-sponsored world labor front. At home, they have ruthlessly split the ranks of the C.I.O., expelling every union which refused to go along with their sell-out policies, or insisted on its autonomous rights to determine its own union policies and leadership. Giving up even the pretense of organizing the South, the C.I.O. high command instituted a policy of rule or ruin, of wrecking and raiding the unions that stand for militant progressive policies.

3. Since the Korean war, the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. misleaders, confronted with a rising rank-and-file pressure, were forced to make a gesture in the direction of a fight for higher wages while collaborating with the employers to put over five-year no-strike contracts and no-strike

pledges. These in effect freeze wages while giving the corporations the green light to intensify speed-up, lengthen hours and raise prices. The only real "grievance" nursed by these corrupt bureaucrats against Wall Street and Washington is that they are not given lucrative enough governmental posts, from which they can even more energetically carry forward the dictation of their masters.

Thus these labor misleaders are the main enemies within the ranks of the working class. United labor action, essential for a successful fight against the employers, can only be achieved to the degree that this officialdom and its policies are fought, isolated and defeated.

4. We must face the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the organized workers in the country are in the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and independent Right-led unions. It is this which must determine the main direction of all of the Party's work, and especially its trade-union and industrial concentration policy.

The Party rejects the point of view that work in the present Progressive-led unions represents the primary base for progressive militant activity and influence in the working class. It categorically rejects the point of view that it is impossible to work and to achieve success in the present Right-led unions because of the undemocratic entrenched machines and the expulsion policy of the leadership.

Unless such tendencies are met head on and completely wiped out, they can only lead to the complete isolation of the Party from the main and most decisive sections of the American working class, and, in the name of Left-sounding phrases, to the surrender of the majority of workers to the tender mercies of the labor misleaders.

It is precisely tendencies of this kind toward the A. F. of L. that have cost our Party and the American workers dear since the formation of the C.I.O. Now that the split has occurred in the C.I.O., we face a new danger of continuing to work only where it is "easiest" and isolating ourselves from those workers without whom any real headway is impossible. This weakness has been further aggravated and made more difficult to correct because of the continuation of the wrong method, of working in the main, with top trade-union officials, and not sufficiently through Party shop clubs basing our work on the rank and file. We must especially put an end to the present criminal neglect and total absence of work in the A. F. of L. Central Trades and Labor bodies and the C.I.O. Industrial Union Councils.

The workers in the trustified mass production industries of the country—in steel, auto, mining, packing, textile, railroad, maritime, rubber, electrical, etc., are militant workers, ready to struggle. Even though often

confused in their thinking, they are nonetheless anxious to receive practical assistance in their fight for more bread and butter, for Negro and white unity, for progressive legislation, for independent labor political action, for greater union democracy, etc.

Where we have confidence in the workers and their class instinct; where we work in a broad way, basing ourselves on the united front starting from the department, shop or local; where our opposition to the officialdom's policies can never be distorted into opposition to the union; there headway is possible and labor unity can be forged from the bottom up. The forms of rank-and-file unity movements will vary from industry to industry and will crystallize through a number of channels.

Experience has proven conclusively that where a firm base is established by the progressive forces among the workers; where the tactic of the united front is jealously guarded and zealously fought for, there the officialdom cannot so easily dislodge or destroy this base, as is seen in a number of auto, packing and steel plants. Moreover, these experiences open a perspective for the eventual victory of the rank and file in these unions.

The Party National Convention calls upon the whole Party to establish guarantees that a real policy of industrial concentration will be carried forward, and that major atten-

tion is given to the workers in the strongholds of trustified capital, which happen also to be the strongholds of the reactionary labor officialdom. For by winning the workers in these industries we will be influencing the thinking and actions of the entire labor movement.

A thorough shaking up is required in the Party on this score. The base of the Party is not yet sufficiently among factory workers. Also, the fact that the Party is not yet predominantly composed of industrial workers becomes in itself a factor tending to pull the Party away from its concentration plans, year after year.

Only a more determined struggle on the part of the leadership against being swayed by pressures of one kind or another, only closer ties with our industrial workers, and a policy of training and promoting them, can in time bring about the radical change called for in our work by the period in which we live.

5. Despite the unprecedented attacks by employers, government and top C.I.O. leadership, the Progressive-led unions that were expelled from the C.I.O., although suffering losses, have demonstrated an ability to fight back successfully and have defeated efforts to smash them.

It is important that these unions should not appear to the American working class as just another faction in the labor movement. They must always and above all be seen by the workers as principled militant

spokesmen, champions of the interests of all workers and thus among the best fighters for the interests of the nation. This has not always been the case in the past.

The Progressive-led unions are beginning to see that their most immediate need is for the closest unity and co-operation of the expelled unions, nationally and locally, in order to strengthen each other and to speak in unison. The formation by these unions of unity committees in various parts of the country must be greeted as an important step forward.

The work of the Progressive-led unions at the time of the Miners' strike was in the finest tradition of labor solidarity. Wherever and whenever workers are engaged in struggle, whether under Right-wing or any other leadership, it is the task of the advanced workers to come to their assistance, on the picket line, by mutual aid, strike relief, demonstrations, etc. This consistent struggle for labor solidarity and united labor action can help heal the breach in the ranks of the workers and teach the working class its greatest and most important lesson, the need for labor unity in the fight against the monopolies.

The Progressive-led unions will become an example to the rest of the labor movement if they pursue class-struggle policies; if they practice real trade-union democracy and struggle against all bureaucratic methods of leadership. They will be-

come examples to the extent that they develop a class-struggle approach to the settling of grievances; work toward international trade union unity; unity between Negro and white, native and foreign-born; struggle militantly for the abolition of Negro discrimination on the job, in all aspects of union life and give full support to the general fight for Negro rights. They should further become examples in the concern shown for women workers and youth—for their economic rights as well as for their full integration in the life and leadership of the union. They should initiate the kind of independent labor political action program which aims in the first place at raising the workers' level of understanding through the most thorough discussion and debate over political issues and the establishment of a living link between their daily economic needs and the fight for peace and democracy. In this concrete manner the Progressive-led unions can help the workers to act independently of the two capitalist parties. By their own forthright policies and actions the Progressive-led unions will help to stimulate class-struggle policies in the entire labor movement.

6. The possibilities for effecting a change in the ranks of the labor movement are good. The rank-and-file movement for wage increases during the past months has been a preview of developments to come.

More and more the capitalist class places the full burden of the high war costs on the backs of the working class. The rank and file of labor and the masses of the people generally are faced with a great historic task: to wage the fight for peace and step forward into the leadership of the peace movement and of our people; to fight unceasingly against the growth of fascist reaction; to lead the way in breaking with the two-party system and bring forth a real people's coalition party; to defend and protect the living standards of the masses of the American people from destruction by the economic war policies of the monopolies. This calls for the broadest unity of action in the shops, factories and industries generally, in the cities, and on the farms and on the political front. This unity of action, and labor unity of the masses of workers, has to be directed to the struggle for the settlement of grievances, for seniority rights, for wage increases and against wage freezing, against any attempt to lengthen the work week, for shorter hours without reduction in pay, against speed-up, for the rollback of prices, for price and rent controls administered by the democratic organizations of the people, against the monopolistic war profiteers, against war taxation of the masses of the people. Unity of action is required:

For the repeal of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, against outlawing the right to strike under the guise of

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a no-strike pledge, against turning the unions into adjuncts of Wall Street's war machine, for the repeal and nullification of the McCarran fascist monstrosity. For the abolition of the House and Senate Un-American Committees, against all pro-fascist and fascist legislation of the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon-McCarran-Kilgore-Truman type, against outlawing the Communist Party;

For equal rights of the Negro workers in industry and of the Negro people in all fields—economic, political and social. For the development of a struggle against white chauvinism within the trade-union organizations. For special attention in the struggle against the triple exploitation of Negro women. For the promotion of Negro workers to all levels of trade-union leadership. This task calls for stimulating the campaign for the organization of the unorganized millions in the South. It also calls for special attention to the rights and needs of the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest;

For the abolition of all indirect taxes and taxes upon the lower incomes;

For the linking up of the struggle for all of these partial economic and democratic demands with the central struggle for peace;

7. Today more than ever the labor movement must be cognizant of its responsibility to its two great allies, the Negro people and the working

farmers. Only to the extent that Negro-white unity and farmer-labor unity are forged can the foundation be laid for the great anti-monopoly people's coalition for peace and democracy.

In the course of these struggles, our Party must constantly draw the class lesson for the American workers, raise them from the level of trade-union consciousness to class consciousness, organize the study of Marxism-Leninism among its best sons and daughters, and help prepare the working class for its historic mission—the establishment of Socialism in the United States.

IV. THE NEW FEATURES OF THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT

1. The Negro people, determined to win complete emancipation for themselves, have emerged as an ever-more powerful and increasingly conscious force in American political life.

Because U.S. imperialism is compelled to cloak with demagogic phrases about democracy and equality its drive for world conquest, particularly its military assault against the colonial liberation movement in Asia, the Negro question tears the mask off of Wall Street's real face and assumes the greatest international significance.

The anti-imperialist national liberation movement of the Negro people is entering a new period which is

characterized by three primary features: The direct military aggression of U.S. imperialism against the colored peoples of Asia; the beginning of the merger of the Negro liberation struggle with the colonial world liberation struggles against Anglo-American imperialism; and the new upsurge of the Negro masses in which the Negro workers play a more militant, organized and conscious role.

2. The direct military aggression of U.S. imperialism against Korea and China is accompanied at home by the fostering of chauvinist nationalism and white chauvinism against oppressed colored peoples all over the world. Hence the danger to the Negro people here at home is enormously increased. White chauvinism today merges with the drive toward fascism. White chauvinism is a fascist ideology—one of the main weapons of the white imperialist ruling class in its drive to war.

The mounting terror of mob, Ku Klux violence and police brutality against the Negro people centered first against the oppressed Negro nation in the Black Belt, but, spreading throughout the country, takes on a new and more sinister meaning in the context of a growing fascization of all aspects of American life.

This growing terror is coupled with a more subtle line of attack. The objective of Wall Street is to split the ranks of the Negro people and

to behead their liberation movement, while at the same time fostering the fiction that the Negro people are slowly being given their freedom. This they are trying to accomplish by using a section of the Negro bourgeoisie, a highly articulate grouping of Negro petty bourgeois reformists and Negro Social-Democratic labor leaders. The aim is especially to prevent the Negro workers who are coming forward more and more from playing the leading role in the Negro liberation struggle.

3. The beginning of the merger of the Negro liberation struggle with the world colonial upsurge is expressed in the growing moral and political unity of the colored peoples of the world against the racist, Jim-Crow policies of U.S. imperialism, the fountain head of white chauvinism; in the joint action of the Chinese people with the Negro people against the execution of Willie McGee; and in the sharpened assault of U. S. imperialism against the colored nations of China and Korea and the oppressed Negro people in the U.S.A.

4. The new upsurge of the Negro masses with the Negro workers playing a leading role is shown in the historic struggles that have taken place in the last two years. This upsurge has its most important expression in the Black Belt area of most violent imperialist oppression, reflected in the rapid development of

the right-to-vote movement, the struggle of Negro and also white workers for trade-union recognition, higher wages, etc., the fight against Jim Crow in Southern universities and the use in some areas of armed force against the Klan and police violence. Nationally this movement is shown in the great people's demonstration at Peekskill led by Paul Robeson in the face of fascist violence; the campaigns to free Mrs. Ingram, the Trenton Six, William McGee, the Martinsville Seven, and Haywood Patterson; the movement against Jim-Crow in the armed forces and in defense of Lieut. Gilbert; the fight for F.E.P.C., the right to vote and for anti-lynching legislation; the entrance of Negroes into Southern white universities (even though on a severely restricted scale as yet); the victory in Stuyvesant Town, etc. These are only the highlights of the increasing breadth, scope and militancy of the Negro people's movement.

The most important factor in this upsurge is the increasingly more militant, organized and conscious role of the Negro workers, especially in the basic industries, as shown by their leading part in practically every strike struggle and by the rise of Negro-Labor Councils.

The greater role of the Negro workers will enhance the possibilities of winning the rural masses, urban middle classes and a section of the bourgeoisie of the Negro peo-

ple to the struggle for peace and national liberation.

5. Our Party must greatly intensify its struggle to break down every Jim-Crow barrier, on every level of American life. The fight for Negro freedom and equality is an indispensable part of the struggle against war and fascism and a source of tremendous strength to the anti-imperialist people's struggle. This must in the first place be accomplished by mobilizing the white progressive masses who can be won for the fight because it is in their own self-interest.

In the trade-union movement it is necessary in the first place to fight the white misleaders of labor who are mainly responsible for the weakening and betrayal of the struggle for Negro rights, as exemplified by the failure and abandonment of the C.I.O. Southern organizing drive and the virtually complete halting of the upgrading of Negro workers. Without such a struggle against opportunism in the labor movement, it will be impossible to combat successfully the splitting policies of the Negro bourgeois reformists who cultivate the illusion that the Negro people will win their full rights by dependence on the war program of the white ruling class, the Truman Administration and the Right-wing labor leaders.

The fact that Wall Street imperialism is on the defensive on the Negro question, that it must maneuver and

make concessions to the Negro people, indicates how much could really be gained if a vigorous united struggle of Negro and white masses were conducted for the rights of the Negro people, not tomorrow, or next year, but today.

Such real gains are possible because of another important fact—that alongside of the growth of chauvinism among certain sections of the white masses, there is also developing especially among white workers an appreciation and respect for the Negro people, and a growing realization that Negro and white unity is indispensable for all workers, even though the level of this understanding is still relatively low and tainted with continued white-chauvinist prejudice.

6. All this means that the struggle for Negro rights, for the complete emancipation of the Negro people, is entering a new period of intensive and sharper struggles. It is this which is not yet fully understood by our whole Party. We cannot rest upon laurels won in the past, even though the whole history of our Party, especially since our analysis of the Negro question as a national question, is one of militant struggle for the rights of the Negro people. Under the new, more advanced conditions of Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism we must fight in a new way and raise to new heights the struggle for Negro liberation.

7. One of the most immediate and pressing tasks in the fight for Negro

equality is the struggle against all vestiges of job discrimination, in employment, in upgrading, and for adjusted seniority and apprentice training for Negro youth. There is need for the sharpest struggle against the vicious discrimination of the worst type against the Negro women that virtually excludes them from industry and confines them to domestic work. The trade unions must give the fullest support to the developing Negro Labor Councils as a basic expression of working-class and Negro-white unity.

F.E.P.C. can and must be won at national, state and local levels. In the trade unions we must fight for inclusion of F.E.P.C. clauses in all contracts, along the lines of the model adopted at the recent important national Negro-Labor Conference. Likewise, the fight for Federal legislation against the poll tax and lynching, as well as the demand that Truman live up to his civil rights program, combined with exposure of the Truman demagoguery, must receive a new impetus.

The trade unions must develop a sharpened struggle against Jim Crow in housing and restrictive covenants; against discrimination in the armed forces, for the democratic rights of Negro soldiers and veterans; against gerrymandering of the Negro communities North and South; for the demand that Congress live up to the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments by decreasing repre-

sensation to Congress where the ballot is denied in any way; for home rule and the abolition of Jim Crow in the nation's capital.

The starting point in the unions' fight against Jim Crow must be in the shops and factories.

8. In this new period the Party must give its full support to all new organizations, channels, movements and publications which give expression and leadership to the militant anti-imperialist character of the Negro liberation movement.

9. The unprecedented struggle initiated by our Party in the past two years against the influence and remnants of white chauvinism represents a great and healthy step forward. However, it is necessary to state that this struggle has diminished recently. There are arising new tendencies and acts of white chauvinism, especially in more subtle and concealed forms, which are more difficult to detect and fight. This is a danger signal. The struggle against white chauvinism cannot be conducted in a sporadic fashion, for white chauvinism is the single greatest obstacle to developing the united struggle for Negro rights, as well as against Negro nationalism. It must have a permanent place in the life and struggle of our Party. We must overcome all tendencies to leave the struggle against white chauvinism to our Negro comrades. This, in the first place, is and must become the constant task of the white Com-

munist. The Communists must extend the struggle against white chauvinism into the trade unions, especially, and among the nationality groups. In the struggle for Negro rights the Party must shift its main activity to predominantly white communities, shops and factories, rallying the white masses in support of these struggles.

The Party must deepen the practical political struggle with an intensive ideological struggle for systematic Marxist study of the Negro question and Negro history, combined with a broad cadre training program of Negro workers, youth, and women and with greater personal attention to these cadres.

All of these tasks arise with new force today because the war-intensified white chauvinist propaganda and practices of the white ruling class have increased the responsibilities of our Party.

10. Underestimation of the importance of the South is another grave weakness in the Party's work. This stems from the failure to understand the essence of the Negro question as a national question, *i.e.*, a people oppressed as a subject nation within the world's strongest imperialist nation, in the Black Belt area, and oppressed as a national minority in the other sections of the U.S.A.

The roots of that imperialist oppression lie in the system of semi-feudal peonage (the plantation system) that still dominates the life of

the Southern Black Belt. Without coming to grips with the problems of the Negro rural poor, the sharecroppers, tenant farmers and agricultural workers; without finding the specific forms of the struggle for the right of the Negro people to the land which they have tilled for generations; without finding the issues and forms around which to create the beginnings of Negro and white unity on the land and against the plantation system, and without fighting for the unity of the Negro workers, Negro rural poor, tenant farmers, sharecroppers and agricultural workers, we are neglecting the most fundamental approach to the final emancipation of the Negro people. Indissolubly tied up with the solution of the land question is the organization of the Negro proletariat in the Black Belt and the South, which will inevitably play a leading role in the national liberation fight, and the winning of the Southern white workers for Negro-white unity.

The defeat of the drive toward war and fascism is impossible unless the American working class, especially in the North, begins to understand how important to its own progress is the strengthening of the democratic forces in the South, and unless, with this recognition, it acts in militant defense of the Negro people, and helps to build a powerful peace movement among the Negro masses that merges with the fight for national liberation.

V. THE NEED FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

1. In the last analysis, any decisive alteration of the nation's foreign and domestic policy must come through a political realignment and the formation of a people's peace and anti-fascist coalition. This has not yet taken shape. In fact, the 14th National Convention's estimate of the tempo with which such a political realignment was taking place has not been borne out by events. While the formation of the Progressive Party in 1948 was an important necessary step forward, it did not emerge as a major national political force. In fact, at this date, there are no visible signs of a mass breakaway from the two old parties, although there are ample signs of a growing disgust with both major parties.

The reasons for this are to be found in the extensive peace, "welfare state," civil rights and pro-labor demagoguery of the Truman Administration. But if the masses have not been able to see through this demagoguery; if the working class and Negro people are still tied to the Democratic Party and still believe that it is a "lesser evil" as compared to the Republican Party, the main reason for this is the betraying role of the Right-wing labor and reformist Negro leaders. The Social-Democratic Reuthers, Dubinskys and Randolphs, united with the A.C.T.U., reformist trade-union leaders and with bourgeois liberals,

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represent the main force which keeps the masses shackled to the two old capitalist parties.

2. This is shown by the results of the 1950 elections. The victory of reaction was possible because the labor bureaucrats and Social Democrats disoriented and disintegrated the independent political strength of the working class by chaining it to the corrupt political machines and war policy of the Democratic Party. Because in most cases the workers were not presented by their leaders with any real alternative to Wall Street's drive toward war, many showed their discontent by shifting from the ins to the outs. Even where a genuine alternative was presented, as in the case of the New York A.L.P., the effect of the warmongering, Red-baiting, fear and confusion spread by the press and radio, as well as the clinging to the "lesser evil" notion in regard to Lehman, resulted in a decline of its vote.

This state of affairs is only temporary. The growing struggle against the increased war drive and militarization program and the onslaught on the living standards of the workers, farmers and lower middle classes, will unmask the liberal and welfare demagogy of the Truman Administration.

3. In this situation the Party must avoid two dangers: 1) the Right-opportunist tendency of giving up the fight for a basic political realignment and a third party with the er-

roneous "explanation" that the masses are fated to remain tied to the two-party system of Big Capital; and 2) the sectarian view that the Progressive Party is already an adequate base for a mass third party.

The tactical course called for today is: a) intense and skillful exposure of the two old parties of Big Business and their underworld ties, and the consequent need for a new party of the common people; b) the building and extension of the Progressive Party in those states and localities where it exists and has amassed strength; c) the flexible seeking out of concrete issues, the development of movements around them, and the finding of those independent political forms that will encourage mass breakaways from the old parties; d) the establishment of close ties with the masses who still follow and support the two old parties particularly in the labor movement and among the Negro people. It is our task to work with these masses and to exert influence on the trade unions and their political action committees (especially C.I.O.-P.A.C. and A. F. of L.-L.E.P.L.) to put forward progressive candidates from the ranks of the workers and the Negro people, including instances where the workers are prepared only to express themselves within the major party primaries.

The objective of our work must be to win the workers for *truly inde-*

pendent labor political action against the policy of the Murrays, Dubinskys and Greens, which is one of chaining labor to the Democratic Party. We must endeavor to achieve united action around specific legislative issues and common action behind certain agreed-upon candidates, based upon program. Principal target dates for labor-progressive action for which preparation must be promptly begun are: the 1951 Spring elections, registration and enrollment, and Fall elections, the 1952 primaries, the 1952 registration and enrollment, and national elections. All these offer an excellent opportunity to advance the cause of independent political action, to broaden the third-party movement, and lay the basis for realizing the objective of a united-front peace ticket in the 1952 elections.

4. The Party perspective must definitely be geared to the possibility of a more rapid political realignment in the period ahead. The struggle over the peace issue will affect every phase of American political, economic and social life. More than ever, the question of wages, hours of work, speed-up, taxes, prices, housing, civil liberties, Negro rights, the future of youth, the role of women, will all be closely linked to the issue of war or peace. Thus the struggle for the maintenance of living standards, for democratic, constitutional liberties, for civil rights, will in time become fused with the struggle to prevent a third world war. This

will not be an automatic process. To the extent that we link the fight for peace with the daily needs of the people, and the fight for the people's daily needs and rights to the issue of peace, to that extent the struggle of the masses will be deepened and they will achieve greater political clarity and understanding.

5. The working class and particularly the organized labor movement is the decisive force that will decide the issue of whether a political regrouping takes place and how swiftly it becomes a major force in the country. The main reason the Wallace movement of 1948 made no deep inroads, and achieved no lasting stability or permanence, was the lack of a firm, working-class base, due to the betraying policy of the Right-wing and Social-Democratic labor officials, and the inability of the Left to expose and unmask these propagators of the "lesser evil" theory. It was this that made it more difficult to win the bulk of the Negro people, sections of the poor farmers, etc.

It is impossible to conceive of a stable, consistent struggle against the drive of monopoly capital toward war and fascism without the working class as the main force. Without this, the petty-bourgeois leadership of a Wallace was bound to vacillate, to feel the pressure only of American imperialism, and finally to capitulate to the war camp. *This is the big lesson that must be*

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learned by our Party. We must aim to unite the broadest forces, rallying all sections of the intellectuals and middle classes that can be reached. But unless this movement is grounded on a stable and growing influence, activity and base in the ranks of the working class, particularly the industrial workers in the large monopoly industries, it will tend to founder and fall apart at the first gale.

VI. THE WORKING FARMERS, THE MAIN ALLY OF THE WORKING CLASS

1. If the working class is to fulfill its historic role of ending capitalist exploitation and establishing Socialism, it must have the support of its allies, the masses of impoverished farmers. This is an axiom of Marxism-Leninism. Today's main objective—blocking the outbreak of war—can only be accomplished if labor and its allies mobilize their strength to preserve the peace. The labor-farmer alliance, together with the Negro liberation movement, can be welded into a solid coalition capable not only of preventing another war, but of defeating reaction and leading the United States along the path of social progress. The decisiveness of the farming masses as an ally of the working class has not been adequately understood by our Party.

The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the working class, must address itself most seriously to this

problem. It must develop the necessary ideological understanding, and must prove in theory and practice that the farming masses can be won as ally of the working class. In the period of the early thirties, our Party did concern itself with this question, and during the wave of foreclosures and evictions in the rural communities made serious efforts to give leadership to agricultural workers, to sharecroppers in the South, and to small and middle farmers generally.

But during the period of creeping revisionism, the gains made in organizing agricultural workers, and in encouraging sharecroppers to resist landlord domination, were tossed away. The same influence led to the acceptance of policies suited primarily to middle-sized and even large farmers, thus ignoring the special needs of the poorest farmers and agricultural workers.

2. What is the situation confronting agriculture in the United States today? Before the shift to war economy, a renewed agrarian crisis was threatening the continued existence of many thousands of small farms. The disparity between the prices farmers receive and prices they pay for manufactured goods was reflected by growing indebtedness of masses of impoverished farmers.

Contrary to notions which originate in capitalist farm circles, the war economy is a disaster and not a bonanza for the mass of farmers. Land taxes are rising and new taxes

are to be levied. The war economy eliminates consideration of the Valley Authority projects, sharply cuts rural electrification and telephone appropriations, and generally puts a stop to even the meager governmental program for bringing modern facilities within reach of small farmers. Conditions are developing for a new wave of foreclosures of family-sized farms with desirable land, and a freeze-out of credit which threatens to transform thousands of small farms into subsistence homesteads.

The intensifying war economy confronts working farmers with a heavy draft of their youth, which is officially estimated at 12-17 per cent of their total manpower. When thousands of small farmers stop commercial production because of manpower shortage, big agriculture will have the opportunity to speed up the existing trend to absorb the best of the small farmers' land. These families will be permanently eliminated from agricultural production.

3. The elimination of some three million small agricultural producers has for some time been the objective of Big Business and big agriculture. In fact, these two capitalist groups are scarcely distinguishable. The names of the owners of corporation farms are to be found on the boards of directors of many banks and insurance companies. Top officials of certain farm organizations are commonly found joining the N.A.M. and

Chamber of Commerce representatives in an attack on the poorer section of the farm population. Big agriculture presumes to speak for the farmers as a whole because it owns nearly the entire farm press, controls most of the farm organizations, including many of the large farm co-operatives, and wields the political club of a so-called "farm bloc" in Congress. But in actual fact, big agriculture can not speak for the working farmers, because the interests of both are diametrically opposed.

4. Confronted with a farm economy which is dominated by monopoly capital, it is necessary to adopt a differentiated approach to the various strata of the farm population. In broadest outline these strata are the following:

a) Agricultural workers, both migratory and non-migratory, constitute the rural proletariat. The Communist Party must begin to establish firm ties with these highly exploited wage workers, helping them to organize in defense of their economic interests. Great attention must be given to the migratory workers who in the main are Negro, Mexican and Puerto Rican. These are the lowest paid, most exploited section of the working class. Though organization presents special problems because of the migratory character of their work, this feature also presents special opportunities for spreading labor's fight against monopoly capi-

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talism to hundreds of rural communities. The militant response of these workers whenever even minimal organizing efforts have been made is proof of the important role this section of the working class can and must play.

b) Consideration of the needs of the small farmers must center on the South, and primarily on the Black Belt. It is here that the oppressed Negro nation lives, under conditions in many ways comparable to those of a colonial people. This is the main base of the Dixiecrats, who in turn are the agents of Wall Street in this area. The enslavement of the Negro people inevitably degrades masses of poor whites, a condition that will not change until the liberation of the Negro people and the Negro nation is attained. To be free, the land must belong to the Negro people and their white allies who are to be found among the poor white farmers and sharecroppers. The working class, Negro and white, must join in the fight of the sharecroppers and sharetenants in the South for immediate, partial land reform and also provide political leadership in the fight for civil rights and peace.

In every farm community, the existing farm organizations and farmers' co-operatives must be examined in order to see how progressive forces can help to make them serve the interests of the working farmers. Co-operatives, in particular, though

easily subverted into being creatures of the trusts, can play a progressive role if inner democracy is maintained and a fight is made for the interests of the poor farmers.

c) Part-time farmers are a semi-proletarian group whose problems have generally been ignored by the labor movement. Actually they are a bridge between country and city. Thousands of these part-time farmers are clustered around industrial towns, sometimes constituting 50 per cent of the workers of a given plant, and present the best natural connection between the local trade unions and local farm groups.

d) Middle sized farmers, who occasionally employ hired labor, are able to meet their expenses in favorable times, but rapidly go into debt under depression conditions. They vacillate between aligning themselves with big agriculture when they consider their situation favorable and looking for help from their poor neighbors when foreclosures threaten. The broad labor-farm alliance must include all those middle farmers who can see that their true interests are on the working-class side of the struggle.

5. The over-all factor which must guide the Party's activity in rural America is that all the immediate demands of the working farmers—their need for low-cost credit to obtain land, and modern equipment, their need for protection against the profiteering of food monopolies and

middlemen, etc.—must serve to stimulate broad united-front actions in the rural communities in defense of the economic interests of the farming masses. The realization of these demands makes necessary the involvement and organization of broad sections of the farming masses as a vital and indispensable sector of the growing front for peace. The anti-war sentiments of the farming population are traditional in the United States. Recognition of this fact is important for all workers for peace today, if a nation-wide coalition for peace, in the true sense of the word, is to be advanced.

6. Communists as a whole must strengthen their understanding of the agrarian question by close study of the Marxist-Leninist writings. Marxist schools and publications must do their part in giving people in the city as much as in the country an understanding of the fundamental importance of building the great anti-imperialist, pro-peace alliance of labor, working farmers and the Negro people. As a concrete expression of a turn in our work in this field, the Party must speedily improve its activities in the rural areas, strengthening existing Party organizations and recruiting new adherents especially from among the agricultural workers and the toiling farmers, Negro and white.

VII. THE PARTY

1. The period of the past two years

has been one of great trial for our Party. Never in our whole history have we been under such concentrated and continuous attack. Throughout this period the Party has had to fight for its legal existence, and for nine months eleven of the thirteen members of the National Committee fought ably and well to defend our Party in the Foley Square courtroom.

It was also in this same period that the outstanding leader of our Party, Comrade Foster, was taken ill, the Party thereby temporarily losing the great benefit of his daily active participation in the work. Despite this fact, Comrade Foster made vital and outstanding contributions to the work of our Party through his writings and his guidance of the Party's general line. Furthermore, for the past six months, the imprisonment of Comrade Dennis has also deprived the Party of the wise and capable leadership of its General Secretary.

The Party can feel justifiably proud of the way in which its ranks stood up and fought back. The way in which the breaches in the ranks of the leadership were filled with other capable and qualified leaders is further proof of the soundness of our Party and of its ability to provide leadership under any and all conditions. If the enemy thought that it could demoralize and disintegrate our Party by its incessant attacks, it certainly miscalculated, for

the very opposite has been the case.

The correct political line and policies set forth by the Emergency Convention in 1945, reaffirmed by the 14th Convention in 1948, have been further developed, sharpened and tested in the fires of intensified class struggle during these last few years.

This pride in the work and fighting character of our Party must not, however, be used to conceal or cover up its many weaknesses and shortcomings. Any such tendency could only lead to self-adulation and complacency. This must be vigorously fought against, for only the most penetrating criticism and self-criticism can prepare the Party for the even sharper attacks ahead.

2. The period in which we live creates a host of new problems for our Party, while placing many of the old ones in a new light and in an even more aggravated form. The most serious of these have been and still are the marked tendencies toward liquidating the Party. This weakness is present in views which deny *in practice* the need for an advanced theory and a vanguard party to bring Socialist consciousness to the working class. It is present in our traditional tendency to veer away from consistently carrying out our main policy of concentration on the workers in basic industry. It is present in the failure to fight consistently against white chauvinism and for Negro rights. It is present in the sectarian tendencies to retreat into

our own shell and to do less mass work. It is present in cases where attempts are made to replace the Party and its responsibilities by non-Party committees. It is present in the lack of sufficient attention and leadership to the proper functioning of our clubs. It was present in the one-sided approach given by the National leadership to the 1950 registration. It is present in the low dues payments as well as the impermissibly low sale of literature. Basically these liquidationist tendencies rise from retreat before the many new difficulties placed in our way by the enemy.

3. Because of the new difficulties, and the failure to fight for correct standards of Party membership in the past, there developed certain erroneous concepts of Party membership. These set up mechanically "ideal" standards for membership and then dropped those who did not measure up to such artificial standards. This reflects an abstract academic approach to the problems of the building of a Leninist party, a failure to recognize that steadfastness and ideological firmness are built in the process of struggle. Though this tendency is dressed up in "Left" phrases, it is in effect a retreat from the task of building our Party in the ranks of the workers under the present more difficult conditions of the class struggle, and is a coverup for a self-critical examination of the role of leadership.

4. The fact that over the years the Party has tended to be divided into two mechanical groupings, one of "inner-Party workers" and the other of "mass workers," creates special dangers under the new conditions. The Party must strengthen its ideological and organizational ties with its mass workers, combatting all opportunist tendencies to underestimate its leading role, while at the same time firmly directing its so-called inner-Party workers and lower organizations into mass work and leadership of the daily struggle.

5. Likewise the low ideological level of the Party, the general tendency to separate theory from practice, and the tendency toward narrow practicalism, create new dangers at a time when the ideological life-line of the Party is paramount, because without it organizational ties can easily be torn asunder. Therefore the struggle on the ideological front assumes major importance, especially the struggle against tendencies toward "economism" and spontaneity in our trade-union and mass work. The present period requires a vigorous struggle against national chauvinism in all its manifestations; the struggle against white chauvinism particularly must be an unceasing one.

The present period requires a strengthening of the Party's understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and a constant study of the classics of Marxism, not in any abstract doctrinaire fashion,

but as a search-light for the greater illumination of the complicated problems of the class struggle in the United States. The national leadership of the Party corrected a number of theoretical errors with respect to the nature and development of People's Front Governments and People's Democracies. These corrections were contained in the summary speech of Comrade Dennis at the March 1950 Plenum and in an article by Comrade Foster in *Political Affairs*. These errors dramatized the need for the Party to improve its work on the theoretical front. Only by a mastery of Marxism-Leninism can we know our own country better, its inner laws of development, its past tradition and its inevitable future.

Comrade Foster especially has set a splendid example of independent theoretical contributions. His forthcoming book *An Outline Political History of the Americas*, to be published soon, and Comrade Foster's 70th Birthday in February 1951 will be landmarks in the Party's history.

The Worker and the *Daily Worker*, which have shown marked improvement, especially in the fight for peace and in popularizing the achievements of Socialism, are our main weapons in the fight for the needs of the masses, and against the influence of bourgeois ideology among them.

The special role of *Political Affairs* must be further strengthened by en-

abling it to better arm our Party ideologically and theoretically, especially in the fight for peace and the policy of concentration.

The urgent tasks of the ideological struggle against the imperialist warmakers requires the immediate and decisive strengthening of the system of educational directors, departments, schools and classes. It also requires a vast increase in the mass agitation and propaganda of the Party. Systematic Marxist-Leninist education on a year-round basis, the organization of schools and classes and more energetic circulation of the Marxist classics must be undertaken at once. The expansion of mass literature circulation among basic industrial workers, the Negro people and rural poor is an urgent necessity. Regular review and analysis of the growing numbers of shop and industrial papers and leaflets must be instituted.

5. Our Party has shown an improvement in our ability to give leadership to mass struggles and mass movements. This has been true in the growing number of economic struggles, in the development of the peace movement, the struggle for equal rights for the Negro people, the broad movement in defense of the Bill of Rights, the fight against high prices and rents, etc. This is a very welcome improvement. However, it is still true that our single greatest weakness is the weakness in

initiating, organizing and leading of mass movements and struggles. We have not yet mastered in practice the tactics of the united front from below. Fear and underestimation of the masses are expressed in the Right-opportunist tailing behind the readiness of the non-Party masses to struggle, as well as in the "Left" sectarian tendency to set pre-conceived conditions for the united front, which are obstacles to its realization and separate us from the masses.

We must admit that our own Party has not sufficiently differentiated between its own full anti-imperialist peace position and the partial slogans and forms of action that would enlist the participation of the wide masses. But precisely this is central to a correct and effective united-front policy. The understanding that the united front is the determining tactic for setting masses into motion is not yet firmly or consistently grasped throughout the ranks of the Party.

In the present situation the main danger confronting the working class and our Party remains the Right danger. This is characterized by surrendering to or being intimidated by the warmongers, a lack of confidence in the working class, the submerging of the Party in the mass movements and the failure to advance the prestige and authority of the Party, and a tailing behind the readiness of the working class to struggle.

Persistence of a Right-opportunist line has led to such renegacy as that typified by Quill, Curran, McMahon, Rubin, Obermeier, Merrill and various others. At the same time, we must keenly realize the menace of the "Left" danger, especially within our Party. This danger is expressed by tendencies to overestimate the power of imperialist reaction, to belittle the possibilities for open mass work by tending to abandon the struggle for legality under cover of radical phrases, by sectarian refusal to work in the Right-controlled trade unions, and by trying to reduce our Party membership solely to "pure" Communists. We must be on guard against both the Right and "Left" deviations, which tend to paralyze the struggle of the masses and our Party.

6. During the two years under review, the Party conducted a mounting struggle, with important successes, against the influences of Right opportunism which had especially imbedded itself among some sections of our trade unionists, as reflected in tendencies toward "economism," denial of politics and political struggle, underestimation of the role of our Party. The sharpened class relationships dictated the need to eradicate completely this alien class influence from our ranks. This battle must continue without let-up.

The struggle against white chau-

vinism among sections of our trade unionists and in the labor movement as a whole, which has recently begun in a few sectors, must be widened and consistently waged.

7. The Party's traditional weakness in respect to the circulation of the working-class press now confronts the Party with a qualitatively new significance. This is so because with the increased intimidation of news vendors and mail subscribers, a circulation problem of such magnitude has been created that it can only be met by the Party members being won and mobilized in a new way for the defense and circulation of the *Daily Worker*, *The Worker* and the progressive nationality press. Thus, under the new conditions, any continued underestimation of the press, any failure of the Party organization to assume full and complete responsibility for organizing and guaranteeing circulation, can objectively only mean liquidationism toward the working-class press. The whole Party must guarantee a new approach to the circulation of press and literature. *Whatever its size, a Party club that does not read and circulate the press and literature is not yet a Party organization in the fullest sense of the word.*

Political and organizational attention to building the press can only be measured by the ability to win a growing number of readers among the basic industrial workers, the

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The readers' tie with the press must be further strengthened by the organization of a wide net-work of correspondents in the large plants, the South and the countryside.

8. The new conditions under which the Party must work require that the Party leadership on all levels give greater attention to problems of Party organization. The ability of the Party organization to improve its mass work, circulate the press and literature, collect dues and finances, organize the consistent study of Marxism-Leninism and the building of the Party, requires new and urgent attention in view of the problems of Party security. These can no longer be treated as routine problems. They must be regarded as first-rate political problems to which the entire leadership must give constant and daily attention. Above all, we must eradicate all ideas that our Party cannot be built in periods of repression.

The Party can and must be built today. There must be waged a fight without let-up to recruit basic industrial workers, particularly among the most exploited workers and the most oppressed people, first of all the Negro people, the working women and working youth. Without such a fight to build our Party and further strengthen its social composition, we cannot speak of a concentration policy.

Special attention must be given to strengthening the Party organization in the South, as well as in the rural areas and small towns.

9. A weakness in the style of work of the Party leadership is its slowness to react to new developments. Thus many opportunities and important moments were lost; this, for example, was true to a certain extent at the time of the Nehru proposal on Korea, the Matthews "war now" speech, etc.

10. Another weakness in the work of the Party is the over-dependence on top levels of leadership, the lack of independent initiative at the lower levels of the organization. This weakness, the tendency of lower organizations to drift between central campaigns and their slowness in orienting independently on concrete problems and issues in a given local situation, must be recognized in the first place as a weakness of leadership, which has the responsibility for correcting this state of affairs.

One of the major causes for this situation is the continued existence of bureaucratic methods of work in the leadership, and the failure to educate the whole Party in the practice of criticism and self-criticism as the inner law of Party development. Thus the whole Party does not often enough participate in evaluating major developments and struggles; does not sufficiently learn from mistakes committed.

This in turn leads to many "independent" estimates which are not resolved into one single Party estimate. This tends to weaken Party discipline and the carrying out of Party decisions.

Another weakness has been and is the lack of sufficient vigilance against the penetration of enemy agents and ideology. There can be no real vigilance without a highly developed political and ideological life, in which criticism, self-criticism and inner democracy, based on democratic centralism, are continuously practiced. Only then can all questions be resolved in a Party way, can the whole Party learn from experience, and opportunist and factional elements and class enemies be isolated and exposed. Certainly today there must be even greater vigilance than ever against every manifestation of Browderism, Titoism and Trotskyism. Like Tito, Browder pretends to represent an "independent, national variety of Marxism," and he serves the most reactionary imperialism through slanderous attacks against our Party and the Soviet Union. This is the inevitable development of all who abandon the path of Marxism and persist in their struggle against the Party.

Titoism, which originally tried to conceal its betrayal of Socialism and peace by masking itself in the mantle of "Marxism," has openly embraced its Wall Street master and led Yugo-

slavia to mass starvation and the brink of ruin. Its counter-revolutionary, fascist character is revealed by its open alliance with the U.S. imperialists in the United Nations, its open hostility to the Soviet Union, its warmongering against People's China, and open support of imperialist invasion of Korea. Its counter-revolutionary role is further revealed by its alliance with Trotskyism in the United States. Nevertheless, Titoism still creates confusion especially in petty bourgeois circles, and we must therefore increase our vigilance and struggle against it.

The failure to develop criticism and self-criticism as a daily feature of Party life tends to feed a certain one-sidedness and distorted understanding of this principle by some comrades. Criticism and self-criticism are aimed at correcting, not destroying comrades. The leadership must encourage and be especially responsive to criticism coming from the ranks.

The 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., demonstrates the firm political unity of our Party. It calls upon the whole membership to guard the monolithic character and unity of our Party, based on democratic centralism. We must strive for the highest discipline arising out of conscious understanding of the Party's theory and political line. Tendencies toward factionalism are totally impermissible and

must be sharply dealt with because they weaken the Party and make it possible for the enemy more easily to penetrate its ranks.

11. The establishment of the Labor Youth League has done much to restore to the youth scene a fighting youth leadership organizing and uniting the youth against war and fascism and educating them in the spirit of Socialism. We must give every aid and support to this organization and must overcome the still-present neglect in practically all sections of our Party of this increasingly important section of the population. *Any continuation of this neglect in these circumstances of acute war and fascist danger can only have disastrous consequences and cannot be tolerated.* The Party must help build the broadest front of youth unity against the imperialist threat of a lifetime of militarism and insecurity.

12. There continues an underestimation of the role and importance of women in general, and our women members in particular, who constitute a large and active core of the Party.

The women comrades have made signal contributions during the past period to the struggle for peace, against fascist tendencies in the schools, against the militarization of our youth and in the fight to maintain living standards. There must be waged a conscious fight for increased integration of our women member-

ship in the leadership of the Party on all levels, particularly working-class and Negro comrades, who can and do give able leadership in mass struggles. There must be an increasing awareness of the growth of the false and reactionary ideas of "male superiority" in this period of developing fascist reaction; and a resistance to its expression in our Party in any form, with a determined struggle to place our Party in the forefront of the struggle for the rights of women in the unions, in shops and in political life.

We must at all times remember that the fight against "male superiority" ideas, a fight which must be waged in the first place by the Communist men, must have as its objective the mass participation of women in the struggle for peace, security and Socialism. This fight, to be successful, must include the determination to remove all obstacles preventing participation of women en masse in the struggle.

13. During the last period, the national leadership has increased its attention to the important field of nationality group work. It has emphasized that this must be the concern of the entire Party, that it is closely tied up with our industrial concentration policy. We must overcome the sectarian and assimilationist withdrawal from the many important nationality group organizations. We must raise to higher levels

the role of the Party in this field, and apply more boldly the policy of the united front. We must not slacken the fight against Right-opportunist avoidance of the struggle for peace and Negro rights, or "Left" sectarian isolation from the American scene, both of which have strong roots in this field. In the course of all of this work, we must heighten the struggle against bourgeois nationalism, white chauvinism, influences of Titoism, etc.

14. The vast increase in the number of lower organizations of the Party has automatically expanded the Party's cadres. Everywhere, the demands of the struggle for peace and against the economic and reactionary political consequences of the imperialist war drive are calling forth new leaders among the working class, the Negro people and rural poor, and are retesting old leaders.

The intensifying struggles are the best crucible in which are being forged the vast new cadres required. At the same time, we must not rely on spontaneity in the development of Party cadres. The training and promotion of cadres must be placed on a planned and systematic footing which emphasizes the bold promotion of workers, Negro and white, women and youth.

The training of new cadres requires a blending of the boldness and daring of youth with the valuable

experience and wisdom of the older Party cadre.

15. The working class, Negro people and rural poor are moving ever more into mass struggles for peace, security, civil rights and national liberation. These aspirations of the people come into direct conflict with the reactionary aims of the Wall Street imperialists bent on world domination. Out of the concrete experiences and lessons of its daily struggles, the working class is afforded the opportunity to learn the true class nature of imperialism, to learn its own class interests and historic aim—the achievement of Socialism. But this can be guaranteed only if the vanguard Party fulfills its role.

The Party must do far more toward educating the masses in the meaning of Socialism, and how this social system alone can basically and finally solve the problems confronting the American people. For only Socialism, as vividly demonstrated by the mighty Soviet Union and the new lands building Socialism, can harness all the great productive forces and natural resources of our nation and together with the peaceful use of atomic energy give to the American people standards of living, prosperity, freedom and cultural development undreamed of before.

It is our Party, and no other, which carries forward the great democratic and cultural traditions of the Amer-

ican people, which defends the real security of this nation from the Sixty Families which would bring it to suicidal ruin through war and fascism. *Only our Party, the Party of Socialism, offers a way out for the American people; a way which can*

truly utilize their full creative genius, can build a people's culture in contrast to the shameful degradation of culture now taking place, *and can find for America her rightful and honorable place in a peaceful world family of free nations.*

The Triumph of Lenin's Teachings

By Alexander Bittelman

(On the occasion of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, January 22, 1924).

THE WHOLE WORLD is witness to the fact that the truth of Lenin's teachings has been fully confirmed by the progress of events. Leninism has proved to be the surest guide to true democracy, freedom and national equality. Wherever there is a consistent struggle for peace, friendship and fraternal collaboration among nations on the basis of equality, there the parties of Leninism—the Communist and Workers' parties—march in the vanguard and lead the struggle. Lenin's teachings are now scoring new historic victories for Socialism, peace, democracy and national equality.

This is so in the Soviet Union, in the new European democracies, in China. It is so in the growing Communist movements of western Europe, and conditions for such victories are maturing in all capitalist countries. It is so in the rising national liberation movements in all colonial and dependent countries. It is so—even though unevenly—all over the world. And the reason Lenin's teachings are victorious is that Leninism is the working-class science of liberation from capitalist exploitation.

It is the scientific theory of the workers of all countries for the abolition of capitalism and the building of Communism. That is why Leninism, which is the development of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and Socialist revolutions, is scoring historic victories and is destined to triumph all over the world.

Commemorating the death of the founder of Leninism, of our great leader and teacher—Lenin—who passed away twenty-seven years ago, on January 21, 1924, the class-conscious workers of the United States will single out most particularly, for further study and practical application, two key aspects of Lenin's teachings. These are Lenin's teachings on working-class internationalism and on the leading role of the working class—the hegemony of the proletariat—in the general democratic movements of the people and in the building of Socialism.

Why are these two key aspects of Lenin's teachings so vitally and crucially important to American Communists, and to all progressive movements of the American working class, especially at the present

time? Because the struggle for working-class internationalism and for the leading role of the American working class in the historic fight of the American people for peace and democracy is the key to victory over the warmongering imperialists and fascists in the United States. It is the key to the victory of peace and democracy in this country. It is also the key to the advancement of the American working class to leadership in the nation, to leadership in the struggle for Socialism.

WORKING-CLASS INTERNATIONALISM VERSUS BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

Discussing the historical destiny of the teachings of Karl Marx, Lenin wrote:

The main thing in the teaching of Marx is the elucidation of the world-wide historical role of the proletariat as the builder of a socialist society.*

Here we have two ideas. One is that the historical role of the working class as the builder of a Socialist society is world-wide. It is not narrowly national but *international*. The other is that the historic role of the international proletariat is that of the builder of the Socialist society, that is, the leader of the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the building of Socialism.

In substance the fight for Socialism is international. It is a fight to

* V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, International Publishers, New York, p. 56.

abolish the old, decaying and out-lived form of society—capitalism—and to establish and build up the new, growing and coming form of society—Socialism. This is a world-wide process, an international process, which is national only in form. Therefore, when the Mundt-Nixons and McCarrans attack the American Communists as "foreign agents," as "Soviet agents," they are attacking and slandering people who believe in working-class internationalism. Similarly, when the Truman Administration, driving the country to McCarthyism and fascism, persecutes the Communist Party and its leadership as a "foreign conspiracy," it is actually trying to destroy an American political party whose scientific theory is based upon the recognition that the fight for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism is, *in substance, in its main objectives*, a world-wide struggle, an international struggle. This is determined by the historic process. This means that an American political party that is genuinely Socialist in its ultimate goal and in its daily work, must inevitably be a party of working-class internationalism. Unless it ceases to be a party of Socialism, it cannot be anything else.

Opening the road to the McCarrans and the McCarthyism, the Truman Administration insists on treating honest Socialists, which means, true working-class internationalists, as "foreign agents." In doing so, the Trumans, supported by the

Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders who claim to be Socialists (Reuther, Dubinsky, Rieve, Norman Thomas, etc.), are actually trying to suppress all genuine Socialist thought and movements in the United States. They—the Trumans—who collaborate and compromise with the McCarthys and the McCarrans—are in fact trying to suppress the historical process by means of police repression. They are attempting to destroy by fascist methods the world-wide, international substance of the struggles of the American working class against capitalist exploitation, against the monopolies, against Wall Street domination and—eventually—for the establishment of Socialism in the United States. These are vain efforts. The same thing has been tried by the Russian czars and by Hitler and Mussolini; but the historic process and the working-class internationalist parties produced by it have proved stronger. It could not be otherwise.

It is, of course, understood that in stressing the international substance of the working-class struggles against capitalist exploitation and for Socialism, we must be fully mindful of their national forms. As Marx and Engels put it in *The Communist Manifesto*:

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In Leninism, and in the works and leadership of Stalin, these ideas of Marx and Engels on the international substance and national forms of the working-class struggles and movements have received further and most profound development for the epoch of imperialism, of Socialist revolutions and of the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union. From this we know that the struggle of the working class of each country against its "own" capitalism and imperialism naturally takes on special national forms which the vanguard party of the working class—the Communist Party—must be able to discover, formulate and develop. For the vanguard party of the working class to overlook the national forms of the working-class struggles of each country, to fail to discover and develop them, would be a grave and costly error. But from Leninism and Stalinism we also know that the international *substance* of the working class struggles is the decisive thing, because without the international substance, there can be no effective fight against capitalist exploitation in each country and no liberation of the working class from the domination of its "own" bourgeoisie.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND ORGANIZATION

Working-class internationalism is grounded in one of the most elementary and fundamental principles

and sentiments which inspired working-class movements and struggles since their very beginning in every capitalist country. This is the principle and sentiment of *working-class solidarity*. Rising from the feeling of solidarity among workers of the same shop, industry, city and country, and enlightened by Socialist political education, working-class solidarity began to embrace workers of various countries. It began to assume the nature of *international working-class solidarity*. It showed itself in mutual help in economic strikes, in abstention from strike-breaking, in opposition to strike-breaking and in financial assistance. It expressed itself in solidarity actions on political issues — international labor action for progressive labor legislation, such as the 8-hour day, a minimum wage, the right to organize and strike, the outlawing of child labor, etc. It subsequently grew into international working-class solidarity actions against imperialist war and for peace.

Based upon these principles and manifestations of working-class solidarity, the International Workingmen's Association came into existence in 1864, in which Marx and Engels played the leading part. This was the First International, whose expressed purpose was to unite the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America into one world organization, based upon a very broad program of working-class solidarity. This International went out of ex-

istence in 1874, having fulfilled its historic role of gathering together and crystallizing the forces of working-class solidarity, and "giving way to an epoch of an infinitely accelerated growth of the labor movement in all the countries of the world, precisely the epoch when this movement grew in *breadth* and *scope*, when *mass* socialist labor parties were created on the basis of individual national states."*

As a result of the rise of mass socialist labor parties in all capitalist countries, the Second, the Socialist International came into existence in 1889. This was a more advanced stage in the development of the working class and of the working-class movements. Its expressed aims were Socialist and it also embraced the international organization of the trade unions. Working-class internationalism, the substance of Socialism, was a basic principle of the Second International. This principle constituted one of the foundations of Lenin's teachings and of the Bolshevik Party created by Lenin, but it was emasculated and later betrayed by the opportunist leaders, the Right Social-Democratic leaders of most of the national parties of the Second International. The struggle of the working-class internationalists in the Second International against the opportunists and betrayers of internationalism, the struggle which was led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, laid

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, International Publishers, Vol. XVIII, p. 19.

the basis for the formation of the Communist International in 1919. This was an international revolutionary proletarian organization of a new type, a Marxist-Leninist International, which raised the principles of working-class solidarity and proletarian internationalism to unprecedented high levels.

The Communist International fulfilled a most significant historic role. It rescued the principles and banner of working-class internationalism, so brazenly and criminally betrayed during World War I by the reformists and Right Social-Democrats, who went over to the side of the imperialists and warmakers. It restored and consolidated the fraternal relationships between the toiling masses of various countries. It formulated and solved the theoretical problems of the world labor movement of the postwar period and of the epoch of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It thus helped the young Communist parties in the capitalist countries to grow into mass Marxist-Leninist parties with capacity and authority to lead the struggles of the working class in their respective countries. Consequently, the old forms of international collaboration were no longer appropriate to the new conditions. This led to the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 and to the emergence, in 1947, of new forms of collaboration of the European Communist parties with the creation of the Information Bu-

reau of the Communist and Workers' Parties. These new forms of international collaboration provide for systematic contact between the affiliated parties, for exchange of experience and attainment of mutual understanding and voluntary co-ordination of their activities. And the substance of these activities, the leadership of the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism, continues to be based upon, and infused with, the principles of working-class solidarity and proletarian internationalism *raised to even higher levels than heretofore.*

A major expression of international working-class solidarity is the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is playing a most significant role in the defense of the economic interests of the workers as well as in the world-wide struggle for peace, democracy and national equality.

The foregoing demonstrates that the principles of working-class internationalism, which inspire the whole work of our Party and which the Trumans, compromising with the McCarrans, denounce and slander as "a foreign conspiracy," arise from the most fundamental and elementary needs of the American working class and of the workers of all countries. It is as impossible to destroy our internationalism as it is to destroy the working class. Moreover, the foregoing also demonstrates that each stage or period in the history of the working class and of the class struggle calls for and brings

about its own special forms and methods of solidarity and international collaboration.

The creators of the "foreign agent" myth apparently still do not realize that the rise and spread of working-class internationalism has a good deal to do with the very nature of capitalism and capitalist exploitation. It is the development of capitalism that set afoot the tendency "to internationalize the means of production and exchange, to eliminate national aloofness, to bring peoples into closer economic relations, and gradually to merge vast territories into a single connected whole."* This is the tendency which created a world market, an international division of labor and the economic interdependence of the capitalist world. And it is precisely this tendency in capitalist development that helped to bring closer together the working-class movements of various countries, to create daily practical and immediate common interests and to accelerate collaboration and common actions.

Of course, this is not the only tendency in capitalist development. The other and contradictory tendency are the imperialist—the reactionary, violent and oppressive — methods of capitalism to promote the economic amalgamation of peoples. It is the imperialist method of "colonial plunder and annexation, national oppression and inequality, imperialist violence and arbitrary

rule, colonial slavery and national inequality."* The irreconcilable contradiction between these two tendencies "was the cause of the inability, helplessness and impotence of the bourgeoisie in finding a correct approach to the solution of the national problem."** Hence, the bourgeois answer to the national question is imperialism, bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, "master race supremacy," white chauvinism, anti-Semitism, etc.

And it is precisely here that working-class internationalism comes forward with a consistent progressive answer and solution of these contradictory tendencies in capitalist development, the Marxist-Leninist solution of the national question. This solution has been brilliantly realized in the multi-national Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is a solution which destroys all forms of national oppression and discrimination, provides for the complete equality and free development of nations and national minorities, the elimination of nationalism and the establishment of true friendship and fraternal collaboration between peoples in the spirit and in accord with the principles of internationalism. It is a solution which calls for struggle against imperialism and imperialist war. It is a solution which is realized by the alliance of the working class and all toilers in each nation—an alliance headed by the working class

* Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, International Publishers, p. 279.

* *Ibid.*, p. 279.

** *Ibid.*, p. 280.

and led by the internationalist party of the working class, the party of Marxism-Leninism. Finally, this is the solution that is being realized in the People's Republic of China and for which historic struggles are taking place in all colonial and dependent countries.

Yet to the McCarrans and McCarthys, for whom the Truman Administration is continually opening new avenues, working-class internationalism is a "foreign conspiracy" to be handled by methods of police suppression and fascist rule. These methods are creating new difficulties for the progressive and internationalist forces of the American people and are demanding new and serious sacrifices. But these police-state and pro-fascist methods of "handling" working-class internationalism will fail as miserably as have the methods of Hitler and Mussolini.

What frightens and angers Wall Street and its servants at the present time most particularly is the vanguard and leading role of working-class internationalists in the fight for peace. Wall Street, its government and its two political parties are organizing a new world war to secure world domination for American imperialism. The Truman Administration is already carrying on acts of direct aggression against Korea and China. But this growing drive of Wall Street to more aggressions and world war is meeting ever increasing opposition and resistance from the masses of the American

people and from the peoples all over the world. The world front of partisans of peace which has recently held its second Congress in Warsaw, Poland, is embracing ever broader circles. And in this international peace front, which aims to halt Wall Street's drive to a new world war and to maintain peace, working-class internationalists play a very important role. They are in every country the front line fighters for peace. They are the vanguard. Therefore, Wall Street and its agents concentrate now most especially on attacking and persecuting working-class internationalists and the Party of working-class internationalism — the Communist Party. But to hide the true meaning of these attacks — attacks on consistent advocates of peace—Wall Street and its servants have invented the myth of "foreign agent" and of "Soviet agent." And in the forefront of this criminal and slanderous campaign of the imperialists and warmongers stand as usual the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy and reactionary Social-Democratic leaders (Green, Murray, Reuther, Dubinsky, Rieve, Potofsky, etc.).

They speak of "Soviet agents," but what they mean is people who stand for friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union. They say "Soviet agents," but they aim their attack at people who sympathize with the peace policies of the Soviet Union, who oppose Wall Street's preparations for war against

the Soviet Union, who agree and support the proposals of the Soviet Union for the peaceful solution of differences and for the maintenance of peace, who believe that the two systems should strive to co-exist and compete peacefully. And they seek most particularly to brand as "Soviet agents" the believers in, and fighters for, the principles of working-class solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

This Wall Street myth of "Soviet agent" is intended by its inventors to achieve several objectives. First, to obscure and distort the great historic fact that the Soviet Union — the Socialist state—is the very embodiment of working-class internationalism, of anti-imperialism, of equality and friendship between nations. Secondly, to obscure and distort the historic fact that the Soviet Union, precisely because of its working-class internationalism, is the leader in the world peace front, the leader in the world struggle for the maintenance of peace, against Wall Street imperialism's aggression and war preparation. Thirdly, to obstruct the growth of sympathy with, and support of the peace aims and proposals of the Soviet Union among the masses of the American people, to obstruct the growth of movements of friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Fourthly, to isolate the American people and their peace movements from the world peace movements in order to weaken the fight for peace at home

and abroad, in order to make it easier for the warmongers to drive forward to World War III. Fifthly, to isolate the peace movements of the American people from the most consistent and vanguard fighters for peace — the working-class internationalists, the Communists—in order to weaken the peace struggles, to hamper the crystallization of a powerful American peace front headed by the working class, which is a major objective of the Communist Party.

These warmongering maneuvers of the monopolies to break up the peace struggles of the American people can and will be defeated. The "Soviet agent" myth is being daily exposed by life itself. But this inevitable process will be greatly accelerated, and the peace forces will be strengthened, by a thorough recognition that the Soviet Union is the leading force in the camp of peace, because of its working-class internationalism; that the vanguard fighters for peace everywhere are the Marxists-Leninists, the working-class internationalists; and that working-class internationalism requires active support of the peace policies and leadership of the Soviet Union. Only this way lies sure and lasting victory of the American people over the Wall Street warmongers.

WORKING-CLASS LEADERSHIP OF THE PEOPLE AND THE COMMUNIST VANGUARD

Another key aspect of Leninism is

Lenin's teachings on the leading role of the working class—the hegemony of the proletariat—in the general democratic movements of the people and in the building of Socialism. This is a fundamental part of Lenin's theory of the Socialist revolution.

Lenin's teachings on the leading role of the working class in the general democratic movements of the people have an immediate and practical significance to the American working class and its allies. How to help and enable labor to become the backbone and main driving force of the rising—slowly rising—movements of the masses of the American people for peace, is the most important immediate and practical question facing the American working class and its allies. Consequently it is the most important immediate and practical question facing the vanguard party of the American working class — the Communist Party. But this question can be solved correctly and effectively only along the lines of Lenin's teachings on the leading role of the working class in the democratic movements of the people. Or, to take another key and immediate practical question: How can we help labor in the shortest possible time to establish its class political independence from the bourgeoisie, to join hands with its allies—the Negro people, the small and middle farmers, the professionals, the middle classes of the cities—in common struggle against the mo-

nopoles, to become the backbone and main driving force in the slowly rising people's anti-monopoly and anti-fascist peace coalition which would effectively combat and challenge on the political field the two major parties of Wall Street? In the central fight of today, there is nothing more urgent, more immediate and of greater practical importance than to help American labor become the backbone and main driving force in the developing American people's peace front—a peace front aimed at checking and halting the drive of the monopolies toward another world war. And this problem, too, can be solved correctly only on the basis of Lenin's teachings on the leading role of the working class in the general democratic movements of the people and in the building of a Socialist society.

These teachings Lenin expounds in his historic book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, which appeared in July, 1905. Criticizing in this book the tactics of the Mensheviks—the opportunists in the labor movement of Russia—Lenin “at the same time exposed the tactics of international opportunism.”* In this great book Lenin “substantiated the Marxist tactics in the period of the bourgeois revolution and drew the distinction between the bourgeois revolution and the Socialist revolution.” At the same time, Lenin “formulated the

* *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, International Publishers, p. 65.

fundamental principles of the Marxist tactics in the period of transition from the bourgeois revolution to the Socialist revolution."*

Here Lenin formulates the tactical principle that "the proletariat can and must be the *leader* of the bourgeois-democratic revolution" (*Ibid*). For this Lenin gives three main reasons. First, the working class is the most advanced and consistently revolutionary class because of its very position in capitalist society. Secondly, the working class has its own political party, independent of the bourgeoisie, which enables the working class to build itself up into a united and independent political force. Thirdly, the working class is more interested than the bourgeoisie in a decisive and complete victory of the revolution because the more radical the change the greater are the advantages to the working class in the immediate situation and for the transition to the struggle for Socialism.

We must note here the decisive role of the political party of the working class in the realization of working-class leadership in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Without such a party, a vanguard party, a Marxist-Leninist party, it is impossible for the working class to build itself up into a united and independent political force able to lead the masses of the people in revolutionary struggle. Because the proletariat of Russia had such a politi-

cal party—the Bolshevik Party—it was able successfully to lead the fight for the overthrow of czarism and to proceed from that revolution to the leadership of the struggle of all exploited in the Socialist revolution.

Thus we have "a new line of the Marxist party on the question of tactics in the bourgeois democratic revolution" which is "fundamentally different from the tactical lines hitherto existing in the arsenal of Marxism"* In the old lines, "it was the bourgeoisie that played the leading part" in the bourgeois revolution, "the proletariat willy-nilly playing the part of its subsidiary, while the peasantry was a reserve of the bourgeoisie." According to the new line of Lenin, "the situation was changing in such a way that the proletariat was becoming the guiding force of the bourgeois revolution . . . while the peasantry was becoming a reserve of the proletariat"***

In the same great book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Lenin also formulates a new line on the relation between the bourgeois revolution and the Socialist revolution and on the leading role of the working class—the hegemony of the proletariat—in the Socialist revolution. "Lenin maintained that following upon the accomplishment of the democratic tasks [in the bourgeois-democratic revolution—A. B.], the proletariat

* *Ibid*.

* *Ibid*, p. 69.

** *Ibid*, p. 70.

and the other exploited masses would have to begin a struggle, this time for the *Socialist* revolution." They would have to begin "the direct transition to the Socialist revolution."^{*}

This is the Lenin theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution *passing into* the Socialist revolution. In the bourgeois revolution, the proletariat is in alliance with all classes and groups capable of waging a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the monarchist-feudal regime, chiefly with the peasantry. Toward the end of the bourgeois revolution, a regrouping of forces takes place around the proletariat for a direct transition to the Socialist revolution. This time the proletariat is in alliance with all the toiling and exploited masses, the masses suffering from capitalist exploitation and vitally interested in the Socialist transformation of society. And this is how the leadership of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution grows into the leadership of the proletariat in the Socialist revolution.

This Lenin theory of the Socialist revolution "did not yet contain any direct conclusion regarding the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country, taken singly. But it did contain all, or nearly all, the fundamental elements necessary for the drawing of such a conclusion sooner or later. As we know, Lenin arrived at this conclusion ten years

later, in 1915."^{*} This historical Leninist conclusion has today a direct bearing on the leading role of the first workers' state in the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

With the formulation of this latter conclusion, Lenin's theory of the Socialist revolution was made complete. "This theory fundamentally differed from the view current among the Marxists in the period of *pre-imperialist* capitalism, when they held that the victory of Socialism in one separate country was impossible, and that it would take place simultaneously in all the civilized countries. On the basis of the facts concerning *imperialist* capitalism [intensified oppression, revolutionary crises in colonial countries, utmost sharpening of capitalist contradictions and of capitalism's uneven development—A.B.] set forth in his remarkable book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin displaced this view as obsolete and set forth a new theory, from which it follows that the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries is *impossible*, while the victory of Socialism in one capitalist country, taken singly, is *possible*."^{**}

This theory has achieved historic triumphs in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of its Communist (Bolshevik) Party guided, after Lenin's death on January 21, 1924, by Stalin—the Lenin of our time. Because of this victory, Marxism-

^{*} *Ibid.*, p. 74.

^{*} *Ibid.*, p. 76.

^{**} *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

Leninism is now triumphing in the new European democracies, in the victories of the People's Republic of China, in the growing influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The triumph of this theory of Lenin, tremendously enriched and further developed in the teachings and political leadership of Stalin, is demonstrated today most brilliantly in the fact that *it is the working class and its vanguard parties that stand in the front lines of struggle for peace, democracy, national equality and social progress; that it is the Soviet Union, the country of the proletarian dictatorship, that leads the world struggle for peace, the most important and decisive struggle today for the whole of the human race.*

The Soviet Union is the *first* Socialist state, which is now moving to Communism. This state came into existence as a result of the great October Socialist Revolution which breached successfully the imperialist world front and led to the victory of Socialism. *This was due to the operation of the law of uneven development of capitalism and therefore to the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country.* Hence, the Soviet Union, the first land of the proletarian dictatorship, came into position of leadership on a world scale in the general democratic and peace movements of peoples and in the fight for the building of Socialism.

The problem which deeply con-

cerns, and must continue to concern the class-conscious workers of the United States, and the vanguard party of the American working class, the Communist Party, is how to accelerate the growth of the political independence of the American proletariat in the present crucial situation. It is the key problem of promoting labor's initiative and eventual leadership in the general democratic movements of the American people. *It is the most burning and immediate practical problem of awakening and organizing labor's initiative in the struggle for an American people's peace front to halt the Wall Street warmongers and to save America from national disaster.*

In searching for a solution of this problem, much can be learned from the present state of affairs in the struggle of the American people for peace and from the prevailing situation on the political field, as revealed in the results of the last national elections. Examining the position of the peace movements and struggles in the United States at the present time, two conclusions are inescapable. One is the evident and ardent desire of the masses of the American people for peace. Nobody can successfully challenge this conclusion. The other is the slow and hesitant way in which these peace desires and sentiments come to effective expression and crystallize into significant actions against the warmongers. For this there are many

reasons, but the most important one is the lack of adequate labor participation in the fight for peace. Labor has not yet become the backbone and main driving force in the peace movements of the American people. Labor is not yet displaying the required initiative in the struggle for an American people's peace front able to halt Wall Street's mad rush to a new world war.

Is labor—the American working class—capable of becoming the backbone and main driving force in the building of an American people's peace front? The answer is an unqualified yes. By its very position in capitalist society, the working class is the most consistently progressive class, the class that stands objectively in irreconcilable opposition to Wall Street, to the monopolies and to the system of capitalist exploitation as a whole. The working class stands to gain most from a victorious struggle for peace which will make possible an effective defense of the living standards and civil liberties of the masses and will open the way for significant social progress. It is therefore incontestable that the American working class is capable, possesses the capacities to become the backbone of the people's peace struggles, the main driving force in the building of the American people's peace front. *And the beginnings of this historical process are already clearly evident in American life today.*

How to bring into action these objective capacities of the American

working class in the cause of peace is the key problem. In the the solution of this problem all class-conscious and militant workers have a great contribution to make. Especially important is the role of the vanguard party of the working class — the Communist Party. How rapidly the leading role of the working class in the struggles for peace assumes significant proportions depends a good deal upon the way in which the Communist Party fulfills its role of vanguard.

The main line of the Communist Party is devoted precisely to the solution of this key problem. It is the line of struggle for the united working-class front and the people's front against war and fascism. A correct and effective struggle for this line among the masses—in the shops, factories, neighborhoods, on the farms—and a proper concentration of all efforts upon the basic sections of the American working class — this is how the Party undertakes to fulfill its vanguard role in the present situation. The struggle for this line among the masses demands systematic exposure of the betrayals of the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats and Social-Democratic leaders, for without such an exposure little headway can be made in the building of the American people's peace front. The struggle for the Party's line among the masses also demands energetic resistance to all opportunist tendencies — Right opportunist and Leftist sectarian; for, without such

resistance the Party's line cannot prevail. Above all, the fulfillment of the vanguard role of the Communist Party at the present time demands the daily and unremitting building of the Party's strength—politically, organizationally and ideologically, and merciless struggle against all liquidationist tendencies. For without a strong and growing vanguard party of the working class, there can be no working-class leadership in the peace struggles of the American people; and without working-class leadership, the peace struggles and movements of the masses of the American people cannot acquire the strength and stability necessary for victory.

Never since the end of World War II and the emergence of the new war danger arising from Wall Street's aggressive drive for world domination have the possibilities for the rise of a powerful American people's peace front been more promising and favorable than at the present time. A turning point is approaching; and significant shifts in the class relations in the United States in favor of the peace camp are now rapidly maturing. The deep crisis in the foreign policy of American imperialism, the increasing war danger and the contradictions of the growing war economy, are producing a mass peace upsurge. This, therefore, is the time for bold initiative by labor to rally the Negro people, the masses of farmers, the professionals and intellectuals, the masses

of the national groups, and all other Americans regardless of political views or ideologies, into a united struggle to halt the warmongers and save the United States from national disaster.

And what do we learn from the state of affairs on the political field as reflected in the results of the last national elections? We learn substantially the same lesson. That lesson is that the absence of working-class political unity and independence from the bourgeoisie, for which the trade-union reactionary bureaucracy is primarily responsible, makes impossible working-class initiative and leadership in the general democratic movements of the people. The absence of such working-class leadership makes impossible the unification of all other democratic groups in American life for common political action against the common enemy — the monopolies, imperialists and pro-fascist reaction. Consequently, Wall Street is able to maintain its two-party system—the Republican and Democratic parties—and to prevent the rise of a powerful party of the people. An important lesson of the elections is that in the absence of such a powerful people's party, the more extreme and more open reactionaries, even fascists, are often able to exploit for their own criminal ends the resentment of the masses against the anti-people's policies of the monopoly-serving Administration advertised by the labor-misleaders as "liberal" and "democratic."

This is what we learn by once more examining the results of the last national elections. The reactionary trade-union bureaucracy — Murray, Green, Dubinsky, Reuther, etc. — kept labor divided and attached to one of Wall Street's political agencies — the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party. A smaller group of trade-union reactionaries kept labor attached to the other and more openly reactionary political agency of Wall Street—the Republican Party. With what result? Except for the opportunities offered in several places by the Progressive Party and the A.L.P., supported by the Communist Party, there was no broad people's party in the elections to which the millions of workers, farmers, Negro people and middle-class groups could turn to express their growing disappointments with the Truman Administration and their gropings for better political leadership. These masses, whose numbers are rapidly multiplying, found themselves in a blind alley, and the more extreme and more open reactionaries — Taft & Co. — made clever use of this tragic situation to strengthen their own forces.

In other words, when labor is divided and politically dependent upon the bourgeoisie, the masses of the people as a whole, labor's allies, will also be divided and will be subordinate to Wall Street's political parties. When the working class, split by the reformists and reactionaries in the labor movement and kept attached to

the capitalist political parties, fails to display political independence, initiative and leadership in the fight against Wall Street and for the defense of the people's interests, the masses of the farmers, of the Negro people and of the middle-class groups will inevitably follow the political leadership of Wall Street's agents. It cannot be otherwise.

When unnamed trade-union reformists tell the *New York Times* (Louis Stark, Nov. 12, 1950) that the trouble in the last elections was "that labor was unable to pick its own candidates, but had to take those selected (in the main) by the Democratic Party machine" and "the failure of the trade unions to enlist the aid and sympathy of the middle class in large numbers," these reformist leaders are admitting the bankruptcy of their own political policies and confessing their own treacheries. How can labor pick its own candidates when its political action is directed by people—the trade-union reactionaries—who have sold themselves to labor's main enemy—Wall Street? And how can labor enlist the aid and sympathy of the middle class when labor supports in the elections the candidates of Wall Street which is also the main enemy of the middle classes? Only when labor is politically independent of the bourgeoisie and displays initiative in the struggle against the exploiters and enemies of the masses of the people—the monopolies—only then can it enlist the support of the

middle-class groups and of the Negro people. This means the building of the political alliance of labor, the Negro people, the small and middle farmers, the masses of the national groups and the middle-class groups. It means the building of a people's anti-monopoly and anti-fascist peace party in which the working class is the backbone and main driving force.

And here again the vanguard role of the Communist Party is of tremendous importance at the present time. It is the role of projecting this line of political action, of winning the masses for it in daily struggle among the people, especially the workers in the basic industries, for peace, for our living standards, for our civil rights, for equal rights for the Negro people. It is the role of freeing the masses, especially the basic sections of the American proletariat from the reactionary domination and influences of the reformist

trade-union bureaucracy and reactionary Social-Democratic leaders. The fulfillment of this role requires building the Communist Party, extending its political influence and authority among the masses and strengthening its Marxist-Leninist ideology.

This is what we learn from Lenin's teachings. This is how the Communist Party applies Lenin's teachings on working-class internationalism and on the leading role of the working class. These teachings constitute the surest guide to the victory of the American people over the warmongers, imperialists and fascists in the United States. They are also the surest guide to the advancement of the American working class to leadership of all progressive struggles of the American people, to leadership in the struggle for Socialism, to leadership in the nation.

The Second World Peace Congress

By Joseph Starobin

THE SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS—scheduled for Sheffield, England, and finally convened in Warsaw, Poland, November 16-22, 1950—was a titanic achievement of the world peace movement. It expressed the higher level, the broader scope, the heightened role which the peace movement has achieved throughout the world since its first Congress, in Paris, some 18 months before.

The Congress, in its chief document, the *Appeal to the United Nations*, and in the establishment of a new leading peace organization, the World Council of Peace, gives the main political perspectives for the work of all interested in maintaining peace in the critical period ahead.

It was only to be expected that the capitalist press and governing circles in Washington should have done their utmost to minimize the significance of this Congress, to falsify its character, obscure its meaning and muffle its repercussions in addition to preventing outstanding American peace leaders from taking part.

It was considered enough by the enemies of peace in our country to call this "a Communist-dominated Congress," in order, by the perverse logic of the ruling class, to make the Congress inimical to our people's

interests. Under the spell of this feeble falsehood, the American ambassador in Moscow, Alan Kirk, even refused the formal courtesy call of some members of the American Peace Delegation who visited the Soviet Union; it was sufficient for him that they had attended the Warsaw Congress! True to the State Department's behavior in Lake Success, Admiral Kirk even arrogated to himself the right to speak for the United Nations and maintained that the Warsaw meeting had been contrary to the interests of the United Nations as well!

All the more reason, then, why the fullest clarity on the character of the Warsaw Congress and its chief decisions must be regarded as a vital necessity for us. And it would only be playing into the hands of the State Department's propaganda, it would be harmful to the future of the American peace movement, if it were not made absolutely clear from the outset that the Warsaw Congress was not the world counterpart of the Left-progressive peace forces in our own country.

What the World Council of Peace is, and what it wants to be, is the agency uniting every expression of peace sentiment around a minimum

program of action. Its work is not the property of any one trend among peace-minded peoples. It is the tribune, the meeting-ground and the program for all forces in all lands that set themselves the single objective of maintaining peace against the threat of world war. As its vice-chairman, Pietro Nenni, leader of the Socialist Party of Italy, declared in introducing the main resolution at the close of the Congress: "We are not a pro-Communist Congress; we are not an anti-fascist Congress; we are not an anti-imperialist Congress; we are a Peace Congress."

Another way of grasping this essential character of the Warsaw Congress can be found in studying one of the opening passages in the speech of the outstanding spokesman of the Soviet delegation, and secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers, Alexander Fadeyev.

Referring to the Stockholm Appeal, which was supported by no less than half a billion people throughout the world, Fadeyev says that this Appeal has shown:

That people holding widely dissimilar views on social development, religion and culture can reach agreement on practical proposals in behalf of world peace. We, in the Soviet Union, are prepared as hitherto to accept any well-advised proposal that helps promote world peace no matter in what quarter it originates.

We are prepared to come to an understanding with all true friends of peace in the United States, in Britain,

Canada and the Scandinavian countries, and any other country in the world, regardless of differences in our general conception of world affairs; we are ready to reach agreement with them on any concrete peace proposal, to seek a common decision on any issue, provided this will ensure joint activity in behalf of peace.

From this point of view, the possibilities of joint action by the friends of peace are still far from having been utilized.

And we, who are assembled in this hall, must advance broad and at the same time very clear and universally intelligible, very concrete and practical proposals that can rally in unity the untold forces of the peace supporters all over the world, and bridle those in whose interests it is to unleash war (*New Times*, No. 48, November 29, 1950, Supplement).

This was the spirit and content of the Soviet delegation's role in the Congress. In the main, this same approach came forward independently from other leading delegations. This shapes the essential character of the Congress and its program for the future.

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE CONGRESS

In terms of numbers, the Congress brought together 2,065 people, of whom 1,756 were delegates or accredited observers, the remainder guests or observers. These came from 80 countries and included representatives of semi-colonial and colonial peoples.

Of these delegates, 446 were women, indicating the very important role which the women's peace movement is playing almost everywhere. The breakdown shows the following composition: 341 workers; 57 peasants; 59 political leaders and members of parliaments; 20 municipal councillors and mayors; 49 scientists; 116 writers and artists; 124 educators; 72 ministers of religion; 12 military men and 47 businessmen and merchants.

Especially noteworthy in Warsaw was the quality of two components: the delegations from the countries of western Europe, especially France and Italy but also western Germany and Britain; and the representation from the colonial and semi-colonial countries, from fighting Asia, from the Near East, Africa and Latin America. A third important contingent, the American delegation, needs separate discussion.

The delegations from France and Italy testified to the exceptional breadth and depth which the peace movement has reached in those countries, approaching the quality of the resistance movements during the anti-Hitler war. The vast majority were elected from a series of departmental and regional congresses, held prior to the national peace congresses in each country which preceded the Warsaw Congress. The delegates spoke for a peace sentiment which cuts across political, trade-union and social lines. It was especially interesting that of the seventy-five dele-

gates from both Germanys—no less than 40 came from western Germany, both important personalities and rank-and-file workers.

In the case of the colonial delegations, something new was achieved at Warsaw: the participation for the first time on such a scale of spokesmen for the colonial peoples. In the first place, there were the representatives of victorious People's China; secondly, of embattled Korea, of Viet-Nam, Indonesia and Malaya. Then, of special importance, were new figures from almost every part of Africa, particularly French Africa. And, finally, there were a series of delegates from the Arab countries of the Near East and North Africa which had hitherto not been actively involved in the peace movement.

A significant feature of the Congress was that it brought together, not only delegates from local peace committees, but also leading personalities from various walks of life who are outstandingly linked with the fight for peace.

Warsaw was not, it should be noticed, a rank-and-file meeting primarily, although in preponderance were rank-and-file peace activists; the characteristic feature of the Congress, which reflects the reality of the European and colonial countries, was the cross-sectional participation of leading men and women of the arts and sciences, of culture generally, of the churches, and all walks of public life.

All this was plainly shown in the

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kinds of speakers who took part in the deliberations. In addition to the basic reports of the Congress president, Frederic Joliot-Curie, and of the main *rapporteur*, Pietro Nenni, the Congress heard major contributions from such diverse figures as the Metropolitan Nicolai of the Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R., Christopher Woodard, a Conservative member of the British Parliament; Kuo Mo-jo, leading Chinese intellectual; and Ilya Ehrenburg and Alexander Fadeyev, of the Soviet Union.

Among others, there were Abbé Boulrier, courageous Catholic priest of France, and Andrea Gaggero, a Catholic priest of Italy; Rev. J. Armstrong, the Irish Protestant pacifist; Mme. Pak Den-ai, outstanding Korean women's leader; Charles P. Howard, of Des Moines, Iowa, and Rev. Willard Uphaus, executive secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, of the United States; Pierre Cot, the independent Progressive of France, and Emanuel D'Astier de la Vigerie, former French minister and Resistance leader; Desmond Buckle, of the Union of South Africa; Jorge Amado, outstanding Brazilian writer; Gen. Heriberto Jara, former minister of marine in the Cardenas government; Helmuth Von Mucke, of western Germany (commander of the German cruiser, Emden, in the First World War); Arnold Zweig, the writer; and Dr. Alfred Ludtke, Bavarian Catholic leader of Munich; the Mohammedan

priest of Syria, Ashmaer-sheh; the secretary of the Australian Waterside Workers Union, Jim Healy; Max Cosyns, Belgium's leading atomic physicist; Sekou Toure, the French West African leader; and Gabriel D'Arboussier, head of the great African Democratic Assembly.

While the above names—only a fraction of the list of prominent contributors and participants in the Congress—give some idea of its character, we must turn to the main Congress document—the *Appeal to the United Nations**—for a more political estimate of its meaning.

There were seven commissions of the Congress, each of which adopted appropriate resolutions: on the outlawing of war propaganda; on the definition of aggression; on the necessity of trade and cultural relations among the nations; on the problems of disarmament; etc. But the main commission—the Political Committee—had the responsibility for the three main documents: the *Manifesto to the Peoples of the World*; the *Appeal to the UN*; and the *Resolution Against the Persecution of Fighters for Peace*, introduced by the great Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda. Of these, the *Appeal to the UN*, deserves the most careful study.

SIGNIFICANCE OF

APPEAL TO THE U.N.

In the first place, the *Appeal to the United Nations* does not attempt

* Published in this issue.—Ed.

to assign responsibility for the present crisis: it proposes action to resolve it, irrespective of how the war crisis originated and who started it. It will be noticed that the document does not characterize the Soviet Union's peace policy, nor stress its leading role as the bulwark of the entire international peace camp; neither does it single out American imperialism by name although the Congress speeches, of course, were very clear on both points. It states only that the reason for the failure of the United Nations to fulfill that "great hope reposed in it by all the peoples of the world" is that the world organization "is being influenced by forces which have disregarded the only path to universal peace: the search for general agreement."

A second aspect of the declaration is its approach to the United Nations. It is clear that the Second World Congress fully appreciated the role which the U.N. plays in the minds of people throughout the world and the potentialities of the U.N. as an agency for peaceful settlement. In this respect, the document is not negative toward the U.N. On the other hand, it places sharp and clear proposals for consideration, not only by the U.N., but also by the parliaments of all countries. Finally, the World Council of Peace is projected as an organization which not only places demands before the U.N., but quite independently strives to organize and unite all peace forces, irrespective of what happens and

what will happen in the U.N.

As the document says: "We draw the attention of the United Nations to the fact that, while calling upon it to justify the hopes reposed in it by the peoples of the world, we are at the same time undertaking the establishment of a World Council of Peace."

This body is then defined—in terms which show its new character, compared with the former World Committee of the Defenders of Peace. For it is to be a "body embracing representatives of all the peoples of the world, those within the United Nations and those not yet represented therein, and also countries still dependent and colonial."

This World Council of Peace "shall call upon the United Nations to fulfill its duty to strengthen and develop peaceful co-operation between all countries." In addition, however, "it shall assume the lofty task of securing a firm and lasting peace that shall correspond to the vital interests of all nations. The World Council of Peace will, in short, prove before mankind that, despite all present difficulties, which must in no ways be minimized, we shall accomplish the great mission of peace upon which we have embarked."

Thus, the new agency is in no sense a rival U.N., as many sections of the Western European reactionary press speculated during the Congress. It is not a gathering of states and governments, obviously. On the other hand, it is today much more

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than a committee, than a group of devotees to peace; it is a world organization that strives to associate the most representative peace forces of each country in a program of action and mass mobilization around simple, concrete, minimum demands. It is an organization dedicated to enforcing the world will for peace against the war-makers. It is, as Pietro Nenni phrased it, "the sixth power" in the world, the unified voice of the world peace movement.

From the viewpoint of specific program, the *Appeal to the United Nations* puts forward as its most general demand a meeting of the five great powers (including the Chinese People's Republic) "for the examination and peaceful settlement of current differences."

It then makes nine concrete recommendations "designed to restore confidence among all countries, regardless of their respective systems, and to maintain and re-establish peace."

Apart from the minimum recommendations for a settlement in Asia (which have now become part of the peace demands of millions of Americans), the nine points are noteworthy for certain new and clear formulations, which should enable American peace forces to answer many questions in the minds of our people. For example, the disarmament proposals are specific and call for an unconditional system of controls and inspection. These ideas have a direct bearing on the present dead-

lock in the U.N., and are capable of breaking that deadlock, if they are effectively brought to the masses.

The declaration on the colonial question is also very clear and precise. It places the fight for colonial freedom and the right of colonial peoples to independence as an integral part of the fight for peace. The Appeal also adds an unconditional definition of aggression when it declares that "no political, strategic or economic consideration, no ground deriving from the internal situation or any internal conflict in one or another state, can justify armed intervention by any other state. That state commits the crime of aggression which first employs armed force, under any pretext whatever, against another state."

A third feature of the proposals is the demand upon the parliaments of all countries to enact laws "for the protection of peace" making all forms of war-mongering a crime punishable by criminal prosecution. Already, a series of countries in Eastern Europe have responded to this proposal.

Finally, it is noteworthy that points "8" and "9" of the document spell out in some detail the effect of war preparations on living standards and the disruption of normal business relations between peoples; likewise, the Appeal calls for the strengthening of cultural relations among all peoples and comes out flatly for the "organization of international conferences of persons ac-

tive in the field of culture, the mutual exchange of visits, and the publication and wide diffusion of the literature and art of other countries."

What we have here is a new type of programmatic statement for a world peace movement: simple, positive, couched in plain language, and pitched to the needs of broadening, deepening and unifying the peace movements of all lands, and in particular of the Western capitalist countries. For this reason alone, the document deserves study and the widest possible circulation, not only by the delegates who attended the Congress, but by each and every person interested in peace. The document is not, in fact, to be taken as an end in itself; it is a basis for discussion in broadening the connections of all peace forces.

ROLE OF THE U.S. DELEGATION

The United States delegation to the Second World Peace Congress made a considerable impression, and contributed many important things to the parley and its outcome. Despite the arbitrary refusal of the State Department to let outstanding personalities such as Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, or the U.E. leader, Ernest de Maio, go to Europe, the U.S. delegation was able to convey some of the scope and the problems of the peace forces in our land.

There were sixty-six Americans in all at the Congress. Of these fifty-two were official delegates and offi-

cial observers. Thirteen were in the category of observers, without vote in the delegation, not having been designated or elected as delegates to the Congress. O. John Rogge was an invited guest, as a vice-president of the out-going World Committee of the Partisans of Peace, though he had status as a member of the delegation as well. The delegates and official observers came from eighteen states, with contingents from the mid-West and the far-West. Half of the delegates were women, and half of these outstanding Negro women. Twelve delegates were Negro and white Protestant ministers; eighteen were trade unionists, with a fairly wide representation from different segments of the labor movement. For example, three delegates came from A. F. of L. unions: from the rank and file of the I.L.G.W.U. and of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and from the Hotel and Restaurant Workers; one delegates came from Local 453 of the U.A.W., C.I.O.; one from the Swift Local of the United Packinghouse Workers, C.I.O., and several from the U.E.—some from important Chicago plants; two came from the rank and file of the National Maritime Union, C.I.O.

Taken as a whole, however, it must be said that while the delegation was a great step forward in the sense that it was representative of local, rank-and-file peace activity, it also had the defect of its qualities.

Although several new and important broader personalities came for-

ward in this delegation—such as Miss Theresa Robinson, of the Daughter Elks; Rev. Willard Uphaus; and Charles P. Howard—there were relatively few outstanding personalities known throughout the world as spokesmen of peace in this country.

Truc, the absence of a Robeson (honored as man and artist by one of the seven Peace Prizes) and the absence of a Fast accounted in part for this noticeable defect in the delegation. But there are other reasons, too, that were not of the State Department's making. In concentrating on the sending of rank-and-file delegates, not enough attention was given to the cross-sectional, over-all character of the Peace Congress. The world of cultural and scientific spokesmen for peace was virtually absent. So were many political personalities who do play a significant role in peace activity and might have gone to the Congress, if the peace movement had been alert to the importance of their contribution.

There were other defects as well: the poor showing of nationally-known trade-union leaders; the almost complete neglect of the South; the weakness of the youth contingent. And, finally, the evident lack of preparation for the Congress by the delegates—as a delegation—was a glaring weakness, attesting to the hitherto weak liaison between United States peace forces and the work of the world peace movement.

The U.S. delegation cannot be

properly estimated, without stressing the exceptional role played by its Negro members, both men and women. It was not accidental that the outstanding personality of the delegation was Charles P. Howard, of Iowa; as a whole, the Negro peace forces made a powerful impression on the Congress, as living representatives of the most oppressed section of our country and at the same time spokesmen for that part of the American peace movement which is unquestionably on a higher level of anti-imperialist consciousness and militancy than any other.

And the Congress made an enormous impact on the Negro delegates. The welcome for them was warm and passionate: the shackles of discrimination and Jim Crow were suddenly lifted and the very spirit of each member of the delegation was suddenly exalted; it was a glimpse of a world free of Jim Crow. Even the most advanced of the white members of the delegation had much to learn, much to ponder on, in this release of the energies and enthusiasm of the Negro delegates, and this welcome for them.

As for the role of O. John Rogge, the American press coverage of the Congress obviously gave his speech undue attention. Rogge had been invited in his capacity as vice-president of the Defenders of Peace, having been elected to that post in April, 1949. He spoke twice, once at Sheffield and again at Warsaw. The content of his speech was straightforward

ward apologia for the State Department plus a very crude mixture of pro-Tito propaganda, interlarded with his usual flotsam and jetsam of half-digested ideas. There was never any question that Rogge would speak; it took no special courage on his part to do so; he made no impression either on the Congress or the American delegation, and there was no disposition at the Congress to focus too much attention on Rogge. The chief answer to him came as part of the speech by Charles P. Howard: it was a powerful and pointed reply, which demolished Rogge's central argument—namely, that peace requires acceptance of a status-quo dominated by American imperialism.

FOR A BROAD PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A.

A few observations on the significance of the Warsaw Congress for the future of the American peace movement are in order. This is especially necessary, since the Warsaw Congress coincided with a much higher level of American peace activity, emerging out of the depths of the Korean crisis. For this new upsurge of peace action to mature into a consistent and organized movement, the lessons of Warsaw are indispensable.

In the first place, there is much to learn from the breadth and the simplicity of appeal in the Warsaw Congress. The issue of peace is the paramount issue for the peoples of

Europe and Asia. It is broad enough to rally the millions, and this is now becoming so plain for our own country that every tendency to encumber peace expressions with conditions, with advanced slogans, with organizational frameworks that are not readily acceptable to the masses, must be absolutely abandoned. The peace movement has room within it for the millions, regardless of varying viewpoints and ideological differences in other respects. A united-front mass movement for peace must give ample expression to the single, unifying factor: the will to work for peace.

Secondly, it is clear that all concepts of the World Council of Peace as something narrow, something so advanced in its program that broad American forces cannot associate with it, must be discouraged. In point of fact, the World Council of Peace is already broader—in its program and leading personnel—than the conception of breadth currently held by Left-progressive forces in our country. The World Council of Peace is not a narrowing force: any attitude which encourages this idea must be combatted, especially by popularizing what actually happened in Sheffield and Warsaw.

The American members now include: Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, Bishop Arthur Moulton, of Utah; W. E. B. Du Bois; Charles P. Howard; Rev. Willard Uphaus; Miss Theresa Robinson; Fred Stover, of the Iowa Farmers Union; Dr. Clementina Paolone, of the Ameri-

can Women for Peace; Ernest de Maio, of the U.E. Chicago; Karley Larson, of the International Woodworkers, of Seattle, Washington; Rev. John Darr, and Rev. Robert Muir, of Boston.

The challenge of the Warsaw Congress is not only that these personalities shall work together, but that they shall associate diverse forces with themselves. They are not in themselves *the* peace movement. Attracting around themselves the most conscious peace forces, they can serve the interests of broadening the American peace movement best by acting as a catalyst, stimulating and developing the most varied peace activity.

Thirdly, it is clear—after Warsaw—that a new estimate needs to be made of how a broad policy of peace can be applied “in depth,” that is, among the masses.

The American peace movement still lacks decisive sections of the working class within it, by contrast with Western European countries;

but while concentration on the working class must be central for American Communists — alongside of our concentration on developing a Negro people's peace movement—it does not follow that these tasks can be achieved by avoiding a broad approach.

On the contrary, a broad, simple, grass-roots approach is needed to build the peace movement “in depth”: in the shops, in the industrial communities, in those sections where working people live. And this needs to be done simultaneously with the allocation of specific forces to expand greatly the work of middle-class and cultural forces of all kinds. To apply the broad meaning of Warsaw among the rank and file of our people—this is our greatest challenge. And to do this swiftly, in pace with the new developments of the critical world situation, with full confidence that peace can be imposed on the war-makers, is our greatest responsibility to our own people, and to the peace forces of all lands.

Main Documents of the Second World Peace Congress

(Warsaw, November 16-22, 1950)

MANIFESTO TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

WAR THREATENS MANKIND: every child, every woman, every man.

The United Nations is not fulfilling the hopes placed in it by the peoples to ensure peace and security.

All human life and mankind's cultural heritage are in peril.

The peoples would cling to the hope that the United Nations would return resolutely to the principles upon which it was founded after the Second World War, and which consisted of securing freedom, peace and mutual respect between all peoples.

More and more the peoples of the world are putting their hope in themselves—in their determination and in their good will.

Every thinking person knows that he who says "War is inevitable" slanders mankind.

You, who read this message proclaimed in the name of the peoples of eighty nations represented at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw, must never forget that the fight for peace is your own fight. You should know that hundreds of millions of defenders of peace join in stretching out their hands to you. They invite you to take part in the noblest battle ever engaged by a humanity confident of its future.

We cannot wait for peace. We must win it.

Join your will to ours in demanding the cessation of the war which rages in Korea and which may set the world ablaze. Stand up with us in opposing the attempt to resow the seeds of war in Germany and Japan. Together with 500 million human beings who signed the Stockholm Appeal, we demand the abolition of atomic weapons, general disarmament and controls to accomplish this. The strict control of general disarmament and of the destruction of atomic weapons is technically possible. What is needed is the will to do it.

We demand the outlawing of war propaganda.

Let us press before all parliaments, all governments and the General Assembly of the United Nations for the peace proposals put forward by this Second World Peace Congress.

The power of the forces of peace throughout the world is great enough, the voice of free men is strong enough, for us together to secure a meeting of the representatives of the five Great Powers.

The Second World Peace Congress provides, with unprecedented force, the proof that men and women gathered from the five continents of the world can agree, despite great differences of opinion, in order to dispel the scourge of war and to maintain peace.

Let the governments follow this example and peace will be saved!

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APPEAL TO THE U.N.

When the peoples of the world created the United Nations, they endowed it with their hopes. The greatest of these was the hope for peace. Today, however, war upsets the peaceful life of many peoples, and threatens tomorrow to upset the peace of all mankind.

If the United Nations is not fulfilling that great hope reposed in it by all the peoples of the world, both those whose governments are represented in it and those not yet represented therein—if the United Nations is not guaranteeing mankind security and peace, this is because it is being influenced by forces which have disregarded the only path to universal peace: the search for general agreement.

If the United Nations is to realize the hopes that the peoples have always reposed in it, it must return to the path marked out for it by the peoples since the days of its foundation, and, as a first step in this direction, must secure as soon as possible the calling together of a meeting of the five great powers: the Chinese People's Republic, France, Great Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, for the examination and peaceful settlement of current differences.

The Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, comprising delegates of eighty countries and expressing the true voice of a humanity longing for peace, demands that immediate consideration be given by the United Nations, and by the parliaments to which the governments of the various

countries are responsible, to the following proposals designed to restore confidence among all countries, regardless of their respective systems, and to maintain and re-establish peace:

1) In view of the fact that the war now raging in Korea is not only bringing incalculable disaster upon the people of Korea, but also threatens to become a general war, we demand the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal from Korea of foreign armies, and the peaceful settlement of the internal conflict between the two parts of Korea, with the participation of the representatives of the Korean people. We demand that the problem be dealt with by the Security Council in its full composition—that is, including the lawful representatives of the Chinese People's Republic.

We call for the termination of the intervention by American armed forces on the Chinese island of Formosa (Taiwan) and the cessation of hostilities against the Republic of Vietnam, military operations which also bear the threat of world war.

2) We categorically condemn every move made and measure taken, violating the international agreements which forbid the rearmament of Germany and Japan. These moves and measures constitute a grave threat to peace. We urgently demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with a united and demilitarized Germany, as well as with Japan, and the withdrawal from both these countries of the forces of occupation.

3) We consider the violence employed to hold peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection as a powerful menace to the cause of peace and we proclaim the right of those people to freedom and independence. At the same time we raise our voices against every form of racial discrimination for it promotes hatred between peoples and endangers the peace.

4) We consider it necessary to expose the attempts made by the supporters of aggression to confuse the very meaning of what constitutes aggression and to intervene under one pretext or another in the internal affairs of other nations.

We declare that no political, strategic or economic consideration, no ground deriving from the internal situation or any internal conflict in one or another state, can justify armed intervention by any other state. That state commits the crime of aggression which first employs armed force, under any pretext whatever, against another state.

5) We hold that propaganda for a new war constitutes a grave threat to the peaceful co-operation of peoples, and we therefore hold it to be a crime of deepest gravity against humanity.

We appeal to the parliaments of all countries to enact a "Law for the Protection of Peace," which shall render all propaganda for a new war, in any form whatever, liable to criminal prosecution.

6) In view of the fact that all decent persons, regardless of their political views, regard the ruthless mass destruction of civilian populations in Korea as a crime against humanity, we

demand that a competent International Court be appointed to examine the crimes committed during the war in Korea, and in particular the question of the responsibility of General MacArthur.

7) Voicing the demands of peoples who bear upon their shoulders the heavy burdens of military budgets, and firmly resolved to guarantee humanity a firm and stable peace, we present for the consideration of the United Nations, of all parliaments and of all peoples the following proposals: — unconditional prohibition of all manner of atomic weapons, and of bacteriological, chemical, poisonous, radioactive and all other devices of mass destruction.

— denunciation as a war criminal of that government which henceforth is the first to use these weapons.

The Second World Peace Congress, mindful of its responsibility to the people, appeals, with equal earnestness, to the great powers and calls upon them to launch, during the years of 1951 and 1952, a gradual, simultaneous and similarly proportioned reduction of all their land, sea and air armed forces, from one-third to one-half of their present size. Such a step, by putting a definite end to the armaments race, will diminish the risks of aggression.

It will allow the lightening of the costs which burden the budgets of states and weigh heavily on all sections of the people.

It will allow also the re-establishment of international confidence and the necessary co-operation between all nations, regardless of their social system.

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The Congress declares that the controls for prohibiting atomic weapons and all weapons of mass destruction, as well as all conventional arms, are technically possible.

An international body, staffed by qualified inspectors, should be set up within the framework of the Security Council and should be made responsible for the control of the reduction of conventional arms as well as the prohibition of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons.

These controls, to be effective, not only must apply to military forces, existing armaments and arms production as declared by each nation, but also, on the demand of the international control commission, must be extended to include the inspection of military forces, existing armaments and arms production which is suspected beyond what has been declared. These proposals for the reduction of armed forces constitute a first step on the road to general and complete disarmament, the final goal of all defenders of peace.

The Second World Congress, convinced that peace can not be secured through an armaments race seeking a balance of forces, holds that these proposals give no military advantage to any country, but that they would result in halting the drive to war and in advancing the well-being and security of all the peoples of the world.

8) We emphasize that, in certain countries, the passage from a peace economy to a war economy is increasingly disturbing normal economic relations and the interchange between countries both of raw materials and industrial goods. It is our view that

this exerts a harmful influence on the standards of living of many peoples, that it raises obstacles to economic progress and business relations, and that this situation is a source of conflicts endangering the peace of the world.

Taking into consideration the vital interests of the populations of all countries, and with the desire to improve conditions throughout the world, we urge the restoration of normal trading relations between the countries on the basis of mutual advantage, satisfying the requirements of the peoples concerned, excluding economic discrimination in any form and safeguarding the development of each national economy and the economic independence of states, both large and small.

9) We hold that obstruction of cultural relations among the peoples tends to quarreling and loss of mutual understanding and creates a climate of distrust, favorable to propaganda for war.

We consider that, on the other hand, the strengthening of cultural relations between the peoples creates conditions favorable to mutual understanding and strengthens their trust in the general struggle for peace.

Accordingly, we appeal to all governments, urging them to contribute toward bettering cultural relations among the peoples, in order to enable them to become better acquainted with each other's treasures in the field of culture. We appeal to them to facilitate the organization of international conferences of persons active in the field of culture, the mutual exchange of visits and the publication

and wide diffusion of the literature and art of other countries.

We draw the attention of the United Nations to the fact that, while calling upon it to justify the hopes reposed in it by the peoples of the world, we are at the same time undertaking the establishment of a World Council of Peace.

The World Council of Peace shall be a body embracing representatives of all the peoples of the world, those within the United Nations and those not yet represented therein, and also countries still dependent and colonial.

It shall call upon the United Nations to fulfill its duty to strengthen and develop peaceful co-operation between all countries.

It shall assume the lofty task of securing a firm and lasting peace that shall respond to the vital interests of all nations.

The World Council of Peace will, in short, prove before mankind that, despite all present difficulties, which must in no ways be minimized, we shall accomplish the great mission of peace upon which we have embarked.

RESOLUTION ON THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION

IN A NUMBER of countries today peace defenders are being subjected to police persecution.

In Latin America, in the United States, in France, in Italy, and in the dependent countries of Asia and Africa thousands of them have been imprisoned.

There are many who, although elected delegates, have been unable to come to our Congress.

Meetings in favor of peace are forbidden. Defenders of peace are fired on by the police and massacred.

Even scientists are not free from persecution.

The Second World Peace Congress salutes the victims of police terror. It voices its strong protest against the persecution of peace defenders.

The Congress demands the immediate release of all victims of police terror. It calls upon the peoples of the whole world to express their solidarity with these noble defenders of peace, to help in the demand for their release, to defend and protect all those in the whole world who are fighting for peace.

What the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. Conventions Show

By George Morris

WHERE is American labor going? The question has been put countless times. But never before was it so pertinent as today, for never in its entire history has American labor's organized strength been diverted so far from its historically progressive course.

Speaking of "labor," we, of course, bear in mind that American labor is neither united organically nor homogeneous in the level of development, in tradition or in the character of its leadership. And the striking characteristic of most American trade unions today is the very wide gap between the generally bureaucratic and conservative leaders and the vast sea of some 14,000,000 members. We are really concerned here with where the leaders of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are trying to take their members, and how effectively they are challenged by an articulate and militant rank and file.

The recent conventions of both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. have given very clear evidence where the top leaders of these two major centers of labor are heading. The two conventions really climaxed a development of some duration in both

organizations, particularly since the close of World War II. To fully comprehend the meaning of the recent conventions, let us briefly retrace the course of the labor movement until these conventions.

As is well known, the A. F. of L. has followed its traditional class collaborationist line for many decades. That line was based on the employer-fostered theory that labor and capital have a "common interest" and could find the formulas upon which wage and other issues could be settled without struggle.

The A. F. of L.'s class-collaborationism held the unions down to a maximum of 10 per cent of the organizable workers, confined them to a narrow craftism outside the major mass production industries, prevented them from clashing with the big monopolies, virtually closed the door to Negro workers, kept the workers from effective political action, and subjected many A. F. of L. affiliates to the rule of bureaucrats and racketeers.

It took a tremendous effort to break open the hard shell of reaction in which the A. F. of L. was encased. For at least 15 years before the rise

of the C.I.O., the Left-led militants within the A. F. of L., who fought for industrial unionism, organizing the unorganized, and other progressive policies, were persecuted, Red-baited, expelled and even murdered. When finally the A. F. of L. cracked at the top, and it became possible for a C.I.O. to rise, a swift movement swept the country for organization of the unorganized. It amazed and even overwhelmed some who were among its official initiators; industrial unions soon became the major form of organization; the monopolized industries were organized; hundreds of thousands of Negro workers entered union ranks; a rank-and-file shop steward machinery became widely recognized as the pattern for a union machinery, and a greater political consciousness, too, began to develop.

This advance continued, despite the savage resistance by the employers, who were aided by local and state police, a vast industrial spy industry, and the application of the notorious Mohawk Valley strike-breaking formula. It continued also, despite desertion of the C.I.O. by some of its founders and despite the poisonous Red-baiting campaign against it fanned by the House Un-American Committee. The impetus the C.I.O. gave to the great advance also reflected itself in increased strength, and even in some progressive influences within the A. F. of L.

There is no doubt, however, that the outbreak of war in Europe and

later the involvement of the United States had the effect of slowing the advance of labor. This is true, despite the just character of the war against the fascist Axis. The struggle for wage demands became diverted to arbitration procedure under the War Labor Board. Militancy was lowered. Class lines were blurred to an extent by the very character of the anti-fascist coalition. The trend toward more independent political action was submerged in the wartime pro-Roosevelt coalition. The struggle on many fronts, like the fight for Negro rights, was often blunted.

The end of the war and the post-war re-conversion crisis brought a renewed militancy which showed itself in the wave of strikes for wage raises in 1946, the most widespread such movement in the history of the United States. It was also in that period that the C.I.O. launched its Southern organizing drive, which was subsequently followed by an A. F. of L. Southern drive. But the resurgent militancy was only a short spurt. The Southern drive lost its momentum after some initial success.

The labor movement by the end of 1946 came to an important crossroads. The choice made then by some of the labor leaders in decisive positions influenced greatly the course taken by both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. since.

The paralyzing influence of the traditional class-collaborationism, so

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strong, especially in the A. F. of L., had its effect, of course. But, as was well shown before and immediately after the war, the workers broke through the various forms of company unionism and the no-strike and tie-wages-to-productivity formulas. This old-fashioned "economic" class-collaborationism was obviously no longer as effective in keeping the workers in check and paralyzing their organizations as in the past.

As a result of the war against fascism and the experience in the struggle against native pro-fascists, the workers of the United States emerged with a sharpened political consciousness—sharpened especially by a desire for security against another war or a resurgence of dreaded fascism. Despite all the confusion we have seen in labor's ranks, the workers have come out of the war more conscious of foreign policy than ever before. Their pressure reflected itself even in the top layers of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. The former, as late as its 1947 Convention, still clung to a foreign policy resolution that supported the Roosevelt-inspired line for peace based on the peaceful co-existence of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

In contrast to this change in the organized working class, with the will for peace and security against fascism as the major feature, came the now-familiar developments in United States bipartisan foreign policy toward war on the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and towards an "American-Century" type

of world supremacy and colonial domination.

POSTWAR SHIFT IN CLASS COLLABORATIONISM

Thus class-collaborationism, to be effective, had to go far beyond the traditional economic and limited political scope. It had to shift basically to the field of foreign policy to hitch the organized labor movement to the chariot of Wall Street's drive for domination of the world. Furthermore, as Justice William Douglas had so openly expressed it in his speech before the C.I.O. convention in Portland in 1948, "labor is peculiarly qualified to bridge a gap" between the United States and the Europeans who are "suspicious" and "profoundly influenced" by Socialist thinking. Also, as was stated to the next C.I.O. convention by Secretary of State Acheson, labor is held to be especially qualified to provide missionaries for penetration into the "backward" lands under the banner of "Point Four."

The collaboration of the trade unions, therefore, became a key objective for the ultra-reactionary monopolies which dictated America's new aggressive foreign policy. Basically—although in an entirely different world setting — the situation is analogous to the condition perceived in England by Frederick Engels at the close of the last century when Britain controlled about a fourth of the earth's surface. He noted the various corrupting influ-

ences of imperialism upon the British workers, carried into their ranks by some of their own leaders and built on the belief that the super-profits extracted from the vast empire were also beneficial to at least the upper layer of the working class at home; that therefore the British workers had a "partnership" in the maintenance of the empire.

In line with the general "American Century" perspective, every step taken since the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan were first proclaimed was followed with a domestic reactionary move designed primarily to whip the labor movement into line for the war-drive program. The loyalty oath drive; the Taft-Hartley Law and its affidavits designed to deprive the trade unions of militant leadership; the deportation campaign; the revival of the Smith Act and its application to convict the leaders of the Communist Party; the enactment of the McCarran Law and the many city and state laws patterned after it—all these and more are means to remove opponents of the war program from labor leadership and to bludgeon people into submission to the program.

As this two-pronged cold-war drive developed, the Right-wing officials fell more fully in line for it and many of them even assumed the role of policemen for the program within labor's ranks, not shrinking to use the very Taft-Hartley Law they officially opposed to achieve their purpose. The expulsion of eleven

unions by the C.I.O., the destructive raids on these unions, the expulsion of militant members from a number of Right-wing unions and the instigation of violence against peace advocates in a number of plants, are some of the manifestations of this policeman role.

The developments described above are often made to appear in very subtle and deceitful forms by the labor lieutenants of imperialism. The top Right-wing leaders give an impression that they are "independent" people who act out of vigorous "patriotic" motives. But the fact is they are the instruments of the worst enemies of labor inside the unions.

Nevertheless, within the framework of this corruptive influence of imperialism upon the labor movement, certain forces have been given encouragement and prominence far above their actual strength in the American labor movement. The foreign policy, particularly its anti-Soviet character, has given the leaders with a Social-Democratic training and background like David Dubinsky and Walter Reuther, a golden opportunity to shine as especial stooges of imperialism. The ability of these people to cover up their reactionary designs with liberal-sounding language, their closeness to the reactionary European Social-Democrats and the initiative and leadership they show that is often in "advance" of the imperialists themselves, enables them to act as most favored stooges of imperialism in labor's

ranks. They are considered as particularly artful as deceivers of workers who are moving Leftward.

Another force that won prominence with the recent trend of U.S. foreign policy are the instruments of the Vatican in labor ranks, like the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and kindred elements. With them, too, anti-Sovietism is the prime consideration. These forces are encouraged because they have influence over a large number of Roman-Catholic workers among whom Social-Democracy never established a base, but who, in many industries like auto, steel, electrical, coal and maritime, showed a strong militant trend.

The C.I.O. and A. F. of L. conventions showed that the trend which began after the war has run its full course. Both of these labor centers have become so completely tied to the Truman Administration's war policies that the economic and welfare needs of the workers and everything else are either shelved or subordinated to those policies. From the moment they opened to their adjournment, the two conventions were platform shows with the only theme of the speakers anti-Communism and war on the Soviet Union.

THE BASIC LINE OF THE TWO CONVENTIONS

The general line of both conventions followed closely the foreign policy resolution of the Social-Democratic-led International Ladies Gar-

ment Workers Union convention of last May, which declared that "the over-riding issue facing humanity today" is the war on the Soviet Union and "in relation to this conflict all other domestic and foreign issues are secondary."

The C.I.O. and A. F. of L. convention resolutions gave unconditional approval to the Truman war policy, to U.S. invasion of Korea and every step of the war mobilization drive. Advance approval was given to a wage freeze with the request that it follow the restoration of purchasing power to a "pre-Korea" level. Subsequently the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. top leaders fully approved the President's so-called Emergency declaration, with the wage freeze, longer hours, speed-up and increased cost of living and taxes that go with it.

The leaders of those conventions did not even try to sell their support of the war program for something in return—like repeal of Taft-Hartley. What "demands" they did make were meaningless, because the resolutions on the basic commitments, all-out support of the war program, would paralyze the unions and render them powerless to win any real respect for their demands.

Demagogues of both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. could point to their bulky books of convention proceedings and the many resolutions in them reaffirming past legislative programs for numerous welfare measures and reforms. But those resolutions are not worth the paper they

are written on because both conventions shouted approval for the very war economy that is wiping out what little welfare was still provided for in the Federal budget. What good was it for the C.I.O. to pass a resolution reaffirming the "objectives of continual improvement in wages" while at the same time accepting a wage freeze which, if the generals and war mobilizers have things their way, may be with us for a generation? What is the worth of the resolutions for vast housing projects when approval is also given to an economy that withdraws both money and materials from housing and shifts them to armaments?

It seems equally contradictory to talk of opposition to the McCarran Act while applying precisely the thought-control pattern of that law within the unions and, in fact, conducting both conventions along the police-state McCarran Act lines.

In the minds of both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders, the only real reason for the perfunctory passage of the non-war resolutions is to deceive the members into thinking that their real problems received consideration. Actually, the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders do not intend to do much about them. They have long followed a line of subjecting the economic interests of the workers to the foreign policy commitments.

There was some difference in the general tone of the two conventions. The A. F. of L.'s came before the elections and did not yet reflect the

serious defeat suffered by labor on November 7. In its political decisions, the A. F. of L. convention set the pattern for endorsing candidates with their stand for the Truman foreign policy as the primary test.

The C.I.O. convention was more demagogic in tone. One reason for this, of course, is the more militant background of the C.I.O. which the leaders must take into account when they trim up their resolutions and speeches. The second is the shock they received in the election which indicated to them that the foreign policy of war preparations over which they disrupted the C.I.O. and expelled 11 of its unions, repels the voters, including many of the organized workers. The conclusion they drew from the result is not that their foreign and political action policies need a serious re-examination, but that the discredited policies need to be redecorated and made to look more attractive to the people. Their foreign policy resolution, therefore, contains expressions that appear "critical" of the State Department for not giving a "positive" Owen-Lattimore-like character to its policy so that it would have an attraction for the people at home and in the Asian countries; a cry is raised in behalf of the workers of Europe to whom, it is admitted, Marshall Plan funds have not yet trickled down; and the demand is made for return to the "original" Marshall Plan and for its extension to the "backward" countries.

Coupled with this demand for a "New Look" to the same foreign policy, C.I.O. leaders repeatedly shrieked for "labor representation" on all levels of policy-making boards. They claimed that "labor representation" on war mobilization agencies would have avoided the lay-offs in civilian fields that came because of the shift of materials to war purposes. That is nonsense, of course. These leaders were only preparing alibis to their own members as the effects of the war policy and war economy they support show themselves and dissatisfaction rises among the workers.

It is precisely because the convention faced such "ticklish" problems as "explaining" the reason for the defeat in the election and making discredited policies look new to the members that the more artful Walter Reuther and his Social-Democratic type associates played the leading "ideological" role in the C.I.O. convention. Although the C.I.O. purged the progressives, and did not have any opposition in its convention, its leaders were forced to employ extremely demagogic and "radical"-sounding language to "appease" the workers in the shops.

Thus, to summarize the effect of the postwar trend upon the bulk of the labor movement:

1) Everything, including the most elementary needs of the workers, have become secondary to the needs of the war program of Wall Street.

2) Most leaders either yielded or

were bludgeoned into Taft-Hartley-izing their unions and in effect they are increasingly submitting to Big Business and government dictation over their organizations.

3) Bureaucratic rule in unions is worse than ever, with the percentage of participants in their activities smaller than ever.

4) Labor is today more a tail-end to the Democratic Party than ever.

5) Long-term contracts, like Reuther's five-year pacts, and escalator clauses to keep the standard of living, at best, static, are growing in number.

6) The concern for the problems affecting Negro rights is declining, as evidenced by the presence of only seven Negro delegates out of 557 at the C.I.O. convention, and of the Jim-Crow abuses to which the handful of Negroes at the A. F. of L. convention were subjected.

7) The elementary rights of union members are trampled upon as never before as thought control becomes the rule.

8) Genuine international labor solidarity, which made much headway during and shortly after the war, has now given way to labor missionary service for Wall Street interests abroad, especially through E.C.A. "labor attachés."

The picture is somewhat like the situation that developed in the "prosperity" twenties after the capitulation of the A. F. of L. leadership to the worst forms of class collaboration. Today, however, it is a labor

movement with five times the membership of the 'twenties, much of it in the big decisive industries, that is "harnessed" to the ruinous program of capitalism.

But the fact that in the 'thirties the C.I.O. forces broke through the hard shell of the A. F. of L. and for some years played a great progressive role, should teach us that the working class cannot be encased in a vault, especially when so many millions of it are organized, and that it finds ways to break out. We have also learned that whatever the forms and whoever the persons, the real explosive force that breaks through is largely determined by the influence and leadership of the militant Left wing among the rank and file.

THE ROLE OF THE LEFT

That raises the next question: where is the Left going?

The Left has played a big role in the advances made by the labor movement both in the 15 years prior to the rise of the C.I.O. and in the 15 years since it was formed. Not only has the Left, under the leadership and inspiration of William Z. Foster, advanced the principal slogans, many of which were eventually taken up by the C.I.O. and to a degree by the A. F. of L., but the active participation of its forces in the founding and development of the C.I.O. in its early stages was decisive in carrying much of the Left program into life. Today even many unions, led by the Right-wing, at least formally, recognize as part

of their pattern elements of the program for which the Left wing pioneered and fought—the industrial form, organization of the unorganized, the shop steward system, equality for the Negro workers in the union and shop, etc.

A minority of the labor movement, but nevertheless a substantial group with a membership of 600,000 in unions expelled from the C.I.O., is led by progressives. These unions have retained the bulk of their members, despite savage raiding attacks for more than two years, government persecution, and the most vicious employer opposition.

Those unions are not the entire Left. The larger section of the Left consists of rank-and-file movements in the Right-wing-led organizations. Despite the still continuing serious underestimation among progressives of work within the Right-wing-led unions, there are numerous examples to show that progressive influence, where it was built, is finding ways of expressing itself, despite the repressive and hysterical campaigns of the Murrays, Reuthers, and William Greens. While progressives have in many places lost or have been removed from full-time union posts, their influence among the rank and file—the real measure of strength—has not been as seriously hurt as Right-wing propagandists would have us believe. But even more important: the trend of events is bound to turn more of the rank and file to the Left.

The question is, what will those

struggles be mainly based upon and how will they be waged? Unfortunately, at this late stage much of our Left is still living in the past, and does not yet realize that the old program that made the Left does not suffice today: that the test of true progressivism is its ability to rise to a higher level and build itself on the decisive problems of today. It is only on the basis of those NEW problems that the Left can really distinguish itself from the Right.

The concept of what constitutes a Left-progressive program in the labor movement today is very hazy in the minds of many. Progressives often find it difficult to answer when asked: "What do you stand for?" Replies vary sharply, depending on the union or rank-and-file group involved, and its level of development. The Left must, of course, be broad enough to lead and inspire groups of varying progressive levels.

The big weakness is the lack of agreement within the progressive union ranks on what constitutes a program for the Left today. It is the absence of an understanding of what is expected from trade-union progressives today that is to a large extent responsible for the absence of a more effective co-operation or co-ordination among the Left unions, although they all face serious attacks and the labor movement needs their initiative today more than ever.

The problem is not the establishment of a "third labor movement," as the enemies of the Left charge. The problem is to define the objec-

tives of the Left more clearly, to build a maximum of unity around those objectives, and thereby establish a unity for a united-front approach to other sections of labor on the critical problems of the day.

Thus, in some sections of the Left there is a resistance to taking up the peace fight for fear that it may arouse opposition in the union. The same trend is expressed by a form of "economism"—a belief that in face of the current war hysteria a union is "safest" if it takes shelter in routine economic matters and little else. Some fear to raise any controversial issue, which means giving the disruptive Right-wing forces a veto over anything progressive. Such tendencies really represent a lack of confidence in the members—a serious offense for union leaders.

It would, of course, be wrong and silly to expect every adherent to the progressive camp mechanically to follow a set program without regard for differences in level of development and other conditions. But our experience of recent years has taught us in practice what some of the issues are upon which progressives have had at least a common outlook.

ELEMENTS OF A LEFT-PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM

Among the issues that could well be recognized as a common measure of progressivism, the following should be listed. They are all *long-range* aims, bound to be issues for many years and bound to broaden the base for the Left as its champion-

ship of those aims becomes recognized:

1) The fight for peace. This is not a momentary issue, even if the tensions at this moment do not explode in World War III. The winning of the working class, especially the unions, to provide the backbone for the peace movement, is unquestionably a key objective of progressives. We will have to have a permanent vigilance for peace. Those union leaders who "duck" the peace issue, not only underestimate this foremost struggle, but underestimate it as a source of rising strength to those who champion it.

2) The struggle for higher living standards. This may appear like an old elementary issue. But in the face of the war economy and the agreement of the Right-wing labor leaders to a wage freeze and their abandonment of the fight for immediate needs, although the war mobilizers want a "garrison state" for a generation, the historic labor perspective of a rising living standard is liquidated. Those circumstances give the idea of higher standards new force and meaning today.

3) Labor unity and united action for progress and against reaction. This is another old objective that takes on new meaning today in view of the splitting policy of the Right-wing leaders and their unwillingness to unite forces even among themselves for constructive purposes. They only show unity on the reactionary objectives—in support of the Truman

imperialist foreign policy or election of Truman candidates. The Left should put forward the demand for real unity, based on the urgent problems of the workers.

4) Independent political action. The experiences with the last election will undoubtedly go a long way to destroy the myth that the Democratic Party is the vehicle for progressives in the United States. Undoubtedly the trend toward a new party for peace and anti-fascism will grow in the coming years. It is also evident that even within the framework of the two-party system, there will be greater pressure for anti-bossism and independent tickets.

5) Full citizenship for the Negro people. It is the Left that sparked the slogans and struggles that eventually brought more than a million Negro workers into the trade unions. Those workers have become a powerful force and a growing influence in the ranks of labor. The struggle for Negro rights, too, is on a much higher level today than it was ten or more years back. But this is not reflected in the labor movement; not in rights of Negroes within unions, nor in the elimination of the poison of white-supremacy, nor in equality for job rights and the right to be upgraded into all skills. Most reflective of this state is the infinitesimal number of Negroes at conventions or in the higher bodies of trade unions. This not only is one of the key struggles that will have to occupy the Left's attention for years to come,

but it provides a most important and natural base for greater strength.

6) The struggle against thought-control and anti-labor laws. The fight against Red-baiting and laws that stem from it, like the Taft-Hartley Law, McCarran Law and the loyalty oaths and other witch-hunts, is going to be a permanent one. Progressives worthy of the name might as well make up their minds that the life of their unions will always be affected by that fight, and that it cannot be evaded.

7) Genuine rank-and-file democracy and freedom of opinion within the unions. This is an old slogan of the Left that has become all the more urgent today. Genuine progressives must struggle against Taft-Hartleyism in all its forms and replace its class-collaboration program with a class-struggle policy.

8) International labor solidarity. The C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders have distorted the meaning of world working-class unity by turning it into a world-wide service by labor agents to the imperialism of the Western countries. The issue of world-wide labor unity for peace and security and as a weapon of struggle for economic gains will loom larger in the coming days.

9) The promotion of women into leadership in the unions and the fight for their rights in industry. This is another problem that is both extremely urgent and could hit at a major weakness of the Right-wing

leaders. Only 19 women were delegates at the C.I.O. convention of a total of 557! The A. F. of L. had even fewer. This just about reflects the picture generally. The urgency of the problem will not lessen but become more acute as fresh masses of women are drawn into industry with the unfolding of "war prosperity."

10) Organize the unorganized. This will long remain an urgent and potent slogan in the labor movement. More than two-thirds of the workers remain outside the organized labor movement, while most of the energy and funds of unions are used up in raiding other unions or in combating such raids. This slogan assumes new importance today as a driving force for new progress and for turning the unions back to the traditional spirit of solidarity and constructive objectives.

The above issues are not only long-range. On each of them there is a sharp and basic difference with the leadership of the Right wing, and it is on those very objectives that we most often find a hesitancy in some Left quarters. But it is in the struggle for precisely those objectives that the Left reveals itself as a progressive force, and differentiates itself from the Right in the eyes of the workers. It is on the basis of such a program that the labor movement as a whole could be turned back to its historic course of fighting for a better life and higher living standards.

The Marcantonio Election Campaign

By George Blake

THE DEFEAT of Vito Marcantonio in the 18th Congressional District was a serious blow to the progressive movement and the people. It has robbed the country of its greatest voice in Congress, the only representative who during the cold war stood up against bipartisan reaction and fought it with courage and patriotism.

The qualities that have characterized the leading role of Marcantonio in the anti-fascist movement were strikingly evident in the campaign itself in the superb fight that was conducted against the unprecedented reactionary gang-up of big business, the old-line party machines, the Liberal Party and the top bureaucracy of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. These qualities were revealed in the clear-cut fight made on the vital issues of economic security, civil rights and peace, and in countering the Red-baiting barrage that made up the sole stock-in-trade of Donovan, the candidate of the anti-people's coalition.

As a result, even though Marcantonio was defeated by 13,000 votes (49,409 to 36,200), he received 42 percent of the total vote, as compared with 38 percent in 1948. His vote was 15,000 more than the Republican vote, 11,000 more than the Demo-

cratic vote, and 30,000 more than the Liberal Party vote. The American Labor Party emerged with greater strength than ever before in this district. Among other things, it contributed to the election of the A.L.P.-Republican State Senatorial candidate, William Bianchi, and narrowly missed electing Manuel Medina for State Assembly in the 14th and Lee Bosco in the 16th A.D.

What were the main features of the campaign? What were the factors that contributed to Marcantonio's defeat? What are the main lessons that will contribute to building and strengthening the third-party movement in New York and throughout the country?

POSITIVE FEATURES

On the positive side, the campaign made a fundamental and lasting contribution to the progressive movement, in the effective manner in which the issue of peace was projected throughout the campaign, as the dominant and burning issue. The war program of the bipartisans was challenged clearly and boldly, in vivid contrast to the big senatorial and congressional campaigns of the major parties, in which the peace

issue was largely obscured and distorted. The A.L.P. campaign exposed the direction of Wall Street's foreign policy in Korea and brought home to the people in simple and vigorous terms the dangers of war with China and of an atomic world war.

The people listened. All the mass uneasiness of the last months about the Korean war was reflected in the increasing popular response to A.L.P. meetings and other activities. This was true in Yorkville; it was particularly true in the Italian, Puerto Rican and Negro communities of East Harlem and Lower Harlem. The traditional support for Marcantonio in the latter areas was given fresh and vital impetus as a result of the forthright and uncompromising stand taken on the peace issue. There is no question that this accounted in great measure for the high vote garnered by Marcantonio in the district as a whole. It generated confidence and enthusiasm among the more class-conscious workers in the district. It influenced and attracted a much larger section of the people who, though confused on the origins of the war in Korea, saw in the A.L.P.'s position a reflection of their own profound yearning for peace.

Had the elections taken place a few weeks later, in view of the changed course of the war in Korea, these sentiments would have asserted themselves even more strongly.

An outstanding feature was the manner in which the campaign dem-

onstrated to the people the relationship between the war crisis and the growing economic burdens on the people. Marcantonio's own militant record in Congress and at home in fighting for the people's everyday economic and social needs placed him in a favorable position to hammer home the domestic consequences of the reactionary foreign policy. There was no artificial separation between the treatment of the economic issues and the war question. Every effort was made, and correctly so, to reach various strata of the people on a most differentiated basis. At the same time, the issues were well co-ordinated around the central theme which linked together the partial economic and social demands with the people's struggle for peace and democracy. In this respect the campaign was an object lesson in class politics.

Another positive aspect was the fight for the united front. The entire framework of the campaign was severely limited at the top because of the character of the reactionary tri-partisan coalition. It necessarily placed the center of gravity in the fight for the united front from below as never before. Thus it became imperative—in order to maintain, no less extend, the popular support registered in the past—to make the most vigorous many-sided effort to raise the political consciousness of the masses in the district.

With the intervention of the Ko-

rean war and the organization of the gang-up against Marcantonio with all its pressures and influences, it became clear that he could not rely on an automatic carry-over of the same traditional support registered in previous years. The fight had not only to be made around the specific issues that were new; it had to be predicated on a new outlook and a new orientation. Win, lose or draw, the people with whom Marcantonio had lived and fought all these 14 years were at a new political crossroad. It became clear that his popular strength and his vote would be measured by the degree to which the understanding of the people on the basic issues and the future path of struggle would correspond to the position of the A.L.P. and its candidate.

One may look at the comparative figures of 1948 and 1950 and indifferently conclude that since the results are similar, little has changed. This would be most superficial. The truth is that a major change has occurred in the political outlook of the people in the district. This struggle in 1950 helped to develop an anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, third-party ideology that will become stronger and more rooted among the masses. It is the foundation for future struggles in this district and elsewhere. It demonstrates that where a fight is made and clear alternatives are effectively presented, the people will respond.

The decisive factor that contrib-

uted to Marcantonio's defeat was, of course, the tri-partisan reactionary coalition that included the major parties and their running dog, the Liberal Party. This gang-up made the odds overwhelming. It followed the same pattern that was employed to defeat Leo Isacson in 1948 and Ben Davis in 1949. In the case of Marcantonio, it was preceded by the passage of the Wilson-Pakula Law in the New York State Legislature in 1947, which prohibited free primary contests in the various parties for the first time. It was designed to cut asunder the ties of the A.L.P. with rising progressive currents in the old parties. It was aimed specifically at Marcantonio and was the beginning of a well-laid strategy, openly acknowledged to accomplish his defeat, if not in 1948, then in 1950.

ROLE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

However, it is insufficient to speak of this reactionary coalition in general. The main force specifically responsible for organizing and cementing this coalition was Social-Democracy, inclusive of the Liberal Party, the Right wing in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., the A.D.A., and the assorted stooges. One cannot measure the role of Social-Democracy simply in terms of the vote of the Liberal Party in the 18th Congressional District, which represented only one-third of the margin by which Marcantonio was defeated.

Social-Democracy operates inside

and outside of the major parties; and a large part of the influence of the Right wing in the labor movement was registered within the Democratic Party. More than that, however, these forces were active from the outset in clamoring for the coalition, in giving the coalition the "legitimate" seal of labor and liberal support, in mobilizing pressures to overcome the partisan frictions that at one moment threatened to block the coalition.

The campaign was actually initiated in a big meeting of the C.I.O. called by Quill in the early spring, where the defeat of Marcantonio was presented as labor's "paramount task." This campaign was the first major target since the expulsion of the Left-wing unions from the C.I.O. It represented a continuation and extension, on the electoral front, of the same line of policy, with the same fundamental purpose of undermining the progressive-led people's struggle against American imperialist policy. Similar steps were taken by the A. F. of L. under the leadership of Lacey and Dubinsky. Hence, what was crystallized out of these developments was an unsavory electoral alliance of Wall Street with the Liberal Party and the dominant (Right-wing) leadership of the labor movement. It displayed the Quill-Dubinsky labor front in action.

The historic role of Social-Democracy in the United States, as in Europe, has been to split the work-

ing-class movement and pave the way for reaction, in particular by deceiving the masses with "lesser evil" illusions. The victory won by reaction in the current 1950 elections was, mainly, the product of this policy.

In the campaign against Marcantonio, the traitorous policy was carried to a new low level—of open alliance with reaction, in support of a pro-fascist candidate. James Carey expressed and anticipated this logical and inevitable course of development in this infamous declaration of a year ago urging unity with the fascists. This campaign was the embodiment of the Carey policy. It is the policy that unites Bevin and Churchill, and the Socialists in France with DeGaulle. It is the policy pursued by the Schumachers and Saragats; it is the policy of Right Social-Democrats the world over and varies only with the degree of the crisis in each of the capitalist countries. It is a policy that flows from the alliance of Social-Democracy with imperialism in general and with American imperialism in particular.

THE PUERTO RICAN QUESTION

There were other factors of an objective character that contributed to the defeat of Marcantonio. It is difficult, for instance, to estimate the full effect of the uprising in Puerto Rico on the outcome of the elections in the 18th C.D. In all probability it had a two-fold effect: In the first place the forthright and principled

stand adopted by the A.L.P. in support of the aspirations of the Puerto Rican people for freedom and independence helped to solidify the Puerto Rican people in Lower Harlem. These developments, coming a week or so prior to the end of the campaign, were extremely critical and were further aggravated and distorted by the assassination attempt on the eve of Election Day.

These events threatened to create widespread confusion and division within sections of the progressive movement supporting Marcantonio and within the Puerto Rican community itself. There was considerable pressure on the people's coalition to denounce the uprising of the Nationalists in Puerto Rico, to characterize it as a putschist move in conflict with the real aspirations of the people, and completely to dissociate Marcantonio, the A.L.P., and the progressive movement from this struggle. There were those who pressed for a policy of abstention, of riding it through without commitments or opinions of any kind.

These alternatives were rejected. The A.L.P. and its candidate placed themselves unequivocally on the side of the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence. The people were rallied against provocations and against moves already under way to utilize the attempted assassination as a pretext to instigate a reign of terror against the Puerto Rican community. This position cre-

ated maximum unity in the Puerto Rican community, which unity was registered in the elections.

However, there is no doubt that losses were suffered as a result of the confusion that did prevail among sections of the people and as a result of the campaign of intimidation against the Puerto Rican people.

SHORTCOMINGS

There are other factors, of a subjective character, that must be mentioned, because to some degree they contributed to weaknesses in the campaign itself and have a bearing on the future struggles of the third-party movement.

These shortcomings, however, must be measured within the framework of an overall positive estimate of the conduct of the campaign. The progressive movement made this campaign in the 18th C.D. the focal point in the struggle against reaction. In our opinion it was a correct policy, even though it demanded an unprecedented city-wide rallying of the progressive movement which could not but weaken the campaign.

What were some of the weaknesses?

THE TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT AND INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

In the first place, there was an element of defeatism that tended to

paralyze the progressive movement immediately following the organization of the coalition against Marcantonio. It even affected the struggle in advance to develop a non-partisan movement to block the coalition. This tendency of viewing Marcantonio's defeat as inevitable permeated the ranks of the progressive forces and hindered the timely and systematic mobilization for the campaign. It represented an incorrect estimate of the central significance of this campaign. It also reflected the penetration in the ranks of the people's movement of bourgeois parliamentary concepts that judges the value and importance of a campaign only by its outcome.

In the second place, the role of the Left-wing forces in the trade-union movement did not measure up to its contributions in the past. This was the most serious weakness in the campaign, especially in view of the unprecedented role played by the Right-wing forces in the labor movement, as indicated above. Only a few unions of the Left carried through any consistent campaign to rally the membership in support of Marcantonio and to expose the Quill-Dubinsky line that he was "labor's No. 1 enemy."

Why was this so? It is a fact that the attacks against the Left wing up to and since the expulsions from the C.I.O. have created real difficulties. However, in many cases wrong and harmful conclusions were

drawn from this situation, of a defeatist nature that tended to accept the inevitability of war and fascism and all it entailed as far as the progressive movement was concerned. These views revived and strengthened old "economist," pure-and-simple trade unionism ideas and practices. Thus, an approach developed that the only way to forestall further splits was to limit the political activities of the union.

The election results as a whole were proof that the Left underestimated the rising mood of struggle among the workers and the fact that they were not bound hand and foot to the policies of the Right-wing leadership. The results indicated that conditions have been developing to enable the Left to strike heavy counter-blows against bi-partisan reaction and its agents in the labor movement.

The Marcantonio campaign was such an opportunity. It was an issue, if fought out in the labor movement, that would have contributed not only a greater vote for Marcantonio and the A.L.P. but would have enhanced the prestige, influence and fighting capacity of the Left in the unions.

In general, the future of the progressive camp will depend on the vigor with which it overcomes the defeatism of the past period and unfolds an all-inclusive program of economic and political struggle, the aim of which is to unite the workers and their allies in opposition to the

war drive of Wall Street and the Administration. The development since the elections of effective moves to co-ordinate the progressive forces in the trade unions based on a program of united labor action will help immeasurably to achieve these objectives.

WEAKNESSES ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

Another major weakness in the campaign flowed from a serious underestimation of the Negro question and a number of errors connected with it. Marcantonio obtained a substantial vote from the Negro people in the district. However, the record will probably indicate a large disparity between the vote received and the potential vote. This was due in part to the underestimation of the growing numerical importance of the Negro people in the district and, more important, to an underestimation of the political importance of this sector, irrespective of numbers, in relation to the fight for the maximum unification of the people.

As a result, the campaign lacked consistency and concrete direction in the development of an up-to-date program based on new features that have arisen in the Negro people's movement. The program and appeal addressed to the Negro people tended to be general and abstract, based too much on the past and not enough on the present. It did not base itself

sufficiently on a recognition of the intensification of chauvinist and racist attacks against the Negro people which have been stimulated as a result of the war crisis, and the need, therefore, to raise to a higher level than at any previous period the many-sided struggle for Negro rights.

In addition, the weaknesses of the A.L.P. campaign in Harlem undoubtedly had their repercussions in the 18th Congressional District. The Negro people in all parts of the city and, for that matter, the country, are influenced by the main political current and movements in Harlem. Thus, the fight for Negro rights in all areas of the struggle—in the trade-union movement, in the mass organizations and in every community—is bound up inextricably with the advancement of the Negro people's movement in Harlem itself.

The failure, for instance, to carry forward the struggle that reached a high point in the campaign for Benjamin Davis in the councilmanic elections in 1949, tended to weaken the alliance of the A.L.P. and the Negro people's movement. As a result, the A.L.P. had no outstanding and authoritative candidate in the Harlem area who could anchor the fight to rally and unite the people of Harlem for a consistent anti-imperialist position.

In this connection, fear was expressed within the A.L.P. that the concentration on the 18th C.D. precluded any major undertaking in

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Harlem. It is our opinion that the absence of such an undertaking weakened this concentration. The outcome of the campaign tends to verify the basic thesis that the general interests of the working class can be advanced to the degree that the specific interests of its major ally, the Negro people, are simultaneously advanced.

The confusion around the A.L.P. policy with regard to the A. Clayton Powell campaign for re-election to Congress also had a damaging effect in the 18th Congressional District. In our opinion, Powell could not be endorsed or actively supported in view of serious moves to the Right and breaches with his previously-held progressive position on a number of basic questions. At the same time, the position advanced by certain leaders in the A.L.P. that he had now become the main spokesman of the war camp among the Negro people was wrong and harmful. It was a position that failed to take into account the special character and strength of the Negro liberation movement and the possibilities by a correct, flexible tactic to cope with the inconsistencies of a Powell. This position incorrectly tended to equate Lehman and Powell. It failed to take into account the moods of the Negro people and the effect of a sudden rupture on those who associated Marcantonio and Powell as the best fighters in Congress for F.E.P.C., civil rights, etc.

Marcantonio was closely linked with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in the course of the campaign. This symbolized the leadership and unity of the anti-fascist struggle. In the main, this link, embodied in the candidacy of Dr. DuBois, contributed new strength to the fight of the A.L.P. The policy of actively opposing Lehman was correct. He has emerged in the past period as a leader of the pro-war forces and all the more dangerous because of the widespread illusions among the masses that he is still the Roosevelt New Deal champion of the past.

But the Lehman illusions could not be ignored, especially in the face of the necessity to create the most favorable factors for the candidacy of so distinguished a Negro leader as Dr. DuBois in the state elections. The nomination of Dr. DuBois against Lehman created confusion among large sections of traditional supporters of the A.L.P. in the labor movement, among the Jewish people, and in the Negro communities as well. There were thousands of people, Negro and white, who were attracted to Dr. DuBois, but who, under the influence of the erroneous "lesser evil" approach, were not prepared to oppose Lehman, especially in face of the scandal involving his Republican opponent, Hanley. In the light of this the soundness of the nomination of Dr. DuBois for this particular office is open to question.

THE APPROACH TO THE LIBERAL PARTY

Another question of importance that was tackled only belatedly was the approach to the independent voter and rank-and-file Liberal Party supporter who, though confused on the issue of Marcantonio, could have been more effectively influenced to repudiate Donovan. Marcantonio, incidentally, received a considerable write-in vote in the Liberal Party primaries in August. The proper conclusions, however, were not fully drawn from this experience in the development of a campaign vigorously to expose the leadership of the Liberal Party in its evil tie-up with Tammany and the G.O.P. and particularly in its endorsement of such an outspoken pro-fascist as Donovan. The timely development of a more flexible tactic to reach this stratum of the people on the basis of the issue of Donovan would have cut the margin of the reactionary coalition vote. This emphasizes again the need to correct any tendency that automatically lumps the rank-and-file supporters of the Liberal Party or of the A.D.A., etc., with their Social-Democratic leadership.

UNITED FRONT IN THE DISTRICT

Finally, while the day-to-day activity in relation to street rallies, canvassing, literature, etc., was excellent in all its phases, its mass char-

acter was limited by the fact that the campaign was brought to the people without simultaneously involving them in active leadership of it in the blocks, in the homes, and in the neighborhoods. The people responded with enthusiasm in many parts of the district, especially in Harlem. These were the people, including the life-time resident, the barber, the Parent-Teachers Association leader, the popular G.I. in the block, who had more to contribute than their vote. They were in the most favorable position, with proper organization and leadership, to influence the one-third of the voters who were indifferent or hostile in this area.

This is not simply a question of campaign tactics and organization. It indicates a fundamental long-term need to transform the widespread popular support for Marcantonio and his policies, which are expressed by most of the people only on election day, into an active system of organization that involves the people in the community in struggle on a daily basis around their vital needs and interests.

Such an outlook would change the situation qualitatively. It would help to consolidate the mass movement and extend its influence. It would build a rank-and-file leadership in struggle that would cement the unity of the people in the district and augment their fighting capacity.

These points summarize the main features of the campaign. Despite the

defeat suffered in the 18th C.D., the results indicate the basis for further building and strengthening the anti-war coalition of the people and the A.L.P. Reaction did not succeed in its prime objective of disintegrating or weakening the popular base of the movement in Harlem or in curbing its growth in new areas in Yorkville. The development of the united-front movements of struggle around the vital issues that cut across party lines and the conscious day-by-day building of the A.L.P. point the way to winning the majority of the people in this district.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party gave wholehearted support to the campaign. It was a vital part of the coalition. It helped to achieve a fighting approach to the campaign on the basis of a correct estimate of its significance in the fight for peace. There were, however, serious weaknesses that must be noted. In the main, these weaknesses flow from a failure that has existed over a number of years in these battles in the 18th Congressional District, the failure to develop more fully the vanguard role of the Party. The Party organization has tended to reduce itself to an auxiliary apparatus within the coalition. True, the Party has fought on policy and contributed to policy within the coalition; but mainly on top levels. The organization as such in the region,

sections, branches and groups has, under the pressures of the campaign, primarily contributed the manpower. This is an essential part of the struggle; but when divorced from the political role of the Party, it can only result in the deterioration of all aspects of work, including the practical demands of the campaign itself. It can only result in a one-sided, distorted and tailist relation to the coalition—which weakens the coalition.

This was most evident on the peace question. The splendid discussion of the peace issue in the campaign was not based on, or accompanied by, a systematic fight to build a lasting united-front movement and organization. Our Party branches and sections would have made a far greater contribution to the immediate campaign and its long-range objectives, if they had been guided to deploy their resources along these lines, instead of being completely swallowed up in the routine of the campaign. Thus, even in Lower Harlem where our Party has a powerful base and influence, tendencies have developed to merge the Party and the mass movement. The role of the Party has often been blurred, and as a result the content of the mass movement has suffered.

The main lesson that must be emphasized is that the fight to advance the vanguard role of the Party and to build the Party is not in conflict with our united-front policy. It is an

integral and indispensable element of that policy.

The Party exhibited its own weaknesses in the fight for policy in the trade unions. The criticisms noted previously on this question also point to a lag within the Party in taking up and challenging the opportunist influences that limited the role of the Left in the labor movement. Too often when these issues were raised, it was at top-level, and insufficient emphasis was placed in generating movements in the shops and union locals. Too often the fight here, too, was limited to the question of forces for the Congressional district and not the question of policy within the union, which resulted in narrowing down the actual participation in the district.

The Party has the responsibility to develop an approach that integrates political and legislative activity within the daily life of the union. It has responsibility to help clarify the role of Communists and progressives in such movements as C.I.O.-P.A.C. and Labor's League for Political Education. The failure to have done this in the past strengthened the Quill-Dubinsky reactionary line.

The main weaknesses on the Negro question, discussed previously, were aggravated in large part because of the failure of the Party to draw our cadres in the mass move-

ments more actively into the struggle against white chauvinism, which has been unfolding in the last two years. Issues arose during the campaign that, in the absence of this background and involvement, could not be adequately resolved.

The main job is to bring to all our forces in the mass movement, particularly in the unions and the A.L.P., a new understanding and appreciation of the Negro question and to help guarantee that it will be implemented in the development of a rounded-out program of struggle.

* * *

The results in the 18th C.D., as the results as a whole in the city and nation, indicate a great sharpening of the danger of reaction, fascism and war. They also reveal the new strivings developing among the people to fight for peace and the democratic way of life.

The fight to organize these sentiments into a powerful movement to check the bipartisan advocates of reaction and war is the main task of the people's coalition and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

We are confident, in the first place, that the basis exists to develop a movement in the 18th Congressional District that can and will return Marcantonio to Congress in 1952.

Book Review

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S AMERICAN GESTAPO

By Harry Raymond

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, by Max Lowenthal, William Sloane Associates, New York, 1950. \$4.50.

No book published in the U.S.A. in the past year has met such a storm of violent abuse as was heaped on the book *The Federal Bureau of Investigation* by the prostitute writers of the commercial press. The author, a conservative bourgeois democrat, a corporation lawyer and bank director, who served on government commissions under Presidents Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt, will be lucky if he is not slapped in jail and persecuted under the McCarran Act for his painstaking efforts in historical research. Friends of J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. director, have arisen in Congress to declare that Lowenthal "must be a Communist," when it is quite clear that he is a pragmatic bourgeois, a strictly legal historian who fears that "excesses" of the F.B.I. will contribute to the downfall of bourgeois society. He would not abolish the Federal secret police, but wants to "make sure that the F.B.I. is good enough, right enough, efficient enough to carry out its job."

What angers the high-paid little army of denouncers of the book is that Lowenthal has not fallen in step with the scores of writers of fictitious

accounts of the F.B.I., depicting Hoover and his special agents as big, brave supermen who are continually rescuing the nation from dreamed-up "horrors of Socialism."

It is urgently necessary today that the American people know the true history of the secret police organization that launched the midnight and early morning raids last October, arresting law-abiding non-citizens in cities from New York to Los Angeles. In those raids the F.B.I. was following the lawless pattern of secret police terror devised in 1919 by present F.B.I. chief Hoover.

ARBITRARY ACTIONS OF F.B.I.

Lowenthal lists the illegalities committed by the F.B.I. in that period:

1. Search of private homes without warrants and seizure of private papers without warrants.
2. Holding of unconvicted persons incommunicado, refusing the request of arrested persons to see lawyers promptly, privately and before they were questioned by authorities; refusal promptly to advise them of the nature of the charge.
3. Use of the process of interrogation to entrap suspected persons.
4. Exercise of unauthorized power to "grill" such persons.

5. Abuse of the power of arrest in order to question the arrested person on matters entirely different from those contained in the charge on which the arrest was based.

6. Use of grand jury subpoenas to trap witnesses into star chamber inquisitions by detectives operating in their own quarters, free from the restraint which would be required by due process in a grand jury proceeding.

7. Inflaming public opinion against arrested persons, in advance of their trial and sometimes even in advance of their indictment, by statements branding them as criminals and by publication of rogue's gallery photographs of the accused bearing criminal identification numbers.

8. Unwarranted chaining and other degrading and third degree treatment.

9. Oppression of factory employees who are under investigation not for criminal action, but only by reason of their views and activities in regard to labor unions and other economic movements.

Lowenthal presents indisputable documented facts to back every statement in his book. He lets the facts speak, and seems to avoid drawing conclusions.

He does, however, express one conclusion with which all honest democratic Americans will certainly agree. But here, too, he is quoting another man, a university professor, who, after his name was rudely tarnished by the F.B.I., declared:

"If this kind of inquiry . . . is permitted, in the last analysis there is the deeper kind of danger to freedom of thought and freedom of speech in the United States. There is more at stake

than the fortunes of an individual man."

At stake is the liberty of all Americans, for the F.B.I. has for some time been assuming the role of Himmler's Gestapo. More than 16 million Americans are already on its active files. It has penetrated shops, trade unions, churches, schools, offices, homes and community organizations. It directs a virtual reign of terror against public employees and all employed on war contracts or in scientific laboratories. By simply whispering, cajoling or threatening employers, or heads of institutions, it is able to deprive Americans of their means of earning a livelihood.

What is the history of this organization, which constitutes such a sinister instrument of the monopolies in their drive to fascism and war? On that score the author makes some revealing disclosures.

On July 1, 1908, a secret Federal political police force, which the Sixtieth Congress of the U.S.A. had vigorously refused to authorize, was quietly and illegitimately begotten in the offices of President Theodore Roosevelt's Attorney General, Charles J. Bonaparte. The story of the illegal birth of the Bureau of Investigation, renamed in 1935 the Federal Bureau of Investigation, its sordid history of strikebreaking, its unconstitutional political snooping, its Jim-Crow terror against the Negro people, its lawless deportation drives against the foreign-born, its nation-wide dragnet raids in which law-abiding men and women—Communists, Socialists and Liberals—were jailed and framed for their political opinions—much of this has been carefully com-

piled from the official records in Max Lowenthal's hard-hitting book.

THE PALMER RAIDS

The most revealing chapters in Lowenthal's book describe in minute and carefully documented detail J. Edgar Hoover's far-flung plans for introducing police-state methods of rule.

Hoover's raiding technique is analyzed in Lowenthal's chapter, "The Dragnet." Hoover, according to the documentary evidence, sought his largest hauls in meeting rooms of radical organizations, which were spotted by his band of stoolpigeons. Next on the boss G-man's list of places to be raided and ransacked were choral societies and schools for foreign-born adults.

"Here the Bureau's agents picked up both teachers and students, including those on their way to class, and others on the street suspected of having that destination," Lowenthal writes.

On Hoover's list of "subversive" establishments, he points out, are small shops, restaurants, cafes, bowling alleys, billiard and pool parlors, barber shops, concert and lecture halls. Lowenthal quotes Senator Tom Walsh as summing up testimony about a Detroit raid that netted "merrymakers in a ball in progress, and even the orchestra . . . a corps of professional musicians commonly employed about the city."

Men and women strolling in the area where Hoover's 1919 raids were in progress were snatched up by the Department of Justice gumshoes.

Included in the Detroit round-up of the foreign-born were an "American-born college instructor who came down from the University during the holidays to teach . . . physical geography"; . . .

"a 17-year old boy who had been caught while at the House of the Masses to see a man about a job"; . . . "a dozen men who had been having a drink of near-beer in a cafe on the first floor of the building"; . . . "one man who had stopped out of curiosity"; . . . "one young man in the cooperative restaurant which had better meals at cheaper prices than any place around there and he always ate there." A barber shop was raided and the barber was hustled off to jail to the amazement of the lathered and half-shaved customer who was left in the chair shrouded with a towel and sheet.

Jackson H. Ralston, counsel to A. F. of L. President Samuel Gompers, summed up activities of Hoover's sleuths with this parallel: "That sort of thing was, under the government of the Czar, the commonest thing in the world. . . . The police created and discovered conspiracies from day to day."

Long before the late Heinrich Himmler set up the Nazi Gestapo in Germany, J. Edgar Hoover had devised methods of torturing "confessions" from his victims.

"The biggest job the G-men had after arresting radicals was to get confessions from them," Lowenthal states.

He quotes a Detroit lawyer, attacked by the Bureau's branch chief as a radical, who testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee on the illegal means used by the agents to wring "confessions" from prisoners. The men were taken to the fifth floor of the Federal Building, the lawyer testified, and were "taken advantage of by the Federal agents . . . announcing . . . that as soon as they sign statements . . . they would forthwith be let out, and that anyone who refused to make any

admission, whether truthful or otherwise, would be detained. The alien would be sent back repeatedly . . . until his spirit was broken down and he would be willing to subscribe to anything."

A year before this testimony became part of the *Congressional Record*, Lowenthal reveals, Hoover wrote an "urgent" letter to the Immigration Bureau, then part of the Department of Labor, on the subject of "confessions." Lowenthal reports: "He [Hoover] asked the Bureau to refuse to free any prisoner on bail unless he answered questions put to him by the Bureau's detectives."

The Department of Justice is again seeking to use the old police techniques to break the spirit both of foreign-born and native-born Americans. Workers in trade unions, political organizations and fraternal groups, the Negro people and other minorities threatened by the McCarran Law must constantly be made aware today of their constitutional rights. It must be stressed over and over again that F.B.I. agents have no legal right to arrest without a warrant; and no law on the books requires a person to make any statements whatsoever to F.B.I. agents, whether the person is under arrest or approached in any manner by an agent for a statement.

F.B.I. AND THE NEGRO

The struggle against Jim-Crow, against the lynchers, for equal rights for the Negro people, has always been considered by the F.B.I. as extremely "subversive." One of the largest secret F.B.I. files built up over the years by Hoover deals with what he terms "agitation" among Negroes. Lowenthal

describes some of the Bureau's anti-Negro activity, quoting from two of Hoover's reports, one to the Senate and one to a House Committee. In these reports, Hoover complained of "Negro agitators" who "had been able to effectively fan the flames of discontent." This, he reported, was accomplished by voicing "their sentiments through such publications as the *Messenger* and *The Negro World*, as well as other Negro papers.

Hoover sought a crack-down on the struggle for Negro rights, asserting that radicalism had captured the Negro press: "The number of restrained and conservative publications is relatively negligible, and even some of these . . . have indulged in most intemperate utterance."

The Negro publication cited as most "offensive" in an early Hoover report, Lowenthal states, was the *Messenger*. The Federal detectives summarized their opinion of this magazine:

"The *Messenger*, the monthly magazine published in New York, is by long odds the most able and the most dangerous of all the Negro publications. It is representative of the most educated thought among the Negroes. We find on its editorial board men bearing degrees from Harvard University, and among its regular special contributors those actually engaged upon other Negro publications and prominent among the Negro radical movement. . . . This magazine threw all discretion to the winds, and became the exponent of open defiance and sedition."

Hoover sought to frighten and incite the Southern Congressmen by re-

porting the "conspiracy" had broadened to include the Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Mary White Ovington, who had sent letters wishing editors of the *Messenger* godspeed.

As evidence of "radicalism" and "sedition," Hoover cited for edification of the Congressmen a complaint in a Negro publication that "the ranks of the unemployed grow daily" and its advice to Negroes to seek employment in public utilities they themselves patronized extensively, such as surface cars and subways.

Lowenthal reports of a circular exhibited by Hoover as "dangerous" on which was printed the traditional trade unionist quotation: "The only power of the Negro is his power as a worker; his one weapon is the strike." Another example that disturbed the G-men contained the statement: "The Negroes . . . must unite with the other workers in order to make their industrial power count to the utmost."

Hoover, according to Lowenthal, sent undercover stenographers to meetings attended by Negroes and concluded from their reports that "Negro leaders were seditiously plotting to obstruct the American government." He decided there was "even greater need for nation-wide Federal detective supervision over American Negroes."

William J. Burns, whom Hoover succeeded as Bureau Chief in 1924, announced publicly the F.B.I.'s official attitude toward labor unions and strikes. Strikes, he stated, were all a result of "Moscow propaganda." Lowenthal recalls that Harding's Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, Hoover's boss from 1921 to 1924, blamed his downfall, which resulted from the notorious Teapot Dome scandal, on at-

tacks in Congress inspired by "emissaries and allies of Bolshevik Russia." The Bureau told Congress it was "guarding the nation against radical propaganda and violence" by assigning an "ever greater role to undercover informers" in the labor unions. Strikers, the F.B.I. reports declared, were engaged in industrial warfare of a kind "which we associate with the French Revolution."

The great value of Lowenthal's timely book lies in its painstaking documentation, in the irrefutable facts it discloses which should shock all Americans into a realization of the extent to which our country is being systematically subjected to a Gestapo-like rule of fear and terror. The book would however have been much more valuable had the author not limited himself to merely recording facts, but had also drawn some fundamental conclusions from these facts.

The author fails to draw deeper political and social conclusions from the material at hand, and leaves the reader with a detailed picture in his mind of the F.B.I. as somehow suspended in a vacuum. Lowenthal fails to understand that the F.B.I. is not an isolated phenomenon, separate and apart from the whole governmental apparatus. He does not see it in its true historical light as part of a developing reactionary pattern of rule of U.S. capitalism in the era of imperialism and the drive to world war and fascism. He therefore fails to relate the functions of the F.B.I. to other aspects of the monopoly capitalist state apparatus of which it is an integral part, and to the plans and aims of the imperialist ruling class.

The F.B.I. policies are the policies of monopoly capital executed by its

state power. The F.B.I. is the political police-arm of that state. It is an instrument designed to facilitate generally the exploitation and oppression of the working class, and today assumes more and more the role of an American Gestapo in the exclusive service of the Wall Street monopolies in their total drive to fascism and war.

Failing to recognize the role of the F.B.I. as a basic element of the state apparatus of the finance oligarchy, Lowenthal naturally views the violent terror of the Palmer raids, for example, as a manifestation of stupidity and clumsiness on the part of the Federal sleuths and the Attorney General. They were all that and more. But in limiting himself to this description, he misses the broad underlying aims of the raids—the open-shop drive against organized labor, combined with the drive to block development of a mass political party of the working class.

In a chapter dealing with "surveillance over labor disputes," the author cites a number of instances of the close working relationship which has long existed between the F.B.I. and the large industrial corporations. One of these was the role of Hoover's undercover men in breaking the 1922 strike of railroad shopmen against a 12½ per cent wage cut. But here again, by failure to interpret the tie-up between the F.B.I. and other agencies of state power, the full implications of the role of the bourgeois government in policing the working class and intensifying its exploitation is beclouded and not presented to the reader.

Nevertheless, the book, with its excellent documentation and exhaustive references to source material, can be valuable to the men and women of labor and to all democratic forces. But the book would have been more complete had the author included more of the recently available material, especially that dealing with the "loyalty" oath persecutions, the witch-hunts in universities and schools, the frame-up and trial of the 11 Communist leaders and the accompanying revelations of the sinister and degenerate provocations of a newly recruited corps of F.B.I. anti-labor spies.

Illegal telephone tapping escapades reluctantly confessed by Hoover's agents during the Coplon-Gubitchev trial are treated in a cursory manner, as are the loyalty oath debaucheries. But it is left to the reader to discover their deep political meaning. The fact that the F.B.I. is no longer merely a domestic organization, but an international police conspiracy recruiting fascists, anti-Semites and counter-revolutionaries in its network of agents circling the globe, makes any analysis of its role incomplete unless it is discussed in relationship to the drive of American imperialism to fascism and war. But fascism and war are not inevitable. This twin offspring of imperialist reaction can be stamped out by the action of the people. And the F.B.I., as an important ruling-class instrument to promote fascism and crush resistance to war, can be effectively curbed by an aroused people.

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