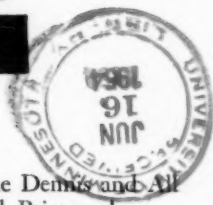


# Political affairs

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*A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism*

Editor: V. J. Jerome

## Free Gene Dennis and All Political Prisoners!

By National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.

*On May 20, the National Committee of the Communist Party, over the signatures of William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry, issued the following statement:*

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE of the Communist Party calls on all Communists, on all fighters for peace, democracy and economic security to begin now—*today*—preparations that will make the forthcoming birthday anniversary of Gene Dennis meaningful for our country, and the world.

On August 10, Eugene Dennis will be 50 years old. The General Secretary of the Communist Party is scheduled again to mark his birthday in prison—for the fifth time.

The opening sentences of the Draft Program of the Communist Party, U.S.A. sum up what has happened during the four years that Gene Dennis and his comrades of the National Committee have been

political prisoners, or political refugees:

Our country and its people rapidly are approaching a crisis.

The storm clouds of a major economic depression are nearly upon us.

Our nation's foreign policy has led us into a blind alley.

Our traditional liberties are vanishing, being replaced with the ugly menace of McCarthyism.

In the past few weeks, millions of Americans have gained new insight into this sinister threat of McCarthyism. With their own eyes, they have seen some of the cruder tricks that go into the making of a political frame-up.

They have seen a doctored photo used in an attempt to frame the Sec-

retary of the Army. They have seen a purloined letter, supposedly written by J. Edgar Hoover, turn out to be what Army counsel Welch called "a carbon copy of exactly nothing." They have seen former FBI men—the very type of men who prepared the "evidence" against Gene Dennis and his co-defendants—squirm and lie about these forgeries and thievery. They have seen Roy Cohn, key figure in the prosecution of the Dennis case, exposed as the most arrogant and evil of McCarthy's juvenile delinquents.

And they have heard McCarthy himself boast that *his* sinister spy ring operates in every agency of our government.

Even the *New York Herald Tribune* has had to draw some significant conclusions from these sensational revelations. Its editorial of May 6 asked: "What is one to believe about the validity of these same methods when they were employed to 'expose' Communist conspiracy?"

Millions are beginning—for the first time—to sense that the "Communist conspiracy" is a cruel hoax, and that Gene Dennis and all the Smith Act defendants were framed.

Millions are asking the question posed by a recent article in *Harper's* magazine: "How Good is an FBI Report?" They are beginning to realize it is no better than that faked photo; no better than J. Edgar Hoover's testimony that Truman "coddled" Communists; no better than the current frame-up of Dr. J.

Robert Oppenheimer.

Millions now know that the FBI stool pigoen, Mrs. Mary Markward, lied about the Negro government worker, Mrs. Annie Lee Moss; that Paul Crouch lies about Dr. Oppenheimer; that Louis Budenz, not Prof. Owen Lattimore, is the one guilty of perjury.

These millions need take only the next logical step to realize that the whole structure of this gigantic frame-up rests upon the frame-up of Gene Dennis and the other Smith Act defendants.

It is time to raise, in a new way, the slogan of amnesty. The country must ring with the slogan: FREE GENE DENNIS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS! *This must become a slogan of action.* It is a realizable slogan, vital to the defense of American democracy.

Free Dennis from prison—and you free millions from the fear that now grips them.

Free Dennis to go on with his work for peace, jobs and democracy—and you free from economic reprisal thousands who face unemployment because of the witch-hunt.

Win amnesty for Dennis and the other Smith Act defendants—and you put an end to further prosecutions under the Taft-Hartley Act, the McCarran Internal Security Act, the McCarran-Walter Act.

Open the doors of the penitentiaries for Dennis and his fellow patriots—and you close the doors to the wire-tap bill, the Goldwater-Rhodes

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bill, and other repressive legislation.

Free the patriot, Dennis, and the crumbling Bill of Rights will be revitalized.

Free Gene Dennis and all political prisoners—and you help free the whole American people from the grip of the Big Lie that cripples their struggle for peace, equality, economic security, and independent political action.

Gene Dennis is loved and needed by his own family, and by a host of friends. Our Party loves him for his personal qualities of warmth, humor and comradeship. It needs his Communist staunchness and integrity, his wisdom and experience, his skill in formulating and implementing policies capable of moving millions into

joint and parallel action.

At the time he was sentenced for his challenge to the Un-American Committee Gene Dennis said:

My own liberty is, of course, dear to me. But more dear to me is the liberty of the whole American people.

In that spirit, the National Committee appeals to the whole American people, to the lovers of peace and life, to every anti-fascist, to all labor and the great Negro people:

"Rally now to make August 10 a great milestone in the fight to free the people from the danger of war, fascism and depression. Restore the Bill of Rights!

*"Free Gene Dennis and All Political Prisoners!"*

# The Lewis-Beck-McDonald Trade Union Pact

By William Z. Foster

ON APRIL 30TH presidents John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers (independent), Dave Beck of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (A.F. of L.), and David J. McDonald of the United Steel Workers (C.I.O.), met at luncheon in Washington, D.C. and worked out an informal program of joint union action which may have far reaching effects upon the future of the whole labor movement. The three highly influential labor leaders spoke in the name of about 3,000,000 workers in the very strategic industries of coal, steel, and transport. The pact bears many of the characteristic earmarks of Lewis' leadership.

At a press conference held later on, with McDonald and Beck present, Lewis stated the purposes of the new pact were threefold: 1) to compel government action to end unemployment; 2) to abandon all efforts to amend the Taft-Hartley law and to insist upon its repeal, and 3) to bring pressure upon the national, state, and municipal legislatures in order to secure remedial legislation for labor. Lewis announced also that although the three big unions had no definite plan as yet, or even a name for their

new cooperative venture, they would in the future work closely together. Periodic meetings, he said, would be held. Other unions were invited to cooperate.

In a television broadcast on May 9th, Lewis further elaborated upon the new union pact. He said it was not designed to draw the U.M.W.A. into either the C.I.O. or A.F. of L., and by implication, neither of the other two participating organizations. It was his opinion that the movement would have greater scope in the near future, but he was not explicit as to just what shape this would take. Highly critical of the leadership of both national federations of labor, Lewis indicated that the bulk of the new movement's political support in the coming election campaign would go to Democratic Party candidates. He spoke neither for nor against a new labor federation.

Apparently the important top-level union conference in Washington was held without prior notice either to the A.F. of L. or the C.I.O. Consequently, there is much speculation in labor's ranks and outside as to just what the new move signifies. However, as the present article is

being written, ten days after the holding of the conference, neither of the two national federations, nor any of their individual leaders, have spoken out as yet, taking a definite stand regarding it.

#### A BACKGROUND OF WORKER DISCONTENT

Although neither Lewis, Beck, nor McDonald have given a clear outline as to just what their plans are politically and organizationally, it is clear that the new move is full of dynamic possibilities. This is obvious for two basic reasons. The first of these is because in the ranks of the labor movement there is a wide discontent among the working class upon a number of basic issues. The workers are heavily burdened by high prices, high taxes and the current decline in industry, the number of unemployed now being in the neighborhood of five to six million, and they are greatly alarmed at the growing signs of a further increase in joblessness. The Negro workers especially are being hit by unemployment. The steel, coal, and trucking industries are deeply affected by unemployment, Lewis stating that among these are 400,000 totally without work, as well as 300,000 miners and 250,000 steel workers who are working only one to four days per week. Moreover, wage cuts are also beginning in these and other industries.

Together with their unrest over the economic situation, the workers are also greatly alarmed about the growth of reaction, especially Mc-

Carthyite fascism. Far and wide they are shocked at the plague of loyalty tests, Smith and McCarran Act persecutions, and the innumerable other manifestations of thought-control and ideological intimidation that are now to be found on all sides in the United States. All this they see being cultivated by the Eisenhower Administration, which is clearly their enemy. In their trade unions, the workers have felt directly the whiplash of developing reaction in the attempts now being made in Congress to worsen still more the infamous Taft-Hartley law, as well as in the Butler-Miller, Goldwater-Rhodes and Brownell-Ferguson bills, and a whole mess of other national and state anti-labor legislation, lately passed or now pending.

In addition to their discontent over unemployment and growing political reaction, the workers likewise are increasingly fearing the development of the danger of war. They share with the other democratic elements of the American nation—the Negro people, the poor farmers, the lower middle classes—the dread of the A- and H-bombs and an atomic war. In trade unions whose leaders are committed to the war program of American imperialism, the workers do not have much opportunity to express their pro-peace sentiments, but it would be a grave miscalculation to ignore them.

The second fundamental reason creating dynamic possibilities for the Lewis-Beck-McDonald move—in addition to the workers' unrest over unemployment, political reaction, and

war danger—is the fact that the official trade-union leadership has done very little, if anything, to relieve or correct the basic evils that the workers are complaining of. Although the 16,000,000 trade unionists and their friends and allies constitute a majority of the American people, their leaders have been unwilling to make felt the tremendous potential political power of the working class and its allies.

It is a fact, of course, that the leaders of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the conservative independent unions have worked out various anti-depression programs, but they have not fought for them, especially not upon a joint, united front basis. They have also talked a great deal against the Taft-Hartley law and McCarthyism, but again real fighting action has been lacking. And as for fighting to maintain world peace, perhaps the less said about that the better. For the tragic reality is that by actively supporting the Dulles line of aggressive imperialism and anti-Communist witch-hunting, the major labor leaders have contributed to the war hysteria.

The above are basic reasons why the Lewis-Beck-McDonald union pact could have vast consequences—because the workers, the Negro people, the farmers, and other democratic strata are full of grievances and unrest, and because the official leaders of the labor movement have defaulted in their mass leadership responsibilities. Should the new combination unfold a real fight, as it prom-

ises to do, on behalf of even a few of the grievances of the workers, it would very quickly muster around itself a huge following.

#### POTENTIALITIES AND DANGERS

It is difficult at this stage to forecast whether or not the new union combination of Lewis, Beck, and McDonald will develop a progressive or a reactionary course. During the 1930's, John L. Lewis, leader of the new pact, was a dynamic force in the labor movement. He gave a splendid lead to the workers in the organization of the trustified industries and the founding of the C.I.O. Since then, however, his course has been erratic and unconstructive politically, mostly within the orbit of the Republican Party. As for Beck and McDonald, they are both in the conservative wing of organized labor, with conservative political connections. Neither has ever given any sign that he could be a leader in a progressive cause.

Under the severe pressures now upon the working class in this country, however, the coal, steel, and trucking unions have displayed recently some evidence of response. Thus, the U.M.W.A. Journal has been calling for the control and abolition of the H-bomb and other atomic weapons. It has also repeatedly fired into Senator McCarthy, and likewise, it has called for vigorous action from the government to protect the workers from the effects of the developing economic crisis. And as for the fight

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against the Taft-Hartley law, no A.F. of L. or C.I.O. union has a record equalling that of the U.M.W.A. Both the Teamsters and the Steel Workers have also been demanding anti-depression action from the government, and both of them have been attacking McCarthyism. The Teamsters' *Journal* recently gave a firm endorsement of Bishop Sheil's strong speech in Chicago against McCarthy.

The three leaders, Lewis, Beck, and McDonald, are, of course, outspoken defenders of the capitalist system, and they are also giving support to the aggressive imperialist program of the Eisenhower Administration, misnamed for national defense. All three men are also advocates of the "red menace" line and practitioners of red-baiting. In these facts are the gravest dangers to any movement that they may lead. It is quite possible, of course, to develop a strong movement in behalf of the economic demands of the workers in the crisis and also against the dangerous pest of McCarthyite fascism, and all of this must be actively supported. But organized labor can make no basic steps forward until it breaks with the war program of American imperialism. This is elementary, because in these days domestic policy is largely dependent upon foreign policy; worsened economic conditions and McCarthyism being built-in parts of imperialist foreign policy. A strong movement, however, might begin on economic issues.

The supreme need of the labor

movement at this time is united political action against the economic crisis, against McCarthyism, and against militarism and the war danger. The new union pact, by stressing the need for joint legislative action for a number of elementary demands at least formally endorses this basic worker need. This trend must be strengthened and developed by the action of the masses. If so, it could result in great progress for the labor movement. The new pact can be constructive only if it is a strong force for labor unity.

One thing that must be guarded against, however, is any tendency toward the establishment of a new labor federation. Reaction would hail such a development. Alarms are already going forth from the workers against such a danger, especially in view of Lewis' record of independent unionism and also because of the uneasy position of Beck in the A.F. of L. and of McDonald in the C.I.O. Political cooperation should be developed among all the trade unions, whatever their national affiliations; but a new labor federation is unnecessary, and any attempt to establish one could only prove disastrous by inflicting a bitter organizational struggle upon the labor movement. It would be especially disastrous to try to disintegrate the C.I.O.

#### SOME LESSONS FROM LABOR HISTORY

The new trade-union pact of Lewis, Beck, and McDonald signals an important rift in the

ranks of the top leadership of the labor movement. This in itself is nothing to be surprised at. Because of the undemocratic and unprogressive character of the great bulk of the trade-union leadership, important progressive movements, based upon wide discontent among the rank and file, usually get under way to the accompaniment of sharp divisions among the upper leaders of the trade unions. This was notable in the cases of the two most important forward movements of organized labor during the past generation, namely, the political movement climaxing in the independent presidential candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette in 1924, and the great organizing campaign, beginning in the early 1930's which culminated in the foundation of the C.I.O. and the organization of the basic, trustified industries.

The LaFollette movement, which continued and grew over the period 1917-1924, had as its base the high state of militancy of the workers during the war and during the time of the bitter post-World War I offensive of the employers. It took the two-pronged form of, on the one hand, rank-and-file union organization campaigns and labor party movements and, on the other hand, of a drive for nationalization of the railroads, cultivated by the railroad union chiefs. Leaders in this movement were such figures as Glenn Plumb, John Fitzpatrick, Warren S. Stone, and Sidney Hillman. The Gompers bureaucracy was strongly opposed. At the 1920 A.F. of L. convention in

Montreal, the proponents of the new progressive movement gave Gompers the biggest defeat of his career. After 1924, the movement petered out, mainly because of the return of "prosperity" and the subsidence of the employers' open shop drive.

The great C.I.O. organizing campaign of the 1930's was marked by a still more pronounced split among the top union officialdom. This even led to the division of the union movement into two national camps. Coming out of the bitter hardships of the great economic crisis and inspired by their election of Roosevelt in 1932, the militant working class pressed forward to the accomplishment of the central task then confronting the American labor movement, the organization of the great open-shop industries. The reactionary Gompers (then Green) leadership of the A.F. of L. tried to prevent this mass drive ahead, with the resultant split and the rolling on of the new C.I.O., chiefly under the leadership of John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, and Phillip Murray, to the winning of the greatest advance in the history of the American labor movement.

As indicated above, the situation in the trade-union movement is now ripe for another big forward stride. History has shown that the labor movement in this country, instead of steadily advancing simply along evolutionary lines, tends also to advance by periodic broad leaps ahead, an important part of which is the development, under accumulating and irresistible mass pressure, of deep

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splits in the ranks of the controlling labor bureaucracy. Since the end of World War II, and especially after the beginning of the Korean war in 1950, rank-and-file resentment and militancy have been rising because of gradually worsening economic conditions, the growth of reaction in the country, and the threatening danger of a devastating atomic world war.

True to their role as agents of the bourgeoisie, the top leaders of the A.F. of L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods, etc., have failed to give leadership to the working class and its allies in this growing crisis. Characteristically, they have sat on the safety valve until now, under rapidly rising pressures, the boiler has just about reached the bursting point. The new Lewis-Beck-McDonald trade union pact is undoubtedly an expression of this growing working class militancy, struggling for expression under severe bureaucratic trade-union controls. However, whether or not this new split in top union ranks will be able to play the progressive part that its prototypes did in 1924 and 1935 remains to be seen.

#### THE ROLE OF THE LEFT-PROGRESSIVE FORCES

The possible potential of the Lewis-Beck-McDonald pact will depend very much, if not decisively, upon the attitude taken towards it by the Left and progressive forces. Rank and file pressure, arising from mass discontent, is not enough by itself to realize a great forward movement of the labor movement; nor is the lead-

ership of conservative trade-union officials. An indispensable element is the clear-sightedness, militant spirit, and tireless energy of the broad Left wing. The whole history of the American labor movement goes to illustrate this elementary truth.

This fact was clearly demonstrated in the 1917-1924 political movement, referred to above. The united front alliance between the Workers (Communist) Party and the Chicago Federation of Labor, led by John Fitzpatrick, was a decisive factor in the historic LaFollette movement. This Left-progressive combination built labor and farmer parties directly in many states and cities throughout the country, and it also infused the broad movement with fighting spirit. The split which eventually divorced the Left from the movement in general was an elementary factor in its overall decline.

In the great C.I.O. organizing campaign, a decade later, the Left wing, especially the Communists, was also a decisive and indispensable factor. Without the Left the great industries could not have been organized. This was dramatically illustrated by the complete failure of the C.I.O. drive in the late forties to organize the industries of the South—a fruitless campaign conducted “without the Reds.” Significantly, the C.I.O. has never displayed any vitality since 1949 when, at the behest of the reactionary State Department, it split off the progressive unions—eleven of them, with some 900,000 members—forces which were so decisively important in union-

izing the basic industries, in organizing the masses of Negro workers, and in giving the C.I.O. its undisputed position as the most progressive section of the whole labor movement.

Now comes the test of the Lewis-Beck-McDonald movement. In view of the highly propitious situation among the workers for big strides forward, the Left and progressive forces in the A.F.L., the C.I.O., the Miners, and the progressive independent unions obviously should try to see to it that the new movement achieves its stated objectives, and much more. It is a fact that the broad Left is under heavy fire from the warmongers and witch-hunters of the Eisenhower regime. But it nevertheless possesses great potential strength, which, with a proper program and spirit of resolution, it can bring into effective action. The launching of the new Lewis-Beck-McDonald movement offers it an opportunity to help organized labor achieve major progress.

The move for joint action for common objectives by the trade unions to be constructive, should be developed so as to include all labor organizations.\* At the same time, care should be exercised to prevent the movement from being misdirected into an attack against either the C.I.O. or A.F. of L., or towards the formation of a new labor federation. This would be a major step backward. The Lewis-Beck-McDonald pact should bring about more, not

\* At the recent Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention in Atlantic City, McDonald called for a broad, general political movement of all workers.

less, trade-union unity. The labor movement is ripe for the broadest united front fight in support of the workers' elementary demands.

The demands of the Lewis-Beck-McDonald movement, as outlined above, are basic and if pushed aggressively could receive the active support of all Left and progressive forces. The C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unemployment programs should be merged. At the same time, the program of the movement should be broadened to include a solid struggle against McCarthyism, for the elementary demands of the Negro people and the farmers, and, eventually also, against the whole war program of American imperialism. Nothing short of this can provide an effective fighting program for the American working class.

The movement should not confine itself merely to fighting immediately for specific issues, important though these are. It should also undertake to give a strong political lead to the workers in the coming national elections this Fall. The bulk of the workers, as well as their Negro and farmer allies, are now generally supporting candidates of the Democratic Party, and any attempt to lead them toward the Republican Party would be disastrous. The Draft Program of the Communist Party clearly outlines the tasks in organizing these forces—to register now the maximum political effect, to defeat McCarthyism, to oust the Eisenhower regime and to move towards the establishment of a broad labor-farmer party.

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# The H-Bomb and Indo-China

By Richard Walker

THE HYDROGEN BOMB EXPLOSIONS which the Eisenhower Administration set off in the Marshall Islands during March and April of 1954 have had several major consequences. They have horrified mankind and stimulated a massive expansion and strengthening of the peace forces. These explosions have exposed to the world the vicious aims of U.S. imperialism and have helped to place very serious questions in the minds of the American people. And they have enhanced and made universal the urge to ban the H-bomb. For it is becoming more and more understood that if the H-bomb remains in the hands of the most reckless circles of the war camp, the danger always exists that those circles will strive to realize their determination to achieve world mastery by a resort to hydrogen and atomic weapons.

The world political crisis in respect to Indo-China dramatically illustrates these consequences. In addition, it underscores the urgency of efforts to realize the possibilities for peaceful co-existence, and further to isolate, weaken and eventually render impotent the forces driving for a

new world war. Such efforts demand the highest patriotism, the loftiest feelings, the most indomitable courage. Communists give highest priority to grasping and utilizing the new possibilities for peace, to the exposure and weakening of the new dangers of war.

## II

What is new in the outlook and prospect for peaceful coexistence since the Bikini explosions?

First of all, there is the now universal conviction that every individual human being has a life-or-death stake in peace. No one any longer is able to remain disinterested, or to have only an academic interest in questions of peace or war. The World Peace Council, meeting in Vienna last March 28-30, defined this new development in its Declaration on Atomic Weapons:

The explosion of the hydrogen bomb at Bikini, its terrible effect on human life, the impossibility of controlling the radius of its action, and the threat to employ the hydrogen bomb, have aroused indignation in every part of the world. Prohibition of atomic weapons, demanded in the Stockholm

Appeal and supported by hundreds of millions, has today become the demand of all the nations. It is not in order to annihilate man, nor to destroy instantly the fruits of thousands of years of his labor, that science has released boundless energies, but to provide him with means of alleviating his present sufferings and advancing to a better and richer life.

Second, there is a new and wider recognition of the indivisibility of peace. The H-bomb, hitched to the "massive, instant retaliation" policy of the Eisenhower Administration, raises into sharp focus not only the possibility, but the probability as well, that "local wars" of today tend to become world wars. The H-bomb epitomizes the ultimate of total war for the whole world. Consequently, the struggle to prevent an H-bomb war necessarily encompasses struggles against "local wars", against all other developments breeding war, and against other forms and weapons of warfare.

Today, for instance, the peoples recognize that what begins as an "incident" in a colonial country can pass tomorrow into a conflict enveloping continents. The so-called "cold war" is increasingly recognized as the breeder of "hot war." The colonial liberation struggles bring cries in the U.S. Congress for "atomic retaliation" under the guise that they represent "Communist aggression." These new realizations partly explain the great struggles of the peoples against U.S. armed interven-

tion in Indo-China. It should be recalled that the Eisenhower Administration accelerated its drive to send troops into Indo-China at approximately the same time as the Bikini explosions. This drive to expand the war in Indo-China alerted the world not only to the possibility of an H-bomb war, but also to the increased danger of its outbreak. Hence, today's keener awareness of the persistence of this increased danger, so long as the Eisenhower Administration adheres to its foreign program. In consequence, the peoples are turning to all potentialities for promoting peace.

A third new development since the H-bomb explosions, but certainly first in importance, is the massive expansion and strengthening of the peace movement. The manifestations of this are numerous. Among the more important are the increased peace activity of the people of the United States; the activation in peace work of formerly passive, indifferent, and even very conservative strata in other countries; and the new initiatives for peace undertaken by governments, international organizations, national organizations and individuals of all classes, creeds, and callings.

Here the word "massive" is used deliberately. For no other adjective can adequately characterize a development which has created a common issue for such varied and politically diversified sections of humanity as the Prime Ministers of the Soviet Union, India and Indonesia, Pope

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Pius XII, the Prelates of the Church of England, Dr. Herbert Evatt of the Australian Labor Party, the Italian Parliament, former Governor Fuller Warren of Florida, the Japanese Confederation of Labor, the Marshall Islanders, and the British House of Commons.

The peoples' horror and indignation found expressions in many programmatic statements and appeals. Pope Pius pledged to "tirelessly endeavor to bring about, by means of international agreement . . . the efficacious proscription and banishment of atomic, biological and chemical warfare. . . ." The British House of Commons called for immediate top-level talks between Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union to ban the H-bomb. The World Peace Council declared:

Outlawing of atomic warfare is not only necessary, but feasible. It can be achieved through an international agreement banning all types of radio-active weapons and radio-active gases. A system of international inspection and control can and must be instituted. The peoples must immediately demand of the governments conclusion of an agreement banning all types of mass destruction weapons.

India's Prime Minister Nehru proposed a program aimed at stopping the H-bomb tests and action by states and peoples to stop the atomic arms race.

In his speech to the Indian Parliament, Nehru had taken note of the

fact that the Bikini explosions had occurred close to Asia, and that "Asia and her peoples appear to be always nearer these . . . experiments and their fearsome consequences." Implicit in his remarks was the recollection that an Asian people, the Japanese, had been the first victims of the U.S. atomic bombs—a fact which impressed the Asian peoples, and others as well, as having had a racist motivation among others. The charge by China and North Korea that they had been subjected to germ warfare by the U.S. forces during the Korean war also impressed Asian peoples.

Moreover, the racist aspect of the Bikini tests was clearly exposed by the petition on May 14 of the Marshall Islanders to the United Nations. This petition, in addition to indicting the United States government for violation of its trusteeship agreement under the United Nations (the Marshallese cited the systematic dispossession of their land by the United States), reported the sufferings of victims, and asked that "all the experiments with lethal weapons within this area be immediately ceased."

The government of the U.S.S.R., in its note of March 31 to France, Britain and the United States, recalled its repeated proposals in the United Nations for a general reduction of armaments by the States and prohibition of atomic and other weapons.

These formal proposals were repeated on April 26 by Premier Mal-

enkov in a speech to the Supreme Soviet.\*

Earlier, at the Berlin Conference, Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov had proposed a world conference on disarmament during 1954. And at the Geneva Far Eastern Conference, Molotov again raised the question of the necessity for banning weapons of mass destruction. For months, meanwhile, all information organs of the Soviet Union have maintained an unceasing flow of information and argument in support of the Soviet proposals.

Of special significance is the increased peace activity in the United States. A new feature of this activity is that since the Bikini explosions the officialdom of the trade-union movement has begun to reflect the peace aspirations of the rank and file. In addition, the outpouring of expressions of opinion from individuals and the willingness of newspaper publishers to print them is unparalleled. The Scripps-Howard newspapers said on April 3: "Congressmen are beginning to get it in the mail. Many constituents want the H-bomb tests stopped." And Washington correspondent Robert S. Allen said in his syndicated column of April 9 that an "extraordinary volume of mail" was entering the White House. "Virtually all express great alarm and urge either more public information or measures to ban atomic warfare. Many . . . contain references to papers and magazines pub-

lished by religious organizations. . . . They come from reputable individuals."

The numerous arguments and opinions expressed by these letter-writers would be worthy of a special study. They reflected all creeds, faiths, political opinions and degrees of education. They came from people of every occupation and every part of the country. They spoke out unanimously against hydrogen warfare and expressed a critical attitude toward the Eisenhower Administration.

Trade-union action calling for a ban of the H-bomb or for negotiations to renounce its use in war was taken by a number of powerful international unions and many local labor organizations. On April 15 the United Mine Workers appealed to the nations of the world "to make another desperate try at eliminating war," since the hydrogen bomb confronts mankind "with the possibility that the civilized world as we know it faces extinction." The Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO) demanded that President Eisenhower stop playing power politics with the H-bomb and start working to guarantee peace. The packinghouse workers of Chicago held a 12,000-member demonstration before the Swift & Company plant during which they protested the Eisenhower Administration's "threatening the world with hydrogen bomb destruction." The CIO Textile Workers of America declared that "a peaceful settlement . . . is the only road to survival."

\* Printed elsewhere in this issue.—Ed.



The International Fur and Leather Workers demanded agreement to ban the arms race. A special note of solidarity with the Japanese victims of the Bikini blasts was struck by the executive board of Local 3, Fisherman & Allied Workers Division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. In its letter to the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, the fishermen leaders declared that the very testing of nuclear weapons "must doom the Japanese nation to ruin." "No More Bikinis!" it declared.

Such developments indicate the new possibilities for establishing working relations amongst the most diverse sections of the American people on a common program to prevent a hydrogen bomb war. Together with the world-wide developments in the peace camp, they open the way to a new alignment of forces in the world and in our own country. They form the conditions for discussion of all questions of war and peace with one's neighbors, shop-mates, and co-workers. They offer opportunities for demanding the end of the H-bomb tests and the banning of atomic warfare. They conduce everywhere to the organization of broad movements for negotiations to settle outstanding differences and establish normal, peaceful relations amongst the powers.

### III.

Wherein, then, lies the increased danger of a hydrogen bomb war?

What is the source of this danger, its manifestations, its indicated development?

Confronted by the upsurge of peace activity following the H-bomb tests, the decisive sections of U.S. imperialism reacted with increased repression at home and greater adventurism abroad. While acting half-heartedly, in the Army-McCarthy hearings, to subject Senator McCarthy to Republican Party discipline, the Administration moved to carry out McCarthy's program. It employed the typical McCarthyite "anti-Communist" charges against the atom-bomb scientist, J. Robert Oppenheimer, despite the fact that these charges, as official spokesmen admitted, were "old stuff" to everyone in Administration top circles. Oppenheimer's real "offense" had been to advise, together with other scientists, against the manufacture of the H-bomb and urge the Administration to seek an agreement with the Soviet Union not to make the weapon. With the reprisal against Oppenheimer, the Administration served notice that it would regard opposition to its H-bomb policy as "disloyal". The U.S. correspondent of *The New Statesman and Nation* (London) noted in its April 24 issue:

For the first time it has been clearly enunciated in the official charges that to have advocated a policy which was not subsequently adopted, or to have opposed a policy which was subsequently adopted, post hoc casts suspi-

cating or opposing, even if his advice had been sought in the first place.

Besides its attack on scientists who had opposed the H-bomb, the Eisenhower Administration adopted other features of McCarthyism. It emphasized its intention to continue the hoax of the "Communist menace" by serving notice of new "constitutional" attacks on Communists and Communist sympathizers. It advanced another step toward abolition of the rights of trade unions, through wiretap legislation and other measures providing for the compulsory dissolution or the denial of bargaining rights to unions allegedly "controlled by" or "infiltrated with" Communists. And it pressed for a uranium give-away to the biggest Wall Street trusts. This last measure, as James S. Allen recently remarked (*Political Affairs*, March 1954), would ensure the continuation of atomic weapons production as the most lucrative source of maximum profit and a means of protecting existing investment in other sources of power. It also would encourage more aggressive activities by U.S. monopolies abroad, with their inevitable rivalry with other imperialist powers, their provocations and intrigue against other governments, and their pitiless exploitation of colonial peoples.

The Administration's economic policy followed the same pattern. Having rejected offers of both the Soviet and Chinese governments to

ease the U.S. farm crisis by purchasing most of the surplus butter and cottonseed oil stockpiles in U.S. warehouses, the Administration sent Harold E. Stassen to London to try to head off the European countries' drive for East-West trade. Though this effort failed, the Administration continued to maintain its trade restrictions against China and the European Socialist countries. It fought for and obtained an appropriation of \$1,060,968,000 for hydrogen and atomic weapons production, ignoring the growing demands of labor and the people for a housing and public works program to meet the growing depression. Instead of a jobs program and expanded social security to care for the unemployed, now more than five million, it proposed adoption of Universal Military Training. And although the huge war budget had been sold to the country as "more security for the dollar," Administration spokesmen soon began to speak of the necessity of a review of the estimates which were \$5 billions less than the preceding year.

Parallel with these McCarthyite measures, the Administration grew increasingly reckless in foreign policy. True, like the trend toward McCarthyism, the trend toward adventurism antedated the H-bomb explosions. Dulles began efforts to carry out his "liberation-from Communism" program the moment he took office. After announcing the "massive retaliation" policy—central to the Eisenhower-Dulles approach to foreign

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affairs—and in order to lend emphasis to the import of that policy, came the H-bomb blasts which horrified the world. Meanwhile, and as part of the whole reactionary character of his foreign policy, Dulles threatened People's China repeatedly; concluded an alliance with Spanish fascism; torpedoed agreement at the Berlin Conference on European security; negotiated military bases agreements with Pakistan and Iraq; forged the Pakistan-Turkish Pact as the nucleus of a Middle Eastern aggressive war bloc; launched an attack at the Caracas Conference on the national sovereignty of Latin-American countries; accelerated the rearmament of Japanese militarism through the Japanese-U.S. mutual assistance treaty; began efforts to create an "Asian" alliance to implement the program of arming Asians to fight Asians; and announced the Administration's intention to "save" Indo-China from "Communism."

A Yale professor of international law and advocate of more atomic weapons, Bernard Brodie, defined what H-bomb war means in respect to one's own country as well as the countries of others. "It is self-evident," he wrote (*Foreign Affairs*, January, 1954), "that national objectives in war cannot be consonant with national suicide. But for the future there is no use talking about an unrestricted mutual exchange of nuclear weapons as involving anything other than national suicide for both sides." The H-bomb, Brodie

explains, is a "city-buster." If fifty or sixty were dropped on the larger cities of either the Soviet Union or the United States, "there might not be enough industry surviving to be worth going after. What this will mean for the inhabitants of the cities concerned is another matter."

Thus, the Bikini explosions were looked upon by most people as a manifestation of extreme recklessness, indeed of madness among the men of Wall Street and Washington. This fact explains the real fear which was so widely registered. For it seemed only logical to suppose that men so rash as to gamble with the very existence of their own nation, would have no scruples about gambling with the existence of other nations. How correct this supposition turned out to be was soon seen in the developing Eisenhower policy in Indo-China.

#### IV.

The intervention of U.S. imperialism in Indo-China is not new. Imperialist propagandists may have succeeded in concealing Wall Street's real aims in this country from most of the American people. They were not so successful with other peoples. The British pierced the mask of Wall Street's "anti-colonialism" before the Japanese troops had been expelled from Indo-China. *The New Statesman and Nation* of April 17, 1954, recalling those days, declared that "American O.S.S. men, led by Major Patti, roamed over Tonkin, assuring

the Vietnamese that as the French had not taken part in the Potsdam talks, no agreement existed that French sovereignty should be restored. Later, in October (1945), when Ho Chi Minh was offered economic advantages in exchange for a guarantee that the concessions for railways, roads and aerodromes should be exploited solely by American interests, he refused." Thus, U.S. imperialism lost no time in seeking to take over this part of the French empire. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, of which Ho Chi Minh was President, had been proclaimed but a few days earlier, on September 2, 1945. Had Ho been willing to sell his country to the emissaries of Wall Street at that time, there would be no "Indo-China situation" today, as we know it.

Ho Chi Minh's refusal to sell out to Wall Street delayed but did not end U.S. imperialism's determination to seize Indo-China from the French, and to crush the effort at colonial liberation. The French understood this, and French spokesmen rejected at first U.S. offers to "assist" in attempting to "pacify" the country. But Wall Street persisted, and as the Marshall Plan subordinated French imperialism to U.S. imperialist domination, French governments increasingly accepted the dictation of Washington in regard to both the political and military aspects of restoring French rule.

The French colonialist war in Indo-China had thus become, even before

the Truman Administration announced its program of military and financial assistance, in fact an effort by Wall Street to oust the French and itself take over Indo-China. But as the Eisenhower Administration inaugurated a more aggressively reactionary policy in all aspects of both domestic and foreign policy, it sharply accelerated this development. The current extreme danger of U.S. armed intervention in Indo-China is the direct result of the Eisenhower-Dulles program. It reveals a number of important facts about U.S. imperialism's current policies.

First, the Indo-China situation revealed that U.S. imperialism was prepared to use atomic weapons in Indo-China. According to the Washington columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop (*New York Herald Tribune*, May 10):

A month ago the American Air Force and Navy joined in offering a plan that would almost have saved Dienbienphu. . . . Planes from naval carriers and longer range planes from the American Air Force bases on Okinawa were to join in dropping hardly more than a hatful of tactical atomic bombs on Dienbienphu's Communist besiegers.

Second, U.S. imperialism, counting on the Right-wing reformist leadership of the trade unions and Negro people's organizations to hold the U.S. masses in line, and on the willingness of Democratic Party leaders to restore "bi-partisanship" in for-

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eign policy, prepared to scrap the Eisenhower Administration's "no-more-Koreas" election pledges and to send American GIs to Indo-China in defiance of the popular outcry against intervention.

Third, the Administration's failure to obtain British support and joint action in the Indo-China intervention, its failure to win either the support or the neutralization of any Asian nation at the Colombo conference of Southeast Asian Prime Ministers, and its underestimation of the extent and power of the American people's opposition to intervention, all combine to create a new foreign policy impasse. The crucial question was whether to "go it alone" or to fall back and try again to establish something more substantial than token "united action."

The decisive sectors of Wall Street monopoly-capital decided on the latter alternative. But President Eisenhower and Dulles hastened to proclaim that they had not yet abandoned intervention as originally planned. The U.S. delegation at the Geneva conference flatly rejected Ho Chi Minh's proposals for a cease-fire and political settlement. And, as this is written, the Administration is still plotting to intervene. "President Eisenhower," reported columnist Robert S. Allen from Washington in the *New York Post* of May 10, "has won support of top Republican and Democratic leaders of Congress for sending American troops to Indo-China—on one condition. This cru-

cial requirement is that the intervention be favored by Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand."

The fact is that U.S. imperialism has suffered a severe setback in Indo-China, capped by the historic Battle of Dienbienphu. In the face of mounting inter-imperialist rivalries and contradictions it seeks to force an alliance and it will continue to maneuver for this purpose, but the danger of its adopting a "go-it-alone" policy is great.

And ever present is the great danger of U.S. imperialism's resort to nuclear warfare.

The supreme danger of such a total nuclear war arises from the growth of McCarthyite influence in the Administration. Indeed, at the present moment, the McCarthyite forces are pressing for "going it alone" in Indo-China.

## V

In the face of this terrible danger of a hydrogen bomb war, how can the new possibilities for peaceful coexistence be realized? The answer is that they can be realized, the Wall Street adventurers can be curbed and mankind saved from the horror of an H-bomb war, if the people of the United States unite in the broadest national front and wage a relentless, uninterrupted struggle for a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence. The conditions of today are particularly favorable for winning successes in such a struggle.

The Eisenhower Administration's

defeat in Indo-China has rendered acute the long-developing crisis of Wall Street's foreign policy. At the same time it has exposed the false estimates of world reality, the hypocritical pretensions and vicious motivations of this foreign policy. The camouflaged rifts and antagonisms in the war camp were suddenly projected into the open. Most important, the deceit and demagogy with which Wall Street had striven to conceal its real aims was exploded, and U.S. imperialism stood revealed as the most active, aggressive, war-breeding force in the world—the sole force striving to continue the war in Indo-China and extend it to Asia and the world.

As a result, there has developed a growing demand for a new foreign policy. This demand coincides with, and draws support from, the people's demands for a lowering of taxes, for a program of jobs and expanded social security, for housing and public works projects, East-West trade, the restoration and preservation of Constitutional liberties and the checking of McCarthyism. The elections this fall and in 1956 provide opportunities for changing the alignment of forces in the Democratic Party and for independent political action especially by the working class to check the adventurism of the Eisenhower Administration and then turn out the Administration.

In the struggle for this national front against the program of hydrogen and atomic weapons warfare,

there are several key areas of collision with imperialist ideology and imperialist forces.

First, it is necessary to expose the demagogy of the Eisenhower Administration. Great confusion still exists regarding the Administration's policies of "negotiations from positions of strength," "security at bargain rates," "technical assistance to underdeveloped countries," and the President's proposal for an atomic stockpile for peaceful purposes. The people do not realize as yet that Dulles participates in negotiations in a way designed to deceive the peoples and to discredit the principle of negotiation as a method of settling disputed questions. The Administration has not yet seriously negotiated with a view to reaching an amicable settlement. Hence, the fight for serious negotiations cannot be lessened in the slightest.

In the struggle against illusions in Eisenhower's program, insufficient attention is given the conspicuous racist aspect of this program. This permeates Wall Street's whole policy in relation to Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and outrages not only the Asians, Africans and other colored peoples outside our country, but, we may be sure, the Negro people, the Latin American, Asian and other minorities in the United States.

Second, it is necessary to free the democratic-minded, peace-loving masses, generally supporting the Democratic Party, and those in Right-wing-led trade unions and people's

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organizations from their leaders' support of the Administration's foreign policy especially as they cloak it in the name of defending "independence." Through such a struggle the possibility appears of helping to effect a re-alignment of political forces in time to influence the fall elections.

In order effectively to influence the development of national resistance to a hydrogen bomb war, the Left progressive forces, and first of all, the Communists, must fight for a clear line in respect to both the increased danger of war and the new possibilities for peace. Confusion and passivity engendered by ideas that war is inevitable or that peace is inevitable immobilize the Left at the very moment of its opportunity for effective activity. Such confusion and unclarity result in the counterposing of other issues to the peace struggle, and to the neglect of ever-increasing opportunities to influence the people and assist them in organizing to

secure peace.

Every effort should be made, through individual visits, delegations, letters, etc., to commit every candidate for every office to an anti-interventionist position, to opposition to the use of atomic weapons, and to a position as favorable to peace as is possible. Every effort should be made to guarantee the defeat of war-mongering candidates. The whole struggle against war has to be placed centrally in all election efforts and the pressure for peace must be maintained and enhanced, in every conceivable manner — letters to newspapers, petition campaigns, etc. Of central importance, of course, are actions by labor, farmers and the Negro people.

Surely, the direct, immediate interests of every man, woman and child in our country require this kind of struggle. The future of our families, our country, and of humanity demands it.

# The 1954 State Budget of the USSR

By G. M. Malenkov

*Chairman, Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.*

COMRADES DEPUTIES, the draft of the state budget submitted by the Government for consideration by the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. fully reflects the policy of the Communist Party aimed at further advancing the Soviet economy and the well-being of the people, at ensuring the defense of the country and reinforcing the might of our homeland.

## I

The substantial growth of the state budget is an index of the economic advance of our country. Compared with 1950, the revenue side of the 1954 state budget shows an increase of 149,000 million roubles and is more than three times the budget revenue of the prewar year of 1940. It should be borne in mind that the growth of the budget is taking place at a time when the Party and the Government are pursuing a consistent policy of reducing the retail prices of foodstuffs and manufactured goods. The decline in state revenue as a result of the reduction of consumer-goods prices is made good by the increased income from the socialist enterprises due to increased

production, higher labor productivity and lower production costs.

Close to 327,000 million roubles are earmarked for the development of the national economy this year. This means that investments in the national economy are being increased by 57% compared with 1950. A substantial share of the appropriations will go for capital investments.

Expenditure on the social and cultural requirements of the Soviet people in 1954 is estimated at more than 141,000 million roubles, which almost equals the total state budget expenditure for 1939.

Development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., as in previous years, continues at a rate of which capitalist countries, even those with most highly developed economies, cannot dream.

During the past three years of the fifth Five-Year Plan industrial output rose 45%, with output of the means of production rising 46% and output of consumer goods 43%. The number of industrial and office workers employed in the national economy

\* Speech to the Soviet of Nationalities, April 26, 1954. From *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, April 30. Condensed text.



rose by nearly 6 million during this period; real wages of industrial and office workers rose 30% and the total income of industrial and office workers and that of the peasants rose, in comparable prices, 34%.

Extending in every way the front of peaceful creative construction, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Government are displaying unflinching concern for the further strengthening of the defense capacity of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Armed Forces have now and will have in the future everything necessary for discharging their noble mission—to stand guard over the country and to be always ready to give a crushing rebuff to the aggressor who would venture to violate the peaceful labor of the peoples of our country!

Fulfillment of this year's tasks in industry will mean a big step forward in the development of the economy of the Soviet Union. Suffice it to say that in 1954 steel output will go up 51% compared with 1950, coal 33%, electric power 63%, cement more than 80% and machinery and equipment 90%; output of consumer goods will rise more than 60% and there will be a 75% increase in trade. The Five-Year Plan assignments for output of consumer goods and extension of trade will be fulfilled ahead of time, that is, in four years.

As you know the Party and the Government have taken important measures for the further development of agriculture. For the purpose of

increasing grain production the area sown to crops is being extended, mainly by bringing virgin and unused land under cultivation; the production and delivery of tractors and farm machinery to the countryside is being substantially expanded which will make it possible to mechanize farm production to a still greater degree; the machine and tractor stations and the collective and state farms are being reinforced with agronomists, zoo-technicians, machine operators and other specialists. A flexible system is being introduced with the aim of encouraging and stimulating to the utmost the development of farm production. This creates the requisites for harmoniously combining the constantly growing requirements of the population for farm products and of industry for agricultural raw materials with a simultaneous increase in farm products based on higher material incentive and greater economic stimulus to the working people of the countryside, the growers of these products.

The national economy of the U.S.S.R. now has everything necessary for securing a more rapid rise in labor productivity. Our Party under the leadership of the great continuer of Lenin's cause—J. V. Stalin—succeeded in ensuring for the national economy of the U.S.S.R. a powerful technical foundation. During the postwar years industry received new equipment and machinery totaling over 150,000 million

roubles, transport 50,000 million roubles and agriculture over 60,000 million roubles. The powerful stream of equipment and machinery which enables us to economize and ease labor and raise its productivity is increasing year by year.

In order to ensure the further growth of heavy industry, the backbone of the entire national economy and of the might of the country, it is necessary to continue to go full steam ahead with the construction of power stations so that every branch of production, including agriculture, has a mighty power base in the shape of electric energy. V. I. Lenin pointed out that "electrification of the whole country represents that big-scale industry which conforms to the level of modern technology and is capable of reorganizing agriculture." Consequently, we are confronted with the important national-economic task of going ahead with electrification at a rate and on a scale that would result in power capacity outstripping the other branches of the economy.

The requirements of further raising labor productivity oblige us considerably to increase complex mechanization, which should embrace not only the main production processes but also all intermediate and subsidiary processes which often take more people than the main processes. . . .

One of the important conditions for ensuring a further rapid rise in labor productivity is extensive appli-

cation of scientific and engineering achievements in industry and agriculture. The peoples of our country take pride in the achievements of Soviet science which open up new and vast possibilities for technical progress. The great service of Soviet scientists is the ever-growing utilization of atomic energy both in the interests of safeguarding the security of our homeland and for peaceful industrial purposes. It is necessary to raise still higher the degree of practical utilization of the achievements of science and engineering, to strengthen the contact of the scientists and the scientific organizations with production. There can be no doubt that Soviet scientists will make a new and important contribution to reinforcing the might of our homeland, to ensuring a further rise in the productivity of social labor.

Thus, the task is to perfect in every way possible the technique of production on the basis of electrification, to introduce on a still wider scale the achievements of science and engineering, to introduce to a greater degree complex mechanization in all spheres of production, to make fuller use of the available machinery and equipment, strictly to observe at every enterprise discipline in the technological processes of production and to improve in every way the quality of output.

The rise in the level of the technical equipment of our national economy is inseparably bound up with

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the raising of the cultural and technical level of the working people. The time is not far off when the entire young generation both in town and country will enter production with a secondary education. More than 9 million workers and collective farmers study annually in the different links for improving skills. But in the actual production training of the working people there is still much that is primitive, while the enormous funds assigned by the state for this purpose are not always, by far, used rationally. The executives of ministries and departments must take this great and important job into their own hands and show daily concern for further raising the cultural and technical level of the working people. . . .

A big advantage of our socialist system lies in the fact that we have all the possibilities for developing the national economy on a strictly scientific basis. The enormous achievements of the Soviet system of planning are generally known. All the greater must be our resolution in eliminating the shortcomings in planning which interfere with the full utilization of all the advantages of the planned system.

Our planning bodies, together with elaborating the main tasks, often try to define from the center a multitude of detailed indices for industrial establishments, construction sites, railways, state farms, collective farms, trading establishments and other organizations. And this is done with-

out proper knowledge of the diverse local conditions and potentialities and, consequently, without adequate competence. It is perfectly obvious that such planning creates difficulties in the localities and fetters the initiative of the local organs. . . .

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government demand that all links of the Soviet state apparatus, all officials should work on the basis of the strictest observance of the law, that they safeguard the rights of the Soviet people. As for those officials who practice arbitrary and lawless actions against Soviet citizens, they will continue to be punished severely, irrespective of person or rank.

Comrades, the internal policy of our Party and the Government invariably consists in further strengthening the might of the socialist state, the great friendship of the peoples of our country, the unbreakable alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, in developing the economy and culture in every way, tirelessly reinforcing the defense of the Soviet Union and ensuring a further rapid rise in the living standard of the people.

Under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party the Soviet people will achieve new and decisive success in building Communist society.

## II

Comrades Deputies, in interna-

tional affairs mention should be made first of all of the fact that of late a certain relaxation of the tension has taken place. This relaxation, undoubtedly, is a result of the active struggle waged by the peace-loving forces against the aggressive course of United States influential circles and their accomplices.

The striving of the peoples for peace has really become the powerful motive force of our times, it is the basis of that important process which today leaves its stamp on the life of many countries in Europe and Asia. We have in mind the process of the unification of the healthy forces of the nations to defend peace and the security of the peoples.

Progressive mankind sees and knows that the efforts of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies have played an important part in easing the international tension. The policy of the Soviet Union aimed at strengthening peace has won for it the profound confidence of the peace-loving peoples. We sacredly cherish this confidence. We know that it is our most precious moral capital.

A big influence on the international situation as a whole is exerted by the fact that the inviolable friendship of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies has become firmly established over a huge area of the globe.

A new page in the history of the great Chinese people was opened in

1953. The People's Republic of China began work on its Five-Year Plan for developing and reconstructing the economy of the country. The heroic efforts of the Chinese people under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party are the sure guarantee that the plan for the industrialization of China will be successfully carried out. The Soviet people are proud that they are making a certain contribution to the accomplishment of this task.

The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the European People's Democracies are energetically helping the fraternal people of Korea in the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy.

The friendship of the Soviet people with the German Democratic Republic has become deeper and stronger. The international significance of the German Democratic Republic as an important factor in the re-establishment of the national unity of the German people and the transformation of Germany into a peace-loving state is growing daily.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the development of foreign trade and economic relations. Last year our country traded with over 50 states, with 25 of them on the basis of annual or long-term trade agreements. The volume of the Soviet Union's foreign trade increased by almost 125% between 1948 and 1953. Our trade with the People's Democracies rose considerably. As for trade with the capitalist coun-

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tries, its development is hampered by the policy of discrimination pursued under the pressure of the U.S. ruling circles. Experience has shown that the policy of discrimination is unwise and shortsighted, and that it has done considerable harm to the states that submitted to the American diktat. The failure of the discrimination policy is obvious. And if, despite this, certain American quarters still cling to it, ignoring the object lessons of experience, the United States of America alone stands to lose as a result. The Soviet Union plans a further wide extension of its foreign trade with all those countries displaying a corresponding reciprocal interest.

As you know, the Soviet Government has taken a number of steps to ensure friendly relations with all neighboring countries. These efforts have yielded certain positive results, although in individual countries they did not meet with the proper response in official quarters. Turkish circles, for instance, are acting as though Turkey were less interested than the Soviet Union in establishing good neighborly relations. The principle of reciprocity is the basis for good neighborly friendship. The Soviet Union has always been guided and always will be guided by this principle.

The Soviet people are distinguished by a sober approach in evaluating the international situation. And today they give warning against overrating the significance of the lessening of

the international tension so far achieved, since the adversaries of strengthening peace have not relinquished their aggressive designs, are continuing the arms drive, inciting an extension of the war in Indo-China, establishing more military bases and military blocs. The West German militarists are beginning to feel themselves in the saddle once more and, increasingly, act not as a potentially aggressive force but as a real threat to European security. At the same time Japan is speedily being groomed for its role as a shock force for new imperialist aggression in Asia.

The aggressive circles artificially maintain a climate of war hysteria, threatening the world with the hydrogen bomb, openly proclaiming the policy of positions of strength and prolonged cold war and resort to methods of threats and intimidation.

What can be said on that score?

First of all this. It is known that an atmosphere of optimism, confidence and peaceful creative labor reigns in the Soviet Union. But in the United States on the other hand, and this is admitted in official American quarters, the social atmosphere is poisoned by a feeling of fear, dread and despondency. Such, it follows, are the results of the policy of threats and intimidation.

Further, the Soviet Government has adhered in the past and adheres now to the view that the capitalist and the socialist systems can fully co-exist peacefully, competing with

one another economically. Guided by this consideration we are consistently pursuing a policy of peace and of strengthening international co-operation. Should, however, the aggressive circles, with their hopes placed on atomic weapons, be crazy enough to test the strength and might of the Soviet Union, then there can be no doubt that the aggressor would be crushed by the self-same weapon, and that such a venture would inevitably lead to the disintegration of the capitalist social system. Do not the lessons of history, as evidenced by the first and second world wars, which left capitalism with a substantially reduced sphere of dominance, provide clear testimony to this? It is common knowledge that already, as a result of the two world wars, over one-third of mankind has forever broken with capitalism.

In present circumstances the question arises: what is the main task of the peace-loving forces? The great mission of all champions of peace is to thwart the plans of the aggressive circles, achieve a further lessening of the international tension and promote to the utmost peaceful co-operation between the nations.

The vital interests of mankind call for the solution of the problem of banning atomic weapons. The task is to render impossible the utilization of atomic energy, this great discovery of human genius, for purposes of wholesale annihilation of the civilian population, for the destruction of large cities—centers of industry,

learning and science. The Soviet Government is working to secure an effective solution of this problem. At the same time the Soviet Government has always stood and stands now for a general and substantial reduction in armaments and of armed forces.

It is clear to all that no further relaxation of the international tension can be achieved unless the normalization of relations between the Great Powers is ensured. This implies, first and foremost, abandonment of the policy of discrimination with regard to the People's Republic of China. The line pursued by the aggressive circles in relation to the great Chinese people is a challenge to all the peoples of Asia. This line is linked with the desire of the aggressive circles to suppress the powerful national-liberation movement of the peoples of the East. But is it not time to understand that in the East great solidarity is growing more and more among the freedom-loving peoples fighting against the attempts of the aggressive forces to convert Asia into a zone of eternal colonial oppression and slavery? Facts have convinced progressive mankind that the People's Republic of China is headed by genuine champions of national progress, world peace and friendship between the people. The restoration to the People's Republic of China of all its lawful rights is an urgent international task at this juncture.

The vital condition for strength-

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ening peace is the creation of sound and firm guarantees of security in Europe. The point is precisely one of sound and firm guarantees of security, since throughout the first half of the twentieth century the soil of Europe has been soaked far too much with the blood of the sons of the nations of Europe. The nations of Europe do not want, cannot permit and will not permit that every twenty years Europe becomes the arena of bloodshed and destruction.

In certain quarters on the other side of the Atlantic it is now considered fashionable to slight Europe; she is, don't you see, mortally sick and pining away, and the sole remedy is, allegedly, for many of the European states to relinquish their national sovereignty. The greatest perversion of the truth is the fashionable, if one may use the term, theory, to the effect that the era of sovereign states has departed. No, the era of sovereign state has not departed. It is in full bloom. And anyone who raises his hand against the sovereignty of the European countries and seeks to re-carve in his own way the historically moulded and historically justified system of European states endangers the vital interests of European security.

The Soviet Union attaches paramount importance to the strengthening of European security. And any European state pursuing this same aim can count on the firm friendship of the Soviet Union, on sincere understanding of its national needs.

European security can become a reality only as the collective security of the sovereign states of Europe. Attempts are made, however, to convince us that there is another way of safeguarding European security. Which way? It appears that this way is the way of reviving German militarism and forming a military bloc of Western Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Can one imagine a more blasphemous attitude towards the vital interests of the people of Europe? Indeed, what is to prevent the German militarists from taking over the whole of Western Europe if, in addition to being given vast subsidies to develop their armed forces, they, to all intents and purposes, will command the armed forces of France, Italy and the other countries belonging to the above-mentioned military bloc? Can this be prevented by the promissory notes handed out by the Bonn politicians who now appear in the role of supporters of a "United Europe?" But who does not know that the Hitler plans for enslaving the European peoples also envisaged the "unification" of Europe around the "steel core of the German Empire."

It is deliberate deception to say that under cover of the "European Defense Community" German militarism can live in peace with France which is to be deprived of its national armed forces. In reality, the intention is to hand over France completely to the West German re-

venge-seekers. What did the German fascists start with when they launched the Second World War in the West? They invaded Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and France. And today the sponsors of the "European Defense Community" are steering the West German militarists along the same route. German militarism failed to seal the enslavement of France by force of arms. Today, the builders of the "European Defense Community" intend to ensure victory over France for the German revenge-mongers without a war.

The corner-stone of postwar European security was laid as a result of the Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1942 and the Franco-Soviet treaty of 1944. These documents have been sealed with the blood of the finest sons of the Soviet, British and French peoples. Now the sponsors of the "European Defense Community" want to undermine the real significance of the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet treaties.

In light of the above, is not all the talk about the "European Defense Community" being formed for peaceful and not aggressive aims sheer hypocrisy? Those who are reviving German militarism have in mind not the strengthening of peace but, on the contrary, the undermining of European security and the preparing of another war.

The Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that the proposal advanced by it at the Berlin Conference for a General European Treaty

on Collective Security in Europe can serve as the basis for a real solution of the problem of European security. The adoption of the Soviet proposal would be in accord with the fundamental interests of strengthening peace in Europe and with the national interests of the European peoples. This applies in equal measure to the German people. The General European Treaty on Collective Security would also prove a reliable guaranty of German's security. While the aggressive circles seek to perpetuate the dismemberment of Germany and to convert Western Germany into a new center of war, the General European Treaty on Collective Security would contribute to reestablishing the national unity of the German people, to transforming Germany into a peace-loving, democratic state.

We have no intention of isolating the United States of America from Europe. We see no obstacles to a General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe bearing the signature of the Government of the United States of America as well. In its turn, the Soviet Government has expressed readiness to enter into negotiations for joining the "North Atlantic Treaty Organization" given certain conditions.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is consistent and unchangeable. Before all mankind the Soviet Government has advanced and upholds proposals, the realization of which would create guarantees of

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lasting peace and security for the peoples.

The Soviet policy of strengthening peace proceeds from the fact that in present circumstances it is peaceful cooperation between the nations, irrespective of their social systems, that can and must determine the development of international relations, that can and must ensure the further progressive easing of the international tension.

What then is needed for the successful realization of peaceful cooperation? For this there is needed on the part of the respective states, above all, the mutual desire to cooperate on the basis of observance of the principles of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and unconditional fulfillment of commitments.

We adhere to the view that in the present circumstances, given the good will of the parties concerned and their readiness to take mutual interests into consideration, controversial and unresolved international issues can and must be settled in the interests of strengthening peace.

All friends and champions of peace can rest assured that the Soviet Union will continue to pursue the policy of

strengthening peace and friendship between the peoples.

Comrades, the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. were another splendid manifestation of the strength and solidity of our multinational socialist state, of the genuine fraternal friendship of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the indestructible alliance of the working class and peasantry. The elections have shown once again that our Party enjoys the undivided confidence of the entire Soviet people. The experience of the past fifty years has convinced the people that their beloved Communist Party, which grew and became battle-tempered under the guidance of the leader of genius and teacher of the working people, the immortal Lenin, and of his comrade-in-arms, the great Stalin, serves the people steadfastly and faithfully.

The Communist Party, with its clear understanding of the tasks facing the country both in the spheres of home and foreign policy, and heading the great creative upsurge of the Soviet people, is leading our country from victory to victory, to the triumph of Communism.

# Leadership Quality and the Draft-Program Perspectives

By Claude Lightfoot

THE RECENT PERIOD has been marked by a number of contributions which have added greatly to our knowledge on how to defeat reaction's march toward war and fascism. The resolution which analyzed the outcome of the 1952 elections, the Stevens report to an enlarged Party conference and the Party's Draft Program which was recently presented for discussion illuminate the path we must follow. They present us with a tactical line which enables us to see more clearly how to defeat the war-and-fascism aims of American imperialism. They point the way to a Socialist America.

The development of this tactical line represents a growth in the maturity of the Party and its leadership. It was made possible through the application of the Marxist-Leninist criteria for progress—criticism and self-criticism. Although much more could be said of the line, the purpose of this article is to focus attention upon some problems that are hindering the realization of our mass policies.

As a result of the new tactical

orientation, our Party is beginning to play a more significant role in the struggles of the people. We can record many successes which aided the workers in defending their living standards. We have made some contributions in organizing resistance to the pro-war, pro-fascist policies of the Wall Street-controlled government. We are beginning to break through the iron curtain which the fascist and pro-war forces have sought to erect between us and the people.

However, in recognizing these achievements we must not overlook the wide gap that still exists between our ability to formulate a correct political line and to realize its execution among the masses. For example, over a year ago in an excellent report to a national Party conference, Comrade Stevens called our attention to a new situation which would present a growth of favorable opportunities for struggle. With prophetic insight he said:

As a consequence of this new situation, there is beginning to take place a process of the unfreezing of all po-

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litical relationships which were established in the expectation of the "inevitability" of war against the Soviet Union.\*

These were timely conclusions. Since they were written we have witnessed a wave of struggles which have affected every phase of American life. Opportunities for the Party to make a major contribution to help smash the reactionary offensive against the people have tremendously increased. But it cannot be said that we are presently taking full advantage of these new opportunities.

\* \* \* \*

We are now witnessing an unprecedented growth of the anti-McCarthy movement. This movement is beginning to crystallize with organizational forms such as the recall movement in Wisconsin and the "I-believe-Benton" movement in the East. It is beginning to reflect a greater consciousness of the fascist character of McCarthy's activities. However, serious dangers of this movement being derailed exist. Important sections of Big Business are participating in the movement to quell McCarthy—the man—while seeking to retain McCarthyism in the present Congress and Administration.

These new opportunities and dangers in the fight against fascism present certain tasks that only our Party can deal with properly. Unfortu-

nately, our Party is not yet geared to play its full role. We are not seeking with full effectiveness ways and means of assisting the anti-McCarthy forces in moving to higher levels of development. The movement to recall McCarthy in Wisconsin should have received national support by both labor and liberal forces.

The recent statement of Bishop Sheil before an educational conference of the U.A.W. was one of the most forthright statements that have been made against McCarthyism. It reflected an ideological struggle within the Catholic hierarchy. The entire labor and liberal movement, including large sections of the Catholic masses, should have been mobilized in support of the Bishop's position. Concrete opportunities such as these above are appearing daily with insufficient reaction in our ranks. This is true not only in regard to the fight against fascism but also in other struggles—against growing unemployment, the struggle for peace, for Negro rights, etc. The Stevens report, among other things, reiterated that the fight for peace is our central task. There is little evidence to conclude that this basic fact has been grasped in our movement.

Opportunities for mounting real movements for peace were never greater. Today millions stand horrified at the prospect of an H-bomb war, and are deeply concerned over the frantic efforts of the Eisenhower Administration to involve us more deeply in the Indo-China War. The

\* Andrew Stevens, *New Opportunities in the Fight for Peace and Democracy* (New Century, 1953), p. 3.

people are fighting back through thousands of letters and telegrams to congressmen, newspapers, etc. The atmosphere is so charged, that if an effort similar to the Stockholm peace pledge campaign were launched, it would receive tremendous response. Nevertheless, the initiative and bold approach needed in regard to all these struggles are missing. Why are we passing up such favorable opportunities?

\* \* \*

Our line and mass policies have already been proven correct. What then is wrong? There are several factors which contribute to this situation; but in this article we shall limit discussion to some problems of leadership, namely:

1. *To improve the ability of leadership on all levels to discern opportunities for struggle and to influence events.*
2. *To fight to overcome the tendency to separate theory from practice and to provide more guidance to the Party organization.*
3. *To overcome factors retarding the development of collective leadership.*

Notwithstanding excellent contributions that leadership has made, we note some serious weaknesses. Among them is a failure to grasp and discern the more favorable opportunities as they develop at a particular time and place. Some comrades, while agreeing that new op-

portunities are growing among the masses, argue that this development did not appear in his or her particular shop, department, community or organization. This is erroneous. It is true that the unfreezing relationships among the masses, their readiness to struggle, the recognition of the necessity for united action of all forces including Communists, proceed at an uneven tempo. What must be understood is that the changes taking place among the masses must be seen as a process. It varies from industry to industry, from shop to shop, from department to department, from organization to organization, and from individual to individual. But the acceptance of these facts does not negate the general proposition that almost everywhere we see some manifestations of the unfreezing. Sometimes they are reflected only by a few people. But even these small changes can be of prime importance.

To illustrate the point, let us take some wisdom from the remarks of the late eminent Negro scientist, Dr. George Washington Carver. While lying on his death bed he was asked to leave a message to the youth. He replied by saying, "Tell the youth to take that which they have at hand to work with no matter how small it may be and do something with it." This gem of wisdom fell from the lips of a man who, on the basis of his work with the peanut, rose from the ashes of slavery to become a world renowned scientist. The lesson

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for us should be clear. The unfreezing of things in a particular shop or organization may have only affected one or two people as yet, but in many instances these people can prove decisive in bringing about a change in general relationships.

In the last year we witnessed a number of situations where a few Communists or non-Party progressives who, possessing confidence in the workers' urge to struggle and working in a non-sectarian manner, have decisively altered the situation in their particular shop, department, local or mass organization. The starting point often was some small incident.

An outstanding example of this is what happened in the elections in the Swift packing plant in Chicago this year. The Swift plant and local for a good many years have been the stronghold of Right-wing forces. Its local union leadership in election after election collaborated with the Catholic hierarchy and other Right-wingers in the C.I.O. Council to defeat progressives and to prevent this local from following a progressive program. However, in the elections held this year the Right-wing forces suffered a defeat. A few progressives and Communists, basing themselves on the vital necessity of uniting the ranks of the local to meet the attacks of the employers, appealed to the Right-wing forces for a united slate of officers. This appeal was turned down. The progressives then proceeded to wage a campaign on the

main issues facing the workers, stressing the need for unity. They endorsed some of the candidates, who had fairly good records, on the opposing slate. As a result of this approach (an approach which placed unity of the workers above narrow considerations), the Right wing suffered a real defeat.

There are other examples that could be cited to illustrate this point. Unfortunately, such examples represent the exceptions and not the rule. In order to close the gap between correct mass policies and their execution it is necessary for all Party members, regardless of where they are working—whether in a shop, mass organization (Right or Left)—to probe concretely into the situation and seek out all possible links, regardless of how small, with which to move the masses.

Another consideration which serves as a brake on our mass policies is a pessimistic view which consigns our Party to a minor role in influencing the affairs of our country. This defeatist viewpoint is rooted in the concept of the inevitable outlawing of our Party. It is a reaction to the severe persecutions which today accompany Party membership. Comrades who hold this view note the widespread acceptance of the Big Lie—Soviet aggression, Communists are foreign agents, etc.—and they conclude that we are impotent in the face of such attacks. Hence, mass activity is often reduced to mere gestures. It would be a serious error, of

course, to over-simplify the situation by stating that at this moment our Party is in a position to alter the course of events in the struggle against war and fascism. However, what must be seen is that the situation is growing more favorable. It is not a static situation. The Draft Program gives us our basic orientation. It is an orientation which merges with the direction in which masses are moving. It is an orientation which is deeply rooted in today's struggles.

To the extent that the Party gives leadership to these struggles—whether they are large or small—will our ability to become a decisive factor in the country be determined. We must therefore overcome all tendencies of overlooking possibilities, and of defeatist moods which inhibit our participation in these struggles. *Every level of Party organization, every single member, in one form or another, without further delay must plunge into the mounting struggles against growing unemployment, the menace of McCarthyism, the struggles for Negro rights and the danger of another Korea in Indo-China. We must strive to influence all these developments to a successful outcome.*

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The separation of politics—the mass line—from Party organization also contributes to our inability to completely realize our mass line. In the last few years various Party com-

mittees have spent countless hours working out tactical approaches to problems. These same committees have rarely discussed the status of the Party organization, without which the execution of a mass policy is impossible.

What explains this separation of theory from practice, this lack of attention to the Party organization? There are some who may argue that this condition grows out of the new situation in which we are forced to function. Such an explanation is superficial. This has long plagued our Party in one form or another. Of course, continued arrests of Party leaders, the necessity of the Party to readjust its methods of functioning in order to continue its guidance in the fight against war and fascism, have helped to aggravate the problem. But the answer does not lie in the necessity of protective measures. The proof of this is that during this period we have solved many complicated questions which affected our main political line. We are displaying initiative, resourcefulness and creativeness.

But in giving concrete leadership we have been lacking in imagination and at times have manifested a fatalistic acceptance of things. We give the line, and then it's up to others to execute it. Putting it another way, one leading comrade recently said: "Once our comrades have perspective for their work, they are resourceful enough to find ways and means to apply it." This concept was ad-

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vanced to polemize against methods of work which hitherto tended to dot every i and cross every t in a given situation—a method which stifles initiative in the lower ranks of the Party. It was advanced in order to emphasize that under present-day conditions all of our leaders cannot supervise in an administrative sense. The polemic against old methods of leadership in the new conditions was correct. However, the presentation was one-sided. Such an outlook could not but help develop a wider gap between leadership and the lower ranks. Such an emphasis could only result in reliance on spontaneity in the execution of the Party's mass policies. This view confuses administrative and campaign style of leadership with the problem of concrete leadership. It is true that under present-day conditions some Party leaders are unable to stay on top of day-to-day questions. These comrades are unable to supervise and direct the many Party campaigns. But the existence of this fact should in no way negate the vital necessity for all Party leaders, regardless of their condition of work, to provide concrete leadership and concern themselves with the knotty problems which are roadblocks hindering the unfolding of our mass policy.

Mastery of concrete leadership under today's conditions represents one of the most challenging questions of our entire leadership. Failure to solve this question will undermine the perspectives outlined in the Draft

Program. We cannot meet this challenge without a critical and self-critical examination of leadership on every level of Party organization. Our slowness in meeting it has already produced certain dissatisfaction in several districts and has also affected the work of the National Committee. In the main, wherever dissatisfaction exists, it arises out of impatience with getting things done. It represents a deep desire of comrades for more concrete leadership. In this respect these sentiments are healthy, although enemy agents will try to take advantage of our difficulties.

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Our comrades do not expect our leadership to perform miracles, to pull answers out of hats. However, due to the greater experience of leading comrades, they expect from them more help in determining how as well as why. The necessity for concrete leadership, today, is aggravated by the complicated problems facing our members in their mass work. The new emphasis of work in the trade unions and mass organizations under reformist and bourgeois leadership which was called for at the 14th National Convention and developed later by the National Committee has imposed upon us the necessity of mastering new methods of work. Formerly, the greater portion of the Party's mass work was done in relationship with broader forces who accepted Communist participa-

tion. These forces not only accepted our participation but in many situations sought our counsel and assistance in developing programs. Life under such circumstances was much simpler. Lack of concrete leadership did not show up in such sharp focus.

Today, we are striving to develop unity among the masses under conditions of the most intensive Red-baiting. We are unwanted citizens in most of the broad people's mass organizations. The leadership of these organizations spends sleepless nights trying to prevent our members from gaining influence. Therefore, much greater attention is needed and expected from the leadership on concretely how we can best make our contributions among the masses, regardless of difficulties.

A recently held conference in New York City of numerous organizations discussed ways and means of "spotting" and isolating Communists. From situations such as this we can see that our members are facing real difficulties in these organizations. When we also bear in mind that most of our members lack experience in the application of united-front tactics, concrete leadership is all the more important.

Our membership wants and needs help. They expect it from leadership. They are impatient when this is not forthcoming. Neither do they excuse our weaknesses on the basis of security needs. They expect us to find ways of working out the contradiction between security needs and con-

crete leadership. What kind of leadership are they looking for? What is the essence of concrete leadership?

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Concrete leadership means giving that kind of guidance which, without stifling initiative in the lower ranks, assists the comrades in finding answers to complicated problems. It is the unfolding of the general line of the Party in the particular situation. In order to accomplish this, one must be able to take into account time, place and circumstance. Therefore, comrades in their attempt to give concrete leadership must be acquainted with specific knowledge of the particular situation. It is insufficient to be able to proclaim the line of the Party in general. To lead concretely one must be able to discern the mood of the masses and merge it with the general line. This necessitates that the leadership have direct contact with those comrades who are closest to the masses. But contact in and by itself is insufficient. There are many leaders who have such contact, but their leadership is still general. Thus the nature and content of association is all important.

There are those who feel they are endowed with some super-wisdom and enter meetings and discussions with comrades from lower ranks not for the purpose of learning from them and refining their general knowledge but for the purpose only of "giving the line"—the "general" line. Comrades who possess such con-



ceit will not grow from the contact nor will they be able to help concretely. To such comrades the Marxist analysis of leadership which calls for the merger of leadership from two levels—the ranks and the top—is a mere phrase. But without this merger, without contact with the bottom, without the ability to listen to the rank and file and learn from them, leadership will remain general.

The problem of successfully achieving concrete leadership is deep-rooted. It is not a by-product of the present period, though it is deeply aggravated by it. If examined, our whole system of cadre training and development—past and present—would reveal, among other things, that throughout the years there have existed strong tendencies towards a system of revolving-door leadership. Today you are here. Tomorrow you are there. The result of this is that a large percentage of our comrades, even many of those that have been active for ten, twenty or even thirty years, have never succeeded in establishing a base in a shop, community or mass organization. There are comrades who have functioned in a majority of basic districts. Others have been assigned, at one time or another, to practically every post in the Party—six months as an educational director, three months as a literature director, five months as a section organizer, on the district staff and then back again into the community. Can it be seriously argued that such methods are likely to produce concrete-

ness in leadership, the maximum collectivity in leadership or a leading cadre with a base among masses?

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Now, what is responsible for this negative factor within our system of leadership and within a generally correct policy of cadre promotion? To begin with, these errors have their origin in the critical shortage of trained cadre which historically has confronted every Communist party. Given the sharpness of the class struggle and the immense tasks that always confront the Communist parties, given conditions of capitalist terror under which our Party has, in varying degrees, always functioned and given serious subjective weaknesses in our system of leadership and cadre training program, it would be pure idealism to fail to recognize the very real objective factors responsible for the deficiencies in cadre—both in numbers and level of Marxist development.

Yet, notwithstanding the objective conditions out of which these problems arose, the policy of meeting them, once having arisen, was and remains of our own choosing. It is in the deficiencies of this policy with which we must now come to grips. Unless we do this, speedily and successfully, we are face to face with an insoluble cadre crisis which will tend to make impossible the accomplishments required by the decisions of the national conference and the Draft Program.

Of primary consideration in this connection is the imperative necessity of basing our system of leadership (distribution, training, cadre-promotion, etc.) upon long-term considerations rather than exclusively upon immediate emergency factors as is now primarily the case.

The tendency to fill many vital posts in the Party by promoting and shifting cadre in an almost haphazard manner, apart from overall planning and coordination, and with the view of solving the problem of the moment only, reflects bourgeois influences within our ranks that must be resolutely combatted. Moreover, this tendency is a reflection, among other things, of a certain panic under the ever-mounting blows of McCarthyism and pro-fascist reaction.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that a correct system of leadership can only be built upon the foundation of long-range political perspective, by seeing cadre development as a process rather than a single act of promotion, and by a proper synthesis between immediate cadre needs and long-term cadre development. Clearly, then, there must be a radical break with the tendency of revolving-door leadership in cadre promotion. Our Party must begin to base itself more on local forces for leadership in the districts, sections and clubs, systematically strengthening them.

There are districts which, after twenty or thirty years of existence, have had a local force as district organizer for only a brief period. Na-

turally, there are many situations in which local comrades require the help, guidance and training that some comrades from the outside can supply; but when this is done, it should be on the basis of a clear understanding that either the comrade is sent in to assist the local comrades for a specified period, or that he remains to become a part of the organization and is not removed at the first sign of crisis elsewhere. Even in situations where local leadership needs strengthening it does not follow that the leading person who is sent in must immediately take over the reins of leadership. Wherever possible the orientation should be that such comrades work in the area for a period of time so that the rank-and-file members can test their ability to lead. There are far too many situations where a leader is sent into an area of work and the membership is put in a position where their only criteria for judging the proposal is confidence in the leading committee which submitted it.

A system of leadership based on constant shifts is neither helpful to local comrades nor the comrades involved. Concrete study of this problem will reveal many cadre casualties over the years. This system also provides the background out of which only general and not concrete leadership is given. However, this should not be taken to mean that all comrades who have been transferred have provided only general

leadership. Many have made fine contributions in an all-around sense. One need not be native to a particular situation to possess concrete knowledge. Such knowledge can be acquired in the course of working with local forces, providing their experiences are utilized.

Wherever comrades tend to give only general leadership it is due, among other reasons, to insufficient utilization and promotion of local forces. Those comrades who carry their personal followings from one district to another and fail to develop local forces will remain general leaders and often will fail in their assignments. Notwithstanding the possibilities of comrades who are transferred from one area to another to acquire the attributes of concrete leaders in the period ahead, our Party must concentrate more than ever on training and developing local forces—forces who have roots in the given community or industry. This is important from the standpoint of building cadre with a greater specific knowledge of the industry or community and also from the angle of building the influence of the Party. The new people's coalition which we are seeking to build must be built side-by-side with extending the Party's influence. Each is part of the other. The election of many Left progressives and Communists to public office must be one of our objectives, while building a coalition with other forces. This will not be done unless we build and train

local forces and unless Communists get a permanent base among the masses.

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Another problem in giving concrete leadership, which is of long standing, is the unusually large network of full-time functionaries. Such comrades are rendering invaluable service to the Party in this period of the fascist offensive. But this cadre—many of whom have been out of touch with shop and mass organizations for a good many years—has a tendency towards abstraction and generality. This can be offset by changing the composition of leading Party committees to include shop workers, trade-union functionaries and people active in mass organizations. It can also be improved by making it possible for comrades who have been forced to operate on certain top levels of leadership for extended periods of time to be promoted to assignments closer to the point of production by going into shops and mass organizations. Very often there is a resistance to such proposals, especially with regard to assignments on lower levels and shop work. Some comrades interpret this to mean that they are no longer useful in holding general posts of leadership. They fear that this will lead towards their removal from certain leading bodies. Unfortunately, there has existed such an emphasis on full-timers as the base and heart of Party leadership that these fears have had some justification. Very rarely have comrades,

especially younger comrades, been taught that as part of leadership development they should go into the shop for a certain period. More often a comrade has been advised to do this after the given comrade has manifested some weaknesses or failed in a particular assignment. The comrade, then, regards the proposal as a method of discipline.

The improper emphasis on the necessity for a system of many full-timers must be changed. There is no other organization that will sustain a full time person to service or lead two hundred people, and yet this is what prevails in most districts. These problems were raised at the Party national conference, but in a number of districts the system continues to operate. We must change these incorrect emphases and attitudes. The base and heart of Party leadership must not continue to rest only in the hands of full-time functionaries but must include shop, trade-union and mass workers.

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Let us now pass on to the question of collective leadership. This is a problem which affects the proper functioning of the Party from the club to the national committee. Comrade Gus Hall sharply called our attention to this problem in the July, 1951, issue of *Political Affairs*. He wrote:

In periods of sharp class struggle, the membership and the masses generally will place confidence only in a

leadership that can and does work as a collective body. Leadership that does not can very quickly destroy its own effectiveness and become a road-block to all further progress in our work.

The validity of these conclusions has already been proven by the experience we have accumulated in the past few years. Since June 4, 1951, when the enemy began to widen its attacks on Party leadership, over a hundred Party leaders have been arrested. Included were most of the members of the National Committee and the leadership of several districts. These attacks have had a serious effect on the ability of leadership to organize its work on a collective basis. During the period when we were in the process of readjustment the lack of collective leadership left its mark on almost every question we confronted. Progress was made only when we worked out new methods to achieve collective leadership. The fine quality of the various resolutions, reports and articles which have been written in the past period are an outgrowth of collective work. The National Committee has increasingly taken measures to promote collective leadership though there is still room for improvement. However, in order to strengthen our leadership on all levels, it is necessary that we fight against tendencies which prevent full expression of criticism and self-criticism. It is also necessary to combat sharply manifes-

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tations of appraisals of cadre from a subjective point of view.

The problem of creating a healthy atmosphere in which criticism and self-criticism becomes a normal and continuous feature of work has been with us for a long time. Much has been written in Marxist literature on this question. Despite this rich material, it still remains one of the paramount problems in our Party. We have witnessed a two-fold development in the past few years. On the one hand there has been a marked increase in evaluating the general work of the Party. The resolution which critically examined the work of the Party in the 1952 elections was an outstanding example. The writings of Comrades Foster, Swift and Rockman have also been major contributions. On the other hand, the same spirit has not been applied sufficiently to concrete daily experiences and to the work of leading committees and individuals.

During the 1952 elections, this discussion produced a rich treatment of our general electoral line, but few districts analyzed critically their own line and experience. Thus, we witness a paradoxical situation—a growth of criticism, in general, and a decline of criticism in particular. In fact there has been a growth in bureaucratic tendencies and practice. This problem has been aggravated by the new conditions in which we are forced to function—a situation where the Party rank-and-file members, not having close contact with

many leading people, have been in no position to test concretely and consistently the work of individual comrades on higher levels. Criticism and evaluations are often made of the general leadership but of no one in particular. They correctly hold the collective bodies responsible for weaknesses that are manifested. It is therefore incumbent on leading bodies constantly to appraise their work, find forms through which the membership can participate, and above all to submit all members of the collective, including the leading person, to critical examination of his or her work. Such is not the case in most places today.

The lack of such a policy is due in some measure to the fact that a number of comrades, in this period, have been promoted to higher levels of responsibility and leadership who feel inadequate to the positions. Such feelings are understandable. The problem is how to overcome these inadequacies. Some comrades, instead of frankly admitting their weaknesses and lack of experience, instead of helping to strengthen themselves through the growth and development of the collective, have helped to create an atmosphere where criticism and self-criticism hardly exist. They are the untouchables. Those who indulge in this practice not only will fail to grow but will retrogress, fail in their assignments, and thus diminish what otherwise could be a fine contribution.

In the coming period we must

wage a resolute and determined struggle for collective forms of work and leadership on all levels of Party organization. We must create the kind of atmosphere in which healthy, constructive criticism plus sharp, polemical debate can take place in all leading bodies without subjectivity resulting. We must put an end to any manifestation of family circles. Regardless of closeness or length of time of relationships within collectives, this must not serve to perpetuate our weaknesses. We must give timely consideration to promoting new people to higher echelons of leadership—thus refreshing them. It is very easy, under present conditions, for leading bodies to become closed corporations in which only the few are privileged to enter.

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Another problem of major magnitude retarding the development of the collective is the tendency to rule people out of leadership participation based on subjective yardsticks. This, too, is an old disease in our Party. Previously, it did not show up as sharply because of the larger variety of choice in the selection of cadre. Today the problem is compounded as we witness a continuous shortage of trained forces. However, in spite of the problems of shortages there are many fine comrades who want to make greater contributions but are not allowed to do so for subjective considerations. There are some comrades who look upon people as machines who must represent some pre-

cise standards—usually standards which reflect their own images, including non-political prejudices.

In one form or another this problem is manifested throughout the ranks of the Party. Thus we find in one district the proposal to remove a comrade from a post of leadership who had many fine qualities of a mass leader. This was a comrade who was loved and respected by masses but was weak on so-called organizational abilities. After repeated attempts to transform this comrade into a master of details failed, the proposal was made to remove him because he was not "rounded" enough. Ironically, the comrades who proposed the removal had never distinguished themselves in organizing masses. They were so-called experts on details within the Party organization. These comrades evidently forgot that our main objective is to organize the masses for the line and policies of the Party. The correct approach would have been to utilize the mass qualities of this comrade while striving to help him handle details better.

Another example, in the same district, was the case of a comrade who for more than twenty years had been one of the outstanding leaders in the labor movement in his city. This comrade had pioneered in the development of the trade-union movement in his industry and is highly regarded by the workers, although he was widely known as a Communist. Rather than sign a Taft-Hartley

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affidavit, this comrade resigned his post as a leader in the topmost circles of the union. He then began a process of readjustment which he found exceedingly difficult. Instead of the district leadership understanding what was happening to the comrade it developed a one-sided negative criticism which almost resulted in his removal from the industry which he had done so much to build. He was not removed only because of the personal intervention of Comrade Foster. At first the district leadership was quite subjective, but now it feels that Comrade Foster rendered an invaluable service in not allowing subjective considerations to destroy the political worth of the comrade involved.

Such cases are happening daily in the Party and as a result very valuable cadre are being excluded from participation in leading bodies. This narrows down the base of collective leadership. There are many other subjective practices which we must uncover and eliminate from our ranks. These things only happen because we have not yet learned that people—cadre—decide everything. We have not learned the wisdom that was contained in Stalin's speech when he said: "We must cultivate cadre as a gardener cultivates his favorite fruit tree. . . . To appreciate people, to appreciate cadre, to appreciate workers who can be of use to our common cause."

The subjective appraisal of cadre must be overcome if we are to build

a collective leadership which shall be capable of discerning the specific ways with which to execute the perspectives outlined in the Party's Draft Program. Indeed, these problems are as important as the development of the line itself. In closing this discussion let us learn from the experiences of the foremost Marxist party in the world—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Let us ponder well these remarks of Stalin:

Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct Party line, proclaim it from the housetops, state it in the form of general theses and resolutions and take a vote and carry it unanimously, for victory to come of itself, spontaneously, as it were. This, of course, is wrong. It is a gross illusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats and chair warmers can think so. As a matter of fact, these successes and victories did not come spontaneously, but as a result of a fierce struggle for the application of the Party line. Victory never comes by itself. After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organized; on the organization of the struggles for the application of the Party line; on the proper selection of personnel; on the way a check is kept on the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading bodies. Otherwise the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being seriously prejudiced.

Furthermore, after the correct political line has been laid down, the organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure.

# The Draft Program and the Spring Primaries

By Peter Colton

SPRING PRIMARIES to select candidates for the vital November elections have already taken place in several major states. Among these are Illinois (April 13), New Jersey (April 20), Ohio (May 4), Alabama (May 4), Indiana (May 4) and Pennsylvania (May 18).

It is therefore timely to ask—

(1) How do the early primary results shape up in terms of the 1954 electoral objectives outlined in the *American Road to Jobs, Peace, Democracy*—the Draft Program of the Communist Party?

(2) What is needed in order to strengthen the fight for these objectives?

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The Draft Program places the '54 electoral objectives in the necessary context of the critical situation now facing the American people—the looming depression, the danger of war, the menace of McCarthyite fascism. It not only presents a broad program to meet these dangers. It also provides a practical line of struggle for the period ahead through '56 aimed at realizing this program and

barring the road to war and McCarthyism. It relates this immediate stage of struggle to the further perspective for a farmer-labor party and this perspective in turn to the eventual opening up of the path to Socialism in the U.S.A.

It is in line with this analysis that the Draft Program states:

The immediate objective in 1954 must be to prevent the Eisenhower Administration and Congress from taking the country further down the road of McCarthyism. Defeating McCarthyism requires the turning of the present Administration out of political power first by changing the composition of Congress in '54 and then by electing a new Administration in '56. This requires a new political majority so strong that it not only changes Administrations but imposes on a new Administration a new course in domestic and foreign affairs.

The key to both the crucial 1954 and 1956 elections lies in the ability of organized labor to come forward as a distinct political force even within the framework of the two-party system.

The Draft Program thus offers a basic guide to immediate activity in the electoral field. At the same time,



the objectives set forth serve as a standard in terms of which to evaluate the early primary returns.

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A preliminary survey of the spring primaries indicates as the first main feature a further decline in support for the G.O.P. and the Eisenhower Administration.

The most striking evidence was the small Republican primary vote in the pivotal states of Illinois and Ohio. Here the leading Democratic candidates ran unopposed. The Republicans, on the other hand, fought out well-advertised battles in both states for the Senatorial nominations. Nonetheless, and in contrast with the '52 primaries, the Democrats actually outdrew the Republicans in both Cook County (Chicago) and Cuyahoga County (Cleveland). This is why the Cleveland *Press* headlined their election story (May 5)—“Vote Slump Jolts G.O.P.”

Naturally, the reactionary *U.S. News and World Report* (May 14) tries to cover up the loss in G.O.P. strength. For it the salient feature of the primaries is the low total vote. And from this it concludes that “people aren't very steamed up over the big issues of the day,” that “political apathy shows strongly.” These conclusions, of course, are nonsense.

It is true that the total primary turn-out in Illinois was the smallest in 26 years, in Ohio the smallest since 1946. But the reason was not “politi-

cal apathy.” On the contrary, the mass of voters stayed home precisely because they saw no big issues at stake in the main races. The chief Democratic nominations were uncontested. On the G.O.P. side, the Ohio voters understandably could not get very steamed up about choosing between Taftite Bender and Taftite Saxbe. Nor could Illinois voters develop mass enthusiasm for senatorial contenders who failed to challenge the latent McCarthyism of front-runner Meek.

The returns, therefore, do reflect the anti-Administration trend which first became evident in the fall elections of '53. For a time, the trend was checked by the peace demagoguery of Eisenhower's December UN speech on Atomic Energy and the economic and social demagoguery of his January State of the Union and other messages—and by the failure of labor and the Democrats to expose this demagoguery.

But there can be no doubt that recent events have given new force to this trend. A new wave of opposition to McCarthyism—and to the Administration's embracing and sheltering of McCarthy and McCarthyism—was set off by the February “Twenty Years of Treason” attack on the Democratic Party and the Stevens-McCarthy and McCarthy-Cohn-Schine affairs. A new surge of peace demands swept the country in March and April in reaction to the Eisenhower-Dulles H-bomb diplomacy and threats to send American troops

to Indo-China. At the same time, labor and its principal allies, the farmers and the Negro people, became increasingly resentful of the Administration's refusal to act on unemployment, its insistence on slashing farm price-supports, its rejection of Civil Rights legislation.

The second feature of the spring primaries is a certain weakening of the mass influence of the open McCarthyite wing of the G.O.P.

In Illinois—homeground of Colonel McCormick—the G.O.P. machine lined up in the main for outright McCarthyite candidates, like Meek, Velde, Vail and Busbey. To attract a large vote, the machine put on a much-ballyhooed free-for-all senatorial derby with no less than 10 entries. The small Republican turnout, thus, was a sharp rebuff to this rampant McCarthyism.

Further, in Chicago, the Negro-baiting McCarthyite Vail won the Congressional nomination by only 2000 votes, even though the labor, Negro and other liberal forces had failed to intervene in the Republican primary. In down-state Illinois, Un-American Committee Chairman Velde encountered significant opposition. In 1952 he had polled 43,000 primary votes, with a minor challenger receiving 9,000. This time, despite his active campaign, his vote declined to 27,000 as against 15,000 for his opponent.

In New Jersey, the infamous Parnell Thomas campaigned as a McCarthy man and was swamped 8 to

1 in a comeback try in the April 20 primary. More, the G.O.P. state machine decided back in March to put its very best Eisenhower foot forward. It froze out a weak incumbent (Senator Hendrickson) and gave an uncontested nomination to the "liberal" ex-congressman Case. This it did with an eye on the growing anti-McCarthy labor-Negro-liberal Democrat grouping which took away the governorship last year and is making a strong bid for the senate seat this year.

The G.O.P. high strategy of offsetting Republican losses by using "both Ike and Joe to win in '52" is beginning to look less attractive as the revulsion against McCarthyism grows. Even Senator Ferguson has declined McCarthy's aid (*N. Y. Times*, May 17). And a *Look* survey now finds that "in March, 26 out of 100 persons questioned said they'd be less inclined to vote for a candidate if he was backed by McCarthy, while 21 said they'd be more inclined. By April, the figure was 46 to 17 against McCarthy."

A third key feature is revealed by the very significant results of the Alabama primary of May 4. Here, as in most Southern states, the Democratic nomination is equivalent to election.

This year, the open Dixiecrats—continuing their south-wide electoral offensive of recent years—ran arch-reactionary Congressman Battle against the labor-endorsed incumbent, Senator Sparkman. Here there

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was no "political apathy." The battle was joined and a large turn-out of labor and farm voters, including the 40,000 Negro voters who have broken through to register, decisively licked the Dixiecrats. They gave Sparkman a clear majority of some 77,000 and likewise nominated as governor the liberal ex-governor Folsom.

Thus, the third feature which begins to emerge is that where the mass of voters see real issues at stake, the turn-out is heavy and the tide is strongly against reaction.

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There is no doubt that these features of the spring primaries reflect powerful new political currents among the labor, farm, Negro and urban middle-class electorate. They point to favorable prospects in November for inflicting setbacks upon the Eisenhower Administration and the McCarthyites—for achieving significant changes in the composition of Congress. But this is by no means the whole story. For the primaries likewise reveal a number of disturbing factors.

To begin with, the key to a successful outcome in the fall elections, as the Draft Program emphasizes, is the role of labor. What do the primaries reveal in this respect?

No one can deny that the trade-unions show increasing interest in political action and the '54 elections. The spring conventions of the clothing, packing and other workers reflect this. There is a great deal of

discussion in the labor press. Many P.A.C. and L.L.P.E. meetings and conferences are being held. There is considerable and growing activity on the issues of jobs and labor's rights. Extensive preparations are being made to mobilize for November. This is all to the good.

But the main thing that the primaries show is that labor, by and large, is not yet *intervening independently* to influence the electoral scene. It is not mobilizing its natural allies, the Negro people and the farmers. It is not operating—to quote the Draft Program—as "a distinct political force even within the framework of the two-party system." It is geared primarily to an endorsement and supporting role in the November elections. It is therefore by-passing the primaries and leaving the crucial questions of campaign issues and candidates to the Democratic Party organizations.

There are, of course, significant and instructive exceptions. In New Jersey, for example, P.A.C. exerted considerable influence on the choice of Democratic candidates through its relations with the Democratic leadership. In the area of mass intervention, most notable was the major role of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. in the Republican primary fight against Velde in down-state Illinois. Growing sentiment for labor political action and representation induced the Cleveland P.A.C. to break with precedent and endorse only part of the Democratic machine slate for the

May 4 primaries. A considerable section of the C.I.O. then campaigned for a group of labor candidates for the state legislature in the Democratic primary. Finally, in Alabama where the primary is the election, labor took an active part.

(It should be added that in California, the state L.L.P.E. endorsement of reactionary Republican Governor Knight for the June 8 primary has touched off a mass revolt within the L.L.P.E. The bulk of the A.F.L. councils, central bodies and locals have repudiated the endorsement and an A.F.L. committee has been set up for the Democratic gubernatorial candidate Graves and his Mexican-American running-mate, Roybal.)

But the rule remains non-intervention. What is more, in some instances, where labor's leadership did choose to intervene in primary campaigns, it was on the side of reaction. This was the case in the Pennsylvania Democratic gubernatorial primary. There the Western Pennsylvania steel union officialdom supported the unsuccessful Musmanno-sponsored candidate, Dr. McClelland. This was likewise the case in California with the L.L.P.E. endorsement of Knight.

It is this failure on the part of labor to intervene—and to intervene in behalf of candidates and programs for peace, against McCarthyism and for the protection of the people's jobs and living standards—which is the central problem revealed by the early primaries.

This failure basically reflects a certain policy which is deeply embedded in labor's political action. The point is that labor in recent months has more and more come to grasp the utter need, if it is to survive, of waging political battle against the McCarthyites and the reactionary Eisenhower-Big Business Administration. And it has undertaken to wage this battle primarily through the medium of the Democratic Party.

What labor has not yet grasped is that effective political action requires the independent exercise of labor's influence and that of its allies upon the policies, candidates, and campaigns of the Democratic Party, that a policy of simple reliance upon the Democratic Party, as such, will fail.

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Labor's policy of tailing behind the Democrats contributes in large measure to the main negative features of the spring primaries. Briefly put some of these features are:

First and foremost, labor-endorsed candidates have failed to campaign on the central issue of peaceful negotiations. They have permitted warmongering McCarthyite demagogues like Meek of Illinois to pose as champions of "non-intervention" in Indo-China.

Mass protests have arisen throughout the country against the aggressive policies of Eisenhower and Dulles on Indo-China. But the labor-endorsed Democrats, feeling little independent pro-peace pressure from

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the unions, have in the main stood aside. Some have taken refuge in general pleas to Eisenhower for more "facts" and the restoration of "bipartisanship" in foreign policy. Others, like Senator Douglas, have actually called for armed intervention. Only a very few have heeded the demand for a peaceful settlement.

Second, the labor and liberal forces up to now have passed up altogether the favorable opportunities for making a real fight against McCarthyism-McCarranism in the Democratic Party. This has been due chiefly to labor's practice of accepting whatever the Democrats choose to offer in the way of candidates.

Most shocking was the failure to mount a primary fight in Eastern Pennsylvania against Congressman Walter, co-author of the McCarran-Walter Act, whose district includes the powerful Steel Union in Bethlehem, Pa. Other examples can be cited in Ohio and New Jersey.

Third, the Democrats have largely ignored trade-unionists in naming candidates. Consequently, only a handful of labor men have been slated and these for the state legislatures and local offices. No trade-unionist has been newly nominated for Congress in the early primaries.

Fourth, while Negro representation movements have grown significantly this year both in number and scope—corresponding to the new levels of struggle of the Negro people, especially in the South (Alabama, Louisiana)—no real break-

through has been recorded in the Democratic primaries as yet. This is because the labor movement has not intervened in support of these demands and has acquiesced in their rejection by the Democrats.

A striking example is Cleveland. There John Holly, political and civic leader, became the first Negro to run in a Democratic primary for Congress. He made an active campaign in a field of five major candidates, four of whom were white (including the incumbent, Crosser). The tally was Vanik, 8,536; Crosser, 8,094; Holly, 6,586; Sotak, 5,964; Young, 4,080. Had labor as a whole supported Holly, he would surely have won. The same is true of Negro candidates for legislature in the Democratic primary, none of whom won, although one was ostensibly endorsed by the Democratic machine.

In Philadelphia, once again, the Democrats refused to name a Negro for Congress. Several pioneering efforts in Chicago and parts of Ohio to extend Negro representation in the State legislature failed of success.

Labor should note that the Republicans, on the other hand, again nominated Negro congressional candidates in both Cleveland and Philadelphia. It is obvious that the G.O.P.—especially in Cleveland where the Republicans renominated a Negro State Senator and named a Negro municipal judge for the higher post of Common Pleas judge—is counting on making inroads into the Negro vote. Taken in conjunction with

the Democratic betrayal of Civil Rights legislation and Eisenhower's demagogic gestures on Negro appointments, these primary developments pose serious problems in the struggle to build the Negro-Labor alliance in the fall elections.

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The spring primaries thus point to two conclusions. First, the rising trend of opposition to the Eisenhower Administration and McCarthyism fully confirms the analysis given in the Draft Program and with it the possibility of achieving the '54 electoral objective which it proposes. Second, the negative features, however, show that the winning of the objective—a significant change in the composition of Congress—is by no means assured.

This is underscored by the Washington meeting (May 7-8) of the Democratic Party National Committee. A confident mood prevailed as the leadership indicated they felt both willing and able to capture the House and the Senate in November.

But the main tendency of the national leadership was to seek this victory through further moves to the Right—all in the name of "unity." To demand "bipartisanship" in foreign policy, not a policy of negotiations; to treat McCarthyism as a matter for the Republicans to handle; to shun civil rights legislation; to largely ignore labor, the Negro people and other liberal forces.

It is therefore necessary for labor

and the people's forces to make clear to the Democrats that such a line will not win control of Congress from the Eisenhower Administration—itsself a matter of no small moment. Still less will it assure any real change in the composition of Congress. For this requires much more than simple partisan replacement of Republicans by Democrats. It requires the defeat of the most outstanding McCarthyites and warmongers and the election of anti-McCarthy spokesmen, advocates of peaceful negotiations, and additional labor and Negro congressmen.

What, then, is necessary to assure such a change?

First, labor and its allies need now more than ever to concentrate on developing movements of struggle on the main issues of the day. It is these movements that are decisive in influencing the character of the labor-endorsed candidates and their campaigns. This is obviously true in those states which have already held primaries. It is likewise true where the primaries lie ahead.

These struggles should focus particularly around Congress in the remaining weeks of its session, as well as around special sessions of the state legislatures. A national conference on unemployment of all labor, as proposed by some labor spokesmen, would be particularly effective in stimulating the legislative and political struggles.

The main immediate issues for action include the fight against the

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growing depression and for labor and Negro rights (increased income-tax exemptions and war-budget cuts, farm-price supports at 100% of parity, unemployment insurance, Federal housing and public works, expanded foreign—including East-West—trade, F.E.P.C. and repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and defeat of the Brownell-Butler bills); the fight against McCarthyism (support to the Wisconsin recall movement, investigation and removal of McCarthy, repeal of the McCarran-Walter Act and especially defeat of the Brownell legislative program of "legal" McCarthyism) and the struggle for peace (Congressional action against intervention in Indo-China, for an end to H-bomb diplomacy and for a policy of negotiations).

Second, labor and its allies need to step up radically their independent initiative and intervention in the whole electoral field. They need to raise the ante in their relations with the Democrats on issues and on candidates. The lessons of the early primaries must be applied in the late primary states like Michigan, New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Massachusetts, and Washington.

The demand must be raised for candidates who will challenge the war-mongers, for a fight against the McCarthy elements in the Democratic Party (the Farleys of New York and the Curleys of Massachusetts), for additional labor congressmen and for the naming of Negro Congressional candidates in such

centers as Detroit and New York.

Where primaries have already been held the prime task is to influence the character of the campaigns of the labor-endorsed candidates. This can be done primarily through movements on issues among the masses who support the candidate, as well as by direct intervention in the campaign and pressure upon the candidate.

In all circumstances it is necessary to build and strengthen the independent political action organizations of labor and its allies.

Finally, the Left and advanced forces must center their efforts on helping labor achieve greater political independence. The independent progressive-led unions play a unique role in influencing the political action of the whole labor movement. Likewise the Progressive Party nationally and in the states, and especially the A.L.P. in New York and the I.P.P. in California—are making important contributions in electoral work.

The early primaries show that the Communist Parties in the states are gradually moving out of their isolation. A marked change has taken place since '52 and '53. Communists are getting acquainted with the mainstream political currents and in most areas are taking steps towards influencing the course of events.

But a number of weaknesses demand attention. In the first place, most states still labor under a heavy backlog of sectarianism in the elec-

toral field. This remains the chief obstacle. It takes the forms of demands for formal acceptance of unity with the Left when this is not yet reasonable to expect, of tactics that narrow down neighborhood political movements, of tendencies to skip over and ignore the limitations that arise from the existing level of labor's political action.

Second, progress towards influencing the mainstream is also impeded by opportunist tendencies to deny the independent electoral role of the Left (as in the failure to assist in qualifying PP candidates where such candidacies are necessary to advance the struggle against reaction) and also by uncritical attitudes toward developments and forces in the political mainstream.

Third, Communist contributions to the electoral struggle are held back by the failure to mobilize the Party organizations as a whole for

this work. Specialized and leading political action forces are highly valued. But they are no substitute for the Party itself.

Fourth, with certain exceptions, the state Parties have given insufficient attention to the issuance of Communist material and the preparation of Communist candidates and campaigns for November.

Progress in overcoming these and other weaknesses will be speeded by the study and application of the Draft Program. Moreover, the distribution of this program, now at the half-million mark, will be a fundamentally contribution to the political thinking and action of broad sections of labor, the Negro people, the working farmers and the urban middle-class. It will be a major step towards assuring the winning of the labor and people's objectives in the November elections.

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# Amnesty and the Struggle Against McCarthyism

By Arnold Johnson

THIS JUNE—June 4th, to be exact—marks the third anniversary of the Smith Act frame-up conviction of Eugene Dennis and ten other national leaders of the Communist Party by a split decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. The majority opinion was written by Justice Vinson and was joined by only three others—Reed, Burton and Minton. Separate concurring opinions were written by Justices Frankfurter and Jackson, with virtual apologies for their deed. Justices Black and Douglas wrote separate and vigorous dissenting opinions. Justice Clark from Texas did not participate because he had initiated the action while acting as Attorney General.

Thus did the Supreme Court accomplish the substitution of the Smith Act for the first article of the Bill of Rights. Apparently the Vinson court "forgot" that the Constitution establishes a method for amendment which requires a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress and then ratification by three-fourths of the State Legislatures. The day after the Vinson decision, a liberal newspaper, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*,

sharply condemned it in an editorial entitled "Six Men Amend the Constitution." Thus Communists were not alone in warning that the court decision was scrapping the heritage of Jefferson and Lincoln, Paine and Douglass.

A dragnet series of arrests was soon in process. On June 20th an indictment on a Smith Act frame-up charge was brought against Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Pettis Perry and 19 other Communist leaders. Seventeen were arrested, two were severed because of illness, two were acquitted by action of the judge, and 13 convicted by a stacked jury. During this same period, arrests and trials took place in Baltimore, California, Seattle, Hawaii, Detroit, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Philadelphia and Ohio. The Baltimore case was a speed-up and the six defendants are now in prison after being denied any hearing in the U.S. Supreme Court. The St. Louis and Philadelphia cases are now going on, the Ohio case is pending, and the others are in the status of appeal. In the meantime, Sid Stein, who was indicted in 1951, was arrested with Bob Thompson and four

others in California. They were also given a railroaded trial and a heavy sentence for "harboring," except for Patricia Blau, who was acquitted. Sid Stein still faces his Smith Act trial.

On July 2, 1951, seven of the Communist leaders began prison terms while four became political refugees. Eugene Dennis and John Gates were put behind the bars at Atlanta Penitentiary; Benjamin Davis was sent to the jimcrow section of the prison at Terre Haute, Indiana; Irving Potash was sent to Leavenworth, Kansas; John Williamson and Carl Winter to Lewisburg, Pa. (later Carl Winter was transferred to the Terre-Haute prison); Jack Stachel, suffering from a serious heart ailment, to Danbury, Conn. Some months later Gus Hall, in his status as a political refugee, was kidnapped in Mexico City and in violation of international law was sent back to New York for additional sentencing. New court-made law was applied and Gus Hall was shipped to Leavenworth for a total of eight years. And after more than two years as a political refugee, Bob Thompson was arrested in California by a small army of F.B.I. agents. He was transferred to New York and while in jail became the victim of a murderous assault by a fascist McCarthyite hoodlum wielding a 30-inch lead pipe. The judge gave four additional years to Bob Thompson, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross. He was shipped to Atlanta for seven years.

Henry Winston and Gilbert Green continue as political refugees, hunted from coast to coast while their families are harassed by the Federal Gestapo.

The imprisonment of these national leaders has been a serious handicap not only to our Party but also to the entire progressive movement. Equally serious is the fact that the imprisonment of Communists is a victory only for the McCarthyites in both the Republican and Democratic parties. That fact makes their freedom an issue of great importance to all who participate in the struggle against McCarthyism. Of course, we Communists have a partisan interest in their freedom. We have plenty of reason to regard highly their leadership abilities. When Eugene Dennis first went to jail for his defiance of the House Un-American Activities Committee, he declared, "My liberty as an individual is, of course, dear to me. But more dear to me is the liberty of the whole American people." Those words are expressive of a quality which the working class and the American people need today. The imprisonment is a poisonous sore which eats away at the liberty of all the masses.

#### THE BIG LIE IS McCARTHY'S WEAPON AGAINST THE PEOPLE

Millions of Americans now know that F.B.I. agents and McCarthyites use "doctored pictures" and "fake

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letters" to frame up representatives of the U.S. Army. Everybody can properly ask how much more brazen would be their fakery in a frame-up of Communist leaders.

The fact is that the same Francis P. Carr and Roy M. Cohn who were involved in the doctoring of the picture and the faking of the letter used against the U.S. Army also were involved in preparing the "evidence" in the frame-up against the Communists in the Foley Square trials. In the midst of the first Foley Square trial, President Truman shouted "treason" against William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis. Within four years, the same charge is made by Herbert Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover against Truman, and by McCarthy against the entire Democratic Party. When the professional informer Crouch fabricates blatant lies against Dr. Robert Oppenheimer and incurs the wrath of millions, those same people must be told that it was the testimony of the same informer and others of his ilk which convicted Eugene Dennis and his comrades. Developments such as these make it possible to reach new millions with the truth concerning the frame-up of Communists and other political prisoners.

The fact is that slander against Communists opens the way for slander against anybody. When courts and government agencies make decisions on the basis of the Hitlerian Big Lie against Communists or against the Soviet Union or China,

slander and falsehood become an accepted procedure which can be used by anyone about anything. The damage which such a policy wreaks upon the non-Communists and the nation as a whole is no less than the damage to the lives of individual Communists. The fact is that the Big Lie cannot be restricted to use against Communists only and is not meant to be so restricted. If trade unionists, Negro people, farmers, professionals, cultural and religious leaders, educators and writers, if the American people, are to be protected from the Big Lie, the frame-up, the witchhunt against themselves, they must repudiate its use against Communists. A trade-union leader cannot successfully fight for the rights of workers and at the same time peddle the bosses' slanders against the Communists.

For generations, the Negro people have been the target of the lie of white supremacy. That lie has been a curse to Negro and white and is still the dominant policy of the government.

The lie of American superiority, a crass form of chauvinism directed against those born or living in other lands, was incorporated in the fascist McCarran-Walter Act in 1952.

Our struggle against the Big Lie which the McCarthyites direct against Communists is part of the struggle against falsification and slander wherever these are used and is in the interest of American democracy and the welfare of all the people.

## THE DESPICABLE INFORMER

Many people today are condemning such scurrilous liars as Budenz, Crouch, Cummings, Lautner and other star witnesses for the government. On February 16th of this year 17 eminent religious and cultural leaders vigorously condemned the role of the informer in a letter to Senator William Langer. The Alsops have used their widely syndicated column to condemn Crouch and Budenz.

Adlai Stevenson warned in the April *Harper's* that the reputation of the government itself was involved as much as the reputation of maligned individual victims of McCarthyite investigations. And a very searching exposure of the evil of the informer, by Frank Donner, appeared in the April 10, 1954 issue of *The Nation* which shows "that the character of the political informer is usually 'so odious' that his ignominy is bound to be shared, sooner or later, by the government that uses him . . . and that the continued use of political informers offers a grave threat to the American tradition of individual freedom and fair play. . ."

The informer is part of the apparatus for spreading the Big Lie. It is not that the truth can be purchased from the informer but rather that the falsehood, the slander, the big lie can be purchased. It is not merely that names can be provided but that any particular name can be purchased from the informer for purposes of persecution and oppression, and to

the foul advantage of the purchaser. And the informer is a stench to society whether he dons the garb of a professor, the badge of the F.B.I., or is simply a professional witness.

ALL ANTI-McCARTHYITES  
MUST FIGHT THE BIG LIE

While the professional informer is being exposed and discredited, the task of exposing his lies and slanders remains to be done. While the malodorous character of the stool pigeon is repudiated as part of the garbage and degeneracy of the McCarthyites, the anti-McCarthyites too often peddle the poisonous falsehoods which originated with the informer. The anti-McCarthyites have the responsibility to repudiate, and not repeat, the informer's lies.

Anti-McCarthyites must understand the need to defend the rights of Communists, and this includes the obligation not to peddle vicious slanders against the Communists. This must be done in their own interests, for they cannot protect themselves against slander and persecution unless they participate in the fight against slander and persecution directed in the first place against Communists. We, who are Communists, have not stressed this point enough with others in the anti-McCarthy camp. Thus we have been satisfied on too many occasions with saying that non-Communist defenders of the Bill of Rights need only defend the constitutional rights of Communists. That is too limited

a concept and does not meet the needs of the American people in a period of fascist danger.

Many questions must be tackled by non-Communists and anti-Communists who are participating in the fight against McCarthyism, the American form of fascism. We must say very frankly that non-Communists and anti-Communists have a large share of the responsibility to "clear the air" of such poisonous falsehoods as the charge of "spy," "conspirator," "traitor," "foreign agent," "subversive," "security risk." The *New York Times* recently carried a news story about the "anti-spy unit" established as a new Justice Department division and equates as "spies and traitors" all "Smith Act cases" and cases "involving denaturalization and deportation of aliens suspected as security risks." The very language used by the *Times* is revealing and shocking.

Much of this has been creeping up on us—but the total plan is part of the fascist program. Is it the responsibility of Communists alone to try to refute such charges? Slanders are made against Communists on the radio and television and in newspapers on hundreds of occasions in the course of any one week—and with not one single answer from anybody, and no opportunity for Communists to answer.

#### A TIME TO RE-EXAMINE POSITIONS

Certain harsh facts of the recent

period have provided all forces with sound reasons for a re-examination of their opinions. When Brownell and Hoover made the attack on Truman, many people began to re-examine their positions. When Senator McCarthy made his speeches for the Republican National Committee on "Twenty Years of Treason," many more began to re-examine their positions. When the movies were shown of the H-Bomb explosions and the declaration was made that civilization could be destroyed by such bombs, many more began to re-examine their positions. The recognition that McCarthyism is fascism is becoming fairly widespread and has provided the basis for larger numbers to re-examine their position. Other developments may provide the point of departure for other forces to do likewise. Our responsibility is to be very specific and very flexible in how the entire issue is presented to all forces, especially in the ranks of labor and the Negro people and among professional and cultural leaders.

And we must re-examine all of our own work, in the light of the point made in the Draft Program that, "the defeat of the menace of McCarthyism, to safeguard the democratic rights and precious liberties of the American people is the first task of the hour." Practically every issue involved in the first against McCarthyism, for peace and economic security, comes to the forefront in any discussion of the jailing of Eu-

gene Dennis and the national leaders of the Communist Party. The Draft Program helps to provide an answer to the many questions which do come up when talking to workers and others about the demand for freeing the Communist leaders. People will be won for this campaign as they realize that "McCarthy's objective is fascism, his method is anti-Communism." That which strengthens his method also strengthens his objective.

With the wide distribution of the Draft Program, many workers will begin discussing anew the "call for the defense of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, for an end to 'the dictatorship of fear' and for turning back the evil tide of McCarthyism." The fight to free Eugene Dennis is the key to freedom of all political prisoners. In this light, people will discuss the demand: "Amnesty must be granted to Eugene Dennis, Benjamin J. Davis, Gus Hall and the other Communist leaders and victims of McCarthyism. The attempts to outlaw the Communist Party and to deprive Communists of their citizenship rights must be defeated."

The fight for the Bill of Rights and the rights of Communists, the defeat of the fascist Big Lie, and the mobilization of the people against the content and method of McCarthyism, takes on a specific character when related to the fight for the freedom of the Communist leaders. This relation must be made. The fight for amnesty is an essential element in the anti-McCarthy movement, and

this issue can be brought forward in a manner which unifies and strengthens the anti-McCarthyites. That requires much flexibility on "the how of it" together with much determination on "the doing of it." That requires more of a struggle against self-isolation and calls for the conduct of many immediate struggles, and relating this issue to some of those struggles so as to give substance to a perspective of a broader movement for amnesty, especially involving the trade unions.

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When discussing the Supreme Court decisions of June 4, 1951, it is well to bear some facts in mind and to repeat them again and again. In referring to the eleven Communist leaders, Justice Hugo Black said:

These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date. The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government. No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids.

Justice William O. Douglas in his dissenting opinion, though repeating

many of the slanders against Communism, said:

The present case is not one of treason. . . . Never until today has anyone seriously thought that the ancient law of conspiracy could constitutionally be used to turn speech into seditious conduct. Yet, that is precisely what is suggested. I repeat that we deal here with speech alone, not with speech plus acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct. Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment. To make a lawful speech unlawful because two men conceive it is to raise the law of conspiracy to appalling proportions. That course is to make a radical break with the past and to violate one of the cardinal principles of our constitutional scheme.

Soon after the June 4th decision, many voices for freedom were raised against it including the C.I.O. National Convention, local unions, Negro leaders, writers, educators, religious leaders—generally a wide cross section of American life. However, the Truman Administration was determined to prove its anti-Communism by extending the arrests, and starting a vigorous enforcement of the McCarran Act. It boasted about its attacks against Communists. Truman's anti-Communism provided no benefits to the American people. This was a political victory for McCarthy and contributed to the Republican victory of 1952. That lesson must be made clear for the 1954 elections. In the present period, with the rise of the McCarthyite menace, and with the mounting resistance to it, all foes of fascism, all who cherish democ-

racy, have the responsibility of reviewing the effect of anti-Communism and of repudiating it.

The dissenting opinions of Justices Black and Douglas have not been utilized enough. In the fight against McCarthyism, the opinions of Justices Black and Douglas are powerful weapons and need to be used.

These opinions, especially that of Black, will also help expose the character of "due process" of law, of the "right to a day in court," that is, the content as well as the form of the legal procedure which has been used to put the Communist leaders behind bars and now threatens them with further trials and additional sentences on a second indictment of "membership in the Communist Party."

Throughout the world, the Wall Street propagandists speak about our system of appeals within the court. A person is tried in a Federal District court by a jury, then appeals to the Circuit Court of Appeals and to the U.S. Supreme Court. But it must be remembered that, in the first place, the expenses involved in the appeals are so tremendous that only the rich or those who can make public appeals for funds can actually avail themselves of the appeal procedure.

More significant is the fact that the Appeals courts and the U.S. Supreme Court never examine the character of the witnesses and the issues of fact which are passed upon by the jury in the lower court. That is why the prosecution, with the aid of the

F.B.I. and other agencies, always tries to get a "convicting jury" or a stacked jury. The Court of Appeals presumably reviews all questions of law which are placed before it. Its real purpose becomes that of protecting the judge in the lower court so that his work is not too much out of line. The Supreme Court decides beforehand whether it shall or shall not look at any part of the action of the Court of Appeals. If it does not want to act, it refuses to let a case come before it.

In the case of Eugene Dennis and the national leaders of the Communist Party, the Supreme Court only considered argument on the constitutionality of the Smith Act under which the indictment was brought. It did not—and the Court of Appeals did not—examine and weigh the unsavory and contemptible character of the government witnesses. The Supreme Court never examined the merits of the case. Chief Justice Vinson in writing the majority opinion, declared, "Our limited grant of the writ of certiorari has withdrawn from our consideration at this date those questions which include, inter alia, sufficiency of the evidence, composition of jury, and conduct of the trial." Just why did not the higher court examine the evidence? Why did not the court look at the system of convicting and stacked juries? Why did not the higher court examine the role of Judge Medina, the newspapers and government agen-

cies, and other factors involved in the conduct of the trial? Was the court afraid to expose a sham?

Justice Jackson in his separate opinion upholding the convictions, itself filled with slanders against Communists, admits that the conspiracy law is "an awkward and inept remedy." And he confesses: "I have little faith in the long-range effectiveness of this conviction to stop the rise of the Communist movement. Communism will not go to jail with these Communists."

Justice Frankfurter, also separately upholding conviction, and violently denouncing Communists, added his fears that civil liberty was being destroyed and concluded: "Without open minds there can be no open society. And if society be not open the spirit of man is mutilated and becomes enslaved." Would Justice Frankfurter and Justice Jackson have written the same opinions if they had considered the evidence, the jury, and the conduct of the trial?

On many scores and in the light of the growing movement against McCarthyism, the fight must now be vigorously conducted to win the masses of people of every shading of opinion to join the fight for Amnesty for Eugene Dennis, Benjamin J. Davis, and all political prisoners, to participate in the fight for the rights of Communists and against the Big Lie. This is a decisive part of the fight to defeat McCarthyism.

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## What "Salt of the Earth" Means to Me

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

"SALT OF THE EARTH" is not a movie to me. It is a portrayal of life, a series of episodes and experiences in a recent hard-fought strike of metal miners in New Mexico. But it is more than that—it is a panorama of similar events and identical problems in hundreds of like situations in the American class struggle. The personal problems of these workers and their wives, highlighted by a strike, are common to men and women of the working class everywhere. The set-up is not just desolate New Mexico. The bleak company towns, the arid landscape, the dilapidated shacks, the poverty, the mine as the all-pervasive center of activity, owned by absentee capitalists with headquarters far away, the never-ending struggle of the men for safety in the mine, and of the women for minimum decencies such as running water in the house—are in a thousand communities.

It can be duplicated in Globe, Arizona, or Butte, Montana; in Walsenburg, Colorado, or Burke, Idaho; in Beckley, West Virginia, or Bellaire, Ohio; in Scranton or Bentleyville, Pa. It is the iron ranges of Michigan

and Minnesota. Wherever gold or silver, zinc or copper, coal or iron ore, is taken out of the bowels of the earth, in our country, life is like this. Men take their lives in their hands daily and women await the shrill whistle of disaster and death. I have been in a mining camp when it happened. Everyone ran breathless and fear-stricken to the mouth of the mine to await the dead and injured, as in this picture.

To me seeing "Salt of the Earth" was like suddenly being transported by some magic of sound and sight back into my own past life, far removed in time and place from the theatre in New York City. I knew all of the people in this movie. I could call them by names other than their own—warm hearted, courageous people I have known in Lawrence, Paterson, Passaic, and the Mesaba Range. I felt especially close to the women, though I have never been in New Mexico. They are the women of the working class. I have slept in their crowded homes, often with a woman and child. I have shared their meager fare and heard the stories of their lives. I have

spoken to them at meetings and walked on picket lines with them.

Here they are real people, representing themselves in their own strike. But they are a composite picture of hundreds of others—native born and immigrant; Negro and white; old and young; women who have been strikers and wives of strikers; who as mothers parted with their children to send them to security in other cities; who were left widows when husbands were murdered by company gunmen. I have known them arrested and jailed, as pickets; and on committees running soup kitchens and commissaries—tireless, resourceful, cheerful. I have seen them in steel and coal camps, lumber towns, in auto, rubber, and textile cities—standing behind their men; beside them, after struggles with “male supremacy,” and some times ahead of them, as in this picture, leading in the struggle. “Don’t hold the women back and they’ll go to the front!” Bill Haywood used to say.

Too little is known of the heroic role of women in labor struggles. This picture lifts the curtain. Let us hope it is a forerunner of more. The lives of Mother Jones, Lucy Parsons, Mother Bloor and Fannie Sellins would make great movies. They would portray many episodes about women and acquaint us with our own wonderful labor history.

When I looked at the people in “Salt of the Earth” I saw again the men and women who were driven

out of their company owned shacks by the gunmen of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, owned by the saintly Rockefellers. This was 1914. They lived in tent colonies in Ludlow and Trinidad, which were shot up and set afire by the state militia. The bodies of eleven children and two women, one pregnant, were taken out of a cave they had built for safety, under one tent.

Tear gas, injunctions, dispossesses, credit cut off at stores, clubbing of strike leaders, stool-pigeons, arrests, frame-ups, these are part of the pattern of the class struggle in America. It is rough and cruel, it is force and violence, bloodshed and brutality against workers. This picture is not exaggerated. Some reviewers said bosses and sheriffs do not act like that. They do—only more so. Profit gougers are no respecters of workers’ lives, at work or on strike. Even while making this picture, workers were beset by threats of violence and the Mexican actress who plays the leading role so beautifully, was deported out of the country. The patience, the fortitude, the strength, the self-control of the workers, their ability to laugh, sing, and stick together through all difficulties, is magnificently portrayed and true to life. The picture is well named. They are the “Salt of the Earth.”

To me it is of special importance that this picture is focused on the role of women in a strike, which is all too often either forgotten or taken for granted. When the women

wanted to picket arguments between husbands and wives arose. I have seen opposition on the part of men to women taking part in picket lines even in textile towns where the women worked in the mills, were themselves on strike, and there was no impelling force of an injunction. It required considerable agitation by Bill Haywood and myself, to convince the man on strike that his wife should be equal in the union, in a meeting, on the picket line, in the shop, in the home, and that "women's place" is everywhere, even in jail if necessary. Here life taught them the lesson quickly.

Women have always been magnificent on picket lines from the days, a half century ago, of a girls' waist-makers strike on the East Side. In New Mexico the women saved the strike. They won a new and healthy appreciation of their drudgery from the men who had to "lend a hand in women's work," while they were in jail. The scene of the women in prison shouting demands for the baby's "formula" reminded me of how Mother Jones organized the miners' wives in jail in Greensberg,

Pa., long ago, to sing lullabies to their babies all night. They were soon released, on the pleading of a sleepless town.

It is a powerful and stirring picture, which recreates a great battle of labor. It is splendidly re-acted by the strikers and their wives, supplemented by a few able professionals. It should be shown in every union hall in this country to spark-plug a fight-back for jobs, against speed-up, against Taft-Hartley and for defense of the long and hard won rights of labor. It is needed right now to help make all of us, young and old, more keenly aware and more worthy of our great heritage—the militant traditions of the fighting and eternal American working class.

All progressive humanity owes a great debt to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union which, despite the most severe difficulties and in the face of boss-inspired terrorist attacks, sponsored this magnificent motion picture. "Salt of the Earth" should serve as a herald and a promise of what a truly democratically-minded movie industry could accomplish in our country.

# NEW AND RECENT BOOKS

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