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**15th NATIONAL CONVENTION
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.**

Organize the
Peace Front
of the People!

political affairs

FEBRUARY 1951

A NOTE TO OUR READERS

The Main Resolution of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, held in New York City on December 28-31, 1950, appeared in full in the January, 1951, issue of *Political Affairs*, under the title, "Working Class and People's Unity for Peace!"

The main political report to the Convention by National Secretary Gus Hall has been published in booklet form by New Century Publishers under the title, *Peace Can Be Won!*, 80 pages, price 25 cents.

The report to the Convention by Benjamin J. Davis has been published in booklet form by New Century Publishers under the title, *The Negro People in the Struggle for Peace and Freedom*, 24 pages, price 5 cents.

A section from the report to the Convention by National Organization Secretary Henry Winston has also been published in popular pamphlet form by New Century Publishers, under the title, *What It Means to Be a Communist*, 16 pages, price 3 cents. The full text of his report is included in this Special Convention Issue of *Political Affairs*.

These publications may be secured through your organization, local literature center, or Workers Bookshop, or by mail directly from New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Together, they comprise the major ideological-political study and discussion material of the Communist Party's 15th National Convention.

—THE EDITOR

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

V. J. JEROME, Editor

FIFTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

This special, enlarged issue is devoted to reports, speeches, and greetings of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., held in New York City on December 28-31, 1950. The Resolution was published in the January 1951 issue. The main report, *Peace Can Be Won!*, by Comrade Gus Hall, and the report, *The Negro People in the Struggle for Peace and Freedom*, by Comrade Benjamin J. Davis, have been published separately in pamphlet form.

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American Capitalist Hegemony, the National Emergency, and "Isolationism"

(Message to the Convention*)

by William Z. Foster

OUR DRAFT RESOLUTION, and Comrade Gus Hall's report presenting it to the Convention, represent a strong and correct political line. They should receive the hearty and unanimous endorsement of the Convention. In these remarks, I wish to comment upon only three points in the Resolution and the Report.

These three points deal with recent significant political developments. Lenin taught us, upon many occasions, that one of the basic requirements for solid Communist leadership is to be able to single out promptly major new political developments, to analyze them theoretically, and to work out and apply practical policies accordingly. The great importance of new major political developments is that they are decisive indicators of future general trends that are beginning to take shape. Unless we are quick to grasp the meaning of such developments we run the danger of lagging seriously behind the course of political events.

The three questions upon which I want to make a few general remarks are: First, the dominant position, or hegemony, of the United States in world capitalism; second, the present "state of national emergency" in the United States; and third, the growth of so-called "iso-

lationism" in this country. In my remarks I shall not attempt to deal in detail with these very important questions. I shall, in addition to stressing their deep significance, merely point out a few high points to which we should give particular attention.

AMERICAN DOMINATION OF WORLD CAPITALISM

First, with regard to the important question of the hegemony of the United States over world capitalism. In my recent article in *Political Affairs* elaborating this question of U.S. domination, which has become especially obvious with the development of the Korean war, I indicated a number of key points which we should bear in mind. Among them are:

(a) American hegemony over the capitalist world is a product of the general crisis of capitalism. The United States could not possibly have established even its present limited degree of domination over world capitalism were it not for the fact that all the other big capitalist powers have either been smashed, as Germany, Japan, and Italy, or

* This message from Comrade William Z. Foster was read to the Convention by Comrade John Gates.

have been gravely weakened, as Great Britain and France, by the war ravages and the general crisis of capitalism.

(b) The relatively dominant position of American imperialism in world capitalism is not due, as the mouthpieces of Wall Street assert, to any "exceptional" or inherently superior qualities of capitalism in the United States. Far from it. American capitalism has achieved its present relatively strong position primarily because, strategically situated geographically, it was able to escape the destruction wrought by the two world wars, and even to profit by these holocausts. American imperialism itself is organically the same as capitalism all over the world, and is subject to all the laws of the development and decay of the capitalist system. In fact, with its unhealthy economic situation and its desperate international political situation, it is already hopelessly entangled in the bottomless swamp of the general capitalist crisis.

(c) The development of the capitalist hegemony of American imperialism does not signify the advent of "ultra-imperialism," "organized capitalism," or "progressive capitalism," as advocated by the renegades Kautsky, Bukharin, and Browder. On the contrary, itself a product of the general crisis, American capitalist hegemony greatly deepens that crisis, by sharpening the various capitalist contradictions and by creating new ones. It is not the cure for the general crisis, but a worsening of it. The most serious of the many capitalist contra-

dictions, either created or sharpened by American capitalist hegemony, is that caused by the ruthless attempt of the United States to force willy-nilly into war the war-weary, war-resisting peoples in Europe. This contradiction has become so acute from the resistance of these peoples that it might well explode the whole anti-Soviet military alliance now being so assiduously cultivated by American imperialism.

(d) The onerous conditions U.S. capitalist world hegemony imposes upon the people of other lands has brought in its wake a powerful resistance movement in all countries. This is because its ruthless policies of warlike expansionism rouses masses all over the capitalist world to act to guard their menaced living standards, to protect their civil liberties, to defend their national independence, and to preserve world peace. To join up, on a united-front basis, with these alarmed and aroused masses all over the capitalist world is a basic task of all Communist Parties, including our own.

(e) We must especially realize that American capitalist world hegemony constitutes a grave war danger which must be fought resolutely all over the world. This hegemony, itself a product of the general capitalist crisis, tends to further increase that crisis by sharpening many contradictions among the capitalist powers and by provoking vast masses of the peoples to enter actively into the struggle against fascism and war. It would be a grave mistake to consider that

the international anti-Soviet alliance now headed by the United States is unimportant and that it will automatically fall apart because of its own inner weaknesses. On the contrary, despite all its weaknesses, and its ramshackle character generally, this alliance represents a dangerous consolidation of reactionary capitalist forces for war. We must understand this.

THE "STATE OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY"

Second, a few remarks on the general question of the proclamation of "the state of national emergency" in the United States. This is also a matter of basic importance and we must give it our closest and most urgent attention. Among the major points in this matter, I would like to signalize the following for our consideration:

(a) We must become keenly aware that the so-called state of national emergency, by laying the foundation of a war economy and by giving the President unprecedented powers, has qualitatively altered the general political situation. All the struggles of the people, for wages and price controls, for the rights of the Negro people, in defense of the legality of the Communist Party, against fascism and war, etc., will feel the weight of this changed political condition. It could also definitely affect the next national election. We, therefore, should carefully appraise the whole complex situation. In doing this, we must be on guard, on the one hand, against the Right danger,

which will see little or nothing new or important in the political changes brought about by the "state of national emergency" and, on the other hand, also of the "Left" danger, which will tend to conclude that this so-called state of emergency virtually establishes fascism in this country, which is manifestly not the case.

(b) As for the "state of national emergency" itself, its importance is that it definitely increases the danger of war. This is because it has given the warmonger President Truman vastly enhanced dictatorial powers; it has tripled the government expenditures for war preparations; it has given warlike monopoly capital an even firmer control over the government and the industrial system; and it has facilitated the cultivation of a wild war hysteria through the many propaganda organs of the bourgeoisie. It is the beginning of a war economy. The "state of national emergency" grew out of the national shock from the spectacular defeat of the U.S. forces in Korea. With large masses of the people (including the capitalists themselves), excited and confused over the unexpected news from Korea, the cunning leaders of Wall Street, with the complete acquiescence of the trade-union bureaucracy, were able to take advantage of the situation and greatly to intensify the offensive of American imperialism in all spheres on the home front, by putting this whole country on an emergency basis.

(c) The Wall Street politicians, journalists, and labor leaders are

trying to force the American people to accept the present so-called state of emergency, with all its spirit of reaction and intensification of the war danger, as a matter of course, as simply a logical development of the "cold war." But we Communists, and the masses of the people so far as we can influence them, should take a totally different view of the state of emergency. We must see it for what it actually is, a monstrous infringement upon the liberties of the people, a dangerous stride toward fascism, and a grave war provocation. We must fight it aggressively in this full realization. We are opposed to all preparations for imperialist war, and the greatest of all such war preparations was the proclamation of the "state of national emergency," as this has enormously stimulated the forces that are making for war.

(d) We must be very conscious of the deep political danger in the far-reaching dictatorial powers which President Truman has seized for himself in proclaiming the so-called state of national emergency. The general effect of this arbitrary action has been to clip the powers of Congress, to weaken the Bill of Rights, and increase the power of the national Executive. As things now stand some of the more important of Mr. Truman's dictatorial powers are the following:

The President has made himself into a sort of czar over industry, with the authority to direct production into war channels, to allocate scarce materials, to establish price controls, and generally to super-

vised agricultural and industrial production. He can also freeze wages, lengthen the workday and work-week, forbid strikes and otherwise dictate the conditions under which the workers, must work.

He also has in his hands the enormous thought-control apparatus that has been building up all over the country since the end of the war—F.B.I., "loyalty" test organs, Un-American committees, and all the rest of it. Under the Taft-Hartley Act he can throw recalcitrant strikers into jail, and under the Smith and McCarran Acts he can put the advocates of peace into concentration camps and penitentiaries.

He has supervision over the spending of the gigantic national budget, which in the coming year will reach the astronomical figure of over 70 billion dollars. This fact in itself gives him enormous power.

He has the right to appoint the new host of war-preparation officials who will operate under the war economy. Congress can do little more than to rubber-stamp the President's arbitrary appointments.

He is the big boss of American diplomacy. The Senate can intervene directly in foreign policy only when there is a question of passing upon a formal treaty. For the rest, Mr. Truman is in full charge personally, with the help of his obedient State Department. At present he is exercising his dangerously autocratic powers in this respect, at the risk of precipitating a new world war, by arrogantly rejecting the eminently fair proposals of the

Chinese and Russians for a settlement of the Korean war.

Most important of all, he has seized for himself, actually if not formally, the power of precipitating war. Mr. Truman, upon his own responsibility, plunged the United States into the disastrous Korean war, without even a shred of authorization beforehand from Congress. He has the right, under his dictatorial powers, to drop the atom bomb in Korea and China and thus to extend that struggle endlessly. Moreover, he is in a position to develop a third world war if and when he and his Wall Street masters should see fit to do so. To accomplish this, all he would have to do would be, by his diplomatic arrogance, to create such a tense international situation that about all that would remain for Congress to do, if even that, would be to endorse Mr. Truman's "fact-accomplished" war by a formal war declaration. To a militant imperialist such as the President, this war power is highly dangerous.

(e) All these unprecedented powers, however menacing, do not make President Truman into a fascist dictator. They do, nevertheless, constitute a long stride toward fascism in this country, another of the many measures of recent years to establish a police-state in this country. They comprise the most dictatorial powers ever exercised by any U.S. President—and, consequently, by the reactionary clique of capitalists whom Mr. Truman represents and obeys. In the face of this dangerous usurpation of dictatorial powers, we must make a

vigorous appeal to the people to fight for the re-establishment and strengthening of democratic controls and procedures. This is a decisive political task.

(f) The "state of national emergency," like world capitalist hegemony and the disillusionment over the Korean war, will arouse the mass peace forces in this country. The working class and the toilers generally will not submit tamely to having their living standards reduced and to having new fascist-like restrictions placed upon their already very circumscribed freedoms—and all for a war program for which they obviously have very little enthusiasm. They will not accept a no-strike and shut-your-mouth program. Despite all the smothering efforts of the top trade union leadership and the Government, they will fight to defend their immediate interests. It is our task not only to give all possible aid in these daily struggles, but also to deepen them politically and to link them up with the broad struggle for peace.

THE NEW "ISOLATIONISM"

Third, a few remarks upon the final question: namely, the recent growth of "isolationism" in the United States. This development has especially been signalized by the recent speeches of former Ambassador Kennedy, and ex-President Hoover. Major points that we should bear in mind about this tendency are the following:

(a) The outburst of Kennedy-Hoover "isolationism" has been

caused by the series of serious defeats lately suffered by American foreign policy. That is, the so-called Asia First-imperialists got a heavy blow by the defeat in Korea, the arrogant MacArthur undoubtedly having felt that he was well on the road to Peiping, if not Moscow, until he ran into the revolutionary Chinese volunteers. The "Europe First" imperialists also suffered hardly less of a setback by the recent display of growing reluctance of the capitalist governments, under the peace pressure of their peoples, to follow the lead of ultra-militant American imperialism. And, finally, the atom-bomb maniacs also got a heavy reverse from the world outcry of protest that followed President Truman's threat to use the bomb in the Korean War. This three-phased defeat greatly disoriented American jingo-militarists.

(b) The Kennedy-Hoover "isolationists" would apply the hard lessons of these serious defeats by shortening somewhat the imperialist lines. They would get out of Korea, at least for the time being; they would condition their aid to Europe, and, as Hoover indicated, they would place less reliance upon the atom-bomb. An important feature of their proposals is their attempt to blackmail Europe into making more active efforts at militarization by threatening to cut off all American economic and military assistance.

(c) This Kennedy-Hoover "isolationism" does not imply that American imperialism is abandoning its policy of aggression, expan-

sionism, and world conquest. The reverse is true. Hoover is quite as much of an imperialist as Truman or MacArthur. Although he would take into consideration the hard defeats of recent months, he would not, as he would wish the gullible to believe, simply concentrate upon a defense, so-called, of the Western Hemisphere. As before, his policy for the United States would remain an aggressive expansionism into Europe and Asia, with the ultimate end in view of an all-out war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia.

(d) The sharp disputes now going on among the bourgeois politicians do not mean, therefore, that the Republican Party has adopted a peace policy while that of the Democratic Party remains one of war. These disputes are only over questions of tactics, not over the main line of American imperialism. They do indicate, however, the growing bankruptcy of American foreign policy and the ensuing moods of confusion, pessimism, and desperation in American capitalist ranks. These inner-capitalist quarrels, even if they are only over secondary questions, nevertheless are very important and we must pay close attention to them.

(e) The most important thing for us to understand, however, about the outburst of Kennedy-Hoover so-called "isolationism" is that it is an attempt to use demagogically the growing peace sentiments among the masses of the people. The Korean war, with its highly disillusioning military defeat and its

heavy casualty lists, has come as a great shock to the American people. They are getting their first bitter taste of the murderous and futile war that Wall Street is organizing, and they do not at all like the taste. They distinctly do not relish the idea of American boys dying in remote parts of the world for causes in which they have no interest. They would undoubtedly welcome the return of the American troops to this country, where they belong, and they are in a mood to support slogans to this effect. We must draw a sharp line of distinction, therefore, between this peace sentiment of the masses, and the phony, imperialist "isolationism" of Hoover and his like. The growing anti-war spirit of the masses greatly broadens the basis for the peace movement. We must, at all costs, take this seriously into consideration in our struggles for peace.

The three recent major political developments that I have been dealing with: namely, American world capitalist hegemony, the proclamation of a "state of national emergency" in the United States, and the growth of a new American "isolationism," are not in themselves isolated phenomena. They are all tied together in one general political pattern. They act and interact upon one another. American capitalist hegemony worsens the general crisis of capitalism, and sharpens the war danger. The "national state of emergency," itself a product of alarm and panic, in turn also intensifies the crisis and the danger of war. The growth of a broad mass peace movement, is the

natural reaction of the people against the fruitless and adventurous military policies now being carried out by American imperialism.

THE HEART OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The present key to U.S. foreign policy is to be found in the frustration and desperation of the big capitalists and their hangers-on, brought about by the hopeless decline of world capitalism and the irresistible rise of world Socialism. Although repudiating the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the general crisis of capitalism, the capitalist spokesmen nevertheless know that their own system is desperately sick and they do not know how to cure it. They are thrown into deep alarm and panic by such developments as the great war record and tremendous postwar recovery of the Soviet Union, the establishment of the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe, the historic victory of the Chinese People's Republic, the chronic sickness of capitalism in many countries, and, now, the frightening exposure of capitalist weakness in Korea and throughout Asia.

Their panic and alarm are impelling the Wall Street capitalists on to the fatal gamble of another great war. They seek to accomplish by world war what they have hitherto not been able to achieve through policies of economic penetration, political intimidation, atom-bomb diplomacy, and the cultivation of civil war in China, Greece, and Korea. This is why,

with their "state of national emergency," they are trying so feverishly to fascize and militarize the United States, and also, through their domination of the United Nations, to rush the capitalist countries of the world into an anti-Soviet war.

But this world war, were Wall Street able to launch it, would be even more disastrous for capitalism than the "cold war" which American imperialism has been deliberately waging, with such unfavorable results, ever since the end of World War II. Warlike capitalism could never mobilize the latent fighting strength of its peoples, comparable to the strength of Socialism fighting for its existence and the right to grow. Jim Crow, the Taft-Hartley slave-labor Act, the McCarran police-state Law, General Motors' billion dollar dividends, Wall Street's drive toward world domination, however demagogically masked with pretenses of peace and democracy, is a poor program indeed, around which to rally the toiling masses to suffer, fight and die. Ideologically confused soldiers fighting for decadent capitalism, no matter how heavily armed, would prove no match, if unfortunately it should come to the test, for the revolutionary soldiers of Socialism fighting clear-headedly for a new and free society. An anti-Socialist third world war would bring about the end of the obsolete capitalist system.

Socialism is both inevitable and invincible. It is bound to come, war or no war. We Communists are tireless defenders of peace, and we are unshakable opponents of war.

This is because, unlike the capitalists, we do not need war to advance our cause. We are against war because it would needlessly and brutally slaughter scores of millions of the toiling masses and it would ruinously devastate the cities and industries of the world. It would make the work of Socialist reconstruction immeasurably more difficult. We do not consider war to be inevitable. The American people, peace-loving and democratic, have the power to halt the Wall Street warmongers if they will but make their peace will felt. We are also firmly convinced of the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Socialism in the world.

THE NEED FOR A STRONG COMMUNIST PARTY

Our main resolution and the reports to this Convention, laying down detailed policies and evaluating our past successes and failures, give a clear line to our Party for its work in carrying out its central, all-decisive task, the fight for peace. And the basic key to success in all this is a strong Communist Party. Never in our history have we had such urgent need as now for a broad and disciplined mass Marxist-Leninist Party. This means that we must build our Party, however great the difficulty. Especially must we fight against all attempts to weaken the Party whether these come in the shape of violent attacks from the outside, or of destructive liquidatory trends from within. While we must be

doubly vigilant now against spies and all other anti-Party elements in our ranks, our major attention must be directed toward bringing into our Party those splendid workers who want to fight for peace, and toward raising the ideological level of the Party's membership.

As we are holding this historic Convention of our Party under full fire from the forces of reaction, the bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic lackeys are howling in fright and consternation all over the world, and especially in the main citadel of world capitalism, the United States. The exploiters are in mortal fear that their beloved capitalist system, under which they have so long robbed and oppressed the peoples of the world, is doomed. And they are very right in this conclusion. Capitalism is on its way to historical oblivion.

Civilization itself, however, is not

dying, as the mouthpieces of capitalism would have the people believe. On the contrary, a new and higher civilization is being born. Capitalism, with its sickening mess of exploitation, destitution, illiteracy, superstition, and war, is in fatal crisis, and the new order of Socialism, under which man will flourish as never before, is taking its place. The intense crises and struggles of the present period signify the death agony of capitalism and the birth pangs of oncoming Socialism. The peoples of the world are making a gigantic leap forward. We Communists are fighting on the side of history. This is why we face the situation calmly, clear-headedly, and unafraid, amidst all the capitalist storm of frenzy, despair, and desperation. The future belongs to the peoples, with the Communists at their head.

Summary Speech to the Convention

by Gus Hall

I THINK we can say without reservations that this Convention has hit its mark. In many ways it has hit an all-time high mark. I do not intend to summarize all the outstanding features of this Convention. I shall deal only with a few.

To begin with, we should take note of the contributions and the participation of our Negro comrades at this Convention, and the participation and outstanding contributions of our women comrades. There was a new feature registered at this Convention—the participation of a large number of our Negro women comrades, so well exemplified in the splendid speech of Comrade Johnne Ellis from Buffalo. Another outstanding feature was the participation and the contributions of our delegates from the South, of whom eleven out of sixteen have “prison records”—for collecting signatures to the Stockholm Peace Petition. In the Southern delegation, which includes both Negro and white comrades, we have three women comrades, all leaders of trade unions; two delegates from the rural areas, including a veteran of the Camp Hill battles.

Especially noteworthy is the unprecedented number of fraternal greetings received from Communist

Parties throughout the world. We take particular pride in the greetings from the great Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The discussion at this Convention was on a very high level and it has certainly deepened our understanding of the many problems raised. The reports of Comrades Henry Winston, John Williamson, Ben Davis, Claudia Jones, Carl Ross, Pettis Perry, John Gates, Jim Jackson, Betty Gannett, V. J. Jerome, Bob Thompson, and others are invaluable documents for our Party. We must find the best way of bringing these documents to the Party, and to the masses outside the ranks of the Party.

I am sure I express the feelings of our entire Party when I say that it was the greatest joy to see Comrade Foster well enough to come to the Convention (even if only for a brief hour) and to make the vitally important contribution contained in his statement, read to you by Comrade Gates. Needless to say, the Convention missed the presence of Comrade Dennis. There is no question that if Comrade Dennis could have been here in person, as he is with us in spirit,

this Convention would have been even better.

Now, a few words about some of the weaknesses of the Convention.

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE— CRUCIAL TASK

We must record that, in spite of everything we said at this gathering about the urgency of the struggle for peace, this question is not yet fully understood. Our Convention is proof of this. There is an urgent need to shake up our whole Party. In the first place, it is necessary to shake ourselves up, the leading cadre of the Party, to an understanding that the struggle for peace is *the crucial and the central question*. If our Party is to do anything, it must move more resolutely into this struggle, above everything else. We must imbue every single member of our Party with this understanding, with a fighting spirit to work energetically and tirelessly to organize the people everywhere for peace. Nor have we much time in which to do it, comrades. We shall miss the bus if we continue at the present slow pace to take hold of this central question. We are going to miss the bus, comrades, and if so it will be a big miss. It will take us a long time to catch up, if we continue with such slowness in recognizing the new possibilities for building the peace movement. We are not working *against* the stream today, but *with* the stream, with millions; yes, I say with the majority of the American people—because the majority of the American people want peace, and want it now.

Yet our efforts do not measure up to this new situation. This weakness was reflected in our Convention.

Certainly, it is the *number one* task for us Communists to search out every possible issue, every method and form, every organization and individual, that will help to broaden out, and move additional people into, the struggle for peace. That is the *number one task* for every district leader. We must work out concretely new methods to activate new sections of the people and new organizations, in order to give rise to further campaigns for peace. I am sure you read in the *New York Times* this morning the nationwide survey of "Letters from Readers." This survey fully confirms everything that we said here. Take just these few sentences:

"From Maine to California, a growing national debate is being waged by housewives, students, factory workers and business men exercising the old American privilege of sounding off. . . .

"They indicated America as a whole was aroused and groping for the right answer."

Yes, the American people are sounding off, but they need leadership. And we must find the ways of giving them the "right answer," and in the quickest possible time.

In the struggle for peace, we must keep in mind that there are two danger points — where war can spread and become the starting point to launch World War III.

First, as we have indicated, is the

Far East—Korea, Formosa, and the Chinese mainland. This area will remain a danger spot on which we must keep a vigilant eye as long as the imperialist forces of the United States are there; as long as the national-liberation movements are prevented from moving forward to freedom; and as long as the People's Republic of China is not recognized, and its representatives are not seated in the U.N.

But we must see much more clearly than we do, the other danger spot for war—that is Germany and Western Europe. It is likely that this will become the center and main area for war provocations, to launch World War III. There are many indications that this may be so, and we must find ways of alerting the American people to this danger. Some people say that Europe will become another "Korea." In my opinion, this is wrong. Any act of imperialist aggression anywhere in Europe will mean world war. And this must be understood. We cannot ignore the statement of the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies only a month ago, when they stated they would not stand idly by while the U.S. warmongers plot and build an armed camp in Europe, while they specifically rearm Western Germany. We have now the Brussels Conference, its decision to rebuild the fascist army in Europe and the assignment of Eisenhower, whom the war camp considers the most capable general they have for the purpose of commanding troops ready for attack. This, in my opinion, will develop

into the most serious situation. It is necessary, in the broadest terms, to unfold a struggle against rebuilding the Nazi army.

The American people are against the war moves in Europe. They will be aroused when they get the full facts on the scheme to rearm the armies of Hitler and Goebbels under the new "Leader"—Eisenhower. First of all, there are the Jewish people, the Negro people, and the veterans who had experience with Nazi armies; there are the nationality groups who have close knowledge of what an occupation under a Nazi army is like.

American and English war profiteers have armed the German armies twice in the past, for two wars, and American youth paid with their lives for this crime. These provocations in Europe by Wall Street raise in a new way the grave danger of world war, of atomic war. We must raise this danger of rearming Western Germany as a danger to America.

It is around these two central danger points that we must immediately begin to move as far as the peace forces are concerned. The movement and campaign to withdraw our boys from Korea and the Far East, and for the recognition of the People's Republic of China must get our full support. We must also give support to the broadest slogans and actions against U.S. arming of Western Germany.

Finally, on the struggle for peace, it seems to me that we must give our full support to the conferences that are being or may be planned

in the months ahead. We must find ways of joining the deep-going national debate and the broad movements which seek to get together to re-evaluate U.S. foreign policy.

A few additional words about peace. Yesterday I received a letter from a comrade who has been in the movement a long time, and should therefore know better. He writes about the need for this Convention to broaden the struggle for peace and he raises the question of Herbert Hoover's "role" in this peace movement. Here is a quotation from this letter:

"Truman's policy will kill millions of Americans. Under Hoover's policy, they will live."

We must guard and warn against such incorrect and fantastic conclusions. The speeches of Hoover and Taft do reflect the crisis in Wall Street's foreign policy. They are admissions of the bankruptcy of the bi-partisan war policy. They are attempts to capitalize on the growing peace sentiments of the American people. Speeches of this kind open new doors for the peace movement. But these men belong to the war camp. We can have no illusions about Herbert Hoover, Kennedy, or anyone else in the war camp.

And while we are discussing these newspaper stories and speeches of Hoover and the others, I am sure you have seen how John Foster Dulles took part in our pre-Convention discussion. (laughter) He wanted to get in here before the Convention was over, and he has the following to say, which I thought was very interesting:

"Through graduated income and estate taxes, and social security and pension plans, our capitalistic society has come to approach more nearly than the Communist world, the ideal of production according to ability and distribution according to need." (*N. Y. Times*, Dec. 30, 1950).

The idea of Socialism is becoming so widely accepted by the masses in the world that Dulles is forced to paint capitalism as "Socialism." So did Hitler before him.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

Now, a word on the question of independent political action. The Resolutions Committee reported no amendments to the Resolution and there was very little in the discussion on the question of political action. I think this indicates that we are continuing the policy of waiting until a few weeks before election day before we consider this problem. You will see—a month before elections we will start stirring around, discussing candidates, etc. The fact is the municipal elections are already at hand which must be utilized to project the election policy contained in the Report. And, the 1952 elections are not far away. We must decide to begin now to work for the broadest possible peace ticket in 1952; a peace ticket that can be put forward in different ways in each state—as the Independent Progressive Party ticket in California, if that Party desires it; as

the A.L.P. ticket in New York; as an independent ticket in other states—depending on the political situation and on the specific state election laws. I suggest that we re-study the Resolution and the section of the Report dealing with this question and make independent political action a practical question of the day.

A word on working class-Negro unity. We must guarantee that we do nothing that holds back the Negro liberation movement. If there are any obstacles, they must be overcome. But this question cannot be placed in a way that would imply that working class-Negro unity is an obstacle to Negro liberation. That would deny the historic role of the working class, and the Marxist concept of the indispensable need for unity of the working class and the Negro people for the advance and victory of both. Therefore, we cannot place the partners in the alliance as obstacles to each other. I mention this because there was a slight tendency to such an idea in the discussion.

FASCIST DANGER HAS INCREASED

A point on the danger of fascism. I am afraid that this breathing spell we have been having is giving us some wrong steers. I do not think as yet that we are swinging to another extreme; but we should keep in mind the calm before the storm. We must alert the Party. The danger of further reactionary attacks on our Party is ominous. The present breathing spell indicates only the mobilization of the forces for

further attacks. The hearings on the McCarran Act will begin in a month, and there are a whole list of other hearings, trials and deportation proceedings. And, of course, we can expect the verdict of the Supreme Court any day, beginning next week.

I want especially to signalize the danger of fascism from one additional direction, the "National Emergency Decree" of the Truman Administration. As the head of the various war-time departments and war set-up, Truman is beginning to gather around him the most rabid and fascist-minded forces in the country. The dictatorial powers of Truman under the "Emergency Decree," and these reactionary-Dixiecrat-militarist-brass elements around him, can result only in an increase of fascist attacks upon the people. The Civilian Defense and the appointment of the ex-governor of Florida—this defender of the slave market—to head it, is an example. We should not forget that Civilian Defense even under Roosevelt was one of the most shameful pages of World War II. The Civilian Defense Corps joined hands in the South with the K.K.K. and became the night-riders against the Negro people. Now we have a man like this ex-governor of Florida at the head of the Civilian Defense and I tell you we are going to see reaction riding high with the official endorsement and support of such agencies.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST LIQUIDATIONISM

Let me turn briefly to the

Davidow controversy and the struggle against liquidationism. In Comrade Davidow's speech there was a strong element of shadow-boxing. He maintains that "the Party has watered down the Marxist-Leninist concept of Party membership." What is that, if not setting up a straw man. For we have a right to ask, where? how? when? When has the Party done this? The Party has not lowered or watered down the standards of membership since the 1945 Convention, when there was a repudiation of Browder-revisionism and the Marxist-Leninist concept of the Party was reestablished.

Can Comrade Davidow say there is proof of this "watered-down" concept of membership in the recruiting figures of the last two-and-a-half years? I do not think so. Or, do the registration figures indicate that? I do not think there is any basis for saying this.

Comrade Davidow sets up another straw man and says there are loose organizational concepts within the Party. And, we have the right to ask again, which? where? Are there such concepts in Comrade Winston's Report, or in the reports of the last few years in which he has hammered on the question of giving leadership to the clubs and Party organizations and for a system of Party organization? Can we read such loose organizational concepts there? I do not think so. I think it would be much better for Comrade Davidow, in a self-critical manner, to examine his wrong view without rationalization and shadow-boxing, and come to the conclusion that the Party position

is correct, and proceed from there. This, of course, has nothing to do with the question of the need to raise the quality of our work to higher levels, with the need for a constant struggle for functioning clubs, and the need for a constant campaign to raise the ideological level of our Party.

There are a couple of immediate Party tasks to be noted. First, the question of finishing the registration. Because of so many big problems, we did not have a chance to discuss this in detail. But now we must really go down and re-organize the registration, to complete it by Comrade Foster's birthday.

Now that the Convention is over, we cannot say any longer that the work on the Convention is side-tracking us from other tasks. Now let's get down to brass tacks, starting with Tuesday, to re-organize our forces and finish the registration. The same for the press drive. The Convention is over now; it cannot serve as a pretext for not finishing the registration and the press drive. When I was a Section and a District Organizer, and preparing for a mass meeting, I always hoped that it would rain, a little bit, or at least threaten to rain, so that we could say, "Well, the meeting would have been better, but—the rain." Anyway, now we cannot use the excuse of the Convention.

Let us get into the press drive and really get into it with determination to fulfill our quotas.

Next, the organization of the activities around Comrade Foster's Seventieth Birthday. This is a big political event for our Party. It is

something that needs organization now, and planning in every district. In these plans the new book of Comrade Foster, the subject of Comrade Thompson's Report, must be an important factor. Comrade Foster's seventieth birthday must become an important political event for our Party.

A word about the question of cadres. Comrade Winston correctly placed the question—that we need thousands of new cadres in our Party. I would say that the biggest shortcoming is the lack of boldness in the promotion of cadres; we are not bold enough; we hesitate and examine things so long that we don't move for months at a time. This is especially true in regard to the promotion of working-class cadres. There is a statement of Comrade Stalin's which I think fits very well in our work with these thousands of new clubs that need club chairmen, etc. Stalin said:

"There were instances in the life of the C.P.S.U. (B) when leadership of the large regional organizations was placed in the hands of workers with insufficient theoretical and political baggage. And yet these workers would turn out to be better leaders than many intellectuals lacking the necessary revolutionary sense. It is quite possible that at first things may not move very smoothly with the new leaders, but that's nothing—they might stumble once, twice, then they will learn to lead the revolutionary movement. Ready-made leaders never fall from the sky. They grow only in the course of the struggle." (*Collected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 271-2.)

ELIMINATE SUBJECTIVITY AND BUREAUCRACY

This is the approach we must take in promoting new club leaders, new comrades to Section Committees, etc.

One additional word about the leadership of our Party. I speak generally, and not about the national leadership necessarily, or any specific district leadership. It seems to me that one of the signs of the continuing lack of maturity in our leadership, a basic weakness, is the subjectivity we find among our comrades. We must speak about this weakness, bring it into the open and burn it out. There is altogether too much of it in our ranks. This subjectivity is the greatest obstacle to the proper exercise of criticism and self-criticism in our Party. There is a fear of subjective reaction to criticism in our Party. Subjectivity is one of the greatest obstacles to building a collective leadership in our Party. It is a petty-bourgeois influence. It shows a lack of Marxist understanding of the relationship of the individual to the Party, to the working class. This Convention should decide to conduct a persistent and vigorous struggle against subjectivity, and to struggle for a working-class and Communist reaction to criticism, for a correct relationship of the individual to the Party. This is not a new weakness. It has been with us for many years. There are a number of very able and capable comrades, some with years of experience, but who cannot give their best to the Party because of this weakness. I

have often thought, "Well, maybe it's an American characteristic." But I do not think so now, although the special American capitalist ideology of "rugged individualism," I am sure, does affect many of our comrades. This serious question, if met will help to raise our leadership to new heights.

An evil twin to subjectivity is the element of bureaucracy that makes its appearance in the form arrogance. At times some comrades behave more like mule-skinners than leaders of the people. This type of behavior as a rule is a cover to hide their own weaknesses, their own inability to give leadership. Such tendencies have no place in our Party.

I think perhaps we should say a word about another question relating to cadres. You know, around the country, in almost all of the states, there is a core of comrades around the Party that I would call "the disgruntled type." This, too, is a reflection of the difficult times our Party has been going through in recent years. I think that we must talk to these comrades in a different vein than we have until now. I do not think it is enough for us to keep "a little record" of the fact that certain comrades have become disgruntled comrades, standing on the sidelines. In the name of the Party we must speak to these comrades and tell them that if they want to help the Party, they are not going to do it by their disgruntled gossiping and discussions they carry on outside of the Party. Secondly, we must tell these comrades that the enemy is very busy

in their ranks, and that the enemy makes headway and takes advantage of this type of situation. We must tell these comrades, "If you are sincere, if you want to help the Party and you have some beefs, come up to the Party leadership and discuss them." "Disgruntledness" is an enemy class influence, a wedge which the enemy seeks to drive into our midst, a weapon in the hands of the enemy. In this period especially we cannot have a liberal approach to such an influence.

WE LIVE IN THE EPOCH OF SOCIALISM

In conclusion, comrades, I think we can say that in many ways this was a historic Convention. The very holding of it is a historic act because of the times we live in. The greetings from the brother parties was a reflection of this fact. While the newspapers decreed a wall of silence around this Convention before it was held, we know the enemy was rather surprised and confused about the announcement that we were going to have a Convention. That, of course, shows that they do not understand our Party or our class. We must also say that there was some hesitation in our own ranks about going through with this Convention—quite a bit of hesitation. Much of it can be understood, because there were unpredictable elements in the political picture. But all in all, it is a historic event that we held this Convention in the face of everything. It is going to have a good effect on the struggles for peace, against fascism, for Negro rights, etc.

For us in the United States, because of the situation in which we work, and because of the many difficult problems we face, it is very necessary to keep in mind a generalized picture of the period. Especially because the general picture is so encouraging! We must at all times keep in our mind the epoch in which we are living and working. It can be properly called the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the victorious rise of the working class and Socialism. That describes this epoch—generally.

If you just take what has happened *in our time*—not in a period of generations, but *in our time* since we have been old enough to understand—with what strides history is advancing! First, the birth of the Soviet Union—what a world-shaking historic event! But since its birth thirty-three years ago the Soviet Union has continued to grow, so that it has risen from its state of backwardness and Czarist oppression to the number one nation in the world, unchallengeable, steeled in moral-political unity, the most powerful politically, militarily and in every other way. This is a big thing to happen in our lifetime! Or take now the birth of the countries of People's Democracy in Europe. All these countries that but a short few years ago—like Poland and Bulgaria—were associated with

dungeons, feudalism, and backwardness. Now all this has been destroyed, and these countries are building Socialism! *In our time* the 475 million Chinese people destroyed the age-old feudal system and colonial oppression, and established the People's Republic of China. That is a tremendous historical advance. And since then the East German Republic was established—again in our time. Today, the colonial liberation movement is rising all over Asia and the world. This world has really changed. That is a big chunk of history—all in our time. That describes the epoch we live in. We must add the fact that the working class of France and Italy follows the Communist Party. In our country, there is a new awakening expressed today in the struggle for peace.

So we have to keep the picture of this epoch in front of us as we go forward, and to understand that the work of this Convention can hasten that historical process. It we give our Convention Resolution life; if the Resolution, the Reports and discussions do not remain on paper, but we take them to the Party, to the working class, to the people—if we build the peace movement—then this Convention will really help enhance this process, and bring the working class closer to the struggle for Socialism.

Gear the Party for Its Great Tasks

by Henry Winston

Comrades:

WE HEARD delivered at this Convention three outstanding reports, which were magnificent in their content. I believe the report of Comrade Gus Hall was a major contribution to the work of our Party and this was supplemented, by the excellent sub-reports of Comrades John Williamson and Ben Davis.

The outstanding thing we must record in this period is that our Party stood up in the face of reactionary attack. Our Party now prepares to give more effective leadership to the struggle of the masses in the immediate period ahead. It is in this sense that I feel we should concentrate on some of the major tasks before us, to the end of being in a better position to realize the political line formulated in the report of Comrade Hall.

WE STOOD THE TEST

Our 1948 Convention met just a few days after the infamous Smith Act indictment of the 12 members of our National Committee. Two-and-a-half years ago we stood on the threshold of a period that has been marked by political trials, unprecedented in their mass scope and historic significance.

Our vanguard Party, its leaders and its members, have been on trial not only in Foley Square, but before the Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court. We have been tried also by grand juries, by Congressional committees and Congress as a whole, by the Immigration Department, state and city bodies, government and university "loyalty" boards, and a host of other official and unofficial inquisitions.

Our trials set the pattern for the trials of others—in the first place, the progressive organizations and progressive currents in the labor movement. The C.I.O. trials and expulsions are the most dramatic example of this fact—but there are many other examples in various states, local unions and shops.

The Negro people's movement for national liberation and against all forms of discrimination and segregation was also put on trial. Paul Robeson, that great leader and symbol of the Negro people's national liberation struggle, was tried by a petty official in the Passport Division, and by the monopoly-controlled czars of radio and the concert business. In thousands of police courts, in scores of frame-up cases, Negro men and women have been put on trial for claiming their rights, for defending their human

dignity and honor, for attempting to cast a vote.

The peace movement has been put on trial. It was on trial in Foley Square, in Congress when the McCarran Act was passed, in the Passport Division of the State Department, and particularly during the Stockholm Peace Pledge campaign.

The movement in defense of civil rights also has been on trial and the movements for American-Soviet friendship, for aid to the victims of the butcher Franco. Progressives in the arts, sciences and professions have been put on trial.

This, comrades, is what we must see as the political content of the various so-called contempt, perjury, conspiracy and deportation cases, and of the widespread witch-hunt investigations.

We can take justified pride in our Party's record of the past two-and-a-half years. Led by Comrades Foster and Dennis, our National Committee defended our Party, our principles, and the rights of our people, with exemplary skill and courage through the nine long months of the Foley Square trial, in the Court of Appeals, and in the Supreme Court. We pay tribute also to our able and courageous attorneys; and to Comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who has borne the main burden of leading the mass defense of our Party in these difficult years. We salute the Los Angeles Twenty-one, the Denver Seven, the Pittsburgh Three and Comrades Alex Bittelman, Claudia Jones, Betty Gannett, George Sis-kind and Dora Lipshitz.

By and large, the non-Communist progressives have also passed this test with flying colors. Many men and women, ill-prepared for such an experience, have gone to jail in this period—gone without flinching, and with their heads held high.

I know that they have drawn inspiration and strength from the example set by our General Secretary, Comrade Eugene Dennis, both in the trial where he acted as his own attorney and since his unjust and cruel imprisonment.

THE "CONSPIRACY" FRAUD

Now let us get down to the false and sinister charges made against our Party, which are at the root of all these trials and attacks.

Pro-fascist reaction says that our Party is a "criminal conspiracy." The law defines a conspiracy as an agreement to act together—in other words, to organize for joint action. That we believe in, and practice, organized action, we do not deny. Our Party is the organized detachment, the most advanced section of the working class. The big lesson of the Foley Square trial is that U. S. imperialism seeks to behead the working class by destroying its organized vanguard—the Communist Party.

In the eyes of the Wall Street monopolists, it is a "crime" for workers, and especially for the advanced workers, to organize at all.

But in this period, when the central issue is war or peace, the imperialists regard the organization of an effective people's peace move-

ment as the most dangerous of all "crimes."

The core of the charges brought against our Party is therefore actually this: that, being ourselves an organization of a new type, we are in a position to bring into being and lead a broad, organized, and powerful mass movement to curb and defeat the war drive of the Wall Street bipartisans.

In the popular mind, the word "conspiracy" conveys the impression of a relatively small number of people, working together in more or less secret ways. At the time of the Foley Square trial, the organized peace movement was indeed rather small in number—and its work was kept from the public by a real conspiracy of silence. But since that time—and particularly in the past few weeks—something new has happened. The organized peace movement has grown by leaps and bounds—and the unorganized peace sentiment among all sections of the population has grown even more.

This new situation provides new opportunities for exposing, once and for all, the sinister aims of the Smith and McCarran Acts—and for laying the ghost of the Big Lie that our Party, which spearheads the growing people's peace movement in America, is a "conspiracy."

THE "FOREIGN AGENT" SLANDER

What of the false and slanderous charge that we Communists are "foreign agents"?

Dedicated to the cause of peace,

it is only natural that we should stand for friendship with all nations and peoples on earth, and in the first place for American-Soviet friendship. Dedicated to the cause of national and class emancipation, we naturally hail the advances made by the working class of other lands, and the victories of oppressed peoples over their imperialist oppressors. Confident that the barbarous capitalist system must eventually and everywhere make way for the higher system of Socialism, of Communism—we, of course, rejoice when we see that confidence justified by the glorious achievements of the Soviet Union and of 800,000,000 people now bringing into being a new world of lasting peace and boundless opportunity for mankind's social and economic advance.

But in all this, we Communists are "agents" only of the American working class and people, whose immediate and fundamental interests we serve. Our internationalism is working-class internationalism, the internationalism that unites in common cause peoples of all lands, creeds and colors, who yearn and work for world peace. It has nothing in common with the cosmopolitanism of the trusts and cartels, whose foreign agents are scurrying all over the globe, committing crimes of espionage and sabotage, and openly striving to organize putches and counter-revolutionary uprisings.

Events are awakening the American people to the very grave dangers created by the international intrigues of Wall Street and its

foreign agents. The Syngman Rhee clique in Korea, the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Formosa, the Tito clique in Yugoslavia—these are the real foreign agents whom the American people are learning to fear.

WHY THEY LIE

What is behind the fantastic fairy tale that the Communist Party is a training school and apparatus for "sabotage"?

This medieval yarn was recently dished up with some rotten sardines, in a series of articles published by the *New York Herald Tribune* and widely syndicated. It, like the "conspiracy" and "foreign agent" fables, has been written into the sinister McCarran Act.

The employers are not afraid that we Communists will put sand in the gears of their machinery. They are afraid we will put ideas in the heads of the workers in the basic industries.

The government is not afraid that we Communists are going to blow up its vast system of war industry. It is afraid we are going to explode the myth that the developing war economy can bring anything but more hardship, worse misery, to the masses of the American people.

The bipartisan atom maniacs are not really afraid that we Communists are going to steal their death-dealing A-Bombs, or give away their secrets of biological warfare. What they really fear is that we are going to master the know-how of organizing the workers in the

basic industries, of winning them to the struggle for peace, to the rallying slogan: Outlaw the monstrous atom-bomb.

That is why we find ourselves up against all these new efforts to drive our Party out of industry, out of the shops, out of the trade unions. That is why our industrial concentration policy is now the center of such vicious employer and government distortion, in their desperate attempt to convince the people that our concentration policy has some "sinister" objectives.

It is, therefore, only fitting that the first question we develop in some detail is precisely how to realize and implement our policy of industrial concentration.

A SOUND CONCENTRATION POLICY

What is the real basis for our concentration policy?

The Resolution before us states:

"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 attention is given to the workers in the stronghold of trustified capital, which happens also to be the stronghold of the reactionary labor officialdom. For by winning the workers in the 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."

This very clear statement of policy points up the truth that the fate of the correct political line we are formulating depends upon our ability to fight for our concentration policy, and to apply it in life.

The extent to which we will be able to expose Truman's demagoguery, wage a successful struggle against Social Democracy, break the hold of the reactionary labor officialdom, and give organized expression to the latent sentiment among the workers through effective forms of united-front actions in defense of peace, depends upon the degree to which the entire Party fights for this policy. This is the key to "influencing the thinking and action of the entire labor movement."

And what does "a thorough shake-up" mean? It means that an immediate and drastic change must be made on all levels of leadership so that 90 percent of its work is devoted to the task of uniting the

ranks of the workers, and winning them for support of our Party's policies.

This is possible only if we fight for our policies among the working class. It presupposes that the ideological work of the Party must undergo a qualitative change, and be redirected to the problems and questions that are in the minds of the working class today. Thus, the formulation of policies, the working out of tactics to advance the needs and interests of the workers to resist the monopolist's program of war and fascism, require detailed operative guidance. Our leadership must acquire an intimate knowledge of the problems of the workers—in their concrete ideological and political expression—and be in a position to give fresh, concrete answers to those questions. This is especially important if our Party is to help the workers effectively to combat the growing wave of chauvinist nationalism which develops, as the war program is unfolded.

In addition to the ideological preparations of our own comrades through classes, schools, discussions, self-study, etc., we must fight to win the minds of the mass of the workers. This demands a new approach to the building and circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*; a literature program that gives popular answers; mass distribution of leaflets; and the issuance of shop papers by the clubs.

The fight to raise the ideological level of the working class is not in contradiction to the fight around

the immediate economic grievances of the workers. Nor is it in contradiction to the need of tackling the special problems of the nationality groups, the women and particularly Negro women, the veterans and youth. On the contrary, the fight for clarity gives meaning to these struggles and will in turn lift them to a new level combining the fight for economic security with the struggle for peace.

The objective, therefore, is to make every factory a stronghold for peace, with the workers in each shop playing a determined role in the fight to save humanity from a new imperialist slaughter. Such a goal is possible of attainment, not through the assignment of individuals by leading committees, but through the participation of the entire Party.

WIN THE PARTY FOR CONCENTRATION

What does it mean to win the entire Party for a concentration policy? It means that every shop and community club, clubs in the countryside, functional clubs, clubs of housewives, writers, painters, doctors, lawyers and teachers, each department and commission, shall in one or another form help to determine the outcome of this struggle.

Does this mean that a club in the countryside shall neglect the problems of the poor and middle farmers? No, it does not. But it does mean, fighting to strengthen the bond of the workers with the rural poor and middle strata, in

the fight against the program of Big Business.

Does this mean that a community club functioning in Harlem, South Side Chicago, Cedar Central shall forget or neglect the problems of the special discrimination directed against the Negro people? Of course not. Such community clubs must not only continue but expand such work. But it does mean a fight to bring such issues to the workers in general Negro and white—and help to win the labor movement for support of the Negro people's fight for economic, political and social equality. More, such community clubs have the task of winning support for labor's struggles, as was the case in the miners' strike, within each community.

Does this mean that a community club in the Bronx, or Strawberry Mansion, shall neglect the problems of the Jewish people? No, it does not mean that. Here, too, the fight against anti-Semitism and other social issues must be continued and expanded. The fight against anti-Semitism is not the task of the Jewish people alone, but involves in the first place winning the labor movement. Since these struggles are guided by the aim of winning the working class in general, and the workers in the basic industries in particular, this will help to promote the leading role of the working class, attracting its natural allies and cementing its unity with them. Nor does it mean that functional clubs, or any community club, shall neglect the struggle for peace—helping to organize blocks, apartment houses

and councils for peace. But it does mean organizing forms that will link these to working-class struggles, as for example, the fight against the proposed wage freeze.

Our task is to create a conscious support to the struggles of the working class, and in the first place, to develop a conscious drive to set the workers themselves in motion. We, therefore, must consciously undertake to change a situation where a minority of the Party is organized on the basis of shop clubs. The majority of the Party should be based in the shops. If this were the case today, imagine what a valuable contribution our Party could make to our class and people in the struggles which are now taking place and which loom on the horizon as the titanic battles of tomorrow.

We have come through more than 475 section, county and state conventions. Everywhere, it is reported, that basic changes in the thinking of the workers are taking place as a result of events in the Far East. Who can say that we are not on the eve of a mass shift in the thinking and the actions of the workers today? Our Party was in the mid-stream of such a shift in the 1930's when we played a decisive role in the organization of the unorganized. The same was true during the anti-Hitler war. This Convention is challenged not only to record developments that are taking place, but to put our Party in a stronger position to give impetus to the crystallization of such a mass shift. That is the meaning of our determination to build,

strengthen and extend shop clubs and guarantee that shop workers in community clubs are transferred to shop clubs. We dare not fall victim to spontaneity. The building of the vanguard alone can determine the successful outcome of this struggle.

ESSENCE OF OUR CONCENTRATION POLICY

At the 1948 Convention of our Party we formulated a program for concentration on the basic industries. We operated on the basis that the fight for peace could be won if the working class played a leading role in the developing peace coalition. More, we recognized that the fight for Socialism, which proceeds through the struggle for democracy, could advance only if we had a strong Communist Party anchored in the shops, and playing a leading role in the struggles of the working class. This was the essence of our policy. To realize the objectives of that policy we indicated the need for four things:

1. Developing and testing in life a correct policy for each industry.
2. Developing the united front from below to insure the carrying through of such a policy.
3. Drawing constant lessons from the experiences of the workers in the course of their struggles, thus helping to develop their class understanding.
4. Systematically building the Party, by bringing into its

ranks the most militant and advanced workers.

These four points of 1948 are still valid for us in 1950. The difference is that the new situation demands renewed emphasis.

In a general way we can say that immediately following the Convention the districts of the Party undertook to unfold such a policy. For example, district conferences were organized and problems of concentration discussed. Policies were worked out in relation to designated concentration industries; the tactic of the united front on a department and shop level was mapped, and plans for Party building were concretely worked out. The districts allocated forces and included in their plans the systematic distribution of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, pamphlets and leaflets at shop gates. These plans were based upon the questions of the moment — helping to promote independent political action and the building of the Progressive Party, the fight for united labor action, the fight for peace, upgrading, wages and a host of problems that presented themselves in the concentration industries.

It must be said in self-criticism that we began to unfold this policy, but in most cases did not follow through. Wherever this policy was fought for, important gains were won by the workers. Our Party in Detroit, sensitive to the moods of the workers in Ford's, reacted to the mass issue of speed-up. The Party undertook to help organize the rank-and-file workers

into a broad united front around this issue on a department and building level. Playing its vanguard role, the Party issued tens of thousands of leaflets, stickers and buttons, organized the extensive circulation of *The Worker*, and through this means helped to make speed-up an issue which reached the point of a strike led by Local 600 against Reuther's opposition. The Party helped to strengthen its ties with the masses in a lasting way. These ties were not weakened as a result of Reuther's sell-out.

This action, however, revealed not only the strength of the Party, but also its weakness. For example, the Party did not grow numerically as a result of such splendid leadership. We not only failed to recruit in general, but especially among the Polish, Italian and Negro workers. So while a correct program was worked out and a splendid example of united-front action developed, there was no building the Party. A complete concentration policy must embrace all of these elements.

Another example is the work of our Party in the packing industry. As a result of a correct united-front policy in the shops and local unions, the union in the main pursues today a progressive course and is in a much stronger position than it has been for many years. Two years ago, the Swift local in Illinois was Right-led. Today it is under progressive leadership. The Wilson contract was won. There has been over-all consolidation of this union since the strike. This fact is of great significance because

in the past lost strikes have often meant the end of the union in this industry. The opposite has now taken place in the Illinois district. And this was greatly influenced by the application of a sound concentration policy.

The central weakness here is the same as in Ford's—the Party has not grown even though the packing workers have a deep regard and respect for our Party. And here it is also a serious question because of the imperative need to win the bulk of the Polish workers in the industry to assume an active and leading role in the union in solidarity with the Negro workers who today carry the brunt of the struggle. The failure to build the Party among the Polish workers impedes this development.

In Gary, as a result of a concentration policy, our Party was able to help unfold a united-front campaign for F.E.P.C., as a result of which an F.E.P.C. Ordinance was passed by the City Council. This victorious campaign was publicly initiated in the name of the Party.

As a result of a concentration policy, our Party contributed much to the struggle of the progressive forces to maintain the majority of the members in the U.E. against the splitting and raiding policy of Murray-Carey and Company. In Toledo, an anti-Gosser movement of wide scope developed, and there were similar united-front actions in a number of steel lodges. But all these are the exception and not the rule.

WEAKNESSES IN CONCENTRATION

When we consider the tremendous tasks before us it is incumbent upon us to examine self-critically why we have failed to develop a consistent concentration policy. It is a fact that we did not resolutely fight for and apply this policy in life everywhere. And this, in no small measure, is due to pressure of events which veered us away from a fixed policy of concentration.

Can this basic weakness in our work be explained by objective conditions—the existence of a Taft-Hartley law on the statute books, and now the McCarran Act; the role of the Social-Democrats and labor reformists, the role of the Murrays, the Reuthers, the Potofskis, the Rieves in the C.I.O., and their expulsionist policies against the Left? No. This is not the reason why we did not carry through a fixed policy of industrial concentration. To say this under conditions when the class struggle sharpens in the country would amount to saying that we cannot adopt a concentration policy at this time and make it the basis of the entire Party work.

True, these objective conditions did have their influence, especially since the leadership of our Party was on trial for a period of nine months, with deportation proceedings under way against progressives as well as Communists, with local ordinances passed to outlaw our Party, as well as national legislation

to achieve this same end. In our effort to rally mass public opinion against these attacks upon us and the whole democratic movement, we took the road of least resistance—away from the shop into the communities.

Can this weakness be explained by the existence of a petty-bourgeois orientation on the part of our Party? No. This is not the answer. The line of our Party, as formulated at the 1948 Convention, and since, was a correct line. It was a line which saw the working class as the decisive force in American life. It was thus a line with a working-class, not a petty-bourgeois, orientation. But this line was distorted in practice. In practice, we did not hold fast to this line and establish the necessary guarantees that every issue, every phase of work, every campaign, would first of all be developed among the workers in the key shops, and from there carried to other sections of the population. Under the guise that "we must get things done" we reversed this process and conducted our work first among the people in general, and only then turned to the shops.

The fact that the bulk of the Party organization is in community clubs also tended to turn our attention away from the problems of the shops to the problems of the community. But this, too, cannot be the explanation for our weaknesses in developing a fixed policy—a consistent policy of concentration.

The basic reasons for this situation lie in the fact that we lack

a full appreciation of the working-class and vanguard role of our Party. Involved in this question is the fight to win for the working class in general, and in the basic industries in particular, leadership in the emerging fight for democracy and peace. Involved in this question is the fight to raise the level of understanding of the working class, the only class that can and will bring about the liberation of all oppressed from capitalist exploitation.

WORKING CLASS THE DECISIVE FORCE

Thus, it is incumbent upon us to imbue every Communist with an understanding that the only class that can wage a consistent struggle for peace and democracy is the working class; that other classes, other strata and groupings, cannot consistently struggle for democracy except insofar as they are influenced and led by the working class.

Lenin said in his *What Is to Be Done?*: "The main force of our movement lies in the organization of workers in the large factories. For in the large factories are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacity." The American people, under the leadership of this class and its Communist vanguard, will realize their fondest hopes and dreams for true freedom and security.

The fact that we do not yet fully

grasp this essential truth—that it is the working class, and in the first place the workers in basic industry who are destined to lead our people and our country—that explains why we did not stick to our formulated policies. The absence of this understanding leads in practice to working where it is easiest, to methods of expediency, to yielding to the path of least resistance.

A statement issued by a shop steward on the question of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for peace, on the seating of China in the United Nations, on the withdrawal of American troops from Korea, backed by the support of workers in a department, is of more fundamental importance than a statement issued by this or that middle-class person who has no organized base in general, and certainly no base among shop workers. There are among us tendencies to give greater weight to the latter than to the former. But this is unsound. And its unsoundness flows from a lack of appreciation of the qualitative difference between the two.

Does this mean that we counterpose what a shop steward does to what a writer does? Or what a head of a local union says to the words of a college professor? It does not. In fact, both are necessary. I am simply saying that the action of workers in basic industry is decisive and that there is need for extending and enlarging upon working-class action which will in turn make possible more statements, more actions by writers, by professors and other groupings, who otherwise might waver under the hammer blows of

the enemy. When the working class acts, and acts decisively, it gives courage and inspiration to other categories of the population.

Clearly, we have a big job of publicizing on the widest possible scale every militant labor action. We must break with the bourgeois standards which are based upon the concept that a worker is "just" a worker, and that the only ones able to speak out intelligently on public issues are the intellectuals. This petty-bourgeois concept has to be fought in a practical way—through developing a new dignity for exploited workers, bringing them forward publicly in movements for peace and for civil rights.

If this idea permeates our Party, and if we create the greatest confidence in the working class among our members and the people generally, it is clear that in spite of objective difficulties, we will make decisive changes and succeed in articulating the basic sentiments of the American working class.

NEW PROBLEMS FACING WORKERS

We propose to revitalize our concentration policy under conditions of a Truman decreed "National Emergency," when the imperialist war policy is being pushed at an accelerated pace. We know that the war policy is being developed under conditions where the working class will pay for it, not only in terms of blood, but also in sweat and toil.

Thus, for example, the working class will now face longer hours of

work, speedup will be intensified, wages will be frozen, and plants will be policed as a means of stifling the resistance of the workers to the intensified exploitation. Under conditions of a just war—during World War II—the workers resisted the burdens imposed upon them by the monopolists. There can be no doubt that now the workers will really fight back against the consequences of this most unjust war.

The policies of the bourgeoisie have so merged the economic and political struggles of the workers, that it is becoming more difficult to trick them into seeing their bosses as the enemy on the economic front, and somebody else as the enemy on political questions. Struggles that develop in the basic industries will more and more take on the form of political struggles.

How to lead the masses of workers into effective forms of actions and struggle under present day circumstances, and how to build our Party as a vanguard among workers in industry, presents itself as the Number 1 question before our Party. The solution of this basic task means carrying into life the essence of Comrade Hall's report to this Convention.

We have to reckon with the existence of a McCarran Act which would deny to the American working class a Party of its own—the Communist Party. This law has in effect nullified this democratic right of the American workers. But the working class will not accept fascist laws. It *will* have a Party of its own, come what may.

The problem of developing unity of action in behalf of the needs of the most exploited workers—the unskilled and semi-skilled workers—is a decisive question in our shop and trade-union concentration work.

SPECIAL APPROACHES NEEDED

In this connection I should like to single out the need for special attention to the problems of the Negro workers, women, youth and nationality groups in industry.

The largest single force in the key industries of the country are the nationality groups of the first and second generation.

The nationality groups pioneered in the organization of the unorganized. Today members of nationality groups are in the leadership of many unions. But they are subjected to intimidation, and are affected by the growing wave of chauvinist nationalism fostered in the basic industries by the Social-Democrats and labor reformists. In addition, the national groups—Italians, Polish, Hungarians, Russians, Lithuanians, Irish and others—do have special problems. How to forge the united front and win the first and second generation of the nationality groups, not only on the economic issues but also in the fight for peace, poses a very special problem.

Secondly, the Negro workers in industry are faced with a number of new problems. The lily-white policy of the textile union leaders is now being put into effect in a

number of basic industries, even in auto and steel. Meanwhile, because of low seniority in a number of these industries Negro workers are being laid-off disproportionately. On the other hand, up-grading of Negro workers takes place at a snail's pace. This is due to the fact that the solidarity of Negro and white workers has not risen to the plane that is needed today in the fight for a united working class. This weakness in winning the white workers in resolute struggle for economic equality for Negroes in the industries, is due to the existence of white chauvinism among the masses of white workers, and to weaknesses in the Party's struggle against this poison. It is coupled with opportunism which exists among the officialdom in the key unions and is carried over into the ranks of the working class. The sharpening war danger and the growth of chauvinist nationalism create the danger that this weakness will become more pronounced. This threat comes at a time when the Negro workers in the labor movement represent the most militant force within the ranks of the working class and a tower of strength for the working class as a whole.

The women workers in industry are a basic segment of the working class. It must be admitted that the labor movement as a whole, and our Party in particular, have not, industry by industry, developed a special approach to the problem of working women. This is doubly true of Negro women. In fact, there are union contracts which have a

different wage standard for women than for men. And this is accepted without protest. On the other hand, in industries where lay-offs took place, before the announcement of the National Emergency, there was beginning to develop among large sections of the workers a demand to "lay off the women first." This hit the Negro women hardest of all.

The fight for the job and pay equality of women must become the approach of every union, and our Party must lead in the fight to realize this. The fight for the equality of women does not mean we do not take into consideration such special problems as speed-up, sanitation, child care, or that we neglect to give special attention to the problems of Negro women in industry.

Since the announcement of the "Emergency" decree it has been stated that women will be drafted in industry. Of course, this presents a new problem for the labor movement and requires a fight for their full equality and integration in the life of the union.

Outstanding in the Party's recent activities for peace has been the work of the women — working women and middle class women. Our Party must help to realize this great peace potential among the women and undertake to strengthen and build our Party among them, and help to develop a wide cadre, Negro and white, and promote them into the leadership of our Party.

The youth in industry are an integral part of the working class.

They have special problems as youth. They lack seniority and are among the first to be fired. The monopolists are especially concentrating among the youth in their drive toward fascism and war and are determined to organize the militarized youth as a force against the unions. Today more than ever, our Party has to emphasize the decisive importance of winning the masses of youth to struggle for their economic needs, against militarization and for peace. The Party must insist upon a sharp turn in all of this work. The fight for the youth cannot be relegated to the category of just another field of work. It must be said that this is the case in many districts. This is expressed in a number of places where there is no Labor Youth League, and in others where it is being liquidated.

BUILD THE SHOP CLUBS

What is the best guarantee that we will be able to lead the masses in struggle? The building of the shop club. Our Party must establish its main base in the shop. There is not a single State organization where this is now the case. But this situation can be changed even though our Party is under the sharpest attack in its history.

The building of the shop clubs is imperative. Of course, such clubs cannot be built in the old way. Neither can they function in the same way. It is incumbent upon us to assist the shop clubs, to find new methods of functioning.

There is no blueprint for doing

this. There are many considerations that must be taken into account, such as: night and day shifts, rotating shifts, departments, etc. But the shop clubs, which are now much smaller in size, must organize their work in such a way as to be able to influence and organize sections of the workers in the department or shop, establish *permanent* mass ties, and constantly replenish their ranks from the most militant, most advanced sections of the workers.

No longer can the shop club continue to operate *generally*, and no place in *particular*. Each club must develop a concentration policy within the plant, aiming to build the Party on a department and shift level among the most exploited section of the workers. Each shop club must learn how to act in unison with workers around their immediate economic and political issues. Shop clubs which do not develop their activity in conjunction with united-front movements of the workers are not working in the proper fashion.

The shop club, must in addition, concern itself with the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, with the issuance of shop papers, and improving the work of its members within the unions.

While we can record an increase in the number of shop clubs in the recent period, this was a result not of a numerical growth of the membership of the Party, but to the creation of the smaller-size club.

We find an uneven picture in the work and life of the shop clubs since we organized the smaller-size

club. In some places clubs function well. They meet on a regular basis. They have organized political discussion, attendance at meetings is exceptionally high, and dues payments have improved greatly. But this is not the general situation. Many clubs organize "walky talky" meetings that last for not more than 15 minutes. There are many clubs which have been mechanically formed, in which no meetings take place at all, even though the leadership of the section has greater ties with the individual members of the clubs.

But the experiences so far indicate that this step to establish the smaller-size clubs, while creating a host of problems, nevertheless is resulting in the development of a wider corps of activists.

The fight for the club to meet assumes greater importance today. The failure of clubs to meet in the past was a central weakness which blunted the vanguard role of the Party. In the conditions under which we work today, there is the danger that this weakness will become aggravated; thus making it difficult, if not impossible, for the Party to play its proper role among the workers.

Let us not forget that the Party is an organized detachment of the class. It is at the same time the vanguard detachment of the class. It has the task to move masses in struggle around their immediate needs. Secondly, it has the task to imbue the struggles of the masses with Socialist consciousness.

We should always keep in mind these two aspects of the Party's

role. The first without the second leads to reformism. The second without the first leads to sectarianism.

Does this mean that in our fight to merge these two elements of leadership in the work of the shop clubs that we merge sectarianism and reformism? The opposite is the case. The merging of these two tasks brings about a new high quality which negates reformism and sectarianism and enables our Party to fulfill its vanguard role. As our shop clubs rid themselves of reformist practices and sectarian habits of work they will be able to forge united fronts of struggle in the shop around the grievances of the workers — whether these be speed-up, wages, the model contract clause, or the fight for peace.

LEADING ROLE OF SHOP CLUB

We should keep in mind a number of weaknesses in our work in the past—weaknesses which under conditions of intensified reaction will become extremely dangerous. The main tendency in this respect is to minimize the role of the Party in the shop. Let me give you an example from the report of Mollie West at the Illinois State Convention. She said:

"One of the big shops under Left leadership was not long ago the victim of a raid. The shop club there did not lead even though our comrades individually played an important role in what resulted in a vic-

tory for the Left-led union. The Party clubs played no role whatsoever as an organized unit, however, in relation to the struggles on the various ideological issues that came up during this period.

"The raiding union naturally made the main issue Communism, charging the leaders with being members of the Communist Party and the union therefore, a front for the Communist Party. The union correctly denied the charge and was able to convince the majority of the workers of it.

"During this time the main topic of discussion in the shops was 'communism.' Some of the workers laughed it off. Others asked questions. And still others cursed the Communists for living, because, 'look at all the trouble they are causing.' Nobody, but nobody, explained to the workers what the Communists stand for, or the difference between the Communist Party and the union. So, as one comrade put it: during the raid most of the workers laughed when Communism was mentioned; and today, many regard it as a dirty word.

"Whose responsibility was it to explain Communism and the program of our Party to the workers in the shop? Obviously, the Communist Party clubs in that shop. Had this been done, it would have differentiated the Party from the union, and would have brought deeper understanding of the class struggle and the struggle for Socialism to a section of workers who were engaged in a very important fight.

"But the vanguard role of the Party was not only missing in this respect, it was missing because the Party clubs did not in an organized fashion give leadership in this struggle."

I am sure we can find many different examples. But the essence of the problem remains the same: that to minimize the role of the Party means to deny to the workers that form of leadership by which they effectively counter the monopoly propaganda designed to defeat their struggle to improve their working conditions, win wage increases, etc.

More, we make difficult, if not impossible, the struggle to defeat the efforts of the monopolists to isolate our Party from the ranks of the workers, and limit the possibility of recruiting the best fighters into the ranks of the Party.

Are there not many Communists in the trade-union movement, and also in the mass organizations, who carry the title of "Communist" but who do not find it necessary to attend meetings of a Communist club? Is it not clear that this is an impermissible situation? Is it not true that this failure to attend meetings of the Party organization violates one of the basic principles of our Party Constitution, which establishes who is and who is not a member of the Communist Party? Is it not true that because of this much of the experience of such leaders is denied to the club as a collective? And, is it not true, that this individual misses that which the collective can contribute to im-

proving his leadership among the masses?

This Convention must put an end to this state of affairs which in essence expresses an underestimation of the role of our Party in general, and of our shop club in particular.

There are tendencies to have clubs function as an adjunct of the trade-union movement or mass organization. These tendencies—unless checked—can also blunt the vanguard role of the Party.

On the other hand, there are tendencies to see the work of the shop club as replacing that of the rank-and-file movement. This is a form of sectarianism which expresses a lack of confidence in the workers.

A justification sometimes given is "well, we must emphasize the independent role of our Party." This concept is often placed in such a way that it feeds another wrong tendency. Yes, the Communist Party is independent of all other parties. But it is not independent of the working class. When we speak of the independent role of the Party, we refer to its vanguard role, to its role of providing leadership to the workers, and not to separate actions of the Party which replace the actions of the workers.

It is in this light that the work of our shop clubs has to be examined, with the aim of finding methods of work which will enable us to break through the sectarian shell, to guard against spontaneity in work, and give consistent leadership to the masses of the workers.

PLAN WORK OF SHOP CLUBS

The new smaller-size club can meet, function and grow only if it has a concrete task—a plan of work. Under present day conditions the failure to develop programs of action for the club will immediately create difficulties for us. The inactivity of a member will stick out like a sore thumb and be seen more easily. Every member will know what the other is doing. That which knits the club together into an effective functioning, fighting organization able to give leadership to the workers on every major question, must be geared to a club plan. This plan must flow from the particular problems of the workers to whom leadership must be given.

This means that each club must know where it is to work and among whom; what section of the workers in a given plant it is going to concentrate on. Each club must have an objective, and each member must have specific tasks in relation to the plan as a whole. Each club must hammer out from week to week policies and tactics for the realization of its plan, and provide a system whereby political and organizational check-up is made.

One problem that requires a great deal of thought and attention from the leadership is help to the clubs—not only in fighting for meetings, but also in planning the agendas. These agendas must reflect the economic, social and political problems of the workers in the shop. This means that the agenda of a club meeting cannot be de-

terminated solely from on top. Unless the question of agendas—which involves the content of the work of the club—is given attention, there is a danger that tendencies will arise which may lead to disintegration.

More, the shop club must concern itself with mass agitation and propaganda which will be brought to workers not only in personal conversations, not only through leaflets, but also through shop papers edited by the clubs, with the necessary guidance of the leading committees of the Party.

In addition, the shop clubs must become organizations whose members are concerned not only with answering the immediate political questions—important as this is—but at the same time should undertake to deepen their own theoretical knowledge through reading the *Daily Worker*, *Political Affairs*, and the classics of our movement.

The shop clubs must also set examples insofar as dues payments are concerned.

To guarantee that our shop clubs will become centers of leadership for masses of organized workers it is incumbent upon us constantly to develop criticism and self-criticism in the basic Party organization.

It is my judgment that a serious turn in the direction of a qualitative improvement in the work of our shop clubs would necessitate every member of our State, County and section committees, being associated in one way or another with the work of these clubs.

THE CLUBS IN THE COMMUNITIES

Giving emphasis to the primary role of the shop club does not imply that our community clubs are not of importance. The community club assumes greater importance than ever. It is inconceivable that we should formulate a policy of industrial concentration and not see the community club as a force helping, not only to promote the leadership of the working class in general, but also winning allies among the non-working-class strata of the population. The policy of industrial concentration has nothing in common with the non-Leninist concept of organizing the workers of, for, and by themselves alone. On the contrary, it is a policy of achieving working-class hegemony over non-proletarian forces. Is it not the community club through its work in P.T.A., civil, fraternal, church, social, women's and youth organizations, as well as apartment houses, among the various national groups and in Negro communities, that is helping to bring this about?

If we failed to see the important role of the community clubs, we should make a most serious mistake. In our community clubs, we can record some very rich experiences in mass work. The activities of the community clubs are quite extensive. They include action around such issues as rent, high cost of living, reduction in the price of milk, repeal of the McCarran and the Smith Acts, freedom for Lieutenant Gilbert and Mrs. Ingram, struggle against police bru-

tality in Negro communities, support of the miners' strike, and various forms of peace activities in which Communist women especially played an outstanding role.

In addition, the community clubs are the main force which circulate the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. During the past two years, under conditions of increasing intimidation, the membership of our Party in community clubs has been most active. This was shown in the splendid activities in the collection of signatures around the Stockholm Peace Pledge, and the fight for the freedom of the streets as forums from which masses can be rallied on a host of questions. But these activities (and there are many, many more) do not characterize the work of all our community clubs. The main content of their work is still of an inner nature. Many clubs limit their mass work to the weekly sale of *The Worker* and, at that, we cannot be satisfied with the level of their achievements in building *The Worker's* circulation.

In discussing the problem of improving and expanding the mass work of the community club, attention must be given to a host of unsolved political and organizational problems. This is necessary if the activities enumerated here are to be expanded and developed as part of the work of all clubs. It is important to emphasize that such activities are to be continuous—not undertaken and developed along spontaneous lines.

The first problem resulting from the organization of the small-size club in the community is that a

large part of the membership has not been integrated into club life. Basically, we are dealing with a problem of leadership on a club level, but this problem will be solved only in the process of answering a number of other questions.

I think that it is important to see that unlike the shop club, the community club works in the main on the basis of spontaneity, without a defined area of work and a concrete plan which corresponds to the needs of the workers in the area, or the given mass organization. The result is that the club's work does not flow out of the concrete and constant problems of the workers in the community. The result is that the possibility of testing the line of the Party, improving and enriching that line, is not present.

There are examples of clubs that in the main develop their work by propaganda leaflets, sale of *The Worker*, or a street corner meeting on occasion. These are activities which should not be lessened, but on the contrary expanded. But such work must be combined with the organization of mass united-front actions on a neighborhood basis, an apartment house basis—involving people of varying degrees of understanding and varying political convictions.

COMMUNITY CLUBS WITH A PURPOSE

This points up a central weakness in the work of the clubs. The Party clubs must become an organic part of organized masses—whether in the apartment house, a commu-

nity, or in a mass organization. And if one or another community has no such organizations, then effective forms of organized activity around issues must be found.

This means that every club must have a central purpose. And this purpose must be fitted into a plan of action which arises from the needs of the people.

What should be the primary function of the club? *It is the organization of the united front.* And what must be the content of the club's activities? It is the reflection of the politics arising out of the needs of the workers, and finding the answers to those problems, based upon a fight to win the masses for the general policies of our Party.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that the element of routinism in the community club has to be eliminated, just as we propose to eliminate it in the work of the shop club. Whatever the issues within a given community, the issue of peace must be made the primary issue in the life of the club.

Unfortunately, the development of the peace movement thus far has been the task of individuals selected by the County or the section. The role of the clubs has been limited to hearing reports on the international situation and the status of the peace movement in the country. But the club has not made the starting point of its activity the building of peace movements within mass organizations, within apartment houses, within blocks. This basic weakness does not rest on the

shoulders of the club, but on the leadership which conceives the peace movement as one to be built by specialists.

Thus we not only limit the fullest unfolding of the fight for peace, but we also deny to the clubs the opportunity to discuss a host of ideological questions as they arise among the masses with whom they work, and to seek effective answers which will help to build grass roots movements in the various communities.

This Convention must indicate in the clearest possible fashion that the building and extension of the work of the community clubs, the assertion of the vanguard role of the Party within the community, is achievable only to the degree that our Party acts fully on every major question, and in the first place, that question which concerns the lives of the millions of our country and the people of the world—the fight for peace.

Thus, each club within the community must aim to make each mass organization, each apartment house, and each block, a bulwark for peace and anti-fascism. This gives purpose to the club, and creates a desire for activity on the part of the membership. This becomes especially true when we take into account the fact that every plan should include a division of labor, that we recognize that a woman with children may have difficulty in accepting the same responsibilities as an unmarried woman. That a worker in a shop will have greater difficulty than one who goes to school or works in a

department store, etc. The plans should be formulated to enable each individual to contribute a maximum, a maximum which takes into account his special problems.

On the other hand, the formulation of a plan and the division of labor for the community clubs are not in themselves sufficient to get the fullest participation of our membership. There is need to develop popular forms of education through the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, based upon answering problems that arise in the minds of the membership working among the masses. The community clubs should aim to train and develop individual Communists to assume leadership among the masses. Such educational work should be so conducted as to make every member hungry for meetings of his club.

In addition, we have to develop a political check-up which will include definite assistance to the individual in his work. Political check-up means not only checking whether this or that leaflet was distributed—important as that is—or whether an individual attended a meeting of a particular mass organization. But it must include checking how the individual Communist answers questions that agitate masses, helps to bring greater clarity to those with whom he or she works, and thereby activates them on the key issue of peace.

In other words, the club must undertake a political and organizational check-up—to improve the functioning and leadership role of the individual Communist and the

collective as a whole.

We should work in such a way that the community club will put an end to agendas of ten, twelve and fourteen points of an inner organizational character. Such agendas exclude the possibility of improving mass work by a discussion of united-front problems—and by the development of political education among its members and the masses.

This is the decisive question in this period. The way our sections and counties tackle this problem will determine the speedy solution of what appears now to be a most difficult problem—the question of leadership for the small-size club.

We will at the same time be in a position to increase the number of readers for the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, improve attendance at meetings and the dues payments.

Fundamentally the problem of the community club is in the first place a political question requiring the fullest participation of the leadership to help bring about a speedy change. If these problems are tackled resolutely, and if the work of these clubs is oriented in the direction of working-class communities in the first place, we can easily see the relationship of these clubs to the entire policy of our Party, to developing an industrial concentration policy, and to helping unfold the vanguard role of our Party.

A CADRE TRAINING PROGRAM

In the face of the unprecedented

attacks by Big Business reaction, our Party members have fought courageously and won the respect of hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country. Communists have manned picketlines in the face of growing terror. They have led successful united-front actions against the Peekskill mobsters. Mothers with babes in arms have led united-front actions for outlawing the atom bomb and for seating People's China in the U.N. In meeting halls and on street corners, actions have been organized to defend peace, to fight for U.S.-Soviet friendship, to defeat the McCarran Bill, to repeal Taft-Hartley, and stop police killings of Negro men and women. Communists have fought for the people's rights to assemble and voice their opinions.

On every front Communist leaders of groups and clubs, section and County organizations, as well as the leaders of our State and National Committees, have defended courageously the democratic liberties of the American people against the threat of war and fascism and have waged a tireless and vigorous struggle for peace. Our Party has stood up; with the membership rallying as one.

It became necessary to readjust the organization of our Party so that it could more effectively influence and organize the masses of working people. We had to break down the clubs of our Party into smaller ones. This has resulted in a mass expansion of cadres leading the basic Party organization. Hundreds and hundreds of new people

have for the first time assumed posts of leadership at the head of our smaller clubs.

This poses in a new way the need for unfolding a cadre training program.

When we speak of cadre training, we do not have in mind any idea of learning by rote. The first element in a cadre training program must be the active involvement of leadership and membership in the struggles of the working class, and this must be based upon a mastery of our Party's policies. But to master these policies our cadre must be politically and organizationally integrated in the life of the Party, and fully involved in the formulation of policies and in the fight for their execution.

The first element in cadre training and development is the political relationship of leadership to membership, based on the involvement of clubs in the formulation of policy, and on the fight for the execution of those policies through systematic political check-up. This becomes very vital for us today, when a new cadre is blossoming forth.

MERGE NEW AND OLD CADRES

We should realize that we have not succeeded in integrating both the new and the old cadres on all levels of leadership. Let me cite an instance.

Here is a shop worker, a jewel in our Party, a comrade who has spent more than twenty-five years in the movement. She works during the day. She comes from work

directly to the office, eager to participate in discussions and find out what is new, so as to give more effective leadership among the workers in her industry. But a number of policy and tactical questions have already been discussed during the day. When this comrade comes in, there is no disposition to discuss questions already settled. There is no attempt to readjust schedules of the full-timers in order to assure the contribution of this comrade who comes fresh from the shop. This particular situation goes on for more than six weeks.

Finally, the comrade comes to the conclusion that you have to be a "glib" talker or "know someone" in order to be able to break through and make a contribution.

Another case: I received a letter from a woman comrade who appealed to me to intervene. She wrote: "I have no assignment in these days, after 28 years in the movement. I was released from my last assignment and told that I would be given a new task in a few days. Three weeks have passed and I have not heard from the State organization. I hate to be idle in this period."

If we look around, we will find many cadres, who pioneered in the building of our Party, anxious to be active in political and organizational work now. But these comrades have not been placed. Perhaps many such older comrades cannot keep the same pace as the younger ones, but then, a fast pace is not the only element we need today.

The fight to blend the old and the new presents itself as a must for our Party. This valuable capital must be made the most of so that the younger cadres can learn from the old, and the older cadres can learn from the new.

The training of cadres also requires a struggle against Right-opportunist and "Left"-sectarian tendencies. Under the pressure of enemy blows, there will be casualties, and we should not be taken by surprise. But lying at the bottom of such casualties are bourgeois influences which have captured those individuals and shaken their confidence in the working class.

THE PATH OF RENEGACY

Let me give you an example of one such individual, as reported by one comrade, whom we will call "John Daniels."

He is a man who reads Lenin and considers himself a man of principle—a Communist in the true sense. He started out as a worker, a rank-and-file Communist. In the days of open-shop terror, he had to build his union through "underground" groups of workers, starting from scratch in an unorganized field. The trust he worked for was merciless. It maintained a company union and tolerated no independent organization. After many struggles in the early '30's, finally in '36 and '37, with the upsurge of labor in this country, his union arrived. It gained recognition, broke the company union, established itself. Na-

turally, he found himself in the top leadership of the union.

Times were such that many less experienced and conscientious than he were able to build unions because the masses were clamoring for organization. Numerous were the Communists who had built union organization in shop after shop, during that period. Yet, he began to attribute the success of his union to his own genius. Less and less he came to depend on his Party club. He merely took it for granted that in every department where there was a Party member, the interests of the union would be well cared for.

Then, little by little, he began to see the Party club in a new light. He found he could do without the Party members very nicely. Every now and then he needed them when he had to win an election. But otherwise, the club was pretty much of a nuisance. In the old days, he had looked at his comrades and had seen great courage under the most difficult conditions, absolute dependability, native wisdom, self-sacrifice and devotion. He now saw different traits among them. They seemed inarticulate, had little finesse, sometimes didn't agree with him and gave their first loyalty to the defense of the workers' interests. When he wanted advice now, he could get it from "better brains." He believed that to a large extent the Party relied on him for a correct policy in the union. He did not see the need for a mass Party in the industry, because, said he, the union leadership is more capable, more effective in bringing

the policies of the Party to the workers.

In the union he made smart moves. He had a good lawyer. He got gains for the workers without much difficulty and with little struggle. Sometimes, it was not even necessary to mobilize the workers in action to back up the negotiations. The brief was filed, the arguments were made around the table. Things were going fine. He was in the mainstream—not only in the labor movement, but generally. Mrs. Roosevelt invited him to lunch with her now and then. And life was good. There were problems, difficulties, but if he was on the ball and shrewd enough, he could maneuver.

He naturally began to lose Communist perspective. He began to get flabby. Suddenly—boom. The bourgeoisie launched a ferocious drive against the labor movement. Somehow, the smart negotiations no longer worked. They didn't produce. He could get practically nothing from the companies except through a real fight. The reactionary drive supported by Social-Democracy, and other company agents, began to make inroads among the membership. A new alignment took place in the labor movement. Left-center unity was broken. And he not only had to face the attacks of the trusts, but also the C.I.O. leadership—the Murrys and Reuthers. The A.C.T.U. began to play a role and challenge his leadership. He had to deliver the bacon if he was to retain the leadership of the union.

In the meantime, the old mili-

tancy of the union has been dulled. The Party organization has been weakened. The old type of union organizer who built the union when the going was tough has been retrained into a Philadelphia lawyer or has been changed altogether. Now our man faces a difficult problem. What to do?

Mind you, this guy is not merely trying to hold on to his job—at least, not consciously. He is really very much worried about the danger of his own and the Party's isolation from the masses. He must avoid that at all costs. In the early days he knew that workers got nothing without a fight. Though he faced the powerful trust and a company union; though he looked at the workers and saw inertia, disunity and backwardness, yet he knew that "there was gold in them thar hills."

His whole life and work in those early days was based on the fact that he relied on the workers. He called on them to overcome their disunity. He aroused their courage, called for self-sacrifice, knew that eventually it would be forthcoming. He had unbounded faith in eventual victory. In fact, that was what gave him the courage to withstand poverty and starvation, police clubs and injunctions. He was not afraid of any isolation because he considered an attack on him by a labor faker as the greatest tribute. He built his cadres from among the workers. And so long as he had the respect of the workers, he felt he was anything but isolated.

Now, in a new situation, he found a great deal of fat around his

political mid-section. Now, all he sees is the ignorance of the workers, their disunity, their reluctance to lose their jobs. They don't understand. And he doesn't feel he can make them understand. Yet, they expect him to get something for them. He is convinced they are not going to fight. Above all, he sees the power of the enemy. He can see no way of breaking that power to force even the slightest concession. The only way to get concessions is through some deal. But that is no longer easy either. One way is to join the Murrays and Careys and then life will be much easier.

But he is a "man with a conscience." He hates a rat. He therefore sees no way out, has no perspective, and loses his bearings completely. He begins to rationalize.

After all, Socialism is clearly not on the order of the day. So what is wrong with leaving the future to the future and dealing today with the problems of today, giving honest, conscientious leadership to the workers on economic issues and leaving political questions to the Party?

And what is this honest, conscientious leadership? It turns out to be: Get anything you can get without a fight and with no politics. Well, perhaps that will include support to the Marshall Plan, U.S. invasion of Korea, and support for anything Murray orders you to support—because refusal to accept any part of C.I.O. policy means bringing politics into the union.

To console his conscience he needs an elaborate rationalization,

so that he may go down the road of betrayal and still look in the mirror. So he says: The Communist Parties in Europe are really doing a fine job. I am proud of them. But the American Communist Party—that's a horse of a different color. Later, he says: I accept the leadership of the Party on general policy, but on specific tactics and propositions, why that's interference. The Party is trying to run the union for me. Then he adds: I fully recognize the role of the Party, especially on general policy. The trouble is that at present we have a Party leadership that is inexperienced and is steering a wrong course. I am sure the Party will correct itself in time. But in the meantime, I am not going to lose my position of leadership in the union.

Pretty soon he says: What is wrong with making a deal with O'Dwyer on the 10-cent fare if that is the only way to improve the conditions of the workers? After all, the business of the union is to get wage increases. Let the Communist Party or the A.L.P. handle the high cost of living. A day comes when he also says: What is wrong with doing a little Red-baiting. It's only lip-service. Billions of reactionary words are poured into the minds of the workers every day. Will my few words make any difference? There is so much warmongering propaganda that my weak criticism of the Soviet Union couldn't possibly make a difference. Yet it may win the election or save the union.

He now finds that some of his best friends of the earlier days are

cooling off to him. He seeks new allies. To please his new allies he begins to remove from positions of leadership some of his old stalwarts. And for the same reason, it becomes necessary to ease some rank-and-file militants out of their jobs and, in fact, out of the industry. He begins to make peace with Murray. But that's not simple either. How do Mr. Murray and J. Edgar Hoover know this is not another "Communist trick"? Well, there is but one way to convince them—and now he denounces the Party and its work. As a token of good faith, he names a few names. From here on out, the road all the way down is clear.

This is the evolution of a betrayal of working-class trust.

I cite this example because there have been others who deserted the struggle in the past two years. And the lesson to be drawn is the need for a merciless struggle for Communist methods and practices and against every manifestation of opportunism—a merciless struggle to enhance the strength of the workers in the industries, involving them democratically in the struggle of their unions, inspiring them, fighting to create confidence in the working class, not only on the economic front, but in the general democratic struggle. And all this will, at the same time, make it more difficult for the workers to be taken in by charlatans.

FOR A CORRECT CADRE POLICY

This example is important for us

because it raises many serious questions in the fight for a correct cadre policy. Chief among them is the need to guarantee that the closest ties are maintained between leadership and membership, and with the mass of the workers. When these ties are broken, then it is impossible to continue in the position of leadership. For the job of leadership is not alone to guide and direct the work of others—it is also necessary to learn from others—to learn from the members and the workers. Separation from the membership, from the workers, can result only in bureaucracy, in placing oneself above the Party, above the interests of the workers.

Secondly, it is necessary to show the utmost vigilance in noting and checking the corrupting influences of our present-day society on the thinking and living habits of some comrades, to expose these influences in the interest of the comrade himself, but primarily in the interest of the Party as a whole.

Thirdly, it is necessary to eliminate all complacency, a cliquish and "family circle" atmosphere in the relationships between Communists, especially rooting out all elements of false praise and flattery. For as one wise comrade put it, flattery corrupts not only the flattered but the flatterer as well. Of course, we must continue to guard against any annihilating type of criticism which undermines the confidence and abilities of our cadres, which creates subjective personal reactions hindering their growth and development.

Fourthly, it is necessary to apply

criticism and self-criticism in the moulding of Party cadres. Criticism is not to be applied on occasions—on holidays—so to speak. They must be applied daily, as indispensable weapons in the examination of the work of our Party and the individual cadres, with the aim of isolating our errors and weaknesses, and helping comrades overcome their weaknesses and mistakes at the time the mistakes are committed. Only by learning the lessons from mistakes, can our Party cadres develop Communist methods, habits, and qualities of leadership.

Finally, only those leaders can withstand the pressures of enemy ideology, can relentlessly fight against opportunism in practice, who constantly strive to master Marxism-Leninism—the great liberating science of the working class, which alone gives us the confidence in the inevitable victory of the working class, headed by its Communist vanguard. Those who see only backwardness, immobility and disunity in the working class, are bound to ignore the essential truth that it is the working class that possesses all the necessary qualities to bring about the transformation of society, and build Socialism.

In connection with a sound cadre policy, our Party must undertake an intensive campaign of schools, classes and the organization of self-study for the whole of our membership. We need week-end classes, one-week classes, two-week classes, full-time schools of longer duration, with the aim of involving the entire Party. These classes should be based upon a study of our Party's

policies, beginning with this Convention, and should be undertaken to deepen the political line of our Party on the basis of the classics of our movement. This should not be a short-time campaign but a permanent part of the training and development of Communist leadership.

It follows from all that has been said that our Party must boldly promote the development of workers in leadership—giving especial attention to the problems of training Negro and women forces. In this connection, the following thought from *Vladimir Lenin, A Political Biography* (page 81) is important:

"Lenin was extremely incensed by the conservatism of those who hesitated to put workers on the local Party committees. 'I could not remain calm when I was told that there were no workers fit to be members of local committees,' he wrote with indignation. He insisted that these committees should be made more working class in character. Speaking of this at the Congress, he said:

"To put workers on the committees is not only an educational, but also a political task. The workers have a class instinct, and as soon as they gain some political experience, they become consistent Social Democrats [read: Communists]. I would be very much in favor of having on our committees eight workers to every two intellectuals!"

"These ideas became the basis of the organization policy of Bolshevism."

LENINIST STYLE OF WORK

Basic to the realization of the line we formulate here is the need for perfecting our style of work—of mastering the Leninist method of work. This requires a conscious development of Communist zeal as against slovenly routinism in our work. It means further to develop collective work as against individualistic petty-bourgeois habits and methods of work.

The fight for a Leninist style of work also requires the widest development of criticism and self-criticism, as a constant practice in the work of the Party. Such criticism and self-criticism should include a political check-up on our decisions, to help eliminate sloppy methods and liberalism in our work, and assure that decisions are not honored in the breach, but in the observance.

Moreover, this new style of work envisages the fight for the purity of our Party, the weeding out of unhealthy anti-Party elements on the basis of vigilance, which is possible only if the entire Party is involved in this struggle. These are the main elements that must be developed in so far as style of work is concerned.

However, we can realize this only if a struggle is waged against bureaucratic methods of work.

PORTRAIT OF A BUREAUCRAT

I should like to give this Convention the physiognomy of a bureaucrat.

When you try to tell the bureaucrat something, he listens carefully for about fifteen seconds. Then he proceeds to tell *you*. Sometimes, he appears to hear you through with the closest attention. But his mind is really off on more important matters. And when you finish, the bureaucrat neatly puts you in your place by saying of your views: "That's obvious."

The bureaucrat really believes that collective discussions are a waste of time because, since he already knows all the answers anyway, he could really spend his time better in other ways. Sometimes he welcomes discussions—not so much to develop a collective opinion, as to develop a collective audience for his own views. Or, when he listens to others in a discussion, it is not in order to learn from others, but so that he may tell others what is wrong with them. Often, the bureaucrat considers informal discussion an intrusion on his private thoughts and brushes them aside with the proposal that: "We must have a formal discussion of that." To the bureaucrat, collective work is restricted to formal discussion. One thing that escapes him entirely is that the basis of all collective work is the collection of the views of the masses, is collective work with the masses.

Nothing is easier for the bureaucrat than to figure out what the workers should be struggling for. If they don't struggle, when and how he believes they should, he comes to the conclusion either that there is something wrong with the workers, or there is something wrong

with those who are supposed to carry out his directives among the workers, or there is just something wrong with everybody except himself.

He doesn't understand that the fundamental thing is to know what disturbs the workers — to know around what issues the workers are ready to struggle, and that his job is to help them in their struggle, to help them find the channel for expressing their needs and desires. He fails to realize that his job is to learn from the workers not only about the issues, but even the organizational forms that are appropriate. To help infuse that struggle with a Marxist content, not to impose his preconceived concept of the struggle upon them. And through all of these to bring leadership and to win leadership.

The bureaucrat believes that the use of book terminology marks him as a veteran. He does not worry whether anybody understands him when he talks. He is afraid that if he talks to a new member in terms that the new member will understand, he himself might be mistaken for an equal of that new member. It never occurs to him that a new member may know much more than he does about the masses from whom he has long been isolated. And, of course, it never occurs to him that he himself has as much to learn from the masses.

When the bureaucrat speaks or writes for an audience, he is less concerned with how his message may help them, than with how his words impress his audience with his own worth. The bureaucrat re-

sents having his work criticized. If he ever makes mistakes, they are usually minor ones, of little importance. His main mistake, he usually believes, is in not having caught the mistakes of others quickly enough. He believes he is too tolerant of the weaknesses of others and that others are too intolerant of his own weaknesses.

The bureaucrat either ignores organizational problems entirely, or believes the answer to every problem is solely organizational.

Since his problem never gets solved, he will continue to revise his previous organizational answers, ignoring the fact that the political answers must come first, and that these dictate the proper organizational forms.

When the bureaucrat finds himself catapulted among the masses by force of circumstances, he believes he will be instantly recognized as God's gift to the working man. The more insulated he has been from the masses in the past, the more the masses will appreciate the fact that he is coming among them *now*, and the more readily will they greet every word of wisdom issuing from his lips.

Among the masses, the bureaucrat exhibits the same traits as he does in the Party organization. In moments of emergency, he, of course, feels that collective work can only hold up getting things done. In a strike, for example, he feels that meetings of a strike committee, or a Party club, interfere with all the work that has to be done. The time for collective discussion is after the emergency is

over, when there is the leisure to discuss collectively how to have avoided the mistakes that collective work at the time might have prevented.

The bureaucrat in the union sees no grievances among the workers, either because he has none himself, or because the settling of grievances can have an unsettling effect upon his own comfortable routine. He views himself as someone who services the union for a fee, like a doctor, instead of a leader of struggle.

Of course, the perfect bureaucrat whom I have here sketched does not exist. In fact, he could not exist because he would burst from his own self-importance and evaporate into thin air. But little pieces of him, of varying size, do exist in almost everyone of us. And to the extent that they do, they act as a barrier to the realization of the mass line this Convention is formulating.

This means that in the realization of our Party's policies there must be put in practice a method of work in which leadership has direct contact with the basic organs of the Party, and in the first place, the shop club of the Party. The implementation of this line means that every leader of our National Committee, of the State Committees, of County and Section Committees, must develop an intimate relation with, must thoroughly master the problems of, and give concrete guidance to, our comrades working in the shops.

The present period requires that we depend less and less upon full-

time cadre, but give greater weight to volunteer, non-full-time workers on the job, assisting them in their development, helping in their training for leadership among the masses. The point that we are making is the need to develop the maximum initiative from below in our clubs, to enable them to make policy decisions as well as to carry them out.

The underlying principle here involved is indestructible confidence in the working class—in the basic proletarian members and cadres of our Party.

PARTY BUILDING

I should like to conclude my report on some questions of Party building. Usually this question is approached solely from the angle of recruiting. The question of the retention of members through a consistent fight for their fullest integration and involvement in the life of the Party is not regarded in practice as a daily problem whose solution is vital to improving the content of our Party's work. Too often, recruiting becomes a question of a yearly drive. Integration becomes a question associated only with our yearly registration. I believe that recruiting and integration must become daily, weekly, monthly features of the work of the Party.

The pre-Convention discussion was very rich in this respect.

Many of the old, unsolved problems which were with us in the past, now become more aggravated. The attacks against us made it nec-

essary to take steps to guarantee more effective functioning under any and all circumstances. But it was precisely the steps taken by our Party which gave rise to a widespread discussion and brought these unsolved problems to the attention of the Party as a whole through the medium of the pre-Convention discussion.

The question posed was, what is our concept of Communist membership today. This discussion was stimulated by Comrade Davidow who raised the question of standards for Communist membership. He posed some very real problems pressing for solution. His conclusions from that statement, in our judgment, were incorrect. But it should be stated that such views are not those of Comrade Davidow alone. I believe we will agree that such thoughts are widespread in every district, county, section and club. In self-criticism we are duty bound to say that the National Organization Department and the National Committee is likewise involved. For is it not true that if this problem presents itself at this moment in this very sharp form, it is indicative of weaknesses which flow out of a failure to provide an answer to this question.

In one district there was a large club in a steel plant. Out of the total membership the conclusion was drawn that only 9 percent were eligible for registration, with a possibility of a 4 or 5 percent more. The remaining 86 percent were to be dropped. In this category were to be found what is usually regarded as the inactive

members. In one area only 5 percent of the rubber workers were to be registered. In another plant only one percent of the members were to be registered. The slowness of our registration flows basically from this unsound and non-Communist approach to membership in our Party. The process of lopping-off members becomes the dominant approach, rather than a struggle to integrate every member, active or inactive, into the life of the Party.

The correct approach is indicated by the work of a section in an auto plant where 75 percent of the members have been registered to date with the aim to reach at least 80 to 82 percent.

The lopping-off approach reduces our working class composition in general and our Negro workers in particular. Precisely at the moment when we lay such emphasis on the need further to increase our working-class composition through the building of shop clubs and to make the shop *the basis* of the Party organization, we find an opposite tendency taking place in practice.

We must speak clearly and definitively on this question. Not only is the crassest form of bureaucracy expressed in this incorrect approach to membership, but white chauvinism as well. More, what we have here is an underestimation of the basic character of our Party, as a working-class Party, based upon and rooted within the working class.

This incorrect approach to membership arises from certain wrong concepts. First, is the concept that a maximum registration endangers the security of the Party organiza-

tion. This is, of course, false. It is not maximum registration which endangers the security of the Party but the failure to conduct an ideological campaign within the Party for increased vigilance to expose spies, stool-pigeons, provocateurs that may have penetrated our ranks. In addition to the readjustment of the Party organization, along lines necessary to safeguard the membership, the best security for Communists is their ties with the masses. It is a false view to conceive of security in a vacuum as being unrelated to the need of extending our intimate connections with the masses. The lopping-off process, if persisted in, could indeed become extremely dangerous for our Party, and make more difficult its resolute defense of the peace and well-being of our people.

Second, this situation arises because there existed, and still exists, the view that our Party will be "outlawed anyway." This fatalism expresses a lack of confidence in the working class, and other democratic forces, who are now beginning to see the relationship between the attacks on our Party and democracy in general. The perspective of a smaller Party is not one of struggle but of giving in under pressures. And even if, for the sake of argument, it was granted that the Party would be outlawed in industry, as the McCarran act suggests, can one draw the conclusion that our Party should become smaller and smaller, that there should be no recruiting? If this line is accepted then it would mean that our Party would cease to exist altogether because the per-

spective ahead is one of sharpening struggle. Those who hold the view of an elite Party because of sharpening struggle fail to see the forest for the trees. The most effective answer to this entire problem is to be found in the article of Comrade Ben Davis, from Brooklyn (Pre-Convention Bulletin No. 5). I propose that the comrades read this article again since it is so fundamentally sound. It poses sharply the question of struggle against liquidationism in our political and organizational practices. And this is the essence of the problem.

In this connection I should like to propose that this Convention recognize that the registration of the Party must be given new vitality, in fact must begin with this Convention, as the practical conclusion from our efforts to root out liquidationism. I should like to propose that we undertake to

complete the registration by the middle of February, by the time of the celebration of Comrade Foster's 70th Birthday.

We are living in a period in which our class and people will write some of the most glorious pages in the history of our country in the fight for democracy and peace. They will do it because our Party, strengthened politically, ideologically and organizationally, will fulfill its vanguard role. We are under fire; we are under the sharpest attack. But not danger alone looms ahead. New opportunities open up for the forces of peace and democracy. The guarantee for the realization of our people's aspirations depend upon us, upon our Party, the leader and organizer of united-front struggles against fascism and war, the leader of the onward march of our working class to Socialism.

The Main Direction of the Party's Trade-Union Work

by John Williamson

I. THE PRESENT SITUATION AND TASKS IN THE PARTY'S TRADE-UNION WORK

THE PROBLEM that we must grapple with, and to which this report will direct itself, is projected clearly in our Draft Resolution:

"The key to changing the relationship of forces within the country in favor of peace, democracy and economic security, is to change the relationship of forces within the working class and its organized labor movement."

The present political and economic situation in the country has been analyzed in detail in the main report of Comrade Hall. In the very center of our deliberations is the struggle to win the workers and their unions for a peace policy that is in the interests of our country and people.

The drive of American imperialism toward war and fascist reaction, in its current offensive against the conditions and rights of American workers, is born of desperation. If the American workers are to defend their living standards, preserve their unions as fighting organizations and maintain democratic rights in the nation,

they must fulfill their obligation, to themselves and the people of the world, by leading in the struggle to check and defeat the war-mad atom-bomb adventurers of Wall Street and Washington.

EMERGENCY DECREE THREATENS UNIONS

Of particular significance to the workers and trade unionists of our country was the President's Emergency Proclamation, and the subsequent orders issued by many government boards. These have already been adequately described. Together they aim at speeding up the war drive and intimidating the home front into full support of Wall Street's war moves.

In relation to the nation's economy and industries, Truman is functioning as a virtual dictator, with G.E.'s Charles Wilson appointed as Director of Defense Mobilization, aided by an army of Wall Street bigwigs. In their hands is complete control over production goals, hours of work, wages, prices, strikes and other questions affecting the lives of the workers.

This Emergency Proclamation is a dagger aimed directly at the workers and their trade unions. Even though the Proclamation is still in

its early days, everything we said in our National Committee statement on December 16 is unfolding. That it is aimed at preventing, and if necessary breaking strikes, we see from the railroad switchmen's experience. That it will mean a wage freeze—and in effect a wage cut—is seen in what has already happened to one million auto workers, despite Reuther's claims to the contrary. That it is intended to result in a lengthening of the work-week without overtime pay, is seen from what is being hinted and written about—though the warmakers feel they must still better prepare the ground for this move. That it is intended to result in unprecedented speed-up is blatantly proclaimed by the Wage Stabilization Board on which are found such trade-union leaders as Rieve, Bates and Walker. And all this in only the first 10 days. This is but the omen of what lies ahead for the workers and trade unions.

Furthermore, the Emergency Proclamation will be used to try to destroy the union shop steward system, to increase the attacks upon the Negro people and to whip up a further hysteria against all progressives, all fighters for peace, and above all—the Communists. While the Alsop brothers claim that this is a policy that combines guns and butter, Mr. W. Randolph Burgess, National City Bank chairman, says, "In the early days of World War II, guns could be added to butter. We could have them both at the same time. Today . . . we shall have to substitute arms production

for other kinds of production." And Army Secretary Pace says, Americans "might have to accept for an indefinite period, a lower standard of living, higher taxes . . . and continuous individual sacrifices."

That prosecution of trade unions and jailing of their leaders is no idle speculation is seen by the Railroad Switchmen's strike. This strike involved skilled workers, generally considered conservative. Unfortunately there are no Left leaders among them. Yet, Truman denounced them while saying nothing about the operators. Rank-and-file leaders were brought before the Court for contempt. And Big Business writer David Lawrence called for more drastic action against them. "The moment there is action in concert, a conspiracy emerges which isn't protected by the Constitution," he writes, and then asks, "Do the persons who . . . stopped train service . . . now go scot free," or, "will the Department of Justice . . . ask for the indictment of the guilty parties?"

Of major help to the warmakers in carrying out their program and the Emergency Proclamation are the labor reformist and Social-Democratic leaders of labor.

LABOR LIEUTENANTS OF IMPERIALISM

In the past couple of years a new phenomenon has occurred. Many U.S. Embassies have "Labor Attaches," who are usually Social-Democrats. In the E.C.A. and other government apparatuses abroad,

scores of labor leaders are attached as "advisors." And both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. themselves have created "International Departments" with numerous labor representatives, backed by appropriations of millions of dollars, running all over Western Europe, Asia and Latin America with the sole aim to split the existing trade unions, and enlist splinter groups in support of U.S. foreign policy. What Justice Douglas called for in the Portland C.I.O. Convention several years ago is now being fulfilled. The job of the labor reformists at home is to try, through their special "labor" approach and demagoguery, to enlist the workers behind the war program; to guarantee uninterrupted production (and profits) while preventing strikes; to agree to wage freezes. Months ago we Communists sounded the alarm about Reuther's five-year contracts, which he is now signing everywhere without consultation with the workers or local unions. These are war contracts—to tie the workers down for the "duration"—to freeze wages and in effect to prevent the right to strike.

William Green has already pledged full support to all aspects of the Emergency Proclamation including its "no strike" feature. This is in accord with the decisions of the Houston convention of the A. F. of L. which echoed in every detail the war-making policies of Washington. Phil Murray at the C.I.O. convention fully approved the war drive, although he and Reuther kept demanding they could do the job of selling Wall Street's

war for world domination better if given government posts. Most brazen of all the Social-Democratic labor leaders is Dubinsky. At the last convention of the I.L.G.W.U., everything was geared to Wall Street's foreign policy and the convention was one continuous flow of anti-Soviet slanders. In true jingo spirit, the Dubinsky leadership said: "In relation to this conflict, all other domestic and foreign issues come second."

Clearly, these trade-union bureaucrats are a part of the war machine. They still whimper that they are only "labor lieutenants" instead of being "labor generals."

Despite all this, the thing that stands out today is the change that is taking place in the thinking of the workers on the issues of peace or war. Let us not make a mistake and conclude that this is already a fundamental change. Such a change will depend on our ability to influence decisive sections of workers.

But to get at the root of the problem let us see what is new.

ECONOMIC TASKS AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

Most important is the reaction of workers in hundreds of shops to Truman's announcement on November 30 about his readiness to drop the A-bomb. The reactionary pro-war attitude of the top trade-union leaders did not yet permit this reaction to find official expression. But in hundreds of shops, on that day, we have reports of workers' discussions, of resolutions and

wires, of an overnight coming together of workers previously separated politically. There were also joint statements of local union officials from Left and Right-led Internationals.

The workers in the shops reacted as they did against Truman's threat to use the A-bomb primarily because the bourgeois myth of American superiority in men and arms has received a terrific setback in Korea; because the claim that others would do the fighting for the Americans is proving itself to be a cruel hoax; and because the A-bomb, a cruel weapon of mass annihilation, is neither a magic, nor any longer a secret, weapon. The workers are becoming acutely conscious of the issue of peace. With our help, the workers and trade unionists will also see the real meaning of the "guns-not-butter" war economy, how it will affect their wages and their right to strike.

Further, we must never lose sight of such new developments as illustrated by the railroad switchmen, conservatives and relatively well-paid workers, who demonstrated their determination to strike for their demands at this given moment; or the arch-conservative telephone workers, who recently went on strike and conducted some militant battles; and the many stoppages in departments and mills of the steel industry. We must also keep our eye on the coal miners whose contract will soon terminate. There can be no doubt that the workers are ready to struggle.

Likewise, today, there exists a

new opportunity to help the workers see and understand that their struggle against the economic consequences of the war and war economy cannot be separated from their struggle for a sound peace policy. True, there are tactical questions of how most effectively to involve the greatest number of workers in struggle. But, we must reject the theory of stages. Today the very worker who is opposed to the wage freeze and increased taxes is also beginning to express his great concern about Truman's threat to drop the A-bomb. What is demanded from us today, above all else, is to have the greatest confidence in the ability of the workers to understand the relations between the issue of peace and the economic effects of the war economy, and to find the forms of developing such struggles.

In helping to initiate and organize the struggles against the consequences of the war economy, we must guard against a danger already expressed by progressive forces in one industry, of formulating demands and tasks that reflect an attempt to accommodate the workers to the war economy, instead of a relentless struggle against it. The particular example I want to cite has to do with taxation, but the same approach could arise on many other issues. We all know the extreme discontent over the 20 percent increase in taxes, and now the outlook is for further increases. Instead of organizing this discontent to develop a vigorous struggle against all war taxes, a leaflet I have in front of me proposes: "Tax

increases to be included in B.L.S. Index Escalator, meaning supplementary wage increases for every tax increase."

Clearly, such an orientation is an accommodation to the war economy. It undertakes to divert the legitimate indignation and opposition to war taxes into its opposite. It also creates illusions in the escalator clause theory, which theory, we know, is contrary to the basic interests of the workers since it limits wage raises to price increases, and thus denies the workers the right to fight for improved working conditions.

The workers must fight vigorously against all the consequences of the Emergency Proclamation and the subsequent decrees. Each issue—wage freeze, longer hours, increased taxation, denial of right to strike, and speed-up—must be the basis of organized resistance on the part of the workers.

A new factor that must also be noted, is that in the period ahead, hundreds of thousands of women will be entering industry. Their contribution to the common struggles of the workers against the monopolies will be very much affected by the attitude of the men workers and the trade unions toward them. In unionizing them, we must fight against notions that they are in industry only temporarily, or that they threaten the jobs or wage standards of the men. On the basis of fighting for equal pay for women workers and for their full integration into the life and leadership of the trade unions, these women can and will become an important mili-

tant sector of the labor movement.

NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR UNITED LABOR ACTION

What is *new* in the present situation—and I have just singled out a few things—opens up the possibility of bringing about a fundamental change in the thinking of the workers regarding the issue of peace. With this in mind let me emphasize the following tasks:

First is winning the workers and the labor movement to become the cornerstone of the growing movement for peace—which expresses itself today through numerous organizational forms. While the struggles previously outlined against the consequences of the war economy and controls, are an integral part of the struggle for peace, nevertheless it is necessary and possible to realize effective expressions of opinion, and a movement of labor, for a correct peace policy, with the issue of peace standing on its own feet—as an issue that can itself arouse, activate and unite large numbers of workers.

While our Party will fight for its full and integrated peace program adopted at this Convention, the progressive forces in all trade unions, rank-and-file members and those in positions of leadership, have a duty and obligation to fight everywhere for the support of workers, of shop stewards, shop committees, local unions, District Councils, and even entire Internationals, around an immediate program of action for peace based on partial demands.

It seems to us that now is the most decisive time to build and extend that movement of trade unionists known as the Labor Conference for Peace. It should find its own organizational forms, striving to establish committees on a city-wide scale to reach workers in shops and local unions with its up-to-the-minute reactions, interpretations and action proposals for all workers and the labor movement.

Secondly, after establishing the main line and approach to activity among the workers, irrespective of what union or industry they are in, the key to activating the maximum number is through proper forms of united labor action.

This means that emphasis in the main should be on establishing united-front action on a shop and local union level, and extending it from there to a city or national level.

United labor action can express itself in a hundred different ways, around the most simple issue in a department or shop, or more complex issues on a broader scale.

Instead of making united labor action appear complex, we should remember that on a shop level it is the simple act of all or a majority of workers agreeing on a single issue or demand, even though they disagree on many other things. But gradually, there will be other issues around which agreement can be established, and, in a natural way, the single issues will develop into a program. The unity of workers in enough single departments or shops can have a terrific impact in a local union meeting or local

election. The united-front activities, and the success of the progressives in the local union election of the Detroit Ford local, is one of several examples of such a development.

Solidarity actions, in support of other workers in struggle, is an issue which can be readily understood. The solidarity support to the striking coal miners was a vivid example, and the workers learned many lessons. The same thing should have been done in other strikes, such as Chrysler, and, more recently, the telephone workers and the switchmen.

A recent example of real united labor action was the strike of the Mine, Mill and Smelter workers in Tacoma, Washington. In an iron smelter works a struggle developed when the company tried to prevent workers from collecting signatures on the Stockholm Peace petition. This coincided with the Union's demand for a 30-cent wage increase. A lockout by the company resulted. The story of the united labor action developed is best told by a worker in the plant who wrote to the *People's World* as follows about ". . . the thrilling display of unity which came from more than a score of the conservative-led A.F.L. unions in Tacoma, including the Carpenters and the A.F.L. Central Labor Council. The workers saw that our fight against \$1.35 an hour was their fight. And they responded. But it must be pointed out that this did not come automatically. When the subject of going to the labor movement was brought up even

some progressive leaders said, 'it won't do any good.'

"But the members said nuts to any suggestion that we stay in our shell and stew in our own juice. We quickly found out that anyone can talk about labor unity but you have to give it a chance to work. For example, we were distributing outside the I.L.A. (A.F.L. International Longshoremen's Association) hiring hall when the workers told us to come up and use the mike.

"So we did and talked to about 400 men and got a swell welcome. The I.L.A. was one of the many A.F.L. locals who heard our story and came through with help.

"And it must also be pointed out that the A.F.L. longshoremen refused to work ore boats at the smelter when we were locked out and A.F.L. building tradesmen downed their tools."

United labor action is also a key in defeating the efforts of corporations to undermine the conditions of the workers, where two or more unions exist and have separate contracts. Graphic examples of this are the electrical and farm equipment industries. Too often, factional considerations and well-earned hatred of the Right-wing leaders, because of their raiding and splitting, blind the progressive leaders to the need of united labor action of all workers against the corporations.

In certain areas of the country there have been rich experiences in the bold application of a united-front tactic that unites the workers in A.F. of L., C.I.O. and Independent unions, Right and Left-led, in

common action. Splendid examples of real united labor action can be cited from Dayton, Ohio, Idaho, California and other places, if time but permitted.

Comrades, if the issues projected in this section of the report are grasped, Communists can help raise the fighting caliber of the labor movement, and help to bring about a change in the relationship of forces within the country, and within the organized labor movement, in favor of peace, democracy and security.

II. THE MAIN DIRECTION OF OUR TRADE-UNION WORK

Today, the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. leadership, actively in the camp of the Truman Administration and subordinating every interest of the workers to the war plans of U.S. imperialism, are out to destroy even those forms of struggles for which the American workers have been known for years. This is graphically seen in the following developments:

a) The key demands of the workers are frequently scuttled, or pared down to nothing, and the ability of the workers to struggle is systematically curtailed.

b) When workers do break through the walls designed to prevent struggles, (as is happening with the growth of unauthorized strikes or "sick leaves" in railroad, auto, steel, coal and others the government then intervenes with its Taft-Hartley Act, injunctions, charges of conspiracy, etc.

c) There is a systematic freezing out of the rank and file from real

participation in the life and affairs of the unions and a continuous curtailment of inner union democracy.

d) Instead of the Negro-labor alliance which had begun to grow in the late '30's, there is now substituted an alliance of Social-Democratic trade-union leaders with Negro-reformist leaders, in order to prevent an alliance based on struggle of the Negro and white workers in the localities.

e) There is a growing tie-up of trade-union leaders with government boards and committees, as well as with the politicians of both old parties, and their corruption.

f) Finally, there is a growth of Red-baiting and anti-Communist clauses, expulsions, and splits; the role of the A.C.T.U. and the Catholic Church hierarchy is increasing; and the trade-union bureaucrats at times even play the role of finger-men and policemen against Left-wingers inside labor's ranks.

With these developments, and under this type of leadership and policies, the entire trade-union movement is in danger of being reduced in its ability and effectiveness to a condition like that of the '20s. This need not be. By effective work on our part we can help to prevent this.

DANGEROUS TENDENCIES IN UNIONS

These tendencies affect all unions, at all levels, whether reformist or progressive-led. The Reuthers, Murrays, Greens and Dubinskys, as agents of the Administration, pursue a conscious policy to tie the

workers to Wall Street's war policies. Progressives in local unions in auto, steel, longshore, railroad and others, or those in leadership of entire Internationals, reflect the impact of the organized barrage of reaction, including ideological pressures, fear of reactionary legislation and jailings, and a certain softening up that arises from inadequate ties with their own members, and the corrupting effects of high salaries.

The effects of this dangerous development are reflected in tendencies to avoid economic struggles. In auto, steel, garment, teamsters and other industries, the top leaders achieve this by long-term contracts, no-strike pledges, company security clauses and systems of umpires and arbitration. But some progressives in local leadership in these same industries, as well as in some progressive-led Internationals, often hesitate to fight vigorously for the workers' demands, rush to sign unsatisfactory contracts in order to avoid strikes, and attempt to convince the workers that this is not the time for job action. In one case I have in mind, we have the tendency to veer away from class struggle unionism toward "respectability."

A forceful example of this is a letter someone sent me recently. This letter is signed by an official of a Left-led union addressed to the membership. In this letter you find such class collaboration gems as: This union "is justifiably proud that responsibility and maturity as an organization is underscored by its long history of peaceful adjustment of over 98 percent of all dis-

putes between our union and their employers." Further, the letter says, "Were management to join us in such an approach, the result would be an era of prosperity and stability during which management would enjoy immense benefits resulting from the enhanced morale of the employees."

Another example of the effects of this development is the curtailment of trade-union democracy. In Right-led internationals this is seen in the signing of agreements without consulting the workers by the top leaders of such unions as auto, steel, teamsters, textile, I.L.A., garment, etc.; in the steady chipping away of the shop steward system; by expulsion for political differences; single slate elections; increase in the number of appointees and a decline in elected officials; lengthening of the term of office and increasing wages for the officialdom. But progressive leaders in locals of these Internationals themselves sometime fall victim to some of these practices, or do not vigorously enough fight against them. In progressive-led Internationals there has been a growing tendency to argue that you can't take a stand on so-called controversial issues unless there is unanimity, or that the situation today demands everything must be cleared with the top officials before local unions can take a stand or participate in struggles on vital issues. Sometimes the fundamental issue of trade-union democracy is utilized by some progressive leaders as a cover-up for the fact that they themselves do not project a correct stand and fight for it.

Still another example is the absence of a real struggle for Negro rights. In too many unions, the central struggle for jobs and for social, political and economic equality for the Negro workers in each industry and union has been replaced by lip-service to a civil rights program of the Negro people in general. There still remain A.F. of L. unions which exclude Negro workers by constitutional provision. In contrast, there are a growing number of local unions in reformist-led trade unions (steel, auto, packing, rubber and others), where this issue has been successfully fought out and won.

While some progress has been made in nearly every progressive-led union in the fight for jobs and for upgrading of Negro workers, in the establishment of Anti-Discrimination Committees, in the promotion, election and integration of Negro workers to posts of union leadership—this task is far from complete. Whatever beginnings have been made must be greatly expanded, with the progressive-led unions standing out as the champions of the interests of the workers. There is as yet no recognition of the role the progressive-led unions must play in support of the Negro people's liberation movement by boldly moving into the South in an organizing drive. At the root of this entire problem is the continuation of deep-rooted white chauvinism and the failure to recognize the *national* aspects of the Negro question.

And finally, a further example of this dangerous development, is the attitude toward united labor action.

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Clearly, Green, Murray, Reuther and Dubinsky rejected united labor action that will involve the millions of trade-union members in struggle against the corporations and the anti-labor acts of the government. But what they fear most of all are struggles on the part of their members.

But even some progressives in reformist-led unions hold back from projecting and fighting for united labor action. The absence of any real support from locals of reformist-led Internationals, when the expulsions from the C.I.O. were taking place, is indicative of this. Even the progressive-led Internationals, and their leaders, too often underestimate the power of united labor action and confuse it with unity with top leaders. They pass up excellent opportunities to state their position to the millions of trade unionists and to propose united action. This is true with regard to innumerable wage movements, strikes and national events such as the mutual aid pact proposal of Lewis, or the Truman Emergency Proclamation. It is likewise seen in the recent failure of the Washington Conference, called by a number of progressive trade union leaders, to make an appeal to the rest of the labor movement for united action.

As a result of the over-all offensive of Big Business and the labor lieutenants, some progressive forces in the unions have adopted a defensive position. Some, who claim to be progressive, consider that a militant program would inevitably narrow down their appeal, or lead

to isolation from the rank and file. Nothing could be further from the facts, if the program grows out of the conditions and needs of the workers, and is adopted by them. It is the failure of some progressives to project and fight for a militant program that results in their defeat and isolation. There are innumerable examples where progressives in auto, steel, packing, maritime, building trades, etc., have maintained their influence, strength and leadership in local unions, and among large sections of workers in their industry. There are the examples of entire Internationals, under progressive leadership, maintaining themselves on the basis of a militant policy, despite the most severe attack, and refusing to knuckle under to the bosses, the government, the C.I.O. or A.F. of L. top leaders.

The great mass of the rank and file, when given proper leadership, retain their inherent trade union militancy and fighting characteristics. But militant leadership is a fundamental necessity. This demands above all that there be crystallized a conscious progressive force in each union irrespective of the organizational forms it may adopt, in support of a class struggle program which will represent and advance the interests of every trade unionist. Such a program will obviously not be identical with the program of the Communist Party. It should, however, represent a sharp break with the proclaimed and practiced policies of the reformist and Social-Democratic labor leaders.

The formulation and adoption of such a program belong to those whose interests it represents — the recognized, as well as the potential, Left and progressive forces, who believe in class-struggle as against class-collaboration unionism. They are plentiful—and include not only the progressive-led Internationals, but even more important, large numbers of active rank-and-filers, shop stewards and local-union officials among the 14 million members of Right-led trade unions, especially in auto, steel, maritime, coal, machine, packing, teamsters, railroad, rubber and many others.

PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE

Let me indicate the elements of such a program of struggle in our country:

1. Restore the traditional militancy of American trade unionism as last seen on a national scale in the days of 1936-38; enforce and secure the workers' demands by the organized strength and right to strike of the workers; challenge government-approved unionism and Taft-Hartley engineered N.L.R.B. elections; abolition of company security clauses in contracts and no long-term contracts; trade union leaders to depend on the rank and file and not on government boards and Big Trust politicians.

2. For increased wages and constant improvement in the standard of living of all workers; a curb to all inflation tendencies; the 30-hour week as the next immediate goal of American trade unionism.

3. No curbs on full trade-union democracy; equal rights to all members, irrespective of race, color, political beliefs or affiliations; strengthening of the shop steward system.

4. Organize the remaining millions of unorganized with special attention to the South and the agricultural workers.

5. For Negro-white unity; full equality for the Negro workers in industry and trade unions; leadership by labor of the struggle for full rights of the Negro people.

6. Keep America at peace on the basis of the possibility of the co-existence of the two world systems; against all the consequences to labor of war and the war economy—the wage freeze, increased taxation, longer hours, no-strike laws, etc.

7. For repeal of all anti-labor legislation — especially the Taft-Hartley Act, the Magnusson, McCarran and Smith Acts.

8. For a third party sponsored by the labor movement; for labor candidates independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

9. For united labor action rooted in shops and local unions; for solidarity support in all strikes; for international labor solidarity with workers and trade unions of all countries.

The reappearance of the trade-union magazine, *March of Labor*, will in no small way contribute toward crystallizing this Left-progressive force or current in the trade-union movement. The magazine can serve as the ideological center of all these forces in the trade unions, regardless of organi-

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national affiliations. Its program, as outlined in the magazine's declaration of principles, can be characterized as a consistently progressive and militant position on all basic questions facing the American working class.

In view of the sharp turn to the Right of the trade union bureaucracy, the magazine no doubt will become more and more a guide to action among progressive unionists, especially in the mass production industries, in the fight for peace, economic benefits, independent political action, for Negro rights in industry and within the unions, for trade-union democracy and other basic issues.

Because it fills a great need, *March of Labor* has already met with a warm response in those cities and unions where it is being actively circulated. The magazine which re-appeared in August, I am told, already has reached a circulation of close to 18,000. We must sharply criticize many of our own organizations that have failed so far to mobilize Communist trade unionists for all-out support to this very important magazine. This is particularly true of our comrades in auto, steel, electrical and a number of other important industries.

THE DECISIVE CHARACTER OF OUR WORK

What should be the main direction of our trade-union work? Where should we strive to rally new and decisive support to a policy of militant unionism? The Draft Resolution has given this answer clearly and sharply.

The Draft Resolution not only places in a new way the decisive character of Party work among the workers in Right-led unions, but it says that "the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the organized workers are in the A.F. of L., C.I.O. and independent Right-led unions . . . must determine the main direction of all of the Party's work, and especially its trade-union and concentration work."

What are the decisive facts regarding the working-class movement which bring us to this conclusion as to the main direction of our Party's trade union work? They are the following:

1. Of the 15 million trade unionists, all but 650,000 are affiliated to 195 Right-led Internationals. It might be of interest to you to know that 32 of these Right-led Internationals—23 in A.F. of L., 7 in C.I.O. and 2 Independents, have a total of 10½ million members. There are in fact 6 Internationals with from one-half-a-million to a million members in each, which in themselves account for 5 million members. These are the United Auto Workers and United Steelworkers of America of the C.I.O.; the International Association of Machinists; the Teamsters and Carpenters of the A. F. of L.; and the United Mine Workers of America.

The largest Federation is the A.F. of L. with some 7 million members. In the South there are more workers organized in the A.F. of L. than in the C.I.O. Many cities in the North have more A.F. of L. members than C.I.O. The workers in the basic industries, aside from

part of the electrical workers, West Coast longshoremens, metal miners and smelter workers, are all members of Right-led Internationals. The overwhelming majority of these workers are semi-skilled and unskilled.

2. These Right-led trade unions exercise a great influence in determining the course, thinking and activity of millions of workers—including the not insignificant role of C.I.O.-P.A.C. and the A. F. of L. L.L.P.E. in election campaigns.

3. To guarantee that the working class will give effective leadership to the people's struggles for peace, against fascist reaction, and for Negro rights, the lead must come from the workers in the basic industries and these mass unions.

Therefore, the main direction of our trade-union work, must be among the members of the reformist-led unions. The Party itself must have its main membership in these industries and adopt a concentration policy that will establish strong Party bases in the large shops and mills, mines, docks and ships in basic industry. The "big brains" of the American bourgeoisie and the F.B.I. try to make the people believe that our concentration policy has some sinister motives—and they spew forth the type of slander, inventions and outright lies, which appeared in papers recently throughout the country. These ignoramuses would not know that over 40 years ago, in 1910, Lenin wrote:

"Marxism is more easily, more quickly, more fully and firmly

mastered by the working class and its ideologists in conditions of the greatest development of big industry."

It is because our Party is the Party of the American working class that the main direction of its work must be first of all among the millions of workers in basic industry, organized in the Right-led unions.

In saying this we have a responsibility to examine why the oft-repeated, correct stress on the importance of work among A.F. of L. workers was not carried out more satisfactorily up to now. This is not just a question of neglect. Rather, we must trace this shortcoming to political reasons, to the penetration into our ranks of such wrong ideas as:

1. That workers in the A.F. of L. are all aristocrats of labor—although the fact is that the majority are either semi-skilled or unskilled workers.

2. Lack of confidence in the willingness or ability of workers of Right-led unions to struggle — although there are numerous examples to the contrary.

3. The idea that it is "impossible" to work in Right-led unions because of the entrenched bureaucracy, lack of democracy and expulsion policy—although, where proper leadership has been given, workers have been won around numerous issues.

Clearly, all these reasons are invalid. Even when the main direction and effort of our work was not in the Right-led unions, there were experiences in the U.A.W., U.S.A.

I.W.A., Carpenters, I.L.A., Painters, Food and Packing workers, which indicate, that with proper leadership, there are great possibilities of moving workers in Right-led unions into action in support of class-struggle trade-union policies.

CO-ORDINATION OF PROGRESSIVE UNIONS

In the pre-Convention discussion there has been considerable debate around certain formulations in the Draft Resolution with reference to work in progressive-led unions. While the loose formulations in the Draft Resolution, which could lead to an equation of the class role of our Party with the role of such trade unions must be corrected, the emphasis that these unions, by their class-struggle program and actions, shall distinguish themselves from the reformist-led unions and thus set an example to all workers, is absolutely sound.

These progressive-led trade unions have adopted a correct position against establishing a third federation of labor. But in our opinion they have hurt their own interests by moving so slowly and cautiously in establishing effective coordination on a national level. While such coordination is more advanced locally, the weakness on top has hurt this development.

The recent Washington Conference sponsored by these unions, while revealing some basic weaknesses, including weaknesses of leadership, nevertheless was a step forward, and if followed up ener-

getically and consistently, can bring about real coordination on a national level.

We cannot allow to go unchallenged ideas that "the Left-led unions have no future." To do so would undermine our main work in the Right-led unions.

To fulfill successfully this line of the Resolution which, I am sure, will be adopted by this Convention, it is necessary that we understand and apply a number of basic concepts, namely:

- The Party must at all times bring forward and explain to the workers its independent political position, and win increasing numbers to support and defend its policies, but at the same time our members are duty bound to join with broader sections of the workers in establishing mass organizations that serve their interests—such as the Negro-Labor Councils, the Labor Conference for Peace, the Civil Rights Congress and others.

- Our membership should join with the workers in organizing rank-and-file or progressive movements inside the reformist-led trade unions, irrespective of organizational forms.

- The Party, and each member, must become fully acquainted with all aspects of the united-front tactic—and how to project and realize united labor action of the workers.

- The Party must guarantee that all its activities are consciously orientated to the workers in basic industries. Above all, this means placing on the same rails both trade union and concentration work, moving both with effective coordi-

nation in one direction.

• We must strive to root our Party especially among the most exploited and oppressed sections of the workers in the shops and industries.

On three of these questions I would like to make some additional comments.

1. The supporters of a Left or militant trade-union program in the reformist-led trade unions will have to find forms of uniting within each industry. In some unions, regularly established rank-and-file organizations function, and are, in fact, recognized. In others, loose movements in support of certain demands or a more rounded-out program are the forms of the rank-and-file movement. In still others, certain local unions themselves, because they adhere to a fighting program and have wide support among broad sections of the rank-and-file, can become a rallying center for other forces within the industry.

Election campaigns and specific candidates in local unions can become a common ground for united actions of all progressive forces, whether in Right or Left-led unions.

Some Communist and even Left-wingers want to keep such rank-and-file movements limited to a narrow group of selected workers, already known over long years. This is wrong. The rank and file movements should be broad, attracting everyone, irrespective of past allegiances or present political affiliation, who is ready to support and struggle for its program.

At times when the rank-and-file movement has an opportunity to

enter into broader united-front actions on single issues with other forces, or when a coalition is formed in a local union election campaign, a typical argument against such a move is—why give these guys credit among the workers which they will take advantage of later. This is a narrow sectarian argument. Sometimes the coalition is the only way to move decisive sections of the membership. If such a coalition or united-front action is based upon a program that represents and advances the interests of the workers, then there need be no fear of some single force getting special credit among the workers.

Communists active in such rank-and-file movements within trade unions, as well as those in progressive movements outside that appeal for support to unionists, should never try to impose upon such movements the full immediate program of the Party on any given issue or development. To do so will narrow down the support such rank-and-file movements can rally at the given moment. This also tends to become a substitute for effective independent work by the Party on its own program.

2. We see from field reports that the movement to organize Negro Labor Councils has grown and that they now exist in 8 or 9 cities. These Councils are a very important form of building the alliance between labor and the developing Negro people's liberation movement.

In the pre-Convention discussion some comrades indicated that many Negro workers have suggested a different organizational form for

these Councils, a form which would not limit them merely to labor union affiliations, but which would organize the thousands of individual Negro trade unionists and advanced white workers. No doubt the leadership of these Negro Labor Councils will in the various cities give serious consideration to this suggestion without in anyway abolishing the system of labor union affiliation.

However, some of the arguments advanced in favor of this change are not valid. I refer to such arguments as, "the touchstone for progress in this field is to turn loose the national consciousness of the Negro workers," and "the present system of Councils results in the Negro vanguard, with all its militancy and national consciousness, being tied to the backward workers and unions."

We Communists deny any contradiction between the class consciousness of the Negro workers and their role in the struggle for national liberation. The Negro workers, as an integral part of the working class, must together with the white workers combat all the evils of capitalism, and advance toward the realization of the need for Socialism. In addition, the Negro workers have a special and added responsibility of assuming leadership of the struggle for national liberation of the Negro people. It is precisely this dual role of the Negro workers — their role within the labor movement and the Negro people's movement — that is not understood by Left-wing trade unionists, and even some Communists.

We must recognize that the struggle for the national liberation of the Negro people will flourish and be successful only to the extent that the Negro workers assert their leadership in the Negro people's movement. At the same time, we must recognize that the cause of the working class as a whole cannot advance unless a firm alliance is established with the Negro people, and unless the working class assumes its full responsibility in support of the struggle of the oppressed Negro nation for freedom.

It is in this full sense that Negro Labor Councils must be viewed.

The Chicago Trade Union Conference for Negro Rights accelerated the process of organizing local Negro Labor Councils. While the Chicago Conference was a significant step forward, the failure to establish the headquarters in Detroit of the National Continuations Committee elected in Chicago has held back the fulfillment of the conference decisions, has slowed down the development of the work of the newly established local Councils, and as a result has held back the Negro workers from assuming the leading role in the Negro people's liberation movement. Those responsible for this have committed a grave error.

3. We correctly emphasize that that base of the Left should be among the most exploited and oppressed in every shop and industry. One such sector of the working class that has been completely neglected is the agricultural worker.

The Left forces in the trade unions can no longer ignore the sev-

eral million farm workers, of which one million are migratory. Here we have the lowest paid, least organized, and most exploited section of the American working class. Negro workers constitute one-third of the total. A substantial number of the balance are Mexican workers. Their living conditions reflect their lack of organization. The bulk of them are excluded from social security or minimum wage laws. The average earnings of all migratory farm workers in 1949 for farm work was \$352. The average number of days worked was 70. In addition, average earnings by these workers from casual jobs here and there was \$162 for 31 days work. Thus their average total earnings was \$514 for 101 days work.

Non-migratory agricultural workers scarcely did better, averaging a total of \$528 for 120 days work.

This is a field where women are paid far less than men. Average earnings of men per day were \$5.65, compared with \$2.95 for women.

These workers must come under social security laws, and they must have the protection of a minimum wage of not less than \$1 an hour. It should be understood that raising the wage scale of agricultural workers also benefits small farmers who employ little or no hired labor, since this would enable them to compete more successfully with capitalist farms.

In this section of the report we have aimed at establishing clearly and without any ifs, ands, or buts, that the main direction of our trade-union work must be among the millions in the Right-led unions,

and that there must be created a progressive force in the trade-union movement which has hundreds of thousands of adherents to its program from among the 15 million trade unionists in our country.

III. THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

We recognize that the absence of class consciousness in the ranks of the workers—the fact that the great mass of workers in the reformist trade unions and to a lesser extent in progressive-led unions do not yet differentiate themselves as a class from the capitalist class—continues to be the central long term problem our Party faces.

Comrade Foster, in his *Twilight of World Capitalism*, says:

“The organized American working class has so far not achieved its historic mission of becoming the leader of the nation, nor has it even set this broad objective as its goal. . . . They have no concrete perspectives of Socialism and they are still not class conscious.”

At the same time, we know that throughout the years and right up to the present period the American workers have reflected a strong class instinct and demonstrated a militant fighting spirit, especially in strikes.

Time does not permit an overall estimate of the role of our Party through its 31 years of existence. Such a study would give us much valuable material from which to draw lessons. At certain periods of

our Party's history we made especially great contributions in influencing the course of development of the workers movement, in our initiation and support for many mass movements, struggles and organizational activities, which have transformed the size and the influence of the organized working class. All of this was necessary for our Party to do—but by itself such activity did not develop Socialist consciousness among the masses. The failure of our Party to imbue the workers during the struggles of the middle and late '30's with the understanding of how the reforms of that day were wrested from the monopolies and the government, the limitations of these reforms within the framework of capitalism, brought about a growth of reformist illusions and the rise of organizations based on these illusions. There developed among the workers a reliance on individual top leaders instead of a reliance on their own strength and power to secure further gains.

We have cleansed our Party of Browder revisionism. Today Browder stands exposed for what he is—an apologist of American imperialism and foe of the Soviet Union—one who hopes to play the despicable role of a Tito in our country. But there are still many lessons to be learned in relation to what happened to the role and practices of our Party in the period when Browderism was first raising its head in our ranks. In relation to the mass movements, which we helped to initiate and in which we actively participated, such as the movement for Social Insurance, for recognition of

the Soviet Union, for the organization of the workers in the mass production industries into industrial unions, etc., we did not at the same time help develop the class understanding of the workers to show how these victories were scored through struggle, and our Party's role in securing these gains. Rather, we allowed the illusion to prevail that these were won at the hands of an F.D.R., a Lewis, or a Murray.

To this day the story has never been told of the role of our Party in organizing the unorganized into the C.I.O. And, because we followed a wrong tactic of covering up the Communist identity of hundreds of C.I.O. organizers, never explaining why Communists gave "their all" to this job, workers never knew our Party's role, and were unable to draw class conclusions from this. By failing to maintain an independent line, and where necessary, a critical approach to those with whom we were working (New Dealers and F.D.R., Lewis, Murray and others), we also suffered set-backs among the coal miners, and allowed scores of Communist organizers in the steel union to be ousted by Murray and McDonald once the union was established, without involving the rank and file in a struggle to prevent this.

I mention these things, in this thumb-nail sketch, to emphasize that our Party must at all times be conscious of its responsibility to develop the class consciousness of the American workers. While understanding that the trade unions are organs of struggle to defend the economic interests of the workers,

and the urgent need to speed up the crystallization of a broad Progressive force of trade unionists—we must realize that through trade union organization alone the workers will never arrive at class consciousness. Only our Party can bring class consciousness to the workers.

Nor can our vanguard Party be subordinated to Left trade-union leaders. Our Party has its own independent political role and leadership to fulfill among the workers—to project policy and rally support for it, to interpret events, to build the *Daily Worker* and issue its own shop papers, above all to recruit new members, especially from among the workers in the basic industries, the big shops, from among the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working class.

IV. THE WORK OF THE TRADE-UNION DEPARTMENT

Throughout this report there has been integrated a critical review of our trade-union policies and work, since I do not think this belongs locked up in a separate pocket of the report. In summarizing at this point, however, I would say that in general the trade-union policies adopted by our Party were correct, except in so far as the perspectives on the economic crisis and unemployment had to be revised because the crisis was arrested by the developing war economy. Furthermore, until the adoption of this Draft Resolution, we did not squarely place the main direction

of our trade-union work among the millions of members in the Right-led trade unions. An examination of our work, policy by policy, would also indicate an uneven development as far as our ability to quickly enough, or successfully enough, carry these policies through to the next step of development and action. Contributing to this was a slowness in clarifying and mobilizing our Party members in the shops and local unions, and too often, attempting to resolve problems through top leadership alone.

Considerable time and energy has been spent by the trade-union department in the last two years in a continuous ideological struggle with comrades in leading trade-union positions, combatting pressures, expressions and practices of Right opportunism, of white chauvinism, and of a general under-estimation of the role, practices and discipline of the Party itself. This latter question goes to the heart of the organizational principles of our Party. There is only one Party that unites all members, whether they be rank and filers, or trade union leaders, and all Communists are subject to the same policies, discipline and organization structure. The necessary new organization forms that the present period demands must not, and can never, lead to a loosening of the ideological and organizational ties with the Party, or the weakening of the Party organization as such. The present situation demands from all Party trade unionists, especially in positions of leadership, closer ties with the Party, better understanding of policies,

and a more vigorous fight for Party policies among the masses.

The Trade Union Department, as such, has functioned on a collective basis, except for a brief relapse. While it is possible to show that we generally made correct analyses and provided leadership on most questions, while the department showed alertness and can record successes, nevertheless, as long as the shortcomings already indicated in this report remain, we cannot be satisfied, and must constantly review our work and leadership critically and self-critically.

During most of the past two year period, Comrade Stein has functioned as Assistant-Labor Secretary. He has given important leadership to the work of our Department and has grown in the work. However, we must recognize that we have been woefully weak in integrating Negro comrades into all aspects of the Party's trade-union apparatus, starting with the National Committee. This is a political weakness, with many negative consequences for our work, that must be corrected. It is also necessary to adjust the methods of work and personnel of the trade-union department to correspond with the main direction of our trade-union work as expressed in our Draft Resolution and this report. The work of existing Party commissions in maritime, auto, steel, electrical, distributive, textile and many other

industries must be further strengthened and improved, and commissions established in others.

Above all, the entire Party organization must concern itself with trade-union policies and the fight for their realization in all industries. Trade-union work and concentration work must be viewed as part of one whole, and consequently, there must be the closest collaboration between the Organization and Trade Union Departments, under the leadership of the National Committee.

* * *

In conclusion, comrades, we must fully appreciate the great responsibility that rests upon our shoulders, upon the shoulders of the Communist vanguard, in helping the working class of our country to become conscious of its responsibility in the fight to defeat the drive toward war and fascism and protecting their unions and working conditions from the assaults of monopoly capitalism. New opportunities are opening up which will help to bring about major changes in the thinking and actions of the working class, if we fully live up to our responsibilities. We know that despite all the tempests and storms that may still beset us, the working class will move forward, and that our Party, headed by its helmsmen Foster and Dennis, will lead the working class safely to the port of Socialism.

Ours Is a Party of the New Type

by Carl Winter

THE CONSTITUTION of the Communist Party, U.S.A., is the fundamental law of our Party organization and of its daily practice. It is rooted in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and is constructed so as to guide the vanguard of the working class in providing the needed steel-core for the struggles of labor and the people—for peace, democracy, economic security, and for Socialism.

Our Constitution is the product of thirty-one years of struggle and experience of American Communists, and was given its present form by the struggle against Browder-revisionism, which restored our Party to the path of revolutionary class struggle, at the National Convention of 1945. It applies the fundamental principles developed by the great Lenin, founder of the Party of a new type, which have proven to be universally applicable wherever the working class wages struggle to end class exploitation and to usher in Socialist society.

The conditions of membership, the practice of democratic centralism provided for in our Constitution, are designed to secure the high purposes to which we are dedicated. Every Party member

should be equipped with a copy of the Constitution of our Party as an aid to his active work and development in the ranks of our organization. Every new member should be presented with a copy, and helped to understand its meaning for him and his class. Our Constitution should be widely distributed and discussed among non-Party workers, Negro people, fighters for peace and democracy, whose unity and effectiveness is every day being assailed and undermined by reactionary attacks and lies against our Party.

* * *

If the bourgeois bipartisans piously complain that we are, after all, "not really a political party" because we do not conform to the structure and practices of the Democratic and Republican parties, our answer is that this distinction is our honor. Our Party differs from the party of Truman and from the party of MacArthur just as the aims and aspirations of the working class and long-suffering humanity differ from the plundering course of the imperialist exploiters, the breeders of fascism and war. These aims which we are or-

ganized the better to serve are clearly set forth in the Preamble and in Article II of our Constitution.

The ultimate consequences toward which every progressive struggle must lead, and the sure guarantee of its lasting results, is expressed in our Preamble when it says:

"The Communist Party recognizes that the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class."

If the police-brain of a McGohey or a McGrath cannot grasp that we are here talking about future working-class state power—that is, the proletarian dictatorship—that is only because we have described it in its true essence and not in the caricature-form which their lying propaganda peddles, and which the fascist McCarran Act now tries to give the august form of a legal legislative finding. It is understandable that these gentry should not be accustomed to words meaning what they say, and that they should conjure up some "Aesopian" meaning, instead. After all, their job is to give legal sanction to wars of aggression by calling them "police actions," and to cover up the exploitation of working men and women and children by calling it "free enterprise." And when they

cannot escape the clear, inspiring appeal of our Party's Constitution and Preamble, then such worthies of bourgeois dictatorship charge us with the use of our fundamental documents as mere "window-dressing."

Little wonder, since the agents of reaction in our country have been busy systematically reducing to mere window-dressing the hard-won democratic rights and liberties of the American people, products of generations of struggle.

* * *

Our General Secretary, Eugene Dennis, is in jail today for his valiant fight to end the window-dressing status of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution, and to restore active meaning to this revolutionary provision which was intended to protect the full rights to franchise of the Negro people in the former slave-owning states of the South. The Negro people in our country well know the window-dressing status to which the revolutionary amendments to our nation's Constitution—the 13th, 14th, and 15th—have been reduced since shortly after Civil War days.

Eleven of the leaders of our Party are today faced with five-year jail terms for their insistence upon the right to exercise free speech, free press and free assembly—supposedly guaranteed by the First Amendment. But this right, too, the McGoheys and the McGraths and the McCarrans consider only as window-dressing, or to be honored more in the breach than in the observance. Only a few days ago,

the Department of Justice declared that, despite the people's victory in compelling the United States Supreme Court to uphold the meaning of the 5th Amendment protecting persons against self-incrimination, they would nevertheless proceed with further prosecutions — under the charge of "contempt"—against those who asserted their rights under the 5th Amendment.

* * *

Our Party Constitution means exactly what it says in each and every particular, and upholds the fulfillment of the democratic meaning of the national Constitution's Bill of Rights. It is in accordance with the high aims of our Party to assure the achievement of the desires of the majority of the American people, that we repudiate and denounce all acts and advocacy of terror and of force and violence. These are the weapons, not of the most numerous class, not of the democratic majority, but of a desperate, frenzied ruling class and, on occasion, of a frustrated petty-bourgeois.

We are, nevertheless, loudly accused by the agents of violent reaction of being a Party of violence. Yet no act of violence has ever been cited against our Party or its representatives, nor any instance of preparation for acts of violence. Neither has any court ever upheld the false charges of advocacy of force and violence which are flung at our Party. Even Judge Medina was compelled by his zeal for a conviction to doctor up the charge under which our Party leaders were tried, before submitting the case to

the jury for a verdict. He had to alter it so that the jury might consider whether or not at some future date (even possibly 100 years from now, according to the prosecutor) force and violence might ensue from the efforts of the American people to carry out the teachings of the Communist Party.

What is it that is really under attack here? Is it possible that those who charge us with responsibility for force and violence at some future date in the course of American history want us now to repudiate the American people's inalienable right to revolution? But this is not some private right which we claim for ourselves and which we can thus easily dispose of. This is the right of any people, anywhere suffering oppression; and this right we shall defend. Should we condemn it, we would be condemning the very birth of our nation.

The fact is, we are being pressed to renounce resistance to reactionary violence, the only real violence—not imaginary, or in some distant future day—with which our country is actually plagued at this moment. Only the demonstration of the people's readiness to resist reactionary violence has so far curbed further violent attacks upon the Negro people of our country, or upon the picket lines of trade unionists fighting for their most elementary daily needs. Only such readiness to resist in organized ranks limits the violence of the reactionary ruling class. We shall not renounce the organizing and strengthening of the ranks of labor and the people to resist and to curb such violence. We work

for the preservation and the strengthening of the democratic rights and institutions by which the American people have secured what limited power they now enjoy to determine their future destinies. We oppose and will combat the most criminal violence and terror of atomic destruction and world war, which our ruling class seeks to impose upon the world and for which it seeks to muster support among the American people.

We are a party of peace. We seek a peaceful solution now of the war raging against the people of Korea and of the whole Far East. The American people who love their country, who seek freedom and a fuller life, will never surrender their right to defend their hard-earned gains and a peaceful future against fascist assault from any quarter.

Whatever force a future proletarian dictatorship may exercise in order to clear away the debris of an exploiting society will be force legally wielded by and on behalf of the majority of the people. It would only be made necessary by a small minority fighting desperately to sell dearly its privileged positions. But reaction's hopes in counter-revolutionary violence are futile. The victory of the people is assured in the successes of the working class and democratic peoples of Europe and Asia, led by their great Communist parties. Its future in our country is assured in the growing strength and unity, and the devotion to principle, of our Party; and this future will spell the end in human history of forcible suppression of one class by another.

It is with full confidence in the outcome of the growing struggles for peace and democracy led by our Party—relying upon conscious organized mass action, upon the class struggle—that we declare in Article IV, Section 9, of our Constitution that it is the obligation of Communists to oppose all conspiracies or appeals to violence on the part of any desperate, reactionary minority.

In Section 3 of Article VIII, our Party further declares that no one may be a member who "advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies."

* * *

We propose that this Convention reiterate these declarations of our Constitution, avowing once again that nothing in our Constitution is "Aesopian" or window-dressing, but that our Constitution is the fundamental law of our Party and a guide to its practical day-to-day work.

Your Constitution Committee has carefully considered the present Constitution. It has received no proposal for amendment from any state delegation. We consider that this Constitution, rooted in the decisions of our 1945 and 1948 Conventions, restoring our Party to the path of Marxism-Leninism, is valid for this day and for the future ahead. We

are convinced that it conforms to the political reports and line which this Convention has indicated it will adopt. The Constitution Committee therefore unanimously recommends that the Constitution of

the C.P.U.S.A. as it now stands, having been amended and adopted at the 1948 Convention, be reaffirmed in full by this Convention of 1950.

Sharpen the Fight Against Browderism, Titoism, Trotskyism

by John Gates

ALL THE REPORTS and discussion at this Convention have pointed up the vital need of our Party to strengthen its ideological work. The weaknesses of our Party in the fight for peace; in our concentration policy; in the struggle against white chauvinism and against liquidationist tendencies in our struggle against Right and "Left" tendencies in all fields of work, in the last analysis, flow from our inadequate mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. This is especially true of the fight to protect the security of our Party against the attacks of the enemy, and the need to heighten our vigilance against the penetration of enemy ideology and agents into our ranks.

My brief report will be confined to an elaboration of that section of our Resolution which deals with the need to intensify the struggle against all manifestations of Browderism, Titoism, and Trotskyism. The failure of the Party to conduct a systematic enough exposure of these enemies of the working class movement has resulted in the growth of rotten liberal attitudes, which, to a certain extent, has disarmed us and dulled our vigilance against enemy penetration. Neither *Political Affairs* nor the *Daily*

Worker has conducted a consistent enough campaign on this front.

History proves that the continued struggle of the renegades from Marxism against the Communist Party inevitably and logically leads to struggle against the Soviet Union and to becoming outright agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This is the story of Browder.

BROWDER'S ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION

In his latest writings and diatribes, Browder has become indistinguishable from a Budenz. So degenerate are these recent outpourings of filth that there would be no need to deal with them were it not for the fact that the capitalist propaganda agencies are working so hard to rehabilitate the discredited Browder, and to win for him a new sympathy and influence. Witness the recent crocodile tears they shed over the alleged inability of Browder to get bail. Because, in our movement, there is a lack of knowledge of Browder's latest activities on behalf of Wall Street imperialism, some misguided people have been taken in by this.

In a recently published pam-

phlet, dealing with Stalin's brilliant articles on linguistics, in which Stalin further enriched historical materialism, the science of society, Browder passes from struggle against the Communist Party of the United States to struggle against the Soviet Union. He claims that Stalin was not really dealing with advancing the science of linguistics but was using a kind of Aesopian language to deal with something much more serious, that is, "with the more central political questions [where] these problems are so sharp and deep that answers must be carefully prepared in a more remote field, the approach must be indirect, in order to avoid shocks and upheavals which might weaken the Soviet Power." And, he states further, "Stalin is evidently not beginning a super purge but rather is calling a halt to the continuous, almost permanent, purges which feed upon themselves and lead nowhere but to chaos."

Thus, Browder, the troubador of American imperialism, sees in Stalin's great contribution to Marxist theory, the sign of a "crisis" in the Soviet Union. He says that "Stalin intervened in linguistics not because its problem was special and unique but because it was typical of the central problem of Soviet public life in general." And what is this central problem? That "authoritarianism" is a "permanent danger in the building of Socialism in general and of Soviet development in particular." He goes on to claim that counter-revolutionary Trotskyism in the U.S.S.R. was "defeated but not de-

stroyed. It crept back and entrenched itself in World War II more and more."

He claims to see a connection between Stalin's articles which first appeared on June 20 and the start of the Korean War on June 25. He says that Stalin in dealing with linguistics really "rejected the path of immediate military solution of the rivalry between socialism and capitalism, he has placed himself squarely in opposition to the conception that now is the historical moment for socialism to be carried over the world on Soviet bayonets . . . a revival of Trotskyism. . . . Stalin's article is therefore the guarantee that a curb will be and is being placed upon those who may have dreamed of a military shortcut to world socialism."

It doesn't take any great effort to understand that what Browder is saying here is that Trotskyism has taken over a good part of the C.P.S.U.; that the Korean war was instigated, not by American imperialism, but by the so-called war party in the Soviet Union, and that the world Communist movement does not stand for peace but for war.

Today when the Soviet Union, in transition from Socialism to Communism, is giving historic leadership to the world peace camp Browder seeks to cover up the real crisis in the world of capitalism and the crisis of Wall Street's policy. He resorts to slanderous lies about the spread of "authoritarianism" in the U.S.S.R. and invents a "war-minded trend" in the Soviet Union and the international Com-

munist movement. This is exactly what Tito says today.

Yes, there is a connection between Stalin's work on linguistics and the Korean War, but not the one Browder sees. While Truman and other capitalist rulers pass from war preparation to actual wars of aggression, Stalin advances science, builds the foundations of world peace, leads the Soviet Union in its magnificent plans for the conquest of nature!

The fact that the Communist Parties have rid themselves of the Browders and Titos, the fact that Communists have won leadership of 800,000,000 people, is not a sign of "crisis" in the world Communist movement, but evidence of its unparalleled consolidation and strength. It is this signal fact which has further sharpened the crisis of imperialism and of its Browderite apologists.

Browder does not explain why Stalin should have to resort to "indirect" and "remote" methods to propagate peace when he, and the entire Soviet Union, have always placed the fight for peace in the very center of all their work. That is because Browder is not interested in explaining, but in distorting and slandering, the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement. The Soviet Union stands for the peaceful co-existence of capitalist and Socialist countries; it has pointed out, however, that there must be a will for peace on both sides to make that possible. The Soviet Union strictly adheres to a policy of non-intervention in the internal

affairs of other countries. Its Socialist foreign policy is an affirmation of the Marxist-Leninist truth that revolutions cannot be "exported." But this does not mean that the Soviet Union will not act vigorously on behalf of world peace and defend itself with arms against the aggressive acts of the imperialist powers led by Wall Street.

BROWDER AGAIN

"ELIMINATES" THE NEGRO QUESTION

It is not accidental that this slander against Stalin, against the Soviet Union, against the world Communist movement, is accompanied by utter degeneration of Browder on the Negro question. This Convention has had to note that our Party has not yet succeeded in eradicating all the effects of Browder's criminal revision of our Party's Marxist understanding of the Negro question as a national question. As is well known, Browder during the war arbitrarily decided that the Negro people had "made their choice," had taken the path of "integration" in American life. Now he has gone further and, with a mere stroke of the pen, has eliminated the Negro question altogether; it just doesn't exist any more!

In another recent pamphlet which purports to trace the history of the United States from 1700 to the present time he claims that when the Civil War abolished chattel slavery it completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the United States. He says that in the

U.S.A. there has taken place "the completion of the basic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and its chief characteristics were: the rapid wiping out of feudal survivals in America (completed with the abolition of slavery), the development of universal suffrage, the establishment of a unified single federal Republic with a high degree of local self-government, and a domestic market based upon widespread land distribution at nominal prices (analogous to nationalization of the land)."

All this will be news to many people. Someone ought to spread the word in the South that there are no semi-feudal survivals left there; that the Negro people have universal suffrage, a high degree of local self-government; and that the land has been nationalized and distributed at nominal prices. Thus has Browder "integrated" the Negro people into American life.

With his usual dishonesty and misquotation Browder tries to ascribe to the founders of Marxism-Leninism, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, his own cynical perversion of American history and present reality, to the effect that the United States has wiped out all semi-feudal survivals. Let me quote what Lenin really had to say on this subject.

"The United States of America," writes Mr. Himmer [and now one could add: writes Mr. Browder—J.G.] 'is a country that never knew feudalism and has none of its economic survivals.' This assertion is diametrically opposite to

the truth; for the economic survivals of slavery differ in no way from similar survivals of feudalism; and in the formerly slave-owning South of the United States these survivals are *very strong to this day*. . . . That the Negroes are in a state of servitude goes without saying; in this respect the American bourgeoisie is no better than the bourgeoisie of other countries. Having 'emancipated' the Negroes, it took good care, on the basis of 'free' and republican-democratic capitalism, to restore all that possibly could be restored and to do all it possibly could to oppress the Negroes in the most shameful and despicable manner. . . . Segregated, hidebound, a stifling atmosphere, a sort of prison for the 'emancipated' Negroes—this is what the American South is like."*

It is characteristic of Browder that in this pamphlet on American history, which is 93 pages long, the word Negro is not even mentioned once. Neither is the revolutionary Reconstruction period, nor its betrayal by the United States ruling class dealt with in Browder's history. At a time when this Convention is demanding that we raise to new heights the struggle against Negro oppression and white chauvinism, when the National Chairman of our Party, Comrade Foster, has just completed a monumental work in which he brings into the light of day the real history of oppressed nations and peoples—the Negro and Indian peo-

* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XII, p. 198.

ples in the Western Hemisphere—a history which the bourgeois historians have buried, Browder sinks deeper into the mire of white chauvinism.

BROWDER'S AID TO STOOL-PIGEON

In his recent writings which pour out of Browder like pus from gangrene, Browder adds his share to the lying testimony of the stool-pigeon Budenz. He speaks of "the seizure of leadership over the Communist Party by William Z. Foster in 1945. The American Marxists accepted Foster's leadership after having kept it in a subordinate position for 15 years only upon the strongest urging of the European Marxist leaders. Foster's moral authority to seize the leadership of the C.P.U.S.A. in 1945 came entirely from the European Marxists, not from his influence nor from any initiative arising in the American movement itself. American Marxists accepted Foster as their supreme leader only as an act of faith in European Marxism, as an acceptance of European leadership without question and regardless of consequence."

Not only is this a vile and contemptible slander against our Party, against Comrade Foster and against European Marxists, not only is this another expression of the contempt which Browder has always had for the membership of our Party, but it is completely indistinguishable from the lies of McGohey and Budenz at Foley Square. The only difference is that

Browder has not yet reached the stage of doing his provocative work in a courtroom.

Foster became the head of the Party in 1945 because of the universal demand in our Party ranks that he assume this post of leadership, because of his correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the perspectives in our country and in the world, because Browder's line was proved wrong both in theory and practice and was contrary to the interests of the American working class and the cause of Socialism. The initiative in the struggle against Browder revisionism came, not from European Marxists, but from Comrade Foster. The fact that European Marxists supported Comrade Foster's initiative helped our Party to arrive at a correct Communist understanding. It was our Party, and none other, who elected Comrade Foster our National Chairman and acclaimed him as our foremost leader. Our Party was able to do this because of its increased understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory, to the growth of which Comrade Foster above all contributed, as did also our comrades in other lands.

The struggle of the Peoples Democracies in Europe against the espionage and fifth column activities of American imperialism has thrown new light on the role of Browderism in this respect. In the Rajk trial in Hungary it was brought out: "Then the instrument of ideological deception also appeared. Exploiting the personal connections established, the American secret service smuggled among

them the books of the renegade of the working class, the ex-Communist Browder. The agent of the Yugoslav Tito group—who was incidentally an American spy, yet of course disguised as a soldier of revolutionary Yugoslavia, also joined. Through the intervention of all there, they succeeded first in inducing the petty bourgeois group to accept American imperialist policy and to make it the basis of their political activity, to become its accomplices, its spies."

Browder's line in *Teheran* to the effect that: "It is the most stupid mistake to suppose that any American interest, even that of American monopoly capital, is incompatible with this necessary people's revolution in Europe," thus became an instrument for dulling the vigilance of the Parties and the working class of Europe to the menace of aggressive American monopoly capital. It created a favorable atmosphere for the penetration into their ranks of imperialist spies and provocateurs. Only recently it was revealed that the notorious American spy Noel Field penetrated into the ranks of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Peoples Democratic Republic with the help of the ideological atmosphere created by Browderism. Browderism is thus seen to be a valuable instrument in the hands of U.S. imperialism in its plans for world war and counter-revolution.

Wall Street is consciously fostering Browderism; they have in mind the creation of a State Department-endorsed "Marxism," similar to that of Titoism. We should be

alert to all such moves. It is known, for example, that the renegade, Bella Dodd, has contacted certain trade unionists and others, trying to enlist support for a so-called new "party" to be headed by Browder. Browder seeks to take advantage of the attacks of reaction against our Party to try to split our Party. He is doomed to disappointment and failure.

THE FASCIST TITOITE CLIQUE

Rarely in history has life itself exposed so rapidly the reactionary character of a counter-revolutionary gang, parading under the mask of Marxism, as in the case of the Titoites. It was only three years ago in 1948 that the Communist Information Bureau first exposed Titoism. To many people this seemed far-fetched then. But today this fascist clique has become openly a part of the imperialist war camp.

It is important to review the technique of these anti-working-class conspirators. They began by appearing to be redder than the rose, as the most "revolutionary" of all. Then, when they were exposed, they tried to play off the C.P.S.U. against the other Communist Parties of Europe. When this failed, they attacked the C.P.S.U. and "defended" Stalin, just as Browder is doing now. Then they came out openly against Stalin but "for" Mao Tse-tung. Now they have reached the end of the road. Now they proclaim, like any other American imperialist stooge, that the

war danger comes from the Soviet Union, China and the Korean people, and that the peace camp is headed, not by the Soviet Union, but by the Wall Street imperialists!

The whole world can now see that Tito Yugoslavia is the advanced military outpost of the American warmakers and the would-be shock troops of Wall Street's plan for war against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union.

Some ideologists of the American bourgeoisie are beginning to be fearful that Tito is losing his value because he has been exposed too quickly. *The Nation* carries a very frank article by Prof. H. Stuart Hughes, Assistant Director of the Russian Research Center of Harvard, in which we read:

"As a heretic Communist, Tito is far more valuable to the West than he would be as a late convert to capitalism. Only by remaining ideologically 'pure,' only by resisting the blandishments of 'reactionaries,' can Tito hope to pursue with success his policy of inspiring dissension in the Communist camp. Indeed, his professions of Marxist orthodoxy are his best weapons in the ideological struggle.

"Too close an overt tie between Tito and the United States would ruin everything. For in the case of Yugoslavia, as in that of India, a full military alliance is both unnecessary and inadvisable. Everyone knows that in the event of a showdown both nations would find themselves on the side of the West."

But this advice is coming too late.

Here in the United States we have not been alert to the enormous propaganda offensive of Titoism by the State Department. We have information that leading Tito agents such as Kardelj have made direct efforts to influence progressive trade-union leaders, etc. We must do more to isolate the paid Tito-agent O. John Rogge, who is finding it increasingly difficult to keep up with the accelerated rush of Titoism openly into the front ranks of world reaction and at the same time maintain any influence in the progressive movement. Once again proving that opportunism and white chauvinism are inseparable, Rogge stated at the Warsaw World Peace Conference that he now questions the validity of the American Civil War.

A struggle must also be conducted against such people as I.F. Stone, columnist for the *N. Y. Compass*, who discovered a "Utopia" in Tito Yugoslavia. He found freedom there, he says, contrary to the Soviet Union. But what is this "freedom" to attack Marxism, freedom for warmongering, the outlawing of the Stockholm Peace Appeal, freedom for the dictators of Yugoslavia? In the Soviet Union however, there is no freedom for people to propagate war, to talk about dropping atom bombs, no freedom for American capitalists to try to overthrow by war the system of Socialism in the Soviet Union. This is "slavery," according to I. F. Stone.

MERGING OF TITOISM AND TROTSKYISM

Titoism and Trotskyism have joined hands. The Trotskyites here have hailed Tito and have taken him to their bosom. Their only complaint is that Tito does not combine enough demagogy with his furious campaign against the camp of peace and Socialism.

We have been dangerously remiss in our struggle against Trotskyism. Many newer Party members are not aware of the history of this criminal counter-revolutionary clique. In the recent N.Y. elections the Trotskyites increased their vote from 1,600 to 13,000. Part of the reason for this was the fact that the Socialist Party was not on the ballot. But this should not blind us to this dangerous increase of Trotskyite influence. In our struggle against the wage freeze we need to remind the labor movement that it was the Trotskyites who gave the employers the escalator clause which has now become the pattern for the employers' wage freeze plans. The escalator clause ties wages to prices and not only prevents the workers from raising their standards of living but actually means a steady deterioration in their standards. Higher living standards must be at the expense of the fabulous profits of the bosses and not chained to the price level. We must be alert to the disruptive role of the Trotskyites in the N.A.A.C.P. and their efforts to divide the Negro people from their progressive labor allies.

STRENGTHEN PARTY VIGILANCE

Comrades, our Party is ideologically sound and united. We have long ago defeated Browderism, Titoism and Trotskyism. But we cannot afford to be complacent. This Convention has called attention to the new dangerous tendencies of liquidationism. We need to be alert to the danger of factionalism. Some comrades, for example, sought to take advantage of a number of theoretical errors made by our Party in connection with the trial, not to improve and strengthen the Party, but to undermine confidence in the leadership. Similarly, there are a few comrades today who are trying to do this in connection with our weaknesses in concentration work, adopting a negative and destructive approach to the serious efforts of the whole Party to make a change in this respect. The enemy works feverishly to penetrate our ranks.

Many comrades would be shocked if it were pointed out to them that there was a relationship between opportunist and sectarian tendencies and the enemy ideologies of Browderism and Titoism. But where do petty-bourgeois traits of conceit, vanity and arrogance, characteristic of some trade unionists, lead to, if not corrected? Where do resistance to criticism and self-criticism, complacency and self-satisfaction over past achievements in the fight for Negro rights, lead to, if not corrected? And where do tendencies to consider one's self wiser than the Party, or the conclusion

flowing from this, that the Party organization in industry is unnecessary, lead to, if not corrected? Where, indeed, do such unchecked tendencies lead to, if not inevitably into the enemy camp—the path of Browderism and all renegacy?

Our Party has historically underestimated the need to master Marxist theory. A recent proof of this was when in the interests of greater efficiency and security, we cut down the size of our committees. Which posts were the first to be eliminated? Number one was the press and literature directors. Number two were the educational directors. This would not have been so bad if in eliminating the people we assigned their tasks to others. But in most cases we eliminated both the people and the work they were re-

sponsible for. Why is it that in our Party the work that is most expendable is press, literature and educational work, precisely our work in the ideological field? Is it not because, despite all our protests to the contrary, we underestimate the fact that the fundamental prerequisite for improvement in all fields of our work is the study and mastery of the liberating science of Marxism-Leninism?

Let us work seriously to put an end to this neglect. Let us burn the midnight oil, study seriously, not in an abstract, doctrinaire way, but in connection with our immediate tasks and future perspectives. Only in this way can our Party advance and lead the working class to its historic destiny—the establishment of Socialism.

Comrade Foster's New Book—A Great Marxist Work

by Robert Thompson

EACH DELEGATE to this Convention has a copy of the table of contents of Comrade Foster's new book, *Outline Political History of the Americas*. You will notice that in addition to chapter headings it contains a concise summary of the contents of each chapter. I am sure each of you will study carefully this table of contents as it gives a more comprehensive picture of the richness of this great Marxist work than can possibly be done in a brief report. However, I will try to supplement this picture with a few remarks.

My remarks will center on the significance of Comrade Foster's book in relation to three main questions:

1. The overcoming of the traditional weaknesses of our Party and of the working class of our country on the ideological front, and the further unfolding of the fight against Browderism, Titoism and all forms of revisionism.

2. The strengthening of the fight for peace in the U.S. and throughout the Western Hemisphere.

3. The cultivation of a Socialist perspective and the mass propagation of Marxist-Leninist science in the American labor movement.

In our Party we are accustomed

to studying American labor history on the basis of outstanding concrete manifestations of the class struggle. As we know, this struggle has three fronts—economic, political and ideological.

Traditionally the American working class has shown a great capacity to pose sharp challenges to the ruling class and its great monopoly combines on the economic front. True, these challenges have not struck at the foundations of capitalism. Despite this, class battles, such as the strikes that took place recently of coal miners and Hawaiian sugar workers; the great struggles of the 30's climaxed by the C.I.O. organizing drive, the historic sit-down strikes in auto, the San Francisco General Strike; and the innumerable forebears of these militant struggles running back through the militant railroad battles and the historic 8-hour-day movement of the late eighteenth-hundreds—are hallmarks of the American labor movement and represent the strongest aspect of its fighting capacities as a class force.

On the political front—as Comrade Hall's report correctly emphasizes—the American working class has developed its capacities for challenging the ruling class to a far lesser degree. Yet it has posed

basic challenges to the ruling class on this front. The formation, growth and steeling of our Communist Party—in the context of a historical epoch in which Socialism in the Soviet Union is well on the road of transformation to the pinnacle of a Communist social order, and the consolidation of Socialism in a single country is in the process of being transformed into the consolidation of Socialism in a world system of Socialist states—represents a challenge by the American working class in a most fundamental sense to the ruling class on the political front. In a different and more immediate sense the projection of the Farmer-Labor Party in the early 1920's, the upsurge of independent labor political action in the '30's, the more marked crystallization of a powerful current among the 14 million-strong Negro people for equal rights and national liberation, the formation of the Progressive Party in 1948, all represent a maturing challenge stemming from the working class to the ruling class on the political front. True the trends and currents making up this challenge are far from dominant in the labor movement of today, as is amply dramatized by the absence of a major breakaway from the two-party system. Yet they represent what is new and growing; they represent the direction which the working class of our country must take in order to defend and advance its interests, and as such they will most certainly become the dominant trends and currents of the future.

It is on the front of ideological

struggle that the historic weaknesses of the American working class have their sharpest and most devastating manifestation. The great bulk of the working people, Negro and white, still believe in capitalism. Only a small section of the labor movement has achieved a level of class consciousness where it has a Socialist perspective. Because of the integral relationship of the three fronts of class struggle: economic, political and ideological—and because of the key position occupied by the ideological front in this interrelationship—there is not a single major weakness in the American working class which cannot be traced to its historic inability to mount an effective challenge to the ruling class on the ideological front.

Now, of course, our Party, save for the period in the late '20's of the influence of Lovestonism, and more recently, before our 1945 Convention, of the dominance of Browderism, has fought the ruling class on many ideological issues. One has only to examine the work of our Party in recent years, when under Comrade Foster's leadership, struggles on the ideological front have been developed by the Party against Browder revisionism and Titoism, against American exceptionalism, on the question of the basic war orientation of U.S. monopoly capital, on Keynesism, the national character of the Negro question and other basic issues to prove the point. Yet when everything positive that can be said about the struggle of the American working class on the ideological

front is said, when everything positive is added up, it amounts to this: Our Party, to its credit, has been waging what amounts to a fairly consistent guerrilla warfare against the ideological hold of the ruling class on the overwhelming majority of American workers. We have not been able, to date, to extend the scope, and transform the character, of this guerrilla warfare into a major offensive. Because of this, barriers are imposed on the development of general offensives on every other front of the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

FOSTER'S NEW WORK—A MAJOR POLITICAL EVENT

Comrades, we are on the threshold of a really major event in the life of our Party and class. It is an event which grows out of, and mirrors, the richness of the great class battles which have brought the American working class to its present level of development. At the same time it is more than this, for it is also the product of one of the great scientific minds of the world Communist movement; and as such imparts to the American working class a richness of scientific Socialist thought, a profound internationalism, a level of class and Socialist consciousness, which surmounts the limitations of the experience of the working class of our country. It is an event which provides our Party with the possibility of elevating its guerrilla warfare against the ideological hold of the war-minded ruling class of our country on the working class to the level of a ma-

major ideological offensive against the warmongers. It will extend and add a new quality to the struggle of the Marxist movement of America against Browderism, Titoism and all forms of revisionism.

The major event to which I refer is the publication in February of a great Marxist work by the Chairman of our Party, Comrade Foster, titled *Outline Political History of the Americas*.

How does Comrade Foster's new work differ from past books, pamphlets and observations of both a bourgeois and a Marxist character on American history? In what respect is it qualitatively something new?

* * *

The qualitatively new character of Comrade Foster's work stems in the first place from two inseparably related features—its approach and its scope. From the standpoint of approach, *Outline Political History of the Americas* is the most consistent and advanced product of the application of the scientific approach of historical materialism to the phenomena of historical developments in the Western Hemisphere. From the standpoint of scope, Comrade Foster's new work sets itself the objective of establishing a broad pattern of hemispheric development from Columbus's time to the Korean War, firmly grounded in the context of world events and trends.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have brilliantly and profoundly illuminated in their writings both a basic approach to, and key aspects

of, American historical development. Many books and pamphlets by Marxists throughout the Western Hemisphere have made valuable contributions to a Marxist interpretation of various aspects of the history of our Hemisphere.

Comrade Foster fully utilizes this highly important body of Marxist writings on developments in the Western Hemisphere. He boldly proceeds to concretize, enrich and extend this body of Marxist scientific thought by undertaking a creatively new theoretical task of general and far-reaching importance.

The essence of this theoretical task is the application of Stalinist theory—of the basic body of the world science of Marxism-Leninism—in a fully comprehensive and cohesive way to the specific phenomena of American historical development in its essential totality. The great scope and complexity of this theoretical undertaking can be indicated by citing some of the general headings under which it is accomplished: The general features, various forms, and specific peculiarities of colonization and primitive capitalist accumulation in the Western Hemisphere. . . . The general revolutionizing impact, and the widely varying effects of basic importance of colonization on the structure of civilization and mode of life of the Indian peoples in the various regions of the Hemisphere to this day. . . . The origin and rise of such basically pre-capitalist forms of exploitation as chattel slavery and peonage and the peculiar form of their integration into the rising system of capitalist large-

scale commodity production in the Americas. . . . The general features of the rise of capitalism in the Western Hemisphere and the specific reasons for its different tempo and forms in various of the 22 nations. . . . The Stalinist theory of the national question especially as it relates to the rise and struggle for national independence of the 20 nations south of the U.S. border, the fight for national liberation and equality of the 14 million Negro people in the U.S., and the centuries-long struggle of the 45 million Negro and 60 million Indian peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere for the elimination of special national forms of oppression. . . . The impact of the European bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic revolutions on the developing nations of the Western Hemisphere, the general features of the hemispheric bourgeois revolution which took place roughly during the 100-year period from the 1770's through to the latter quarter of the 1800's, the reasons for the differing tempo, form and outcome of the bourgeois revolution in various of the 22 nations. . . . The four main forms of land ownership and rural exploitation in the 20 countries of large Indian and Negro populations south of the United States, and the more developed capitalist forms of land ownership and rural exploitation in the U.S.A. and Canada. . . . The consequences for the various nations and peoples of the Western Hemisphere of the First and Second World War, and the place and role of the numerous civil, national,

imperialist, and "putschist" wars and uprisings that have taken place in this Hemisphere. . . . The rise of "Yankee" imperialism, its general and peculiar features, its devastating forms of exploitation and oppression, its inherent and insurmountable weaknesses, its present unique status of hegemony throughout the fatally weakened capitalist sector of the world. . . . The profound and growing effect on the peoples of the Western Hemisphere of the October Revolution, the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, and the increasingly powerful world-liberating role of the Soviet Union, the division of the world into two camps and the rapid expansion and growth of the camp of Socialism and peace under the leadership of the Soviet Union. . . . The rise of the working class as the potential leading force throughout the Western Hemisphere, the peculiarities of the development of the trade-union and Communist movements in the U.S. and various others of the 22 nations, the factors which make inevitable the downfall of "Yankee" imperialism and the victory of Socialism throughout the Western Hemisphere.

STALINIST CONCEPT OF CREATIVE MARXISM

Comrade Foster's approach to all of these questions, and many more, is characterized by creative boldness in tackling new theoretical aspects of important questions confronting the American working class. Anyone who wants to find

in this book the "safe haven" of a dogmatic restatement of general axioms of Marxism is doomed to disappointment. Comrade Foster has always been an opponent of the De Leon concept of "dogmatic Marxism." He has always been the foremost exponent on the American scene of the Stalinist concept of creative Marxism. This new Marxist work, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, provides small comfort for dogmatists of any school and opens new horizons for creative Marxists of the Stalin school. Undoubtedly, Comrade Foster's new work will help greatly in overcoming such traditional weaknesses in the work of our American Party as tendencies toward pragmatism, theoretical timidity and insufficient attention to long-range perspectives.

Outline Political History of the Americas is an outstanding example of Comrade Foster's insistence on collective methods of work. It has been read approvingly by a commission of the National Committee of our Party. It has been subjected to advance reading and helpful critical comments of leading Marxist theoreticians of our brother Parties of Latin America, the Caribbean countries, and Canada. Despite this typically Foster method of collective work, it is quite possible, even quite probable, that in a great creative work of this kind time will disclose certain propositions which have their weak sides and need further development and rounding out. In such an event it is highly improbable that many Communists will get into a dither and fall all over them-

selves. Communists understand that the only people who do not make an occasional mistake in the creative application and development of Marxist theory are those who assiduously avoid this occupation. They also understand that such people are not the most reliable guardians of the purity of the science of Marx, Lenin and Stalin from the influences of opportunism and revisionism.

Several thousand bourgeois historians and political analysts have written books on aspects of the life and historical development of the peoples and nations of the Western Hemisphere. Not a single one of these thousands has succeeded in treating the historical development of these peoples and nations on the broad canvass of a pattern of hemispheric development, a pattern which explains both the close inter-relationship and profound differences of each people and nation. It has fallen on the shoulders of the foremost Marxist of our Party, Comrade Foster, boldly to invade territory which the bourgeois historians cannot tread. Rising above its numerous specific contributions to various aspects of American historical development is the fact that *Outline Political History of the Americas* establishes the inter-connection, the inter-relationship between the various aspects of the history of the Americas, and brings forward the picture of the totality of the historical development of the Western Hemisphere as an integrated whole. This is the second feature of the creatively new theoretical task which *Outline*

Political History of the Americas undertakes and successfully accomplishes.

Outline Political History of the Americas is, therefore, not just another book on American history. It is a qualitatively new Marxist work on the application of the body of Stalinist theory to the phenomena of historical developments in the Western Hemisphere as an integrated whole. It establishes for our Party, for the Marxist movement throughout the Americas, a body of scientific thought, from a consistent standpoint of historical materialism, interpreting the whole complex of Western Hemispheric historical development. It is a historical achievement in the closing of the gap between the generally advanced body of world scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and the application of this theory to the specific phenomena of conditions in the Western Hemisphere.

NEW WEAPON IN STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

As we all know, Browder devoted great attention to distorting American history, to corrupting the science of historical materialism and basic Marxist theoretical concepts in their application to the American scene. Foster sets matters straight with respect to Browderism's distortion of Roosevelt's role and the corruption of Marxist concepts of American history. In doing so, by providing our Party with a cohesive and integrated treatment of the history of the Western Hemisphere from the standpoint of historical

materialism, he has given our Party a qualitatively new weapon with which to guard itself against all forms of revisionism in the future.

Generally, revisionism in the Marxist movement in America has always had three marked characteristics: First, it always dons the garb of "American exceptionalism." That is, in its early stages, before degenerating into an openly anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet force, it always bows dutifully before the validity "in general" of Stalinist theoretical concepts and only then proceeds to deny the validity for the American working class of conclusions flowing from those concepts on the grounds of "unique American conditions." The classic expressions of this have been, of course, Lovestoneism and Browderism. On the basis of the "theory of exceptionalism" Lovestone imparted to monopoly capitalism in the U.S. the ability to overcome all factors inherent in the general crisis of capitalism, and all factors making for the outbreak of the 1929 cyclical economic crisis. On the basis of the "exceptionalism" of U.S. imperialism, Browder not only brought up to date the Lovestoneite concept of the ability of the American capitalists to eliminate the crisis phase of the capitalist economic cycle, but also, in accordance with the emerging dominant role of American imperialism in the capitalist world, extended this concept by imparting to U.S. imperialism the special ability and desire to abolish colonialism by industrializing undeveloped countries and to resolve basic class an-

tagonisms on a world scale.

This characteristic of revisionism plays most heavily on the historic weakness of American Marxists to master fully the application of the general theoretical concepts of Marx, Lenin and Stalin to American conditions. The overcoming of this weakness is the very essence of the theoretical task undertaken in *Outline Political History of the Americas*.

The second feature to be noted about the development of revisionism in America is that it begins by diluting and corrupting Marxist theoretical concepts on one or several specific questions. It avoids presenting itself as a system of political thought for as long as possible. Traditionally, revisionism in America begins as a process of watering down and perverting Marxist concepts on such questions as the character of U.S. monopoly capital and the predatory role of U.S. imperialism, the potentialities for national leadership of the working class in the U.S. and other Western Hemisphere countries, the character of the Negro people's movement and its relationship to the working class, etc.

There can be no doubt that Browder would have had a much rougher time of it if our Party in an earlier period had been armed with a comprehensive and cohesive body of Marxist scientific thought on these questions such as is contained in *Outline Political History of the Americas*. There can be no doubt that this book will serve to extend and add a new quality to the struggle against revisionism.

The third feature of revisionism in America is its utilization of such weaknesses in our Party as tendencies toward pragmatism, lack of long-range perspectives, and theoretical timidity in boldly generalizing on new problems. Because of this, revisionist practices have in the past been able to develop in areas of Party work where theoretical vacuums existed and, in turn, these revisionist practices have laid the basis for the emergence of revisionist theoretical concepts. *Outline Political History of the Americas* represents the biggest step forward in the overcoming of this weakness that our Party has ever made.

Comrade Foster's great work strikes at the very root sources of revisionism in the American Marxist movement. It is a qualitatively new Party weapon defending Marxism against all forms of revisionism in the United States.

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The *Outline Political History of the Americas*, from a profoundly Marxist standpoint, interprets the past, analyzes the present, and forecasts the future path of development of the peoples and nations of the Western Hemisphere. In so doing it challenges directly and fundamentally what is becoming the central thesis of U.S. imperialism's war strategy. This thesis maintains that Latin America and Canada constitute the safe hinterland of Yankee imperialism. It maintains that the Western Hemisphere is the secure bastion from which U.S. imperialism can mount its drive for world domination. This

is the thesis not alone of Hoover, but of Truman, Dewey and the ruling-class circles as a whole. In fact, it is becoming increasingly the main premise, the very foundation, of the war strategy of U.S. imperialism. Undoubtedly, the further defeats which U.S. imperialism is scheduled to receive at the hands of the peoples of Asia and Europe will cause the brains of Washington and Wall Street to rely even more heavily on this thesis. Undoubtedly they will increase their efforts to sell this thesis to the American people as a "rational," a "realistic" basis for transforming the other continents of the world into American colonies.

Comrade Foster demolishes this thesis. He atomizes what is increasingly becoming the central premise of U.S. imperialism's war strategy. He traces the rise and development of the 22 nations of the Western Hemisphere as they were forged through the revolutionary impact of colonization, the crucible of the hemispheric bourgeois revolution, and the struggle for national independence — first against their "mother" colonial power and, for the last half century, primarily against U.S. imperialism. He analyzes the profound influence of the October Socialist Revolution, the victorious building of Socialism in the Soviet Union and the decisive liberating role of the Soviet Union in smashing fascism in the Second World War on the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

On the basis of this, he analyzes current political trends and forces

among the working peoples of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Out of this emerges a picture that will bring small comfort to the Hoovers, Trumans and Deweys, and great confidence to the working class and peace forces of the United States and the world. The working masses of the 22 nations, and especially of the 20 nations south of the U.S. border, are revealed as a seething revolutionary force striving to achieve political independence, land ownership and the decisive economic and political role of the working class.

The capitalist spokesmen such as Truman and Hoover, present the thesis of Wall Street that the Western Hemisphere is a placid lake of peoples who will calmly give their resources and blood to sustain a fantastic attempt by Yankee imperialism to "Americanize" the world.

The Marxist theoretician, Foster, shows that the peoples of the Western Hemisphere are a seething force full of revolutionary potential which is quite capable of blowing the war strategy of U.S. imperialism to kingdom come. He clearly sets forth the fundamentals of working-class internationalism, and of the responsibilities and tasks flowing from this internationalism, which must be adopted by the working class of our country if this great force for peace and social progress in the Western Hemisphere is to be fully unleashed.

One of the most important features, therefore, which we should note about Comrade Foster's new book is its unique political timeliness. Its central thesis coincides

exactly with the main objective of the political line of our Party—defeat of the war policies and objectives of American imperialism. Comrade Foster's book, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, is heavy artillery for the American peace camp. To win the battle for peace we must utilize it fully.

* * *

Now, from all the foregoing, what conclusions must we draw with regard to Comrade Foster's work, *Outline Political History of the Americas*? The conclusion we must draw is that in this great Marxist work, Comrade Foster has presented our Party and our class with a great working-class weapon in the fight for peace, democracy and Socialism.

The effectiveness of all weapons, including great weapons of the working class such as this book, is measured by the use made of them. It is up to our Party to determine how well this weapon will be utilized, how fully its potentialities will be realized. The extent to which our Party measures up to its responsibilities in this connection will be determined by its ability to accomplish three great tasks.

I.

The first of these tasks is to create a proper political atmosphere around the book in our Party. This cannot be done if the book is approached merely as an important publishing event. It can be done only if an awareness is developed throughout our membership that the publication of *Outline Politi-*

cal History of the Americas is a major political-ideological event in the life of our Party—a landmark in its history.

Our whole Party must be saturated with the inspiring idea that in this greatest Marxist work produced in our country it has a unique and powerful offensive weapon in the fight for peace and Marxist ideology. It is this political approach which will be the guarantee that our Party will make effective use of the weapon which Comrade Foster has given our Party and class.

II.

The second task confronting our Party is that of utilizing the period of the book's publication and the celebration of Comrade Foster's 70th birthday to raise the level of understanding in our Party regarding the outstanding theoretical role of Comrade Foster in the leadership of our Party and the American working class. Our membership will be able to grasp the full significance of such an event in the life of our Party as the publication of *Outline Political History of the Americas* only if it understands that this great Marxist work is the logical—and in a sense inevitable—product of Foster's life-time role of theoretical leadership in the Marxist and labor movement.

Because of factionalism in the '20's and Browderism in the late '30's and more recent years, our Party never fully evaluated Comrade Foster's great theoretical contributions made over a period of

40 years. In fact, there was often an effort to minimize his outstanding theoretical role through left-handed compliments of his being a great organizer and a first-class strike strategist and union leader.

Now, Foster is a great labor organizer. Even the enemies of Marxism are forced to concede this. For example, Robert Brooks, in a book entitled, *When Labor Organizes*, writes:

"In spite of almost insuperable obstacles, Foster gave the American labor movement a magnificent lesson in strategy, discipline, perseverance and courage. Race conflicts, postwar political reaction, the Palmer 'red' raids, wholesale discharges of union members, the defection of the craft leaders and the impetuosity of thousands of workers did not prevent Foster and his helpers from organizing about 365,000 members and holding them in line."

It might be noted that this organizing drive led by Foster brought more Negro workers into the unions than had been organized up to then and was the first great victory in the trade-union movement of the principle of Negro-white labor solidarity. Even William Green, in his book *Labor and Democracy*, written in 1939, is forced to say:

"Early Communist activity in this country centered around Mr. William Z. Foster, who had been the secretary of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee in the cam-

paign to organize the steel workers in 1919. He had previously helped in the organization of stockyard workers in Chicago and in both places he had done outstanding work."

The Report of the Interchurch World Movement on the 1919 steel strike comments:

"Mr. Foster's business might be described as making the labor movement move." His approach has been that "organization does not happen; it is made to happen."

FOSTER—POLITICAL AND THEORETICAL LEADER

Our Party benefits greatly from, and is very proud of, the great organizing talents and unique prestige in this respect of Comrade Foster in the labor movement. Yet it cannot be said that this is the most important thing about Comrade Foster. The main thing about Comrade Foster is that, among American Communists, his has been, and is, the leading role in charting a Marxist path for the working class of our country. Foster is, first and foremost, a great Marxist political leader and theoretician.

Foster's stature as a theoretical and political leader was shown in his immediate and profound grasp of the immense significance of the October Socialist Revolution. Again, let us turn to the testimony of non-Marxists.

In an article of this period in the *Nation* entitled, "What Lies Back of Foster," we read:

"The process of making over the American labor movement in the image designed by Foster and his followers will be a slow one, but it seems to be gaining momentum, and it is a process that should absorb the attention of business as well as labor. If one may generalize, I should say that intellectual differences become most important in times of actual change. Mr. Gompers has had his opponents since he first attained leadership over the American Federation of Labor. Daniel De Leon, Eugene V. Debs, William Haywood and many other borers from within and without, year after year challenged his power in the name of principle. Yet Mr. Foster's challenge today is more formidable than these others in the eyes of the leaders because the idea of change has been hurled at labor by the Russian Revolution and the postwar upheaval and all that underline them."

Or in the book *Rebels and Renegades*, written by Max Nomad and published in the early 1920's, the author states:

"The great steel strike had made William Foster a national figure. He had become a headliner and the best-hated man in the country. It placed him, too, at the parting of the ways. He could return to his work in the A. F. of L., where a soft job and well-paid position was assured him on condition merely that he live down the Red reputation which the steel interests and a pliable press had deliberately made for him. With his intellectual equip-

ment, he was certainly competent to step into the shoes of Samuel Gompers, should the latter choose to retire or die. This, however, the powerful bureaucrats in charge of the Federation would never permit. They did not trust him. . . . He was still openly monkeying with his old I.W.W. ideal of organizing the unskilled; he was not fraternizing with the representatives of big business; he was not a 'regular fellow,' but a studious bird, keen to find out anything that was to be known about labor movement in every country of the world. No, decidedly, he was not their kind. Gompers likewise towered intellectually miles above them; but the old man was a thorough cynic, and as such, flesh of the flesh of these Tammany-souled-minded trade union officials. Irish though Foster was—as they were themselves for the most part—he seemed to be an Irishman of a different kind; one of those fine, incorruptible pioneers of Ireland's and America's freedom, whom they celebrated in florid speeches but with whom they certainly wouldn't have liked to work."

Comrade Foster immediately drew life-long conclusions from the turn in the tide of world history represented by the victory of the working class under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union. He set out to bring the meaning of that great event to the working class of our country and for over 30 years has played the role of giving the most outstanding theoretical and political leadership

to our Party in this task. He immediately became a founder of the Communist Party of the United States, was the major force in bringing into our Party a decisively important trade-union and native American cadre, and for over 30 years has played the role of giving most outstanding and consistent theoretical and political leadership in the building of our Party and the developing of its program, policies and tactics. For over 30 years, on the American scene, he has been the leading exponent and defender of Marxism against Lovestoneism, Trotskyism, Browderism, Titoism, and all other efforts to revise and corrupt Stalinist theory and ideology.

One of Comrade Foster's most valuable qualities, as a Marxist political and theoretical leader, is his outstanding ability to use objectively and incisively, the weapon of self-criticism. His basic writings as well as his daily work is saturated with a self-critical spirit. For example, in his book *From Bryan to Stalin* written in 1937, he turns to an evaluation of his role 20 years earlier in the First World War and writes:

"Despite the revolutionary aims I had in mind, this whole war-time policy of mine was grossly incorrect. True, it had in it definite elements of antagonism to the war and it was also in sharp conflict with the Gompers' 'social peace' policy of no strikes and no organizational campaigns, a program that certainly prevented the organization of several million workers dur-

ing the war period. Nevertheless it was fundamentally wrong. What was wrong with the policy originated in my Syndicalist over-estimation of the role of simple trade unionism in the class struggle. It sacrificed too much for the building of trade unions. It ignored the fundamental necessity that all working class activities of the time had to center around direct agitation and militant political fight against the war. . . . But my policy of concentrating all attention upon simply building trade unions, in the hope of their eventually carrying through the revolution, involved actually, in spite of my good intentions, an opportunist compromise with the war. And any such compromise inevitably played into the hands of the capitalist war makers."

Most recently one could point to Foster's analysis of the People's Front and of the state form of People's Democracy and the history of their development. Foster made the initial presentation of these questions—in the pamphlet *In Defense of the Communist Party* and the book *Twilight of World Capitalism*—the basis for a self-critical, fully developed and rounded out formulation of these questions in the article "People's Front and People's Democracy" in the June 1950 issue of *Political Affairs*.

This deeply and consistently self-critical approach is a most valuable feature of Comrade Foster's political and theoretical leadership to our Party.

Foster's role of theoretical and political leadership on a host of

other vital issues, which find their most advanced expression in *Outline Political History of the Americas*, can only be indicated at this time.

AGAINST RIGHT- OPPORTUNISM AND "LEFT"-SECTARIANISM

For many decades, concepts and practices of dual unionism plagued the working class and revolutionary movement in the United States. Ever since 1912 Comrade Foster has fought on all fronts against this American brand of "Left"-sectarianism. In fact, one of the very first contributions that Comrade Foster made to our own Party was the elimination of this disease from Party theory and tactics. This enabled our Party to enter the main stream of the labor movement and laid the foundation for all Party mass work. Foster's struggle against dual unionism was essentially a struggle for a correct relationship between the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, a great and correct application of Marxist theory to the American scene.

If there was ever an example in the American revolutionary movement of the development and application of the Stalinist concept of struggle on two fronts, it was Foster's two-sided struggle against "Left"-sectarian concepts of dual unionism on the one hand, and against the Right opportunism of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy which blocked the organization of the unorganized on the other.

The bulk of the 1920's is identi-

fied as the Coolidge "prosperity" period in our country, and on a world scale as the period of the temporary stabilization of capitalism.

During this difficult period in our movement, when class collaborationism reigned supreme in labor's ranks, Comrade Foster concentrated his major energies in exposing these collaborationist theories.

It was at this time that he wrote *Misleaders of Labor*, the *Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement*, and numerous pamphlets on the same subject. While exposing collaborationism at home, he wrote extensively on the accomplishments of the Soviet Union and its early triumphs. Many an American worker first learned the truth about the Soviet Union from Foster's writings.

The widespread wave of collaborationism affected our own Party. It expressed itself in Lovestone's theory of American "exceptionalism," which challenged the Marxist-Leninist conception of the inner and outer contradictions of capitalism in the imperialist stage.

It was under Foster's leadership that our Party defeated Lovestoneism, one of the worst expressions of Right opportunism and revisionism. And while the Party headed by Foster was engaged in this major ideological battle, Trotskyism raised its ugly head and again it was Foster who led the fight against it, concretely applying the Stalinist concept of the struggle on two fronts.

It was during this period also

that Foster's pamphlets dealing with organization of the unorganized and the lessons of strikes became blueprints and guides for the whole new generation of working-class leaders who made a success of the great C.I.O. organizing drive.

In the late 1930's, Comrade Foster began to show concern over the line of our Party and its role in the working-class movement. He began to express dissatisfaction with the growing tendency inside our Party to become completely submerged in united-front movements, often from on top, without establishing a position of our own when other forces failed or refused to join us on this or that major issue. He became particularly alarmed over growing expressions of liquidationism.

The most dramatic and severe test of Foster's stature as a great Marxist theoretical and political leader came in 1943 and 1944 when the Right-opportunism of Browder blossomed into a fully formulated revisionist political line. Foster alone of the leadership of our Party was able to challenge theoretically and politically this corruption of Marxist science. In his historic "Letter to the National Committee Against Browder Revisionism" of February 1944, Comrade Foster unmasked the fundamental features of Browder's revisionist line in relation to the wartime, and post-war, role of U.S. imperialism, and established the essential programmatic base for the development of a struggle to defeat revisionism and re-establish the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the C.P.U.S.A.

He also at that time charted the tactics of this struggle which slightly more than a year later, in 1945, culminated in the defeat of Browderism and isolation of Browder.

It is this background of steeling in the crucible of major class battles on the ideological as well as other fronts that equipped Comrade Foster to give the decisive theoretical and political leadership to our Party which enabled it to emerge from the quagmire of Browderism in 1945. It is this background which has helped our Party since 1945 to establish a level of theoretical activity which has enabled it to make an important contribution to the world Communist movement through an early and a correct estimate of the basic war orientation of American imperialism; to re-establish on a more advanced level a basic Marxist position in relation to the national character and role of the Negro people's movement; to tackle new questions such as Keynesism, the basic roots of American exceptionalism, theoretical aspects of the woman question, and a host of other vital problems.

Our membership will fully understand the great significance of our Party's great new Marxist work, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, to the extent that it understands that it is the logical, and in a sense inevitable, product of over 40 years of leadership on the theoretical front to the American working class by the Chairman of the Communist Party. That is why the second great task which our Party must tackle is to utilize the

occasion of the publication of this work, and the 70th birthday observation, to develop a new understanding in our Party of Comrade Foster's role as the chief theoretician of the American working class.

III.

The third task of our Party in connection with the book is to realize that it is confronted with a big organizational undertaking. The difference between good intentions and good results is measured by the caliber of organizational work. If our Party is to make full use of the great weapon in the fight for peace, democracy and Socialism that it has in *Outline Political History of the Americas*, it must lay out a full plan for the popularization, distribution and sale of the book nationally, in each District, and in every section and group. Proper personnel must be assigned and adequate methods of control decided upon at all levels of the Party.

Some of the elements of such a plan are the following:

1. The full and planned utilization of Party press and publications. This should include the consistent carrying of reviews, articles, special features and editorials on the book.

2. Vigorous efforts to enlist the participation of a wide section of trade-union and nationality press in the popularization of the book. *Outline Political History of the Americas* is a book written for hundreds of thousands, in the long

run, for millions of workers. It is a book which supplies facts and information and does not presume that the reader will have had a college education and a research worker's training. Every political interpretation and conclusion is solidly buttressed by all the necessary material for a clear understanding without supplementary reading. It is alive with all the pressing questions confronting the labor movement of today. It is the kind of a book which any progressive union, mass organization or paper could proudly sponsor and, as a minimum, should feel obligated to bring before their membership and readers.

3. All commissions and departments of the Party, at all levels and without exception, should gear their activities to participation in the mass drive around the book. Especially important are the Educational, Trade Union, Negro, and Youth Commissions and Departments of our Party.

4. In so far as the educational departments and commissions of our Party are concerned, their activities should include the following: the preparing of a cadre of qualified lecturers and discussion leaders on the book; the adjusting of curricula for Party classes, schools and study groups, so as to adequately reflect and base themselves on the book; the extensive development of seminars and forum discussions on the book; the establishing of a basic and uniform study guide for Party groups.

5. The work of every Party group in the coming several months

should center largely around activity in connection with the book. This activity should include the following four points: (1) Ensuring the sale of the book to every member or family in the group; (2) organizing the collective study of the book by the group; (3) bringing the book to selected advanced workers in the shop, mass organization or community on which the group is based; (4) promotion of one or more of the methods of mass popularization of the book, such as forums, reviews in non-Communist press, lectures, etc.

6. The key *immediate* task is the ensuring of an advance sale of 10,000 copies of the book prior to its publication date of February 25. This advance sale, which places the book in the hands of 10,000 comrades by the time of the official date of publication, February 25, should encompass the key actives of our Party starting with the group leader. The general low price of \$5 for a work of this size (actually it is three major volumes incorporated into one book of 700 pages), plus the sizeable discount of \$2 during the advance sale, should make an advance sale of 10,000 copies fully possible despite the shortness of time.

FOSTER INDICTS WALL STREET'S WAR PROGRAM

The big financial and industrial interests, through their representatives in Washington and the U.N., are now announcing almost daily their intention, when they consider

the moment most favorable, of launching a third, an atomic World War aimed at destroying Socialism and making the world a Wall Street colony. Until quite recently they have been telling the American people that all this was to be done in response to a popular demand on the part of the peoples of Europe and Asia. Unable to hide any longer the fast-mounting, bitter and universal hatred of these peoples for the U.S. and its policies, the domestic propaganda line of U.S. imperialism is beginning to undergo a change. Now the story that is increasingly being told the people runs somewhat like this: "U.S. policy is not dependent on popular support in Europe or Asia. 'We' Americans can win world domination without it. 'We' have a powerful industrial plant in the U.S. and the resources of 'our' Western Hemisphere to back it up. For every city, town and village in Europe and Asia that opposes U.S. policy we will build an atomic bomb and a B-36 to deliver it."

This is, of course, criminal insanity on a scale that makes a piker out of Hitler and his dream of "Deutschland Uber Alles." Yet it is increasingly the basis for U.S. government policy. MacArthur's order, "kill everything that moves" and its execution by the U.S. armed forces have already made this insanity a shameful reality in Korea. This is the insanity of a desperate ruling class just awakening to the fact that it is on the losing end of an irrevocable process of history.

From its first to its last page, *Outline Political History of the Amer-*

icas is a devastating theoretical and political indictment of U.S. imperialism, of its pretensions to world domination, of its myth of a stable base of support in the Western Hemisphere. It shows that the decisive product of U.S. monopoly capital in this Hemisphere is not a stockpile of atomic bombs—it is a political situation in which the mass of people in the 20 nations south of the U.S. border spit on the ground when they hear the word "Yankee" and have developed the trade union, people's, and Communist organizations which give them the mature capacity to challenge imperialist exploitation. It is not too much to say that *Outline Political History of the Americas* will rear a new generation of U.S. workers, Communist and non-Communist, equipped with a qualitatively new understanding of their allies to the South and with a new concept of their international working-class obligations to these allies.

Outline Political History of the Americas shows that the main thing produced by U.S. capitalism is not a great industrial plant and armament capacity—but a working class that has shed its blood in bitter class battles, has built its unions in the open shop citadels of monopoly capital despite terror and misleadership, and has, despite its many traditional ideological and political weaknesses, given birth to a Communist Party that is increasingly developing a capacity to learn from its mistakes and to become steered in struggle.

In *Outline Political History of the Americas*, the working class of

our country, through its Marxist vanguard, throws down the gauntlet of a major ideological offensive to its war-minded imperialist ruling class. The fact that such a great Marxist work can come from

its ranks at this juncture of world history is, without doubt, a sure indication that the confidence of Communists in the future is well-founded.

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The Effect of the War Economy on the South

by Jim Jackson

LED BY Communist Parties schooled in Stalin's great teachings on the national question and the Lenin-Stalinist science of victory, the unfree peoples of the world are in the throes of great popular revolutions for national independence. Thanks to changes in the correlation of social forces on a world scale, in favor of democracy and Socialism and to the detriment of world imperialism, a number of the national liberation struggles have swept forward to brilliant successes. These changes are revealed in the triumph of the Chinese revolution, resulting in liberation of a half billion human beings; in the heroic people of Korea administering an anguishing military rebuff to the would-be Hitlerite adventurers of American imperialism and in the setting aflame of the hopes, aspirations and determined struggles of all the unfree peoples of the earth.

The heroic inspiration of these great liberating struggles of the peoples of China, Korea, and the significance of the recent upsurge in Puerto Rico, and other Asian and African peoples has not been lost on the enthralled Negro nation in the Black Belt in the South. The pulse of the Negro people's national

consciousness has quickened everywhere. In spite of the formidable appearance of the evil power of the Wall Street imperialist oppressor, the lesson of Korea and China is that "he can be had," and the attainment of victory by the oppressed is possible in our generation!*

The South is the seat of the oppressed Negro nation in the United States (with all the revolutionary portent that it holds for the forces of peace and advancement in our country), as well as the area of the most unrelieved political reaction, chauvinism and social backwardness. It is essential that we analyze and estimate the probable consequences upon the South of the new stage—the M-Day stage—in our government's drive toward new wars for world conquest, and the effect this can have on the fight for peace.

Truman's War Mobilization Program will bring great suffering to the Southern masses generally, to the Negro people especially.

What are some of the changes in the South that can already be fore-

* See: *Problems of National and Colonial Struggle after the Second World War*, by E. M. Zhakov, et al. People's Publishing House, Ltd., Bombay, India.

seen as a consequence of Truman's decrees to place the country on a war footing for waging an aggressive war against the world?

I. HOW WILL THE SOUTH BE AFFECTED ECONOMICALLY?

On the basis of present appropriations, about one-fourth of national production will be devoted to producing the materials for predatory war. Such a war-production program could be met without necessitating a large expansion of plant facilities or wholesale reconversion of all consumer-goods and peace-time industries. It would be sufficient to fill up the idle plant space, plus reconverting certain industries like auto. This would absorb the unemployed and semi-employed and those workers in "lost" industries ("non-essential"), without calling up the great manpower reserves among the Negroes, women and youth.

But it is evident that the war-frenzied Wall Street government of Harry Truman is bent upon converting fully 60 percent of the economy into war economy, and, if not arrested by the people, will surely appropriate new tens of billions of the taxpayers' future earnings for war production. Therefore, it is oriented not merely on taking up the slack in the national economy by enlarging its war-economy sector, but on a policy of widespread expansion of the war-serving industries and the wholesale reconversion of "non-essential" industries to a war-production footing.

Korea has demonstrated that U.S. imperialism cannot command the armies of its allies to do its fighting but is forced to build up its own huge armies. Just so, it cannot count on commandeering the industrial resources of France, Italy, or even those of Western Germany for war production, meeting the powerful resistance of the people's peace movement. Hence, it is forced to expand its own vast armament industry here at home.

The Wall Street imperialists are orienting upon making the U.S. an armed camp and arsenal for the whole duration of their reign. How then will the South be affected by an expanding war economy?

INDUSTRY

The conversion to a "total" war economy will be presaged and accompanied by an increase in the material misery of the masses.

Already in advance of the big war-time production increases, the cost of living bounds ahead. The power of the dollar to command the essentials of decent living is progressively diminishing. Two-thirds of the employed populace are spending more than they are earning. Corporation profits have far surpassed the 1948 peak gain—inflation gorges itself on the national income unchecked. Even heavier earnings and sales taxes are to be added to the already overbearing load now weighing upon the debt-ridden workers, farmers, middle class and small business people.

The absence of price controls on essential consumer commodities,

and the lifting of controls on rents, are additional factors which continue to drive down the living standards of the masses.

The further expansion of the armed forces and the war industries will be at the expense of consumer needs. All manner of living conveniences—utensils, clothing, meats, etc., will again be in short supply and out of the reach of the masses. Yet higher prices, rationing, red tape and discrimination will govern their distribution.

The people will not unquestioningly accept such a cut in their standard of living, such a black-out of their aspirations for satisfying their many long-postponed economic wants.

Therefore, great opportunities are unfolding to give leadership to the masses who will increasingly protest and resist the encroachment of the war preparations upon their living standard. We must associate ourselves with, and help initiate, struggles on all of these partial and limited demands. Through these struggles we must help the masses to understand that the source of their hardships lies with the Truman government's criminal war program. In this way we can aid millions to link up their fight "to make ends meet" with the mainstream struggle for peace.

Will the war mobilization bring new industries to the South? New job opportunities?

The first thing the war mobilization will bring to the South, after an inflationary rise in the cost of living, will be a sharp rise in unemployment which will spread over

a rather extended period of from 6 months to a year. Workers will be thrown out of work as the big plants retool for war and as a result of the bankruptcy of much of the small non-convertible industry which will be unable to compete with the monopolies for essential raw materials and/or government contracts.

Layoffs and a period of unemployment will be suffered by the 3,500 U.A.W. workers of the International Harvester plant of Memphis, Tenn., and the 6,000 Ford, G.M. and Chevrolet workers of Atlanta and the Allis-Chalmers Tractor plant in Gadsden, Ala., while the plants are retooled for tanks, half-tracks and army trucks. The same will be the case in the giant DuPont plant in Hopewell, Va., the huge Celanese Corporation plant in Rock Hill, S. C., and other nylon and rayon plants of North Carolina; the V-C and other manufacturers of war convertible nitrates and sulphates; Birmingham's A.C.I.P.C.O. (pipe company), etc.

Though primarily an agrarian region (with 34 percent of its working force in agriculture as against 19 percent for the country as a whole) and only 15 percent of its working people in manufacturing industry (1.7 millions before World War II and 2.8 millions at the war-time peak), the chemical, petroleum, coal, steel, railroad, shipping, textile industry in the South* makes

* For a quick "bosses-eye view" of the character and extent of industry in the South, see: "Dixie Spins the Wheel of Industry," by William H. Nicholas, the *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. XCV, No. 3, March 1949, pages 281-324.

it highly strategic in a war economy and rapidly adaptable to direct war production requirements.

Most of Southern industry (such as there is), is already in the "essential" or easily convertible category. The great T.V.A. power development system has already gone to war. Its Rural Electrification Program has been short-circuited and the public-power resources have been diverted to the Oak Ridge, Tenn., factories which are making super atom-bombs for Wall Street's *war of national suicide*, and super-profits for the Carbide & Carbon Chemical Corporation. Great expansion is underway here, and the population of this atomic construction workers' concentration camp will be upped from its present 35,000 to more than 75,000.

The giant North Plant of Alcoa, Tenn., and the Reynolds Metals Company of Listerhill, Ala., are pouring out aluminum made from Arkansas bauxite to be fabricated into war planes made in Texas. The huge T.C.I. of Bessemer and Ensley, Ala., are already working 'round the clock on war-allocated orders for steel. The oil refineries of Texas and Louisiana are going full blast.

Therefore, the first phase of Truman's production-for-war program will not result in any large construction of new plants. The South, which is Wall Street's industrial reserve region, is scheduled for new plants to produce war goods only in the latter phase of the war mobilization, *i.e.*, the plant re-location and construction phase.

During the entire 10-year period

from 1940 to 1950 only \$4.5 billion was invested in the Southern economy by both government and private capital. This includes the \$4 billion spent on military establishments during the war years. Most of this went into non-convertible plants and military installations—aircraft, ship building, ordnance, etc.*

War production expansion in the South during World War II drew into industry only 1.1 million new workers.** When we keep in mind that there are 40 million Southerners (a fourth of the nation's population), we can see that the titanic World War II production effort did not result in the profound changes in the employment status and gains in industrialization anticipated even then. Yet again the Southern war apologists and assorted ignoramuses hail the hour of "economic opportunity" for the South.

Nor did the Southern masses benefit substantially from the World War II production investment in the South. True, income payments rose from 12.5 billions in 1940 to 32 billions in 1946, but there was only a 2.5 billion increase in manufacturing payrolls.***

* * *

It can be anticipated therefore

* See: "Defense Plans Spur Industrialization," by Sidney Fish, *Manufacturers Record*, November 1949.

Also see: "Disposal of Southern War Plants," by Frederick L. Deming and Weldon A. Stein, N.P.A. Committee on the South, *Report No. 2*.

** See: *Economy of the South*, by Calvin B. Hoover and B. N. Blatchford, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949.

*** See: "Why Industry Moves South" by Glenn E. McLaughlin and Stefan Robock, N.P.A. Committee of the South, *Report No. 3*.

Also see: *Economy of the South*, cited above.

that the first phase of the economic mobilization will bring an increase in unemployment. Thus the next few months is a crucial political phase for the peace forces. Large numbers of the workers, jobless and confronted with rising prices and miserably inadequate social security benefits, will be angry and questioning—they will be starving on the dole with "patriotic" austerity, while the bosses are calculating phenomenal profits from government contracts.

If we help give expression to their plight and resentment, then we will be able to help them to connect up their fight for subsistence with the fight against the Truman war program of mass misery and ruination, directing them into the camp of the fighters for peace.

In the shops, the workers are already feeling the arrogance of the patrioteers. Virtual martial law is being imposed on the workers in the plants. In the name of security and war orders the hard-won union gains are being wiped out overnight. Man-killing speed-up, arbitrary firings, chiseling on overtime, the suppression of free discussion, characterize the conditions in the plants.

It is unthinkable that the workers will silently endure such miserable conditions for so mean a wage. In spite of the treachery of most of labor's officialdom—tied to the chariot of Truman's pro-World War III government—the workers will resist. We must give full support to their struggles and, in such a way that they will see C. E. Wilson's wage-freeze edicts as acts to

impose further fascist controls on the workers' freedoms, just as Truman and his Wall Street masters are striving through a third world war to impose a Wall-Street brand of fascism upon the workers of the whole world.

Southern workers face this threat with all too little trade-union organization.

Therefore, the present period presents the historic opportunity and necessity for the progressive forces in the labor movement to establish a cooperative pool of finances and personnel, and undertake at once an organizing campaign in agreed upon areas in the South.

It is necessary to overcome all difficulties and obstacles which stand in the way of boldly mounting the organizing drive in the South. The fight for peace, the requirements of the Negro liberation movement, working-class and Negro-white unity, the self-interest of the labor movement demand that such an initiative be now undertaken.

The spectre of their own bloody intentions of atom bombing the Soviet Union conjures up reciprocal fears in the fevered brains of Wall Street's "mad men over the White House." They are driven to lay plans for a vast anti-bombardment decentralization of industry and a great capital goods expansion program as insurance against a long war and delay in the realization of their plans to loot Europe and Asia.

Only if the war economy should develop to this latter phase, only

then may the South come in for plant construction and development of industry. Such an eventuality *would* call forth a relocation of the present working force of the South, bringing about a shift in the urban-rural ratio with consequent effects on the Southern agrarian economy.

But before this point is reached the Wall Street government will most probably have suffered its military Waterloo in both Asia and Europe, and some kind of political transposition here at home with the junking of the Truman-Acheson-Eisenhower-Dulles "War-Now" gang.

In the meantime there will follow an increase in employment in industry. Especially significant for us is the textile industry's projected manpower need of 100,000. The textile industry centered in the Carolinas (cotton, textiles, hosiery, cellulose) presently engages 40 percent of all employed workers in the nine Southeastern states. It's the South's number-one industry. But it employs no Negro workers on production in spite of the fact that over one-third of the Carolinas' population are Negroes.* It is evident that a great opportunity exists to aid in every way the unfolding of struggles of the Negro workers for employment in these textile fortresses of aryanism.

The fight against the exclusion of Negroes from the textile industry can be won in 1951! To create conditions for Negro-white working-

class unity in the major Southern industry would be a signal contribution to the struggle for the unity of the working class in the South and the entire country. It would deal a telling blow at the fascist forces striving to enlarge their social base by corralling sections of the Southern white workers.

There will be "normal" increases in jobs for Negro workers in industries and occupations where they are presently employed. However, the industrial oligarchy will follow the traditional pattern of employing Negroes at "new" skills only when they have scraped the manpower barrel-bottom of white men, white women and white youth. Pleas that war-time necessity requires unity and sacrifices will be invoked to buttress long entrenched white supremacy "local customs" that exclude Negroes from upgrading to the skilled, better paying jobs. These will have the solid backing of the government War Production Board and its boss, C. E. Wilson, the President of the Jim-Crow G.E. empire. Furthermore, decrees designed to freeze workers in their present jobs can be expected, and would operate to freeze Negroes in the hottest, hardest and heaviest jobs paying the lowest wages.

The Negro workers and the whole Negro people will fight militantly against all discrimination in employment and for F.E.P.C., even as they have fought in the past at the Mobile, Ala., dry docks, Birmingham's Bechtel-McComb-Parsons aircraft plant, in the national march on Washington, D. C., and in

* See: *Disposal of Southern War Plants*, by Deming and Stein, cited above.

thousands of other anti-discrimination actions.

All these struggles for jobs for Negroes, and against discrimination, serve the immediate, objective and urgent needs of the Negro people for employment; contribute to checkmating the drive to fascism; and further expose the sinister, callous countenance of the reactionary Washington-Wall Street war mob. In helping unfold anti-discrimination job struggles we will be able to help rally to the conscious peace camp masses of militant Negro toilers who will understand that the government which is preparing an imperialist war led by white-supremacy racists can only practice and feed discrimination against Negroes at home. Consequently, the fight for peace becomes the broad road along which the struggle for freedom from all forms of discrimination, segregation and national oppression can be waged and won.

AGRICULTURE

With 34 percent of the Southern working forces (one-half of the farmers in the U.S.—24.5 million rural people out of 40 million) engaged in agriculture the effects of the war economy upon agriculture are decisive for the South.*

In the whole first phase of the war economy era (possibly to mid-1952) no changes in the plantation system and the manual character of Southern agricultural production can be expected to occur. There

will be no radical increase in the tempo of mechanization of Southern agriculture. The Negro bourgeois economist W. Hardin Hughes points out in reference to World War II experiences:

“. . . that in spite of the losses of young men from the farm population of the South to industry and the armed forces there are still enough youth short of draft age to replace all farm men between the draft age and seventy during the next 10 years . . . the farm regions of the South are 'the seed beds of the nation' . . . the only regions with a constant excess of births over deaths.”*

In addition to the already available great surplus farm population (including landless migratory farm workers) there will be a drastic curtailment in the production of farm implements and farm machinery. The Graham-Paige flame-cultivator will now be manufactured as a flame-thrower war machine. The workers at the International Harvester, John Deere, and Allis-Chalmers tractor and cotton-picker plants will now be rolling tanks off the line. Farm tool manufacturing will have low steel priorities. Therefore muscle and not machinery will continue to characterize the mode of production on Southern farms.

Between 1940 and 1948 (including the great "Food for Freedom" World War II boosting of agricultural productivity), some 420,400

* See: *Economy of South*, 1949, U.S. Government Printing Office.

* *Economic Values of the Negro to the South*, by W. Hardin Hughes, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga., p. 9.

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tractors were added to Southern agriculture, tripling the number of tractors in the South. But still, latest Department of Agriculture figures show that only one Southern farm in seven has at least one tractor while every second farm outside of the South has one or more tractors.* No, war economy will not radically accelerate the tempo of mechanization of Southern agriculture; on the contrary, in the early phase it will interrupt and retard this process. It is a *question of tanks or tractors!*

The post World War II marginal, progressive, economic developments toward diversification of Southern agriculture will be stopped and one crop King Cotton and his court of credit usurers, commissary merchants and walking bosses will renew their grip over the livelihood and lives of the South's rural millions. And no matter how high cotton futures rise on the floor of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, the farm masses' standard of living will fall. Fertilizer will be in short supply and sky-high. War economy for the South's farm masses will mean toil unrelieved by additional farm machinery, debt burdens and a perpetuation of their condition as the "most ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed" of Americans.

Above all, the landlord terror will stalk the Southern countryside in general, and fall upon the Negro farm masses in particular, as punitive measures to freeze the share-

croppers and tenants on the plantations are undertaken.

All the aforesaid proves that a hundred hardships will propel the Southern farmers into struggle on as many partial issues. This opens before us the widest possibilities for championing these demands of the farmers, and in the course of struggle, revealing the connection between their hardship and the war policy. Hence it will be possible to rally the masses of the countryside to the struggle for peace and against the fascist measures of the Truman government. Furthermore, it is a universal truth that in itself the fight for peace has always won mass support among the farmers, whose youth fill the casualty lists more heavily than other sections of the population.

Such will be the most important effects of Truman's war oriented production program upon Southern industry and agriculture, and the economic life of the toiling masses.

II. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE MOBILIZATION FOR TOTAL WAR

To administer the conversion of the national economy to a war economy, to mobilize the energies of the nation for war against the world, and to police the home front against all opposition to the plans of world conquest, Truman has surrounded himself with a coterie of the most hard-fisted, fascist-minded, Wall Street industrialists and Dixiecrat generals. Wall Street-

* See: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture release, August, 1950.

Also see: "The Southern Farm Family in an Era of Change," *Southern Economic Journal*, July 1950, Chapel Hill, N. C.

ownership and control of the national economy is now fortified by its agents, who personally take over the administration and direction of the government's entire national war-mobilization apparatus. The operations of this Wall Street-militarist-Dixiecrat bureaucracy now in command of the administration affairs of the Truman government will be reactionary all down the line.

The disastrous effects of the reactionary warmakers' anti-people's regime will be most brutally felt by the Southern masses, Negro and white, in the social and political life of the South.

Now all the worst reactionary features of the traditionally repressive poll-tax-Dixiecrat-Bourbon-banker local ruling oligarchies in the Southern states will be intensified in the name of national security and jingoist patriotism. In the South, the Bill of Rights has long since been an alien doctrine. The barbaric chauvinist doctrines of white supremacy lie at the heart of the whole Bourbon legislative, judicial and cultural superstructure. The oppression and degradation of the Negro people is a punitively enforced function of all government and law; now, the inflaming of war hysteria and the promulgation of "emergency" decrees will make the political and social atmosphere unbearable for the Negro people in particular, and the Southern masses in general.

The industries which dominate the cities and towns of the South, *i.e.*, T.C.I., Acipco and Comer Mills in Birmingham; R. J. Reynolds in

Winston-Salem; Coca Cola in Atlanta; Duke in Durham—will increase their sway over the local and state governments with all the reactionary consequences that logically follow: further shifting of local tax burdens to the masses; curtailment of all expenditures for social services, schools, playgrounds, slum clearance, etc.; a rash of anti-Communist and anti-labor ordinances and additional legislative restraints on democratic rights; tightening of anti-Negro segregation laws; graft scandals, etc.

In the country as a whole, and in the South in particular, there will be a moratorium called on all so-called "Fair Deal" reforms for the "duration." For the South, this will mean the abandonment of even the timid alterations in its Jim-Crow structure which the Supreme Court was compelled to order. In the name of war priorities, building programs long under discussion for the so-called "equalization of education for Negroes" will be abandoned. The railroads will assume they are released from their commitment to add "modern" Jim-Crow cars to their trains. New housing and hospital construction will be scrapped. Truman, who relies on the most reactionary forces in American life for support of his war program, will no more risk offending his Dixiecrat cohorts by issuing an F.E.P.C. order than he would deign to affront his own Bourbon soul and his Southern-Junker generals by abolishing segregation in the armed forces.

The measure of the contempt which Truman's bipartisan pro-

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World War III government has for the Negro people is exhibited by his appointment of the notorious Negrophile Dixiecrat, ex-Governor of Florida Millard Caldwell, as czar of a vast network of civil defense organizations.

The Negro people in the South remember the working of civilian defense organizations in World War II as one of the bitterest pages in the history of the war years. The civilian defense organizations in many places operated as murderous night patrols of white Kluxers in the Negro communities. In the South they functioned as vigilante gangs to "keep Negroes in their place." Is not the real mission of the Dixiecrat cyclops of the civilian defense to build a vast "official" night-rider, terrorist organization to supplement an ever increasing police apparatus for combatting the resistance actions of labor and the Negro people?

* * *

With the government's systematic cultivation of national chauvinism, the fabrication of all manner of Nazi-like "American destiny" doctrines and ideology, seeking to stupefy the masses into support of its criminal program for world conquest, there will be an inevitable intensification of white chauvinist propaganda and practice directed against the Negro people here at home. There will be a widespread increase in acts of police terror against the Negro people, Communists and progressives, to say nothing of the new patriotic garb which the K.K.K. will now be sporting while redoubling its terrorist ac-

tivities against the lives and liberties of the Negro masses and their supporters.

The South is the bivouac area for the Army, Marines and Air Forces—the region where the new multi-million-man Army will be trained and encamped. The major arsenals, ordnance depots and sensitive war plants, such as Oak Ridge Atomic Bomb plants and the South Carolina Hydrogen Bomb plants, are also found here. This means that whole areas of the South will be under virtual martial law, and the mass actions of the farmers, strikes of the workers and protest demonstrations of the Negro people, will be called "revolts" and subject to repression by the millions of ready-at-hand soldiers.

But it will also be a fact that hundreds of thousands of Negro soldier-trainees and fair-play minded white draftees will be outraged by, and offer resistance to, the iron-clad strictures of Southern Jim Crow both in the communities and within the military cantonments.

Finally, there is today no Southern community which has not suffered personal grief through the death or maiming of one of its sons, sacrificed on the altar of Wall Street-Truman-MacArthur's mad aggression against the freedom-loving colored peoples of Korea.

Thus, we see that Truman's total mobilization war program would slam the door to all further social and political progress for the Negro and white masses of the South; compound all the old evil features of the Southern "way of

life," and give new power and encouragement to all the anti-democratic, anti-Negro and reactionary forces in their attacks upon the lives, liberties and livelihood of the plain people. The pressure of a thousand abuses of the people's rights offer the opportunity, and create the necessity, for the masses to wage struggle on as many limited, partial-demand issues. The masses of the people will resist the extraordinary measures, arbitrariness, repressions and increasing fascization which is accompanying the war program.

In these conditions, the participation of the Communist and peace forces in the struggle for the immediate demands of the Negro people, the consumers, the workers of town and country, the youth—especially the Negro youth in the armed forces—takes on a very great importance, and will continue to acquire increased importance in strengthening the resistance of the people to the threat of war and fascism. In the course of these struggles we must help the masses to see that the central reason for their misery lies in the Truman bipartisan government's war policy and thereby aid them to link up the struggle for partial and immediate demands with the great struggle for peace, democracy and national freedom for the Negro people.

All the aforesaid testifies to the fact that the Truman government's war program will further sharpen all the contradictions inherent in the oppressive rule of the war-madened bourgeoisie. That, consequently, its heavy-handed measures

to chain the masses to its war program are creating the objective conditions for winning the overwhelming majority of the Southern people (as of the people as a whole) for the struggle for peace.

Through developing their resistance to the new hardships imposed by the war program of the Wall Street-Dixiecrat government, the great masses of the people of the South, Negro and white, will be uniting their ranks in struggle for an alternative path away from the Truman government's road to war, fascism, degradation and poverty.

III. THE STATUS OF THE PARTY IN THE SOUTH

The further strengthening of our Party in the South is central to realizing the new possibilities for uniting, broadening, deepening and seriously registering the organized strength of the Southern masses for peace, democracy and social progress.

None of the eleven states of our Party's Southern Region have functioning state organizations. In nine states there are Party clubs or sections in 60 cities and three farm areas. Only in Mississippi and Arkansas are there as yet no clubs of the Communist Party. Our Party in the South has a proud and honorable history of leadership, sacrifice and service to the people's struggles dating back over 20 years—the militant struggles of the unemployed in the '30's and the fights around Scottsboro and Herndon; its role in the pioneering drives to organize the Southern workers in

tobacco, textile, coal, steel and maritime; its participation in the broad democratic people's movements, the Southern Negro Youth Congress and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; its leadership in struggles against police terror and lynch frame-ups in the past year, etc. During the recent campaign for signatures to the Stockholm Peace Pledge, our comrades in the face of terror and arrests collected over 14,000 signatures. In this campaign, one of our comrades who is here as a delegate to this Convention collected 287 signatures. This is a testament not only of the peace sentiments of rural folk, but a tribute to the authority our comrade enjoys among the people.

Yes, our Party exists in the South, and the bulk of its still small membership is characterized by a confidence in the ultimate triumph of our cause, loyalty to the principles and leadership of our Party, and iron powers of endurance and courage in the face of a multitude of hardships, difficulties and terror.

Now, what are the outstanding weaknesses of our Party in the South which must be corrected promptly if we are to be able to grow and give effective leadership to the many-sided resistance movement of the people against the war and fascism drive of the Truman government?

We have thus far failed satisfactorily to complete the organizational structure and insure the functioning of the Party at all levels through special attention to the groups.

The purest water cannot be carried in a sieve. Neither can our Party's correct policies come alive and be carried to the masses by our comrades unless we give greater attention to the problems of strengthening the structure of our Party organization. Stalin has spoken of the Leninist laws of Party organization, the observance of which distinguishes our Party from the discussion groups of reformist dreamers. Comrade Winston, in his report to the 1948 Convention and in subsequent reports—especially in his report to this Convention—has developed very completely the concrete application of these universally valid Leninist-Stalinist laws of organization to our own Party.

Some comrades have contempt for problems of Party form and structure. Apparently they think that because our Party is "the highest form of organization of the working class" they can ignore the elementary organizational procedures with which less advanced organizations and associations of the people are concerned. But on the contrary, it is precisely because we must perfect our Party as "the highest form of organization of the working class" that we cannot neglect the elementary functions of organization. What are some of these "standard operational procedures" (as they say in the army) which are so obviously necessary for the existence of *any* organization, yet to which some of our comrades in the South pay no attention?

1. That members of the Party are organized into small clubs and that attending their club meeting

and participating in its functions is primary to exercising membership in the Party. It would appear to be elementary that the first consideration of a Party organizer would be to guarantee the organization of his membership into operating clubs. But we cannot report that this seemingly obvious and primary responsibility of leadership is fulfilled or understood by our leadership in many places in the South.

2. That members of our Party, organized into clubs, pay monthly dues and otherwise assist in raising funds for our Party. It cannot be said that our leading comrades in the South consider this a law of the survival of our Party under capitalism.

3. That a meeting of any organization or committee of the Party is a planned event and not a spontaneous gathering. That the comrades in attendance are there for a definite purpose and conduct their business in conformity with an agreed-upon agenda, reflecting previous preparation and thought on the part of the leadership. Does such purposeful planning and business-like conduct characterize the meetings of our clubs and section committees and the approach of our leading comrades to these meetings in our Southern districts? I think not.

* * *

What accounts for this weakness and neglect of the Party's organization by our Communist leaders in the South? Are there severe objective difficulties? Yes, but it would seem that the very severity of the

objective difficulties would lead to greater attention to solving the problems of organization. Then, too, the objective difficulties are only relatively severe—not nearly so severe as in a number of countries in the world. No, I think we will find that our lack of progress in coping with these organizational problems reflects certain basically wrong subjective and political concepts regarding our Party's work in the South.

On the part of some leaders, there is what I would call the "hero and missionary" approach to work in the South. Such comrades gauge the influence of the Party primarily in terms of the quantity of their own individual activity rather than in that of the masses. They are very busy. They are agitating certain leading individuals to pursue this or that line. They are personally raising money. They are writing and distributing leaflets. They are deepening their formal frame of reference in the classics of Marxism-Leninism. *But they are not succeeding in building the Party on the solid basis of functioning clubs, and leading these clubs into struggle in company with masses.*

These comrades exhibit, in practice, a lack of confidence in the masses in general, and in the ranks of our Party in particular. In practice they are veering away from the Marxist proposition of mass action—that is to say that fundamental social progress comes only through the action of the masses, under the leadership of the working class, enlightened by the advanced policies

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and theories of its vanguard Party. They are adopting the standpoint of anarchism—the reactionary doctrine that exaggerates and glorifies the isolated deeds of so-called individual heroes.

If such conceited and sectarian tendencies toward individualism among certain of our comrades in the South were not signalized and ended they could lead to the political and organizational disfiguration of our Party in the South, and ultimately to its liquidation.

The "hero" complex, exhibited by certain Southern comrades, leads to the underestimation of the need for a strong Party organization and is fed by certain lingering anti-Marxist, reformist notions abroad in our Party nationally. These wrong-headed notions hold that: democratic reform in the South generally, and the liberation of the Negro nation in the Black Belt in particular, is conditional upon development in the first place in the North and West; that the South is hopelessly reactionary, an inert mass contributing nothing to the struggle for social progress; that democracy for the Southern people in general, and freedom for the Negro nation in particular, must wait until the workers in Detroit and the Negro minority in Harlem gain positions of such political influence that they may deliver freedom and democracy to the Southern masses; that consequently the organization of the Party in the Black Belt is subordinate to the building of the Party in Harlem; that personnel and resources should be mobilized and expended for tex-

tile concentration in Massachusetts, while textile concentration in North Carolina (where 75 percent of the industry is located) goes begging for lack of a single colonizer.

It seems to me that our Party nationally must see that in our *trade-union work* and in our *Negro work* we can not win the battle against opportunism, white chauvinism and reformism so long as work in these fields is characterized by a neglect and underestimation of the South.

The development of higher levels of the Negro national revolutionary struggle in the Black Belt, and the broad mass movement for democratic rights in the South as a whole, is an indispensable prerequisite for insuring the victory of the working class and the American people over the menacing challenge of the ruling class forces of fascism and war *presently*, and for working class victory over capitalism *ultimately*. This is a basic fundamental in the strategy for working class victory, and a special feature of the path to the triumph of Socialism in our country.

* * *

Now some comments in reference to some of the continuing weaknesses and problems in the mass work of our Party in the South.

Our failings and shortcomings in expanding our Party's influence within the existing mass movements in the South, and in developing the peace and freedom struggles of the masses to keep pace with the objective opportunities and the political necessities of the times, cannot

be explained simply by the small size of our Party membership, or by weaknesses in its organizational structure. Rather they point to the fact that we have not yet understood and applied the united-front tactic of our Party.

It is impossible to envision the timely development of really serious peace movements of mass struggle in the South, which are connected with the struggle for freedom, except on the basis of the consistent application of the broadest and most flexible united-front approach to the organization of the masses at the grass roots level!

Comrades, while some of us are busily blue-printing channels for the organization of some so-called "united-front" movement which will at some future time contain the peace forces within some pre-fabricated organizational form, a series of truly important spontaneous (and not so spontaneous) peace actions are taking place outside the orbit of our Party's influence, but almost literally under our noses. There is something wrong with our conception of the united front of struggle for peace when we do not find the way to enter into and further develop such significant spontaneous peace actions as that of the Birmingham chapter of the white Marine Corps Veterans Women's Auxiliary, which recently by unanimous vote sent a telegram to President Truman demanding that he spare the lives of their sons and husbands by recalling the troops from Korea. Or support the initiative taken by citizens of Monks Corner and other South

Carolina towns marked for razing to make way for a gigantic H-bomb construction project, who put up plaintive signs of protest which said in part: "We love these dear hearts and gentle people who live in our home town . . . in leaving we hate to think that bombs made here may be used to destroy the beloved home towns of other peoples. . . ."

If we are to contribute effectively to beating back the increased menace of fascism and total war, we must put behind us all doctrinaire, formalistic and sectarian approaches to unfolding our united-front work in the struggle for peace, for Negro freedom, in defense of democratic rights and living conditions of the masses.

We Communists who work in the South must constantly study our environment in order to have a detailed knowledge of the conditions and immediate pressing needs of the masses. It is necessary to study the specific partial demands raised by the masses, and to familiarize ourselves fully with all the concrete existing and past forms of struggle by means of which the masses have fought and are fighting to realize these limited demands. We must be ready to adopt the style of work and forms of mass struggle which are familiar to, and understood by, the particular body of people we are striving to move into action.

Another failing in our Party's mass work is that our Party leaders do not patiently explain the relationship between the immediate specific mass activity in which com-

rades are engaged and the general perspectives and goals of the whole movement. Work on the particular task at hand will be entered into with greater energy, confidence and determination, when its significance and relationship to the larger organizational and political goals are clearly defined. Leadership must guarantee that our active comrades work with clear political and organizational perspectives.

Finally, through the constant exercise of criticism and self-criticism—the law of development of our Party—we must bring improvements in the style of work of our Communist leaders in the South. Comrade Stalin, the master organizer of victories of the working class and oppressed people, the foremost leader and teacher of the workers of the world, has said that leading comrades must “make their work of leadership more practical and specific and less confined to meetings and offices.” We must take this advice to heart and give our work greater planning, greater concreteness; define exactly—so that they are understood—the tasks of each party district, section, club and member, and strictly control fulfillment of all decisions democratically arrived at and entered into by the membership.

* * *

In the South, we Communists, the whole of the Negro people, white progressives and progressive trade unionists, face a *special security problem*. I refer to the armed fascist detachments of the K.K.K. This danger to our lives and secu-

rity will grow under the stimulus of war and anti-Communist hysteria which the government is striving to whip up to the intensity of a religious crusade. This security problem cannot be met simply by taking inner-Party organizational measures (although this must be done) but only by helping the people to take the necessary mass actions against these bands of fascist mobsters wherever they appear on the scene. We must view the increase in the armed fascist detachments of the K.K.K. as entirely consistent with the policy of “preparing the rear” for unloosing aggression against the world. The K.K.K. in the South exists and functions with the complicity and active support of the local and Federal government and its F.B.I. police apparatus. This relationship ensures impunity for the K.K.K. in all circumstances. In the present atmosphere it would be sheer illusion to expect the police to defend the Negro people and progressive whites from attacks by these fascist K.K.K. gangs. The aroused masses of the people must rely on their own organized mass actions to rebuff these murderers.

There are a number of other matters under this general heading which we have had occasion to treat with in the Southern Districts during the past year, and which it would be profitable to examine here. But the above are the questions requiring the most immediate attention if our Party is to improve the quality of its work and the scope of its mass leadership necessary for developing and effec-

tively contributing to a winning struggle for peace, real democracy, and the freedom of the Black Belt nation in the South. For, as its General Secretary admonished our sister Party of France: "It is much better to set one task and carry it out than to advance fifty which remain mere scraps of paper."

In the days, months and immediate years ahead we will have unprecedented opportunities for extending our influence and ties with the masses and for the building of our Party—and *The Worker* and *Daily Worker*. While undeviatingly pursuing the only correct Marxist policy of concentration on the industrial workers of the cities and Black Belt towns, we must put an end to all past "theories" of stages in giving practical and continuing leadership to the organization, the needs and struggles of the rural masses in "the spaces between the cities." Some comrades argue that we must complete the organization of our bases in the cities down to the last detail before undertaking leadership in the organization and struggles of the poor farmers and sharecroppers. This is a wrong notion. We have three main areas of leadership responsibility which must be carried on and developed simultaneously, for they have an interaction one on the other, namely: (1) the special struggles of the workers—Negro and white; (2) the special struggles of the poor farmers, Negro and white; and (3) the struggle of the Negro nation for liberation and of the Negro people everywhere for equal rights.

This Convention should mark a

turning point and equip our Party to undertake real leadership responsibilities in the growing struggles in the plantation country of the Black Belt.

This Convention will further signalize the fact that the question of peace and the fight for peace is the paramount common concern of each of the aforementioned groupings of the Southern masses. Above all it is the tactical key to achieving in life *now* the united action of masses of Negro and white people—a pre-condition for winning basic changes in the social condition of the Southern masses.

Our Party policy on the main political and organizational guidelines and perspectives for the development of the work of our comrades in the South is set forth in summary form in my article in the August issue of *Political Affairs*, and further illustrated and concretized in the Draft Convention Resolution of the Louisiana State Committee and in the main report and summary of the North Carolina State Convention. The correct perspectives, fully consistent with the general strategic and tactical line of our Party policy nationally on the struggles of the working class, the agrarian masses and Negro national liberation movement, remain valid for the whole period ahead and necessitate no further exposition for the purposes of this report.*

Comrades, may this Convention signalize a new emphasis by our

* See "Some Theoretical Aspects of the Southern People's Struggle," by Jim Jackson, *Political Affairs*, August 1950.

Party upon the significance of the struggles in the South for the attainment of the common and necessary victory of us all, the victory of peace, democracy, Negro national liberation and Socialism.

We in the South have supreme confidence in the ability of our comrades to overcome all obstacles and weaknesses which stand in the way of our Party making its full contribution toward this victory.

The Militant Traditions of Labor Defense Inspire Our Fight Today

by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

I WANT TO DEAL with some historical aspects of political defense work, which is incorrectly understood to mean legal defense, trials in courts, appeals, etc. Such proceedings are forced upon us by reaction. We have no choice but to utilize them in the fighting tradition of Dimitroff; to speak in defense of democratic rights and appeal, beyond the courtroom, to the people of our country and the world. During the past two years our leading comrades did this at Foley Square. Others also did so and won signal victories in Colorado, Los Angeles, Birmingham and other places. Our comrades on trial have behaved in an exemplary manner, reflecting great credit on the fighting spirit of our Party. We are proud of them. Lawyers have valiantly defended our rights, sometimes against deliberately obstructive tactics, as in Judge Medina's court. The five defense attorneys at Foley Square, plus Comrade Dennis, became political victims, and are penalized by jail sentences for "contempt." They are further threatened with disbarment.

This highlights the basic struggle in the United States today for the defense of democratic rights. This is the central core of political defense, of which legal defense and

the struggles to liberate the champions of the people, are an important part.

"To save the lives and preserve the strength and fighting capacity of thousands upon thousands of the most valuable fighters of the working class in many countries"—was a major duty defined by the great anti-fascist leader Dimitroff in 1935. This is not a matter of sentiment but of preservation of precious forces.

Committees were organized in America after the unsuccessful 1905 Russian revolution, to aid the political prisoners in the Czarist dungeons of old Russia and the political exiles in bleak Siberia. These same prisoners in turn, after the victorious Revolution of 1917, helped to launch the International Red Aid in Moscow, to defend and aid the victims of white terror throughout the world.

Their first appeal, issued by the Society of Old Bolsheviks, in December 1922 shows how history has removed from the terror list the names of many countries. Countries suffering under the lash of the White Terror in the '20's included China, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Bessarabia, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania—now all out from under the yoke of capital-

ism. How can one fail to be hopeful in face of such world-shaking leaps of history in our own time?

Some of those for whom worldwide actions were organized in that period were George Dimitroff, on trial in Nazi Germany, Anna Pauker and Mathias Rakosi. The notorious Queen Marie of Romania was forced to cut short her visit and leave this country in 1926 because of the demonstrations against her—from coast to coast. William Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, recently visited Mathias Rakosi, the Premier of Hungary. They reminisced in the Hungarian government office, recalling the world solidarity that saved Rakosi's life from hangman Horthy, especially the tremendous demonstrations in the U.S.A. before Hungarian Consulates.

The International Red Aid's activities, as a non-Party, mass organization, are a model of political defense work. They indicate how far we still lag today, not only in the struggle for political victims in our country, but for those in Spain, Greece, Cuba, South America, Japan, the Philippines and especially in Puerto Rico, direct target of U.S. imperialism's colonial policy.

The I.R.A.'s activities in 66 countries consisted of legal defense in concrete cases, protest demonstrations, international campaigns of solidarity, an unceasing militant struggle for the status of *political prisoner*, amnesty campaigns, prison relief and care of families, and a struggle against deportations as well as for the right of political asylum. The International Labor

Defense, organized in 1925, as "The Shield of the Working Class," undertook similar tasks in the United States. The I.L.D. grew out of the needs of the class struggle here in America.

FIGHTING TRADITIONS OF LABOR DEFENSE

The defense of the rights of labor began over a century ago when unions first appeared on the American scene and Philadelphia shoemakers were prosecuted in 1806, as "a criminal conspiracy to raise wages." This did not stop workers from organizing.

American history is full of examples of what our resolution describes as "the democratic will of the people." The rights of labor, freedom from slavery for the Negro people, and suffrage for women, were not written into the Bill of Rights in 1791. The best the Bill of Rights said was: "*The enumeration of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.*" Great struggles, not yet fully won, had to be waged to establish these unspecified rights, some of which were finally added in the 14th, 15th and 19th Amendments. Democratic rights were defended from generation to generation, by plain people like ourselves, in blood and battle, sweat and sacrifice. The ruling classes are ever ready to scrap the democratic rights, if the people permit.

In the field of labor defense, gigantic struggles played a tremendous part in teaching masses the

class role of government, in arousing American working-class solidarity, in creating a militant fighting spirit which can be rekindled. Such struggles occurred when nineteen coal miners, called the "Mollie Maguires," were hanged in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania in the '70's; when the five Haymarket martyrs of the eight-hour-day struggle were hanged in Chicago in the '80's; when the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, Bill Haywood and others, were kidnapped in Colorado and tried for murder in Idaho in 1907. These were early victims of the "frame-up" system, as typical of U.S. capitalism as lynching.

In 1916 came the frame-up of Tom Mooney and five fellow unionists, in San Francisco. Our comrade Robert Minor was the first secretary of the Tom Mooney Defense Committee. Mooney was sentenced to death in 1917. But international working-class solidarity saved his life. Under nationwide and world pressure, President Wilson requested the Governor to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. One of the cables to Wilson was from the American Ambassador in Petrograd: "Who is Muni? Great excitement here over his execution!" Mooney and Billings were finally freed in 1939—with a revival of the campaign by the I.L.D.

In the period of World War I, hundreds of anti-war Socialists, members of the I.W.W. and conscientious objectors, were imprisoned. A tremendous amnesty movement was so effective that no pris-

oner served out a long sentence, although some had 20 years. All were out in a few years.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

Comrade Foster warned us at our 1948 Convention not to allow our Party to become a defense organization. He spoke wisely from the sum total of experience in this field. A separate permanent non-partisan organization devoted exclusively to this purpose is required. In the 'twenties and earlier, some big, city-wide delegate bodies met regularly for years and did a splendid job, on special cases. The I.L.D. was the fruition of many efforts permanently to merge all such committees.

From 1925 on, the I.L.D. made labor defense history in the U.S.A. It struggled valiantly to save Sacco and Vanzetti, executed in Charleston Prison in 1927, after seven years' imprisonment. The I.L.D. won three major victories in the U.S. Supreme Court. Not through lawyers alone (although they did an excellent job, including our own Ben Davis, and the late Joseph Brodsky), but through continuous mounting agitation, leaflets, meetings, a variety of campaigns, huge demonstrations and mass support. The freedom of Angelo Herndon, then a Negro Communist in Georgia, was won after five years of legal battles and three appeals to the United States Supreme Court, when the ancient insurrection law was declared unconstitutional.

Eighteen others awaiting trial were freed. The I.L.D. saved the lives of the now famous Scottsboro boys, after a tenacious struggle in the '30's, which went twice to the Supreme Court. It also freed Dirk De Jonge of Oregon, who faced a seven-year sentence, and knocked out further attempts to enforce the criminal syndicalist laws of Oregon and Washington.

The fighting spirit of the I.L.D. is a proud heritage. All who supported the I.L.D. should now be rallied to the Civil Rights Congress. A promising meeting of I.L.D. veterans was held here in New York, and others are being planned in many cities.

The class struggle took less violent form during the Roosevelt Administration. Even in our ranks, past experiences were discounted. Illusions flourished that the I.L.D. was no longer necessary. Yet in retrospect we can see that there were plenty of warning signals—the formation of the Dies Committee in 1938, the passage of the Smith Act (Alien Registration Act, officially) in 1940, the Voorhis Act in 1940, as well as the Schneiderman case which was then in the courts.

DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS TODAY

The Civil Rights Congress, under the able leadership of William Patterson and Aubrey Grossman, is the logical inheritor of the I.L.D.'s record and experiences, and the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, led by

the devoted and indefatigable Abner Green, performs invaluable service in the fight against the government's deportation drive. It is the duty of all progressives to appreciate the need of these organizations, help raise funds, and support their work.

A broader united front can be built today than ever before, encompassing defense of the full rights of the Negro people, against lynch justice and the Jim-Crow system, to which William Patterson has already opened up new wide avenues of support. The C.R.C. is an independent mass organization which fights to save the Bill of Rights, and the heritage of democracy for the American people.

Let us not forget how many fundamental democratic rights were in jeopardy at Foley Square, not just for us but for all Americans! Not only the Communists, but all who advocate peace, and trade unionists in struggle against the straight-jacket of Taft-Hartley, plus Truman's stabilization handcuffs—are faced with smashing attacks on all democratic rights, through the courts, the legislative bodies, executive orders, and so-called administrative proceedings, all masquerading "in legal garb."

In spite of the ferocity of these attacks, the Resolution correctly warns against the legalistic illusions and fatalism, which have found expression in our leadership and ranks during the past two years. It states: "*The cause of this is a failure to make a balanced and rounded-out estimate of the situation, without 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."

Our work has been conducted on a crisis basis, even in the defense of the leadership of our Party. Let us never forget that the leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A., are in grave danger of prison terms. (Sloppy habits of designating cases by numbers — the Foley Square Eleven, the Hollywood Ten, the Trenton Six, etc., deprecates the character and importance of these cases.) The high points of the main case were the jury challenge and the first bail fight, in which the wives played a heroic role, holding 85 meetings. The second bail fight was won practically by default, because of a tendency to fatalism. To win without a struggle certainly feeds legalistic illusions. The tremendous number of leaflets, pamphlets, ads, mass meetings, radio programs, picket lines, etc., during the trial were excellent but not sustained. It was a mistake that the defendants were not involved more in the mass movement. Defendants are always their own best spokesmen.

Denial of the right to travel was a serious handicap, and we should have fought harder for it from the very beginning, but especially, after Justice Jackson's decision. There was not an adequate sustained mobilization of our Party on this. When we finally won review by the Supreme Court, after two years struggle, we did not take full advantage of it. We have had no all-out fight against the Smith

Act. We must admit this and do a real job now.

We have practically abandoned our right of assemblage, even in places where meetings can be held. Wherever halls are denied, we must arouse the masses to defend the right to assemble. In 1946 I spoke 144 times; in 1949-82 times; and in 1950-68 times—which is a startling example, since I am the only member of the National Committee with the unrestricted right to travel. Comrade Perry tells us he spoke at only six mass meetings since he came East in 1948.

I must re-emphasize—we cannot farm out the defense of our Party to any other organization and then forget about it and go about our own business as usual.

The drive of C.R.C. to raise a \$60,000 fund, of which \$15,000 is needed to meet all outstanding debts of the many cases during the past two years, should be given full support.

I have just received a call from Steve Nelson. Their trial will start on Tuesday morning. It was necessary to bring a lawyer from California because we were not able to secure a lawyer in the Eastern part of the country. So it is necessary to make a sharp appeal for the Pittsburgh situation as part of the \$60,000 fund.

The C.R.C. is the mass defense organization. It merits the whole-hearted support of our Party organizations everywhere. How can broad masses be stirred unless we ourselves are full of a white-heat indignation at the attacks upon our leaders and the rights of our

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Party? Until masses are moved there will be no such tremendous outpourings of protest and action as we saw for Mooney or Sacco and Vanzetti.

1951 will be a year of great struggles. While we sit here, the General Secretary of the Communist Party—Eugene Dennis—is in a prison cell not many blocks away. We must wage a sustained and consistent fight for his release. Truman should be deluged constantly with demands for his release. Writing to a prisoner like Comrade Dennis is a political act, to tell the authorities he is not forgotten. I am glad to say he received almost 500 greetings for Christmas. Dimitroff said strong words on this: that political prisoners and their families should meet with the most sympathetic care and solicitude, that any other attitude is "soulless and criminal." C.R.C. has launched an amnesty campaign for the victims of the Un-American Committee, who now number fourteen in prison—Eugene Dennis, eight of the Hollywood group and Helen Bryan and Ernestine Gonzales Fleishman of the Anti-Fascist Committee. It must be followed up everywhere.

In spite of the recent favorable Supreme Court decision in the Denver case, the Department of Justice has announced its intention to disregard it and prosecute twenty-four more for contempt, including Phil Bart, Manager of the *Daily Worker*, and William Patterson of the C.R.C. There are at present over 50 cases of deportation pending under the McCarran Act, which only requires past or present mem-

bership in the Communist Party as grounds for action, and which Federal Prosecutor Saypol stated, declared "a new kind of war." Eight leaders of our Party are affected—Comrades Alex Bittelman, Claudia Jones, Betty Gannett, George Siskind, Dora Lipshitz and ultimately John Williamson, Jack Stachel and Irving Potash. Others are threatened elsewhere.

In Pittsburgh, a resurrected ancient Sedition Law was used to indict Steve Nelson, Andy Onda and Jim Dolsen, at the instigation of a Red-baiting egomaniac, Judge Musmanno and a stool pigeon, Cvetic, who must land the "villains" of the piece in prison, before they can sell their anti-Communist thriller to Hollywood.

There are threats of prosecution against 14,000 others, made by Whearty of the Department of Justice, if the Supreme Court upholds the Smith Act and our eleven leaders are imprisoned.

Corollary to all these direct attacks are the persecutions of Communists and alleged Communists in trade unions under the Taft-Hartley Law, of non-Communists by the Un-American Committee, and the attack on the 160,000 members of the I.W.O. through the attempts of the Insurance Department of N. Y. State to liquidate this progressive interracial people's insurance order.

When you add the denial of halls, the refusal of ads, the denial of radio time even to answer the grossest slanders—you have a preview of defense in 1951.

What must we concentrate upon? I would say:

1) The fight to nullify and repeal the Smith and McCarran Acts and to defend their victims, especially in the present dangerous nationwide deportation drive.

2) The amnesty campaign for the release of Eugene Dennis and all other political prisoners.

3) The Pittsburgh case.

4) The fight to free the lawyers and maintain the right of, and to, counsel.

5) The right of the eleven Communist leaders to travel, to present their side of the case to the American public and to raise funds for their defense.

6) The \$60,000 Fund Drive of the C.R.C., necessary to carry on all these struggles, and others to come.

McCARRAN ACT—A POLICE-STATE LAW

The McCarran Act of 1950, passed over the objections of millions of Americans, is the logical offspring of the Smith Act of 1940. The McCarran Act declares to be law all the unfounded charges made in the Foley Square trial and more—that there is a world-wide "Communist conspiracy" and that there are "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations here, which are a part of such conspiracy and therefore "foreign agents." They assert that the fight for peace is "subversive." On this thesis they demand that such organizations register and give names of officers, members, contributors, etc., to the government, or to the

F.B.I. and the employers of the country. On this basis non-citizens are declared deportable, as I have described. The Communist Party is not named in the law, since they still hesitate openly to outlaw an American political party and thus belie their world-wide boasts of democracy. But the fact is, that now that the Board hand-picked by President Truman is set up, the first organization to be cited as "Communist-action," is our Party. This surprises no one, but it is an indecent haste, considering that the appeal on the Foley Square unconstitutional Smith Act conviction of our leaders is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. Our Party will expose the frame-up nature of this proceeding. Its efforts should win the support of the hundreds of thousands who have already condemned the passage of the McCarran Act.

The cards are stacked here, as at Foley Square, and we must go to the people with the facts. The further threat in the McCarran Act is a declaration of an internal security emergency, based on a "declaration of war," "insurrections or invasion," permitting the setting up of concentration camps for all Communists, progressives and peace-loving Americans.

The McCarran Act is a challenge to democracy. It is the longest step into fascism this country has yet taken. It would destroy the Bill of Rights and the political rights of the American working class. While a broad movement was mobilized to oppose it, this must be multiplied a thousand-fold to nullify

and repeal it. The President and the Attorney General are betraying their oath in enforcing this law which they declared was "totalitarian" and "unenforceable." We will uphold the Bill of Rights and, under no circumstances, will we violate it, nor will we become stool-pigeons before any administrative board.

We will join with all other liberty-loving Americans to repeal this disgraceful law, as the Alien and Sedition Laws of Jefferson's day were expunged from the books. This repeal movement is the major legislative job of 1951—and must take the right of way over all other campaigns.

We welcome the new movement for repeal of the McCarran Act, recently launched by a group of distinguished Americans, including Nobel Prize winners, noted educators, church leaders and others.

This Committee is centering its fight on passage of the repeal bill to be introduced by Congressman Sabath of Illinois when Congress convenes next week. Its efforts should receive the fullest support of all liberty-loving Americans.

We Communists must reject any go-it-alone attitude. Attacks on us are attacks on all progressive, peace-loving Americans. In court and elsewhere, we, as Communists defend our principles, but we fight to arouse millions to fight for *our right to advocate our principles*, whether they agree with us or not, in order that they may maintain their own rights. Around the McCarran Act, a tremendous united front can be built.

REACTION CAN BE DEFEATED

Can we win? Yes, I believe we can—drawing on the logic of history—if we are prepared resolutely to correct our past weaknesses. It is still not too late to bring mass pressure on the Supreme Court to nullify the Smith Act, since they have not yet given the decision and may not for a considerable period.

Inadequate as we may self-critically judge our political defense campaign to have been since 1947, when Schwollenbach was the first Cabinet member to make an Administration broadside attack upon our Party, the fact remains that we are still here, comrades. We hold this Convention, with our entire National Committee functioning along with us. We were not successful in preventing the jailing of Comrade Dennis; so far, however, we have been able to stop mass prosecutions of our Party and to keep the other members of our National Committee at liberty for over two years.

We must not slacken in our efforts to demonstrate that our Party stands first, last and all the time for the well-being of the American people. Far greater breadth can be achieved in our defense efforts than we have yet dared to attempt. The economic conditions of the American working class are now on the toboggan slide, with the increased war preparations. Americans do not take kindly to taxes, militarism and "verboten" signs.

However, we have a tremendous task to meet the ideological attack

upon our Party, namely the false charge that it is of foreign origin, serving other interests than those of the American people. This necessitates going out to the people more than ever.

Let us renew our efforts to gain the right to travel. As you know, Comrade Winston broke through in Brooklyn, and, politically speaking, San Francisco, another city over a bridge, is not any further away than Brooklyn. All of our leaders should be out speaking to people—to unions, forums, churches—against the Smith and McCarran Acts.

Let us overcome all notions that victories cannot be won under capitalism. History has disproved this over and over again. If this were true, we would not carry on struggles for immediate demands, for wages and hours, for Negro rights, for the unemployed, against war. We Communists are fighting for our democratic rights and those of the American people, and are determined to block fascism. This is not just our fight—it is everybody's fight, and the sooner they get into it the better for all.

In conclusion, let me express my

profound appreciation and admiration for my dear comrades in the splendid leadership and membership of our Party, for their loyalty, devotion and bravery, in face of the onslaughts of the past few years. There is no question but that many more men and women, Negro and white, can be won for our Party, especially among the youth.

In political defense a combination of the knowledge, experience and perspective of the older tried and true comrades, with the strength and ardor of youth grasping the banners of our Party and carrying them ever higher and forward—is invincible. We know we must fight for ourselves and not rely on our comrades elsewhere to do the job for us. But it is a great inspiration to remember the Anna Paukers and Mathias Rakosis, and to know that over 800 million people, who are out from under capitalism, are on our side, rooting for us. We must be worthy of their high esteem by fulfilling, here in the citadel of imperialism, our sacred obligations to our own people and their aspirations for freedom, peace and happiness and thereby to the peoples of the world.

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Our Work Among the Farming Masses

by Pettis Perry

COMRADE HALL has dealt with the question of the farmers, and all other major questions, in the context of imperialism's present war drive, and related it to the approach we must take to winning the rural masses for the fight for peace. It is in this context that I speak in some detail about our work among the rural poor.

If the fight for peace is to be won, it must be waged in the countryside as well as in the cities. If the fight against fascism is to be won, the working class must enlist the support of allies in the rural areas. If the struggle for Negro liberation is to be successful, the Negro people on the land must be involved in this struggle. In short, the alliance of the workers in the cities and the farmers in the countryside — is a *must* to defeat Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism.

Since the defeat of the Populist Movement in the 90's, the small and middle farmers have been almost totally neglected by urban Left-wing, progressive, and labor groups. They have been left prey to the forces of Big Business and Big Agriculture. Misleaders of labor, like Gompers and Woll, insisted that the workers should look upon all of the farmers, small as well as big—as their enemies. This,

of course, was part of their attempt to keep the workers from exercising an independent political role and thus to keep them divided from their potential allies.

Instead of resisting this trend, the early Socialist and Syndicalist leaders either blindly accepted or actively encouraged it. For example, the I.W.W., with all its militancy, expressed outright contempt for the farmers, making no attempt to distinguish between small and big farmers.

Our own Party has inherited many of these Syndicalist, reformist, and economist ideas. Instead of examining and analyzing them as we should, we have for the most part allowed them to go unchallenged, or even worse to be passed off as Marxist-Leninist ideas. In the period of the '30's, when farm revolts broke out, we made some effort to correct past mistakes and to achieve a Marxist-Leninist approach to the rural-urban problem. If we go back and read the articles, pamphlets, and other materials which were put out at that time, we can learn much that should be helpful to us in correcting our past mistakes. We learn, first of all, that we must raise our ideological understanding of the rural-urban problem.

Instead of leaving the so-called

"farm problem" to a few comrades, we must make it the property of the entire Party. We must see to it that the entire Party's level of understanding is raised, that the leaders of our Party give leadership in the struggle to win farm allies, and that the various commissions, such as Negro, women, and youth, begin to play their part in this great task.

What are some of the misconceptions that we must clear away for a real Marxist understanding of the agrarian question? The first runs as follows: You cannot organize the agricultural workers because they are all migratory. This is not true. All agricultural workers are not migratory—at best 40 percent or 50 percent of them are. But suppose it were true, that the agricultural workers are migratory. The lumber workers are also migratory. Did not the labor movement succeed in organizing them? And above all, is agricultural labor more migratory than seamen? Of course not. Yet it is a fact that the labor movement long ago succeeded in organizing the seamen.

In speaking about the organization and the importance of rallying the rural proletariat, Lenin had this to say:

"In binding together in common daily experience great masses of workers, large-scale industry creates the basis for successful revolutionary class action. Rural wage workers will be their most dependable allies, but only the leadership of the industrial proletariat can transform into an organized class struggle for the emancipation of all the

toiling folk, the discontent and helplessness of the widely scattered wage workers on the land."*

The second argument runs: The U.S. is not a peasant country. Lenin spoke about the peasantry. Here we have mechanization. Here we have reactionary farmers, growing fat and wealthy. Mechanization has left us a few farmers here and there, but primarily in the South. But take the rest of the country—California, New England, Ohio, Michigan, and so on. Mechanization solved the problem. Now we have the factory farms, leaving only the migratory stubs, rushing from one field to the other.

"Indeed, the fundamental and main trend of capitalism is the elimination of small production by large-scale production both in industry and in agriculture. But this process must not be taken *only* in the sense of immediate expropriation. This elimination process also includes a process of ruination, of deterioration of the conditions of farming of the small farmers, which may extend over years and decades. This deterioration manifests itself in overwork or underfeeding of the small farmer; in an increased burden of debt; in the deterioration of cattle fodder and the condition of the cattle in general; in the deterioration of the methods of cultivating and manuring the land; in the stagnation of technical progress, etc."**

And so you see mechanization on the part of the large growers creates

* *Lenin on the Agrarian Question*, by Anna Rochester, p. 179.

** *Ibid.*, p. 190.

deterioration and degradation in the position of the small farmers, who find it so difficult, if not impossible, to compete with this type of development that many are forced out of existence. But this does not yet mean the elimination of the farmers, least of all does it eliminate the problems of the small farmers. It is a fact that Germany before the beginning of 1900 had already begun to develop large-scale mechanization in agriculture, but it did not experience the elimination of the small farmer or the peasantry. Sweden and all of the Scandinavian countries also very early introduced the process of mechanization, but nowhere did this result in any complete transformation of the small farmers into agricultural proletarians, nor their complete elimination as farmers.

It should be said in passing that the great French Revolution, 1789-93, came closest of all bourgeois-democratic revolutions of that period, to sweeping away the relics of feudalism, and to solving the peasant question. And this created the condition for the development of capitalism in agriculture, later to be followed by mechanization. Yet you still have a peasant question in France.

How is it to be explained that comrades can accept this misconception with respect to the imperialist United States? It is due, first, to the peculiarity of the U.S., a country which did not grow up on the basis of feudalism as such, except for the chattel-slave system in the South. From this fact the illusion of so-called American excep-

tionalism developed. Second, is the failure to see that capitalism cannot solve the peasant question, either by the elimination or replacement of the peasantry. Capitalism must constantly lead to the ruination, impoverishment and degradation of the small and middle farmers. And this constantly creates the condition where the rural poor population, degraded, cheated, robbed and harassed by capitalism, provides potential and key allies for the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism.

But we have yet another argument, that runs thus: the farmers—you can't bother with them, why, that will interfere with industrial concentration. And since we have industry, and we must concentrate on that, don't bother us with all this nonsense about the farmers. True, industrial concentration is our *main* consideration. Without it nothing will succeed, and it is laudable that comrades fight for industrial concentration. But can the working class win all by itself? Can it win without the farmers? Let us not forget that there once was a person who envisioned the proletarian revolution without the peasantry, without allies. But his name was neither Marx, Engels, Lenin nor Stalin. This person was Trotsky. We are Marxists. As such we maintain that the proletariat cannot be victorious without at one and the same time winning to its side the reserves of the proletarian revolution. Who are the reserves? The poor and middle farmers; the Negro liberation movement in the Black Belt; the colonial and semi-

colonial peoples. In our case, this means also Puerto Rico and all of Latin America. The working class of the United States must be won to an understanding of this. Without this, it cannot succeed.

At no point during the Roosevelt Administration were the farmers won to the coalition around Roosevelt. Reaction was able to keep the farmers as its base of operation because of the neglect and default of the labor movement. This Convention must demand a drastic change if we are to succeed in winning the farmers for progress, peace, and eventual Socialism.

The scattered, isolated conditions that the farmers live in, and the immense confusion spread among them, create difficulties, of course. But Stalin long ago told us that victory never comes by itself. That it must be fought for and won, and sometimes may even have to be dragged by the hand.

It is in this spirit that we should address ourselves to this all-important task.

BIG BUSINESS TIES WITH BIG AGRICULTURE

Big Business and Big Agriculture have moved closer and closer together, so that today they are two hearts that beat as one. Unless we recognize this interrelationship for what it is, we cannot possibly have a correct orientation toward the whole problem of winning allies in the rural areas. Unless we understand this close interrelationship of Big Business and Big Agriculture, we cannot possibly develop an ef-

fective coalition of farmers and workers for peace.

Yet, there are those among us who, after reading Pew's *Farm Journal* or hearing Allan Kline testify on behalf of the Farm Bureau, proceed to write off all the farmers as a hopelessly reactionary mass, not deserving of our time and attention. Some have not even learned that all the big farm magazines are controlled by Big Business, or that the top officials of most of the farm organizations, as well as of the larger cooperatives, are the rural spokesmen for the N.A.M. and Chamber of Commerce. Thus we find top officials of the Farm Bureau and the Grange joining with N.A.M. and Chamber of Commerce representatives, and signing their names to a report urging the elimination of two-thirds of the farms from commercial production.

Today, there is not a single crop or farm commodity of any importance which is not under monopoly control, and all of these food trusts are, in turn, tied directly to the few large financial interests which dominate the entire economy. We find, for example, that the two arms of the dairy trust, National Dairy and Borden's, are directed by the Morgan and Rockefeller interests; that Anderson, Clayton & Co., the biggest cotton factory in this country and also a big "farmer," has the House of Morgan as the registrar of its stock and a Morgan bank to handle its finances; that General Mills, the giant of the milling industry, is aligned with the Morgan interests; that Swift and Armour, the biggest meat packers, are con-

trolled by the Chicago-Morgan-Kuhn-Loeb groups; and that the sugar trust is directed by Morgan and Rockefeller interests.

Not only do these financial groups rule over the food trusts but by means of their control over banks and insurance companies, they also determine farm credit policies and collect a major share of what the farmers must pay on their farm mortgage debts. For example, three life insurance companies, Prudential (Morgan), Equitable (Rockefeller) and Metropolitan (Rockefeller) hold nearly a quarter billion dollars worth of farm mortgages.

So intimate is the relationship between Big Agriculture and Big Business today that one need only examine the directorships of some of the large banks and industrial corporations to see the picture. The Chemical Bank & Trust Co. of N.Y. identifies one of its directors, Jewell Callaway, as a "farmer"—neglecting to mention that, in addition to his Southern farm interests, he is also a textile manufacturer, a director of the U.S. Steel Corporation, and of the Shell Union Oil Co. The American Fruit Co., which owns farms in many states and is known for its "Blue Goose" label, is controlled by the Mellon family. The Kern County Land Co., which owns over a million acres of land and operates its corporation farms in California, Arizona, Oregon, and New Mexico, has on its board two directors who are from the billion-dollar American Trust Co. of San Francisco. Harper Sibley, former president of the U.S. Chamber of

Commerce, has big farms in New York, Illinois, and California. Chris Abbot, who was named by Wendell Willkie as one of the most evil spirits in the Republican Party, is not only a banker, utilities director, and meat packer, but also the owner of one of the biggest cattle ranches in the United States.

In the colonial areas, the inter-relationship of Big Business with Big Agriculture is even more apparent. For example, we see the thousands of acres of Hawaiian pineapple fields owned by the California Packing Corporation, and the vast tracts of plantation acreage in Puerto Rico owned by the sugar trust.

Big farming is no longer limited to California or a few other places, as is commonly supposed. It is to be found in all parts of the country, and the combination of Big Agriculture and Big Business has gone so far that its effects are felt everywhere, in the cities as well as in the country. We cannot afford to continue the traditional, but sadly-mistaken, policy of leaving "the farmers" to fight their own battles. Moreover, we cannot continue to think in terms of "farmers in general" or "agriculture in general." We must recognize that there are agricultural workers, sharecroppers, part-time farmers, small farmers and middle farmers who can and must be won as allies. We must recognize that with the growth of monopoly in the food industries, the spread of Big Agriculture, the increase in farm mechanization, the merger of Big Business with Big Agriculture greatly intensifies the pressure upon

the small and middle farmers at a time when the chronic crisis of agriculture has again made its grip felt, with markets shrinking and the return of the "scissors." The special position of the poor farmers is more vulnerable today than ever before. The only "solution" proposed by Big Business and Big Agriculture is for their elimination. Under the policy of "Guns-not-Butter," they are being chosen to man the guns, and thus the pretext of "defense" is being used to put over the program of the Chamber of Commerce and N.A.M. and their big farmer allies, to drive the small and middle farmers off the land.

FOOD—A WEAPON IN THE WAR DRIVE

The bourgeoisie, in its drive for world domination, uses more than guns and money. One of its essential weapons is food, a powerful weapon against millions of people in Europe as well as in Asia and Latin America.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture bulletin, *The Agricultural Situation*, discusses the export of food for 1948 and 1949 and states:

"United States export of food set a record in 1948 and 1949 for the fourth consecutive year.

"The 49 billion five hundred twenty-one million pounds of food shipped to foreign countries during 1948 and 1949 is 15 percent more than previous years, and more than 5 times the average tonnage exported in 1935-1939. Exports accounted for more

than 16 percent of the food distributed during the year. Export of grain made up 82 percent of the total tonnage of food shipped abroad, an even larger proportion than in the post-war years."

And the report further states:

"The export of wheat and wheat products (grain, equivalent) total thirty billion eighty-four million pounds."

And where was this shipped to? The bulk of it was shipped to Western Germany, and other Marshallized countries, a total of 63 percent during that period. Far Eastern countries, meaning of course mainly China, under Chiang Kai-shek, received 19.5 percent, to rank second, while the Latin American countries received 9.2 percent, to rank third. This is a graphic illustration of how the bourgeoisie is using the economic power of the U.S. food monopolies.

Today the U.S. has more than three billion tons of surplus farm products to be used in the same manner. They had speculated on using this against the People's Democracies, against the Soviet Union, and above all against the new Chinese People's Republic. Little did they realize the tremendous recuperative power of the Soviet Union, which rapidly recovered from the destruction and devastation caused by the Second World War to the present tremendous reconstruction and expansion of its own economy, assisting its neighbors in the People's Democracies, as well as China,

to become independent and self-sufficient producers. Little did Wall Street realize the creative ability of the Chinese People's Republic, which today is carrying through one of the greatest land reforms of all times, thus removing China once and for all from being the happy-hunting ground for this or that imperialist nation.

Not only has China been removed from the area open to capitalist exploitation, but so also have the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. Thus, the capitalist world—and the capitalist world markets—have continued to shrink.

As Comrade Stalin has pointed out, the market problem is the chief problem for capitalist agriculture, and this becomes an even more aggravated problem with the chronic crisis of agriculture, which is part of the general crisis of capitalism. Hitler's policy of "guns-not-butter" — now repeated by our "own" politicians — only intensified the pressure on the world's agricultural producing areas. The growth of monopoly in the U.S. as well as elsewhere, with its policy of high prices and restricted output, only served further to contract the market available for farm products here at home as well as abroad.

Farmers in the U.S. saw farm prices begin to decline in 1920 and while industry was still enjoying a "boom," the chronic crisis in agriculture set in. With the great depression of 1929, the situation was further worsened, and the farm crisis reached its "low." Even as industry began to recover, however, the crisis in agriculture persisted, and it

was not until World War II that the farms in the U.S. again found a market for all that they produced—in fact, it was not until well after Pearl Harbor that the government saw fit to remove the restrictions on farm production. During this period of more than twenty years, the bourgeoisie found no "solution" for the so-called "farm problem" except the further degradation, ruination, and proletarianization of the small and middle farmers in the U.S. It was only because agricultural production in other parts of the world was hit by the war that U.S. agriculture received temporary relief from its market problem.

Even before World War II was over, Big Business and Big Agriculture were drafting their proposals to meet a recurrence of crisis conditions in agriculture. Instead of a slow period of degradation and ruination for the small and middle farmers, they were proposing that the full power of the state be used to remove these families from commercial production and from the commercial market. And, at the present time, when the bourgeoisie is debating whether to push for fascism first and war later, or war-and-fascism together, their general "solution" for what they call "the farm problem" remains the same, namely, the degradation, ruination, and forced proletarianization of millions of rural people. Just as the working class has a vital stake in the fight against war and fascism, so it is directly concerned with this attempt by Big Business and Big Agriculture to ruin millions of farm families, to use these families for

their sinister purposes, and to draft them as "expendables" for war in various parts of the world.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF FARMING MASSES

In discussing farm problems with a number of our comrades, in order to try to get certain information as to the state of affairs among the farmers, I was constantly told, "Oh, the farmers are getting rich—you can't talk to them." Yet the Federal government reports that the average farm income for 1949 was \$763. And this was 16 percent lower than 1948. In contrast, the average for the non-farm population was \$1,555 per person—a drop of 1 percent below 1948. The report further shows that farm indebtedness increased about $\frac{3}{4}$ billion dollars over 1948. The largest increase occurred in the farm mortgage debt, which continues up for the fourth straight year, and in 1949 was 16 percent larger than the low point in 1946. Thus it is clear that during the war, some of the farmers were able to pay off mortgages, others were able to make down payments on farms, still others were able to liquidate their mortgages. This was especially true between the years of 1939 and 1947. During this period, the government needed tremendous surpluses. It needed to use all available forces for the production of farm products. In part of this period the Soviet Union was one of our customers. A number of other European countries were in one way or another taking over part of the U.S. products. During

this period China could still be used as a dumping ground for part of the wealth of the U.S.

Now China is no longer a dumping ground for U.S. imperialism, which has drastically curtailed its trade with China, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. This has placed tremendous limitations on the foreign trade and markets open to the bourgeoisie, and is bound to have its effect on our farmers.

The same picture would hold true for any section of the country, if our attention is directed toward the poorest section of the farmers, and not the upper-middle-bourgeois section. If we take the Rocky Mountain area, we find states like Colorado, where huge quantities of cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce and onions were left unharvested this year because of low prices, and lack of demand. For these and other reasons, income of Colorado farmers was cut down by some 5 million dollars in 1949 from the 1948 level.

Or, if we take beet-growing, where from 50 to 65 percent of the farmers are tenants, they are robbed right and left by the large sugar companies. These companies, while furnishing the seed for the tenants to plant, specify the amount that they can grow, and beet prices are determined by these same robbers. The Federal Sugar Act provides a \$2.45 ton subsidy, which is paid for by the consumer every time he buys a pound of sugar. The companies, of course, pay the farmers only the amount necessary to induce them to grow beets. And of course the price the processors have to pay is

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Not only the tenants and small independent farmers are robbed this way, but the agricultural workers are also swindled, often even more. According to the Secretary of Agriculture, wages paid to agricultural workers in the beet field are something like \$13 per acre; the rate for hoeing is \$4.50 per acre; that for weeding, \$3.00, etc. For the season, the average wage runs around \$250 to \$300. The housing and living conditions are among the worst, ranging from chicken coops to a little space in the barn.

The large growers, the banking and insurance companies, together with the upper section of the farmers, are obviously growing rich. They control the market. They control the processing, the financing, etc. The Rocky Mountain farmers, like the poor farmers elsewhere, are suffering from growing indebtedness, mortgages, etc. And while at present we cannot see anywhere in the country a mass trend toward foreclosures, there can be no doubt that the growing indebtedness of the poor and middle farmer will lead in that direction in the not too distant future.

But the bourgeoisie has other things in mind. They are talking now about the elimination of three million eight hundred thousand farmers from production. As far back as March 5, 1947, *Life Magazine* carried an editorial calling for this. The editorial speaks of the farm in terms of "rural slums" and as a "breeding ground for such

gangsters as John Dillinger and Pretty Boy Floyd."

And who are some of the signers of this appeal? They include such figures as Eastman of the Armour Company; Cherbonnier of the Ralston Purina Co.; George P. Sexauer and Son, large grain merchants; officials of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and N.A.M.; bankers, insurance men, utilities representatives, and railroad executives.

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING POOR FARMERS

Taking into account the peculiar local problems, for example in the South, some of the key problems facing the poor farmers are:

1) Access to fertilizer, unhampered by the trusts and the large growers, which means government assistance, administered by the poor farmers.

2) The question of soil protection, because in the South, years of the one-crop system—first with chattel slavery, later with semi-slave conditions and primitive methods of farming has destroyed the fertility of much of the farmland. A joint committee on the Economy of the South, reported in 1949 that "despite outstanding exceptions, the quality of the soil of the South cannot be classified, for farming purposes and on the basis of innate quality, as better than mediocre at best."

Drainage and other methods of soil protection are very important to the poor farmers.

3) In many cases, the question of

a right to market the products is an important issue.

4) The need for the government to take special measures to guarantee that adequate machinery is put at the disposal of this section of the farm population.

5) And finally, the question of land for the landless poor, the land-hungry agricultural laborers and small farmers. This is an immediate necessity for that section of the population that is ruthlessly being driven from the land by the large plantation owners.

For further light on this question, I would highly recommend the full utilization of Comrade Harry Haywood's book, *Negro Liberation*, particularly Chapter 6 titled "Land and Freedom," as well as Comrade James Jackson's article in *Political Affairs*, August, 1950.

In other sections of the country the question of the draft, of manpower for the farms, is an immediate, pressing issue. I mentioned the determination of the bourgeoisie to drive over 3 million small farmers off the land. This is another thing that should occasion great concern on our part. Then there are the so-called peripheral issues, such as hospitals, the need for medical care, etc. In the rural communities this is worst of all. There are places in New York State, for instance, where to give birth to a child, a woman may have to travel 60 miles to the nearest hospital. The situation is no different in the mid-West, or for that matter, the far West. In the South it is worse. There are whole counties in the South where there are no hospitals for workers

or poor farmers. There are counties where there are hospitals, but they are not available to Negroes. Then there is the question of rural housing, the question of child labor, and the unpaid labor of the many thousand women workers that should receive serious consideration.

It is extremely important that the question of political action be given special attention as far as the farmers are concerned. Aside from the programmatic and legislative side of this question, in every community thought should be given to bringing forward active farmers either as independent candidates, third-party candidates, or candidates who could be supported on one of the major party tickets. Around candidates for Boards of Supervisors, or other county, state and national offices, farmer-labor unity on all kinds of issues can be developed.

Among these is the issue of price controls. The question must be put for the farmers: we demand a roll-back in prices of consumers' goods. We demand a guaranteed price to the small farmers for their product, as a means of guaranteeing a living wage to the small farmers, and of creating a wider domestic market for the workers and poor farmers of the U.S.

Put generally this way, the farmers would understand and would respond.

RALLY FARMERS FOR PEACE

We should note that there are important developments taking place among the farmers. In the past few months, in the Dakotas, Michigan,

New York, New Jersey and many other places, the farm population has been extremely active on the peace front. In the State of Iowa a rank-and-file movement began to develop in the Farmers Union. This movement is sweeping the Farmers Union in one state after another, where the rank and file, though not always clear on the issues involved, are more and more taking the side of the forces fighting for peace. This is so in Wisconsin and a whole number of states. Because the leadership of the Farmers Union, especially Patton, supports the Administration's war program, some comrades are now asking: What is our attitude to the Farmers Union, and what is our attitude to Patton? To my mind Patton is not the issue. The question is what is our attitude to the farmers. Our attitude is to rally the poor and middle farmers to the cause of peace. Our attitude is to fight unyieldingly for the most urgent needs and desires of the rural poor. This is the way to help create the condition for uniting the poor farmers with the working class in the struggle against capitalism. In this respect the Farmers Union, and all progressive elements in the countryside, face the urgent problem of how best to develop a coalition with the whole countryside including members of the Grange and the rank-and-file of the Farm Bureau. Developing this coalition in the proper fashion can result in a mighty movement in the countryside. But here again the rural proletariat and the party of farmers are key.

Take the argument of 60 percent parity, which the large growers are calling for. The average small dairyman maintains that they need 125 percent to 150 percent parity in order to keep their heads above water. The large growers for their part could very well get along with a 60 percent parity. In fact, some of them, the tobacco growers and large cotton growers now have a parity of 125 to 135 percent, so that it is easy to see what a 60 percent parity would do for the average family-size farm. The little fellow would pretty soon find himself out of business. And this would be but an additional means of eliminating the so-called "less efficient" farms. This done, the large growers and the upper middle farmers could increase their acreage, mechanization, fertility, etc., and hog the market all to themselves. In addition, this would enable them to put the squeeze on the remaining farmers, thereby reducing them to poor farmers, agricultural workers or both.

AGRARIAN QUESTION IN THE SOUTH

It would be difficult if not impossible to discuss the question of the U.S. farmers, particularly the poor farmers, without turning our immediate attention to the South. Because it is in the Southern parts of the United States that the Negro and poor white farmers are more and more being pressed down into misery and degradation. Our starting point for the South has first and foremost to be the Black Belt.

It is here that the oppressed Negro nation resides. It is here that this nation lives under the conditions of a semi-colonial people. The plantations of this area are the material base upon which is erected the whole superstructure of national oppression. However, plantations could not exist in their form were it not for Wall Street, which extracts from this area super-profits through super-exploitation.

The Dixiecrats and the Southern Bourbons are the main agents of Wall Street in this area. When we think of the problems of the Southern farmers and first and foremost of the Black Belt, we must keep in mind that the South will remain a degraded section of the country until the liberation of the Negro masses, of the Negro nation, is achieved.

In thinking about the agrarian question of the South, we have to understand that one of the essential aspects of the liberation of the Negro nation—is to be found in the land, because as Marxism teaches, the national question is essentially a peasant question, though not limited to the agrarian question.

A nation to be free must have a means of livelihood. In this case the land must belong to the Negro nation, and its white allies, who are to be found among the poor white farmers and sharecroppers in the Black Belt, and in the South as a whole. For the Negro people to be free, they have to have a maximum amount of support from the white progressives in the country as a whole, and particularly in the South.

DEPRESSED CONDITIONS IN THE SOUTH

In discussing the rural poor in the South, one has to think of the landless, the agricultural workers, of the sharecroppers and tenant farmers, of the independent family farms. During the year 1950 Ernest E. Neal, Director of Rural Life Council, and Lewis W. Jones, Professor of Rural Sociology for the Tuskegee Institute, completed a study of the Black Belt area called *The Place of the Negro Farmer in the Changing Economy of the Cotton South*. They had this to say with regard to wages in Mississippi:

"Daily wages are generally fifty cents with board and seventy-five cents without board, usually at the end of the week; monthly wages are usually from \$8.00 to \$12.00 throughout the State, with a few exceptions; while to yearly laborers from \$100 to \$150, at the end of the year or when needed, are paid to men, and a less amount to women and boys. A house and rations are also usually given to the yearly laborers." (p. 33.)

And for Alabama they state:

"Wages are paid in many ways and at various rates, from 40¢ to 65¢ per day, and from \$8.00 to \$14.00 per month, to be paid at the end of the month." (p. 33.)

This shows in graphic form the depressed conditions under which the agricultural workers live, particularly the Negro agricultural

workers. Alabama and Mississippi are typical Black Belt areas; they are typical also in their national oppression of the Negro nation, and in the degradation of the poor whites. The white workers and poor farmers of this area can only improve their own conditions to the extent that the Negro people are elevated to full-fledged citizenship. For the Negro people this means the right to the land; the right of self-government; and the right of self-determination in the Black Belt. The Rankins, the Eastlands, the Sparkmans, and Folsoms, and sundry other spokesmen of the Dixiecrats and Wall Street-Bourbon alliance, must be eliminated from their political domination of the South.

Every demand of the Southern Negro workers and Negro masses, and of the Negro nation of the Black Belt, has a direct bearing on the interests and welfare of the poor whites. If the poor whites of the Black Belt were to ask themselves why is it that there is a wage differential for the South, the answer would have to be: because there is an enslaved Negro nation in the Black Belt, which is tolerated by the white workers and poor farmers. If the question were put, why is it that the poll-tax and other restrictions are placed upon the voting and political rights of the white masses in the South, the answer again would have to be: because there is an enslaved and oppressed Negro nation inhabiting the Black Belt. If the question were put, why is it that the South as a whole, and the Black Belt in par-

ticular, are the most economically and politically backward areas in the country, again the question would have to be answered from the point of view of the national oppression of the Negro nation in the Black Belt. These are inescapable conclusions that one must draw from this general picture.

The Civil War and Reconstruction did not complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The plantation system was left intact, and, buttressed by such instruments as the poll tax, white primaries, share-cropping, tenant farming, the chain-gang and debt system, it could not but make its imprint upon the economic and social conditions of the white masses. The Bourbons of that period argued that they wanted to rid the South of Northern "carpet-bagging," "scalawags" and "black domination." But this was only the political reflection of their determination to trample on and defeat every democratic aspiration of the rising Negro movement of that time. Had this movement succeeded, it would have struck a powerful blow for the cause of democracy in the South and in the country as a whole.

The existence of this system in the Black Belt has its influence and repercussions on the rest of the South, and poisons the atmosphere with white chauvinism in the country as a whole.

This unfinished task must today be completed by the heirs to the best thought and aspirations in America's democratic heritage, the best traditions of the Abolitionist movement. And we are capable of

this task because we are a Party guided by the highest science of mankind — Marxism - Leninism — the Party that understands the laws of social motion and of social change, the Party of dialectical materialism.

In viewing the situation in the South, one cannot limit oneself simply to the conditions of the workers, Negro or white. While seeing this as basic, we must see here the whole system of agrarian relationships. It is in the South, especially in the Black Belt, that the overwhelming majority of sharecroppers in America reside, a large number of whom are Negroes. It is here that tenant-farming most closely parallels a semi-feudal relationship. The tenant farmers, who are sometimes called renters in this area, are forced to give up 400 pounds of lint cotton for every ten or fifteen acres of land which they rent. They are supposed to earn enough in six months or so to maintain themselves for a year. This is hardly possible with an income that ranges from \$250 to \$312. This means that the tenant farmers and their families must very often seek other means of livelihood, either on the landlord's farm or in the nearby towns and villages.

The sharecropper must give up one-half of all his cotton to the landlord, one-third to one-half of all his corn, provided the landlord permits him to plant corn. From the share that is left he is supposed to pay for the upkeep of his family. Usually, however, the so-called credit extended by the landlord

has already left him in debt, where he is bound from year to year. The contract which he enters into, with the landlord, for the most part verbal, binds him in virtual enslavement. Usually the contract is binding only on him, and not on the landlord. The chain gangs, county farms, the bailiffs, sheriffs and judges are there to insure the enforcement of the contract and debt system, with the cropper having no recourse, no matter what the behavior of the landlord.

A large percentage of the cotton grown in the deep South, particularly in the Black Belt regions, is grown by these methods. According to the rules in Mississippi and Alabama, these croppers are entitled to credit advances to the tune of one-half of the prospective crops they are to grow. And in many cases this is charged against them whether they receive the advance or not.

Then there is the so-called small independent farmer. This is usually the farmer with a small plot of land, and some farm implements, which enable him to raise enough food to take care of his family. But he does not have enough land for pasture, forest, or for the use of large-scale machinery, so that very often this farmer ends with a cash crop of maybe two hundred or three hundred dollars a year, out of which he has to buy clothing and other necessities of life.

There are of course a smaller group that are a little bit better off. But the main thing here is the rural poor, even though we must everywhere try to win over the

middle farmer, and this is more possible in the case of the Negro middle farmer in the South. But North, South, East and West, in approaching the countryside, our main consideration must be directed to the *poor*. This is where our Party must be built first and foremost. This is where we must direct attention toward building the cadre to lead the struggle of these masses. In the Southern countryside that means the agricultural workers in the first place; it means the sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and the independent family farmers.

During the past three decades, and especially during the postwar period, certain shifts have been taking place in the Black Belt area, shifts in the direction of mechanization, and in the type of crops. There is, for example, the growing use of the mechanical cotton pickers, the increase of tractors, even in the Mississippi Delta, in Alabama and some of the other states. This increased mechanization is creating a new type of proletariat in the countryside, and uprooting whole families from the farms, driving them into the nearby towns. As Ernest E. Neal describes it in a report on December 15, 1949:

"It is not an uncommon sight to see from one to five thousand workers leaving the town early in the morning on trucks, and returning in the late afternoon. The degree of cotton mechanization in the Delta [meaning Mississippi] requires a large supply of hand labor

during the chopping season only. It is to the advantage of the cotton plantation owners and the merchants in the nearby towns to provide the Negro families with enough work in between the chopping season."

In Alabama there has been a big increase in the urban population of Mobile, Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma, reflecting what is taking place among the Negroes in this respect.

Then of course there is the increase in cattle raising, dairy, etc. Cattle-raising increased by 18 percent in the 10 years between 1935 and 1945, and the percent of farm income from livestock in Alabama from 20 percent to 32 percent, while tractors increased during the same period by about 265 percent. Hence there was a reduction of farm operators in this period, and a process increasing the proletarian population through the ruination of thousands upon thousands of farmers.

ORGANIZE THE FARMING MASSES

From all of this it should be clear that a few things remain key for us. First the intensification of a real drive to organize the countryside, with special emphasis on the unionization of the rural proletariat. This is the key to linking the urban proletariat with the poor farmers. In fact, two sections of the working class are key in this respect. They are the rural proletariat and the part-time farmers,

who exist in every part of the United States, and must receive special attention from every Party District if we are to make the turn to winning the farmers for the peace movement and the anti-fascist struggle, and for the final showdown with capitalism.

Secondly, the poor farmers must be our starting point for organizing the farm population. For the South that means sharecroppers, tenant farmers and small independent farmers. For the rest of the country it means the small renters, farmers and middle farmers. Everywhere, of course, it means special attention to the farm laborers.

Thirdly, for our work in the farm field, the South must be the main focal point. Until the South becomes the main area of concentration for this phase of our work, we will not be approaching seriously the question of the rural poor. It is in the South that the poorest section of the farmers reside. It is in the South, in the Black Belt, that the oppressed Negro nation resides.

To approach the question of concentration in the South, everything possible should be done to encourage the agricultural unions to concentrate on organizing the South. Progressives in the Farmers Union should do everything possible to convince this organization to devote its attention to the South.

We also need to address ourselves to the concrete problems facing the farmers. Even the Department of Agriculture is forced to admit that there is growing indebtedness among the farmers. Thus, an-

other very important aspect of this problem is the tremendous disparity between the income of the farmers and the price that they must pay for the goods they buy.

In addition to this a whole number of small farmers find themselves ruined at the end of 1950. This is particularly true with small fruit farms, small vegetable farms. In interviewing some of these farmers, who are supposed to be so wealthy, the following has been the result. One farmer says:

"The fruit farmers have been caught in a developing crisis since 1947. Locally (New York) they were apparently first to feel the blows of the oncoming economic attack against the small and middle farmers. The story of this crisis is clearly revealed by the history of the Hudson Valley currant crop since 1947. In that year currants were sold to processors for \$340 per ton. In 1948 the prices ranged from \$200-\$300 per ton. In 1949 prices were down to \$130 per ton, at a time when it costs \$100 per ton to have them picked. In 1950, the end of the trail, there was no market at all. An estimated 90 per cent of the entire Hudson Valley crop was left to rot on the bushes."

This small farmer reports that apples were sold at \$2.50 a box by the farmers, but the consumers paid \$12.50 a box, and what is ironical is that before the apples left the field, the farmer had to pay \$1.00 of the \$2.50. He had to buy a box, paper for the box, slats and nails—all before the dealer would consid-

er taking the box out of the field.

Now if you deduct from this the cost of spraying and other expenditures, the farmer actually received \$1.50 for his box of apples. Many farmers in this same area decided that it would be simpler to permit the apples and other fruits to rot in the fields.

This same farmer explained that in 1949 they had earned \$800 from eggs and thought they had really made a kill. But in examining their expense account for that year, they discovered that they had spent \$700 for chicken feed, thus leaving a net of \$100.

The farmers are being robbed by the processors, the bankers, the insurance companies, and every business leech under the sun.

TASKS OF THE PARTY

Our Party must rapidly overcome all of the major weaknesses in our work in this field. We must drastically change a situation where the farm question is absent from our outlines, our classes, our schools, etc.

How is it to be explained that we teach political economy, but not the agrarian question? Can it be said that capitalism arose despite agriculture? Or that it exists without it? To but put the question is to show how serious it is.

In the coming period our Party must also give special attention to Left-wing and Party publications as part of our ideological work in the countryside. Support should be given to *Facts For Farmers* as a very valuable factual organ that

should reach large numbers of farmers. Every District should give serious attention to this question, because this publication can play an important role among the farmers. We must give special attention to the growth and development of the Marxist press, *The Worker* and the *People's World* as an integral part of the work in this field.

Above all, we must give special attention to building the Party among the poorest section of the rural masses. We must give particular attention to developing cadres in the rural areas, with special attention to the rural proletariat. We must pay particular attention to developing women cadres both among the rural proletariat and from among the poor farmers. If there is male superiority in the cities among some of our men comrades and among men in general, then you have it in the countryside in its most extreme form.

Our Farm Commission has been reorganized only a short while. During this period we have tried to the best of our ability to develop some outlook on this question. I think the main weakness in our work, and in my work particularly, has been an insufficient attention to the South, and insufficient speed in orienting the work of the Farm Commission toward the rural poor, instead of talking about the farmers in general. We have also been slow to make the South the main concentration of our Farm Commission, and have not given enough attention to a number of important districts. We have shown particular weakness in our failure to bring

forward a very much needed theoretical approach to this question. But I believe that, in the spirit of this Convention, the incoming National Committee, and the Farm Commission which it will appoint, will rapidly overcome these and many other weaknesses and assist the Party in making a basic turn toward the very important allies of the American working class, the farming masses. Without this, the working class cannot succeed in its struggle against American imperialism.

I cannot, however, join in the pastime of those comrades who pose the question thus, "Now I will see if the Party is sincere about the farmers." This is tantamount to posing the question of whether or not the Party is misleading the American working class, or whether the Party has given up the struggle for Socialism. It is wrong for these or any other comrades to pose any question that way. The sincerity of the Party cannot be questioned on any problem. And this type of talk cannot be palmed off as criticism. It has nothing in common with the Marxist concept of criticism and self-criticism. This is slander against

the Party and must not be tolerated. It is wrong also for some comrades to think that they and they alone are the conscience of the Party on this question. No one is the conscience of the Party. On the contrary, the Party is its own conscience on all questions. The Party has weaknesses, yes. It is the first to admit them, and tries to take steps to rectify them. The Party may not yet fully understand this or that question, but it will master it. It may not get to a particular problem on time or as soon as it wishes to, but it will get there. Without the Party no problem can be solved, and only with the cooperation of the entire Party membership and leadership can the Party master and overcome all difficulties, however complicated.

In the spirit of this Convention, of Comrade Gus Hall's report, and in the spirit of our National Committee, we will go forward with a united movement of workers and farmers, and build the kind of coalition that will halt the warmakers, that will develop a movement for peace, progress and democracy in our country.

For the Unity of Women in the Cause of Peace!

by Claudia Jones

THE GROWING surge for peace among the women of our country fully confirms the premise contained in the Resolution that *"the fight for peace has a special meaning to the women of the country"* and that *"without their full involvement no peace campaign can be effective."*

Why there is this elemental peace upheaval among American women is of course no mystery. For the first time, on the bodies of their husbands and sons, the women experience the price of attempted world domination by an aggressive ruling class, which only a short time ago boasted of "easy" victories and a "push button war."

In thousands of working-class homes, in the last few weeks, the *"notification to next of kin"* has meant that a father, son or husband will never return from the Korean plains—5000 miles away. Even as the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, mother of the first quadruple-amputee learned, such "slight injuries" are accompanied by callous War Department statements that the soldier's *"morale is excellent."*

Negro mothers and wives are registering alarm, as they become aware that lynching by court martial and wanton shooting of Negro

troops in Korea merge with the growth of terrorization of Negro veterans at home, as witnessed in the brutal police lynching of the Negro veteran, John Derrick.

Life is cheap to the brass hats these days. Recently, the *Daily Worker* carried a story with a Peking dateline, in which the chairman of the Peking Red Cross stated that *one-third* of the people killed by MacArthur's troops were children, and forty-five percent were women! Children at play, women washing on the river banks, and peasants working in the fields have been the targets of bombing and strafing by the American armed forces whose so-called "police action" was to bring "freedom" to the "unhappy" Korean people!

With the same cold calculation that planned these barbarous atrocities, U.S. imperialism plans to use the sons of American mothers as "blue chips" in their vicious plot of world conquest, fascism, war and death. Over the radio, Gen. Lucius Clay, the protector of Ilse Koch, and Gen. Mark Clark speak bluntly. Thus did Clark declare: *"... in the international poker game we're playing today . . . we need more blue chips; blue chips are boys with guns in their hands."*

WAR DRIVE PLACES NEW BURDENS ON WOMEN

This threatened militarization of American youth, who, according to Federal Security Administrator Ewing, are to be prepared for a "lifetime of mobilization" means not only personal grief for American women, the breaking up of family life for young women and cheating them of the possibility of marriage and motherhood, but the loss of loved ones and increased economic hardships.

On the family-sized farms, the farm women express deep concern over the fate of their sons in the armed forces. Here, in addition to this general worry, the acute labor shortage, due to the loss of their drafted sons, threatens to drive farm families off the land—since hired labor is made impossible by their shrinking incomes.

In industry, women workers have felt the full blows of the growing war economy—the undermining of their already precarious economic positions due to discrimination, to unequal pay rates, lack of opportunity, etc. They face with special impact the threat of wage freezes, rising prices and additional tax withdrawals from their pay envelopes. Speed-up and ever-rising norms, the Truman threat to increase the hours of work, as well as the growing demands for night work, wreak special havoc with the masses of working women, both as workers and as mothers. And the Negro women—faced with intolerable assaults on their rights and living conditions, and with a prac-

tical elimination of the few gains secured in industry during the World War II years—are experiencing growing white chauvinist, Jim-Crow obstacles in their efforts to rise above domestic labor which is the lot of millions of Negro women. These harsh economic conditions of Negro and white working women are accompanied by the general male supremacist attitudes prevailing toward all women workers.

But that is not all. Now new economic hardships face the 18 million women workers. Truman's dictatorial National Emergency Decree carries with it a threat to draft women for total war production. Reminiscent of the bestial Nazi attitude toward women, Big Business, in their profit-mad quest for new sources of cheap labor power and resources, seek to emulate the Nazis who likewise drafted "mädchen in uniform" by the millions, reversing their foul slogan that "*woman must be neither comrade nor beloved but only mother,*" and kitchen slave.

These and other problems confronting women in industry make it incumbent on progressives to take the initiative in the fight for the demands of the women workers; to guarantee their integration into the unions; to eliminate the age-old wage differentials and secure equal pay for equal work; and to take special measures to protect the rights of the triply-exploited Negro women workers, as stressed in the main report of Comrade Hall. Side by side with this is the necessity to fight for special social services for

women workers, and to wage a struggle for the promotion of women trade unionists to posts of union leadership.

A feature of the growth of fascistization in any country, Dimitroff told us, is the cynicism expressed toward the feelings and role of women. A recent Mid-Century White House Conference on the Problems of Youth dared to tell American mothers that their "love" can make children "accept worry about war, put up with poverty and make the best of mediocre schooling."

WOMEN ARE SPEAKING OUT FOR PEACE

But to these and sundry ideological exhortations directed against women's participation in the cause of peace and social progress, in the struggle to ward off attacks on the living standards of their families, and in defense of the democratic and civil rights of the people, American women are daily giving their answer. They reflect the new moods and express the new possibilities for stopping the warmakers. More and more the women are acquiring the consciousness that they will really be to blame if they fail to speak up in defense of their children and their country. That is why they have raised the mass slogans of the camp of peace to end the war in Korea and to bring our boys home.

In the industrial heart of America, a Pittsburgh mother puts an ad in a newspaper simply saying, "Will families of loved ones now trapped

in Korea, please call me" and in a single day over 300 mothers responded to this call. Soon, this action is emulated in Akron, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, demanding that Truman bring the boys home. Negro mothers angrily forward letters from their sons in Korea to the N.A.A.C.P. urging speedy intervention against courtmartial of their sons who are the scapegoats of MacArthur's military disasters. When in the shops, in the packinghouse, electrical and garment industries, working women form the active core of peace fighters who sent thousands of Christmas greeting cards to Truman with the same demands; when in Eugene, Oregon, 84 Gold Star mothers voice the same demands, then here is confirmation of a widespread peace ferment among the masses of working women.

American women have begun to expose the futility and immorality of the A-bomb as a weapon to solve problems between nations. That is why they are beginning to join their voices with that of their wrathful anti-fascist sisters the world over whose role for peace cannot be overestimated.

American women have begun the embattled cry for peace! And that cry is growing in volume among the innumerable women of the land. This determination to stop war—to impose peace—is growing not only among working-class women, Negro and white, but among Quakers, church women, intellectuals, pacifist groups, every national group and organized section of the women masses, young and old.

A DISTINCT WOMEN'S PEACE MOVEMENT

Comrades! We must now pose the question: How can we most effectively reach the overwhelming majority of women to *act for peace*? How can we help to convert desire for peace into organization and struggle? How can we help to anchor a women's peace movement, embracing a majority of women, to a working-class base which will guarantee it consistency, principle and militancy?

To answer this question, we must pose yet another. Why must there be a *distinct* women's peace movement? Clearly, it is obvious that no mass peace movement is possible among the Negro people without 51 percent of its population being involved; without its most highly exploited and highly organized sector, the Negro women being organized for peace. No labor peace movement is possible without the millions of women workers decisively represented in the textile, garment, needle, laundry, packinghouse, food and other industries. No working-class base can be secured without the organization of seamen's wives, railroad workers' wives, longshoremen's wives, wives of steel workers, miners, etc. No movement for peace can be secured unless large masses of national group and farm women are organized for peace, as well as the specially oppressed Mexican-American and Puerto Rican women.

Yet, we do not find full agreement on the necessity to organize women, as women, in the peace camp. In numerous pre-Convention

discussions, in our National Women's Commission, particularly, we have been involved in discussions about the necessity for such a distinct women's peace movement. We all agreed that this perspective must be fully registered and fought for at our 15th National Convention, since it is no secret that the present level of women's peace activity, which represents a new level in our work among women, has developed with little or no help from male comrades. Indeed, they were often guilty of impeding its development. But in the course of our discussions, we found that full clarity did not exist among our women cadres on the character of such a movement. How did this show itself?

Two tendencies emerged in our discussions. First was the tendency which argued that, since an outstanding weakness of the past was the failure to build united-front movements among working class and Negro women, it was now necessary to limit ourselves to the organization of a working-class women's peace movement. Clearly such a tendency is wrong. It fails to understand the full concept of our Party's united-front peace policy which is to create a movement based on the working class in unity with all other peace-loving peoples. It reflects a lack of faith in the working-class women themselves who can and will lead all strata of the women in their struggle for peace. This tendency has "Left"-sectarian implications. For to defeat the war-makers, it is necessary to unite all sections of the women under the

leadership of the working women, as it is necessary to unite its broad allies under the leadership of the working class.

Second was the tendency to see the need of bringing into being a peace movement embracing all women. Such comrades argued that the broad masses of women in our land, because of their oppressed social status in present-day society, because of their role as mothers, as the creators of life, are deeply opposed to war and can be won in their majority to peace. However, in presenting this generally sound point of view, the comrades underestimated the need that such a movement be rooted first of all among working-class women. Negro and white. This tendency had certain Right-opportunist implications because there was absent the understanding that the sharp turn to the working class, required in all phases of Party work, applied to the field of work among women as well.

In overcoming these wrong tendencies, after considerable discussion our National Women's Commission correctly stressed the primacy of the working-class orientation while recognizing the new opportunities which exist to create a broad women's peace movement among non-working-class women in every community, and on all levels. Major attention must be given to organizing the millions of workers' wives in basic industry, the millions of working-class housewives in industrial cities, the millions of working-class and Negro women who can be won on the peace issue

and around the struggle for their burning demands.

ORGANIZE WORKING WOMEN FOR PEACE

But this is still not all that needs to be said on the necessity for a distinct women's peace movement. Our comrades often tell us when we raise this question of the necessity of a working-class base for the women's peace movement that working women are already involved in peace activities in their shops. True enough, we discover, as one comrade reported in the splendid panel on Work Among Women, in the New York State Party Convention, that the only peace committee in an upstate electrical plant was organized by women workers—in the last two weeks. And this is true of other plants. Working women, who have most sharply felt the effects of the war economy, who face the greatest grief in the contemplated draft of millions of their sons and husbands, of course have risen to spark the fight for peace now finding expression in the shops.

But this does pose a problem, namely, *how can working women participate specifically in the women's peace movement?*

An example of a recent experience in Chicago may be worthwhile as a guide in answering this question. Here, a Women's Committee of the National Labor Conference For Peace was established. This peace committee's role was mainly that of issuing general leaflets which met with little response until they

realized that general agitation was not enough; that they had to develop a specific approach to the women, as women. It was then that they issued a leaflet entitled: *Must Babies Die*, which showed the senseless murder of children by the atom bomb and linked the desires of women all over the world—the women of the Soviet Union, China, France, Africa, Latin America, who joined in the world-wide campaign behind the Stockholm Peace Pledge—who want life for their children, not death. The response was immediate. Over 100 working women responded, mostly from the working-class communities, expressing their wish to join peace committees.

Our comrades and other progressive women concluded that this experience is a clue to the organization of working women. It showed them that women can be aroused to action, in their specific role as mothers and wives who want peace, so that their children of today and those yet unborn may grow up to manhood and womanhood. But more than that. They also drew the conclusion that working women who have the double task of working in shops and caring for the home and the family can often better be organized for peace in the communities where they live than in the shops. Those women trade unionists who spark the fight for peace in the shops have a duty and responsibility to tie themselves up with the general women's peace movement, providing that working-class leadership so essential to greater stability and militancy of the women's peace movement.

The great potential of this distinct women's peace movement is yet to be fully unleashed and can only be unfolded if women are specifically organized as women.

Our responsibility to our own people, to the masses of women, to the anti-fascist women the world over, is to guarantee that we influence and give leadership to this wide peace sentiment expressed by women, to transform that sentiment into a mighty movement for lasting peace and defense of the needs of the children! Broad united fronts can be developed on the issue of the draft, and against the militarization of the 18-year-olds; on ending the Korean war, and bringing the boys home; on ending the courtmartial of Negro troops; on seating the Chinese Peoples Republic in the U.N. It is also necessary to unmask the war propaganda of the ruling class, in all its forms. There is a grave lack in the peace movement generally to carry through such an exposure.

In this wise, through the creation of a powerful women's peace movement, American women, Negro and white, will take their proper place in the powerful world peace camp with their peace-loving sisters the world over.

WOMEN THE WORLD OVER FIGHT FOR PEACE

In over 60 lands, forming a strong sector of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, women are organized in huge federations for peace, security and defense of their children. Led by the Wom-

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en's International Democratic Federation, the activities of these millions of peace-loving, anti-fascist women serve to inspire American women to emulate these powerful struggles of their sisters for equality, a happy life for all children and, above all, for a lasting peace.

This *new phenomenon*—of worldwide identification and sisterhood of women—grew out of the years of boundless suffering by women under fascism and during the anti-fascist war. Women, in the technically advanced countries, suffered outrageous degradation. They learned and experienced the lot of their sisters in the colonial and imperialist oppressed countries. Coupled with this was the uprooting of all bourgeois - democratic relationships involving women, the extermination of whole families and generations of families. It was these and other costly experiences that gave rise to the new determination of women throughout the world that never again would they allow the use of their sons for the imperialist slaughter of other nations and peoples.

Impelling these developments is the leadership of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism by a *workers' state*—the Socialist Soviet Union, which has exemplified in life its concern for the well-being and full equality of women and full protection of children in all spheres. The world-shaking example of free Soviet womanhood, the new freedoms achieved by the liberated woman in the lands of the European Democracies who move toward Socialism, the historic

strides—as a result of the Chinese People's Revolution—in the elimination of the feudal bondage formerly experienced by millions of downtrodden women of China—all are decisive contributing factors explaining why there now exists a powerful international anti-fascist, anti-imperialist women's movement.

American women bear a heavy responsibility to the millions of our anti-fascist sisters in the world camp of peace, precisely because the threat to world peace stems from the imperialists of our land. The repeated appeals to American women from the embattled mothers of Greece, Franco Spain and the Marshall-Plan-saddled countries are staunch reminders of the responsibilities women in the United States bear to the world struggle for peace and anti-fascism.

The pro-fascist Department of Justice attacks last year against the international fraternization of women should lead us to conclude that we face a great responsibility, in the sphere of work among women, to the high principles of proletarian internationalism. In great measure, our meeting of that responsibility depends on the support given by labor-progressives, led by our vanguard party, the Communist Party, to the emerging women's peace movement. Through such support, the struggle for the equality of women will merge with the general class struggle of the working class which understands and defends the needs and demands of the masses of women. Support to the peace strug-

gles of women in our country will thereby also help to bring in line with world developments, based on American experience, a new advance in women's status in our country.

A WOMEN'S PEACE CENTER

Comrade Hall properly stressed the necessity for our Party to help nurture, support and encourage the development of such a movement. Already existing in our land is a progressive peace center of women which should be seen in relationship to the whole perspective of winning and organizing women for peace. The American Women for Peace, represents the center of coalescing women's peace sentiment, composed of broad peace forces who have identified themselves with a specific women's peace movement. Though not all-inclusive of the peace forces among women, this center is already playing a signal role in the country. It has led three major actions for peace—on the anniversary of Hiroshima, on U.N. Founding Day, and on November 28, when Truman brazenly announced he was considering use of the A-bomb in Korea and Manchuria. On that day, over 2,500 women, on 36 hours notice, appeared before the U.N. demanding the outlawing of the A-bomb and the ending of the inhuman Korean adventure. Here, the splendid initiative and leadership of this women's peace center was clearly demonstrated.

One should note that this activity has not gone unnoticed by the world

camp of peace. The returned women delegates to the World Peace Congress tell audiences everywhere they speak, that the first toast by Soviet Peace Chairman Tikhonov, given on their visit to the land of Socialism, was to the delegation of women who went to the U.N. on its founding day, "*who got there before the men did.*" The regularly issued News-Brief of the Women's International Democratic Federation reported the November 28 women's peace action with the observation that this "was the first news to reach them" of the worldwide outraged protest of women against Truman's madness. In quite a different vein, Eleanor Roosevelt was forced to state demagogically, despite her Red-baiting adjectives, that the November 28 U.N. women's delegation "*spoke the yearning in the hearts of every woman in the land for peace.*"

To expand the unity of women for peace, we must reject concepts which deny the need for a distinct women's peace center on the grounds that we need a "broader movement and broader forces." These arguments come especially from those who stand on the sidelines, criticizing what exists under the guise that the peace center is not yet all-inclusive, while doing nothing to reach those "broader forces." On the other hand is the argument that the peace center is not "militant enough," not sufficiently advanced. This argument reflects a failure to understand that the level of the present activity of this peace center, which is not anti-imperialist or even anti-fascist but

an expression of the general peace strivings of women, is in keeping with their present level of experience. It will reach a higher level of understanding and militancy as it expands its activity and especially as it organizes peace committees below, of women from the decisive working-class strata. We cannot substitute our own desires for militancy for a broad peace movement, as some of our comrades and advanced progressives sometimes seek to do artificially. If we do that we will be militant by ourselves.

Precisely because this women's peace center views its task not only as one of serving as a center of women's peace activities on a minimum united-front basis, but also for stimulating and organizing women's peace committees on a community level, it merits the wholehearted support of Communist and progressive women. Issuance of a splendid regular monthly Bulletin by A.W.P., *The Peacemaker*, for \$1 a year is a splendid vehicle for exchange of experiences of women in the fight for peace. It can serve as an organ which links the woman's movement to other developments and trends in the broad labor and people's peace movement. Progressive women everywhere should subscribe to this organ as a major means of assisting its work.

In addition, Communist and progressive women everywhere must give leadership to women in their communities, and their organizations on such issues as the terror-creating atomic air raid drills, the inadequate school appropriations,

the skyrocketing prices, higher taxes, etc., and other such issues which affect the women and their families. These issues in many instances, can serve as the starting point for involving women in broader peace activities.

NEGRO WOMEN FIGHT FOR PEACE

In our efforts to help build a peace movement of women, we must once and for all overcome the gap between the influence of the triply oppressed Negro women, expressed in their own mass organizations and in the Negro people's movement generally, and their role in the organized peace movement. We must multiply a thousand fold the leadership of Negro women in the fight for peace. In examining our work in the building of peace committees, our greatest weakness, second only to that of building women's peace committees in working-class areas, is the failure to establish peace committees among Negro women. Can it be claimed that Negro women feel less strongly about peace than do other sections of women? The facts contradict this absurdity. As the wife of William McGee played an outstanding role in the fight against the rising terror and intensified oppression of Negro citizens at home, so it was the wife of Lt. Leon Gilbert whose initiative broke the case of her court-martialed officer husband.

The outstanding peace heroines of the Stockholm Peace Petition campaign were Negro women — Molly Lucas of Illinois and Jackie

Clack of California—who were sent as delegates to the Warsaw Peace Congress and had the opportunity to visit the U.S.S.R. In Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Boston's South End, Philadelphia's 4th Ward, and similar areas, thousands of signatures of Negro mothers and wives were affixed to the world-wide petition which called for outlawing as war criminals the atomaniacs who first use the bomb. In all peace delegations of women, almost one-third were Negro women. Why then is there no commensurate movement of Negro women for peace?

Contributing to this state of affairs no doubt was the white chauvinist hesitation to raise the Negro question in the broad labor and people's peace movement, particularly in the context of America's imperialist aggression against the colored peoples of Asia. Additional reasons may be found in the continued efforts of Negro reformists and bourgeois nationalists to sell the Negro people the idea that this is "their war"; in the whipping-up of false jingoistic moods of contempt even among Negro troops for their Korean brothers; and in reaction's veiled flattery of Negro troops in the early stages of the war—to cover what we now know was tipping their hats to the expendability of Negro troops based on chauvinist contempt for the lives and welfare of Negro soldiers.

Now, more than ever, the Negro people understand the full significance of U.S. military aggression in Korea. They see in the bloody massacre of the people of Korea an extension of the foul white suprem-

acy oppression and contempt for the Negro people to the colored people of all of Asia. It is therefore possible to organize the broadest type of peace activities among the Negro people, and particularly among Negro women. This is necessary in the self-interest of the Negro people. And the merger of this anti-imperialist current with the broader labor, people's, women's and youth peace movements, will greatly strengthen the peace camp as a whole.

In the growing anger of Negro mothers against military lynching by court-martial, in the embittered recognition of Negro mothers and wives that their fighting husbands and sons are dying for a cause that is not their own lies the key to arouse and organize their sentiment for peace. In such activity, a new understanding will arise; they will begin not only to question, as they are already doing, why their sons are expendable, but why it is necessary to fight at all in Korea—why it is necessary to fight in any far-off lands.

A hallmark of the recognition by the American bourgeoisie of the special role women play in the Negro liberation movement is their "courtship" of Negro women. But this "courtship" is to be compared to the white supremacist who prates his superiority, but sneaks into the homes of Negro women, invading their privacy, impugning their dignity and perpetuating their social degradation in our society. Thus did Truman, Acheson and Dubinsky's Pauline Newman attend the recent national

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convention of the prominent National Council of Negro Women, in order to align this Negro women's organization with the Truman war program. The bourgeois chauvinist contempt of Negro women is so great that even the U.N. appointment of an Edith Sampson is not on the basis of leadership ability of Negro women but admittedly "to counter Russian propaganda."

To fully expose the false and lying purpose of this imperialist courtship, rejected by millions of Negro women, means a sharp unequivocal struggle against the special forms of white chauvinism directed against Negro women.

There is widespread evidence, as shown in experience in the women's peace and other mass movements, also reflected in our Party, that the struggle against the special forms of white chauvinism toward Negro women is not yet recognized as a struggle in the basic self-interest of white women. Indeed this was glaringly evidenced in the shameful white chauvinist remarks of an invited woman comrade to the splendid Women's Panel of the New York State Party convention, who expressed herself to the effect that the Negro women on her P.T.A. board were "*mealy mouthed.*" Imagine! Failure of a Negro woman to actively participate in the activity of the P.T.A. is blamed on her, and *not* on the crude white chauvinist atmosphere which permeates most of these organizations.

The stifling white chauvinist atmosphere within these organizations stems largely from their over-

whelmingly petty-bourgeois composition. It is likewise reflected in the failure to conduct struggles for the social needs of Negro women and their children against dilapidated pre-Civil War schools, against segregation within the school system, against the practice of organizing in Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican communities classes for the "retarded," thus deliberately perpetuating the discriminatory status in the schooling of these children. To state that Negro women, even of petty bourgeois composition, do not themselves conduct such struggles is tainted with white chauvinism. It avoids the prime responsibility of white women to lead in the fight against these appalling conditions.

We can accelerate the militancy of Negro women to the degree with which we demonstrate that the economic, political and social demands of Negro women are not just ordinary demands, but *special* demands, flowing from special discrimination facing Negro women as women, as workers and as Negroes. It means first, to unfold the struggle for jobs, to organize the unorganized Negro women workers in hundreds of open-shop factories and to *win* these job campaigns. It means overcoming our failure to organize the domestic workers who recently won for the first time the begrudging official recognition of the status of "workers" in the social security regulation changes. It means more than a pious sympathy for Rosa Lee Ingram, imprisoned for over 3 years, and a revival of the campaign for her speedy release. It

means that we must not allow on the Lower East Side a Settlement House to close because bourgeois Jewish nationalists say: "It was meant for Jewish children and now there are too many Puerto Ricans and Negroes." Yes, and it means that a struggle for social equality for Negro women must be boldly fought for in every sphere of relations between men and women so that the open door of Party membership doesn't become a revolving door because of our failure to conduct this struggle.

WOMEN'S SPECIAL ISSUES AND DEMANDS

Comrades, I have singled out three main questions in this sub-report flowing out of the splendid report of Comrade Hall, namely: 1) the necessity to develop, strengthen and build a distinct women's peace movement; 2) the rooting of that movement among working women and the wives of workers; and 3) the special necessity to bring the fight for peace to the Negro women.

But we all know that analysis and experiences in struggle, sound though these may be, are not enough. The key to nurture, expand and coalesce these peace strivings of women means the raising of special demands, of special issues and the development of special forms of organization. We have much to learn from the rich experiences of the international anti-fascist women's movement, especially from France and Italy, as well as Argentina and Africa, where a feature of these movements is the

distinct peace struggle of women linked with defense of the needs of children.

One of the key issues which grips the heart of every mother and fills her children's hearts with terror are the newly introduced atomic air-raid drills now taking place in the nation's schools. But can it be said that progressive women have grasped the possibilities for peace struggle inherent in the widely expressed new sentiment which shows that women and particularly mothers are not accepting this program? Newspaper editorials, the statements of public figures as well as our own knowledge from ties with the people, shows in city after city that despite whipping up of anti-Soviet hysteria, volunteers are not forthcoming and there has *not* been *mass identification* with the civilian defense apparatus. No doubt what contributes to this is that millions of women and mothers cannot see security from war in a civilian defense set-up that is nationally headed by the former Governor Caldwell—a Dixiecrat from Florida, and in New York, by the anti-Semite Gen. Lucius Clay, and by similar characters in other states.

We can neither encourage false security in a program which is based on the false idea of the inevitability of war, nor ignore the sentiments which impel response and concern, even though passive, by millions to this program. We are duty bound, however, to expose the falsity of this program and the instigators of this program, the very ones who threaten the use of the atomic bomb.

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Let us boldly place the question right side up. Let us tell mothers who are worried about atomic warfare that the only defense—even with shelters, drills and war preparations—is to *ban the atomic bomb*. In many cities children die in congested streets, and mothers have to build living islands of safety with their bodies before a traffic light is installed. Shall we say nothing about such a city spending thousands of dollars on a shelter—which in New York City costs \$47,000? Shall we be silent about the use of money for these shelters being built in swanky communities while working-class children and Negro children cower in dank pre-Civil War school rooms which need to be torn down?

The cost of a single battleship could provide 325 family-sized dwelling units. Shall this money be used for a false national emergency in which 70 billions are being spent for bombs or shall the money be spent for housing projects and homes?

In addition to this vital issue is the issue of high prices, another weakness of the women's movement. Yet experience shows that this issue of high prices is one of the most powerful and effective issues around which women will respond; and in seeing the connection between their immediate demands and the struggle for peace, they will also see a necessity for a change in the political administration that denies to them and their families these basic needs.

Generally on the question of the defense of the needs of children

there is need for a new appreciation of the prime necessity of strengthening our support to progressive leadership in the parent-teacher field. In numerous states, it has been the consistent activity of progressive and Communist mothers, whose leadership, together with teachers, has helped to counter the racist witchhunts, has fought disastrous pro-fascist legislation which threatens to penalize progressive teachers, and who have generally challenged the drive to fascize the minds of our children. The fiasco of the Freedom Scroll campaign in Los Angeles and San Francisco, opposed by the parent-teacher movement, is an example of the readiness of women to struggle on these issues. Every city budget hearing, where the axe is being put to school needs, finds women present—aroused and fighting in defense of their children's needs. These and other examples should point up to labor-progressives and our Party the wealth of mass issues to rally women and mothers on; and to the possibilities in struggle to raise their political consciousness on the necessity of the struggle for peace.

Comrades, the politics of the women's movement today is not at all simple but complicated. All that Comrade Hall said relative to skill in tactics is being raised as our women comrades, together with non-Party women peace fighters, grapple with these and other problems. In New England the organization, Minute Women for Peace, is under fierce attack. The bourgeoisie, the state and city officials of

New England—the cradle of American liberty—are afraid because the present-day sisters of Molly Pitcher, of Deborah Gannett, of the early textile women strikers for the 10-hour-day are fighting for peace, to preserve liberty. To defeat these and other attacks means to guarantee support to the struggle of these women peace fighters. Involved here is the right of fraternal association with our sisters from other lands which received a severe blow at the hands of the warmongers in the recent period. Winning this struggle also means defending the principle of the right of Communist women to work among, and earn leadership among the masses of women, in order to help dissolve the foul tissue of lies about women's capability and leadership in women's struggle for peace and progress.

OUR PARTY'S WORK AMONG WOMEN

To help transform women's peace sentiment into a mighty organized movement for peace, security equality and defense of children, means we must change our Party's methods of work and approaches to our own women cadre.

In his report, Comrade Hall stated that:

“. . . the worst symptom of male superiority tendencies in our ranks is the speed with which we realeased the bulk of our leading women comrades after World War II—and our slowness to correct this error. The new level of work achieved by our women comrades, and the

new currents stirring among the masses of women, must be reflected in our Party's new level of understanding of the woman's question. This goes for our entire leadership and membership.”

What is necessary to achieve this “new level of understanding” in work among women? It means, first of all, recognizing and applying the Leninist concept that Communist women must “*themselves be part of the mass movement of women.*” It means the virtual release of dozens and dozens of our women comrades for work among women for peace and to struggle for women's special demands.

In many Party sections a consciousness exists that in order to make it possible for women to participate generally in Party activities, the obstacles to women's full participation must be recognized. Party cadres here understand that because under capitalism, care of children is more than often the sole responsibility of women, and not viewed as a social responsibility, as is the case under Socialism, it is necessary to provide for baby sitters to help release women for general Party work. But examination shows that this practice, limited because of its costliness, is not widespread. Nor is the same approach taken to release Party women cadre for work among the masses of women. Coupled with this a general underestimation of work among women is expressed in the practice of taking practically all of our women comrades out of their natural habitat thus robbing

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them of their mass contacts in P.T.A.'s and women's organizations while they function as general Party actives.

Then there is the general male supremacist approach which relegates only certain phases of responsibility to women on the assumption that women aren't ready for top leadership responsibilities on a policy-making level. The fact that in the basic units of our Party a great deal of leadership is exercised by our women cadres refutes this assertion. But what is required here is the elevation of women to policy-making bodies of the Party organization.

There are literally dozens of women in every Party section who, viewing such practices, ask: How can women function fully in the Party — women with families and children, whose problems cannot be fully solved under capitalism? Of course women can and do function as general Party actives and that is all to the good, but they function as general Party actives, and not among the masses of women. The splendid results shown in not a few communities where women were released for work among women, shows how fully one-half of the Party's effectiveness could be strengthened if our Party leadership on all levels overcomes this general under-estimation of work among women.

COMBATTING MALE "SUPREMACY"

Last summer, when Party reorganization was a prime concern, we

learned how costly such attitudes could be. They led to liquidationist trends in our Party expressed in the automatic dropping of women comrades. Male-supremacist attitudes ranged from proposals to pull our women comrades out of mass peace work and work among women generally, to ideas that true security means that women should "protect the kids" by pulling out of Party activity. Here was a case of the intensification of bourgeois feminist notions of what true security is and intensification likewise of male supremacist ideas that "women's place is in the home." When some women resisted, some Party forces even held that women felt the tension more than others even going so far as to hold up as "proof" one woman who had a change of life which is the usual and normal biological manifestation when a woman reaches a certain age!

But true security for the family, including families of Party members, comes in the first place from participation of both male and female members of the family in activity for peace and social progress. True security for the Communist family means not liquidation of women's work but expanding that work on the basis of recognizing that the activation of women generally confounds those who desire to keep one-half of the population in passive acceptance of the false ideas of the inevitability of war and fascism.

Overcoming these male supremacist notions means to recognize moreover that our Party, as distinct

from those who hold petty-bourgeois equalitarian notions, fights for the true equality of women. What does this mean? It means fighting for the right of women to enjoy every right and privilege enjoyed by men. Many shout equality in general, but in practice show lack of understanding of the special aspects of equality. The petty bourgeois equalitarian denies the special problems and needs of women. True recognition of the special aspects of equality for women means fighting to squeeze out every concession right here under capitalism relative to fighting women's numerous disabilities and inequalities in the home, on the job, in the community. It means above all fighting for the economic equality of women, because her economic dependence on men in our society, her exclusion from production, makes for a double exploitation of women (and triply so for Negro women) in present-day society. It means support to her special demands, for child-care centers, health centers, etc. It means elevation of women to leadership on all Party levels. It means also taking into account biological differences which contribute to women's special problems. Greater education on what is meant by equality is also needed, with special emphasis, directed as Lenin said, to the men in our Party who should be more self-critical of these weaknesses, and who must overcome their patronizing attitudes to women.

Our pre-Convention discussion raised anew the question of the

struggle against many male supremacist manifestations which Comrade Foster over two years ago called upon our entire Party to overcome in ideological struggle. We must register that Foster's contribution made for a decisive turn in our approach to the woman question throughout our Party, as particularly reflected in all major reports to this convention, and in the stress being placed by our Party leaderships in many districts. But there is no need to be complacent on this question since we must use this new awareness to unfold an even greater ideological understanding that there is a Marxist-Leninist approach to the woman question. This is not just the responsibility of the National Women's Commission which is already overburdened, and needs assistance on a national level, which needs establishment on a permanent basis of State Party Commissions on work among women, to serve as powerful arms of Party leadership on state levels in work among women, but it requires the conduct of such an ideological campaign by our entire Party.

FOR IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY ON WORK AMONG WOMEN

I propose that this Convention instruct our incoming leadership and National Educational Department to launch such a campaign starting on International Women's Day, March 8, 1951. I.W.D. should be the occasion for widespread tribute to the role and potentialities of

the masses of women, and to inculcate an understanding of the Marxist-Leninist approach to women in society, as a duty and responsibility of all Communist men and women. One such contribution to this end is the forthcoming volume on the woman question (a collection of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin) which will be published by International Publishers in January, and which should receive wide circulation and study.

Proper use of the Women's Page of *The Worker*, under the leadership of Peggy Dennis, now widely read; the organization of friends and readers of *The Worker* to make this page the vehicle of exchange of experiences in the peace and general women's movement, can make this page the avenue to increasing the circulation of the press among the masses of women, particularly among Negro and working-class women.

The Draft Resolution's failure to deal adequately with the woman question, overcome now with Comrade Hall's report, consists in the fact that it failed not only to deal adequately with women's role—but with her *oppression*—the crux of the question. It is true that the widespread and justifiable criticism by many of our women comrades of the Resolution's weakness was due to their failure to find a corresponding estimate of work among women on all Party levels. They saw therefore the struggle for women's equality solely as an *inner Party matter*, isolated, as too many of them are from the broad ferment

of women for peace. Where women, despite obstacles, plunged ahead, and did not fall into the "battle of the sexes" bourgeois-feminist moods, there recognition of women's full role and contribution to the fight for peace was swiftest. This should point up a great fact: namely, that it is the movement of the women themselves for peace that has forced a new awareness upon our Party and labor-progressive forces everywhere today. A real tribute for this approach goes to Comrade Foster who told us that women must fight for their own liberation, and to women Communist anti-fascist leaders in the international women's movement.

The attention and agreement of the entire Party organization must be won to the solution of, and collective application to these problems. Overcoming of these weaknesses will release the collective talents of our wonderful women comrades to work, write, sing and fight for women's liberation; and they will want to do it not as second-class citizens but as contributors to Party policy and mass work in our clubs and groups.

PROMOTION OF WOMEN CADRES

It is time our Party recognize the precious capital it has in its women cadres. Important indications of an improved attitude in the Party toward the promotion of women in leadership are seen in many parts of the country. We have the advancement to the State Committee at the recent New York

Party Convention of such comrades as Lil Gates, Johnnie Lumpkin and Mercedes Arroya; the splendid leadership of such women comrades as Vickie Lawrence and Anne Garfield in work among women in New York and New England; the recent elevation of Comrade Mollie Lieber West to the post of Illinois organizational secretary; of Grace Tillman to a similar position in Indiana and of Comrade Vi to a leading post in a Southern Party district. We have comrades like Rose Gaulden in the leadership in Philadelphia's 4th Ward, of Dorothy Healy and Bernadette Doyle in key positions in California, of Betty Gannett as our National Education Director, of women Communist veterans like Dora Lipshitz and Rose Baron, and that of Martha Stone as District Organizer of New Jersey. We also have emerging Negro women leaders like Mary Adams, the splendid young Party women cadre like Jeanie Griffith and Judy; the inspiring role of the foremost woman leader of our Party, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and of the great women veterans like Mother Bloor and

Anita Whitney. There are other women cadres too numerous to mention.

Inspired and steeled by the powerful science of Marxism-Leninism, which holds the key to the ultimate liberation of women in a Socialist society, where the basis of women's exploitation is eliminated, exploitation of man by man abolished, and the true equality of the sexes achieved, let us resolve at this 15th National Convention of our Party to honor the Jane Higginses whose daily work is a measure of their desire to master Marxist-Leninist theory, to participate in winning a glorious future.

In this struggle, Communist women, by their leadership among the masses of women, and learning from them to fight for their demands, will fuse the women's peace movement under the leadership of the working class, and will thereby help to change the relationship of forces in our land in such a way as to make for a new anti-fascist, anti-imperialist people's coalition, advancing through this struggle to Socialism.

Broadening the United Front for Peace in the Trade Unions

by Irving Potash

THIS IS AN inspiring Convention. The very fact that it takes place at this time is tremendously significant. This is a down-to-earth Convention. Here we seek not only to evolve a generally correct line and program of action in a very grave national and international situation, but we also seek to give concrete answers to questions and problems all our comrades will encounter in their efforts to apply our estimate and line in their daily work.

This Convention must face the fact that although our Party can take note of a number of important achievements, nevertheless, we have suffered from a serious gap between our generally correct policies and line, on the one hand, and our application of these correct policies, on the other hand. That is why the reports submitted to this Convention are so important. These reports seek to answer questions which must be clearly answered if we are to close the gap between theory and practice, a basic requirement of a Communist Party. That is why the emphasis given in Comrade Hall's Report, as in the other reports, to the question of tactics, to methods of work, and to the style of work, is of such decisive importance.

It is clear that we must deal with the struggle for peace in a new way. It is easier to recognize today the existence of an ever-growing peace sentiment in the country. The enemies of peace also recognize this fact. Our task is to seize hold of this vague and, in many ways, confused peace sentiment of the masses and mold it, deepen it, organize and direct it into a front for peace, into a movement that will defeat the plans of the warmongers.

The masses want peace. But that doesn't settle everything, important as that fact is. The masses must be convinced that it is possible to have peace. To achieve this, we must increase a thousandfold our organized work to expose the real face of the warmonger, to dislodge the false idea that the Soviet Union is "forcing war upon us," thus making war inevitable. We should not underestimate the extent to which the warmongers have succeeded in implanting this false idea in the minds of millions.

We have the tremendous task to bring home to the masses, particularly to the workers, the truth about the Soviet Union and its aims. To the extent that we fail to combat the false idea that the Soviet Union is "forcing war upon us," to that extent will the peace senti-

ment remain vague and confused, and to that extent the masses will not be involved in an organized demand for genuine negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. In this connection we must encourage visits of honest workers' delegations to the Soviet Union, and such delegations should not consist of workers who already know the truth about the land of Socialism.

One of the most important issues around which the peace sentiment can be organized is the issue of the revival of the Nazis in Western Germany, the rearmament and reconstitution of the Nazi army. If undertaken with energy and skill, it should not be difficult to develop a huge movement among World War II veterans, as well as others, on this very important issue.

The Progressive-led unions, particularly those with a large Jewish membership, can make a special contribution if they would address appeals for united action to Right-led unions, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and others, against the rearming of Western Germany. The memory of the six million Jews brutally slaughtered by the Nazis—the same Nazis whom the warmongers are again enlisting for their war against the Soviet Union—is not dead among decent people.

Some comrades, in opposing such appeals, argue that these would tend to create or strengthen illusions in the role of the Dubinskys and their ilk. It is unfortunate that such comrades do not see that just

the opposite would be accomplished, that the evil role of these misleaders would be exposed, and large sections of the membership of their unions galvanized into action. When the comrades and progressives at the head of the French trade unions approached Social-Democratic union leaders, like Jouhaux, and reactionary Catholic union leaders for a united wage struggle, it was not the Jouhauxs and the other misleaders who were strengthened. What was strengthened was the unity in the ranks of the French working class.

The initiative of Ben Gold, in sending a letter to Phillip Murray, calling for united action for peace is a notable contribution to the peace movement. This appeal should be followed up with other approaches and appeals to unions and union memberships on the remilitarization of Western Germany and Japan.

MASTER THE TACTICS OF THE UNITED FRONT

Above all, and this is most decisive, we must organize and systematically guide and direct our industrial and shop clubs toward mastering the methods of united-front activity for peace in the shops and unions. We talk a great deal about style of work. These are the places, first of all, where the expression, "style of work," must assume concrete meaning.

What is the situation today? A Party member in a shop either does nothing on the theory that the workers are reactionary, or at the very outset wants the workers to

agree with him that the South Korean government started the war, that the United States government is the aggressor, that the Soviet Union champions peace, etc. Usually the comrade wants the workers to take his word as fact; he expects his shopmates not only to accept what he says, but to go out and say so publicly in one form or another. If the workers are not ready to accept all this, then they are labelled "hopeless reactionaries," and our comrade becomes angry, very angry indeed. Am I exaggerating? Life is my witness. If this were not the method of work in the shops and unions, the peace movement would be much stronger today. The fact is that as yet there is no genuine grasp of united-front approaches to the workers in the shops and unions, for the organization of elementary peace actions on minimum issues, to begin with, on the basis of the workers' elementary desire for peace no matter how vague or confused that may be at present.

Style of work, that's the thing. We must go down to each shop and industrial club, to help organize the club for united-front activities for peace on the basis of the specific problems in each shop or union. It is one thing for our comrades to explain patiently, and to agitate for, our full position. It is another thing for the same comrades to learn how to combine this with a genuine united-front approach.

Comrades and progressives in the shops, as well as in leadership of Progressive-led unions, have a definite responsibility that goes beyond

their own unions. We have a responsibility to set an example in the daily struggles for the economic well being of the workers. But we must also do more than that.

This Convention is projecting the task of raising to new levels the struggle for Negro rights and for the liberation of the Negro people. This will and must become the center of the objectives in our work in Right-led unions. The Communists in Progressive-led unions can and must help to achieve this objective in Right-led unions by first of all setting an example in their own unions.

Unfortunately, this has not been the case at all times. You comrades are no doubt familiar with the struggle to bring greater clarity on the Negro question that has been waged among Communists in the fur industry.

The comrades of our union have an excellent tradition and record of struggle and militancy. In many ways this record also includes struggles for Negro rights. Our comrades and many progressives, for example, played an outstanding role in Peckskill. In fact, the Furriers Union officially invited Robeson to return to Peckskill after the first attack by fascist hoodlums, and promised protection for him personally and for the meeting. The union played an outstanding role in fulfilling both. It is true also that this union, and the Communists in it, fought against Jim Crow, lynching and discrimination. In some sections Negro workers were integrated into the leadership of the union.

FIGHT AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

And yet, comrades, the Party has had to wage a long and bitter struggle with the Communists in this industry for understanding of the Negro question. It is a fact that despite the militant tradition of the Furriers Union, there are still lily-white staffs in important sections of the industry, there is neglect of the upgrading of Negro workers, inexcusable indifference to white chauvinistic expressions, attitudes and treatment of Negro workers. We Communists were quick to condemn as bourgeois nationalists Negro comrades who militantly fought against white chauvinist manifestations. We were quick to draw the sword against so-called bourgeois nationalism, but our swords got stuck in the scabbard when we were face to face with white chauvinist expressions, omissions and commissions. Comrades, when I say "we" I include myself.

Too many of us saw the problem as one of what the white Communists and progressives were doing for the Negro workers but not what the Negro workers were contributing to the union, to the common objectives and interests of the workers as a whole. Some comrades were much more concerned with the question of what the most backward workers might think or say if genuine integration of the Negro workers in the leadership was achieved in the union instead of what the Negro workers think, and what is being done to combat the

backward attitudes of white workers.

It is no accident that white chauvinist manifestations in the ranks of the Communists and a weakening of the struggle against white chauvinism developed simultaneously with other opportunist and liquidationist tendencies.

The fact that such a struggle had to be waged among comrades in a progressive union like ours, perhaps the most progressive union in this country, demonstrates how deep the bourgeois poison of white chauvinism has penetrated and how much the entire Party must be on its toes in waging a constant, daily and sustained struggle against every manifestation of white chauvinism and against every form of Negro oppression, not only within the ranks of the Party, but among the workers generally.

Too many of us repeat the slogans for "a fighting united working class" without realizing that there can be no Negro-white unity without a ceaseless struggle against white chauvinism and for the liberation of the Negro people. And, without a fighting united working class, there can be no advance toward Socialism.

Comrades, the stubborn struggle of the Party, of the Negro comrades in the industry, has borne fruit. Much progress has already been made. For example, three Negro workers have been integrated into full time leadership in New York and others elected on the International Executive Board. More effective up-grading of Negro workers is developing in some sections of

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the industry. Programs for more intensive and extensive struggles for Negro rights and education on the Negro question among the membership generally, is also, within the Party in the industry, taking shape. A more comradely relationship between white and Negro comrades is developing. Self-criticism among the white comrades is becoming more genuine, and this is among the best signs of progress.

But we still have much to do. There still are lily-white sections of the union, particularly in leather. But it should be noted that recently a stoppage took place by white workers in a lily-white leather plant in Tennessee for the employment of Negro workers, and it was a successful stoppage. I am confident that our comrades will be able to show an example in the fight for Negro rights and make an outstanding contribution to our Party's task to advance this struggle to a higher level among the basic sections of the working class in the Right-led unions.

WIN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE WORKERS

Now, a few words about methods of work in the shops and unions. How should comrades work in the shop among their fellow workers? That is a key question. The basic objective of a Communist is to win the confidence of his shop-mates; the workers will accept the leadership of a Communist in the shop or union, and defend him, when such a Communist is known as a friend, as a tireless fighter for the workers'

interests, as a fearless and sensible fighter. A Communist must establish a relationship with workers that will make it impossible for the workers to believe the ruling-class slanders that he wants to do them harm, or that he wants to harm the country and the people generally. Under such a relationship between the Communist and his fellow workers, the workers will very often give a Communist the benefit of the doubt even when they do not yet understand and accept our full position on one question or another.

Let me cite an example. In August, I spoke at a shop stewards meeting in my union. At that meeting I told the workers that the authorities had decided to imprison me because I was a Communist and they say Communists are a "threat to the freedom and security of the people and the country." I asked them point blank: "Does it make sense to you that I threaten your freedom and security?" The workers answered my question by staging an ovation that surprised everybody. The Social-Democratic "labor" writer, Kingdon, on the *New York Post*, in commenting on the meeting, said that when I posed that question to the workers they could give only one answer, because the workers identified me with their many struggles over the many years, with their hardships, as well as their achievements in these struggles.

We have a number of Communists in this union who have established this type of relationship with their fellow workers. The workers may not agree with all our political

ideas, but they respect these comrades, and, therefore, also respect their views. The workers know that these Communists discuss and reason with them in a friendly manner. They do not call them names, do not call them reactionaries because they hold different views. The Communists always look for a common basis for agreement and action of the workers of varying political views and opinions. But the workers also know that these Communists do not put their ideas on ice, that they talk about them, when the workers are unemployed, when the cops club them, when Truman threatens to throw the atom bomb. The workers know these Communists talk to their fellow workers about a different kind of life, the Socialist life in the Soviet Union, where there is no unemployment, where cops do not club workers, where peace is a way of life. These Communists discuss white chauvinism with their fellow workers, teach the workers by example, by their own practices and relationships with the Negro fellow workers, and

by demonstrating how much the united ranks of the workers can accomplish against the boss. The workers know that the Communists try to sell them the *Daily Worker*, or a piece of literature, because it answers questions they may have.

That is why these Communists enjoy the confidence of the workers, even of the more backward workers, as well as the workers influenced by the Right-wing. These Communists get elected time and time again despite the Red-baiting, despite persecution. These Communists are leaders of workers, leading sometimes eight or ten workers among whom they work. Such Communists also recruit workers into the Party. They learn from the workers and teach the workers. They involve the workers in actions, in struggles for peace and progress.

There must be a crusade in our Party—a crusade to develop and encourage Communist shop leaders. Only such a crusade will enable us to fulfill the tasks and objectives hammered out at this great Convention.

The Youth in the Fight for Peace, Against Militarization

by Carl Ross

THIS CONVENTION reflects real progress in our youth work and better understanding of our Party policy in this field. The period since the last Convention has been marked by many noteworthy events in developing our fight to win the youth, fully confirming the correctness of the general line of our Party in youth work.

The 1948 Convention of our Party gave important emphasis to the need of establishing a non-Party working-class youth organization dedicated to the training of the youth in the spirit of Socialism. The Labor Youth League, and its truly historic first National Convention held a few weeks ago, marks the realization in life of this policy, and closes the gap of almost a decade during which time a youth organization of this type has been absent.

The recent founding Convention of the Labor Youth League, culminating its work of a year and a half, has made a deep impression on our whole Party. In this short time the League has proven itself to be a worthy heir of all the best traditions of the Young Communist League, its 25-year record of struggle and its training of many of the outstanding leaders of our Party

today. But we are still slow to grasp the full meaning of the establishment of this independent working-class youth organization.

The working class and its vanguard now have a powerful instrument that will effectively battle to win the youth for the peace camp and the cause of the working class. The doors are now opened to a new generation of youth to learn in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism how to develop their present struggles and win the future.

Our last Convention noted that the battle for the youth was still too one-sided, that the labor movement and peace forces had not challenged reaction's offensive against the youth. This Convention can note important progress by our Party and other forces in taking up this challenge; but Wall Street reaction has intensified its offensive many times over and the peace forces are in danger of being outstripped.

Our Party needs a decisive, new understanding of its responsibility. We have to single out those questions that will swing the tide in the battle for the youth to the side of the peace forces and the working class.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MILITARIZATION

There can be no fully effective fight for peace without waging a struggle against the militarization of the youth.

Our weakness in developing a full-scale struggle to win the youth weakens our fight for peace. The fight for peace cannot be effective if it fails to take into account the fact that the program for militarization and fascism of youth is a keystone of the imperialist war program. The ability of the imperialists to carry out their aggressive war depends to a major degree upon their mobilization of youth into the armed forces and as a mass base for fascism.

This is more than a youth question. This is a working-class question—a question of deepest concern to the great masses who passionately desire peace, who do not want their sons regimented, brutalized and sacrificed to Wall Street.

The struggle against militarization is one of the most deep-seated traditions of the American people and trade-union movement. Now the labor bureaucrats are abandoning labor's traditional opposition to a peace-time draft and universal military training, although even they must give lip-service opposition to universal service plans that result in a labor draft. It is the duty and responsibility of our Party to raise an outcry against this betrayal in the trade unions. This is a powerful issue for winning the labor movement for the peace fight. This was illustrated in the

Ford plant recently where the Stellato leadership came out for extension of the draft and was answered in a leaflet signed by 60 young veterans in the plant. It was reported to be the most popular leaflet issued to the Ford workers in a long time.

In every community and mass organization one aspect of the people's new receptiveness to organize peace action is an awakening of traditional anti-war and anti-militarist sentiments. Ways can be found to give voice to the people's indignation at the war hysteria and chauvinism being injected into the schools and communities, especially in the guise of atom-bomb drills and civilian defense mobilization.

Our weaknesses flow from an underestimation of reaction's drive to militarize the youth. We do not yet understand that the issue is whether we will have a Hitler Jugend in this country or will save our youth for the peace camp. The lessons of Korea should shock our Party out of any complacency. Here we have tens of thousands of youth being inculcated with vicious chauvinist ideas of "superiority" that justify every crime in the book. Here we have reflected that special fate in store for Negro youth as the expendables of a Jim-Crow army.

Decisive elements in the war program include the proposals now advanced for extending the draft to 18-year olds, lifting the draft age limit, ending exemption of veterans and limiting deferment of family men and students so as to step up mobilization for the armed forces to nearly 4,000,000 by next summer.

These proposals for militarization have been topped by the master-plan for Universal Military Training and Service, which would make every youth, regardless of physical disabilities, or dependency status, part of an overall military machine.

The sum and substance of the imperialists' aim is a whole generation of youth harnessed to their war machine — a generation of white youth fashioned in the Wall Street image of imperialism, chauvinism and bestial war—and a generation of Negro youth doubly enslaved by Jim-Crow and the war-makers' need for cannon fodder.

Our Party must heighten its own awareness of these aims, and alarm the whole labor movement, understanding that the failure of the working class to enter this fight for the youth would threaten the very life of the labor movement and its ability to win allies.

Along with plans for stepping up mobilization for the armed forces go steps for an intensified fascist ideological offensive among the youth both in and out of the armed forces. Every monopoly-controlled medium of mass communication from television to movies, from the classrooms to the bourgeois youth organizations, is being enlisted in this drive to win the youth.

We tend to underestimate this danger by thinking of the youth today as the same generation that fought in the anti-fascist Second World War. Actually a great portion of the present young generation has grown up in the "cold war" period and in an atmosphere of

intensified warmongering, anti-Communism, national chauvinism and white supremacy. There is no room for complacency on this score.

YOUTH ISSUES DEMAND ATTENTION

We should allow no idea to develop that the wholesale draft of youth will eliminate youth problems. Many young men will be regimented and militarized on the job, in the shops. There will be a tremendous influx of young women workers into industry, confronting the trade unions and our Party with many new problems. The program of wage and job freezes will threaten young women workers, and especially Negro youth, with frozen inequalities in wages and working conditions. Already many special problems such as the fight against denying jobs to 1-A's, for severance pay to draftees, etc., are developing.

But the sharpest economic problems face the Negro youth and young Negro women. For Negro youth there are no guarantees of industrial jobs, or at best only of the most menial ones. Nor are there any guarantees of upgrading and training on the job. This must be an area of special concern to our Party and the trade-union movement. Consideration must be given to carrying through such ideas as those projected in Pennsylvania for a state-wide conference on problems of Negro youth, or in Chicago for a special conference on the problems of young Negro women. This is as important as the struggle against Jim Crow, court-martial

lynchings and Jim-Crow conditions of Negro youth in training camps which must be raised in relation to the Negro youth drafted into the armed forces.

It follows that these are some of the most immediate issues around which our Party must develop an energetic struggle.

1. No extension of the draft to 18-year olds, veterans and married men. No lengthening of the draft-service term. No universal military service and training.

2. Abolish Jim Crow, segregation and all forms of discrimination in the armed forces; no disproportionate drafting of Negro youth, and the use of Negro troops on suicide missions; halt the victimization of Negro soldiers by rigged court-martial systems.

3. Define the democratic rights and living standards of servicemen and their families. For a 25 percent increase in family allotments. Protect the servicemen's right to vote.

4. Demand hiring of young workers regardless of 1-A draft status; for one month's severance pay to all draftees. Guarantee jobs, full upgrading and training, equal pay for equal work for young Negro workers and young Negro women; equal pay for equal work for women workers; maintain and extend safety and health standards for youth and women workers.

5. No militarization of the schools and class rooms. Defend academic freedom. Defend student deferments. Fight segregation and white chauvinism in the schools.

In developing such a program it is necessary to guard against cer-

tain incorrect approaches that result from a mechanical carry-over of slogans and issues from the period of the anti-fascist war.

We have no illusions that the new mass army being built up in this country to serve imperialism can be a democratic army. We do believe that the people must vigorously defend the economic and democratic interests of the youth who are mobilized and drafted to do Wall Street's dirty fighting. However, our best defense of their interests is the fight for peace, which alone will save the lives of tens of thousands of Americans threatened with murder by the war-makers.

YOUTH IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

Many of our weaknesses flow from an underestimation of the peace sentiments of the youth and of their readiness to unite in the fight for peace.

The American youth today, unlike the German youth under Hitler, do not consider war as their goal—do not glory in militarization, but, on the contrary, express the deepest desires to live a future of peace. This is a big distinction, and must not be overlooked.

The youth of America do not want the future imperialism has in store for them. Their hopes and plans more and more come into collision with the brutal realities of the militarization program. There is no gathering of young people, including the recent White House Conference on Children and Youth, where the youth's basic aspirations

for peace do not break through. The draft and universal military service and training proposals are highly unwelcome; college students have no desire to cut short their studies and Negro youth want no more of Jim-Crow armies. Although developing too slowly, these sentiments are finding expression ever more widely in a more organized and unified movement for peace and against militarization.

An organized youth movement for peace is emerging, too slowly as yet, but already revealing tremendous potentials. Peace actions, many embracing all-student organizations, have taken place recently in many colleges. Spontaneous peace expressions in shops are reported, such as in Cleveland where the President's call for an extended draft was met by a movement that swept through the shop, where workers chalked themselves with "4F" signs. Every major peace action of the recent period, including the National Labor Peace Conference, Mid-Century Peace Conference or Stockholm Peace Pledge campaign—has been notable for a big youth participation. Now a new stage is being reached—that of the development of an independent local and national youth peace movement, outside of, but cooperating with the general peace movement.

What are the principal features of the youth movement for peace, against militarization and for defense of youth interests that is now emerging?

First, this movement is emerging as an independent movement find-

ing its own forms of expression and activity, locally and on a national scale. To try to keep this fight for peace among the youth within the limits of the general organized peace movement, not to allow it to develop independently, would be to stifle it. The movement will develop along many channels and many local expressions rather than primarily around any single national center as was the case in the 1930's. There is need for support and assistance from the general peace movement, carefully developing every expression of sentiment and organized struggle among the youth.

Second, the movement to unify the youth is proceeding primarily from below, and while it is beginning to embrace sections of the bourgeois-led youth organizations, will develop in the main against the desires and opposition of their top leaders.

Third, in the movement for youth unity today the working-class youth must and will play a new role as they are already doing, largely on the initiative of the Labor Youth League.

Fourth, wide sections of this movement identify themselves with the spirit of internationalism and seek association with the world youth movement for peace.

In order to help stimulate and develop this movement our Party must pay special attention to certain aspects.

Wider sections of young workers and trade unionists will be drawn into the fight for peace and the organized youth movement prima-

rily through movements and actions around peace issues and specific youth needs in the shops and local unions. The principal media for such activity are struggles on such issues, initiated and led by militant young workers; organization of a variety of special youth forms of activity including sports groups, activities for young women, informal discussions. The Left-led unions should strive to set an example in stimulating the activity and participation of their young members in the life of the unions and developing special activities around youth needs and interests. Above all, the Party can contribute to this development by making the fight to win the young workers an integral part of its concentration policy and trade-union work.

Many of the most significant recent actions have taken place on college campuses, in many instances embracing all of the important campus organizations. Yet the development of an organized student peace movement lags far behind the possibilities. Bold initiative in organizing student peace actions that reflect the issues most sharply affecting the students will quickly result in a nation-wide student movement in the best tradition of student struggles for peace.

One fact that must be noted by this Convention is the absence of a national Negro youth movement expressing the desires and needs of Negro youth and drawing them more fully into the fight for peace and the struggle for national liberation. The need for and possibility of this development is underscored

by the N.A.A.C.P. top leadership's stifling of the militancy and growth of the N.A.A.C.P. youth. There already exists a broad base both of mass sentiment and potential leadership for the rapid development of such a Negro youth movement.

THE LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

Finally, in large part, the fight to win the youth depends upon the conscious forces of Communist and non-Communist youth organized in the Labor Youth League. The many new developments in the fight for peace among the youth testify to the conscious and leading role that L.Y.L. plays in the fight for youth unity.

Experience has borne out fully the correctness of establishing L.Y.L. as an independent non-Party mass youth organization. The best answer to those comrades who two years ago thought Party youth clubs filled the need for youth work are the thousands of non-Party members of L.Y.L. who are today participating in its activities and learning in a Marxist spirit.

Yet, in many places, there remains a resistance in practice to building the L.Y.L. Or in some instances the correct idea of full independence to the youth organizations, and the necessity of youth learning from their own mistakes, has been distorted to mean that the Party should render no practical assistance in building L.Y.L. and in helping it overcome its weaknesses and mistakes. The biggest assistance the Party can give the L.Y.L. is in helping it to find the varied

expressions and forms of activity that reflect all of the cultural, social, educational and political interests of the youth. It can do much to assist the L.Y.L. youth in learning in a Marxist spirit in the course of the struggle in which they participate and lead.

The correctness of building L.Y.L. as a working-class youth organization based first of all upon the working youth, and educating youth in a working-class spirit, has also been borne out. The best testimony to this are the hundreds of young L.Y.L. members in such basic industries as steel, auto, electrical, maritime, who are being schooled in working-class ideology and are playing a new role in the youth movement. It is no contradiction to say that this is the outstanding feature of L.Y.L.—and yet to add, that its biggest weakness remains its inadequate efforts to win the working-class youth.

What has been accomplished is the best answer to those Party organizations or leaders who have not given full assistance to developing L.Y.L. shop clubs, or have argued that the L.Y.L. should ignore shop and trade-union questions. Any idea of relegating the L.Y.L. to the role of a "service" organization to the trade unions would quickly rob it of all initiative and leadership in defending the interests of the working youth, and in time lead to a loss of the valuable gains it has made. Precisely because it recognizes the existence of a multitude of special youth issues and need for special forms of youth activity and struggle in the shops, our Party

must also give increased practical aid in the building of the L.Y.L. in the shops and labor movement.

The work of the L.Y.L. has also proved in practice how shortsighted were those comrades who argued that building the L.Y.L. would take forces away from the Party. Hundreds of splendid new working-class leaders among the youth, especially Negro youth and young Negro women, trained in the L.Y.L., refute this wrong notion. Far from being a drain on the Party, the L.Y.L. is proving that it will be a gold mine of forces for the working class and its vanguard.

THE PARTY'S ROLE IN YOUTH WORK

Undoubtedly the new decisiveness of the work among youth and particularly the establishment of the L.Y.L., require a re-examination of many aspects of our Party's youth work. Above all, it calls for more attention at every level of Party organization.

Failure to make the entire Party conscious of the problems of youth work and of our responsibilities and tasks among the youth can now make this long-standing weakness a danger point in our entire fight for peace.

The decisive element of our policy, the winning of the entire peace camp for the struggle to win the youth, will not be accomplished without a sharp turn in the work of the entire Party.

Experience indicates two generally wrong approaches in our work: On the one hand, a growing ten-

dency to relegate all youth questions to the leadership of the L.Y.L., with the Party acting as a sort of consultant. And on the other hand a policy of negating the leading role of the League by directly involving the Party in every question of the youth movement.

The Party leadership and Youth Commissions should concern themselves with the main question of determining the Party's general line for youth work, and not alone with its application among the youth. The Commissions should mobilize the Party on all major youth issues, continually evaluate and review the work among the youth, helping to resolve major problems that arise, and promote a stronger Party consciousness among the Communist youth.

In summary form, the main recommendations for strengthening our Party work in the youth field are:

1. Take the issues facing the youth to the working class and inject them into the broadest circles of the peace movement. This requires organizing first of all an ideological campaign in the ranks of the Party, to shake up the Party to the full significance of our responsibility to win the youth for peace.

2. Our Party must give consistent practical leadership to all struggles to win the youth and build the youth movement. Since the estab-

lishment of the L.Y.L. a year and a half ago, there has been a virtual liquidation of Party youth commissions and other forms of Party leadership to youth work. We propose that steps be taken to reconstitute National and District Youth Commissions under the chairmanship of National and District Committee members.

3. The Party everywhere must take practical steps to build and strengthen the L.Y.L. especially in relation to carrying out our concentration tasks and in the South. Attention should be given to aiding the L.Y.L. to develop more rounded activity, a fuller Marxist educational program and a consistent cadre training program. This also requires enlarging the core of Party members in the L.Y.L.

4. The Party must take steps to guarantee the full participation of our young comrades in its political life. The failure to do this was reflected in the fact that our Party youth were not generally involved in the pre-convention discussion and no special youth meetings were held for organizing such discussion.

5. The Party must systematically integrate our leading young comrades into all Party committees and departments from top to bottom. This is one of the basic contributions our Party can make to a program of cadre training for the youth movement.

Some Ideological Tasks in the Struggle for Peace

by Betty Gannett

THE PARTY'S ideological and theoretical work is determined by the central political task of the day—the struggle for peace—the mobilization of the working class, the Negro people, and other democratic and peace-loving forces into a powerful front to defeat imperialist reaction and its drive to war.

Our Party must counteract daily and hourly the political, ideological and cultural influences of the war camp, expose and isolate the reactionary Social-Democratic and labor-reformist ideologists of Big Business, who strive to demoralize the working class and tie it to Wall Street's war program. This demands of us that we raise the ideological and theoretical understanding of our members to fulfill our vanguard role in combatting the alien class influences and backward prejudices within the ranks of the working class—a task which the leadership of the Party in the first place must guide and develop.

Yet, this Convention has had to take note of the fact that this phase of work remains one of the weakest aspects of the Party's activity. We have been wont to repeat the axiom that the ideological struggle is an indispensable phase of the class struggle, and that the Marxist-Leninist training of our member-

ship is a pre-condition for effective Communist mass work. But far too often we repeat this principle like a ritual, without the necessary conscious struggle by the leadership against the traditional underestimation of theory which continues to plague our Party. Comrade Foster has repeatedly pointed out the need to rid the Party of the ill effects of "narrow practicalism," of pragmatic contempt for theory, which falsely counterposes "practical" to "theoretical" work and negates the fundamental unity of theory and practice.

There is great concern and desire for theory in the ranks of our Party. There is an avid desire for knowledge, for Marxist-Leninist understanding of such outstanding questions as the possibility of the co-existence of the Socialist and capitalist states, of the theoretical aspects of the war economy, of the movement and level of consciousness of the American working class, of the entire question of coalitions and working-class hegemony and the Negro question, in a variety of its aspects. But yet we do little to turn this desire for learning into a conscious fight to master Marxism-Leninism, and to carry through with Leninist clarity and boldness the line of our Party.

This Convention has raised a series of key ideological and theoretical questions in relation particularly to the fight for peace, the effects of the growing war economy on the working people, the effects of the colonial-liberation struggles on the national-liberation movement of the Negro people, the relationship of strategy and tactics in the development of the united front of struggle, and the theoretical foundations of Communist organizational practice. These and related questions must form the groundwork on which to develop an intense ideological activity for the mastery of the line of this Convention.

FIGHT FOR THE "BIG TRUTH"

Certainly, U.S. imperialism has not underestimated the ideological struggle at home or abroad. Fabulous sums are spent to perpetuate the myth of American "exceptionalism," to sell the superiority of the "American way of life" to our people and the peoples of other lands. Thus, *Fortune*, in its September 1950 issue, boasts: "The free enterprise campaign is shaping up as one of the most intensive sales jobs in the history of industry—in fact, it is fast becoming very much of an industry in itself. This year it will probably account for at least one hundred million dollars of industry's ad budget. . . ." The Fourth Annual Conference of Businessmen and Educators, held at the Babson Institute of Business Administration, on October 13, 1950, called for a new "dynamic approach" to the

educational program of Big Business, to make it known that "business . . . is concerned not only with production, markets and profits, but also with human rights and aspirations."

Will a hundred million times one hundred million dollars succeed in making the American common man believe that?

Quite perturbed by the difficulties increasingly encountered, President Truman, called for "a more effective national effort to use the great power of truth in working for peace." Thus it was agreed to launch the Crusade for Freedom, which, in the demagogic words of General Eisenhower, was to be a "campaign sponsored by private American citizens to fight the big lie with the big truth."

And what is this "big truth"? Of course, imperialism cannot come with the truth to the people. It must always camouflage its program with demagoguery, with deceit, with words diametrically opposed to its deeds.

Thus, Wall Street covers up its reckless drive toward world war with hypocritical words of "peace" aimed at deceiving the working people of our own land, as well as the millions abroad. It speaks of "national security," "national defense," "national survival," while it tramples upon the true national interests of the country, the true aspirations for peace of our people.

It speaks of the new role of world leadership that falls upon its shoulders to save the world from the alleged "despotism and totalitarianism" of Communism, while it

foists upon other people hated reactionary puppets, makes alliances with the fascist scum everywhere, and seeks to revive the Nazi armed forces.

It piously protests that it wants no territory belonging to other people, that it desires only to safeguard their right to exist as free and independent nations, while in practice it strives to crush the independence struggle of the colonial peoples and plans to enslave all nations.

Our ideological struggle has to be conducted as a concrete struggle arising from the unfolding events. It should be carried on in a language and in forms that the workers can understand and in terms of their own experiences.

The warmakers today must be shown as specific men, heads of trusts, each of whom exploits hundreds and thousands of workers, and reaps fabulous profits from the sweat and toil of American labor and the oppression of colonial peoples. Let the workers see the men of Wall Street who dominate and control the government as their own exploiters, as the lynchers and oppressors of the Negro people, as the baiters of the foreign born, as the destroyers of the Bill of Rights, who cannot but pursue a similar path in the treatment of other peoples in every corner of the globe.

The people are uneasy about the events in Korea, about U.S. hostility to China, and about the critical developments in the United Nations. This Convention has noted that the crisis in U.S. foreign policy has also created a crisis in the ability of U.S. imperialism to sell its outworn

ideological commodities to the peoples of the world and is meeting increasing difficulties with the sale of these wares here at home.

Every financial organ, every newspaper, columnist after columnist, is compelled to admit that "we are losing the war of ideas" and to emphasize frantically that we must find new ways to sell "our ideas" to other peoples. Even though the people of our country have been substantially influenced by U.S. imperialism's "peace mission" and the "threat of Soviet aggression," peddled by the bourgeois apologists, they continue to have many serious questions and doubts. Thus, the Korean adventure has never been popular, the ruling class has continuously had to look for something sensational in order to fan a war hysteria, and at this moment the Administration has felt compelled to declare a "national emergency." For Truman's decree has the objective, among others, to bludgeon the people into acceptance of the inevitability of a war with the Soviet Union and the need of a huge war-preparation and war-mobilization program.

As Communists, we have to be sensitive to the stirrings among the masses, to sense the moment when confusion can be transformed into clarity, passivity or inaction into action. We are precisely at such a juncture today, when it is possible to bring about a qualitative change in the peace expressions and peace actions of the people. We have to know how to take advantage of this moment to expand our ideological activities in order to dispel confu-

sion and to deepen the understanding of the masses as to who the real enemy is and how to defeat him.

WARS, JUST AND UNJUST

Let me here dwell briefly on three important ideological questions related to the struggle for peace.

Of prime importance is the need to render more effective our correct explanations as to the unjust, expansionist character of the war against the Korean people, and the world war U.S. imperialism is plotting.

Clearly, we need to show, were this a people's war of national survival and national security, we Communists would be in the forefront to defend our people and nation, in keeping with the stand we took in the anti-Axis war, when 15,000 Communists fought valiantly and with honor and our Party contributed with might and main on the home front. On the contrary, we should make it clear to the people that the war in Korea has nothing to do with out national security; for neither the Koreans nor the Chinese have by any act or implication threatened to invade our shores or otherwise jeopardize our national security. This, we must point further, is uncontestedly true of the great land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, which from the first day of its birth has pursued a consistent policy of peace and for amity among nations and states. By mustering all facts — from the capitalist sources themselves—we can and must convinc-

ingly show that the Korean adventure is a war of conquest, an unjust war to prevent the Korean people, long under colonial bondage, from achieving their 1776.

Conversely, we have to show that the Korean people are fighting a just war against U.S. intervention designed to impose the new Wall Street yoke in place of the Japanese imperialist yoke which the Korean people shook off. If not for U.S. intervention, the Korean people would have reunited their land, established a government of their own choice, and solidified their freedom and independence from foreign rule. The American people cannot fail to recognize that just as in 1776, when they united the thirteen colonies to fight in a just cause to rid the country of British domination, so the Korean people fight in a just cause to rid their country of the foreign invader.

On this basis we can explain why it is the highest patriotic duty, in the true interest of our nation and people, to call for an end to the interventionist war in Korea, for the withdrawal of our troops from that country, and for the peaceful settlement of all differences in Asia and Europe between the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Hence, it is not the fighters for peace but the inciters to war who are the anti-patriots, who betray the interests of our people, of our nation.

To enable our members concretely to explain the imperialist character of the present adventurist war of Wall Street, we must arm

them with the Marxist-Leninist teaching on wars. A majority of Communists are living through for the first time the experience where "our bourgeoisie" is waging an unjust war, a war to enslave other peoples.

Our members must have this understanding in order to avoid an impermissible transplanting of slogans and tasks from the period of the anti-Axis war, a possible tendency against which we must guard under conditions when the bourgeoisie itself exploits, not only the anti-fascist slogans, but the very objective of World War II for its own ends. Let us bear in mind that even in the anti-Axis war, which was a just war, the revisionist influences of Browderism had the effect of blurring the imperialist motivations of American monopoly capitalism.

Today new and quite complex problems face our comrades on how to help the working class differentiate between the role of "our bourgeoisie," as distinct from the role of our people; between the two Americas—the America that is Wall Street and the America that is the people.

The imperialists, let us continue to hammer home, present their wars of aggression as serving the interests of all people. Lenin long ago pointed out that the bourgeoisie always covers its wars of imperialist plunder with "national" slogans as a means of hiding from the people their true content. In this, the ruling class is aided by its agents within the ranks of the working class, the Social-

Democrats and labor reformists, who parrot the national slogans of the bourgeoisie in order to paralyze the actions of the workers.

The time has long passed when the bourgeoisie in the United States, or in any other capitalist country, can rightly claim the place of leader of the nation. As Marxism-Leninism has made clear, the one-time historically progressive role of the ascendant bourgeoisie in fashioning and consolidating the modern nation-state, increasingly, as capitalism entered its declining stage, gave way to their role of national betrayer. Today, in the developed stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the class struggle more and more pronouncedly assumes the content and form of the struggle for the destiny of the nation.

Only the path of the working class, only the historic objectives of the working class can save the nation from destruction. Hence, when we speak of advancing the leading role of the working class in the affairs of the nation, we need to make clear the theoretical aspects of this struggle. This means that the working class is called upon today, not only to "pitch in" and aid in the fight for peace, but to enter into the fight with the consciousness of its role as leading force in the nation. To imbue the working class with this consciousness is our special responsibility as vanguard—our patriotic responsibility.

We need also to arm our comrades with the knowledge of how forward-looking Americans and working-class leaders in other pe-

riods of American history, when the ruling class, too, launched predatory wars, spoke out and rallied the people to oppose such wars. Let light be shed on the splendid heritage of the opposition of Lincoln, Douglass and Thoreau to the unjust war against Mexico in 1848; of the anti-imperialist position taken by Mark Twain and others in the course of the Spanish-American war of 1898; of the proletarian internationalist position of Debs and Ruthenberg during the imperialist First World War in 1917.

WORKING-CLASS INTERNATIONALISM

Since it is "our bourgeoisie" that today strives to crush the rising colonial-liberation movements and prevent their advance to independence, it is the special responsibility of our Party to strengthen the bond of international solidarity between the American working class and the peoples in the colonies. It is our responsibility to win broad support for the independence struggles in Asia and Africa, for the freedom-struggle of the long-suffering colonial people of Puerto Rico, and to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the national liberation movement of the Negro people.

Systematic propaganda has to be developed to bring to the American workers the true essence of the national-liberation movements in the colonies and dependent countries, to expose the brutality of imperialist colonialism, and the specific form of colonial enslavement employed by the U.S. imperialists.

We must refute the continuing misconception that since U.S. imperialism has no extensive colonial empire, it is not an imperialist nation and its colonial policy is therefore non-imperialist, but on the contrary, altruistic. It is especially necessary to tear the mask off such contentions, fed by Browder, that Wall Street has "decolonized" the colonial possessions and is, therefore, proceeding to extend this "decolonization" on a world scale. Thus it becomes necessary to explain the truth about the pseudo-independence of the Philippines, and to pillory Wall Street's imperialist oppression of Puerto Rico in the face of Truman's "new look" policy. We have to expose Point 4 "anti-colonialism" as the camouflage for U.S. imperialist penetration of the colonies, as part of its total scheme for world domination.

To highlight the determination of the colonial masses to secure their long-denied freedom, we must consistently bring to the American people the meaning of the liberation of the 475,000,000 Chinese people for all of Asia and Africa, for the cause of world peace and democracy. The American people, itself born into nationhood through the struggle for freedom, will respond sympathetically to the truthful interpretation of what has happened in China—the 22-year armed struggle of the Chinese people, led by its heroic Communist Party, which finally achieved the age-long dream of freedom from imperialist oppression and rid the country of the corrupt fascist-militarist regime of Chiang Kai-shek. It will be much

more difficult for Wall Street to launch war against the Chinese people, if the American people can come to realize that only now the formerly downtrodden and oppressed Chinese people can utilize in their own interests the vast resources of their land to eliminate poverty and starvation, to raise the material, cultural and social well-being of all.

It is, furthermore, necessary that our Communist cadres, in fact our entire membership, deepen their understanding of the national and colonial question, so that we fully realize the special responsibility of proletarian internationalism which rests upon the working class and its vanguard in the land which oppresses other peoples. Karl Marx long ago pointed out that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations." Marxism-Leninism emphasizes that the working class of the oppressor nation must give direct aid and support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, if it itself is to achieve emancipation. We have the duty to master this fundamental principle because of the need to assure working-class solidarity for the liberation struggle of the Negro people, to free the oppressed Negro nation in the Black Belt from Wall Street-Bourbon bondage. And this responsibility becomes heightened today when U.S. imperialism has become the main force to keep the colonial world enslaved.

Our responsibility of proletarian internationalism demands an unremitting struggle against the intensifying poison of imperialist chauvin-

ism and white chauvinism, that racist weapon of ruling-class ideology, which aims to prevent the unity of the working class with the Negro people at home, and with the colonial-liberation movements.

THE NEED TO POPULARIZE SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS

Thirdly, since one of the main pillars of U.S. imperialism is its anti-Sovietism, our inadequate popularization of the truth about the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy have seriously impeded the realization of a peace front in the country. The American people, in large numbers, have been affected by the imperialist, Social-Democratic, Titoite slanders that the Soviet Union is "expansionist" and "threatening" world peace; that it "uses" its so-called satellites to wage its "wars of aggression"; that it is a "totalitarian dictatorship" which keeps its people in check by a "reign of terror."

While our Party has conducted a constant struggle on the role of the Soviet Union as the Socialist bulwark for peace, colonial liberation and human progress, we must admit that we have not made this a central feature of our ideological work, to combat the anti-Soviet fabrications in a vigorous and consistent manner. This weakness in our work is also seen in the fact that in a very meager sense only have we made available the facts on the great economic and social achievements within the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy.

Two tendencies are to be noted

in the progressive movement—affecting also certain comrades in our Party—in regard to popularizing the achievements of Socialism and defending the Soviet Union. On the one hand, some retreat before the heavy pressures of bourgeois propaganda among the workers. This is said without minimizing the constant barrage of anti-Sovietism our comrades face in the shops today. On the other hand, some meet this propaganda with mere assertions that the Soviet Union is for peace and not an aggressor, etc., without being able to bolster such statements with facts, with intimate explanations of why a worker's state cannot and does not pursue an imperialist course, with information on how democracy works in the Socialist Soviet Union, with data on the role and function of the trade unions, and with facts on the constantly improving living conditions of the Soviet people.

In recent weeks, however, there has been a considerable improvement in the material published, which if properly utilized by our comrades would enable them to argue more effectively against the backward prejudices of the workers. Thus, the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* have been carrying regular feature articles by their correspondent in the Soviet Union, Joseph Clark, as well as serializing the splendid booklet prepared by the British workers' delegation to the Soviet Union. It is difficult to know how this material has been used. This can in part be gauged in the final analysis by the fact that the circulation of the press did not in-

crease during this period. Similarly, *Political Affairs*, in its November and December issues published an outstanding article on economic aspects of the postwar period in the Soviet Union.

The pamphlet, *The Soviet City and Its People*, which shows the transformation of a steel town after the havoc and devastation caused by the war, is of special value for steel workers, but it can be widely used among all workers, particularly in industrial towns and communities.

In recent weeks, a new book has appeared: *All Quiet in the Kremlin*, by George Marion, an American journalist who spent over four months in the Soviet Union and who paints a broad panorama of Soviet life since the war. The chapters of the book dealing with Stalingrad are vividly written and inspiring.

Next week will be published the splendid report of Comrade Lightfoot made on the occasion of the 33rd Anniversary of the October Revolution, which deals with the role and achievements of the Soviet Union in the context of the present national and international situation.

The fact remains, however, that we must provide much more material on all aspects of Soviet achievements, answering the specific slanders so venomously spread by the ruling circles and their hirelings. Outstandingly, analysis and data should be furnished on:

1. The possibility and necessity for peaceful co-existence and competition between the capitalist and

Socialist states and the fundamental principles on which this possibility is grounded, as taught by Lenin and Stalin, and as manifested in the thirty-three years of Soviet foreign policy.

2. The conditions and life of the workers, farmers and other strata of the population in the Soviet Union and also in the People's Democracies.

3. The peace policy of the Soviet Union, developing this policy historically, explaining the Socialist foundation for this policy, and why, therefore, the Soviet Union does not pursue an expansionist course.

4. The profound and pervasive democracy in the Soviet Union; the participation of the ordinary man and woman in government; how elections are carried through; how local Soviets function—in order to give the lie to the charge of "totalitarianism."

5. The role of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, as leader of the victorious October Socialist Revolution, which established the First Workers' State, as vanguard of the working class and the people in the building of Socialism, in carrying through to victory the Great Patriotic War, and now in leading the transition to Communism.

It is because the great achievements of the Socialist Soviet Union and the role that it plays today in behalf of world peace, naturally, strike a sympathetic cord in the heart of the common people of our country, that the ruling class is

driven to every variety of slander and falsification directed at the U.S.S.R. and its great leader Stalin. In this campaign of vilification the imperialists are aided by the motley camp of Social-Democracy, Trotskyism, Titoism, Browderism and clerical-fascism.

It should be of great concern to us that these Trotskyite-Titoite slanders at times find subtle expression even in our own ranks. Thus, a comrade here and there will fall prey to the lying contention about the "deification" of Stalin, the slander-propaganda with which the anti-Sovieteers seek to conceal the profound love and admiration of the Soviet people for the great leader of the land of Socialism.

A recent instance of capitulation to this slander was the column of Nat Low in the *Daily People's World* of December 21, "evaluating the life-work of George Bernard Shaw. Presuming to castigate Shaw for what he calls "his intellectual snobbery," "his feeling of superiority," "his divorcement from life," Low directs at him the criticism that he could be influenced only by "Great Men and Great Ideas." To "prove" this, he holds against Shaw his now famous statement that "Marx made a man of me," and adds:

"In a similar vein was the opinion Shaw expressed several years ago that 'Stalin is the greatest statesman in the world.' Here again the obsession with the Great Man idea. Not, you see, the unequalled mass heroism of the 200 million 'ordinary' Soviet people who saved hu-

manity by defeating Nazi Germany."

Instead of hailing Shaw's tribute to the greatest man of our time, the leader of the Soviet Union, Low sees in this sincere and forthright affirmation Shaw's greatest weakness. What place has such an "evaluation" in a Marxist newspaper? Of course, in a total and full estimate of Shaw's life and literary labors, one would have to point to definite shortcomings. But Low the Marxist does not understand what apparently Shaw the Fabian grasped, that there is no antagonism between leadership and the people in a Socialist society. For Stalin is a genuine leader of the people because he has come from the people, he has dedicated his entire life to the cause of the people, he has always remained linked with the people, and has profound confidence in the people. The "ordinary" Soviet people can rise to great heights of heroism in defense of their Socialist fatherland precisely because they are led by the great collective leader, the glorious Bolshevik Party of the working class, symbolized by Lenin and Stalin, who represent the "great ideas" that have made Socialism triumphant.

The "Great Men" theory of the bourgeoisie was a theory of "Great Men" without the people and against the people. *That* should be the target of Nat Low's criticism. In the world-view of the working class the individual who plays a role in history meriting to be called great, draws his creativeness and

leadership from the people's strength and the people's forward movement. *That* should be the object of Nat Low's admiration.

The need for greater vigilance in this regard became manifest in an issue of the pre-Convention discussion bulletin, when the Editorial Committee, and I, a Committee member assigned to compile the contributions, allowed to be printed without comment an article on "simplicity of language" which conspicuously omitted the name of Stalin. Yet, Stalin above every one else has presented the most complex theoretical propositions with a masterly simplicity, clarity, and power. The model simplicity in the writing of Stalin is no mere formal matter of literary style; it is the simplicity that comes from his constant awareness that he is speaking to the people, out of the people and for the people. Who can ever forget the great lesson of linkage to the people which Stalin presented for us, in the symbol of Antaeus which he drew from Greek mythology?

Stalin, the brilliant successor of Lenin, who has led the Soviet state to new world-significant advances which demonstrate the power and superiority of Socialism, though reviled and hated by the imperialist ruling circles is loved and revered by the hundreds of millions of ordinary people throughout the entire world.

What major lesson have we to learn from this phase of our discussion?

The entire membership of our Party must deepen its under-

standing of the Socialist essence of the Soviet Union and of the conditions under which the Soviet state now advances to Communism. They must especially study the magnificent role of the Bolshevik Party and the further development of Marxism-Leninism by Stalin, classically set forth in the *Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. The study of this great work needs to be widely promoted, not because, as the prosecution falsely charged in Foley Square, this book is a "blueprint" for Socialism in the United States, but because it is the generalization for the world working class and all the oppressed of the great epic experiences of the Russian working class and the model Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

* * *

The improvement of our ideological work calls for a many-sided strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist training of Communist cadres and systematic attention to theoretical questions. Comrade Foster, in the spring of 1948, outlined a program to guide our work in the theoretical field. This plan has still to be realized. Comrade Foster himself has been exemplary in his concern with questions of theory. His repeated treatment of Keynesism, his celebrated article on American "exceptionalism," his contribution on work among women, and now his significant new work *Outline Political History of the Americas*, are but a few among the many vital

theoretical questions with which Comrade Foster has dealt.

Generally, however, we have but sporadically turned our attention to theoretical questions. During the past two years there have been articles on a variety of theoretical questions. Outstanding among them have been works dealing with economic questions, writings on various theoretical aspects of the Negro question, discussions on cultural topics, and the articles on psychoanalysis, notably the campaign conducted in the *Daily Worker*. In the main, however, we suffer from a paucity of works treating fundamental theoretical problems in all areas. It is extremely urgent that our Party undertake an extensive critical examination of the theoretical works produced in our midst since the Emergency Convention. Such a study is long overdue. This would help to point up the serious weaknesses still existing in this field, to indicate the theoretical questions demanding further clarification, and to enhance the ability of our theoretical workers to fight for a higher quality in their theoretical production. It would, furthermore, heighten theoretical vigilance.

Limitations of time compel me to end my report at this point. Left undiscussed, but reserved, I hope for later publication, is the concluding section which elaborates this question.* Let me, therefore, close with a number of proposals.

1. That the incoming National

* The concluding section of Comrade Gannett's report will be published in the April issue. —Editor.

Committee shall work out an ideological and theoretical program for the year 1951, to be presented to the Party for discussion and implementation at a series of regional education conferences.

2. That we organize, following this Convention, an intensive study of the Resolution and Reports of this Convention.

3. That we devise a rounded-out program for the theoretical-ideological training of our cadres, to be launched with a study of the Convention proceedings, involving new club organizers, shop and trade-union activists, with emphasis on Negro cadres.

4. That we deepen the understanding within the ranks of the Party that the Marxist press—the

Daily Worker and *The Worker*—and our theoretical organ, *Political Affairs*, are the most important ideological instruments, without the constant reading of which no effective work can be conducted.

5. That the Party both encourage and make it possible for all members, rank-and-file and leaders on all levels, to devote one night each week for individual or group self-study of Marxist-Leninist theory.

6. That we make Comrade Foster's 70th birthday the occasion to organize the broadest study of his latest book *Outline Political History of the Americas*, and to make available to the Party other important theoretical writings by Comrade Foster throughout the years of his leadership in our Party.

by V.

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Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture

by V. J. Jerome

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, in its concluding words, calls attention to the "shameful degradation of culture now taking place" in the United States. This stress must be seen in relation to our central task of today, the struggle for peace, as well as to our major policy of Party concentration among basic industrial workers.

As a first step, therefore, let us examine the capitalist culture that surrounds the American worker today. Let us describe some of his likely experiences.

The paper he reads on his way home from work beats the war drums and shrieks about the peril of the "Red hordes."

He has a family. He owns a radio. Perhaps he has even bought a television set on installment payments. His little boy of seven sits watching Captain Video—Master of Life and Death—Super-Scientist, Defender of the Good and Enemy of Evil. With his super-science weapons he fights Evil wherever it appears. And Evil has a way of cropping up in China—in the image of the "hordes." There are eight million television sets now in use in the United States, and eighty-five million radio sets.

The workers has a girl of twelve. She comes home from junior high school troubled. In her class the

pupils in daily rotation are made to serve as secret "F.B.I." agents—so designated—each in turn secretly spying on the other pupils and secretly reporting to the teacher.

On his birthday, the little boy gets a toy atomic gun that lights up brightly as it shoots the "death-rays." During the day he plays soldier. But at night he tosses in fear of the atom bomb from which he and his class-mates hid crouching under the desks in "defense" drills.

In the evening the worker sits down to read—a Western or a comic book, in which Bugs Bunny becomes the captor of a "spy ring"; or a homicidal hair-raiser with a tough agency dick as hero—slick thrillers glorifying violence, brutality, and war.

He may take his family to the movies. The features are a slapstick comedy and a murder mystery, or maybe an underworld melodrama. The children are offered a special treat in the animated cartoons, so full of the fun of torturing Donald Duck and Pluto the Dog. Or perhaps they see the New York Film Critics' prize picture, *All About Eve*, in which woman is degraded and the arch-villain of the drama, Eve, is revealed at a certain point as having a Polish- or Jewish-sounding name, by which we are sup-

posed to understand her special baseness. Or perhaps they see a "good thriller," *Asphalt Jungle*, in which the Police Department is on the side of the angels and all the villains somehow bear non-Anglo-Saxon names. The one tall, blond Nordic gangster, Dix, emerges as the hero at the end, dying in his sweetheart's arms, back in the old homestead. . . . In one scene he says:

"That squarehead, he's a funny little guy. I don't get him at all. Maybe it's because he's a foreigner. Those guys, they don't think like us."

If the worker goes to church, he may listen to messages like the following, rendered this morning by the Rev. George Weymeyer in his Communion Sunday sermon:

"God is warning us to return to Him." How is He warning? The wars, the deprivations, the high taxes and prices, the militarization of the youth, and the threatening atomic havoc should be accepted, exhorts the minister, as "blessings in disguise." For these are God's warnings of retribution for mankind's ingratitude, which is evident in "the multitudes" all over the world "who are leaning toward Godless Communism, who didn't appreciate what they had, but chose to trust in man rather than in God."

If the worker is a Roman Catholic, he may, in addition, be told to add to his dogma the Papal announcement of Mary's *bodily* Ascension. He may hear Cardinal Spellman's Pastoral Letter exhorting him to "prove our love of God

and Mary," to hate the "pagans, robots," to "strengthen ourselves with the impregnable armor of fearless faith and conquer atheism, Communism with godliness and prayer."

Such are the "cultural" impacts which daily and incessantly bombard the worker and his family.

Can we imbue the working class with understanding of its class responsibility in the fight for peace, can we help to build its class alliances and effect its unity with the Negro people, can we hope to develop its class consciousness, without struggle against this "cultural environment?"

It is from the viewpoint of these urgent political tasks of our Party that we must examine some of the main ideological trends in American bourgeois culture today. The report will indicate some approaches that may serve to help translate the intent of the Draft Resolution into our constant practice.

I. THE "AMERICAN WAY" OF CULTURE

The main features of bourgeois cultural decadence in the postwar stage were noted by the Party-sponsored conference of Marxist cultural workers in 1947. Today these features of arrogant world empire building and Anglo-Saxon racism; of rabid anti-Sovietism and Red-baiting; of violence, sadism and anti-humanism, have become sharper and more openly geared to the war drive and the drive to fascism at home. At the same time

they are more and more camouflaged with demagogy, which calls for war, "peace"; imperialism, "democracy"; aggression, "defense of freedom"; and the road to fascism, the "American way of life."

Never in all their shameful career of subverting science and the arts to the life-destroying policies of imperialism, have the war lords of Wall Street so debauched the cultural media, as now in their fiendish drive to enslave the world. What matters decency, what matter truth, integrity, art, so long as the kept press, the less-than-objective critics, and the rigged prize donors can keep going such anti-Soviet and Communist-defaming "cultural" monstrosities as the films, *The Iron Curtain*, *The Red Danube*, and *I Married a Communist*; as the plays, *The Traitor*, *Red Gloves*, and *Darkness at Noon*, which is soon to disgrace the stage; as the radio broadcasts, *Communism*, *U.S. Brand* and "counterspy" *F.B.I.* thrillers.

The degradation of content to suit the needs of imperialist aggression is necessarily accompanied by fascist-like measures of repression and regimentation of cultural workers.

The blacklist and censorship have become a pattern throughout all the mass propaganda media—radio, television, films, theatre, magazines, newspapers, and publishing houses. It is now spreading to all workers in these areas, to the point that at C.B.S. loyalty oaths are required of all employees, including building maintenance men and office workers. This pattern is

reaching out, as our Party warned, beyond the "Left" to all who will not be completely regimented behind the war drive. Even a reactionary radio commentator like Drew Pearson loses his contract for not going along with Senator McCarthy all the way. This signifies the process of fascization of culture. It is an attempt to follow Hitler's pattern, to establish a U.S. version of the Nazi National Chamber of Culture.

As Wall Street rings the globe with its armies and military bases, as it invades and seizes and violates territories, as it perpetrates Nazi-like atrocities upon soldiers and civilians, its statesmen and apologists thicken the camouflage with assurances like W. Averell Harriman's declaration at the 1950 *New York Herald Tribune* Forum:

"For the first time in history, the most powerful nation in the world is dedicated to peace and in partnership with other nations is mobilizing its moral force and its resources for world security."

Even so did Hitler's expansionist drives take on the name of "New Order."

Thus Wall Street seeks to mask its chauvinism with bourgeois cosmopolitanism. With catchwords about the "obsolescence of nations" and the need for a "world nation," it attempts to break the resistance of the nations to being sucked into the American world empire. Its propagandists strive to belittle, in order to destroy, the national pride and national culture of other peo-

ples. Anglo-Saxon chauvinism would force Wall Street's ideas and debased cultural products upon peoples the world over, commanding to that end its newspapers, magazines, books, and broadcasts; its Hollywood, Tin Pan Alley, and coca cola. On the home scene no less, the Anglo-Saxon supremacy myth pervades all cultural areas, down to the standardized types used in advertising displays. It is U.S. imperialism's superman cult to "justify" its pretensions to global hegemony—that blessed state of "Pax Americana which," in the words of *The Christian Century*, "would do for the planet what Rome once did for the world of the Mediterranean."

With every propaganda medium and agency at its command, the Wall Street "master race" ballyhoos its "American way of life." The lying radio oracle misnamed "Voice of America" blares forth 24 hours a day in 24 languages, besides English. The depraved Hollywood product is undermining native film production in the Marshallized countries. In France, Italy, the Benelux and Scandinavian countries, Hollywood films predominate. The Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs in the State Department reported in November, 1950:

"Our film strips and motion pictures [now go] to audiences which, at first, were out of our reach. We have a fleet of jeeps, now, with special rigs that carry projectors, screens, and amplifiers."

And Edgar Ansel Mowrer, in a

recent issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, tells us of the many information and reading libraries maintained by the U.S. Government in foreign countries. "A branch of culture, learning, or information," he reports, "is overlooked; American periodicals are skimmed and the cream [!] rushed for consumption overseas."

As for the cultural product itself, it is a garish, super-colossal public relations job to "Advertise God's Country" (from the title of Mowrer's article), to let them all know in what a Garden of Eden the American worker and his family live, where every worker has a high-paid job, owns a car and a home and a deep-freeze, never knows unemployment, insecurity or poverty, where all life has the glamour of the Hollywood silver screen. And if this is the worker's blissful life, it is because "the American businessman (not capitalist, mind you) "differs somewhat from his cousin in Europe." As *Fortune* for December, 1950, is pleased to inform the world, "American businessmen, by and large, do not work for money alone." In an article headed, "The Moral History of U.S. Business," *Fortune* introduces "the businessman as saint, dedicated to "profit and piety" and "the Gospel of Service." He is shown to the world as the "trustee of wealth for the poor and for civilization." We are told of the "considered benefactions of Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan," and Henry Ford, the "apostle of the more-for-less creed." The exceptionalism of American Big Bu

ness, the two-hundred-year "survey" concludes, lies in "its tireless quest" for "moral motives and purposes" which "has bred a high order of that 'divine discontent' which is a sign of man's spirituality."

Verily, can anyone challenge the heaven-ordained claim of such a capitalism to take the world under its divine wings!

Equally trimmed for the show-window display at home and abroad is the treatment of the Negro people in the United States.

The treatment of the Negro people is, indeed, as expressed by Comrade Foster, Wall Street's Achilles' heel before world opinion. To pose as Prince of Peace before the world, the white ruling class resorts to many "cultural" devices to hide the oppression of the Negro people. Thus, the spurious "Negro interest" films, of the type of *Pinky*, *Lost Boundaries*, *Home of the Brave*, and *Intruder in the Dust*, are given wide export. The Howard University Players are booked for performances in Europe with the purpose of counteracting the influence of Paul Robeson—now robbed of the right to travel abroad—and of "proving" how "well treated" the Negro is in the United States. As the oppressors of the Negro people make use of the Bunches and the Hasties, so they bludgeon into service a Jackie Robinson, a Josh White, a Hazel Scott, in the attempt to bring the Negro people into line for Wall Street's war program, and to deaden the national-liberation movement of the Negro people with the poison of bourgeois cosmopolitanism. They

hope with this "cultural" camouflage to assuage the rising colonial peoples who identify their anti-imperialist struggle with the cause of the American Negro.

The people of every land to which this "culture" is exported can see through this tinselled pretense. There isn't an audience of sight or sound in any country that is not revolted by this "cultural" dumping: the glorification of the gangster, the lurid spy mania, the slick murder thrillers; the sickening slanders of the Soviet Union, of Communism, of peace partisans; the overt and covert white chauvinism; the arrogant bellicosity of the America "that cannot lose."

Clearly, Wall Street cannot today operate in the old way, solely with Big Stick and jingoism, or entirely with Hitlerian racism. While intensifying its use of these methods, it must cultivate illusions of "democratic" America as liberator, as big brother to the other capitalist nations, while undermining their sovereignty, and as protector of the colonial peoples, while attempting to rivet their chains.

Among the most vocal counselors of this policy of colossal deception are labor reformists, Social Democrats, and Titoites. At the cited *New York Herald Tribune* Forum, Walter Reuther, President of United Auto Workers, addressed himself to the gilded array of speakers composed of bankers, captains of industry and insurance, oil, and railroad magnates:

"We must convince the people of the world that we propose to

share with them our material wealth, our knowledge and our skills."

He appealed to the assembled N.A.M. and Chamber of Commerce presidents, high-ranking diplomats, and top Army brass:

"Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are in revolt against poverty and injustice, against imperialism and colonialism. We must help these people find a democratic alternative or communism will move in to fill the vacuum created by our failure."

Wall Street and its apologists show a growing awareness of the difficulties encountered by this process of deception. At that *New York Herald Tribune* Forum, the president of Cowles Magazines, Inc. warned the American imperialists against complacency as regards Asia, with this account of his own wartime experience with a group of university students in China:

"I referred to the United States, England, France, Holland, etc., as the 'democracies' in whom they should put their faith. A hostile stir went through the group. Finally, a young Chinese professor asked me how I could possibly refer to England and France and Holland as 'democracies' when in fact, so far as Asia is concerned, they were imperial empires treating most of the Orient as a colonial possession."

And the publisher solemnly added:

"I failed to convince those students the United States does not approve of colonialism and wants to see it ended."

This frank statement is not isolated in the reports and comments from abroad. Increasing are the warning signals that the United States is losing the battle of ideas.

How revealing is the admission by John Foster Dulles in his book *War or Peace* that in "the war of ideas . . . we are suffering reverses that cannot be cancelled out by any amount of military power."

It is this which explains the resolution introduced by William Benton, Senator for Connecticut, for a "Marshall Plan in the field of ideas" and for "acceleration of the work of U.N.E.S.C.O.,"* whose objectives, he declared, "parallel closely the long-term objectives of U.S. foreign policy." And Benton stated further:

"If we work through U.N.E.S.C.O., we cannot be charged with cultural imperialism."

Notwithstanding its bombast and fury, Wall Street's ideological campaign is motivated essentially by the desperation of a social system fighting a losing battle against history.

THE PERVERSION OF SCIENCE TO MILITARIZATION

Wall Street's cultural anti-humanism is nowhere so monstrously

* United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

displayed as in the field of science.

What is happening in science within the United States today can be comprehended only in the light of the calculated drive to mobilize every aspect of science for war, for destruction, not for life.

Military expenditures for scientific research and development jumped from \$22,000,000 in 1940 to more than \$1,100,000,000 following Wall Street's military aggression in Korea. These figures do not include the stupendous military expenditures on the atom bomb. At least two-thirds of the scientists and engineers are now working for either the Department of Defense or the Atomic Energy Commission, with a planned sharp increase in this number in the near future. The significance of these facts was frankly proclaimed by Dr. Eric A. Walker, Executive Secretary of the Research and Development Board of the Department of Defense, in a speech to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 30, 1950:

"The size of the military research and development effort is not only startling but sobering. We are confronted by the fact that the greatest portion of the creative thinking and effort of the nation's scientists and engineers, is, of necessity, being concentrated on weapons, devices, and techniques of warfare and countermeasures."

This appalling state of affairs compels recognition of the fact that capitalism, having made war its

way of life, can foster—indeed, tolerate—only that sort of science which is chained to the war machine. The destructive implications for science are not exhausted in the fact of its bondage to militarization. Militarization means an *essential* debasement and perversion of science. It means also a progressive demoralization and degeneration of scientists. This point is effectively made by Dr. Theodore Rosebury of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, who made the most exhaustive research survey of weapons of bacteriological warfare during World War II:

"If you want to understand BW [Bacteriological Warfare] you must figuratively stand on your head. . . . BW is an upside-down science, an inversion of nature. Normally we study disease in order to prevent it or cure it. This is bacteriology right-side up. But BW sets out to produce disease. It is not normal or natural, but abnormal and artificial."

And John Kennedy and Charles MacLeod write in their important article, "The Militarization of Science," in the Autumn, 1950, issue of the London *Modern Quarterly*:

"Militarization does not mean the mere passive neglect of other lines of scientific development. It means the active extension of the military grip, not only within the Government's own research establishments, but even into the sacred precincts of 'pure' science. . . . The

nature of the work itself tends to reduce its scientific value. It has been freely admitted that work on the Hydrogen bomb is devoid of any peacetime implications."

Such is the reality of the bourgeois fiction of "free science." In the words of T. D. Lysenko, President of the U.S.S.R. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences:

"The barbarians of the Middle Ages burned progressive men of science at the stake. The barbarians of today are anxious, with the help of some scientists, to ravage the whole of civilization with the atom bomb. Yes, in the land of the dollar there are unfortunately reactionary scientists who have sold themselves, and science itself, to the atomic cannibals. . . . What have they in store for mankind? What are they preparing for the tiller of the soil, for the youth engaged in study, for the mother, and for her infant asleep in the cradle? Death."*

As against the death-dealing role assigned to science by capitalism, there has arisen the life-giving science of Socialism. Soviet science, inspired by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, is exclusively the servant and instrument of mankind in its inexorable march to a world of peace, abundance, and truly humanist culture. While the atomiacs pervert science into an instrument for colossal destruction, the Soviet system ennobles science by directing it toward the transformation of nature into an unlimited

source of light and life for Man, the destined collective master of the world. It is this wondrous perspective of Man's true destiny which is at the base of the construction of an epochal network of hydroelectric stations and of the massive soil reclamation project in the steppes and deserts of the U.S.S.R.

GENOCIDE: THE MALTHUSIAN FORMULA

If the bourgeois scientist seeks "justification" for this utter disregard of human life, the bourgeois philosopher jumps to his aid with the latest version of the Malthusian "theory" of "over-population."

Marx long ago exposed the falsity and the reactionary essence of Malthusianism, which holds that there is a "natural law" according to which population growth outstrips the growth of the means of subsistence. He demonstrated that an absolute law of population does not exist, that "in fact, every special, historic mode of production has its own special law of population, historically valid within its limits alone."

But this bourgeois staple is brought out periodically to meet imperialism's current needs and to shift the blame for existing social evils from the capitalist system to "natural" causes. Today, the Malthusian ghost is taken out of the closet to serve the propaganda of Anglo-Saxon supremacy and, specifically, Wall Street's blue-print for world conquest.

Most notorious in the recent re-

* *New Times*, Moscow, March 29, 1950.

turn of Malthus is William Vogt's widely-publicized tract of fascist misanthropy, *Road to Survival*, replete with such racist epithets as "these spawning millions," and "the hordes of India and China." Vogt expresses the full extent of the brutality of a doomed ruling class when he says:

"There is little hope that the world will escape the horror of extensive famines in China within the next few years. But from the world point of view, these may be not only desirable, but indispensable."

By "the world point of view," Vogt means only the capitalist world point of view, the point of view of the imperialist marauders and oppressors who have literally destroyed the lives of millions of colonial people by their exported civilization of mass poverty, disease, and starvation. And the empire builders of the "American Century," devise new lethal weapons and new Malthusian ideologies to turn into bloody Korea's land after land, in continent after continent.

The "up-to-date" war-gearred use of the Malthusian formula comes from Julian Huxley, first Director-General of U.N.E.S.C.O. Writing in *Harper's*, for September, 1950, he supplies the ultra-"Western Civilization" emphasis:

"Eastern rates of increase [which he claims are outstripping Western rates], prevail among the majority of human beings now existing—in the populations of Asia as a whole, of most of the Balkans,

of the U.S.S.R., of Latin America, of North Africa—and will very soon be prevailing in the rest of Africa too."

From which gerrymandered geography and racist biology we get the bourgeois "humanism":

". . . We need a new view of human destiny. Why, in heaven's name, should anyone suppose that mere quantity of human organisms is a good thing, irrespective either of their own inherent quality or the quality of their life and their experiences?"

And who will determine their quality? Naturally, the Anglo-Saxon self-appointed de-populators.

This is not science, but racist geopolitics masked as science to perpetuate colonialism, to "justify" atomic annihilation of whole "inferior" peoples.

This is racism, to justify wars of conquest. The "colored" peoples are, first, set down as "different," "inferior," "over-populous," living "naturally" on low standards, and "used to dying." Therefore, we need not feel guilty about killing them.

The bourgeois press reports prominently Maj. Gen. Oliver Smith's statement in Korea that Chinese intelligence "must be of a low order—and I don't mean their military intelligence." Indeed, to what "high" order can the intelligence of the Chinese belong when they treat captive American G.I.'s like human beings and conduct them to safety? These are not the

ways of the "civilization" that produced a Smith and a MacArthur.

A Tokyo dispatch, under date of September 17, 1950, informed the world:

"General MacArthur drove toward Seoul today, looked down at four dead Communist soldiers and declared, 'That's a good sight for my old eyes.' . . ."

Here is civilization!

The shameful plight of Puerto Rico is likewise attributed to the island's "surplus population," to its "Eastern rate of increase." By this perverted logic, the fascist propagandist Vogt deplors the application of the malaria cure in Puerto Rico, "where the miracles of American medicine had been worked, with the chief result that more people were kept alive to live more miserably."

That the income per person in Puerto Rico is, by Vogt's own figures, 1/7 of the per capita income in the United States, that living costs are 27 percent higher, that there are half a million unemployed in a population of 2,500,000, that there is one doctor for every 2,550 persons, and that the mortality rate is alarming—all this is chargeable to "over-population!"

The only "over-population" afflicting Puerto Rico is that of the U.S. sugar trusts and shipping companies, which have stunted the native economy with a crippling mono-culture for their super-profits; the "over-population" of U.S. finance capital, which is holding down the people in colonial bond-

age. Neo-Malthusianism today aids Wall Street's cosmopolitanist propaganda to undermine the struggle for Puerto Rican national sovereignty.

These population "theories" serve American imperialist designs for world conquest, for war, for atomic "equalization" of the "Eastern rate of increase" to the "Western." From *Lebensraum à la Hitler* to *Genocide à la Western Civilization!*

SOUNDS OF DOOM

While serving the arrogant chauvinism of Anglo-Saxon supremacy, the ruling-class "culture" simultaneously reflects the crisis of its grandiose "Marshall Plan in the field of ideas." More and more, that culture expresses a frenzied recognition of the handwriting on the wall.

The emancipation of China's four hundred and seventy-five million people from the orbit of imperialism and the colonial-revolutionary upsurge in many areas of Asia express, not only a political rupture, but a revulsion on a sweeping scale to the "culture" of "Western civilization." Not only have the European countries of People's Democracy rejected the shoddy cultural wares of Wall Street, but the popular masses in France, Italy, and other countries have shown little enthusiasm for the racist, brutalizing, and pornographic output that is ballyhooed as "art" and "cultural" amusement.

The historic shift in the relation of world forces in favor of the

camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, led by the Soviet Union, is effecting a qualitative cultural leap among hundreds of millions. Not only in the lands of People's Democracy, but in capitalist and colonial countries where Communist parties exert wide leadership, the masses are ever more consciously influenced and inspired by the culture of Socialist humanism of the great Soviet people.

In the face of this situation, a growing mood of dejection and darkness is to be noted among strata of bourgeois intellectuals in the United States, who see in the ascending and the new a "collapsing world," an "apocalyptic age."

If you pick up current "learned" magazines, you will find a pervading sense of doom, of a cultural impasse; a mood of helplessness and despair.

Thus, William G. Carleton, Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida, states in the *Antioch Review*, summer, 1950, issue:

"Contemporary man looks out upon his modern world and is afraid. Not since the declining days of the Roman Empire . . . have such universal dread and despair gripped the mind of the West. . . . Men look upon this awful spectacle of a collapsing world and their mood is dominantly one of escape . . . escape from science and the machine. But escape into what? Into nihilism. Into authority. Into romanticism, and mysticism. Into the self."

In the *Arizona Quarterly* for Autumn, 1950, we read in an article entitled, "Modern Literature and the Sense of Doom":

"The literature of our time has . . . reached a dead end. The professional writer is still active, but the artist as hero and prophet seems to have lost both his voice and his function."

Such lamentations are, of course, not new. In a general sense, they began to be heard with the advent of the epoch of capitalism's decline, sounding the basic pessimism of the dying bourgeois class. They had their classic expressions in Spengler's *Decline of the West* and in Freud's postulate of the "death instinct." Now this despair is aggravated by the sharpened general crisis of capitalism. Before the advancing colonial-liberation movements and the massive successes of the world Socialist forces, the "success story" of Wall Street-Americanism "on the up-and-up" is now disturbed by a dirge of doom.

These ideologues of capitalism equate the inevitable doom of capitalist society with an alleged doom of human society; therefore, if capitalism goes under, the world goes under. They shift the blame for all things onto science, the machine, in order to absolve *bourgeois* science and *monopoly-owned* technology, which pervert science and use the machine for human exploitation. They strive to block the vision of the new and radiant life in the Socialist Soviet Union, in

the People's China, and in the European countries of People's Democracy. These narrators of "doom on both your houses" are determined to disorient those who might turn away from the pro-war influence of imperialism and who might regard with sympathy the peace efforts of that great state whose system is Socialism. They seek to confuse the people and hold back their mass awakening to the hideous realities of capitalism in the advanced stage of decline.

The same Professor Carleton, who so sharply described the "doom," describes also the "escape":

"There is now an enormous pull to return to the simple faith of Christianity. To an acute sense of distress is added a terrible sense of guilt as man is reminded that his own wandering from Christianity has produced the tragedies of our time. Jacques Maritain tells us that mankind has no choice except between two roads: the road to Calvary and the road to the slaughterhouse. In America, there has been a widening stream of converts to Catholicism. . . . Some Americans are urging a return to Thomas Aquinas and Medieval Scholasticism as the core of a college education. . . . There has been a revitalizing of Protestant fundamentalism, too. . . ."

The meaning of the "God-seeking" is apparent from such statements as that by Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, in an address to graduates a few years back:

". . . Civilization is doomed, unless the hearts and minds of men can be changed, unless we can bring about a moral, intellectual, and spiritual reformation, so deep and drastic as to be called a revolution, throughout the world."*

The present manufactured rage of religionism among bourgeois intellectuals has its direct services to capitalism. It is designed to paralyze the will to struggle against the imperialist enemies of mankind, by implanting a "guilt feeling" in the common man, disposing him to self-abnegation and self-humiliation, and leading him to fatalistic acceptance of suffering and destruction.

The vogue of religionism is reflected in the wide promotion of reactionary clerical books. Thus, Henry Morgan Robinson's novel, *The Cardinal*, designed to glorify the Roman Catholic hierarchy and to conceal its reactionary role, is the top best seller of 1950. Long a best-seller, too, was Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman's *Peace of Mind*, which seeks to provide an escape from the social realities of capitalism through a wedding of religion and Freud. Msgr. Sheen's latest rigged best-seller, *Lift Up Your Heart*, carries on the obscurantist crusade. Henry Luce's *Life* magazine dresses up medieval theology with expensive pictures. Ludwig Lewisohn, in his latest book, *The American Jew*, condemns biological evolution and advocates an orthodox religious structure for the totality of Jewish life in the United States. Vincent Sheean "builds up" the cult of

* *Journal of Higher Education*, May, 1947.

Gandhism. And the Trotskyite *Partisan Review* contrives a "symposium," "Religion and the Intellectuals," which the bourgeois press is quick to praise.

The "God-seekers," moreover, give a mystical, God-ordained purpose to American imperialism's expansionist designs for the kingdom of earth.

Thus Arnold Toynbee, exponent-in-chief of the "God-seeking" cult, stated on Korea:

"Religion is the center of our present ideological conflict between East and West. . . . Today America has been called upon to assume a position of world leadership."

Notwithstanding the wrapping of the Messiah's robe about the devils of Wall Street, the current cult of religionism cannot even so much as lay claim to promoting "the brotherhood of man." For, it stems so arrantly from contempt for man, from hatred of man. Robert M. Hutchins formulated this credo:

"Unless we believe that every man is the child of God, we cannot love our neighbors. Most cats and most dogs are more attractive than most men."*

But the prize "humanist" among these "God-seekers" is Bertrand Russell, who declared in a recent New York interview that he "would favor the use of the hydrogen bomb if the latter offered the only hope of saving the Western world from defeat."**

* *Ibid.*

** *New York Times*, November 16, 1950.

In a lecture that same evening, this defender of the "Western world" with hydrogen bombs opened up his heart and declared:

"The root of the matter is . . . love, Christian love, or compassion."

Bertrand Russell, pride of bourgeois science, freshly crowned with the laurels of the Nobel prize, has thus achieved the perfect synthesis of Genocide and Godly love.

Yet what is the "Western world"? What is the nature of the danger that threatens it with defeat, to avert which the august philosopher is ready to use the hydrogen bomb? In the semantics of Bertrand Russell *et al* "Western world" is the synonym of Anglo-American imperialism and its way of life; mass impoverishment, colonial slavery, racism, the threat of fascism, brutal exploitation, and recurring crises and wars. The great danger to this "Western world," which the Russells well realize, but seek to hide, comes from the aspirations of the masses for economic security, for democratic rights, for national self-determination, for world peace, and from the inexorable march of the working class, leading the common people in each country of capitalism, toward the direct struggle for Socialism.

II. MANIFESTATIONS OF RESISTANCE

When we consider the positive counterforces for peace and the defense of culture, Peekskill stands out as a landmark of struggle. Peekskill brought masses into strug-

gle, working-class and Negro masses, artists and intellectuals, people of the professions. There the working class, there the militant Negro people defended progressive culture and its creators against the Nazi-like attack inspired by the warmakers. There the valiant people's artist, Paul Robeson, defended with his art and with his life the cultural rights of his people and of the American working class. There, too, Howard Fast by his courageous stand demonstrated the vital role that democratic and peace-striving intellectuals can play in united-front struggle against the forces of fascism and war. Let us remember that masses of people can be reached and brought into motion around such vital cultural issues.

And the Hollywood Ten—the best tribute we can accord these courageous fighters against reaction in culture is to recognize that the anger of the ruling class against them is a measure of their value to the people. The struggle for freedom of the eight still behind bars is an issue around which masses of workers and professionals, here and abroad, have been rallied and many more can be reached.

Against the fascist blacklist and censorship campaign spearheaded by *Red Channels* and *Counter-attack*, there is gathering resentment which can be organized into a storm of protest. The statements issued by the Authors' League of America, embracing the Dramatists', Screenwriters', Radio Writers', and Authors' Guilds, branded the censorship of content and the blacklist-

ing of artists for their political opinions as practices smacking of Hitlerism. A sharp statement against blacklisting was issued by Actors Equity Association. The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (A.S.P.) has not only condemned these attacks, but has shown their close tie-up with the attempt to silence the voices of peace. These protests can be consolidated into a broad united-front movement for cultural freedom. This movement will grow stronger as it comes to realize that its fight is part of the general fight for peace.

We should note, too, the manifestations of resistance in the ranks of scientists, though they are as yet sporadic and weakly organized. For example, Linus C. Pauling, head of the chemistry division of the California Institute of Technology, sharply criticized Professor Urey for supporting the anti-Soviet atomic-bomb policy, declaring that Urey did not speak for the general body of American scientists in advocating force as the solution of present world problems. Leading men of science like Professors Harlow Shapley, Kirtley Mather, Anton J. Carlson, Phillip Morrison, and Dirk Struik have been prominent in the cause of peace.

At the same time, it must be pointed out that the scientists as a group have not taken a clear and consistent stand against the attempt to pervert their knowledge in the service of imperialist destruction. All too many have allowed themselves to be silenced by the witch-hunt mania, and others have been bribed and corrupted.

A key point of the struggle against Nazi-like control of the mind is the gallant fight of the New York Teachers' Union against dictatorial firings, anti-Semitism, and discrimination. An outstanding example of resistance to fascization of the college campus has been the struggle against the "loyalty" oath in California. There is mounting indignation and protest on the part of parent-teacher associations against militarizing the public schools and terrorizing the minds of children with atom-bomb "defense" drills.

In many instances the fight against the blacklist, censorship, "loyalty" tests, and other forms of persecution has been seriously weakened by concessions to Red-baiting on the part of the victims of Red-baiting. This imposes on Communists and all progressives the duty to warn against this trap and to point out the inseparable connection between the attacks on the citizenship of Communists and on the rights of all Americans. It imposes, moreover, the necessity to arouse the labor movement in defense of the artists and professionals victimized by the thought-controllers and warmongers—a class duty toward allies which it has to date left shamefully unfulfilled.

Today there is a significant development of independent expressions of working-class and people's culture, such as People's Drama and New Playwrights in New York, such as the highly talented group under the auspices of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts now producing *Simple Speaks His Mind*

in Harlem, the People's Artists Singers, the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble, and other theatres and choruses of the national groups. An encouraging development is the formation of the film-production unit of the United Labor Action Committee. A welcome beginning, too, is the A.S.P.-sponsored series of cultural forums and programs. This movement for independent progressive expression in the arts is not limited to New York. It extends to Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Newark, and other cities. Its importance in this period cannot be overstated. These fine beginnings should spur similar cultural formations in every section of the country. We must recognize with greater seriousness than ever before the need for stressing the responsibility of labor and progressive audiences to support such groups and help their growth.

We must emphasize here the vital necessity for building the Negro people's theatre, both in the South and in the principal Negro communities in the North. It is a crime that the great creative talents of the Negro people—symbolized by such artists as Paul Robeson, Langston Hughes, Theodore Ward, Alice Childress, and Frank Silvera—should continue to be denied such a theatre throughout the land. It is the responsibility of the entire Left and progressive movement, not only to help bring into existence the Negro people's theatre, but to help establish the Negro people's House of Culture for all forms of cultural creation.

This great task demands of our Party the vanguard guidance deriving from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the national question as it applies to the liberation movement of the Negro people. Concretely, here, this means that the historical roots of that attribute of nationhood defined by Stalin as a common psychological make-up manifested in a common culture are to be found in the Black Belt of the South, where the Negro people constitute a subject nation. It follows from this that the cultural strivings and affirmations of the Negro people as a whole, those realized and those still latent, draw their basic sustenance and strength from the cultural mainspring, the fountainhead, the subject nation. Consciousness of this principle will give us deeper understanding of the significant need for the development of a broad Negro people's cultural movement as an integral part of the unfolding national-liberation struggle.

In this period, the publishing problems of progressive, and certainly of Marxist, writers have, of course, vastly increased. The commercial book publishers and the editors of bourgeois periodicals have shut the door to realistic depictions of the world we live in. Only that which is distorted, cynical, debasing, or at best trivial and evasive, has a passport to print.

We must offer our help to every manifestation of resistance on the part of writers to this thought-repression and censorship. In addition, we must all the more cherish the cultural publications of the

Left, as well as help the expansion of publication facilities for honest and courageous writing. Unquestionably, more and more writers of integrity will be looking to us for guidance and help, as well as encouragement, in reaching people with their message.

We should here greet the valuable role that *Masses & Mainstream* is playing on the cultural front. Constantly strengthening itself in the struggle it is carrying on for peace and a people's culture, this magazine has made a distinct contribution in its three-year existence under the editorship of Samuel Sillen and the associate editors Lloyd L. Brown and Herbert Aptheker. The magazine should be warmly supported as the main publication medium for the progressive cultural forces today. It is gratifying to know that *Masses & Mainstream*, which has made available to American readers, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the writings of eminent world artists like Pablo Neruda, Nazim Hikmet, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Martin Andersen Nexø, is appreciated in many countries.

The *Daily Worker* in its cultural page has carried on a consistent struggle against bourgeois culture, in its various reactionary manifestations in literature and the arts, with particular emphasis on the mass media. It has made a solid contribution in showing the tie-up between such reactionary cultural manifestations and the imperialist drive toward war. It has tirelessly fought racist content in the arts and all white chauvinist practices,

and it has championed the appreciation and proper utilization of the talents of Negro artists. Deserving of special mention is its militant film department conducted by David Platt, which has on a day-to-day basis exposed the dangerous content of the Hollywood product. The Party membership and the progressive forces, much more than in the past, should regard the *Daily Worker* as the central mass Marxist expression, not only in the economic and political spheres, but also in the sphere of culture. Its fight for Marxist clarity in culture should enlist the participation and support of all advanced cultural workers. But beyond that, ways must be found to bring its influence upon ever-wider sections of the working class, in the struggle against the fascization of culture as an organic part of the entire struggle against war and fascism.

AS ARTIST AND AS CITIZEN

In the actions for peace during the postwar years, sections of the intellectuals and various strata of professionals have played an outstanding role. The recent period, however, has seen a marked decline in the organized participation of cultural forces in the fight for peace from the high point of the 1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. This decline was noticeable in the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm Peace Petition. It was further apparent in the negligible involvement of artists and writers

in the United States delegation to the Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw in November, 1950.

It would, however, be the gravest mistake to conclude from this fact that the bulk of the cultural forces have been won over to the war camp or that they are unconcerned with the issue of war or peace. The error of such an assumption is evident, for example, from the dismal failure of General Clay's so-called Freedom Crusade to win any mass support among cultural forces on a national scale.

What needs to be stated with respect to the peace-desiring intellectuals is that, in the absence of leadership by the working class, their traits of hesitancy and vacillation characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie tend to become intensified. For, only working-class leadership will weld these forces into an important segment of the entire peace front, rendering them more steadfast and more consciously purposeful.

The Party's emphasis on the urgent need for a policy of concentration on the workers in basic industry has as a key objective the advancement of working-class leadership in the struggle for peace. In applying this correct policy, we have to guard against neglect of the peace forces among the intellectuals and professionals. The building of a peace front broad enough and effective enough to influence events and to force a change in the foreign policy of our country must have the active and significant participation of the cultural forces.

Peekskill shows that the attack

on culture is not a thing apart from reaction's general drive, or marginal to it, but that it is one of the dominant expressions of the warmakers' offensive. It was Robeson's use of his great artistic talents and high cultural contributions as weapons for peace and the people's rights that brought the wrath of fascism upon him. It was the progressive ideological content in the work of the Hollywood Ten that marked them for victimization by the un-American Committee. It was the anti-racist ideological essence of the play *They Shall Not Die* that brought the attacks of the Christian Front hoodlums upon the cast of *People's Drama*.

We have noted how monopoly capital, bent on war and fascism, is subjecting every art form and every cultural medium on all audience levels to *direct* and *overt* political use for the propagation of its lying anti-Communist, anti-working class, anti-peace, and anti-humanist ideas. Dropped are the masks of "art for art's sake" and of "pure science."

The intellectuals' work in the peace movement, however, has tended to be limited to the direct political plane, to participation only as "citizens." Such activity, in the form of rallies, petitions, statements to the press, etc., is most valuable and needs to be greatly expanded through united-front efforts in many directions. Yet the full value of the contributions of men and women of the arts and sciences in such progressive coalition actions demands for its realization that they participate consciously as ar-

tists and as *scientists* in the great social struggles of our times. Such integrated cultural endeavor is vital to the development of the peace movement and of an independent people's culture. A novelist who fights with his voice but not with his pen, an artist who gives his name to the fight but not his brush, a scientist who fights against the destruction of his civil rights but not of his science, fights with one hand, and with the other objectively aids the enemy.

Reactionary content in culture cannot be fought in the economic and political spheres solely; it must be challenged and fought with the counter-ideology of progressive and working-class culture, which the Communists must lead in developing. The "practicalism," rationalized by the pressures of the work for peace, that cannot pause for concern with the content of the artist's or scientist's work, is opportunism, analagous to "economism" in the trade unions.

Nor can we effectively wage the broad battle of ideas, unless we battle for the advanced, Marxist-Leninist ideas in culture. For example, to combat the general run of anti-Soviet propaganda, but not to fight for the Marxist-Leninist principles in the Soviet discussions of the sciences, literature, and the arts, is to leave these vital cultural fields to the enemy and to weaken the struggle against anti-Sovietism as a whole.

However, it would manifestly be wrong to demand of everyone who participates on a political-cultural basis in a united-front peace activity

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or organization that he necessarily give full expression to the proletarian class ideology. What should be expected of him is that he express himself as citizen and as artist on the level of his own understanding. Of course, it is the task of Communists to help the non-Communists in the united front to understand that the cultural forces with their pursuits and talents can, in alliance with the working class, labor and struggle to hasten the end of a system which, historically doomed, enslaves and humiliates them.

THE PARTY AS A CULTURAL FORCE

A decisive turn is needed in the Party's cultural work. We must abandon the old concept that cultural work is activity only among cultural workers. Cultural work has to be viewed as organically related to the Party's *mass* tasks—not directed limitedly toward a single social stratum, but carried on among masses of the people, the working class, the rural poor, the Negro people, the national groups, the youth, and the cultural workers. Cultural activity is an essential phase of the Party's general ideological work, and as such is interconnected with the Party's struggles in the economic and political spheres. For Marxists-Leninists it should, therefore, be axiomatic that cultural work is for the Party inalienable from general mass work.

Not only must we end any negative approaches to cultural tasks, all vestiges of cultural nihilism, but we must learn to use the *weapon* of

culture in respect to the main tasks before our Party: the struggle for peace and for civil rights; the struggle to advance the working class to the position of leader in the coalition movements of the people; the struggle to weld the alliance of the working class and the liberation movement of the Negro people, to bring forward the Negro workers as leading force in that movement; and the Party's task of concentration in the shops of basic industry.

This task becomes all the more important because of the increased problems faced by the cultural workers in finding channels for their talents and professions. Actors' Equity Association figures for the theatrical year ending June, 1950, showed the average player to have worked on the stage ten weeks and earned \$840. With intensified chronic unemployment in the theatre, music, and other areas of the monopoly-owned "amusement field," more and more artists are being driven into industry. This condition hits most heavily the Negro artists. The worsening of the economic status of artists in all fields is accompanied by growing political repression, thought-control, regimentation, and blacklisting, which undermine the very basis for the cultural worker to function even in a minimum way with self-respect. Consequently, ever-increasing numbers of professionals and artists will be impelled to turn to the working class as the base and preserving force of their talents.

More than ever, therefore, it must become the conscious duty of the working class, particularly the pro-

gressive trade unions, and of the people's organizations to provide at least a minimum economic base at this stage for those artists and professionals who will build independent cultural organizations serving the working class. Such collaboration will enrich simultaneously the talents of the professionals and the culture of the working class.

The main responsibility for helping to realize this task devolves on the Party. It is an important task, one that affects the growth of the Party itself and the development of a mass class-consciousness. The Party's recognition and acceptance of this responsibility, its consistent effort to carry through this task, will help to end the long era of labor's non-resistance to capital's attacks with the weapon of bourgeois culture.

The National Cultural Commission urges upon the Party adequate attention to developing cadres for work on the cultural front, to selecting and training such cadres, and to promoting leadership from among them, with special attention to Negro cadres, women cadres, and cadres from the youth. Our Party must strive to bring forward cadres in the cultural field who can be forces of the people, with unbounded faith in the working class.

This new orientation requires, further, a re-examination of the organizational forms within the Party, for the fulfillment of these tasks. It requires most particularly the recognition that cultural work is not the work of a department or of a few individuals, that it is the work of the Party. The Party must be-

come as a whole, through its ranks and through the various levels of its leadership, conscious of the need to deal with this question adequately, and conscious of the opportunities that work in this field offers our Party and the working class.

Therefore, the question arises of establishing leading bodies in this field, commissions, committees, etc., and assignments of leading comrades on national, state, county, and section levels, particularly in industrial concentration areas.

The Commission takes the position that our cultural workers must no longer be isolated in separate Party organizations. Instead of separating them from the healthy influences of the proletarian membership of the Party and at the same time depriving the Party ranks in the basic organizations of their broad cultural experience, we should integrate our cultural forces with *all* Party organizations.

Our cultural work is more than a technique for rallying people. The American bourgeoisie, driving down the road of total national betrayal, strives to obliterate every revolutionary, democratic and militant tradition of the people, to destroy every expression of people's culture. In this fateful hour, the Party is called upon to lead in the defense of the people's cultural heritage and in the struggle to affirm the vital creativeness of the people. The progressive stream in the cultural heritage of the American people courses through the great struggles of the masses in the American Revolution, the Abolitionist movement, the unceasing

freedom struggle of the Negro people, the great militant traditions of the working class in the fight against capitalist exploitation and imperialist war. This heritage is symbolized by such names as Tom Paine, Phillis Wheatley and Philip Freneau; Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass; Walt Whitman and Mark Twain; Joe Hill, Theodore Dreiser, and John Reed.

Our Party will carry this task to success, if it exercises its own independent, Marxist role in culture, as in the political and economic spheres. Cultural work for the Party should thus become an integral aspect of its whole activity. Only as it learns to grasp the weapon of culture and fights with it, only as our Party itself comes forward as a creative cultural force, will it be able to contribute effectively to the development of the cultural expressions of the working class and the people, and to mobilize them to fight with that weapon in defense of peace and culture itself.

A true understanding of our independent role should require that Communist cultural workers create in the interests of the working class and from the standpoint of its liberating world outlook. The situation demands from our creative forces novels and plays, poems, paintings, musical compositions, popular songs, and criticism, vibrant with the Party spirit, the very essence of Socialist realism.

In carrying through these tasks, our Party must further unfold before the people the nature, purpose, scope, and world significance

of the inspiring Socialist culture of the Soviet Union, as well as the rising culture of the free peoples in the New China and the European countries of People's Democracy. We must make known to the people the true essence of the science and art of the emancipated society of the Socialist Soviet Union. We must show that the Socialist culture rises on a foundation involving no human exploitation and anarchic production, no economic crises, no class antagonisms, no drives to fascism and war. The culture of the mighty Socialist state which is the bulwark of world peace and the freedom of nations, this truly civilized culture is based on the great scientific teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which guide today the Soviet people's course to Communism, and which give perspective, confidence, and inspiration to the forward-striving forces of mankind the world over.

As Marxist-Leninists, we voice the deepest needs and aspirations of the people, Negro and white, native and foreign-born. The warmongers and their decadent cultural apologists offer the people physical and spiritual impoverishment, the slow death of subservience and the swift death of the atom bomb. Our Party offers the people the science and culture of true human relations based on the guaranteed rights to material satisfaction and cultural fulfillment. We must go forward to the people with the message of peace, of freedom, of Socialist humanism.

A Greeting to the Convention

by Robert Minor

Comrades:

One of the regrets of my lifetime is the fact that a serious illness prevents my presence with you at this Convention of our Party.

Instead, I send this greeting to the Marxist-Leninist leadership which is composed of the delegates elected to this Convention by our Party membership, along with our National Committee headed by Comrades Foster, Dennis, Hall, Winston and others, who have led us so well in recent severe battles. Let me participate with you in the greeting which the Convention will doubtless send to Comrade Gene Dennis at his present post of duty.

* * *

The Draft Resolution that is placed before the convention by the National Committee, in my opinion, makes clear the unparalleled character of the present crisis in the struggle over the decisive issues of "peace or war," "democracy or fascism." It had already been indicated at our last National Convention in 1948, in the reports of Comrades Foster and Dennis and in the speeches of others, that if a world war were to come out of the present crisis, it would inevitably result in a catastrophic defeat of imperialism.

Events of Europe, and above all the world-shaking events of Asia, the liberation of China and the successes of Viet Minh—and finally the colossal military catastrophe into which the imperialists have plunged American and other soldiers in Korea—mark one of the great turning-points in the history of the world. The military defeat of the best equipped, best cared-for and best armed troops of the West by the people of Korea, has served notice upon the world that the age of the enslavement of Asia is passing forever.

The greatest hope of the already powerful world-struggle for peace is to be found in these manifestations of the changed relationships of forces, and in the disillusionment resulting among the populations of European, American and Asiatic countries, as is indicated by the Draft Resolution. If the relative strength of available reserves of the liberated peoples of Europe and of Asia had not been made clear to the working class and the peoples of all countries by these military victories of the peoples of Asia—the chance of successful avoidance of the Third World War would be smaller than it is. But it has been proven by the events in Korea that the peoples of Asia, having become

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friendly neighbors of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, now the most advanced industrial state of Europe and of Asia and no longer subject to "encirclement" as in the past by fascist powers—that the peoples of Asia who have formed their own Marxist-Leninist Communist parties of the working class as in China, and who have been fired with the light of the Leninist-Stalinist principles in respect to the national-liberation struggle—are the military equals of any peoples of the world.

We of the Communist Party of the United States have a peculiar

and great task. The role of the struggle for peace and in defense of the democratic rights of the American working class, the Negro people, and the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, led by our Communist Party, will ultimately be as large and as essential as that which the heroic people of China are now contributing.

This enormously difficult task we will perform, and it will be clearly put before our Marxist-Leninist Party by you.

With comradely affection to you all.

A Letter to the Convention

by Israel Amter

ONE OF THE most debated and discussed subjects today is Socialism—not only as a concept, but as a reality. Socialism has been built in one-sixth of the globe—the Soviet Union. Now it is strengthened by the Socialism developing in the East European Democracies and made invincible by the addition of the great, fighting giant, China.

Today, Socialism is as much discussed by its enemies as by its friends. The enemies realize the growing power of Socialism, not only in the Socialist countries, but also in the remaining capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Today Socialism embraces nearly one-third of the world population.

This is the specter that throws the imperialist bosses into consternation. *Imperialism faces complete defeat.*

In an effort to prevent this, Wall Street says there is no need of Socialism in the United States, because here we have "political democracy." They call it the right to vote (for safe capitalist candidates), and the right to sleep in the park and live in cellars, but *no right to a job or social security.*

These enemies of the workers, including the vicious Social-Democratic labor fakers, call Socialism in

the Soviet Union, "Soviet Imperialism." They dare to place the fullest freedom and the magnificent system of Socialism side by side with their hateful state of capitalism. They exploit the hatred of the workers for Nazism and fascism to keep them away from Communism. They hope that by outlawing the Communist Party, they will achieve this immediate aim.

How have we answered them? We have insufficiently carried on educational work. As a result, the workers may harbor friendly feelings toward the Soviet Union, but they have no idea how Socialism will work in the United States. Some say, "Socialism is far away from this country; the American worker is not ready for it." And what do we say?

The worker wants to know how Socialism will appear on the American scene, based on the traditions, culture, customs and historical development of our country. I believe that we will be startled by the results if we would provide the answers to these questions.

During the Browder liquidationist-regime, we did not even use the word "Socialism." Browder, proponent of "progressive capitalism" — Wallace's position—did not want us even to whisper about a Socialist

United States. They might need Socialism in Europe, but not in the United States.

The result is:

1. Socialism is not on the agenda, hardly even as a propaganda slogan.

2. This keeps the workers away from us and renders them prey to reactionary war propaganda.

In the election campaigns we usually have a plank in our platform calling for "Socialism in the United States." But that is practically all.

This year Red-baiting reached an all-time high, or should I say, an all-time low. But the Party did not appraise the situation in such a manner as to deepen the understanding of the workers on Socialism. Yet the election campaign was an occasion demanding real elaboration of the question of Socialism—not Socialism in general, but particularly in the United States.

The result was, that our propaganda differed but little from that of the American Labor Party, or for

that matter from any other advanced progressive platform.

The State Committee alone is not responsible for this situation. The National Committee must bear its share of the responsibility. We should tell the story of what the Soviet Union is doing, and at the same time, deepen our propaganda, particularly in relation to Socialism in the United States. If this is done properly, we will not have to say that "Socialism is far away from this country." We will build up faster than most of us think.

The task of the American workers is of tremendous importance to the whole world. We have the task of defeating imperialism in the most powerful capitalist country.

I would recommend, therefore, that the incoming National Committee make a careful study of the question, undertake the necessary research work, and develop a program of clarification, including cultural and political activities.

The Rising Tide of Struggle in Puerto Rico

by Cesar Andreu

(Chairman, Communist Party of Puerto Rico)

TWO YEARS AGO I had the honor to attend the 14th Convention of the Communist Party of the United States as a fraternal delegate. I together with the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, Comrade Juan Santos Rivera, feel greatly honored today to be with you again. We bring you, at this 15th Convention, the warmest greetings, not only of the Communist Party but of the working class of Puerto Rico.

We find absent from this Convention Comrade Eugene Dennis—absent because he is in prison. To him we want to extend our greetings and to all the comrades, who as victims of the Wall Street drive toward fascism, are now in prison.

The fact that Eugene Dennis is not with us at this Convention shows dramatically the advance of reaction in its efforts to foist a fascist regime upon the people of the United States.

Great events have taken place throughout the world. Puerto Rico has shared in them. In the first place, our country has been involved in a war without the consent of the people. Thousands of our men have been forced to join the

army to fight in Korea, and more Puerto Rican soldiers have already died in action in Korea than during the whole Second World War, when 65,000 Puerto Rican soldiers served in the armed forces.

Wall Street imperialists not only are ready to sacrifice the American working class in their plans of aggression, but right now are ready to use the colonial peoples as cannon fodder in their interventionist adventures. They use the Puerto Rican people for that purpose, as they use the Negro people.

The people of Puerto Rico are gaining daily a clearer understanding of the kind of war Wall Street is aiming to unleash in the world. Up to the present period, the Puerto Rican people believed in the myth of the invincibility of American imperialism. This myth is now rapidly dying out. The victories of the Korean people, the victories of the Chinese volunteer forces, have been a great inspiration to the Puerto Rican people, as they have been to all the colonial peoples of the world.

The rising movement of national liberation in Asia, the defeats suffered by imperialism, have strengthened enormously the peace forces,

inspired and led by the great land of Socialism, the Soviet Union.

RISING MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Puerto Rico, which until very recently felt isolated, facing the mightiest imperialism in the world, begins to feel itself a part of the vast movement of the peoples who fight for peace, for democracy, for Socialism. Not only the great victories of the colonial peoples in other lands, but the experiences of the Puerto Rican people in the last two months, are definite proof of the fact that imperialism is as Mao Tse-tung said once, "a paper tiger."

The Yankee imperialists and their lackeys in Puerto Rico were boasting but a few short months ago that the problem of independence of Puerto Rico was no longer an issue. They said that the Puerto Rican people had forsaken the idea of independence and in its place desired the institution of the "new state." The theory of the "new state," whose exponent is the traitor to the people, Munoz Marin, is a part of bourgeois cosmopolitanism. This capitalist conception stems from the idea that national sovereignty is "obsolete" and therefore must disappear in this modern world. Munoz Marin, giving good service to his masters of Washington and Wall Street, has proclaimed that Puerto Rico is no longer a colony, and is now ready for that great "privilege" given by Congress, to enact its own "Constitution."

The so-called Constitution upon which the Puerto Rican people are to vote in June, 1951, does not alter one bit the foundations of the colonial status of Puerto Rico. This so-called Constitution will be written in Washington. It will have limitations imposed by Washington. The only alterations, as far as Puerto Rico is concerned, will be a few changes within the framework of the present organic charter.

This Constitution does not alter the status that places fundamental power and authority in the President, the Congress and the Supreme Court of the United States over Puerto Rico as a territory belonging to the United States. The so-called Constitution is, therefore, an ill-disguised maneuver aimed at containing the independence struggle of the people, as well as silencing the rising support in Latin America and throughout the world for the national independence of Puerto Rico. It represents another example of the tactics of imperialism to try to check the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples. It represents additional proof that the Munoz Marin administration is the lackey of U.S. imperialism, the personification of reaction, covered by the most cynical demagoguery.

A dramatic expression of resentment against this betrayal of the people was the revolt of October 30. The events of October were the logical result of the intense persecution suffered by the Nationalists. The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico is a petty-bourgeois party, whose sole aim is the inde-

pendence of Puerto Rico. In this anti-imperialist struggle they opposed the draft, and the compulsory participation of Puerto Ricans in the invasion of Korea. Many of their members of draft-age are today in prison because they refused to register for armed service. Their leader, Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, president of the Nationalist Party, has consistently condemned the imperialist intervention in Korea, and the war provocations of the State Department against China, the Eastern Democracies and the Soviet Union.

The rebellion in Puerto Rico was a suicidal determination of the Nationalist Youth, which had come to the conclusion that they preferred to die fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico, rather than serve American imperialism against the people of Korea. In other words, they refused to fight the Koreans, but fought against their real enemy, Yankee imperialism.

IMPERIALIST TERROR IN PUERTO RICO

We place the responsibility for the bloodshed primarily upon Harry S. Truman, and upon his watchdog Munoz Marin. The terror prevalent in Puerto Rico today knows no limit. It is directed, not only against the Nationalists who rebelled, but against any and all forces who fight for independence. During the revolt three thousand people were arrested, fingerprinted and photographed. They were treated as criminals by the police.

The government recovered somewhat from its panic a few days later and released most of the people.

However, there are still at least two hundred prisoners accused of trying to "overthrow the government by force and violence." Bail has been set from \$25,000 to \$90,000 in these cases. All prisoners are held incommunicado. They cannot receive mail or visits from their nearest relatives. Their lawyers can interview them only in the presence of guards. Intimidation is rampant, including threats to lawyers who might defend these people. In Puerto Rico, today, no lawyer dares to defend a Communist.

But this is not all. Civil liberties in Puerto Rico are attacked daily in new and more brutal forms. The governor requested from the legislature a series of amendments to the Muzzle Law, equivalent to the McCarran law here. They provide that any person accused of political offenses, which the government can interpret as "tending to overthrow the government by force and violence" or "tending to obstruct the functioning of the government," does not have the right to trial by jury; and a person has only the right to be tried by a judge. Puerto Rico faces a fight for the right of trial by jury. The people who are in prison now face a difficult situation when their trials come up this coming January.

In this struggle Puerto Rico is receiving expressions of solidarity from many parts of the world, especially from Latin America. The Cuban Congress unanimously

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passed a resolution in favor of Puerto Rican independence. So powerful is the solidarity of the Cuban people, that the President of Cuba, Prio Socarris, himself a lackey of Wall Street, was compelled to send a message to Munoz Marin which read in part:

"Inspired by the traditional generosity of our people and the principle of human rights, I ask you to use your good office to guarantee the life of Pedro Albizu Campos and his companions."

Progressive and conservative people, from all walks of life, from all political sectors and religious groups in Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and other countries in Latin America, have expressed their protests against the persecution which victimizes the Puerto Rican people, and made strong demands for the freedom of all the political prisoners of Puerto Rico. In a similar form, the *Second World Peace Congress* resolved, after thorough discussion, that the independence of Puerto Rico, as well as the national liberation of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, is an integral part of the world struggle for peace.

WALL STREET'S AGENTS IN PUERTO RICO

The maintenance of the colonial status of Puerto Rico is of vital importance to the Wall Street and Washington war-makers. Puerto Rico is a strategic, military, naval, air, and atom bomb base, a political

and ideological outpost for imperialist penetration into Latin America; and finally, a source for the extraction of superprofits. Puerto Rico is a major market for the monopolists, grossing a half billion dollars annually.

This explains the policy pursued by the government in Puerto Rico, which responds to the beck and call of the ruling class in the United States. U.S. imperialism has used also the corrupt elements within the trade-union movement to confuse the workers, and has had considerable success in dividing the labor movement into different sectors, fighting each other, and thus misleading the militancy of the workers. The A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. are playing their divisive role in the trade-union movement in Puerto Rico and all over Latin America. The Taft-Hartley Law is enforced to the hilt in Puerto Rico, but the Minimum Wage Law is not applied at all; and neither is the Social Security Law.

However, the labor misleaders in the service of imperialism are beginning to lose ground. The intense campaign in the press and over the radio to sell the colonial Constitution to the Puerto Rican workers has not succeeded. The war economy which prevails in the United States aggravates economic conditions in Puerto Rico. The inflationary prices of the United States are low compared to the prices paid in Puerto Rico. At the present time all articles in Puerto Rico are, on an average, 25 percent higher in price than in the United States, and Puerto Ricans are compelled to buy

98 percent of all imports from the United States.

Unemployment is the main problem in Puerto Rico, and it will be, as long as the colonial status prevails—with the one-crop economy, starvation wages, and employment only four months a year. The much publicized industrialization is a big concession to Big Business, enabling them to export capital to exploit cheap labor and get a twelve years' tax exemption in the bargain. But in ten years this program has not provided jobs for the Puerto Ricans. The colonial government defends the starvation wages paid the workers by the big sugar corporations and no attempt is made to enforce legislation for unemployment insurance or relief.

Furthermore, because of the recent political manifestations, there is a complete purge of all public workers, thereby adding to the rolls of the unemployed anyone who is for independence, especially Nationalists, Communists and even Populares who sympathize with independence.

In the face of such difficult conditions, the people begin to resist more openly and with determination. Hundreds of women write and visit Munoz Marin and Truman. The sentiment for peace is strong and the opposition of the people to the participation of Puerto Ricans in the aggression wars of U.S. imperialism is growing.

The youth of Puerto Rico is a militant sector of the people. The youth from all classes—whether in the university, or the sugar cane plantation, or the unemployed

youth of El Fanguito—is very outspoken against imperialism. Eighty percent of the participants in the October revolt were young men under 30 years of age. The youth played a very active role in the peace campaign, and could not be intimidated by the wave of arrests against the collectors of signatures for the Stockholm Peace Appeal. The main forces within the Independentist Party are young men and women, working hard to drive Munoz Marin out of the government. We are proud to say that we have in our own Party many young militant members working in different fields.

THE PARTY AND THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Our Party is now under severe attack, considerably intensified since the events of October, when the imperialist forces attempted to frame our Party, placing upon us the responsibility for the revolt.

We are the Party of a colonial country fighting vigorously for its national liberation. Within that scope we work as closely as we can with all forces who are for independence. But we have to be on guard, and avoid direct participation in desperate actions which may lead the people to destruction without deriving any benefits. We try, to the best of our abilities, to follow the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin. We feel that the road to national liberation is difficult, that our Party must always be on guard against deviations, especially the deviation toward bourgeois nation-

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alism. But there must be no underestimation of the contributions made by other forces and other parties to the cause of freedom for our people. Here the task is to build a strong united front of all forces fighting for national liberation.

The main task before the Communist Party of Puerto Rico is to guide the working class to assume its historical role as the leader of the people for independence and for the defeat of imperialist oppression. Within that main task we face as an immediate task, together with all other political sectors, the organization of a mass campaign to defeat the plans of the government to impose the fake Constitution upon our people, which comes up for a vote in June of 1951. A broad coalition of democratic forces, non-partisan in character, can bring the defeat of the Constitution, and pave the way for the defeat of the Munoz Marin forces in the 1952 elections.

We have fought against the attempts to illegalize our Party. The government has tried to achieve this through intimidation, persecution, inquisitions and "loyalty" oaths. However, our members have stood firmly, and we continue to function openly and publicly, resisting every attempt to outlaw our Party. We protest all anti-democratic actions, we protest the war in Korea, we demand the return of our soldiers from Korea, and we demand independence for Puerto Rico. We protest the intolerable conditions of the workers. Our aim is to expose all the enemies of Puerto Rico and especially of the

Puerto Rican workers. We demand friendship with China and the Soviet Union, solidarity with all the peoples of the world.

We are a small Party in a colonial country, and our enemies think that they can intimidate us easily, but they are wrong. We will not be intimidated or silenced while injustices have to be fought against.

Among the many political prisoners in Puerto Rico, there is a young member of our Party, Dousdedit Marrero, against whom the government directed the most vicious terror. He was arrested three times for collecting signatures for the Stockholm Appeal. During the revolt he was arrested, and since November 1, he has been held on \$25,000 bail. His family is not allowed to see him. He is accused of violating Law 53, equivalent to the Smith Act here. He is a victim of the most brazen frame-up. Lawyers are afraid to touch the case because of fear of reprisals. For us the freedom of Marrero is a basic task.

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico faces the future confident that it will be firm and militant in the struggles ahead, that its members will not retreat from the goal set—the liberation of Puerto Rico, and the ultimate victory of Socialism.

In this very difficult time, the leaders and members of the Communist Party of the United States, to whom we are linked by the most fraternal bonds of solidarity, have given us brilliant examples of heroism, strength, and ability. We know that the Party of the United States faces difficult tasks, and very heavy responsibilities in the struggle for

peace, for the unity of the working class, for the liberation of the Negro people, for democratic and civil rights. There is no doubt, however, that this great and glorious Party will discharge those responsibilities

with honor, and lead the American working class to success in its historic goal—the end of imperialism, the establishment of Socialism in the United States.

Viva Puerto Rico Libre!

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Greetings from Brother Communist Parties

TO THE FIFTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

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Greetings from Brother Communist Parties

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extends fraternal greetings to the 15th Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. We wish the Communist Party of the U.S.A. successes in its struggle against reaction, for the vital interests and rights of the working class and all toilers of the United States of America, for the ideological strengthening of the Party ranks, for lasting peace between the peoples.

May the international solidarity of the toilers in the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism gather strength.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of the United States and of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Communist Party of the United States!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of the Soviet Union

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The Communist Party of China sends its warm greetings to your Convention and salutes Comrade Dennis who is in prison and others who are being persecuted. American Communists, and all persons who oppose the aggressive policy of American imperialism and the rule of fascist terror, are now uniting in joint resistance against savage oppression and are striving to unite and educate the broad masses. As a result of common struggle of the people of the world and awakened people in the United States, American imperialism has met with huge defeats and will continue to meet with even bigger defeats. The Chinese people assure you that they will always stand together with all loyal fighters for peace and democracy in the United States, and believe that your struggle for a great just cause will be crowned with final victory.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of China

FRANCE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France regrets that it was not able to send a delegate to your Convention—the visit having been refused by the government of the United States. We send a warm salute to you, who are the vanguard of the American people in the struggle against the imperialist warmongers, against the strategy of the atomic bomb.

The French people do not confuse the American working class and the American people with the aggressors against the people in Korea, now preparing a new theatre of war in Europe by re-arming Western Germany.

With the approval of the shameful and vassalized French government, the plan of the dollar magnates is to transform France into a colony and into a staging ground for aggressive war against the Soviet Union, our ally.

But, Frenchmen will never agree to become mercenaries of the enemies of the people. In full fraternity of struggle with the American people we will intensify the battle for our national independence and for peace, thereby expressing the feelings and most profound aspirations of the popular masses of France.

The great Party of Maurice Thorez is convinced that the American Communists, led by firm and courageous leaders as Comrades Foster and Dennis, will finally emerge victorious—leading the American people in the great struggle, which is developing throughout the world, to prevent the horrors of a new war.

We are certain that the decisions of your Convention, taken in the light of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, will enable you to advance forward on the road of unity of action of the working class, unity of all progressive Americans, of all supporters of peace, without distinction of race, color or beliefs, so that the cause of liberty will triumph.

Long live the Communist Party of the United States of America
Long live the solidarity of the American people and the people of France
in the great struggle for freedom and for the maintenance of peace!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of France
JACQUES DUCLOS

ITALY

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy we send you our warmest fraternal best wishes for your 15th National Convention, whose deliberations shall be followed with interest by all democratic forces who love peace.

The conviction of the eleven leaders of your Party and recent anti-democratic measures adopted by the American imperialist government—part and parcel of its active political preparations for war—have aroused the unanimous indignation of sincere democrats of our country.

Your struggle in defense of peace and for respect for liberty and people's independence is felt and greeted by the Italian people as its own struggle. Your successes are our successes.

It is certain that your government's persecution will not succeed in smothering the spirit of class struggle of the American workers, backbone of the people's resistance, against the extra-legal Nazi methods which today characterize life and politics in the United States.

We are sure that your 15th National Convention will bring new energy and more effective guidance that will reinforce the ranks of the American fighters for peace and Socialism.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Italy

LUIGI LONGO

HUNGARY

To the best sons of the American working people, the American Communists and their delegates, gathered at the 15th National Convention, we send our militant fraternal greetings in the name of the Hungarian Working People's Party and the entire Hungarian working people. We follow with greatest attention the proceedings of your Convention taking place at such a decisive moment in this critical situation. You must rouse the American people to realize that the present rulers of the U.S.A. are planning to plunge into the horrors of a new war not only the peoples of the world but the American people as well. Your historic task is to mobilize every honest American worker, farmer, clerk, and intellectual to challenge Wall Street's and Washington's policy of fatal adventures and catastrophes, the first example of which was the savage attack on Korea. We know your struggle is difficult, but together with you, 800

million people led by the invincible Soviet Union, defend peace and liberty. This fact and the righteousness of our common cause are guarantees of final victory.

Long live the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and William Z. Foster, its leader steeled in decades of struggles.

Long live the persecuted leaders of the Party and Eugene Dennis, who continue their fight for peace and freedom from fascist courts and from behind prison bars. We wish your Convention much success and effective results in carrying out its decisions.

Hearty fraternal greetings,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Hungarian Working People's Party

POLAND

On the occasion of the 15th Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., our Party sends you on behalf of the Polish working masses heartfelt proletarian greetings and wishes for fruitful deliberations. Your conference is taking place at a time when imperialist circles of the United States are unleashing war hysteria, intensifying preparations for a new world war against peace-loving peoples and at the same time persecuting all progressive elements of the American community and abolishing democratic liberties. The Polish nation makes a distinction between the aggressors in Korea and organizers of aggressive militarism in West Germany and the great American people which hates war and are for peace.

Polish workers and working peasants see in the Communist Party, U.S.A., the militant detachment of the American proletariat, heir to the lofty traditions of freedom of the American nation and a force which is capable of leading the fight for peace. In spite of frantic reaction your Party will raise still higher the immortal banner of Marxism-Leninism and will honorably fulfill its patriotic and internationalist duty, standing in the foremost ranks of the workers of the peace movement which is growing stronger every day in your country and which can and should wrench the torch of war from the world incendiaries.

Long live lasting peace between nations!

Long live the Communist Party of the U.S.A., with Comrade Foster at its head!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Polish United Workers Party

BULGARIA

On behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party and all the working people in our country we send you warm militant greetings on the occasion of your 15th Party Congress. Today when the American monopolists with wild spite and hatred toward mankind prepare a new world war, when they stand at the head of the darkest reactionary forces in the world and barbarously attack people in Korea, a big historic responsibility rests upon the American people and especially upon the American working class and its Communist vanguard. We are certain that the Congress of the American Communist Party, true to its great national liberation traditions of Lincoln and guided by the invincible teachings of Marx and Lenin will trace correctly the course, forms and methods through which the American Communists will succeed to unite and raise the fight of the progressive forces of the American people, to unmask the monopolists of Wall Street as chief organizers of a new world war and also to have the American people understand the terrible catastrophe toward which they are being pushed by the American pretenders of world domination who are following in Hitler's steps.

The toilers throughout the world who follow with interest and sympathy the fight of the heroic Korean people for liberty and independence do not mix the murderers of Wall Street with the American people and highly estimate the fight of the progressive forces in the United States to put an end to this ferocious aggression. Our people are convinced that in spite of the hysterical threats of Truman and Attlee, in spite of the extraordinary situation which the imperialists create in their countries and in their satellites by the preparation of war, the fight of the millions of common people for peace and democracy, inspired by the peace-loving Soviet Union and the great Stalin, will win.

Long live the American Communist Party!

Long live the powerful front of the partisans of peace headed by the Soviet Union and the great Stalin!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Bulgarian Communist Party

V. CHERVENKOV, *Secretary General*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Our people follow with warm sympathies the heroic struggle of your

Party against the imperialists who for their selfish interests and profits want to throw the world into the inferno of a new war. The people of Czechoslovakia realize how difficult are the conditions under which the Communist Party of the U.S.A. defends the interests of peace at a time when the American warmongers are in a criminal way persecuting your Party. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia sends greetings to your 15th National Convention on behalf of the working people of Czechoslovakia and wishes much success to your proceedings.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

ROMANIA

The Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party sends fraternal greetings to the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. The work of your Congress is engaging the close attention of the working people in our country and the whole world because its main preoccupation is the central problem that today is engaging the peoples of the whole world, the problem of defense of peace. The working people in our country follow with deep sympathy the self-sacrificing struggle waged by the Communist Party of the United States for the vital interests of the American people for democracy and progress against the American-British imperialists' aggression in Korea and China, against the preparation for a new world war. The Romanian people, who have felt the full weight of the imperialist yoke and who have experienced the horrors of war, being liberated by the grand Soviet Union, have enthusiastically taken the road of building Socialism. They are convinced that in this way they are making the most valuable contribution to the victory of the forces of the mighty peace front headed by the Soviet Union and its leader of genius, the champion of peace, Comrade Stalin. We wish the Communist Party of the U.S.A. every success in the work of its Fifteenth Congress.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Romanian Workers' Party

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

In the name of the Socialist Unity Party, we send heartiest fraternal

greetings and wishes of success to your 15th National Convention.

Your Congress takes place at a moment when the American Communists are confronted with tasks of the greatest national and international significance.

American imperialism has in the present day unfurled the banner of anti-Soviet incitement, and has taken over the role of chief war incendiary. In behalf of this policy, the ruling powers of the U.S. have split Germany and restored to power the same magnates of heavy industry and the same politicians who financed Hitler, and have given these forces power in the Reichstag to erect their dictatorship. By grace of McCloy, the same economic and storm-troop leaders who were responsible for the barbaric Hitler war are the leading forces in the West German government, stand at the head of the legal and illegal military formations and control the West German press.

We are well aware that the forces in America, which seek to use Western Germany as a springboard for a war against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, are the same forces which in the U.S.A. mistreat the Negro people as an "inferior race" in the manner of Hitler; violate constitutional freedom through the McCarran Act and Taft-Hartley Law and incarcerate the fighters for peace who are following in the great democratic traditions of Abraham Lincoln.

In Germany the world has with shattering effect had a vivid example of the depths to which a people sinks when it fails to take up a struggle against the fascist war policies of its dictators.

Today the world sees with indignation and terror that, where the Truman generals set foot, flourishing lands are turned into waste, destruction and death.

That is why the many millions of peace-loving Germans follow with admiration the courageous actions of the American fighters for peace, at whose head stands the fearless Communist Party of the U.S.A.

Your fight, dear comrades, is our fight, just as the struggle of the German friends of democracy and peace is your struggle. The world hates the MacArthurs. The world loves and cherishes those outstanding labor leaders, writers, poets, film directors, actors, attorneys, doctors, who for the honor of America and the peace of the globe stand in the dock and are thrown into prison.

Your great people have given proud examples of the fight for freedom in the years of your independence struggle (1776-1783) and in the days

of the immortal struggle against slavery.

In courageously opposing the violent stream of anti-Soviet slanders and the war policies of the Wall Street billionaires, the American Communists are holding aloft the banners of the freedom fighters of the 18th and 19th century and are writing new glorious pages in the book of history. The Trumans and MacArthurs represent the past and death. On your side, comrades, is life, and the future, and therefore victory.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Socialist Unity Party of Germany

WILHELM PIECK

OTTO GROTEWOHL

WESTERN GERMANY

On the occasion of your Fifteenth Party Convention we send you our warmest fighting greetings in true international solidarity, at this moment when the monopolist war interests in your country as well as in ours take up once again the Goering slogan of cannons-not-butter. Your leaders, Foster and Dennis, who are the leaders of all peace-loving Americans, have been subjected to severe penalties, just as our Max Reimann has been hounded and persecuted. Your glorious Party holds high the banner of freedom and preserves the honor which the American people won in the struggle for independence and democracy in the past.

Millions of people in Korea and China, in Viet-Nam and the Philippines are today in a life-and-death struggle against the attacks of MacArthur. Millions of our people see America only as the instigator of the split in our fatherland. You, comrades, however, prove in these decisive hours that there is another America which justly deserves to be honored in the world despite all the plottings of Wall Street and of its political hirelings. The invincible peace camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union and the great Stalin, defends the happiness of all peoples. You have a decisive place in the camp of peace. We wish you comrades a successful Convention which will help your people, and all the peoples of the world, to curb war and fascism, in order to guarantee the peoples peace and security.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Western Germany

AUSTRIA

We Austrian Communists have received the information of your coming Congress with greatest interest and anticipation. We feel closely bound up with your struggles not only because we pursue the same aims but also because we face the same enemy, American imperialism.

Austria is not only a Marshallized country. It is in part occupied by American troops. Whenever reactionary anti-working class measures, measures which threaten the peace, are carried out or planned in our country, they stem from the directives or orders of the American occupants. When the real wages of the workers and employees are reduced, it is done on the order of the Marshall Plan authorities, and when the workers seek to defend themselves, the Austrian government officials rush to the American command and plead for the sending in of the military.

When the fascist elements in Austria are nourished and the democratic forces are set back in every possible way, it is done always on the direct incitement of American officials.

But, moreover, when the Austrian government shows its readiness ever more clearly to take over the role of a Syngman Rhee in Europe and to give the American monopolists pretext for an intervention in Middle Europe similar to that in Korea, which carries within itself the danger of a world war, then we may be sure that this criminal plan has been discussed in America in all its details by the Austrian foreign minister.

But the Austrian people are carrying on a struggle against the American war policies, which are policies of wage robbery and fascization. The 950,000 signatures for the Stockholm Peace Pledge which were collected in Austria, the growing economic struggles of the Austrian working class, accompanied by increasing working-class unity, stand as an ever-formidable barrier to the war plans of American imperialism in Middle Europe.

We greet your Congress and see in you the true vanguard of the American people. We know that the future does not belong to imperialism, but to the millions of the common people of all lands. The struggle of the American Communists is therefore not only just; it will also be victorious.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of Austria
J. KOPLENIG

GREAT BRITAIN

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party, I send warmest fraternal greetings to your 15th National Convention.

Your Convention meets at a critical time for humanity and for the people of America. The United States imperialists, aided and abetted by the imperialists of Britain and other countries, are frantically speeding up and intensifying their preparations for war, and in Korea have already launched brutal aggression.

As part of their war preparations they are moving toward fascism in the United States, and have already undertaken measures of repression against the forces of peace and the vanguard of the American working class, the Communist Party, which have not been paralleled since the days of Hitler.

They are driven to these desperate measures because of the immense strength of the world forces of peace, which are capable of preventing the outbreak of the world war which the imperialists are planning.

The mighty achievements of the Soviet Union and its brilliant and persistent initiative in defense of peace, together with the historic advances made in the countries of People's Democracy, the Chinese People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic, give confidence and inspiration to hundreds of millions of people throughout the world in the fight against the imperialist war drive.

Your country and ours are decisive sectors in the world peace front. If our peoples actively oppose the war plans it will be impossible for them to be carried through.

We have watched with the greatest admiration the splendid fight of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. carried forward in conditions of the utmost difficulty. We pay tribute to the lifelong service of your National Chairman, Comrade William Z. Foster, to the American working class.

We salute Comrade Eugene Dennis and the other comrades leading your Party, whose conduct in the Foley Square trial was in the finest traditions of Communism. We pay tribute to the membership of your Party, which in face of all the attacks and attempts at disruption made by the class enemy, has remained solid and united and carried on a powerful struggle for peace and democracy.

We are confident that in the new period which lies ahead, in spite

of the many difficulties which it will bring, you will be able to take full advantage of the great opportunities which will also arise for developing the struggle for peace and democracy.

In courageously resisting the barbarous colonial wars of American imperialism; in combatting its attempts to destroy the national independence of other countries, including our own; in battling against the oppression of the Negro people; in fighting fascist reaction, defending the economic interests of your people, and working for a democratic and united trade-union movement, you are acting in the finest and best traditions of the great American people and proving to the world that Truman and MacArthur do not represent the true feelings of American workers, democrats and lovers of peace.

We express our solidarity with you in our common struggle against Anglo-American imperialism, and we are convinced that our two peoples will fulfill their great and historic task of putting an end to the crimes now being committed in their name, and thus ensure lasting peace.

Long live the friendship of the American and British people!

Long live the Communist Party of the U.S.A.!

Long live the cause of peace and democracy throughout the world!

With fraternal greetings,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Great Britain

HARRY POLLITT

General Secretary

CANADA

On behalf of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada we send your Convention our heartiest greetings of working-class solidarity. We pledge to fight side by side with our sturdy comrades of the United States to win the working people of North America for peace and democracy.

In Canada, as throughout the world, there inexorably grows a deeper, harder opposition to the criminal, imperialist war policies of the Truman regime.

At the same time there grows in Canada a stronger admiration and respect for people's champions like Gene Dennis, Bill Foster, Henry Winston and Gus Hall—who lead the magnificent fight of America's Communists in these critical days. We are firmly confident, comrades, that the leadership and fighting membership of the Communist Party

of the U.S.A. will succeed in their historic task, and unite the American working class and its allies to defeat the criminal war cabal of Wall Street and Washington.

To our own dear Comrade Bill Foster, who has done so much to help Canada's working-class movement, we wish good health and strength to continue his grand work which is so important to our entire cause. We ask you to convey our heartfelt greetings to Comrade Gene Dennis, and to give him our pledge that we will strengthen the fight to help win freedom for this eagle of the people's battle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

Our fight for the national independence and security of Canada, for the salvation of our country, is reinforced by the noble, patriotic battle of America's Communists to guard the honor and proud revolutionary heritage of the United States, and to win the people of the U.S.A. for democracy and peace. We follow with pride and concern the struggle—and pledge greater efforts in its behalf—for the legality of the C.P.U.S.A., for your right to teach and advocate the lofty, scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism which light humanity's way forward to a world of lasting peace, friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of all lands. This fight for the defense of your Party is vitally important for the curbing and defeating of the imperialist war gang which has its main citadel in Wall Street.

Stormy, difficult and decisive battles are being waged today, and even greater tests lie ahead. We are confident that the cause of the international working class and its allies—peace and people's democracy—will prevail. Headed by the mighty Socialist Soviet Union and our friend and teacher Joseph Stalin, the world camp of peace is going forward to win, to prevent a third world war, to turn the world towards peace. We are certain that our comrades of the heroic Communist Party of the United States will not be found wanting; that, under the leadership of Comrades Foster, Dennis, Hall, Winston and your co-workers, through the self-sacrificing day-to-day work of America's Communists, the working class of the United States will win its rightful place in the front ranks of this crucial world struggle for democracy and peace—the inspiration and sacred goal of all honest men and women.

Fraternally,

LABOR-PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF CANADA

TIM BUCK

General Secretary

MEXICO

The Mexican Communist Party sends fraternal greetings to the National Convention of your Party and wishes you success in your deliberations, in the certainty that your decisions will victoriously guide the American people in their determined struggle for the defense of the cause of peace and Socialism so brilliantly led by Comrade Stalin.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Mexico

DIONISIO ENCINA

Secretary General

BRAZIL

The National Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil greets warmly and fraternally the 15th Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., wishing it a most complete success in its work.

We are following with greatest interest the courageous struggle of the democratic and peace-loving forces of North America at the head of which is to be found the valiant Party of Foster and Dennis. We feel how difficult and hard is the struggle that you are carrying on in the very citadel of imperialism against the warmongers.

In the moment that the forces of peace are growing and gaining throughout the whole world the North American imperialists are becoming desperate and trying to drag humanity to the horrors of atomic war. We can well appreciate, therefore, the great importance of the 15th National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., which will orient and mobilize the North American people in struggle for peace.

The struggle of the American working class for peace and against fascism helps us greatly in our own struggle for national independence. We must redouble the struggle to crush our common enemy in his colonial rear.

United by proletarian internationalism under the banner of the great Stalin, we will march victoriously on the road to peace and Socialism.

Communist Party of Brazil

LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

CUBA

Prevented from sending a delegate to your 15th National Convention, we transmit to this important gathering the warm fraternal greetings of the Popular Socialist Party of the Cuban people. We know how many difficulties and obstacles confront you. We know of the monstrous persecutions and slanders by which the hysterical atomic warmakers have victimized you, but we are firmly convinced that you, the Communist Party of the U.S.A., will know how to overcome all difficulties and defeat all attacks and that you will fulfill the great task of world significance, of struggling resolutely against war, uniting the workers and the American people in the fight for peace and liberty, and to uphold the honor of the American working class.

We also suffer bestial persecution. We have seen our leaders and members assaulted and assassinated, our radio station closed down and our newspapers suppressed through direct orders of the Yankee imperialists. We are hounded by the provocations of the G-men. But we neither surrender nor retreat. We know that the world camp of peace, headed by the Soviet Union, is stronger than the path of war. We are absolutely certain of our final victory and we answer assassinations, persecutions and provocations by intensifying our work for peace, denouncing the Yankee imperialist aggression against Korea and China, defending democracy, struggling for full national independence, for the well-being of our people, for the ideological and organizational strengthening of our Party, for raising the national anti-imperialist consciousness, for the formation of a national democratic front which, under the leadership of the working class, will struggle for a program of peace, democracy and security.

Long live the Communist Party of the United States, the party of peace, democracy and anti-imperialism! Freedom for its eleven unjustly convicted leaders! Down with the fascist persecution which victimizes the intellectuals, workers and people of the United States!

Popular Socialist Party of Cuba

JUAN MARINELLO, *President*

BLAS ROCA, *General Secretary*

SPAIN

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain sends its fraternal greetings to the 15th Convention of the Communist Party of the

United States, the Party that is at the head of the American progressive masses, that is carrying out a hard and difficult struggle against the imperialist government of the United States—the government that passed from war preparations to acts of open aggression, intending to extend from Korea to the entire world.

The majority in the United Nations, obeying orders from these same imperialists, have violated previous agreements and are forcing the entry into the U.N. of the shameful butcher of our people, the Hitlerian Franco. They are thus intending, through a new shameful Munich, to desecrate the sacrifices made by our people, in order to better use our fatherland as a military base and our people as cannon fodder for the monstrous imperialist war against the Soviet Union, the new People's Democracies and all peoples who refuse to submit to their domination.

But the Spanish people, in conditions of terror, servitude and poverty difficult to overcome, show daily their hatred of Franco's fascism and their unbreakable will for peace. The Spanish people will not allow these criminal designs to become a reality.

Supported by the powerful world peace front of which we are an integral part, supported and assisted by the fraternal solidarity of all the peoples and led by the heroic Communist Party of Spain and the General Secretary, Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, "Passionaria," our people will win peace, independence and a Democratic Republic.

We do not confuse the aggressive imperialist government of the United States with the American working class and people. Our people do not forget that during the years of our war for national liberation, the blood of American volunteers of the Lincoln Brigade ran on Spanish soil, together with the Spanish fighters who, by defending freedom and the independence of Spain, were defending peace and freedom for the whole world.

We do not forget this and for this reason we have confidence that the solidarity and friendship of our two peoples will become still stronger in our common fight against aggression and war, for the peace and freedom of the whole world, meaning also independence and a Republic for Spain.

Long live the 15th Convention of the Communist Party of the United States!

Long live peace! Down with Franco!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of Spain

NORWAY

The Communist Party of Norway, recognizing the magnificent role played by the Communist Party of the U.S.A., at the very center of world reaction, in our common struggle for peace and against imperialism, sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the 15th National Convention of your Party.

The Communist Party of Norway should very much have liked to send a delegation to your Convention, but this has been made impossible by the anti-Communist legislation proposed by the Norwegian Government as a consequence of their adherence to the aggressive Atlantic Pact.

We are convinced that your Convention will be of the greatest importance in the struggle to preserve the legality of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., thereby strengthening the Party as the vanguard of the working class and the people of the U.S.A., in defense of the progressive American democratic tradition of Jefferson and Lincoln, and in the struggle for peace and against imperialism.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of Norway

DENMARK

The Communist Party of Denmark thanks you very much for the kind invitation to participate in your Congress.

Your invitation confirms that proletarian internationalism, in spite of hate, persecuton and terror, is a living reality. And it has to be so. Not alone the working people in the U.S. but also the peoples in other countries are exploited and oppressed by the U.S. monopolists. Their warmongering and fascization of the state apparatus is not limited to your country alone. It is felt as well by us, as by the other countries which submitted to the Atlantic Pact.

Our fight for peace, independence and freedom is directed against the same enemy as you fight.

It is with the greatest interest we have followed your heroic struggle and we have according to our means tried to inform the Danish people about your struggle—by raising supporting actions for your Party and leaders.

We know that a Danish representation in your Congress would have served to support your struggle. We regret that on account of much

work it is impossible for us to send a representative to your Congress. We have to limit ourselves to send you our warmest greetings and express the best wishes for your Congress and your Party.

Long live the Communist Party!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the struggle against the warmongers!

Long live freedom!

Long live peace!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Denmark

THE NETHERLANDS

We received your letter in which you write about the aims of your Convention on 28-30 December, with your invitation to our Party to send a delegation.

Thanking you warmly for your letter, we regret that we must tell you that various difficulties prevent our sending a delegation to your Convention, although we would have appreciated it very much if some of our comrades could have taken part in this important event.

You can be sure, however, that this Convention will be looked upon with the utmost interest by our Party and by the progressives in Holland.

The courageous and resolute struggle against Wall Street, the aggressor against the safety and the freedom of all peoples on earth, waged by the Communist Party of the United States, headed by Bill Foster and other leaders, calls forth our admiration.

The members of the Central Committee who have been thrown into prison by Yankee-fascism have given an example to all people in the Marshall countries, oppressed by the same forces, in upholding the banner of international Communism.

We wish your National Convention every success in its work. We send our fraternal greetings to all delegates with the assurance of our unbreakable solidarity with the vanguard of the American workers and all peace-loving Americans.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Holland

P. DE GROOT, *General Secretary*

NORTHERN IRELAND

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party, Northern Ireland, ask you to convey to the 15th Convention of your Party the following message:

The Communist Party, Northern Ireland, deems it a great honor to greet, in the warmest fraternal spirit, the 15th Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Irish Communists are inspired by the gallant fight of the American Communist Party to save the peace of the world, now menaced by the lunatic imperialism which besmirches the honored name of the great American republic.

The magnificent fight of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., embodied in the stand of its leaders before the American imperialists' courts, the fight being made against the fascist-like persecution now widespread in your country, is an inspiration to fighters for democratic liberty in all lands.

We salute your Secretary, Comrade Dennis, and all victims of the imperialist war hysteria of the American ruling class, and together with you, pledge ourselves to struggle to restore them to liberty.

In the traditions of Connolly and Larkin, and in those of our renowned countryman, Tom Mooney, anti-imperialist Ireland, North and South, battles with you for the victory of peace, the outlawing of the murderous atomic bombs; to prevent the soil of Ireland being made a base for the waging of British and American imperialism's wars against the Soviet Union and the New Democracies of Europe, and for the unity and independence of our country, partitioned by British imperialism—a crime against the democratic will of the Irish nation, which is now underwritten, through the Atlantic Pact, by the Government of the United States, guaranteeing, as it does, to uphold the present fraudulent boundary of the United Kingdom as it is drawn in Ireland.

Long live the solidarity of the Irish and American working class!
For the victory of peace over war!

For the triumph of subject nations and oppressed peoples everywhere in the struggle against imperialism!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Northern Ireland

W. H. MC CULLOUGH, *Secretary*

SEAN MURRAY, *Chairman*

EIRE

It affords me great pleasure on behalf of the Executive Committee and members of the Irish Workers' League to send warm greetings to the Congress of your Party which meets this month.

Your Party stands out in America today, amidst the howls and attacks of the reactionaries, as the true expression of the decent people of your country.

We call on the many thousands of the citizens of your country of Irish parentage to support your Party and thus keep high the revolutionary traditions of the Irish people. Support for your Party and the great cause of world peace is the best contribution that the Irish in America can make toward winning for their homeland the unity and freedom for which so many have made the supreme sacrifice.

We send warmest greetings to your valiant Eugene Dennis and those other sterling leaders of your Party whom reaction in America wants to silence.

We know that in the end your Party will triumph and the mighty American Republic and its people will play a powerful role in building the new world—the world of Socialism.

Greetings and good wishes, Comrades. Long live Peace, long live Freedom!

Yours fraternally,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Irish Workers' League
SEAN NOLAN, *Secretary*

INDIA

The Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of India, greets the Fifteenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

It is with feelings of hope that the people of India and other colonial countries look upon the progressive section of the American people who, under extremely difficult conditions, are carrying on a gallant struggle against the reactionary warmongering clique of Wall Street who are out to enslave the whole world. Watching the activities of the American partisans of peace, progressive trade unionists, leaders of the Negro people and other champions of peace and democracy, the oppressed

peoples of the colonial world feel that their own struggle for national independence and people's democracy is inseparable from the struggle of the American people for peace and people's democracy.

The Communist Party of India is proud of the fact that it is the Communist Party of the U.S.A. that stands at the head of the American progressives. While the magnificent fight that the American Communists are putting up against war and fascism has earned them the wrath of Wall Street, it has at the same time endeared them to the oppressed people all over the world.

The Political Bureau regrets that, due to the extreme terror that prevails in India, we are not in a position to send a fraternal delegate to the Convention. We are looking forward with eagerness to the decisions of the Convention which, we are sure, will carry forward the struggle of American Communists for peace and people's democracy.

With revolutionary greetings,

P. B.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of India

ISRAEL

Our warmest comradely greetings to your Fifteenth Convention. We heartily wish you full success in your brave struggle for peace against increasing fascist terror and war preparations of American imperialists and monopolists. All peace-loving peoples see in your Party the real representatives of national interests of American people who together with all peace-loving people in the U.S.A., and all over the world will win victory of peace over war. Long live the brave Communist Party of the U.S.A.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of Israel
S. MIKUNIS, *General Secretary*

ALGERIA

In the name of our people, oppressed and despoiled, who aspire to their national independence, we greet the 15th Congress of the American Communist Party, vanguard of the struggle of your people for peace and against the grip of the iron heel of the Wall Street billionaires, and the promoters of a third world war.

We express our solidarity with your difficult and courageous struggle

for the happiness of your people, against racist discrimination, against the fascization of the American state. We express our solidarity with your leaders, illegally persecuted. We do not confuse the American workers with your ruling circles, who are supporting by every means, including arms, the French colonialists, against Viet-Nam and in Algeria, against the movement for national liberation.

We do not confuse the America of Abraham Lincoln, of Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Roosevelt and William Z. Foster with the war-criminal MacArthur, assassinating the children of Korea, with the America of Truman who pillages the Philippines, occupies Formosa and menaces the world with the atomic bomb.

At the moment when the American imperialists and their French servants are feverishly preparing our soil with bases for aggression against the Soviet Union and all peoples, and are planning a redoubt in North Africa, we can assure you that we shall do all in our power to rebuff these plans of the warmongers.

Long live the 15th American Party Congress! Long live its courageous leaders!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

SECRETARIAT

Communist Party of Algeria

LARBI BOUHALI, PAUL CABALLERO, YOUNES KOUCH,
ANDRE MOINE, BACHIR HADJ ALI

CEYLON

I have been instructed by the Central Committee of our Party to convey to the National Convention of your Party the fraternal greetings of our Party.

The Convention of your Party is meeting at the most momentous time not only in the history of your Party and your country but in the history of the world. The atom-crazy rulers of your country, disregarding the will of all honest people all over the world, and in particular the national aspirations of the millions of Asian people who are today beginning to throw off the shackles of imperialism, are threatening to engulf the world in a new world war. Already wars of aggression, with American participation or under their direction, are raging in Korea, Indo-China, and other parts of Asia.

At this momentous hour, we Asian people look forward to the pro-

gressive movement and working class of America, and in particular, to the leadership of your Party to stop this insane policy of your rulers and take back American policy to the days of the great Roosevelt and the policy of cooperation between the great powers for the maintenance of world peace.

We have no doubt that your Convention will take such decisions as to make this hope a reality in the near future.

We, on our part, pledge to do all we can to unite our entire people to achieve real independence from foreign imperialism and their local allies; and to prevent our fair island from being used as a war base by Anglo-American imperialists in their wars of aggression against fellow Asian peoples.

On behalf of our Party, the working class and progressive movement of Ceylon we wish your Convention all success in the difficult struggles that lie ahead for freedom, peace and security.

Yours fraternally,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Ceylon

DR. S. A. WICKREMASINGHE, *General Secretary*

N. SAMMUGATHASAN, *Party Organizer*

FREE TERRITORY OF TRIESTE

Greetings to the delegates of the 15th National Convention from the Communists of the "Free Territory of Trieste." We wish you success in the hard fight that confronts your Party in defense of peace, against which the imperialist governments are taking today practical measures.

We are following with particular attention your struggles; we know the tremendous difficulties you are facing and, therefore, together with all democratic forces of our Territory, Italian and Slovenian, we appreciate your valor and coherence in the fight that you are waging not only in defense of your people, but also in the interest of all the people threatened or already victims of imperialist aggression.

We take this opportunity to express our warm solidarity with the leaders of your Party who were so unjustly tried and sentenced to jail. On our part, we assure you of our determination to strengthen our fight in this strategic military base of the imperialists by constantly improving the struggles in defense of the toilers and our people, energetically unmasking the maneuvers of the warmongers, by fighting against the Anglo-American

military occupation of our Territory, and unmasking the forces of Tito and the provocations from Belgrade. We pledge our maximum contribution to the peace movement headed by the Soviet Union.

Long live the heroic Communist Party of the U.S.A.!

Long live the international proletariat, the vanguard in the fight for peace!

VITTORIO VIDALI, *Secretary*
Communist Party of the Free Territory of Trieste

BELGIUM

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium sends its warmest greetings to the Convention of the Communist Party of the United States.

To you, the advanced guard of the American people, who so courageously fight against the U.S. government policy of aggression and against the unleashing of a new world massacre, we say: "Your struggle is our struggle. It is the struggle of the people of the world. This struggle will be victorious."

We are convinced that your Convention, inspired by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, will be able to reinforce your actions and will enable you to advance the unity of all partisans of peace in the United States in order to achieve the cause of peace and freedom.

Long live the Communist Party of the United States and its heroic leaders, Foster and Dennis.

Long live peace!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of Belgium
EDGAR LALAMAND, *General Secretary*

AUSTRALIA

Please convey our warmest greetings to the 15th National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.

We wish you every success in the valiant struggle you are waging against U.S. imperialism, the spearhead and organizer of the drive to war, and in your struggle to unite the working people of the United States for the great and noble cause of peace.

The Australian Communist Party, declared illegal by the Menzies Gov-

ernment on instructions from Wall Street, expresses our solidarity with you in the fight you are waging to bar the advance to fascism in the U.S.A.

We are sure that your Convention, recognizing the monstrosly reactionary role of the Wall Street monopolists, will take all steps to strengthen the fight for peace, to ban the atomic bomb, to preserve liberties, and to maintain and improve the living standards of the working people.

Warmest greetings on behalf of the vanguard of the Australian working class.

Yours fraternally,

R. DIXON

NEW ZEALAND

We thank you for the letter dated October 30, and signed by Comrades William Z. Foster and Gus Hall, in which you invite us to send a delegation to the 15th Convention of your Party.

We greatly regret our inability to comply with your invitation. We feel, however, that it is a great honor to have been invited to send a delegation to the convention of a Party so courageous as yours.

We appreciate the great responsibility borne by your Party as the leaders in the struggle for peace and progress within the U.S.A.

At this moment when Wall Street is leading the imperialist drive toward social reaction and a third world war, we wish to tell you of the warm feeling of gratitude and admiration which we have for the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The progressive forces in New Zealand well understand that the truest and most enduring traditions and aspirations of the American people have nothing in common with the aggressive and reactionary policies pursued by United States imperialism both at home and abroad. The democratic traditions of Washington, Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln —it is these on which the American Communists base themselves and which they enrich from the great storehouse of Marxism-Leninism.

We New Zealand Communists in our far-away islands in the South Pacific are united with you in the struggle for peace and social progress and we pledge ourselves to intensify our efforts.

We are confident that the Communist Party U.S.A. will proceed in

the near future to achieve great victories in the struggle for peace and we wish you all success in the forthcoming Convention.

I am,

Yours fraternally,

SID SCOTT, *National Secretary*

(Comrade Scott cannot personally sign this letter as he has been totally blind for the past 8 years.—BESSIE DINI, Secretary to Comrade Scott) . . .

INDONESIA

Friendly greetings from the Communist Party of Indonesia in connection with your Fifteenth Convention.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Communist Party of Indonesia

YUGOSLAV POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY EMIGRANTS

We Yugoslav political, revolutionary emigrants in the Romanian People's Republic send you and through your medium to all working people in the United States of America warmest Communist greetings.

The struggle the Communists and the democratic forces are waging in the U.S.A. for peace and democracy against the American and British imperialist warmongers who have subjugated our country too are a great stimulant to our people in their just fight against the Titoite regime, regime of war preparations, of misery, of famine and terror. We wish the vanguard of the working class in America full success in the work of the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. We wish the Communist Party and the working masses of the U.S.A. every success in their struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace and democracy in the United States of America.

Long live the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.!

Long live the solidarity of the working people in the whole world for peace, democracy and Socialism, for the triumph of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

On behalf of the Yugoslav Political Revolutionary Emigrants in the Romanian People's Republic.

DUSHKO NOVACOV,

Chief Editor of the newspaper,
Pod Zastavom Internacionalizma

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Suggested Readings—

NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY MONTH

NEGRO LIBERATION	\$1.00
<i>by Harry Haywood</i>	
THE PATH OF NEGRO LIBERATION	.05
<i>by Benjamin J. Davis</i>	
THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE SOVIET UNION	.02
<i>by Paul Robeson</i>	
FORGE NEGRO-LABOR UNITY FOR PEACE AND JOBS	.03
<i>by Paul Robeson</i>	
THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS	Vol. I: \$4.00; Vol. II: \$4.50
<i>By Philip Foner</i>	
ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO	\$2.00
<i>by Herbert Aptheker</i>	
TO BE FREE	\$2.75
<i>by Herbert Aptheker</i>	
THE NEGRO IN HOLLYWOOD FILMS	.25
<i>by V. J. Jerome</i>	
HARRIET TUBMAN	.20
<i>by Earl Conrad</i>	
THADDEUS STEVENS	.10
<i>by Elizabeth Lawson</i>	
A SOUTHERNER LOOKS AT NEGRO DISCRIMINATION	.15
<i>by George W. Cable</i>	
STORY OF THE TRENTON SIX	.05
<i>by Elwood Dean</i>	
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