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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

Lenin's Teachings and the Liberation of Humanity

By Alexander Bittelman

CASTING A GLANCE around the world on the 28th anniversary of the death of the immortal Lenin, our hearts fill with pride and renewed confidence. The world-liberating ideals to which we have devoted our lives are winning the hearts and minds of mankind, of all those who work, who create, who drive forward the wheels of progress, who enrich and ennoble human life.

Our ideals are winning on all continents and among all peoples and nations. In a large part of the world, embracing 800,000,000 people of many nations and nationalities, our ideals are being realized in life in accord with the peculiarities of conditions and traditions of each of these nations and nationalities.

Lenin's teachings are triumphing because they are true. The teachings of Lenin, further developed by Stalin, demonstrate their creativeness and cogency in all the great progressive struggles of our day and epoch. Lenin's teachings inspire the actions of the vanguard fighters for peace and democracy. Peoples fighting for

equal rights and national independence find their advanced fighters and leaders guided by the teachings of Lenin, so brilliantly continued and further developed by Stalin. And the magnificent historic fight of our epoch—the fight for Socialism, for Communism—whose grandeur overshadows all of the great previous achievements of mankind, crowning them with the realization of the noblest aspirations and dreams of the human race,—this historic fight, we are proud to say, is guided by the teachings of Lenin and of his great continuer Stalin. It is led by parties of Marxism-Leninism, by Communist and Workers Parties.

I

Lenin's teachings are true. They are scientific. They represent the ideology of the most progressive class in our society, the working class. That is why the teachings of Lenin are capable of being a guide to action—a guide to progressive and revolutionary action by the working class and its allies under the

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leadership of the vanguard parties of the working class. That is why Lenin's teachings are inspiring and guiding all the great progressive and liberating struggles of our epoch, the struggles for peace, democracy, national freedom and independence, and Socialism.

That is also why the monopolists, imperialists and warmongers, the gang now dominating and ruling the United States, are persecuting those who believe in and advocate Lenin's teachings. That is the reason why this gang of merciless exploiters of the people is seeking to suppress altogether and, in fact, to outlaw the belief in, and advocacy of, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This is the explanation for the persecution and jailing of Communists in the United States.

The Communists believe in and advocate the teachings of Lenin.

The Communists are determined vanguard fighters for peace, democracy, against fascism, for the equal rights of the Negro people and for the defense and protection of the people's living standards.

Therefore, say the ideologists and executioners of the growing police state in the United States, declare Leninism a criminal conspiracy and put the advocates of Leninism in jail.

In the process of realizing this declaration, the minions of the police state who are mutilating and destroying the Bill of Rights of the American people wholesale and retail, the masters of graft and cor-

ruption in public life, have found it necessary to create their own version of Leninism, built on fraud, falsification and frame-up. The product of these efforts was an ugly caricature resembling some kind of gangster's gadget for the commission of murder, robbery and other violent deeds. This is Leninism, say the ideologists and executioners of the police state, a gadget for violent deeds, for the violent overthrow of the government. And in doing so, the governmental agents of the warmongering and fascist-minded monopolies reveal to the world their own criminal and gangster concept of theory as a device and tool for violent deeds.

There is nothing surprising in this revelation. Basically, this criminal gangster "concept" of theory rests on, and stems from, some of the very fundamentals of the ideology of the monopolists and imperialists of the United States. This "concept" of theory is related very closely to the concepts of the prevailing bourgeois philosophic schools, of pragmatism and positivism, which represent the ideology of warmongering and fascist-minded American imperialism.

For pragmatism and positivism, theory is nothing more than a useful tool or instrument for the attainment of certain immediate practical ends. The theory need not be *objectively* true. In fact, the pragmatist and the positivist deny altogether the possibility of *objective* truth. All a theory has to do to justify itself to the pragmatist is to be "workable."

Thus, the pragmatist will accept

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the "theory" of the supernatural, since imperialist reaction is still capable of making successful practical use of this idea. It is still able to exploit this idea to keep large masses chained to imperialist ideologies and rule. William James, the father of pragmatism, has put it as follows: "On pragmatic principles, if the hypothesis of god works satisfactorily in the widest sense of the word it is true."

Similarly, the pragmatist will declare as true the idea that there is no such thing as an American imperialism. He will do so on the pragmatic principle that this idea still "works satisfactorily," *i.e.*, it can still be used by the ideologists of American imperialism to confuse and befuddle masses of the people and thus keep them attached to Wall Street. In the same way the pragmatist will declare as true the idea that China and the Soviet Union threaten the security of the United States. He will declare as true the biggest lie of our time on the pragmatic principle that this idea "works satisfactorily," *i.e.*, it still enables the monopolies, even though in an ever diminishing degree, to mislead masses and thus to keep them chained to the imperialist war machine.

In other words, a theory is true if it can serve as an instrument, a tool, for the attainment of certain immediate practical ends of the monopolies; if it can be made to help their rule and aggrandizement. Conversely, a theory is wrong if it helps the people *against* the monopolies;

if it promotes the struggles for peace and democracy; if it develops the fight for Socialism.

From here, as can easily be seen, there is only a short and inevitable step to the criminal and gangster concept of theory as a device for the commission of murder, robbery and other violent deeds. This establishes the very important fact that the version of Leninism, the ugly caricature of Marxism-Leninism, framed up by the persecutors of Communism in the United States, is based, not on the Communist concept of theory, but on pragmatism and positivism, the concepts and ideologies of the warmongering and fascist-minded American monopolies.

For the primary requisite of a theory for Communists is *that it be objectively true*. It must be scientific. It must correctly reflect the objective nature of things and processes. It must *correspond* to the objective nature of things. Hence, the criterion of practice lies at the basis of the materialist—the Marxist-Leninist—theory of knowledge. Communists test the truth of their ideas and theories in practice. When a Marxist-Leninist idea succeeds *in practice*, we have demonstrated that the idea corresponds to the objective nature of things, that there exists a correspondence between our ideas and the objective nature of the things we perceive.

Marxism-Leninism is winning because it is true to life. It embodies objective truth.

Theory for Communists must correctly reflect and meet the needs and interests of the working class, its allies, and of the masses of the people in general. Only then can the theory be objectively true and correct. This is so because the working class is the most progressive class in society; therefore its class interests embody and represent the interests of social progress.

Theory for Communists must be capable of guiding the practice, the practical activities, of the working class, its allies, its vanguard party. Theory, to be objectively true, must be able to guide the progressive and revolutionary struggles of the working class and its allies—in consistent defense of the daily needs and interests of the masses of the people and in promoting the advance of labor to the leading role in the nation.

Theory for Communists, in that it is objectively true, is revolutionary theory. This must not be confused with the police state caricature of Marxism-Leninism as a device for the violent overthrow of the government. Our theory is a revolutionary theory, first, because it correctly and truthfully reflects the historical process of the decline and disappearance of the capitalist system of society and of the rise and consolidation of the new, the Socialist, system of society; secondly, because it guides the actions and struggles of the revolutionary class in society, the working class, in alliance with all exploited classes and groups and peoples, against imperialism and capitalism,

against class exploitation and national oppression, and for the establishment of Socialism as the first stage of Communism.

This theory is Marxism, further developed and enriched by Lenin and Stalin for the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. And what is Marxism?

Marxism is the science of the laws of development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the building of communist society (Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and Linguistics*, International Publishers, 1951, p. 47).

Here, too, the master minds of the police state concept of theory and science have framed up an ugly caricature. They claim that American Communists follow "a blueprint of revolution" given once and for all by Marxism-Leninism and subject to no change, regardless of changing conditions, epochs and periods. Again, this reveals, not Communist conceptions of science and theory, but the criminal and gangster concepts of the police state manipulators themselves.

When we say that Marxism is a science, among other things, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, including the United States, we mean a science, and science is no blueprint, or a frozen set of rules and dogmas.

Marxism as a science cannot stand still; it develops and perfects itself. In the course of its development Marxism

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cannot but be enriched by new experience, by new knowledge; consequently, its separate formulas and deductions cannot but change in the course of time, cannot but be replaced by new formulas and deductions corresponding to the new historical tasks. Marxism does not recognize any immutable deductions and formulas, applicable to all epochs and periods. Marxism is an enemy of all dogmatism. (*Ibid.*)

New experience and knowledge, new formulas and deductions—these are the methods of living science, of Marxism. Lenin and Stalin have given the world the greatest and most profound scientific results by embodying new experiences and knowledge into new Marxist formulas and deductions. This is creative Marxism, the Marxism of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

II

Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is the only Marxism of our time.

Lenin and his great continuer, Stalin, have given a further development to the theory of dialectical and historical materialism. They have enriched the economic theory of Marxism. They have given Marxism a new theory of the socialist revolution which demonstrates the possibility of the victory of socialism, as a beginning, in one single country.

Lenin and his great continuer, Stalin, have developed fully the theory of the proletarian dictatorship

by means of which the working class carries through the socialist revolution and the transformation from capitalism to socialism. They have demonstrated that the Soviet form of the proletarian dictatorship is the most advanced and perfect state form, foreseeing at the same time that the present epoch will bring forth new and different forms of working-class rule in accord with conditions of the various periods and the national peculiarities of each country.

Lenin and his great continuer, Stalin, have created and rendered concrete the teachings of the role of the revolutionary party of the working class as the leading factor in the struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution, as the leading and guiding force in socialist society, as the inspirer and organizer of the victory of socialism. They have outlined the path and methods for the construction of socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement. They have equipped the workers of all countries and their Communist vanguard with a new theory, strategy, and tactic of struggle in accordance with the new historical conditions.

But Marxism as a science cannot and does not stand still. It lives, grows and develops. Lenin's great continuer, Stalin, has developed further the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and of the proletarian dictatorship—the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. Stalin has outlined the path and the methods of the building of a

socialist society, of the industrialization of the Soviet Union and the collectivization of its agriculture.

Developing further Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution, Stalin has demonstrated that it is possible to construct a communist society in the Soviet Union also in the event that capitalist encirclement still persists. Consequently, Stalin outlined a course of gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Finally, continuing further the development of Leninism, Stalin has created a complete theory of the socialist state. He has proved the necessity of preserving the state even under communism, should the capitalist encirclement continue to exist. Carrying forward Lenin's great teachings and ideals, Stalin has equipped the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union with a magnificent program for the construction of communism, whose grandeur is now inspiring the peoples of all countries in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

III

Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to action. This is what Lenin said about Marxism. Having mastered the theory of Marxism, Lenin has developed it further to meet the needs and solve the new problems raised by the new epoch—the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. He has raised the theory of Marxism to unprecedented heights, making it the guide and in-

spiration of millions upon millions of people all over the world.

This is also Stalin's understanding of Marxism. He speaks of creative Marxism, not dogmatic. He says: "The Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action" (*History of the C.P.S.U.*, p. 356). But what is a guide to action?

The ideologists and executioners of the American police state have sought to make their own "contribution" also on this point. And for very practical purposes: to promote further the destruction of the Bill of Rights, to hasten the outlawing of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the imprisonment of its advocates.

Consequently, the scientific proposition that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to action became transformed in the hands of the persecutors of Communism into another little gangster-gadget for the commission of crime, for the violent overthrow of the government.

The police state reasoning runs something like this. Theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. What action? Revolution. What is revolution? Force and Violence. Hence, concludes the police state, guide to action means guide to force and violence. And on the basis of this crude and ugly caricature of Marxism-Leninism, produced by means of fraud, falsification and frame-up, an attempt is made to outlaw an American political party, to outlaw the teaching of a social science and to put in jail the advocates of this

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advanced social science. In doing so, pro-fascist reaction rides roughshod over the civil rights and democratic liberties of all Americans, destroying the Bill of Rights, increasing the war danger and hastening the fascisation of the methods and forms of monopoly rule.

What then is the real meaning of the scientific proposition that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to action?

It means, first of all, that Marxism-Leninism is a *science*, not a collection of dogmas or articles of faith.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of the Communist society (*Ibid.*, p. 355).

It means, secondly, that in order to use Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action, it is necessary to *master* Marxist-Leninist theory. But what do we mean by mastering Marxist-Leninist theory?

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not at all mean learning all its formulas and conclusions by heart and clinging to their every letter. To master the Marxist-Leninist theory we must first of all learn to distinguish between its letter and substance.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means assimilating the *substance* of this theory and learning to use it in the solution of the practical problems of the revolutionary movement under the varying conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat (*Ibid.*, p. 355).

Here two points deserve special

attention. One is that mastering the science of Marxism-Leninism means absorbing and assimilating the *substance and the spirit* of the theory, not the letter or form. And, second, mastering the Marxist-Leninist science means learning to use it in the solution of practical problems of the class struggle *under varying and changing conditions*.

Marxism-Leninism as a science does not stand still, because life does not stand still. This means that class relations and the class struggle do not stand still either. They vary, and so do the conditions in different countries in which the class struggle takes place.

This being the case, it is clear that Marxism-Leninism cannot by its very scientific nature serve as a dogma. Nor can it be used as a blueprint. Marxist-Leninist theory lives and develops only in the closest contact with the *practice* of the class struggle. To apply Marxist-Leninist theory to the practice of the class struggle means, therefore, to study and fully understand the *concrete and specific conditions* in which the class struggle is developing. This means nothing else but a constant and uninterrupted study of the specific conditions and peculiarities of the country, nation and people. It means a similar study of the changes and new features which every *new period* introduces into the conditions of the class struggle.

Take for example the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictator-

ship. This is a scientific theory. It has therefore universal validity, *i.e.*, it correctly reflects the historical system of society and the rise and consolidation of the socialist system. Consequently, this theory is capable of serving as a guide to action to the working class and their vanguard parties in all countries in the advance toward socialism.

Not as a dogma or device or blueprint, but as a guide to action. And here is how Lenin himself understands it.

The working class of each country advances towards victory over the bourgeoisie "in its own way." Marxist-Leninists must "take into account both the main fundamental tasks of the struggle . . . and the specific features which this struggle assumes . . . in each separate country" ("*Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Sickness*, p. 72).

Further: Communists must find "such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences." The main tasks of Communists is to find that "which is peculiarly national, specifically national in the concrete manner in which each country approaches the fulfillment of the single international task." Finally, the Communists must seek out "the forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution." (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

Hence, mastering Marxist-Leninist theory means learning to use this theory in the solution of the practical problems of the class struggle under the varying and different conditions of each country and period. But it means more than that.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means being able to enrich this theory with the new experience of the revolutionary movement, with new propositions and conclusions, it means being able to *develop it and advance it* without hesitating to replace—in accordance with the substance of the theory—such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation (*History of the C.P.S.U.*, p. 356).

The truth of the foregoing has been magnificently demonstrated by the leadership and work of Lenin and Stalin. Leninism itself—the Marxism of our time—is the product of this sort of mastery of Marxism, as is the further development of the theory by Stalin.

"In accordance with the *substance* of the theory"—this is how Lenin and Stalin have further developed Marxism, replacing "such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation." And here lies one of the fundamental differences between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. In the course of years, revisionism in various countries undertook to discard various parts of Marxist theory on the ground that these parts have either been proved

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wrong or have become obsolete. From this, revisionism proceeded to introduce into Marxism new and different theoretical parts and concepts. The results invariably were—the abandonment and betrayal of Marxism and of the working class.

How did this happen? First, because revisionism undertook to change *the substance* of Marxism. Secondly, because revisionism was trying to introduce into Marxism new propositions and conclusions *which were in irreconcilable contradiction* with the substance of Marxism, instead of being “in accordance with the substance of the theory.”

This was precisely what happened to Browder and Browderism. Browder claimed that he was introducing into the treasury of Marxism-Leninism new propositions and conclusions made necessary by the new conditions of the period and the special conditions of the class struggle in the United States. Browder tried to revise Marxism-Leninism in at least three fundamentals: (a) in its theory of the class struggle, (b) in its teachings on the nature of imperialism, economic and political, and the role of monopoly as the economic basis of imperialism, and (c) in its teachings on the leading role of the vanguard Party of the working class. Thus, Browder undertook to change *the substance* of Marxism-Leninism. This he followed by developing propositions and conclusions which were in irreconcilable contradiction with the substance of Marxism-Leninism. The result was the abandonment of

Marxism-Leninism and of socialism.

From which we must learn two things. First, it is the duty and task of Marxists to enrich the theory with new experiences of the class struggle and to develop the theory further and to advance it. Secondly, to do so on the basis of a scientific—a Marxist—study of the concrete changes and developments of the class struggle and in accordance with the substance of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The same method holds good in the *application* of the theory—in the application of existing propositions and conclusions to new and changing conditions. This we find in the post-war application of the Lenin theory of the proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power to the changed and new conditions and relations of class forces of the new period. We refer here to the emergence and establishment in several countries of a new form of state organization—the People's Democracies—which in their development have passed through two stages depending upon the concrete historic conditions of each country.

Where the first stage of the revolution is of an anti-feudal, agrarian and anti-imperialist nature, as in China, for example, the regime of People's Democracy represents a kind of dictatorship of the working class and peasantry headed by the working class, directed mainly against imperialism and its supporters. The People's Democracy of China does not yet undertake to fulfill the tasks of a proletarian dic-

tatorship for the building of Socialism. It is its first stage.

The second stage of the People's Democracy is the stage of establishing the dictatorship of the working class, not in the form of Soviets, but in a new form—in the form of a People's Democracy for the building of socialism. This development from first to second stage has taken place in the People's Democracies of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

What does this prove? It proves the correctness of the theoretical propositions of Lenin and Stalin on the international significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the substance of various political forms in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Leninism teaches that the transition from capitalism to socialism cannot but produce a great variety of different political forms but their substance must inevitably be the rule of the working class leading the overwhelming majority of the people—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is what is happening in life. The emergence of People's Democracies in various stages of development was made possible, first, by the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the military defeat of the fascist Axis and by all the tremendous consequences flowing from this historic fact; secondly, by the immensely increased moral authority and political influence of the Soviet Union in world affairs; and thirdly, by the leading role of the Communist Parties in the people's struggles

in the occupied countries for national freedom and democracy. In other words, the forces that made possible the emergence and victory of the new state forms of democracy—the People's Democracy—were the new world relationship of class forces favorable to the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, together with the rise of the working classes and their vanguard parties to the position of leadership in the revolutionary struggles of their peoples against fascism, imperialism, feudalism, monopoly domination, and national oppression.

That is why Communists, believers in the teachings of Lenin, are the most consistent fighters for the creation of people's peace coalitions, for the maintenance of world peace, for the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, for a Five-Power Peace Pact. And that is why the warmongers and their bi-partisan machine persecute the Communists.

That is why Communists are the most consistent fighters for the creation of a broad people's anti-monopoly and anti-fascist democratic coalition, for the preservation and extension of democratic liberties and civil rights, for the Bill of Rights, for democracy. And that is why the champions of graft and corruption administering the growing police state are hounding and persecuting the Communists.

That is why the Communists, for whom Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action, are the most consistent fighters for the united front of the

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working class, for working class unity, in defense of the living standards of the masses, in defense of the trade unions and other labor organizations. And that is why the reactionary trade union leaders—the Greens, Murrays, Reuthers, Dubinskys, etc.,—who are serving the imperialists and warmongering monopolies and big corporations, are working hand in glove with the thought controllers to hound and persecute the Communists.

That is why the Communists, guided by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, are the most consistent fighters for the economic, political and social equality of the Negro people, for the unity of the American working class with the Negro national liberation movement, for active support by all progressive forces to the struggles of the Negro people for equal rights, against all forms of white chauvinism. For this, too, the Communists are persecuted.

Finally, that is also why Communists carry on a consistent campaign of exposure of all enemies of the people's peace and democratic coalition movements—the Right-wing Socialist leaders, the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats, the phony "liberals." And for this, too, Communists are persecuted by reactionaries and the labor agents of Wall Street.

This is the practical application of the Marxist-Leninist science made by Communists to the class struggle in the United States. This is how American Communists are using

their theory, the teachings of Lenin, to promote the progress, peace and well-being of the American people.

This, in brief, is the kind of action to which Marxism-Leninism is guiding the American Communists.

It is 28 years since Lenin's departure. In those years, the general crisis of the world system of capitalism has reached an unprecedented depth while the world-liberating ideals of Marxism-Leninism, of Socialism, are advancing everywhere, winning people after people and nation after nation. Leninism is becoming the banner and rallying ground of all that is honest, creative and humane in mankind. This is Lenin's greatness and triumph. It is the greatness and triumph of progressive movements which inspire hundreds of millions in all parts of the world. It has begun to inspire the thoughts and actions of ever larger numbers of American workers, Negroes, toiling farmers and city middle class people.

This is the process of social growth and development. It is the process that stimulates the growth of the people's coalition for peace and democracy and thus tends to bring forth the American working class as the leading force in the people's movements and eventually as the leader of the nation. It is the same process that creates Communists in America and that will eventually place the party of Marxism-Leninism in the position of the leading party of the American working class.

The Sole Correct Path for Mankind

By Palmiro Togliatti

WHAT WAS THE OCTOBER Revolution? Many of us can still remember those days. The Revolution took place at one of the darkest moments in the recent history of humanity, and the news of the Revolution seemed incredible, and, moreover, was not fully understood, I think, even by most of those who got to know about this event. One thing only was clear to all, that something entirely new had taken place, something people had never seen before. Power had really passed into the hands of that party, of those people whom the entire reactionary press depicted and still depict as pariahs, enemies of mankind, and agents (today they say fifth column!) of a foreign power. Confusion was universal, particularly when it turned out that this time the transfer of power was not temporary but permanent, that the power overthrown by the revolution in Russia was really the last power of the old ruling classes.

The organ from which the new power arose was known as the Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, at which there were also present representatives of

the advanced sections of the peasantry.

The people who made up the majority of society but whose lot was to submit to the power of the propertied and of the rich, to be exploited and oppressed,—these people, having taken power into their own hands, set about building a new State of their own, in order to use this State as an instrument for building a new society in which their aspirations and hopes would be realized and their dreams come true.

After the initial surprise, humanity split into two camps. The toilers, the exploited and poor, the peoples oppressed and crushed by every kind of injustice, people of lofty ideas and noble spirit, people of lofty ideas and power and the new State, known at the time as the Soviet Republic, as the beginning of a profound transformation of society as a whole. Later, this conviction grew stronger, became more widespread, was confirmed by facts and became the starting point and the basis for a radical renovation of the entire progressive movement of the toilers and peoples.

On the other hand, there began

an unbridled and brazen campaign of absurd accusations, lies and slander and then armed intervention, blockade, economic sabotage and wars of extermination against the land of Soviets—a campaign which has continued for the past 34 years and the end of which is not in sight.

There were different moments in this campaign and in the struggle against the October Revolution and the power created by it. At different moments the roles sometimes changed. What was said by Hitler in his day is now repeated by Mr. Acheson, and Scelba imitates Mussolini. Anti-Soviet posters put up yesterday by the traitors from the "Salo Republic" (Puppet fascist republic set up by Mussolini in the city of Salo at the end of the Second World War.—*Ed.*) are put up today by the Clerical Party. And gone are the days when even the priests maintained a forced silence because their freedom, too, was defended and upheld by the Soviet peoples in the heroic struggle to smash fascism. Today, as can be seen clearly, Truman and the Pope, dictator Franco and Labor Party leaders, hypocrites, liberal philosophers and fascist criminals have again combined in an anti-Soviet front.

It is useless to draw the attention of these people to the facts, useless to point out to them the real nature of things. The uninterrupted economic progress, without crises,

which has continued for over three decades; industry built anew; transformation of agriculture; abolition of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and ignorance; two invasions beaten off, two victorious wars, and, most important, the fact that two hundred million people who hold power rule themselves, moulding their civic consciousness by means of constant discussion, study and collective solution of all the production problems which constitute the basis of social life,—what does all this mean to these people?!

The only thing that matters for them is that the power and the State which arose after the October Revolution differ fundamentally from all that had previously existed and which exist at present: the power and the State of working people who are no longer exploited, who, at last, have won freedom. This is sufficient for all those who call themselves the pillars of present-day society, based on division into classes and on the exploitation of one class by another, to combine in a single front and talk the same language.

Blindly championing this society with all its injustice, absurdity and vileness, they deny obvious facts; they lie and slander. They are no longer capable of understanding that in sowing mistrust and animosity in relation to the Soviet Union, they issue calls to hate and anathematize the greater part of humanity. And

this already contains their sentence. They have lost all sense of human feeling; they are narrow, class egoists, and raving madmen.

Despite this, the impact of the system founded in the Soviet Union, far from diminishing after the bright flash of the early years, makes itself felt more and more.

I

What happened in the past? Other revolutions deeply agitated people and the nations beyond the borders of those societies where they took place. But where was the prestige of the English Revolution twenty years later? After the fall of the Republic, the dominant position of Britain in Europe was determined not so much by ideological influence as by how its bourgeoisie was able to become the richest in the world, exploiting its working people and ruthlessly stamping out the trade of other nations.

What happened in France within the lifetime of a single generation to the impulse given to history as a whole by the French revolution? It led to a society in which freedom and equality existed only for the upper layer of property owners, to a regime which destroyed fraternity and exhausted itself in predatory wars.

In 1813—twenty-four years after the French Revolution—the nations of Europe rallied at Leipzig to regain their freedom from the tyranny

that followed the bourgeois revolution. In 1945 twenty-eight years after the October Revolution—Soviet soldiers, sons of the Socialist Revolution, saved in Berlin the freedom of all European peoples.

The revolutionary uprising of the Chinese people against the colonial regime had enormous significance, but there, too, the establishment of power, similar to that which arose as a result of the October Revolution, was necessary to enable the Chinese people to win victory and to ensure that their victory, like a beacon, illumined the road for many other peoples.

The impact of the October Revolution is constantly growing because the class which carried out this Revolution—the working class—takes power into its hands not for the purpose of creating privileges for itself to the detriment of another section of mankind, but in order to abolish for ever the conditions which give rise to all privilege, all oppression and all exploitation of man by man; consequently, this power contains and embodies all that is progressive and liberating. Its successes and its victories are designed to benefit all that seeks to develop, all that must develop.

Upon coming to power, the working class respects, develops and makes its own all genuine liberating and progressive principles advanced by the previous revolutions. This is due not so much to ideological reasons as to the fact that the his-

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torical conditions of moulding and developing the working class compel it to take power and to use its power for reorganizing, along new lines, the basis of society, the system of production, and, arising from this, relations between people. When exploitation is abolished and replaced by rational system and co-operation, only then do freedom, equality and fraternity between people begin to triumph. In this way the principles of democracy find in the principles of Socialism, and in them alone, their complete realization.

In some political circles it is constantly repeated that irreconcilable antagonism divides democracy and Socialism, that while profound economic reforms are desirable, he who seeks to realize them ends by suppressing and restricting the rights of citizens, that it is impossible to replace an economy based on private capitalist property by a collective economy without departing from liberalism and democracy and heading for tyranny. The influence of these doctrines explains the fact that, even now, there are people who ask whether the social reforms we demand will not lead to the abolition of democratic institutions. But why don't these people look at the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism, where the broadest and most consistent democratic life was achieved precisely by means of establishing a collective economy?

If we turn our gaze to the opposite

side, we shall find, that outside the Soviet Union and the countries following its example, in no other place in the world have profound and permanent economic reforms been carried out, reforms capable of abolishing exploitation and of leading to the disappearance of the division of society into classes. All the gains of the workers and working people achieved in the other so-called democratic countries, are restricted and unstable. They were wrested by means of arduous struggle and are in danger of being completely wiped out as soon as they begin to make serious inroads on the privileges of the propertied classes. To preserve these privileges intact, no matter what the cost, the propertied classes stop at nothing in restricting and even liquidating elementary democratic liberties altogether. Such was the practice of fascism and there are many of its followers who would like to act now in the same way. The conclusion must be drawn, therefore, that not only social justice but even freedom and democracy are now incompatible with the old capitalist economy which has outlived its day.

One must not confuse freedom and democracy with the specific forms of organization of a political regime, such as, for example, elected parliaments functioning on a definite model, certain political parties and so forth. It rarely happens that a parliament precisely expresses class

relations, interests and views in the given country. As a rule, the dominant position of the groups owning the means of production, and consequently, also the wealth, prevent such precise expression. The very character of the organization of society divided into classes, is such that the dominant class always disposes of possibilities for rallying to its side huge masses of electors whom it is able to deceive, intimidate, partly corrupt and distract in every way from genuinely expressing their will by means of the suffrage.

When, as a result of the persistent action of the democratic and socialist vanguard, such as the Communists and Socialists in Italy, for example, the votes cast for the propertied, dominant classes, decline to a degree entailing the risk of losing power by way of parliamentary democracy, other means are resorted to. Then the church intervenes with its excommunication of all who do not vote for the masters. And when this instrument of spiritual terror becomes blunted, electoral laws are amended in a way that the large is artificially made small and the majority becomes the minority. Clearly, such action cannot be regarded as the embodiment of democracy. Quite the reverse.

The same can be said of the notorious multi-party system and the replacing of the parties in power. The tendency of all political regimes in the countries of contemporary capitalism is to preserve in the camp

of the dominant classes this multi-party system and to change the party in power only as an outward form, in the guise of which a single political leadership is organized and established in the interests of the more powerful groups of these classes. The necessary compromises for exercising this leadership are reached in secret, and parliament is no longer the arena of serious struggle between these parties. Italy is a most interesting example of this tendency.

Every hard-headed person will clearly understand that the system of parliamentary democracy, which some try to portray as the sole form of democracy, is one of the transient historical forms of democracy, at present degenerating more and more and losing its democratic character. The carrying out of profound economic transformations in the economic foundations of society cannot but transform also the forms of this regime.

II

If we go to the root of the matter, we must say, in the first place, that democracy consists of ensuring rights for the people, but equal rights for all; where this equality is lacking there is either no democracy or it is restricted. Secondly, democracy implies power in the hands of the people and its utilization in the interests of the people. Only where this condition obtains can we speak of a democratic system.

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In the past some regimes were called democratic. People, for instance, talk about Athenian democracy. In Athens, however, not only did they not think in terms of equal rights for all, but there was a huge mass of people—slaves—who were regarded in much the same way as today we look upon domestic animals. There is not the slightest doubt that the day will come when present day, so-called Western democratic, capitalist regimes, will be also evaluated as being a long way from democracy, since they do not provide equal rights for all.

The more progressive bourgeois revolutions provided equal liberties for those who owned wealth and the means of production, including the right to utilize this wealth and the means of production for their own benefit. But the overwhelming majority is far from enjoying this basic right. Therefore, it is deprived of the possibility of making full use of all other rights. There remains only freedom to work, but economic life is so arranged that at a given moment even this freedom disappears, and, with it, the possibility of human existence. All existing societies and states, except the socialist states, are based on this decisive inequality.

In Italy, as all can see, the chairman of the Confederation of Industrialists and magnates like him have unlimited rights. They are free to dispose of their billions as they think fit, to invest them in industry, to

provide or not provide employment, to hoard capital or spend it. They are free to develop their activity in all directions: issue orders to a multitude of people, close down enterprises, impose short-time, write letters vilifying the national parliament, and nothing will happen to them; they can buy up newspapers and journals, printed in large editions, and, through their medium, mould public opinion to suit their tastes and interests. And, if it is in their interests to do so, they are likewise free to fix wages and prices that entail a heavy burden for the people and ruin the national economy. But can these rights of theirs be called democratic? Of course not, because they are enjoyed only by a privileged minority, because they conflict with the general interests. For these reasons it would be ridiculous to say that the regime established in the United States is democratic, because in essence it is based on this unrestricted freedom for big plutocrats, guarantees their leadership of all public life and even of public opinion, a regime in which there is no real freedom for a struggle between parties, and in which only a pale shadow of parliamentary life remains.

Of course, in Italy there are democratic rights, those inscribed in the Constitution of the Republic. But Italian citizens have only to recall recent events in our history in order to appreciate things as they are. We enjoy these rights today because the working class and the people, led

by their advanced parties, succeeded in obtaining, wresting and safeguarding them. They were not given to us in the form of a present, and certainly not by the Anglo-American authorities who, in Greece, where they were able to act as they pleased, installed a fascist dictatorship in power. The rights won by us must serve the propertyless classes, enable them to organize themselves and demand better conditions and participation in state management.

The greater the successes won by the working people along this path, the more democratic rights become an obstacle in the way of the dominant classes, fetters which they wish to shake off, and the Constitution—a trap from which they try to escape. When systematic utilization of democratic rights gives a deep insight into social relations, discloses the need to change the economic structure so that all can enjoy equal rights, the ruling classes deny and dispute even the formal right to freedom. When the strength, consciousness, organization and independence of the movement of the working class and working people become such that the working class and working people inevitably demand a place among the forces directing the entire national life, then all vestiges of democracy are discarded by the dominant classes in order to prevent this.

By means of legislation, as was the case under fascism, implanting corresponding customs and government practices, as is being done now, there

is being fostered hateful discrimination in relation to people, with the result that the only ones regarded as being worthy and of value are those who have no desire whatever for, or who are not yet conscious of, the need for a radical reorganizing of the economy, that is, representatives of the dominant classes and those who support them in power. All others become outcasts and should they, in any given organization, acquire a majority by democratic means, this organization is no longer regarded as democratic and is made illegal.

Agreements are signed between states, ruled by capitalists, for the purpose of resorting even to armed intervention and war in order to prevent the upper hand being won, even by the most legal means, or mere participation in state administration, by those masses of workers and working people who have rejected the control and yoke of the dominant classes and appear on the historical arena with their own program of radical renovation.

We do not deny that progressive bourgeois revolutions, such as the Great French Revolution of 1789, extended the concept of democracy and affirmed certain fundamental rights for citizens. But when we turn our eyes to the countries still languishing under capitalist domination, to all of them without exception, that is, to the camp of notorious Western democracy, we see that the political regime in this camp conflicts more and more with democratic principles, de-

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minia- nies them and threatens to abolish them completely, as was the case under fascism. We believe that this is not fortuitous, that it is the direct and inevitable consequence of the fact that, in states with such a regime, the economic base has not changed and cannot change, its basic function remains the preservation of capitalist privilege.

We celebrate annually the October Revolution and call upon all democrats to celebrate it, because this revolution alone laid the foundation of a new society, in which, after reorganizing the economic base, democracy swept aside the last obstacles in its path, engendered by the capitalist system.

It is embodied in the social and political system where equal rights exist for all, where power is in the hands of all and where all live exclusively by their own labor.

There is no democracy where society is split in two; on the one hand, the exploited, on the other—the exploiters, on the one hand, the oppressed, on the other—oppressors. But where, excluding the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the great Chinese People's Republic, is there a society which has overcome or is overcoming this class division, where there are regimes which would help, would accelerate overcoming this division? Until this division into classes is overcome there can be no unity of the people, no genuine solidarity or co-operation, no fraternity among all citizens.

There is no democracy where the leadership of society has not passed into the hands of the working people, and, in the first instance, into the hands of the working class and its parties. But where, apart from the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the great Chinese People's Republic, is there a country in which this has been accomplished or is being accomplished? In the so-called Western world working people and workers are only regarded worthy of assuming power when they are recruited into the party of the dominant class, that is, when they forsake their cherished hopes, their ideals and their independence.

There is no democracy where equal rights are not recognized not only for all citizens, but also for all peoples, irrespective of the color of their skin, race, history or nature of civilization. A regime cannot be regarded as democratic which bases its own existence and its own strength on the abolition of freedom for other peoples, on threatening their independence and peace. The British government, which denies the people of Iran the right to dispose of the wealth of their own soil, which by violence and armed force occupies territory belonging to the people of Egypt, is not a democratic government. Nor can those Americans be called democratic who employ force and intrigue, corruption and arms, who interfere in the life of all other nations, establish military bases in all parts of the globe with a view to

dominating the world. Imperialism is the very opposite, the destroyer of democracy. Only under a socialist system, such as exists in the Soviet Union, can different peoples live in peace, equality and in fraternal cooperation.

It is not we, Communists and Socialists, who should be asked whether we uphold and shall always uphold democracy; rather it is we who should ask the stubborn adherents—through naivete or evil intent—of the so-called Western political systems: has not the time come for them to understand that that which they are defending, even though progressive in the past, is now a degenerating political form retarding democratic progress, and which, day after day, more and more openly denies the very principles of democracy? We are defending all the democratic gains that still exist within the framework of these regimes, because they were won by the peoples.

III

Today it is no longer possible to refrain from going forward towards establishing equal rights for all, to unity of the entire nation, to workers and working people ruling the State, to equality before the law and in practice for all nations. The experience of some of the biggest and most advanced countries in Western Europe already shows that stubborn refusal or delay in taking this path, the genuinely democratic path,

throw the traditionally bourgeois-capitalist regimes into a deep crisis which cannot be concealed either by maneuvering or half-measures. To overcome and surmount this crisis is possible only to the extent that the transition from the kingdom of formal rights, and at the same time, of flagrant inequality and injustice, to a genuinely democratic system is realized by reorganizing the economic foundations of society along socialist lines.

Hence, it is untrue to say that it is impossible to achieve Socialism without abolishing democracy and freedom; the truth of the matter is that realization of Socialism saves and develops democracy, transforms it, for the first time, into genuine freedom and equality for all people and all nations. The clearer it becomes that there is no other way of realizing this aim apart from that shown by the peoples of the Soviet Union, the more inevitable it becomes for all mankind to take this path.

But who, from the industrialist posing as "father of workers," to the priest, from the bellicose general to the unprincipled politician, has not at least once declared himself a socialist and who, at one time or another, has not accused his opponents of adhering to Socialism, insisting that they be despised and persecuted? Socialism is the dream of the degraded and outraged and is in nobody's way so long as it remains a dream. But when it develops into a real force, into an organized move-

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ment and—after the October Revolution—is embodied in the most powerful State in the world, all enemies are ready to unite, asserting that this State must be destroyed.

Socialism is the affirmation of the new rights of the human personality, which matured historically as a result of the formation and development of a new social class—the working class. More than half a century ago, Antonio Labriola, one of the most eminent Italian thinkers of the nineteenth century, spoke about such human rights as the right to live, the right to work, to full payment for work and the right to culture. Where are these new rights not only inscribed in the Constitution, but the property of all? Only in the Soviet Union, only in the countries where the economy has been socialized. Only in the Soviet Union, and thanks to the October Revolution, were the conditions that ensured the realization of these new rights, created. Of these conditions two are decisive: changing the economic foundation of society and guaranteeing uninterrupted economic development. The first is closely linked with the second.

The economic base of society is transformed when the means of production and exchange pass into the hands of the people, when they are brought into motion in accordance with an economic plan, dictated not by a desire of procuring profit for individuals, but in the interests of the commonweal, when, consequently, exploitation of man by man and

of class by class, disappears. This transformation, in its turn, is the starting point for uninterrupted development of public wealth, firstly, because it is not hampered by the crises which periodically shake capitalism, and also because it is achieved not by enriching some and impoverishing others, not by means of plunder of the peoples by a handful of imperialists, but by mutual co-operation and in the common interest, by preserving and strengthening friendship and fraternal relations among people and nations.

Therein lies the profound value of the economic progress, new in history, achieved as a result of the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plans carried out after the socialist power had successfully repelled the armed intervention of the entire capitalist world.

The first Five-Year Plan (1928-32) transformed Russia from a primarily agrarian country into an industrial country, ensured the advance of Socialism in town and countryside, laid the foundation of socialist society. The second Five-Year Plan (1933-37) completely abolished capitalism in both industry and agriculture, made it possible to complete the building of this society. The third Plan was designed to achieve the goal of catching up with and outstripping the more economically advanced capitalist countries, but was cut short by the Hitlerite aggression and the Great Patriotic War, which ended in the brilliant victory of the

Soviet Army over German imperialism and its allies.

It will not be amiss to recall that during the 15 years that preceded the last war, the Soviet Union reached a stage of development that took the most advanced capitalist countries some 80 years, but with this difference, that in those 80 years capitalism had experienced at least ten crises, and, as a result of these crises, millions of unemployed, enormous destruction of wealth and of the economic resources of society.

The now irrefutable superiority of Socialism was again confirmed in the postwar period. The Soviet Union sooner than all other countries devastated by the invaders healed the wounds caused by the war. Today, the output of Soviet industry is double that of 1940. The benefits enjoyed by society have accrued to an extent which made possible four successive price reductions, ranging from 35-70 per cent. The results attained in all spheres of the economy created the possibility for successfully tackling new tasks in the sphere of effecting profound changes in nature itself, with a view to making conditions more favorable for people and their labor. This is done not by staging paltry "festivals of the trees" arranged for the purpose of lauding this or that prematurely aged minister, but by means of planting climate-changing forest shelter belts tens and hundreds of metres wide and thousands of kilometres long, by creating in deserts and steppes new rivers and

large lakes, by irrigating tens of thousands of square kilometres of land, by building new hydro-electric stations, by generating electric power equivalent to the total produced by some Western states, as for example, in our country. These transformations and the new construction guarantee an abundance of products and thus pave the way for the transition from Socialism to Communism—to a system in which people will work according to ability and receive according to need. We point to these transformations and the new construction—gigantic in scale and calling for strenuous effort on the part of all the people—for the benefit of those who want visual proof that the Soviet Union is devoting all its energy not to preparing war, but to the cause of peaceful construction. The so-called Western democracies are doing the very opposite.

IV

In the conditions of a socialist society people are reeducated. A new man is moulded. Illiteracy is wiped out and the last vestiges of obscurantism, superstition and ignorance disappear. Secondary and higher education, and science are accessible to the people. Works by classical and contemporary writers and science books are sold in numbers that we would regard as astronomical. But that which, in particular, is changing, is the basis of culture—orientating man for the solution of vital problems.

In the part of the world in which we live, where capitalism continues to exist, although there is ever greater proof of the fact that it is incapable of ensuring the peaceful existence and progress of mankind, all acknowledge that culture, the spiritual and moral life of the people, are experiencing a profound, insurmountable crisis. The modern secular thought—the mechanism of the development of civilization in recent centuries—seems to have exhausted all its possibilities, it has entered into a blind alley from which it can see no outlet. Beginning with the lauding of man as the center of the universe and with boundless faith in human reason, this idea at a definite moment rejected the consequences arising from its principles, refused to admit that the very development of capitalist economy and the rise of the working class as the main, active element in economic life, sets the task of transforming all economic and social relations including the creation of a new society, organized and directed by the people in accordance with common interests, that is a socialist society. Bourgeois society, which has reached its culminating point, in order to preserve itself, denies this outcome. But this inevitably causes a crisis in the very thinking which was the spiritual nourishment of this society. The last word of bourgeois philosophy is despair. The last word of bourgeois art is departure from reality, contempt for clear and understandable things, fruitless gabble.

Instead of a concrete approach to the understanding of historical phenomena there are sceptical assertions of spiritless variations of one and the same phenomena. The proud faith of man in the creative power of his reason and in progress has disappeared. Old idols, and time-worn superstitions come to the surface. This atmosphere of scepticism, of renunciation and disintegration penetrates all spheres of the intellect, all spheres of moral life.

On the contrary, man's confidence in himself, in his intellect, future and progress, is upheld, extended and renovated in the new conception of the world given to us by Marxism which teaches us how man becomes the conscious creator both of social relations and of his entire history. This new conception is concretely embodied in the construction of Socialist and Communist society. Therefore, in this society man finds himself once again; elementary human feelings shine with a new light; they become once more the daily connecting-link in relations between people working jointly for the commonweal.

Those who, in speaking of the Soviet Union, restrict themselves solely to its economic and material successes and to the political transformations, commit a mistake. These successes are truly magnificent, but what evokes the greatest astonishment is the people—people who in the space of a single generation have lived in a society that is marching forward

according to new laws and under new leadership; they know neither fear of the State, fear for the future, nor do they fear threats on the part of the raving lunatics—the leaders of the aggressive imperialist states. This imparts to the Soviet people great confidence in themselves, makes them simple and open-hearted. Love for the homeland, devotion to the family, emancipated from hypocrisy and compulsion, dignity and respect for the individual, open mutual criticism and sincerity—all leave a special imprint on these people. Self-criticism, exercised collectively, becomes the soul of the new dialectical development of social life as a whole. For the first time in history—and not just in school-stories and sermons, but in real life—labor has become a matter of honor for all, the source of all benefits. Any, even the most modest worker, who, relying on his labor and completely mastering his trade and process of work, develops his personality and sense of responsibility, opens up for himself the pathway to leading activity, and feels himself a conscious, free and equal member of society which marches onward due to the organized and planned work of all its members. Women enjoy equal rights with men. The youth has confidence in itself and in its future, it is threatened neither by the violence of masters and the government, nor by economic crises, natural calamities and the prospect of becoming cannon fodder. Its future depends on study and work,

on the joint activities of the entire generation aimed at conquering nature, at perfecting social relations, at a more just sharing of wealth, at securing peace.

Yes, labor is accompanied by discipline, both in the individual enterprise and in defining the goals of one or another branch of industry, i.e., in distributing work among all branches. It is precisely this discipline that is upheld by Socialism against liberal anarchy of capitalism, which gives rise to chaos and poverty. We want to see a social discipline that is accepted, carried out and controlled by all. It is understandable and correct that in this new society, which no longer knows either classes or rival economic groups seeking to devour each other, different political parties disappear and the most advanced citizens combine in a single political organism which is entrusted not only to guide but also to educate the entire people in the practice and spirit of Socialism. It is clear that in this new society statesmen can see in war nothing but barbarity and lunacy, since the sources of economic development lie in society itself, and not in violence or enslavement of other peoples; respect for the independence of all nations is the very essence of Socialism.

It is absurd and senseless to accuse us of searching in the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism, in its achievements and the principles that made them possible, for orientation and leadership in our activities. It is logi-

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cal and correct that that section of the working class, which, marching along the correct path, succeeded in winning grand victories and attaining grand achievements—having taken power into its hands and having built socialist society—should orientate and guide all other detachments of the international proletariat. At one time, the progressive bourgeoisie also took orientation and guidance from the example of those of its groups which won their way to power in Britain and France. Why now, when the workers have become the leaders of the State, cannot they transmit their experience to the entire international proletariat? Is it not ridiculous to see how this evokes indignation precisely among those Social-Democratic leaders and those venal hacks in the different parties who are second to none in their zeal to serve, for cash, capitalist governments, and who lick the feet of the capitalists and render them every service?

The history of mankind, and in particular the history of the European and colonial peoples over the past thirty years, has been far from easy. It was not always easy to orientate oneself at first sight in the crises, upheavals, and shocks caused by the prolonged agony of the capitalist regime. Naturally, the toilers and the peoples sought a guide. But who could have acted as guide? Could we have followed the aged Mr. Churchill who admired Mussolini and who hates all liberation move-

ments of the oppressed and unfortunate peoples? Or Mr. de Gasperi and his friends, who so trustingly voted for Mussolini and enabled him to build up the fascist regime? Could we have found a guide among the U.S. big monopolies which gave striking examples of ability to destroy immeasurable wealth for the sake of their profits? Could we have followed those Social-Democratic leaders and Parliamentary majority groups in the countries of Western Europe, who by their policy strangled the Spanish Democratic Republic and paved the way for the dark fascist and clerical tyranny in Spain? Or those "wise" politicians who pledged their support to Hitler in Munich if only he would attack the Soviet Union, and who sacrificed, by way of guarantee for this support, the independent Czechoslovak State?

Obviously, it was impossible to find either guides or useful counsel here. But, from the October Socialist Revolution, from the State which it brought into being, from the Party and the people who brought this Revolution to victory and this State to triumph over internal and external enemies, to success in the most difficult situations—we always received the right example and correct guidance.

V

In 1917 we were at the cross-roads of history. When the peoples emerged from the terrible catastrophe of the

first world war, when half of Europe lay in ruins, it became clear to all rational people that the cause of the catastrophe had to be sought in the very structure of the capitalist system—the source of the increasingly profound antagonisms and ulcers of imperialism. It was necessary to do away with capitalism, to overthrow imperialism and take the path of Socialism. This path was blazed for all by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by Lenin and Stalin. How many new catastrophes could have been avoided had all Europe been able then to appreciate and follow this path! However, it was appreciated by the best section of workers, the working people and intelligentsia; this resulted in the emergence of the European and world Communist movement, which today constitutes an impressive international force confident of victory.

Time passed. Having healed their most grievous wounds, the bourgeois leaders and their Social-Democratic lackeys began to preach that all the evil had been exhausted, that capitalism had achieved stabilization and would now develop peacefully. This time, too, the leaders of the Great October Revolution, of the Soviet State and the Bolshevik Party warned against falling for this deceit, that the stabilization was but temporary stabilization, and that it would be a grave mistake to believe once again in the old instead of orientating on the new which arose under the slogan of Socialism. The terrible crisis

which, beginning with 1929, shook the capitalist world, and, at the same time, the triumphant onward march of socialist construction in the Soviet Union soon showed who was right.

Fascism came into being, first in its Italian, Balkan and Polish forms, and later in the more consistent and brutal shape of Hitlerism. It was Stalin who helped all to perceive the essence of fascism, describing it as the open dictatorship of the most reactionary imperialist elements of capital. More and more, fascism revealed itself as the enemy of civilization, and it was the Soviet Union and its leaders who called upon all peoples to rally for the purpose of combating and destroying this enemy in order, above all, to prevent it from unleashing the war for which it strove and from which the peoples only recently emerged. Neither the bourgeois governments and the hierarchy of the Catholic church, nor the Social-Democratic leaders showed any desire to understand this call; they played openly with fascism, patronized it or helped it indirectly by disrupting the anti-fascist unity of the working people. Spain, Munich and the inglorious end of the League of Nations—all are proof of this. Had the call of the Soviet Union been taken to heart in time, there would, in all probability, have been no World War Two.

And when war broke out due to fascism and to those who rejected anti-fascist unity, the Soviet Union and Stalin, having done everything

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possible to avert the scourge of war from the land of Socialism, showed to the peoples that the way to war could have been barred had all people, all nations and all states which, in one or other degree, called themselves democratic and which were threatened by Hitlerism and fascism, really combined their forces and jointly, simultaneously and without any ulterior motives, combated and crushed the common enemy. We, Italians, do not know when and how we would have liberated ourselves from fascism and foreign invasion without this consistent activity of the Soviet Union. During the past decade, this activity has inspired the movement and struggle of all peoples for freedom.

And today? Today the camp of democracy has extended to a degree that has surpassed all expectations. In this camp there are rallied the peoples and states of Eastern and Central Europe. In this camp there are rallied the great 450-million Chinese people, and from this new center of profound social transformations a new revolutionary wave is rolling across the entire vast continent of Asia.

Miserable indeed is the look of the mould-covered "Western democrats" who believe that they are the salt of the earth just because of the role played by Western Europe in the past. Some countries and some philosophical and political trends in Western Europe were in the vanguard when the banner of freedom for the

peoples, for democracy and Socialism was unfurled. And if the center of gravity of the civilized world is shifting, this is due to the fact that today this banner is borne aloft by the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the Chinese People's Republic. A new unity of the world, on a new basis, is being effected.

Once again—and I think this is realized by all who have not lost their senses—mankind is at the crossroads. Woe to him who does not reckon with this. The system of capitalism and imperialism has reached the point when it can no longer develop without giving rise to new enormous catastrophes. What path is indicated to mankind by the United States of America where capitalism is still strongest? In order to avert a terrible economic crisis of unprecedented dimensions, they are going all out to intensify the struggle for world domination. The lunatic designs of Hitler are revived. The countries of Europe which at one time were in the vanguard establishing the independence of nations, are being converted by the U.S. into colonies and semi-colonies. The U.S. is destroying the economy of these countries with a view to subordinating it to its own requirements; it is dividing the peoples, splitting mankind into two, preaching class hatred against Socialism with a frenzy characteristic only of fascists. It is ferociously instigating its satellites with the aim of driving them into the abyss of another war of extermina-

tion. This is one path.

Another path is recognition of the indisputable fact that democracy and Socialism have won throughout a vast part of the world, that the peoples must be free to choose the economic and political forms desired by them, that different economic and political systems can and must co-exist peacefully, without military conflicts, and without threatening each other with war. This path is once again indicated to the people by the Soviet Union which extends its hand, on behalf of the victorious working class, on behalf of Socialism, to all peoples who love freedom, to all people who cherish peace. The choice is of decisive significance. Peace or war, freedom or slavery, progress or destruction, competition and co-operation between the peoples, or, irreparable division of the world into two armed camps for the purpose of mutual extermination. The Soviet Union—the country which no one succeeded in suppressing when it had barely taken shape; which proved to be more powerful than all the enemies who had combined against it, and which smashed the monstrous military machine that none could halt—this State offers peace to all, destruction and prohibition of the annihilating weapons of war, and arms reduction; it submits proposals for ending world conflicts and the signing of a Pact that would banish any prospect of war. The Soviet Union addresses the world only with those words that evoke hope and confi-

dence in the hearts of all people.

Today it should be clear to all why we regard the Soviet Union, its peoples, the Bolshevik Party and the men who lead the Party, with such admiration, gratitude and respect. In order to create such a powerful country and to secure for it such prestige, this Party and these people passed through the most trying ordeals: three revolutions, two world wars, two foreign invasions. They triumphed because they possess the correct teaching—Marxism—which was developed and applied by Lenin and Stalin in the new conditions of imperialism, in the conditions of victorious revolution and construction of socialist society. They triumphed because they are at the head of the most progressive force of our day—the working class. They succeeded in rallying around the working class the entire working masses of town and countryside, all progressive forces. They triumphed because they were not frightened by any difficulties, and were ruthless in exposing and combatting all enemies and traitors; heading the State, they never lost contact with the people from whom they came and with whom their entire existence, all their thoughts and activities are linked. This is the reason why we look with such admiration, gratitude and respect to Stalin—pupil and comrade of Lenin, the most brilliant statesman and most profound thinker of our time, the man who can speak with

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the most simple worker and lead millions-strong armies to victory; who, from the most complex facts and most difficult problems, is able simply and clearly to extract the truth which illumines, and the counsel which teaches.

Today, as at all decisive moments of the long historical period separating us from the victory of the October Revolution, we are confident that the sole correct path for mankind is the path indicated and offered to the world by the Soviet Union and Stalin who heads it. This is the path of Socialism, i.e., the path of democracy, socialist justice and progress. This is the path of extending the activities of the progressive forces, which, in conditions of peace among the peoples, must lead in every country to reorganization of the economic structure, to complete abolition of the privileges of the dominant classes, and to the formation of a classless society. This is the path of peaceful co-existence

of different economic and social systems, a path ensuring the necessary progress for civilization with the least sacrifice and the least risk. We suggest this path for all, and shall do everything in our power to ensure that mankind as a whole takes this path. But if, unfortunately for all, the lunatics heading the camp of dying imperialism, lose their heads completely and try to hurl the people into the abyss of another war, then—and of this we are confident—by our strength, the strength of the working class and of the peoples who want independence and peace, and by the might of all peace-loving states, and in the first place the might of the Soviet Union and the wisdom of its leaders, the road of these lunatics will be barred and they will get the lesson they deserve. A new world, really united in building a new, Socialist society, must and will arise from the ruins of capitalism and imperialism.

History of the Communist Party in the United States

By William Z. Foster

(Introductory note by Alexander Bittelman)

For years we have been dreaming of a history of the American Communist Party. For many years we have been trying to build up the material and ideological basis for that much desired and much needed book. Now we are going to have it. Foster has written it. It has gone to the printers. And here is the table of contents.

According to Wall Street and its thought-controlling government, the Communist Party of the United States is "a foreign importation and un-American." Bring Foster's book to the masses of the people and they will learn the truth.

They will learn from Foster's beautifully told story and profound Marxist analysis that our Party is as native and American as the American working class, in fact, as the birth of the American nation itself. They will learn further that while the present day rulers of the United States—the capitalist monopolies and their servants—are daily discarding and betraying the precious revolutionary and democratic traditions of the American people, destroying the Bill of Rights and leading the nation to fascism and wars of conquest, the Communist Party of the United States is proudly carrying forward these liberating traditions. It is making these great traditions live once more in the present day historic battles of the American people for peace, democracy, equal rights for the Negro people and the defense of the living standards of the masses.

According to the assassins of the Bill of Rights, the tools of the fascist and warmongering monopolies, our Party is "a conspiracy to advocate force and violence." Bring Foster's book to the masses of the people and let them learn the truth.

They will learn the history of the birth, growth and development of an American working class political party of a new type. This party was brought into existence by the class conscious American workers at a time in the world's history when the capitalist system had entered its highest and last stage—imperialism—and a new social system was emerging—Socialism. Our party came into existence as an American party of Marxism-Leninism, a party which believes that Marxism-Leninism is the only Marxism of the imperialist era.

What is the true nature of this party of a new type? Foster's book gives the answer. It shows that the Communist Party of the United States, through its entire life of more than three decades, has loyally and self-sacrificingly fought for the best interests of the American working class and its allies—the Negro people,

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the working farmers, the city middle classes. It shows that this party of a new type is destined to lead the American working class to victory over the monopoly warmongers and fascists and—from there—to the struggle for Socialism.

How have American Communists used their theories and Marxist-Leninist teachings to promote the advance of the American working class to leadership in the nation? What policies and programs of action have they produced and applied to build the alliance of the working class with the Negro people, the working farmers and city middle classes? How is the Party being built, how does it function, what is its role in the daily struggles of the masses, what is the content of its inner life? How does the Party fight opportunism and bourgeois influences in its midst?

Foster's book gives the answers. Prepare to learn, study and popularize the *History of the Communist Party of the United States* and its great lessons for today and to-morrow.

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The Importance of Communist Cadres

By Gus Hall

[Federal Judge Ryan's sentence of three years upon Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party, on top of Judge Medina's five-year sentence against Hall for his conviction under the Smith Act, is one outrage piled on top of another. . . . The brutal extension of Gus Hall's sentence and the other outrages being perpetrated against him and other Communist prisoners and defendants constitute a grave assault upon the people's democratic liberties. They indicate the serious danger of fascism in this country. They must be brought to a halt. Protest against the persecution of Gus Hall! Demand the release of all the Communist and other political prisoners! Insist the Smith, McCarran, Voorhis and Taft-Hartley laws be repealed!]

From the statement of the National Committee of the Communist Party issued on December 28, 1951.

(A speech made to a meeting of Communist Party Activists in Cleveland, Ohio, on June 13, 1951.)

THE VERY serious national and international situation in which we are meeting sets the stage for a self-critical evaluation and a summary of some specific phases of our work.

The evaluation could very well start by a criticism of such a statement as the above. Because why should an occasion arise, why should the stage be set for a self-critical discussion of our work? This is necessary only because we as a party have yet not fully mastered and do not yet sufficiently practice criticism and self-criticism. We do not yet see it as a key to our style of work, as a

law of political growth, a law of developing a correct policy and tactics. Without criticism and self-criticism a party or an individual cannot grow politically, or, for that matter, cannot even stand still politically but must necessarily stagnate and slide backwards. Self-criticism is for our Party what teeth are for gears of a transmission. Gears without teeth will continue turning, but no power or motion will result.

Despite certain advances that have been made in the recent period, there is still a great reluctance to criticism and self-criticism that is open and public in our Party. Because of this it very often happens that the membership does not know even about those critical examinations and dis-

cussions that do take place in the leading committees of our Party. Very often, publicly, in place of self-criticism we cover up our weaknesses and mistakes by rationalizations and excuses. There are altogether too many subjective and personal reactions to criticism. In such situations the ears become red, the eyes glare, the voices rise and objectivity goes out of the window.

Too often we hint about someone's weaknesses, or for that matter our own, but do not state them openly, directly and straight from the shoulder. The reason for this is that we lack confidence in the cadres. We think they will take it subjectively. We think their feelings will be hurt; and, at times we tend to behave this way so that criticism will not come in our direction. It is a kind of back-scratching insurance against criticism.

We "admit" mistakes under pressure, but then too often without any attempt to dig for the reasons, for the roots of such mistakes.

Too often irresponsible and rash statements which are destructive go under the label of criticism. What is forgotten is that the aim of criticism is to improve our work as a collective and the work of each individual.

Very often our self-criticism consists only of words and results in no change for the better in our daily activities. This is especially true because it so often remains within the leading committee. Empty talk is possibly a better word for it.

There is a callous indifference, and a reluctance, as concerns hearing

from, and listening to, criticism from the membership and from non-Party masses. Very often a correct struggle against "irresponsible gossip" and "anti-leadership tendencies" becomes a shield against necessary constructive criticism of the leadership.

Criticism and self-criticism are the strongest antidote to bureaucracy and bureaucratic methods of work. Bureaucracy, like poison, spreads throughout the system if the antidote is missing.

Then we have some comrades who think that all there is to self-criticism and criticism is to keep a sharp eye for mistakes and for what is wrong, and to denounce mistakes. Very often these comrades jump with glee and uncontrolled enthusiasm because they have found an error or a weakness in someone else's work. They spend most of their time Sherlock Holmes fashion in hunting for the "wrong word." In most cases these comrades have very little constructive suggestions and in most cases completely ignore problems arising from leading masses in struggle. Therefore, the "wrong word" is usually discussed in complete abstraction from time, circumstances, or place. Our Party does not need critics who have no other function.

Criticism and self-criticism must become a daily method of work, a part of the approach to our work arising from our sincere desire constantly to improve our work as individuals and as a party. It is a necessary antidote to bureaucracy, corruption, sloppiness, self-centering, stereo-

type, and many other basic weaknesses that exist. It is the method by which we can sharpen and harden our tools, our cadres. It is the law of Communist method of work.

CADRE POLICY AND CADRES

As a captain of a ball team is called upon to shift his players to meet each specific situation, so are we called upon to make shifts in a number of directions in our Party cadres.

To begin with, not only for this period, but in my opinion at all times, the role and importance of the full-time Party cadres have been greatly exaggerated. Because of a wrong system of work, the role of full-time cadre has snow-balled out of all proportion. It has become the center around which all of the Party's work gravitates. The work of the Party has been so built around the full-time cadre that it has become very difficult for anyone else to participate in the leadership and the policy-making bodies of our Party. Even the time of meetings is so arranged as to make it impossible for shop workers to function.

Before I go any further, let me state that the full-time cadres in our party are as good and as loyal as they come. But because of a method of work and as a result of long-time weaknesses in cadre policy, they developed some weaknesses and characteristics all their own. Like the trade-union business agents who have only formal business relations with the membership and live a separate life of their own, so many of our

full-time cadres have built a life of their own. They keep office hours, attend meetings, but in too many cases this becomes a formality. In many cases they have an inner full-time social life of their own.

Our full-time cadres have very little and in many cases no contact or relations with non-party masses. Even speaking to non-party masses is consciously limited to a few full-time "specialists" and the great bulk of our full-time cadres never speak to or with non-party masses. And a part of our full-time cadres never speak, period.

Our full-time cadres largely mold themselves in the image of two types, both of which present serious weaknesses, especially in this present period. One type is the business executive type—a hot air, whirly-twirly campaigner, quick on the draw and ready to give all answers to all problems, with very little concern if the answer fits the specific situation. The other is the type that lives like a hermit—hardly ever or very rarely says "hello," self-contained, reserved, closely tied to the radio, newspapers, home and office. There are comrades in both district and national levels who have no contact either with party or non-party people, and I literally mean no contact. (Here, of course, I am not speaking about comrades who are sick.) They never speak or attend any other meeting, party or non-party, outside of the top meetings of the party. Their personal contacts are limited to a handful of close friends. Some of these comrades

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have lived as political hermits for years. But just the same they vigorously argue about how the masses are reacting to this or that development. This weakness would not be so serious, were it not for the fact that such comrades as a rule completely lack a characteristic that is basic for our Communist cadre, that is, a feeling for people and an ability to understand people, an ability to lead, to give encouragement; the ability to build confidence, to learn from the people, to discuss with masses who do not agree with us, and I say discuss as against arguing or debating or calling names. We must have a situation where the whole cadre struggles to mold itself in the *image of a party cadre that is at the same time a people's cadre—a cadre of the masses.*

Because we have not seen the need for our cadre being a people's cadre with a mass base, with a mass following, it has been easy for us to continue the practice of shifting people from place to place. If we had given the proper emphasis to the need of our party cadre having a mass base, we would have been more reluctant in shifting many of our comrades from place to place. This practice of pulling up stakes has not only created havoc with the people we shifted, but was an obstacle to the continued political growth of the whole collective, first in the place from which the comrade was shifted and also in the place to which he was shifted. This is so, because the leadership grows politically as a col-

lective. Especially does leadership develop the characteristics of a people's cadre as a collective body.

To these shortcomings in our cadre policy, one must add a number of other factors. Certainly, we cannot overlook at least two such factors: one, that a large section of our cadre comes from a middle-class and professional background. Secondly, that large sections of our cadre have never had the opportunity, the experience of leading mass struggles and movements. Our cadres have not been refreshed by constantly drawing in people who have been tempered in the fires of the class struggle, who have grown as a result of their experiences of mass movements. When this fact is combined with the weakness of insufficient participation in leadership and policy-making bodies of our party on the part of people who work in shops, only then does this loom in its full seriousness.

All these weaknesses partially explain why cadre from three specific groups of people have found it very difficult to move in larger numbers into the leadership of our Party. These are working-class cadres, Negro cadres, and women cadres.

Working-class comrades as yet do not feel at home in the core of leadership in our Party. They do not feel they can keep up the pace. They feel they are not "polished" enough. They do not feel their contributions are appreciated or understood. They feel that because they are not able to put their thoughts into the exact words, exact forms that are de-

manded in our party, they cannot fully function in the leadership. What our Party needs to appreciate fully is that it is much more important for us to learn to speak the language of our working class than to try to mold everyone into the often scholarly pattern of our discussions.

Outside of the above difficulties the Negro comrades come up daily against the elements of white chauvinism, especially the hidden kind—the kind that is difficult to put your hands on. Many good comrades give up and are discouraged when they come up against apparently insurmountable problems. There is a lack of sensitivity and therefore a lack of struggle against these conditions hindering the development of Negro cadres in our leadership.

And so it is with our women comrades. There is a male supremacist wall they must break through before they can become a cadre. And once they break through, they are forced to fight daily not to be thrown back behind that wall. This takes place in the form of lack of cooperation with our women cadre and refusing to see the special problems they face, in the form of unnecessary criticism and the thousands of ways a cadre can be undermined. The net result is that there are too few women in leading positions and policy-making bodies of our Party.

Our cadres are our most important capital. We must preserve them. We must expand their number manifoldly. We must mold our cadres in the image of the great Marxist cadres of

the world. The work of the Party must be a constant cadre-building process. We must blend the old with the new—the full-time with the cadres that work in shops, in professions. We must draw cadres from all sections of the population giving the major attention to the working class and greater attention to Negro, women, and youth cadre. We must give our main emphasis to a cadre that is also a people's cadre, a party leader that is also a people's leader and greatly de-emphasize a strikingly inner-party cadre.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR WORK IN THE BASIC INDUSTRIES

Any serious thinking about our work must be done of course with full appreciation of the period we are living through. We must not underestimate the effects of the ferocious and sustained attack monopoly capital has directed against our class and Party. In many ways this has been a new experience for us as well as the American people.

The illusions created as a result of decades of capitalist rule through the medium of bourgeois democratic forms weigh heavily on the American people and even retard our party from fully seeing all of the implications of this reactionary drive. The realization that it can happen here is and has been a slow and painful process. Because of this we have in many ways lived in a fool's paradise.

With the above fully in mind, I want to discuss a number of fundamental weaknesses in our work in

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the basic industries. On numerous occasions we have stated correctly that there has been a serious question of fluctuation in our membership in these industries. And not only fluctuation, but in a number of these basic industries our membership has declined year after year. This has resulted from the fact that each year many comrades working in these industries have not registered. However, we have not stopped long enough to study fully some elements of the fluctuation. For example, we have not studied who has dropped out; what the main reasons were for the dropping out, and what has happened to these workers since they have dropped out. It seems to me that we have reached the point where these are some of the most important questions for our Party to answer. Let us go into some of these questions. And, while in the future I am going to write about experiences in the basic industries I think that many of these experiences will apply to other sections of our Party.

First, who are some of these workers that have not registered? One central factor common to many of them is that they are the people who were and are the leaders of workers in shop departments, in trade-union locals, etc. In other words, they are militant, active trade unionists. And, as to the question where these workers are today—they are still in the shops, they are still in unions, and in leadership positions, and basically most of them have not changed their political outlook and have not lost

their sympathy for the Communist Party. In a fully objective and self-critical manner we must answer: why have such a large number of workers, and in so many cases workers who have leadership abilities and who are in leadership positions, not re-registered in the Party during the past years?

One could say, and in fact we have often said, that the objective conditions explain this. While we have to take into consideration the sharpening attack against our Party, and it obviously explains some defections, it is not and cannot be the whole answer. Further we must state that the objective conditions have facilitated this development only to the extent that we have not taken steps to meet these new conditions. Secondly, we could say, and I know that it is in the thoughts of many comrades more often than it is said, that these members were not strong enough, were not staunch enough to stand up under the attack. While this also explains some of the defections, it cannot be and, in fact, is not the explanation for this development.

Some say it is the result of a lack of concentration policy. The most one can say for this argument is that, if we had a policy of industrial concentration in practice, we would have started long before this to prod into the real causes for these defections.

And before we go any further, let us also reject the "getting rid of the dead wood" theory. With this kind of theory one can excuse anything, including the complete liquidation

of our membership; but it explains nothing.

Yes, all of these points must be taken into consideration; but we must look a little further afield and much closer to home. The above explanations in themselves sound good only when you do not want to be self-critical, because they all point to weaknesses away from ourselves; to weaknesses of the membership, to objective conditions which are "unavoidable" and "out of our control."

This is what we must answer: Is there anything in the way we have functioned, in the way we have given leadership that has contributed to this situation? And after we have given a straightforward, self-critical answer to this question, we must proceed to answer the question—what are we going to do about it?

To the first question the answer is and must be an unequivocal "yes." We have contributed to this situation because our leadership still suffers from strong tendencies to sectarianism, to inflexibility; from tendencies to a mechanical, bookish stereotype; from a tendency to fight for general policy without sufficient regard to tactics; from a tendency to give general answers to detailed and complicated situations; from a tendency to give the old answers of yesterday to the new problems of today. Because of these weaknesses on the part of leadership there has been occurring an *unnecessary contradiction* between our general policies and concrete tactical approaches. The Party leadership on all levels,

in too many cases, is far removed from concrete problems, and fights for general policies without enough consideration for tactics, while those responsible for the application of these policies have tended in too many cases, because of opportunistic influences, to throw away general policies because they were in seeming contradiction to many of the tactical questions. The result of this was, and still to a large extent is, the development of a situation in which there are sectarian mistakes, on one side, and Right opportunism, on the other. Whenever both of these two weaknesses have been fought and there has been a unity of those who rounded out political experience and those in close touch with the masses, there we have had a good policy and good tactics which supplied good leadership and good struggles.

This should not be misconstrued to mean that those active in Party work make only sectarian mistakes, while those active in trade-union and other forms of mass work make only Right opportunist mistakes. Such an estimate would be mechanical and untrue. The fact is that actives in Party work have also made Right opportunist mistakes while actives in mass work have also made "Left" sectarian mistakes.

But in these remarks I want to limit myself to the weaknesses of the leadership in the direction of "Left" sectarian policies, and this only, because this side of the question has not received proper attention by us. At the 15th National Convention of

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our Party we directed some big salvos against sectarianism. Now, six months later, looking with hindsight, I believe these salvos were not very effective. They were not effective because our aim was faulty. Our directional findings should have indicated that the salvos needed directing mainly at the leadership and not at the membership. It is here that we must direct the main salvos of our criticism and self-criticism.

Let us look at a few concrete examples of sectarianism and of shortsightedness and of getting surface results that appear as achievements at the moment, but in the basic sense help to destroy the very foundation upon which a mass movement and our Party are built.

There are innumerable examples of the Party insisting that shop comrades make public their support of one or another campaign when the conditions in their department or shop were such that it was bound to result in further isolation and setbacks in the very basic sense for our shop clubs. When these setbacks have occurred the finger has usually been pointed at the individual with the criticism that he or she did not prepare the workers for such a step. This may be true; but the way to correct this is not to force these comrades out on the limb and into isolation which will make it ten times more difficult to prepare the workers in a more fundamental sense for such an action. The time to examine if our comrades are working in such a fashion that they will give

the workers of their union or department a higher level of understanding is not when something has to be done publicly in support of one or another campaign. This must be a daily task of leadership and not only to check but concretely to help our comrades develop into such mass leaders. We must help them be leaders possessing a base founded on a section of the workers who have with our aid learned to understand developments, and issues of the class struggle, on a higher level, leaders with a general following, with reputations as militant fighters on all shop issues.

CONCERN FOR THE STATUS OF COMMUNIST SHOP WORKERS

Another factor that has contributed to many of these workers dropping from membership has been the stubborn refusal of the leadership to draw the full lessons from the difficult status under which our shop comrades have worked for a number of years. For some time now there has been no job protection for a Communist, either by law or by the unions. Secondly, a worker who would have openly declared his political affiliation with the Communist Party could not have held and cannot now hold office in these unions; this is so, even where he or she may have been elected by the membership. Thirdly, the terror has been such that a Communist worker openly declaring his membership cannot have an open following of supporters because the jobs of such

supporters are also in jeopardy. We have been altogether too slow in drawing the necessary conclusions from such a situation. There has been too much thinking that the best way to fight for our legal status was to ignore such facts of life. Many workers who did not register in past years could not reconcile some of our practices as a Party with conditions prevailing in the shops. They solved this irreconcilable situation by not registering.

The basic source of all these sectarian errors is an opportunistic lack of confidence in the working class and in our Party and in the science of Marxism. It is a variation of the foolish heroics that flow from a feeling that we must stand alone until the last man is down—a feeling that we must do this because right now nobody else will stand with us. If one feels that the masses will not fight, then it follows very logically—why think of tactics, why work for a united front, or why make plans for united actions, except possibly for appearance's sake? As a result of this type of opportunistic thinking, we see all kinds of sectarian practices. The struggle for united front and united action is replaced by formal calls for unity. These formal calls are more to keep the records straight than to move the masses. Comrades mechanically go through the motions of appealing for united action. Such leadership becomes stereotyped and lacks freshness or originality. Such calls for unity lack conviction. So it fol-

lows that for a successful struggle against sectarianism, we must start with the struggle against the opportunistic tendencies in our ranks—opportunistic tendencies based on the influence of enemy class ideology.

In a very basic sense we must deepen the understanding of class struggle and Marxism in our ranks. We must help them gain an understanding in greater depth of the dialectical laws of motion as they apply to capitalism, so as to see the working class not as a static, hopeless mass, but as a class that is moving as a whole, with specific sections moving in the vanguard. And this class is not just moving in general, but specifically in the direction of fulfilling its historic responsibilities of leading all forces towards progress up the ladder to Socialism and Communism. We must spread a clearer understanding that this process is a result of the laws that govern the developments of a capitalist society. There must be a deeper understanding that will result in greater confidence in the science of our Party and modern Socialism, the ability of our Party to lead the working class of the U.S.A. to victory.

ECONOMIC STRUGGLES

It is not necessary to prod or search very far in the ranks of those workers who have not registered during the last years, to conclude that among them are a very large number who were and are active in the struggles around economic issues.

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our shop clubs, it becomes very obvious that a large part of our club members do not take initiative or leadership in the struggles around economic issues. This odd state of affairs requires a lot of thought. Let us start by first getting out of our way the political weaknesses of these workers who have not registered. Without doubt, they do not fully understand the role of the Party, and this is because they do not clearly see the road along which the working class is going to march to Socialism. They do not fully see the role of the Party, because they do not understand that socialist consciousness does not grow of itself, does not develop without the assistance of a Marxist science, and a political party; that it does not grow without the assistance of a political party dedicated to the establishment of a new social order—Socialism.

This is a product of a long-standing weakness of our Party—that is, the absence of a systematic and planned program of basic Marxist study. The above is an important fact. But it is only one side of the story. Here, again, it is necessary for us to examine and see where our responsibility comes into this picture. Is it not a true statement of fact that for some time we have not sharply raised the need to lead struggles on economic issues? I think it is a fact. After the birth of the C.I.O. and the growth of the large mass industrial unions, with a fighting militant policy, the idea began to take root in our Party that we had very little

to do in the field of economic struggles. We have never been able to uproot this weakness completely.

Further, it was correct during the past years for the Party to raise the struggle against economism as it made its appearance in the ranks of some of the top trade-union cadres. But I am afraid we conducted the struggle in such a manner that we tended to throw out the baby with the bath water, the economic struggles with economism. For in many sections of the Party this struggle only strengthened the idea that economic struggles are not of prime significance.

Struggles around economic issues are a *must* for Communists at all times. Where there are Left and Communist-led unions this facilitates the struggle, but does not take away the need for daily attention to this question. But now in a situation where the unions in the basic industries are under the leadership of Right-wing leaders, attention to the economic issues and struggles only takes on added importance.

Proof of how serious this weakness is can be seen in the fact that many Communists in shops do not attend union meetings. Even a casual investigation will show that the reason for this is that the unions mainly deal with economic questions, and as long as it is difficult to introduce other questions, all of which are important, many of our good comrades do not feel it is necessary to go to such meetings. This, of course, only formalizes and registers the isolation

of such comrades from the mass of workers. In the context of the drive of U.S. imperialism for world domination and the developing war economy to support this drive, in the context of the world struggle for peace, economic struggles become ever more decisive. In this situation every economic struggle takes on strong elements of a struggle for peace and for democracy. Communist shop workers or a shop club cannot take the leadership on other issues effectively unless they are in the first place leaders on economic issues.

There will not develop any rank-and-file trade-union movements except those based on struggle around economic issues. It seems almost unnecessary to say that we champion the workers' daily grievances.

In raising the question of economism, we do not mean less attention to economic issues. What is raised here are question of relationships of economic struggles to the whole political picture, and the content of the leadership for these struggles.

Now, what has all this to do with the question of fluctuation? Only this. First, many of the workers would have continued to register in the Party, had the Party paid attention to the questions with which they were wrestling. Secondly, many of them would have continued in the Party; for their political understanding would have developed, had the Party discussed these economic issues and struggles with them in the Marxist manner and shown to them the

connection between these struggles and the struggle for Socialism.

Once we have fully seen our own responsibilities in bringing about the situation, we shall find it easier to decide on our approach to these workers who have not registered. In the first place, our approach must be a positive one. In the second place, we must work out a system of contact on a regular basis, a working relationship with these workers. We must self-critically and frankly discuss our own responsibilities and weaknesses in the past with them. We must show them how they can work with us without needlessly endangering their jobs. We must show them how working with us will not isolate them but, on the contrary, will help to cement their ties on a more lasting and firmer basis. With this approach many of these workers will see their way back into the Party very quickly.

Some comrades have questioned the advisability of speaking so sharply about our weaknesses of the past when we face today so many difficult and new problems. These comrades forget that we shall be able to face these new problems only if we see more clearly our past weaknesses. Secondly, we can discuss many of these problems now because weaknesses always show up more sharply in difficult periods like this. I speak about our weaknesses sharply, only because I have full confidence that our working class and our Party will be able to meet their responsibilities with which history confronts them.

The Vienna Session of the World Council of Peace

By Fred Montgomery

REPORTING on the current session of the UN General Assembly when it was only a few days old, Anne O'Hare McCormick said in the *New York Times* of November 12, 1951, that while disarmament speeches were being made by the delegates, "outside the Palais de Chaillot, however, the main subject of discussion is not disarmament, but armament."

This on-the-spot comment, accurate for the majority of UN delegates, showed the basic difference between this UN session, dominated as all others in recent years by the Washington war camp, and the World Council of Peace session, which terminated its deliberations in Vienna shortly before the UN meeting began.

Backed by the mandate of the 562 million people throughout the world who, by the time of the Council meeting, had signed the Appeal for a Big Five Pact of Peace, the 121 Council members and 118 invited guests put forward a many-sided program to aid in the creation of a just and lasting peace. It must be clear to the peace forces everywhere that the existence of this vast peace movement, united in the World Council of Peace, has been a major factor in preventing the war camp from unleashing a new world holocaust.

The very demagoguery of the various "disarmament" proposals put forward by Secretary of State Dean Acheson and his aides at UN and his reference—slanderous though it was—to the world peace movement, are actually a tribute to the fighting anti-war spirit among the broad masses. Because of the very sweep of this movement centering around the World Council of Peace, Pietro Nenni, the brilliant leader of the Italian Socialist Party and vice-president of the Council, was correct in calling an Appeal to the United Nations adopted by the Vienna session "the Peace Charter of the People of the World."

This appeal, having as its core the need for Big Five negotiation and agreement, is the most important document that emerged from the Vienna session. While it includes the Council's disarmament and other proposals flowing from the Council deliberations, it intentionally does not put forward the entire Council program. For it seeks to minimize the possible area of disagreement and to project instead the widest possible basis for agreement among the peace forces of divergent strata and views.

This campaign for a peace pact is a campaign that can only end when

such a pact is signed by the Big Five. The significance of this campaign lies in the fact that when its objective is obtained, the principle of Big Five unanimity will be re-established. Thus the basis will have been laid for peaceful co-existence between different social systems, with negotiation and agreement as its instruments.

The Stockholm pledge registered humanity's opposition to mass destruction and served as a warning to the warmakers that the first use of the A-bomb would put them into the dock as war criminals. It can be agreed that the response to the Stockholm pledge served as a powerful deterrent to the atomaniacs in the White House and the Pentagon.

The campaign for a peace pact will do more than register opposition to war. It will mobilize the peace-loving people everywhere for a fight that will not end until peace is assured by the conclusion of such a pact.

It goes without saying that in such a campaign of ideological struggle which will give deeper content to the thoughts and actions of the masses of peace-loving people, the Marxists of every land stand in the forefront as the most conscious champions of peace.

In our country, too, despite all efforts to isolate the Communist Party, the Communists will not be stopped in helping to win millions of supporters for a peace pact among the working class, the Negro people, and all other peace-loving people. Through waging an intensive ideological campaign in every trade union, factory,

mine, shop, and office, in every neighborhood and church, and by waging this campaign with speed and determination, there will come about a qualitative change in international relations which will find its expression in the conclusion of a Big Five pact of peace. It will be a dramatic and concrete demonstration of the fact that the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE PACT

What are some of the arguments raised against such a pact of peace, and popularized by highly paid propagandists through every conceivable medium of expression?

One of them is Acheson's glib comment that no new pact of peace is necessary because the UN charter is itself such a pact of peace, signed by most countries in the world. The answer must be that the UN charter, which is anchored on Big Five unanimity, is daily being distorted and violated by the warmakers. First of all, the Chinese People's Republic has not been allowed to take its rightful place at UN, which means that one of the Big Five, representing close to half a billion people, is eliminated from participating in its deliberations.

Secondly, every new session at UN shows how completely the majority of this organization, made up of governments long dominated economically and politically by Wall Street, has passed under the control of the

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"Peace and international cooperation," said the World Council of Peace Appeal to UN, "cannot result from imposing on the whole world decisions taken by the majority of member states, most of them adopted by votes, moreover, representing a minority of mankind. It is by methods of negotiation and conciliation that the agreements essential to the peaceful development of the world will be established."

It is furthermore important to point out that the smaller states, tied as they are at present with bands of U.S. gold to the Washington war chariot, are hardly able to speak up for their true national interests, for peace, democracy, and national independence. A pact of peace between the Big Five, open to all other states, would re-establish UN to its proper function, revitalize its charter and make it possible for the smaller countries to participate with their full energy in the creation of a peaceful world.

Closely allied with this argument is the one that holds fatalistically that UN simply cannot function and that after its existence for more than six years, peace is further away than ever. This is a just criticism. But it must be explained that this is so because majority decisions have taken the place of Big Five unanimity, of negotiation and agreement. A peace pact between the Big Five, including People's China, and with the world's committee, would provide the basis for the proper function of UN as

the center of negotiation and agreement, making possible peaceful co-existence. In this connection, it must be noted that the *New York Daily News*, the Hearst press, and some other papers now call for the U.S. to leave U.N. This sector of the war camp fears that as long as even the very structure of the U.N. exists, the people of this country, and the world, might force the functioning of this body on the basis of Big Five unanimity.

Others also maintain that already existing treaties and pacts should be put into execution before a new pact is signed. But if the Big Five sit down to negotiate, having in mind the conclusion of a peace pact, the carrying out of all previous pacts and treaties that serve the interest of peace would follow logically.

No major issue, however, relating to peace, will be negotiated and a settlement agreed to, unless the vast majority of the people in the capitalist countries are won to an active support of this demand. By the end of November, virtually the entire adult population of the Soviet Union and China had endorsed this demand for a Big Five pact, a demand put forward also by the governments of these two countries. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Soviet peace committee especially put forward the slogan: "Not a signature without discussion." Reports show that the entire campaign was turned into a tremendous educational program on the meaning of such a pact, which can only deepen and

strengthen the Soviet people's participation in the fight for peace.

But in the capitalist and colonial world as well, despite repression by the local agents of the Washington imperialist war camp, the campaign is moving ahead at great speed. Communists and growing numbers of other progressives are winning millions of people to support the demand for a pact of peace among the Big Five.

Here it is important to note that wherever the campaign is achieving its greatest success, there the peace forces have been able to rid themselves of the baggage of "Left" sectarianism. This sectarianism is occasionally shown by a narrow approach to the peace movement and to the people's desire for peace; it is based on a lack of conviction that war can be stopped or that peaceful co-existence is possible, and other moods of pessimism.

The broad character of this campaign was best expressed by Professor Frederic Joliot-Curie, Council president, at the July Council bureau meeting in Helsinki. He said: "It is not meant in this campaign—and this is clearly the precise meaning of the appeal—to engage in discussions on the opinion which one may have in regard to the causes that breed the dangers of a world war. We should make clear that, independent of this opinion, this appeal responds to the will to see the spirit of negotiation win over solutions by force."

THE FIGHT FOR DISARMAMENT

In its resolution on the campaign for a Five Power pact, the Vienna Council meeting declared that "the pact of peace would help to resolve current conflicts; it would open the path to gradual and controlled disarmament; it would enable a return to normal economic and cultural relations, so essential and beneficial to all."

It would, of course, be wrong to conclude from this that the people should not today speak out on such issues as disarmament, the present war in Viet-Nam, the problems of the Near and Middle East and North Africa, cultural and economic exchange between the peoples and against German and Japanese rearmament, to mention only a few. It should, however, be kept constantly in mind that all of these various important campaigns must be directed ultimately to the conclusion of a peace pact.

Partial or even complete victories by the peace forces on some of these issues will, of course, not mean that peace is assured. An armistice in Korea, for instance, imposed by the will of the peace forces, does not mean that the war incendiaries will not put their torch of destruction to the land and homes of peoples elsewhere. But such a victory in Korea will immeasurably advance the cause for a pact of peace, provided the peace movement in our country and elsewhere guides this tributary of anti-war-in-Korea sentiment into the

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The World Council of Peace session adopted resolutions on all the issues mentioned above. Basing itself on the Resolution for the prohibition of Atomic Weapons and for General Disarmament, adopted by the Second World Peace Congress in 1950, the Vienna resolution answered certain questions raised by some critics as well as friends regarding proportional disarmament.

The new resolution repeated the proposal for a gradual and controlled reduction of every kind of armaments "amounting, by the end of 1952, to form one-third to a half of the total of arms declared, checked and discovered, while applying a procedure which will assure the security of all at every stage of disarmament." In order to avoid any possible confusion, it must be understood that the World Council of Peace is for complete disarmament and this resolution does not mean any change in that position.

The resolution went on to say: "We propose that the relative proportions and time schedules applicable to the reduction of the various types of arms, armed forces and arms production be fixed by reference both to the actual level of arms, armed forces and arms production, and to the number of inhabitants, length of frontiers and communications system of each country involved."

Every honest person—all but the warmakers—can agree with these clear and precise proposals. They will

help the peace forces to dissect the fake arguments, put forward by the warmakers in an effort to justify their huge armament program for which the workers and the people generally have to pay.

Let the demagogues in high places who try to peddle the vicious slander that the Soviet Union has more armaments than the United States and that the U.S. supposedly must reach arms equality with the U.S.S.R. before there can be disarmament—let them agree to the conclusion of a Big Five disarmament convention.

Let such a convention agree to disarmament from one-third to one-half. Let the adoption of this convention have, "as immediate sequel, the undertaking of a general census of all types of arms and armed forces, and the putting into operation of an international inspection and control system to check the carrying out of the measures prescribed in the convention," as proposed by the Council resolution.

Let this international control and inspection also be exercised "to check the suspected existence of any arms, armed forces or means of arms production which have not been declared," as further demanded by the resolution. Even a person who has been taken in by the hoax of "catching up with the Russians," should be able to see that this plan leads to total disarmament and peace, while Mr. Truman's demagogic plot can only lead to an increase in the armaments race and war.

In its proposal for the conclusion

of a Big Five disarmament convention, the Council also demanded that it include agreement on the absolute prohibition of atomic weapons and strict control of this prohibition.

When this proposal for the prohibition of the atomic weapon was made by the peace movement in the past, it was met with the slanderous assertion by the warmakers that this was a Soviet "trick" and that it would only favor the Soviet Union which supposedly did not possess any atomic weapons. Since then, the President has made his second declaration regarding an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union and Soviet Premier Stalin has affirmed, in his interview with a *Pravda* correspondent, that the Soviet Union did indeed have atomic weapons. But this fact has in no way lessened the insistence of the Soviet delegates to the World Council of Peace or, for that matter, to UN, on the prohibition of this weapon. This fact should be hammered home to the people of our country as further proof of the Soviet desire for peace, and as an exposure of another lie by the warmakers.

Alexander Korneitchuk, the Soviet dramatist, took special note of this former "argument" by the war propagandists and said that "life itself has proved this thesis to be groundless. The Soviet Union possesses the atomic bomb." He then went on immediately to declare that this does not change the attitude of the Soviet people and that "we demand of UN the unconditional prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction." The

same sentiment was expressed by Ilya Ehrenburg, the Soviet novelist. He went on to add that "the loss by the Americans of their monopoly in atomic weapons has brought about a climate favorable to international agreement on their prohibition."

There is another aspect of the disarmament question which has singular importance for our country and to which Communists and other progressives must give much more attention. In the European countries, especially in France and Italy, the working class is fully aware of the interconnection between the imperialist armaments drive and the sharply curtailed standard of living. Strikes in those countries against wage cuts and for higher wages to compensate at least partly for price increases have their counterpart on the political front in mass rallies against the armament drive and other war preparations.

In our country, such a politicalization of economic demands is not yet reflected in the mass movement. Yet the increasing economic demands of the working class, made necessary by the steep rise in the cost of living, are one of the chief points of contact between the working class and the conscious peace movement.

During the recent period, there have been mass strikes in many parts of the country, showing high militancy and determination. There is a great stirring among the workers in opposition to the wage-freeze, to the tax burden, to the soaring prices. One cannot, however, yet note a mass

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conscious awareness of the relationship of these economic issues to the war drive and armaments program.

To give this mass unrest among the workers deeper content, to direct it against the armament program and to mobilize it for a fight against imperialist war and its instigators is one of the biggest jobs history has placed before the Communists and other progressives of this country.

It must also be emphasized that a pact of peace between the Big Five could have as one of its chief results the restoration of normal trade relations between east and west, now almost completely cut off by the warmakers, which would bring large orders for commodities, especially to the heavy and mass production industries of our country.

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

Before discussing the Council's resolution on the Middle and Near East and North Africa, we wish to say that our Party can be proud of the most recent contribution made to the peace movement of the world by one of its most able leaders, Comrade Pettis Perry.

His article in the October, 1951, issue of *Political Affairs* entitled "Certain Prime Aspects of the Negro Question," is not only of key importance to the peace movement of our country but warrants also the close study of Marxists and other peace forces elsewhere. The manner in which Comrade Perry shows the close interconnection between the

fight for peace and national liberation is of prime importance. We shall have occasion in this article to make reference to Comrade Perry's analysis.

Now as to the resolution on the Middle and Near East and North Africa.

The resolution condemned the attempts to impose the so-called Middle East Defense Pact—an extension of the Atlantic Pact—on the peoples of the Mediterranean world, of the Near and Middle East and North Africa, "as a serious danger to world peace."

"The refusal of the Egyptian people to allow themselves to be drawn into a pact of adventure and war is strengthening the confidence of the peoples in themselves and is furnishing an invaluable contribution to the maintenance of peace in the Mediterranean area and throughout the world," the resolution said. Referring to the 1936 treaty imposed by British imperialism, the resolution further said that "the efforts of the Egyptian people to throw off the burden of treaties that are incompatible with their right to be master in their own house are right and just." Finally, the resolution concluded by declaring that "the World Council of Peace calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt and the Sudan to enable these countries to dispose freely of their destiny." This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Council members and guests, representing both the largest and broadest coalition for peace that has ever been created.

This coalition demonstrated by its

their influence over them, even by war. If these countries were free, one major cause of war would be removed."

Abderrhaman Bouchama, council member from Algeria, spoke in a similar vein when, describing the struggles for national liberation extending from the Far East to North Africa, he said that the "people, unarmed, are facing up to the war incendiaries. "They are doing this," he said, "because they want peace, peace which they have so long desired, for colonialism means for them a state of permanent war."

Lastly, we wish to cite in this regard the statement of J. Normdman, eminent French attorney, in relation to the trial of Dr. Du Bois which was then just about to begin. "How can one not see," he asked, "that this trial is directed at the same time against the emancipation of the colored people and against the peace movement, just as the cause of peace and of liberation from racial and colonial oppression are closely linked?"

The peace-loving people, both here and all over the world, answered this question in the affirmative and by their mass protests gave positive proof that the peace movement and the movement for national liberation know their common enemy and know how to fight him. The inter-relationship of the fight for national liberation and the fight for peace is becoming increasingly clear to the peoples of the world.

discussion and its vote, not only its understanding of the interrelation between the national-liberation movement and the peace movement, but its readiness to support the people's struggle for national independence, which aids the cause of peace. The degree of understanding expressed at Vienna was in consonance with the stress laid by Comrade Perry on the need to burn out the white chauvinist lie that the fight for the rights of the Negro people "hampers" the building of a broad peace coalition.

Comrade Perry said in his aforementioned article that while "it is not incumbent on the peace movement to support the entire program for Negro national liberation," it is incumbent on them to realize that "every interest and aspiration of the Negro people is directly contrary to the reactionary policy of U.S. imperialism. "Accordingly, the peace forces," he declared, "unless and until they face up to this question, will never win the Negro masses, the broad sections of the Negro workers, the sharecroppers, the Negro farmers, in the fight for peace. And without this, the peace movement can never be an effective movement in the United States."

Similarly, which honest believer in peace can fail to see the importance to the peace movement of the argument so ably presented by Iftikhar Ud Din, publisher of the *Pakistan Times*? "The colonial countries," he said, "and their exploitation are a temptation to the greed of imperialist countries, who wish to retain or extend

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CULTURAL EXCHANGE FOR PEACE

Two resolutions adopted at Vienna that must be briefly highlighted here deal with cultural exchange, vacations and holidays for peace in 1952 and great cultural anniversaries.

The chief purpose of these proposals is made known in the introduction to the second of these resolutions which says: "At a time when propaganda, opposed to international understanding, is multiplying artificial barriers between peoples as if to persuade them of the imminence and inevitability of war, the World Council of Peace, convinced that it is fulfilling the aspirations of the people, considers that the year 1952 should, on the contrary, be the year of peaceful undertakings."

Among the peaceful undertakings proposed is a series of international conferences that would bring together intellectuals for an exchange of opinions in their respective fields. Another is vacation tours in various countries, on the basis of reciprocity, by teachers, students and others who are interested in promoting the development of culture.

Another proposal calls for the commemoration, on a national and international scale, of such anniversaries as the 150th anniversary of the birth of Victor Hugo, the French writer; the 500th anniversary of the birth of Leonardo da Vinci, the Italian painter; the 100th anniversary of the death of Nicolai Gogol, the Russian writer; and the 1000th anniversary of the death of Avicenna, the Middle East-

ern physician. These proposals should find a warm response among intellectual circles in our country who should not only prepare to participate in planned cultural activities abroad but also to play host to distinguished persons from other lands. As Ehrenburg said: "The attitude of governments toward these proposals will show where the iron curtain actually is."

A BROAD COALITION FOR PEACE

We have already stressed the broad character of the coalition represented at Vienna. It should be remembered that the World Council of Peace was not yet one year old when it assembled for this meeting. Less than four months had passed since the Council bureau meeting in Helsinki which addressed its message "to all the groups, all the movements, and all the people who desire peace to be preserved."

Despite this short time, this appeal for unity was heeded by some outstanding individuals and groups, never before associated with such a coalition. There were present, to cite just a few, the Rev. W. S. Hugo Van Dalen of Holland; the Rev. Clifford H. MacGuire, General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Britain and Mr. Rene Bovard, secretary of the International Liaison Committee of Peace Organizations (ILCOP), which consists of various international organizations such as the Quakers Peace Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and

the International Voluntary Service for Peace.

Of course, not all of these guests endorsed the full program of the council. But the important thing is that they came and that the basis has been laid for future collaboration. The World Council of Peace, through some of its leaders, has also conducted discussions with spokesmen of the British Quakers, the International Red Cross and the World Council of Churches, exploring mutual avenues of interest in the search for peace.

These achievements, which do not serve any particular movement or group but only the cause of peace, are, of course, a credit to the ability of the Council leadership continually to seek new methods of approach. But they also reflect, on their part, a correct estimation of the present relationship of forces and of the rapid increase in the peace sentiment among wide sections of the world's population, despite the frantic propaganda of the warmakers.

This crystallization of peace sentiment was seen in the recent British elections where, as a result, both Tory and Labor party candidates were forced into making some demagogic references to their willingness to work for Big Five understanding.

There is the neutrality movement, particularly in India, which, as Nenni said, "has become a concrete political expression and which is increasingly regarded as important and effective by the warmongers." He also noted a "will towards neutrality which is

particularly apparent in Germany, France, Italy and certain Scandinavian countries" and which from "now on will be a factor in the resistance against the Atlantic Pact policy."

There is growing fear about the resurgence of Nazism among certain liberals and Social-Democratic leaders in Western Europe.

There is the strong movement against the San Francisco treaty and military pact with Japan, including many leading non-Left forces, in Australia, Burma, India, Indonesia and other parts of Asia. There is the rapid development of the national-liberation movement, as shown by the dramatic events in Iran, Egypt, Iraq, Morocco, and other places.

The warmongering press either says nothing about this mass peace sentiment, which is more and more being expressed in concrete organizational form, or makes it appear that this is an anti-American movement, in order to create enmity between the peoples. This lie must be exposed by the peace movement of our country. The people must be told of the vast reservoir of friendship that exists for peace-minded Americans the world over, that workers and farmers, intellectuals and middle class people look to their counter-parts in the U.S. to help preserve peace.

Especially important in this connection are the statements made by two outstanding Soviet spokesmen at Vienna, Alexander Korneitchuk and Ilya Ehrenburg. Addressing himself to the people of this country, Korneitchuk said: "We want to live in

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peace with you forever. We have feelings of sincere friendship for you and therefore we call upon you not to allow yourselves to be deceived and to be involved in new adventures that could bring untold suffering to you and the other peoples of the world." Ehrenburg's stress on the necessity and possibility of peaceful co-existence should be made known to every family in our country. Speaking of the Soviet people, he said: "We are not disturbed by the fact that much in America is not to our taste. We may be critical of its economic system, or its way of life, but we want to live in peace with America as it is."

CONCLUSION

The American masses can be won for the struggle for peace, despite the ideological confusions created by the warmakers, provided the Communists and other progressive forces, leading in this struggle, do not permit themselves to become isolated. Now as never before, we must learn rapidly how to work with many different groups of people, working with them patiently and helping them to give expression to their peace sentiment on a continually higher level.

At the same time, we must carry out the biggest educational job in our history, despite the campaign of terror and the arrest and imprisonment of our leaders.

We must show that the war preparations are having their evil results, in one way or another, on every

stratum of the population. We must show that only the conclusion of a pact of peace between the Big Five, imposed by the people, will put our country and the world on the road toward meeting the aspirations for democracy and a better life among the peoples.

The peace sentiment of the American people must now be given concrete expression in signatures supporting the demand for a pact of peace between the Big Five. The campaign for such a pact is now the greatest task before the peace movement of our country.

The Pan-American peace conference, scheduled to take place soon in Brazil, must also be given the greatest attention by the peace movement. A broad and representative delegation from the United States, with labor and the Negro people well represented, will help to demonstrate to the peoples of Latin America, to the peoples of the world, and to the warmakers in Washington, the strength of this hemispheric movement for peace. Upon their return, the delegates can bring to the people of our country the message of peace, and fraternal struggle to achieve it. By carrying this message into every corner of our land, the campaign for a pact of peace will gather additional strength and confidence.

The people of our country can be, and are being, won to support and join a peace coalition which will, by its united action, help to win the peace for our country and the world.

(Book Review)

A MIGHTY WEAPON IN THE FIGHT AGAINST GENOCIDE

By Harry Haywood

We Charge Genocide, editor-in-chief, William L. Patterson, Civil Rights Congress, \$1.50.

Among the many contradictions and fundamental difficulties confronting U.S. imperialism in pursuit of world domination through a new World War, of decisive importance is the contradiction between the vaunted "democratic American way of life" and the reality of the monstrous system of Negro oppression. American monopolists have long attempted to deny or conceal their imperialist essence behind a high sounding self-righteous moral pose. But within the very bowels of this assertion lies the most enormous suffering imaginable for a whole people, today numbering over 15,000,000. The Negro people are subjected to all of the notorious conditions of imperialist oppression.

U.S. imperialist apologists of the State Department shudder at any exposure of the national crime. For they must deal with outraged democratic world opinion everywhere which is increasingly pointing out the bestial cloven hoof protruding from the striped trousers of the diplomats.

"The existence of discrimination against minority groups in this country," Dean Acheson wrote on May 8, 1946, "has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. . . . Fre-

quently we find it next to impossible to formulate a satisfactory answer to our critics in other countries; the gap between the things we stand for in principle and the facts of the particular situation may be too wide to be bridged. . . ."

The enormity and barbarity of the crimes against the Negro people, which pillories the hypocrisy of the Wall Street imperialists and their small clique of servile agents among the Negro people is presented with challenging force by the petition of the Civil Rights Congress to the United Nations, charging the U.S. government with genocide against the Negro people. This petition, issued in a book of 240 pages, makes an historic contribution to the cause of Negro freedom and for world peace. The cumulative power of fact piled upon fact, irrefutably documenting the ruling class inspired and government directed oppression of the Negro people, is a devastating indictment from which, squirm as they may, the spokesmen of U.S. imperialism cannot escape.

This indictment is drawn up by Negro and white petitioners, North and South, including long standing fighters for Negro rights and democracy, as well as members of the families of the lynch victims.

The petition consists of the opening statement summarizing the indictment;

the substantiation of the Charge of Genocide as defined by the U.N.; and the specific evidence and proof of Genocide. The evidence covers only the post-war years, 1945 to date. It lists killings of Negroes, day by day, month by month, and year by year, as well as serious bodily and mental harm committed against Negroes. It describes conditions leading to physical destruction of the Negro people in whole or in part. It discusses K.K.K. terror, the role of the Dixiecrats and the guilt of government on every level in terms of legal and extra-legal participation in the oppression of the Negro people.

Unfortunately for Mr. Acheson, the facts in *We Charge Genocide* confirm his "suspicion" that the gap between the professed principles and actual facts of "The American Way of Life" is "too wide to be bridged." They cannot be bridged because these are not just "facts of a particular situation," that is, isolated, relatively unimportant incidents and excesses of irresponsible groups. The strident anti-Negro racism documented in this book is a basic ingredient of Anglo-Saxon racism, an unalterable plank in the credo of the white ruling class of the United States, an ingredient of the vaunted "American Way of Life" of the Wall Street billionaires for whom Mr. Acheson speaks.

We can imagine the dismay experienced by Mr. Acheson at the presentation of this indictment before the United Nations, especially since it so overwhelmingly demonstrates that not only has nothing been done about his pious complaint of 1946, but that rather the crimes have actually multiplied a thousandfold in the succeeding five years. They acquire new significance when related to the present course of U.S. imperialism.

But we do not have to rely on our imagination as regards the febrile efforts of Mr. Acheson's department to suppress this document and its great message that the oppression of the Negro people is not only a national but an international crime.

Anthony Leviero, in the *New York Times*, December 14, 1951, tells of the frantic efforts of the State Department to dispel this adverse publicity on the Negro question, which he labels "Soviet Propaganda." To cope with the criticism on this issue, the State Department has issued a pamphlet *The Negro in American Life*, which was "prepared on demand of many State Department field workers particularly those in Stockholm, Rome, Paris and New Delhi." According to Leviero, "about seven months was devoted to the preparation of it [the pamphlet], and it got the approval of Walter White, Secretary of the NAACP. It went abroad recently just a few weeks ahead of the issuance of *We Charge Genocide* by the Civil Rights Congress . . . a documented indictment of the government for murder through jim crow."

The *Afro-American* of December 8, 1951 reveals, in what appeared to be an intentional leak from the State Department to Drew Pearson, "that efforts were made by the Department to induce Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to blast William Patterson's sensational book, *We Charge Genocide*," as a gross misrepresentation of fact. But the evidence is so irrefutable that even such a consummate apologist of U.S. imperialism as White commented on December 2, 1951: "The U.S. has been hit in its most vulnerable spot . . . 75 per cent or more of the charges are care-

fully documented ones, taken from non-Communist and anti-Communist sources."

The crux of the difficulties for Mr. Acheson, however, lies not merely in the incontestable accuracy of the facts in *We Charge Genocide*. It lies in something more important, namely, in the unmistakable connection between these facts and the Truman bi-partisan war policy of which he is one of the principal architects. It lies in the fact that the C.R.C. indictment constitutes a body blow to the criminal war course of U.S. imperialism which has provided the fertile ground for the multiplication of atrocities against the Negro people. It lies in the fact that war for world domination by American imperialism and the intensified racist drive against the Negro people go hand in glove, as part of the policy of the "pacification" of the rear. It lies in the inexorable conclusion that what we have been witnessing in the United States is a crime of government *bent on world conquest*, a government directed and sanctioned policy, not only national but international in import.

The connection between growing fascism and the preparation for war was clearly pointed out by Stalin who said in his political report to the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1927:

"To wage war it is not sufficient to accumulate armaments and it is not sufficient to organize new coalitions. *It also calls for strengthening the rear in the capitalist countries. Not a single capitalist country can wage a serious war without first strengthening its own rear, without curbing "its" workers, without curbing "its" colonies. Hence,*

a gradual fascization of the policy of the bourgeois governments."*

The relationship between the war drive and the increased genocidal attack against Negroes is dealt with in the document which states: "Increasing violence against the Negro people goes hand in hand with increased repression throughout American life" (pp. 26-27).

The connection between this genocide at home and the war now being waged by the U.S. white supremacists against the colored peoples of Asia is clearly set forth by the petition. It states:

"We Negro petitioners whose communities have been laid waste, whose homes have been burned and looted, whose children have been killed, whose women have been raped, have noted with peculiar horror that the genocidal doctrines and actions of the American white supremacists have already been exported to the colored peoples of Asia. We solemnly warn that a nation which practices genocide against its own nationals may not be long deterred, if it has the power, from genocide elsewhere. White supremacy at home makes for colored massacres abroad. Both reveal contempt for human life in a colored skin. Jellied gasoline in Korea and the lynchers' faggot at home are connected in more ways than that both result in death by fire. The lyncher and the atom bomber are related."

There have been important indictments presented to the U.N. before the present C.R.C. petition. There was the statement of the National Negro Congress in 1946, and "An Appeal to the World" by the N.A.A.C.P. in 1947. But the C.R.C. document does not only

* J. Stalin, *Collected Works* (Russian edition). Vol. X, p. 282. Italics added.

continue and extend the evidence of these earlier indictments; it elevates the question to a new level by defining it in terms of U.N. law and by directing its main charge against the U.S. Government. The C.R.C. petition provides the question with new significance and a new impact. This new meaning and impact are dramatized in the term "genocide."

The petition, in addition, is more effective than its predecessors, because it reveals the economic realities upon which the system of genocide rests. Heretofore, pleas to UN have been largely based upon humanitarian grounds, but this document shows again and again the huge profits wrung from the super-exploitation of the Negro people.

This grounding of the indictment is unquestionably sound, since the U.N. Charter and the Genocide Convention are based on historical experience. The deadly parallel between the conditions described in the C.R.C. indictment and the barbarous practice developed and refined by German fascism is inescapable. Indeed, it is impossible properly to characterize the mounting barbarities against the Negro people during the post-war period as anything else than a manifestation of fascization. This is what gives an old, old story in the United States its new meaning.

In admitting that the facts of the C.R.C. indictment are generally correct, individuals like Yale law professor Raphael Lempkin and Walter White nevertheless attempted to minimize their significance by insisting that the concept of genocide only applies to the actual practice of wholesale extermination. By this weird logic, it would seem, we must wait until most Negroes are physically annihilated or the con-

ditions of Nazi Germany are fully enacted in the U.S. before charging genocide.

Actually, the document cites numerous cases of incitement to mass murder by public officials, as, for example, Governor Herman Talmadge of the State of Georgia, who stated in a radio broadcast: "We will fight them [the Negroes] in the counties and the cities. . . . We intend to fight hand to hand with all our weapons, and we will never submit to one inch of encroachment on our traditional pattern of segregation" (p. 16). The C.R.C. document rightly says, "The whole system of jim crow and segregation based on race is training for genocide."

But even aside from all this, the legal quibble involved in the above objection is anticipated and effectively answered by the document itself. It says: "*It is sometimes incorrectly thought that the definition of genocide is the complete and utter extinction by force and violence of a people or group. Article 2 of the Genocide Convention, however, defines the crime as meaning 'any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such: (a) killing members of the group, (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about such physical destruction in whole or in part (p. 32).*"

Nor will it do to attempt to evade this by claiming that the government is not involved. The answer to this, as given and documented by the C.R.C. petition, is irrefutable. In demonstrating the existence of "A conspiracy backed by reactionary interests in which are meshed all the organs of the ex-

ecutive, legislative and judicial branches of government," it points out that "a people cannot be consistently killed over the years on the basis of race . . . cannot be uniformly segregated, despoiled, impoverished and denied equal protection before the law, unless it is the result of the deliberate, all-pervasive policy of government and those who control it" (p. 6). Moreover, the whole racist legal pattern of government in the U.S. is exposed in the petition.

While some may be confused as regards the true meaning of genocide, the white supremacists, who profit from Negro oppression, are not. Quite the contrary. They realize full well, as the C.R.C. indictment points out, that the Genocide Convention applies to the treatment of the Negro in the United States. This is shown in the arguments upon which the American Bar Association, legal agency of Wall Street imperialism, based its opposition to ratification in 1949. The Association deplored genocide, but added that "the convention raised important fundamental questions but does not resolve them in a manner consistent with our form of government." Expressing concern for the "constitutional safeguards" of the lynchers and Dixiecrats it declared, "American citizens might eventually come to be triable by an international tribunal where they would not be surrounded by the constitutional safeguards and legal rights accorded persons charged with domestic crime." Its Committee on Peace and Law in a further plea for the lynchers, objected to the ratification of the Genocide Convention because:

"Endless confusion in the dual system of the United States would be inevitable with the same crime being murder in State Law and Genocide

in the Federal and international fields, race riots and lynching being both local crime and genocide depending upon the intent and extent of participation."

So, to simplify the book-keeping, let's not complicate matters by admitting that there is such a thing as genocide!

It is not accidental, as the petition points out, that "All of those who opposed ratification of the Genocide Convention before the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations did so *precisely because the Genocide Convention specifically applies to the crimes being committed against the Negro people in the U.S.*" (p. 4).

It is one of the strong features of the document that it does not confine itself to a purely legal approach or separate the legal aspects from the political and historical context of the question. As already noted, the legal concept itself had its origin in the recognition that genocide was an instrument of fascism and war for world mastery. Supreme Court Justice Jackson stated this quite clearly at the Nuremberg trial, even though he may prefer not to be reminded of it now.

". . . If aggressive warfare in violation of treaty obligations is a matter of international cognizance," he said, "the preparation for it must also be of concern to the international community. *Terrorism was the chief instrument for securing the cohesion of the German people in war purposes.*" The racist forces unloosed by U.S. imperialism, bent on war and fascism, and the completion of this process—if permitted by the people—can only signify mass murder for the Negro people.

To ignore this fact is to weaken the Negro people's struggle at the very time when they, together with their

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allies, should be throwing their full democratic weight on the side of peace, democracy, and progress.

Here we face one of the decisive features of the C.R.C. document in relation to the world situation. The evidence, the argumentation, the line of this book, translated into a political act through its presentation to the U.N., provides a major weapon to all the forces of peace and democracy throughout the world.

For white Americans, the book can be a serious means of developing struggle against the whole white supremacist ideology and jim crow system which help to sustain the forces of fascism and imperialism war. The evidence of the book can aid in dispelling the ignorance and prejudices so assiduously cultivated among white masses by these forces, and thereby help to arouse them to struggle in defense of their own rights.

The working masses in particular cannot stand aside; to the extent that they remain silent, poisoned also by the fascist ideology of white chauvinism, to that extent will they remain impotent in defense of peace, welfare and progress which they so ardently desire. More than that, they condemn themselves to becoming silent partners of the racist criminals. The lesson of Hitler-Germany will forever remain as a standing reminder in this respect.

For the Negro people the book can be a most effective instrument for building the united Negro people's movement as a pivotal contingent of a nationwide coalition of the American people against fascism and for peace.

The white supremacist rulers have been forced more and more to employ twin measures of oppression and de-

ception. They attempt to veil their genocidal terror by tactical concessions. In this they have been driven increasingly to rely upon their agents among the Negro people to aid in accomplishing their aims. The widespread use by the imperialist war makers of these Right-Wing bourgeois reformist agents, and the sharp increase of their activities among Negro masses, is an important feature of the present period. They attempt to inflate the small concessions won by the struggle of the Negro masses and their white allies into a rosy picture of uninterrupted progress for the Negro people, trying to conceal thereby what life itself is increasingly revealing to the Negro masses and the whole world. *We Charge Genocide* makes it infinitely more difficult for this group to front for the organizers of fascism and war.

The liberation of the masses from the paralyzing influence of these elements is an essential part of the fight for the leading role of the Negro industrial workers—the most powerful, consistently revolutionary force in the Negro liberation movement—the only force that can give the movement sustained anti-imperialist direction and effect its unity with the mighty allies of the Negro people, the American working class and the world camp of peace, democracy and national liberation headed by the Soviet Union.

This book, *We Charge Genocide*, if properly used not only as an instrument of enlightenment, but also as an instrument of organization and mobilization, can play an historic role in the Negro liberation movement, comparable to the roles, in another era, of works like Douglass' autobiography and Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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