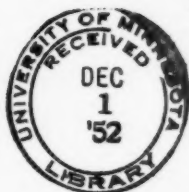


# Political Affairs

OCTOBER 1952 • 25 CENTS



- JOSEPH STALIN [ 3 ] Speech at XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U.
- S. M. MALENKOV [ 6 ] Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to XIX Party Congress
- ELMER LARSON [18] On Guard Against Enemy Infiltration
- THOMAS JAMESON [37] Labor and Third Party Perspectives
- LARRY HAYWOOD [47] Further on Race, Nation and the Concept "Negro"
- JOSEPH NORTH [60] The Heart of Spain (*Book Review*)

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

## Editorial Foreword

The momentous speech by Joseph Stalin, published in the ensuing pages, was delivered at the concluding session of the epoch-making XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in Moscow, on October 5-14, 1952. Received with unbounded enthusiasm by the entire Congress, as well as the fraternal representatives of forty-four Communist and Workers' Parties, this high contribution by Comrade Stalin to the XIX Congress clarifies for the peoples everywhere, including the American people, the central task of the present period and the period to come—namely, the struggle for peace and for the preservation and furtherance of democracy.

That this compelling, magnificently direct enunciation, affecting the destiny of all peoples, should come from the lips of the foremost living Marxist-Leninist, at a Congress of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, attests newly to this fundamental truth: that Marx-

ism-Leninism, in its interconnected theory and practice, is the science of advancing the present and ultimate interests of all struggling humanity, preserving and defending the best that mankind has created through the ages, and guiding the peoples on the path of ever greater social advance, against the profit-lusting imperialists who would destroy humanity itself.

We American Communists, as Marxists-Leninists, fight in the interests of the day-to-day struggles of the American people, in the best interests of the nation, in behalf of Negro liberation, of the great cause of peace, and of the democratic achievements of our people which the war-makers are trampling under foot.

In the face of the bourgeois class- and state-directed attacks, vilifications and persecutions against our Party, we proceed with indestructible confidence knowing that the working class will increasingly realize, on

*the basis of consciousness drawn from struggle, in growing coalition movements on behalf of peace and democracy, that the Party's interests are the interests of labor and all the oppressed, and will rally to the defense of the Party of Marxism-Leninism and to the support of its program. We are confident that the working class of our land will go forward to assume leadership in a growing people's coalition resolute and powerful enough to wage effective struggle for peace and democracy, in the direction of establishing a government representative of a great American People's Front. Such a government, given the increasing role and leadership of the working class and its vanguard Communist Party, will steadily undermine the power of the*

*monopolies, and open up the road for the broad advance of the laboring masses to the Socialist transformation of society.*

*In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which breathes through the speech of Comrade Stalin, let us Communists and all advanced partisans of peace, anti-fascism, and national freedom, address ourselves to the great overriding and historic task of our time. With renewed inspiration let us go forward to help bring about a speedy end of the war in Korea, to build the united people's forces, headed by the working class, for the decisive assertion of the people's will to defeat the criminal and destructive policies of imperialism led by Wall Street.*

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# Speech at XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

By Joseph Stalin

Comrades,

Allow me on behalf of our Congress to express thanks to all the fraternal Parties and groups, whose representatives honored our Congress with their presence or who sent messages of greetings to the Congress—for their friendly greetings, wishes of success and for their trust.

Of special value for us is this trust which signifies readiness to support our Party in the struggle for the radiant future for the peoples, in its struggle against war, in its struggle for the preservation of peace.

It would be a mistake to think that our Party, having become a powerful force, no longer needs support. This is not correct. Our Party and our country have always needed and shall need the trust, sympathy and support of the fraternal peoples abroad.

A peculiarity of this support is that all support for the peace-loving aspirations of our Party on the part of any fraternal Party signifies at the same time support of its own people in their struggle for the preservation of peace. When the British workers in 1918-19, at the time of the armed

attack of the British bourgeoisie on the Soviet Union, organized the struggle against war under the slogan "Hands Off Russia," this was support, first of all support of the struggle of their people for peace, and then support of the Soviet Union. When Comrade Thorez or Comrade Togliatti declare that their peoples will not fight against the peoples of the Soviet Union this is support, first of all support of the workers and peasants of France and Italy fighting for peace, and then support of the peace-loving strivings of the Soviet Union. This peculiarity of the mutual support is explained by the fact that the interests of our Party not only do not contradict, but, on the contrary, merge with the interests of the peace-loving peoples. As for the Soviet Union its interests in general are inseparable from the cause of world peace.

Naturally, our Party cannot remain in debt to the fraternal Parties and it must in turn support them and also their people in their struggle for liberation, in their struggle for the preservation of peace. As is known, that is precisely what it does. After our

Party took power in 1917 and after the Party took real measures to do away with the capitalist and landlord oppression, representatives of the fraternal Parties, admiring the valor and successes of our Party, named it the "Shock-brigade" of the world revolutionary and working-class movement. In this way they expressed the hope that the successes of the "Shock-brigade" would facilitate the position of the peoples groaning under the yoke of capitalism. I think that our Party justified these hopes, especially in the period of the Second World War when the Soviet Union, by smashing German and Japanese fascist tyranny, delivered the peoples of Europe and Asia from the menace of fascist slavery.

Of course, it was very difficult to fulfill this honorable role, so long as the "Shock-brigade" was all alone and had to carry out this leading role practically single-handed. But this belongs to the past. Now things are altogether different. Now, when from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary new "Shock-brigades" have appeared in the shape of the people's democratic countries—now it has become easier for our Party to fight, and indeed work is going with a swing.

Those Communist, democratic or worker-peasant Parties which have not yet come to power and which are still working under the heel of the draconic laws of the bourgeoisie, deserve special attention. For them, of course, the work is more difficult.

But it is not as difficult for them as it was for us, the Russian Communists, at the time of tsarism, when the slightest forward movement was proclaimed a heinous crime. However, the Russian Communists stood firm, were not afraid of the difficulties and won victory. The same thing will take place with these Parties.

Why, then, will it be less difficult for these Parties to work than was the case with the Russian Communists at the time of tsarism?

Firstly, because they have before their eyes examples of struggle and successes such as we have in the Soviet Union and in the people's democratic countries. Consequently, they can learn from the mistakes and successes of these countries and in this way make their work easier.

Secondly, because the bourgeoisie itself—the main enemy of the liberation movement — has changed, changed substantially, has become more reactionary, has lost contact with the people and by so doing has weakened itself. Obviously, this circumstance too, is bound to make the work of the revolutionary and democratic Parties easier.

Formerly the bourgeoisie permitted itself to be liberal, championed bourgeois-democratic freedoms and in doing so created for itself popularity among the people. Now, not even a trace of liberalism remains. Gone is the so-called "freedom of the individual,"—the rights of the individual now are recognized only in the case of those who have capital, while

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all other citizens are regarded as human raw material fit only for exploitation. The principle of equality of people and nations has been trampled underfoot; it has been replaced by the principle of full rights for the exploiting minority and no rights for the exploited majority of citizens. The banner of the bourgeois-democratic freedoms has been thrown overboard. I think that you, representatives of the Communist and democratic Parties, will have to pick up this banner and carry it forward if you wish to rally around yourselves the majority of the people. There is no one else to pick it up.

Formerly the bourgeoisie was considered the head of the nation, it championed the rights and independence of the nation, placing them "above everything." Now, not a trace remains of the "national principle." Now the bourgeoisie sells the rights and independence of the nation for dollars. The banner of national inde-

pendence and national sovereignty has been thrown overboard. There is no doubt that you, representatives of the Communist and democratic Parties, will have to pick up this banner and carry it forward if you wish to be patriots of your country, if you wish to become the leading force of the nation. There is no one else to pick it up.

That is how matters stand at present.

Clearly, all these circumstances are bound to facilitate the work of the Communist and democratic Parties which have not yet come to power.

Consequently, there is every reason to count on success and victory for the fraternal Parties in the countries dominated by capital.

Long live our fraternal Parties!

Long life and good health to the leaders of the fraternal Parties!

Long live peace among the nations!

Down with the warmongers!

# Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to XIX Party Congress\*

By G. M. Malenkov

Secretary, Central Committee of C.P.S.U.

## THREAT OF A NEW WAR EMANATING FROM U.S.- BRITISH AGGRESSIVE BLOC. STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES FOR PEACE

The postwar activity of the U.S., British and French ruling circles in the sphere of international relations too has been marked by preparations for a new war.

Almost immediately after the Second World War, the United States of America renounced the line of policy agreed upon and pursued by the wartime allies and laid down in the decisions of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences of the powers. By a series of aggressive actions the U.S.A. aggravated the international situation and brought the world face to face with the danger of a new war.

The rulers of the U.S. have been quite candid in formulating the aims of their aggressive policy. As far back as 1945, shortly after he became President of the United States, Tru-

man declared that "victory . . . has placed upon the American people the continuing burden of responsibility for world leadership." Subsequently Truman and other American politicians repeated time and again the claim to "U.S. world leadership." This course, which aims at establishing world domination, at subjugating all other countries, is the keynote of the entire policy pursued by the U.S. imperialist ruling clique.

The U.S. tycoons knew, of course, that it would be impossible to establish domination over other nations by peaceful means. They knew from the experience of the Hitlerites, who also sought to establish their rule over other countries, that world dominion was unthinkable without force, without unleashing a new war, and they decided to violate the peace, to prepare a new war. Since the U.S.S.R. is the main opponent of another war, the principal bulwark of peace, the U.S. magnates concluded that the war should be spearheaded against the U.S.S.R. and the other countries standing for peace. In this

\* This Report, delivered on Oct. 5, 1952, is reprinted in part, from *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy*, Oct. 10, 1952.

way the North Atlantic aggressive bloc, formed without knowledge of the U.S.S.R. and behind its back, came into being. And in order to conceal the aggressive aims of this bloc, to deceive the peoples, they proclaimed it a "defensive" bloc against "Communism," against the Soviet Union which, allegedly, is getting ready to attack the U.S. Britain, France and the other members of the bloc.

With this same criminal end in view, American military bases are being created in different countries situated near the Soviet frontiers.

With this same criminal end in view, the U.S. ruling circles are remilitarizing Western Germany and Japan.

By remilitarizing Western Germany and Japan, the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and their adherents are reviving, in full sight of the whole world, the two hotbeds of the Second World War to eradicate which the peoples shed their blood in that war.

The U.S. attack on the Korean People's Democratic Republic marked the transition of the U.S.-British bloc from preparation of aggressive war to direct acts of aggression. The Korean people, who in close co-operation with the valiant Chinese volunteers are heroically defending the freedom and independence of their homeland and giving a rebuff to the violators of peace, enjoy the warmest sympathy of all democratic and peace-loving mankind.

At present the international situ-

ation taken as a whole bears a number of specific features and peculiarities of which it is necessary to note the following.

The principal aggressive power—the United States of America—is whipping the other capitalist countries towards war at an accelerated rate, primarily those belonging to the North Atlantic bloc, as well as the countries which were defeated in the Second World War—Western Germany, Italy and Japan. Dictating their will to others, the U.S. rulers are defining for all the members of the bloc the aims of the war, the theatres of hostilities, the forces that are to take part, and decide other questions pertaining to the preparation for war.

The rulers of the U.S. claim that they are inspired by ideals such as the creation of a "community of free countries." Time and again they come out with the declaration that the U.S., Britain, France, Turkey, Greece, represent this "community of free countries," while the U.S.S.R. and the people's democratic republics are, allegedly, "not free." Our understanding of this is that the U.S., Britain, France, Turkey and other capitalist countries really do have "freedom," not freedom for the people, however, but freedom to exploit and plunder the people. As regards the U.S.S.R. and the people's democratic countries, this kind of "freedom" certainly does not exist, for in these countries freedom to exploit and plunder the working people was

abolished long ago. Here, then, is what the advocates of the "American way of life" boast of.

In actual fact the policy of the U.S. in regard to its West European and other capitalist "friends" is not a democratic policy, but an imperialist one. Under the label of "anti-Communism" and "defense of freedom" the old, long-established bourgeois countries and their colonies are virtually being subordinated to the United States and plundered. Just as Hitler did before them, the U.S. imperialists need the "struggle against Communism" as a smoke-screen in order to divert attention from their real schemes of conquest. While pursuing an imperialist policy in regard to Britain, France and other capitalist countries, the United States of America has, moreover, the effrontery, to put it mildly, to pose as the genuine friend of these countries. A fine friend! After bridling and saddling its junior partners and lashing and whipping them, it plunders and shackles them, repeating all the time "let us be friends," which in the language of the American moneybags means: first you carry me, then I ride you.

Once free capitalist states, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Norway, are now in fact abandoning their own national policy and carrying out a policy dictated by the U.S. imperialists, yielding their territories for American bases and military springboards, thereby endangering their own countries in the event

of hostilities breaking out. On American bidding they conclude alliances and blocs directed against their own national interests. A striking example of this is seen in the actions of the French ruling circles who, with their own hands, are helping to revive France's most bitter and age-old enemy, German militarism. British leaders, both Conservative and Labor, have committed themselves for a long time to the role of junior partner of the United States, thereby pledging to pursue not their own national policy but an American policy. As a result of this policy the British people already bear a heavy burden and the British Empire has been shaken to its foundations.

In spite of this, British propaganda organs claim that it is the Communists who are wrecking the British empire. Yet the ruling circles of the British Empire cannot be blind to the obvious facts which leave no doubt that the possessions of the British Empire are being seized not by the Communists but by the American billionaires.

Was it the Communists and not the American billionaires who seized Canada, who are seizing Australia and New Zealand, who are ousting Britain from the Suez Canal Zone and from the markets of Latin America and the Near and Middle East, and laying their hands on the oil areas owned by Britain?

The facts show that no enemy of Britain has ever dealt her such heavy blows or took from her Empire, part

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by part, as is now being done by her American "friends." This "friend" belongs to the same bloc as Britain and has built air bases on British soil, thereby placing her in a grievous and, I would say, dangerous position; and yet it has the audacity to pose as Britain's savior from "Soviet Communism."

As for such "free" countries as Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, they have already been turned into American colonies, while the rulers of Yugoslavia—all these Titos, Kerdeljs, Rankovics, Djilases, Pijades and others—who long ago became American agents, engage in espionage and subversion against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies on assignments from their American "bosses."

The ruling circles of France, Italy, Britain, Western Germany and Japan have harnessed themselves to the chariot of U.S. imperialism and have renounced a national, independent foreign policy of their own. True, in this way the ruling cliques of these countries betray the national interests of their countries and admit their own bankruptcy. But these cliques prefer to sacrifice the national interests of their states in the hope of obtaining the aid of the trans-Atlantic imperialist patrons against their peoples, whom they fear more than foreign imperialist slavery.

The Right-wing Social Democrats, and the top leaders of the British Labor Party, of the French Socialist Party and of the Social-Democratic Party of Western Germany in the

first place, also bear direct responsibility for this anti-national policy of the ruling circles. The Right-wing Socialists of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Austria and other countries are following in the footsteps of their colleagues, and, ever since the Second World War, have been waging a frenzied struggle against the peace-loving and democratic forces of the peoples. Present-day Right-wing Social Democracy, in addition to its old role of lackey of the national bourgeoisie, has become an agency of foreign, U.S. imperialism, carrying out its foulest assignments in preparing for war and in fighting against its own people.

A distinctive feature of the strategy of U.S. imperialism is that its bosses base their war plans on the utilization of the territory of others and the armies of others—primarily the West German and Japanese armies, as well as the British, French and Italian—on utilization of other peoples who are to serve, according to the schemes of the U.S. strategists, as blind instruments and cannon fodder in the conquest of world dominion by the U.S. monopolists.

But even now the more sober and progressive politicians in the European and other capitalist countries, men who have not been blinded by hatred of the Soviet Union, see clearly the abyss into which the American adventurers, who have run amok, are plunging them; they are beginning to take a stand against war. It should be assumed that



genuine peace-loving democratic forces will be found in the countries that are doomed to the role of pawns in the hands of the U.S. dictators, forces which will follow their own independent, peaceful policy and will find a way out of the impasse into which they have been driven by the U.S. dictators. The European and other countries taking this new path will meet with complete understanding in all the peace-loving countries.

In their endeavors to mask their policy of conquest, the ruling circles of the United States seek to pass off the so-called "cold war" against the democratic camp as a peaceful defensive policy and frighten their own peoples with the non-existent danger of attack from the U.S.S.R. Masking the aggressive plans and the military operations now in progress with demagogic phrasemongering about peace is a characteristic feature of the policy of the bosses of the Atlantic bloc. The crux of the matter is that today it is not so easy to drive peoples who only recently bore the full brunt of a bloody shambles, into a new war, a war against the peace-loving peoples. Hence all the efforts of the aggressive Atlantic wolf to appear in sheep's clothing.

In these circumstances it would be dangerous to underestimate the harm of the pharisaical peace camouflage resorted to by the present-day aggressors.

War preparations are accompanied by an unprecedented wave of unbridled militarism which affects every

aspect of the life of the people in the countries of the imperialist camp, by a frenzied offensive of reaction against the working people, and by fascization of the entire regime in these countries.

If the Hitler imperialists in preparing for the Second World War installed fascism in their country, now the American imperialists who are engaged in preparations for a new war, are installing a brutal fascist regime not only in the United States, but in other countries as well, and above all in those countries where the forces of peace and democracy are particularly strong, for instance, in France, Italy and Japan. The ruling circles of these countries, carrying out the ignominious mission dictated by the American militarists, have declared war on their peoples. Moreover, the U.S. armed forces stationed outside the boundaries of the United States are performing the duties of punitive gendarme troops.

U.S. imperialism is at present not only the aggressor, it is the world gendarme seeking to strangle freedom wherever possible and to implant fascism.

Against this world gendarme there is rising even now a wave of hatred and resistance on the part of the peoples suppressed by it.

All this testifies to the weakening of the positions of the imperialists and leads to a sharp intensification of the struggle waged inside the imperialist camp between the forces of

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fascist reaction and the democratic forces of the people of the imperialist countries. Such a situation is fraught with exceedingly serious consequences for the warmongers.

In connection with the growing danger of war a popular peace movement is developing, an anti-war coalition is being created of different classes and social strata interested in ending the international tension and preventing a new world war. The warmongers will not succeed in their efforts to label this non-party, peaceful, democratic movement a party, allegedly Communist, movement. The fact that the Stockholm Appeal was signed by 500 million people and the Appeal for the conclusion of a Peace Pact among the Five Great Powers by over 600 million is the best rebuff to this claim of the warmongers and an indication of the tremendous scale of the non-party, democratic movement for peace. This peace movement does not pursue the aim of abolishing capitalism, for it is not a Socialist, but a democratic movement of hundreds of millions of people. The peace partisans are advancing demands and suggestions which are bound to contribute to preserving peace and preventing another war. The achievement of this goal would, under the present historical conditions, be a tremendous victory for the cause of democracy and peace.

The present correlation of forces between the camp of imperialism and war and the camp of democracy

and peace makes this prospect a completely real one. For the first time in history there exists a mighty and united camp of peace-loving states. In the capitalist countries the working class is better organized than before, powerful democratic international organizations of workers, peasants, women and the youth have been established. The Communist Parties, fighting heroically for the cause of peace, have grown in numbers and strength.

The peoples of all countries, including the broad masses in the United States of America, for in the event of war they would suffer no less than the population of other countries, are interested in combating the danger of a new war. The war in Korea, despite the vast preponderance of American technique, has already taken from the American people a toll of hundreds of thousands in killed and wounded. It is not difficult to visualize how enormous the sacrifices of the American people would be should the bloated financial tycoons of the U.S.A. hurl them into war against the peace-loving peoples.

The task now is to activate the popular masses still more, to strengthen the organization of the partisans of peace, to expose the warmakers tirelessly and not allow them to enmesh the peoples in a web of lies. To bridle and isolate the gamblers of the camp of the imperialist aggressors who seek to embroil the peoples in a sanguinary

slaughter for the sake of their profits—such is the principal task of all progressive and peace-loving mankind.

#### THE SOVIET UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE

The basic line of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy was and remains a policy of peace among nations and of guaranteeing the security of our Socialist homeland.

Since the first days of the existence of the Soviet state the Communist Party has proclaimed, and has pursued in practice, a policy of peace and friendly relations among nations. Throughout the period between the two world wars the Soviet Union persistently upheld the cause of peace and fought on the international arena against the danger of another war; it worked for a policy of collective security and collective rebuff to aggressors. It was no fault of the Soviet Union that the reactionary circles in the United States and the countries of Western Europe frustrated the policy of collective security, encouraged Hitlerite aggression and led to the unleashing of the Second World War.

While unswervingly upholding a policy of peace, our Party, keeping in mind the hostile encirclement, tirelessly strengthened the country's defense in order to meet the enemy fully prepared.

At the XVIII Party Congress in

1939, when the conflagration of war had already flared up, Comrade Stalin stressed the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy, pointing out that "We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country." At the same time Comrade Stalin issued a warning to the aggressors. "We are not afraid," he declared, "of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders."

And when Hitler Germany treacherously attacked our homeland, the Soviet people gave the enemy an annihilating rebuff and smashed him completely. The whole world saw that our Party does not throw words to the winds.

After the Second World War, the Party continued to pursue a foreign policy of ensuring a lasting and stable peace and of promoting international co-operation. The Soviet Government advanced its widely-known program of measures to avert war.

The peacefulness of the Soviet Union is illustrated not only by its proposals but also by its deeds. After the war the Soviet Union considerably reduced its armed forces, which are now numerically not superior to the forces it had before the war. In

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the briefest space of time after the war the Soviet Government withdrew its troops from the territory of China, Korea, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whither those troops had been moved in the course of military operations against the fascist aggressors. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., holding that the fight against the man-hating propaganda for another war plays a big role in easing international tension, adopted, on March 12, 1951, the Law in Defense of Peace and proclaimed war propaganda the gravest of crimes against humanity. It thereby set an example for other countries.

During the most serious complications on the international arena in recent years, it was the Soviet Union that advanced proposals providing a basis for a peaceful settlement of outstanding questions. It suffices to recall that it was the Soviet side which advanced the proposals that served as the basis for the truce talks in Korea.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. attaches much importance to the United Nations Organization, holding that it could be an important instrument for maintaining peace. But at present the United States is turning the United Nations from the organ of international co-operation which it should be according to the Charter, into an organ of its dictatorial policy in the struggle against peace and is using it as a screen for its aggressive actions. However, not-

withstanding the tremendous obstacles put in its way by the voting machine which the United States has set up in the United Nations, the Soviet Union upholds peace there and works for the adoption of realistic proposals arising from the present-day international situation; proposals aimed at curbing the aggressive forces, at preventing another war, and at stopping hostilities where they are already in progress.

It would be incorrect to consider that war could be directed only against the Soviet state. The First World War, as we know, was unleashed by the imperialists long before the U.S.S.R. came into being. The Second World War began as a war among capitalist states, and the capitalist countries themselves suffered heavily from it. The contradictions which today rend the imperialist camp may lead to war between one capitalist state and another. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, the Soviet Union is working to prevent any war among states and is acting for a peaceful settlement of international conflicts and disagreements.

However, in pursuing its policy of ensuring lasting peace, the Soviet Union finds itself up against the aggressive policy pursued by the ruling circles of the United States of America.

Moreover, bellicose American circles are endeavoring to put the blame where it does not belong. They are inflating in every possible

way their propaganda of lies about a supposed threat on the part of the Soviet Union. As for these lies and inventions about the Soviet Union, it would be ridiculous to go into them, for they completely lack foundation. Indisputable facts show who really is the aggressor.

Everybody knows that the United States of America is intensifying its armaments drive, refuses to ban the atomic and germ weapons and to reduce conventional armaments, while the Soviet Union proposes a ban on the atomic and germ weapons and a reduction of other armaments and armed forces.

Everybody knows that the United States refuses to conclude a Peace Pact, while the Soviet Union proposes the conclusion of such a Pact.

Everybody knows that the United States is forming aggressive blocs against the peace-loving peoples, while the exclusive object of the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and foreign states is to combat revival of Japanese or German aggression.

Everybody knows that the United States attacked Korea and is trying to enslave it, while the Soviet Union has not conducted any hostilities anywhere since the end of the Second World War.

The United States is carrying out aggression also against China. It has seized ancient Chinese territory—the island of Taiwan (Formosa). Its airforce is bombing Chinese territory in violation of all accepted standards

of international law. Everybody knows that the airforce of the U.S.S.R. is not bombing anybody and that the U.S.S.R. has not seized any foreign territory.

Such are the indisputable facts.

Passing over to our relations with Britain and France, it must be said that these relations ought to be in keeping with the spirit of the treaties we concluded with those countries during the Second World War and which stipulate co-operation with them in the postwar period. However, the British and French Governments are grossly violating these treaties. Contrary to the solemn pledges of postwar co-operation which they gave to the Soviet Union at the time it was waging a sanguinary war to liberate the peoples of Europe from German-fascist enslavement, the rulers of Britain and France have joined completely in carrying out the American imperialists' aggressive plans against the peace-loving states. It is clear that in view of such a stand taken by the Governments of Britain and France, our relations with these countries leave much to be desired.

The position of the U.S.S.R. as regards the United States, Britain, France and the other bourgeois states is clear, and our side has stated that position on many occasions. Now, as well, the U.S.S.R. is ready for co-operation with these states, having in mind the observance of peaceful international standards and the guaranteeing of a stable and lasting peace

With regard to the defeated countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—the Soviet Government pursues a policy entirely different in principle from the policy of the imperialist powers. The fact that the Soviet Socialist state was among the victors has created an absolutely new, unprecedented situation and possibilities for the peoples of the defeated countries. For every country which signed an unconditional surrender the policy of the Soviet state opens up the possibility of peaceful, democratic development, of progress for civilian industries and agriculture, of selling goods on foreign markets, and of creating national armed forces essential for the country's defense. In conformity with the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviet Union unswervingly pursues a policy aimed at the speediest conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the withdrawal of all occupation forces from Germany, and the establishment of a united, independent, peace-loving, democratic Germany, having in mind that the existence of such a Germany, together with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union, excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe and makes the enslavement of European countries by the world imperialists impossible.

It is to be hoped that the German people, who are faced with the choice of either taking that path or of being turned into mercenary soldiers of the American and British imperialists, will choose the correct

path—the path of peace.

The same must be said with regard to Italy, to whose fraternal people the Soviet Union wishes complete restoration of their national independence.

The Soviet Government considers that Japan should also become an independent democratic peace-loving state, as envisaged by joint decisions of the Allies. The Soviet Government refused to sign the one-sided treaty which the American dictators forced upon the San Francisco Conference, since that treaty tramples upon the principles of the Cairo and Potsdam declarations and the Yalta Agreement, and is aimed at turning Japan into an American Far Eastern military base. The peoples of the Soviet Union have deep respect for the Japanese people, who have to endure the yoke of foreign bondage, and they believe that the Japanese people will achieve national independence for their homeland and take the path of peace.

The Soviet policy of peace and security of the peoples proceeds from the fact that the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of capitalism and Communism are quite possible provided there is a mutual desire to cooperate, readiness to adhere to commitments entered into, and observance of the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

The Soviet Union has always stood, and stands today for the development of trade and co-operation

with other countries notwithstanding differences in social systems. The Party will pursue this policy in the future as well on the basis of mutual advantage.

While American and British bellicose circles keep reiterating that only the armaments drive keeps industry in the capitalist countries going at full capacity, there is in actual fact another prospect—the prospect of developing and extending trade relations between all countries, irrespective of differences in their social systems, which could keep the factories and mills in the industrially developed countries working to capacity for years, that could ensure markets in other countries for the goods in which some countries are rich, promote economic advance in the under-developed countries and thereby establish lasting economic co-operation.

In pursuing its policy of peace the Soviet Union is in complete unanimity with the other democratic peace-loving states: the Chinese People's Republic, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and these countries are an example of completely new relations among states, relations such as have never been witnessed in history. They are based on the principles of equality, economic co-operation and respect for national independence.

True to its treaties of mutual aid, the U.S.S.R. has rendered and will render aid and support in the further strengthening and development of these countries.

We are confident that in peaceful competition with capitalism, the Socialist system of economy will prove its superiority over the capitalist system more and more vividly year by year. We have no intention, however, of forcing our ideology or our economic system on anybody. "Export of revolution is nonsense," says Comrade Stalin. "Every country will make its own revolution if it wants to, and if it does not want to there will be no revolution."

While it steadfastly pursues its policy of peaceful co-operation with all countries, the Soviet Union takes into account the existence of the threat of new aggression on the part of the warmongers who have lost all restraint. Hence, it is strengthening its defense capacity and will continue to strengthen it.

The Soviet Union is not frightened by the threats of warmongers. Our people have experience in fighting aggressors and are not novices at giving them a drubbing. They gave the aggressors a drubbing way back at the time of the civil war, when the Soviet state was young and comparatively weak, they gave them a drubbing in the Second World War, and they will give future aggressors a drubbing too if they dare to attack our homeland.

The facts of history cannot be

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ignored. And the facts show that as a result of the first world war Russia dropped out of the system of capitalism, while as a result of the Second World War a whole series of countries in Europe and Asia dropped out of the system of capitalism. There is every reason to assume that a third world war would bring about the collapse of the world capitalist system.

That, so to speak, is the prospect of a war and its consequences, if war is forced on the peoples by the warmongers, by the aggressors.

But there is another prospect, the prospect of preserving peace, the prospect of peace among nations. That prospect calls for prohibition of war propaganda in accordance with the resolution adopted by the United Nations, a ban on atomic and germ weapons, consistent reduction of the armed forces of the Great Powers, conclusion of a Peace Pact among the powers, extension of trade among countries, restoration of the single international market, and other analogous measures in the spirit of strengthening peace.

Implementation of these measures would strengthen peace, rid the peoples of fear of the war danger, put an end to the unparalleled expenditure of material resources on armaments and preparation for a war of annihilation, and provide the pos-

sibility of diverting them for the welfare of the peoples.

The Soviet Union stands for implementation of these measures, for the prospect of peace among nations.

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The tasks of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy:

1. To continue the struggle against the plotting and unleashing of another war, to rally the powerful anti-war, democratic front for the strengthening of peace, to strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity with peace supporters all over the world, persistently to expose all the intrigues of the warmongers;

2. To continue to pursue a policy of international co-operation and promotion of business relations with all countries;

3. To strengthen and develop inviolable relations of friendship with the Chinese People's Republic, with the European People's Democracies—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, with the German Democratic Republic, with the Korean People's Democratic Republic and with the Mongolian People's Republic;

4. Tirelessly to strengthen the defense might of the Soviet state and to increase our preparedness to give any aggressor a crushing blow.



# On Guard Against Enemy Infiltration

By Elmer Larson

THE PERIOD since the end of World War II, and especially the recent years, has been marked by an unprecedented assault on the democratic liberties of the American people. While past American history is replete with many instances of attacks on the democratic rights of those who stood for progress, none can compare with the present well organized, sustained, widespread attacks. Its main significance lies in the fact that it is the necessary accompaniment of the drive of American imperialism towards war and fascism. The big monopolists, through their two-party system, through all branches of the Federal government (Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary) as well as state and municipal governments, have systematically proceeded to nullify the Bill of Rights and to undermine and destroy the foundations of bourgeois democracy. The heavy artillery of this assault has been the Taft-Hartley Act, the Smith Act, and the McCarran Act. This assault takes place behind a smokescreen of Red-baiting and witch-hunts in every field of endeavor, of mounting war hysteria.

Prior to the military defeat of the

Axis powers in World War II, Nazi Germany served as the chief center of world reaction, attracting and encouraging the growth of fascism in all bourgeois lands. Today, this role is performed by American imperialism.

In attacking the democratic rights of the American people, the ruling class moves, not out of strength, but out of weakness; not out of confidence in the future, but out of desperation; not with the support of the majority of the people, but out of fear of the people. While attacking all rights and the organizations built by labor, the Negro people, professionals, progressives and liberals, it directs its heaviest blows against the Communist vanguard of the people's struggle for peace, democracy and progress. Using the infamous Smith Act as a battering ram, it has imprisoned eight members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, forced seven other Party leaders into a status of hunted political refugees, convicted other Party leaders in Maryland, and is either conducting or about to conduct trials against national and state leaders in New York, California, Pittsburgh, and Hawaii.



### THE F.B.I.—GESTAPO OF AMERICAN REACTION

Under the fascist-minded, headline-seeking J. Edgar Hoover, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has become increasingly prominent in the past few years as the chief agency of the government in harassing, spying upon and persecuting, not only Communists, but tens of thousands of progressives, liberals, advocates of peace, trade unionists, and fighters for Negro rights.

Operating out of its national headquarters in Washington, the F.B.I. maintains 52 field divisions throughout the country. In addition to its several thousand full-time agents, the F.B.I. relies on a whole network of informers whose "expenses" it covers from its funds. It has its agents not alone in this country, but serving in a liaison capacity with the intelligence and police authorities in England, France, Spain, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil. These international connections were highlighted in the recent period by (1) the close relations with the Mexican police revealed in the arrest of Gus Hall and (2) the visit of the Chief of Police of Paris to F.B.I. headquarters in Washington on the eve of the anti-Ridgeway demonstrations, where he was instructed in the techniques for breaking strikes and peace demonstrations.

The F.B.I. works in closest conjunction with various governmental agencies, private organizations and individuals. Among these are: the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.)

which is responsible for all intelligence activities outside the U.S.; the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces; the Senate and House Un-American Activities Committees; and the Boards set up under the Loyalty Act, Taft-Hartley Act, and the McCarran Act; the various Red Squads and city and state police; employers' groups; the top brass of such organizations in the national group fields; reactionary newspapers, magazines, writers, radio and TV commentators; and a number of trade union bureaucrats and Social Democrats and the renegade groupings. Ex-F.B.I. agents are increasingly being used by private industry to head up personnel departments, by city and state governments for use on Labor Squads and Red Squads, by newspapers as writers, and by many private detective agencies.

The F.B.I. has methodically studied and improved upon the methods employed by the Czarist Okhrana, Hitlerite Germany, pre-war fascist Italy and Japan, and the intelligence and police administrations of England and France. It has put into use the latest scientific techniques and equipment (wire-tapping, concealed microphones, radio-equipped cars for receiving and transmitting purposes, photography, fingerprinting, chemical laboratories, fire-arms, etc.).

Hoover has boasted of the following "achievements" of his department: (1) The F.B.I. has processed over four million loyalty forms under the Loyalty program, resulting in the dismissal of 287 individuals while an additional nearly three thousand in-

dividuals being investigated "voluntarily" resigned. (2) In the last 26 years, the Identification Division of the F.B.I. increased its file of fingerprints from 810,188 to over 122,500,000 representing receipts from some 12,065 contributors throughout the world. (3) 1951 investigations conducted by the F.B.I. field offices concerned 775,660 "investigative matters." Each special F.B.I. agent in the field has an average of 21 "investigative matters" at all times. (4) At the F.B.I.-conducted National Academy, police officers from such places as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Scotland Yard, Puerto Rico and elsewhere are in attendance.

Testifying before a Senate committee, J. M. McInnery, Assistant Attorney General, stated that under the Internal Security Bill (McCarran Act) his Division is going through the records of 188 organizations that he lists as "Communist fronts" with a view to selecting about 40 of these against whom to proceed.

Negro leaders have long ago called attention to the shocking failure of the Department of Justice and the F.B.I. to do anything to apprehend and bring to trial those responsible for the murders of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Florida as well as the many other instances of violence and murder against Negroes throughout the country. Speaking before a Senate sub-committee, Hoover smugly reported:

The Federal Government through the F.B.I. has been able to make excellent progress in the handling of civil

rights cases. Such investigations are very difficult. At the same time we have had excellent cooperation from most of the authorities. Most of these cases arise in the South. I will say the authorities in many cases of those communities have cooperated wholeheartedly. There has to be a gradual re-education in order to meet the problem. You cannot go in and arbitrarily demand this or that.

Hoover's program, in a nutshell, is this: persecution and imprisonment for Communists and other fighters for Negro rights on the one hand, and "gradual re-education" for the lynchers and those who perpetrate violence against the Negro people on the other hand.

While the F.B.I. has failed to bring a single lyncher to trial, Hoover and his boys are engaged in a nation-wide spree of snooping and collecting information for the purpose of persecution and eventual prosecution of thousands whom it dares brand as "subversive." Even mild liberals who in the past showed some enthusiasm for Roosevelt's New Deal are now suspect. Hoover's bloodhounds have browbeaten janitors of buildings, neighbors, relatives, friends and employers to act as informers. F.B.I. agents, posing as representatives of credit houses, loan corporations, social security agencies, insurance firms, etc., have phoned the homes of those being investigated in order to secure confidential information about the lives, friends and activities of these individuals. In some cases, F.B.I. agents would phone the wives, pos-

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The false picture glorifying the F.B.I. that is conveyed to the American people in such movies as *Walk East on Beacon*, and in various radio and TV programs, in articles, books and speeches, painting Hoover's thugs as heroes and guardians of democracy, should be countered with the widest public exposure of the true facts. Americans should be aroused to speak out in clear and unmistakable words against the contemptible "war of nerves," of persecution and abuse by F.B.I. agents against the wives and children of America's political refugees — Gil Green, Henry Winston, Bob Thompson, James Jackson, Fred Fine, Sid Stein and Bill Norman. The F.B.I. should be publicly shown up for what it really is—the vicious enemy of all that is decent, progressive and democratic in American life, the foe of the Negro people, the tool of the employers for union-busting, the inveterate persecutor of all who work for peace. Where Communists and progressives are approached by F.B.I. agents for any reason, they should take a determined, courageous stand in defense of their democratic rights. They should view such agents as they would strike-breakers and refuse to talk to them, refuse to cooperate with them, refuse to go voluntarily to F.B.I. headquarters for questioning, refuse to allow them into their homes, or in any way have anything to do with these vile characters.

#### VIGILANCE IN COMBATING ENEMY AGENTS

The American people have a long tradition of hatred and contempt for the use of informers. Every school child loathes the name of Benedict Arnold. American workers remember how employers' spies were and are used to prevent and break-up union organization and defeat labor's struggles for economic improvement. The Negro people know what use slaveholders made of informers to crush the many slave revolts of the pre-Civil War era and how they are used today to break up the organizations of the Negro people, disrupt the fight for Negro rights, and betray militant fighters to the enemies of the Negro people.

Reaction has found it necessary to counter these long-standing traditions of the American people by a concerted effort to glorify their present-day Judases as courageous patriots, as honorable men and women who are performing a noble service to the American nation. Stoolpigeons are being pompously trotted out in the various Smith Act trials, at Congressional and deportation hearings. The words of informers are accepted as gospel truth by the Loyalty Boards. Movie pictures such as "I Was a Communist Spy for the F.B.I." based on the "story" of the stoolpigeon Cvetic are featured on the screen. The spy Lautner has spread his fables like a wornout phonograph record that is played and re-played at trials and hearings throughout the coun-

try. A whole conglomeration of assorted informers have suddenly blossomed out as "authors" to cash in on their vile profession—Budenz, Philbrick, Calomiris, Chambers, Bentley, etc. A Philbrick Day is declared by the Governor of Massachusetts. Hair-raising articles by informers fill the newspapers. Reaction seeks to inculcate the whole population with the idea that it is noble and patriotic to spy on one's family, neighbors, friends, shop mates, school mates and teachers, on members of one's profession, etc. In a country notorious for its many rackets and racketeers, the spy and anti-Communist racket has become a highly lucrative one, as can be seen by the revelation that Budenz has netted \$70,000 as a professional anti-Communist, besides his \$25,000 salary as a "professor."

The events of the past few years have made it crystal clear that the F.B.I. has sought by every device to infiltrate the ranks of all progressive organizations, and in the first instance, those of the Communist Party, with its informers. This constitutes its "secret weapon," intended for a two-fold purpose: (1) To disintegrate the Party *from within*, to sow demoralization and confusion within its ranks, and to bring about the isolation of the Communists from the masses; and (2) to facilitate the objective of American reaction *from without*, to make possible harassment, persecution and imprisonment, and bring about the complete illegalization of the Party and all progressive organizations and their final de-

struction. In this way reaction hopes to deprive the American people of all leadership in the fight for peace, for democratic liberties, for progress.

The American bourgeoisie are not novices at the use of spies against the working-class movement. The pages of American labor history bear testimony to the extensive employment of labor spies to frame, jail and even execute militant labor leaders. The Palmer Raids (1919-20), one of whose chief architects was J. Edgar Hoover, was preceded by the infiltration of government stoolpigeons into the ranks of the Communists and various progressive and militant organizations of the workers and foreign born.

Prior to the organization of the millions of workers in the basic industries, the main centers for use of spies within the country against the workers and their organizations were to be found in the big corporations themselves, their spy agencies within the plants as well as such professional union-busting, strike-breaking agencies as that of Pinkerton and others. During and immediately following the First World War, the F.B.I. cooperated with these employers' attacks and launched vicious drives against the anti-war advocates, against the Left-wing Socialists and the builders of the new-born Communist Party, against militants in the I.W.W. and within the A. F. of L., and against the foreign-born. The new feature that has emerged sharply, particularly since the end of World War II, is that the F.B.I. has become

the *main organized center* for engaging in spying activities against Communists, progressives, liberals, and against labor, the Negro people and all who work for peace. It serves as a clearing house as well as the directing center for the spying carried out by city and state police, by employers' groups and by private organizations.

Nor has American imperialism confined its spying activities to use at home. Especially events during and since World War II have shown how persistently American agents have been used against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, and the New China, for the purposes of espionage, murder, wrecking and sabotage. Yugoslavia stands out as an example of the betrayal of the cause of peace, democracy and Socialism engineered by imperialist agents and spies at the helm of the government and the Yugoslav Communist Party. The trials of Rajk in Hungary and of Kostov in Bulgaria, the arrest of Slansky in Czechoslovakia, have demonstrated that the main center for all efforts to destroy these People's Democracies is to be found in Wall Street. Under the Mutual Security Act vast sums have been assigned for espionage and sabotage activities against the Socialist nations. The disclosure contained in the diary of Major-General Robert W. Grow, the military attache at the American embassy in Moscow, revealing his spying activities in the Soviet Union and his fervent hopes for a new

World War, further dramatized this fact.

### THE ROLE OF STOOLPIGEONS

The class enemy needs and makes use of stoolpigeons for a variety of reasons. Sometimes these many purposes may be combined in one person. At other times, different people are used—a sort of division of work. Generally speaking, the class enemy seeks to accomplish the following through its stoolpigeons:

First, to provide the class enemy with what it deems vital information for purposes of harassment, persecution and prosecution—names, addresses, and descriptions of members, especially of leaders of organizations; documents, leaflets, and literature; information relative to the activities of party organizations and members. Usually stoolpigeons assigned to such purposes prefer to keep quiet on ideological questions, lest they expose themselves. The various Smith Act trials have seen a whole procession of these types whose role was primarily to finger people, to identify books and documents, to present a police version of what transpires in the Communist Party, in Party schools and in the interpretation of Marxist-Leninist classics.

Second, the type of informer whose purpose it is to worm himself into positions of leadership with a view to influencing and distorting the line of the Party, to sabotage the effective carrying-out of organizational decisions, to promote factionalism and disunity, to create and exaggerate

differences, to sow moods of demoralization, panic, and lack of confidence in the working class, in the Party and in its leadership, and generally to do everything possible to bring about the isolation of the Party from the masses. International experiences (Moscow trials of the Trotskyites, the Titoites of Yugoslavia, Rajk, Kostov, Slansky, etc.) should be taken to heart.

Third, the agent-provocateur type whose purpose it is to promote adventurist actions, who often disguises himself as a super-militant, who may resort to planting of forged documents and other incriminating materials on individuals, in the homes of comrades, in meeting places or headquarters, who helps frame-up individuals or organizes provocations which can provide the enemy with the necessary pretext to attack the organization as a whole. During the latter part of the 19th century, two major provocations were engineered to help smash the labor movement of our country—the frame-up and execution of the militant leaders of the anthracite miners (Molly Maguires) by a Pinkerton agent-provocateur, and the hurling of a bomb in the course of a labor protest demonstration in Chicago with the subsequent frame-up and execution of a number of the leaders of the 8-hour day movement (Haymarket Martyrs). The Czarist Okhrana made extensive use of agent-provocateurs against revolutionaries and their organizations (Azeff, etc.). The burning of the Reichstag in 1933 was a mon-

strous provocation perpetrated by the Nazis to provide a pretext to smash the Communist Party, wipe out democracy and consolidate and entrench fascism in power.

What kind of people are used as stoolpigeons? The F.B.I. tries to picture its informers as high-minded, courageous, patriotic individuals sacrificing their time, their energy, their health and risking their lives, all for the noble purpose of protecting our nation against "subversives." The true facts are at complete variance with this story-book fairytale spread by Hoover. They show the following to be the true picture:

First, there are those individuals who are *sent into* the organization to play the role of informer. Often these consist of people whom the government already has the goods on for the various crimes committed by them and who are offered immunity from public exposure and imprisonment for services rendered to the F.B.I. One of the government's witnesses in the Foley Square frame-up of the members of the National Committee, the spy Charles Nicodemus, became an informer after the F.B.I. secured his freedom, though he was originally arrested with two guns in his possession. While it may be true that some of the small fry among these informers received only "expense" money for their dirty work (although the Foley Square trial showed that they are not adverse to padding their "expenses"), some of the key informers have been able to make quite a financial racket by per-

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forming at endless trials and hearings at \$25 a day plus expenses, while some have "written" books, newspaper articles, given lectures, spoken on the radio and generally cashed in as "experts" on Communism.

Second, there are those individuals who are *already* members of the Communist Party and are converted into acting as informers—opportunists, self-seeking careerists, weaklings, disgruntled individuals, degenerates, drunkards, people loose with funds, etc. The enemy rummages through the lives of people, seeking out weaknesses and vices, resorting to blackmail, bribes and coercion of individuals where possible into becoming informers. Louis F. Budenz, who has served as one of the principal witnesses for the prosecution at various Smith Act trials, peddling the imbecilic nonsense about "Aesopian language," was denounced in Congress on May 20, 1950, by Senator Chavez as one who does not "know truth from falsehood" and whose "perjured testimony" had convicted "many innocent persons." This 20th century Judas is symbolic of the kinds that Hoover would have the American people believe are the paragons of Christianity, of virtue, of decency, of morality, of patriotism.

How do F.B.I. informers operate? The first and basic lesson taught every stoolpigeon is to work in such a way as to win the confidence of the Party members, of the Party organizations. Without this they can't hope to get to first base with their foul work.

In her book *The Red Masquerade*, the stoolpigeon, Angela Calomiris, gives some insight based on personal experience as to how stoolpigeons operate, as follows:

1. When approached by the F.B.I. to become a stoolpigeon, they warned her not to make efforts directly to get into the Party, but rather "to wait until you're invited to join." They emphasized that it was important to find the "right sponsor."

2. The F.B.I. gave her the following guide of conduct: a) Don't appear too anxious to join; b) Once in, don't ask for jobs; c) Don't ask direct questions; d) Don't ever ask anyone's full name; e) Don't change your way of living; f) Don't try to change your personality. ("Be as natural as you can.")

3. She was told to report on every contact with a Communist—to report names, addresses and descriptions of people—to report on all meetings she attended—to send in copies of leaflets and literature put out.

4. She was advised to write or type her reports and mail them to the F.B.I. Whenever she was in "trouble" or "stumbled on something of unusual interest," she was to phone it in. She was warned never to go to F.B.I. headquarters. Appointments with F.B.I. agents were made for various street corners where she was picked up in an F.B.I. car.

One of the F.B.I. agents told her that the "ideal plant should be able to inspire confidence without ever giving any in return," "be friendly but . . . know how to keep his mouth

shut," "be alert and quick-witted, but as stable as the rock of Gibraltar," "have a job which allows him to come and go at odd hours without arousing suspicion," and "he shouldn't have family ties."

While the stoolpigeons used in the various Smith Act trials had the special assignment of spying inside the Communist Party, most of them were also used to spy on other workers' and progressive organizations. In fact, some made it a habit to join as many organizations as possible, the better to carry on their dirty work. Calomiris claims to have joined at least eight other progressive organizations.

Since the Smith Act speaks about "teaching" and "advocating," the F.B.I. was most anxious to have its informers attend Marxist classes and schools to frame phony reports on instructors and students, the literature used and the topics discussed. At the Smith Act trials, the F.B.I. presented some of its informers as "experts" on Marxism-Leninism in order to lie and distort the true meaning of the writings of Marx, Engels, and Stalin and present a police caricature of Marxism-Leninism.

A clever stoolpigeon seeks to conceal his dirty work in such a way as to avoid being detected. Calomiris tells how she once spied some membership records at a section headquarters, smuggled them out to be photostated, and then had them put back in the original place. She describes how later, at a section meeting, she made a big point of the fact that she had seen such records at the

section headquarters and accused leading people of lack of vigilance. By this trick, she tried to give the impression to the members that she was a loyal member who was concerned with the security of the membership.

Generally the activities of all enemy agents are primarily designed to attack and attempt to destroy the Party, particularly at moments of great crisis, combined with blows from the outside. While the enemy has been forced to reveal some of their spies in the course of the Smith Act trials, it would be sheer stupidity to think that they have revealed all of these or necessarily their main agents.

While dealing with the type who are recruited as F.B.I. spies and some of their methods of operation, it would be a false sense of security to think that this follows some rigid, prescribed blue-print. The enemy uses all kinds of elements for its sinister spying. Some of them may be clever, others are not. Some employ certain methods, others follow different patterns. What has to be kept always in mind is the fact that the enemy is able to plant their agents and have them operate undetected for long precisely where there is an absence of the necessary Party vigilance.

#### VIGILANCE AGAINST THE CLASS ENEMY

The extent to which the enemy has been able to penetrate our Party as shown in the various trials and hearings should be a cause for genu-

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ine alarm in our ranks. Nor can we in the least be satisfied with the relatively small results shown in ferreting out enemy agents. It is necessary from the top down to be critical of the slowness with which we recognized the danger and rallied our Party in the struggle against this menace. The excellent Report\* delivered by Gil Green over two years ago on this subject was inadequately utilized to mobilize our entire Party and certainly was not followed up with additional articles and material.

*The struggle against enemy penetration will only be successful to the degree to which this struggle becomes the concern, not only of some special committee, but of the entire Party—every Party member, every Party committee, every Party leader.* Vigilance must run like a red thread through everything we do today. It is imperative that we exercise the greatest vigilance and take the maximum measures to protect our members, leaders and Party organizations precisely among the most exploited and oppressed where our Party must have its strongest base—the workers in the shops and the Negro people.

Proper Party vigilance calls for a struggle against two possible dangers: 1) A tendency to underestimate the enemy; to fail to realize that the use of spies is not a minor but rather a major weapon in the enemy's arsenal, designed to attack and destroy the Party; to be complacent. Such an approach reflects bourgeois-demo-

cratic and legalistic illusions, a failure to understand the new situation in which our Party operates today. 2) A tendency towards becoming panicky in face of the revelations at the Smith Act trials and hearings as to the existence of planted informers; to feel that nothing can be done to ferret these enemy agents out of our ranks; to exaggerate the extent to which the enemy has succeeded in infiltrating our ranks and to begin to suspect everybody. Both tendencies are dangerous and often those who are the victims of the first, once their dream world balloon is pierced, fall victim to the second danger.

While we must at all times guard against hysteria, this must in no sense lead to an ostrich-like approach that is satisfied with superficial appearance. The eyes and ears of all comrades and Party leaders should at all times be kept wide open for the least signs of enemy penetration. Every suspicion and every doubt should be pursued and resolved. An atmosphere must be created where comrades feel free to take up their doubts and suspicions with leading comrades and committees, not to keep these to themselves or engage in loose talk outside of the proper Party channels. Where incidents take place showing the handiwork of the enemy—incidents leading to arrests, to trailing of Party leaders, to ouster of comrades from jobs, to "unexplainable" failures in the execution of decisions or undertakings—all such incidents should be thoroughly investigated.

It would be well that we heed the

\* Gilbert Green, "For Communist Vigilance," *Political Affairs*, May, 1950, pp. 115-30.

following warning sounded by Gil Green:

The time has come for our party to give due recognition to the fact that the enemy employs more than one weapon, and fights on more than one front, in its attempt to destroy our Party. We are cognizant of the frontal assaults directed against us since the war. We are also aware of the intense, unabating ideological barrage of the enemy. But we are not as sensitive to its fifth-column methods of struggle, its use of diversionary tactics, its methods of infiltrating our ranks and how it attempts to conduct political guerrilla warfare from within, exploiting every weakness in our ideological and organizational armor to disrupt and paralyze our work.

The following three conditions are indispensable to the struggle for vigilance against the menace of enemy penetration: 1) The struggle for the political line of the Party; 2) The struggle for the fundamental principles of Party organization; and 3) The struggle for a correct cadre policy.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL LINE OF THE PARTY

The struggle for a correct political line is basic in the fight against enemy penetration. For the enemy seeks to create disagreement with, distrust in, and opposition to the political line of the Party. It seeks to disorientate our Party, confuse its membership, and isolate it from the masses of people. Enemy agents can best thrive in such an atmosphere. It is not accidental that the F.B.I. succeeded

in having a number of its agents worm their way into the Party and even into sections of its leadership precisely during the period when Browderism was dominant within our Party. For this bourgeois ideology was a fertile soil for the operation of enemy agents.

The first and fundamental condition to a successful struggle against enemy penetration, therefore, is the struggle for the political line of our Party as embodied in the reports, resolutions and decisions of its highest body, the National Convention, and as implemented and further developed between conventions by the National Committee of the Party.

The political line of the Party is based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present situation within our country and throughout the world, from which flow the tasks confronting the working class and our Party in this historic period:—the fight for peace, against the growing menace of fascism, for the economic interests of labor, for equality for the Negro people, for independent political action by labor and its allies, and the building of a mass Third Party dedicated to the cause of peace.

The struggle for the political line of the Party calls for an uncompromising battle against all expressions of Right opportunism and "Left" sectarianism. The Right opportunist danger expresses itself in the tendency to overestimate the strength of the American bourgeoisie while underestimating the strength of labor and its allies, including that of the inter-

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national peace camp; to underestimate the danger of war and fascism; to reject proletarian internationalism and succumb to national chauvinism including white supremacy; to capitulate to the labor bureaucrats and Negro reformist leaders. The "Left" sectarian danger expresses itself in the tendency to view war and fascism as inevitable and to see the fight for peace and democracy as futile and already lost; to neglect or reject the united-front tactic and ignore the majority of organized workers and the Negro people who are under Right-led, reformist leadership; to make the Left centers and progressive-led organizations which speak for a more advanced position, but still represent a minority of those who can and must be won in the struggle, the prime center of our activities.

Precisely in this period when American imperialism serves as the main center of world reaction, when it is waging wars against the colored peoples of the world (Korea, China, Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Malaya), when it serves as the chief prop for the whole system of colonial domination of the millions in Asia and Africa, we find an intensified barrage of chauvinism pervading every channel aimed at influencing the minds of the population, and consciously and assiduously fostered by monopoly capital. The ruling class in this way seeks to justify its wars against the colored peoples, on the one hand, and to maintain its barbarous system of national oppression of the Negro

people from which it reaps immense super-profits, on the other hand. The struggle for the correct political line, therefore, requires a conscious, determined fight for Negro rights and against every expression of white chauvinism among the masses generally, and in the first instance, within the ranks of the Party. While the struggle against white chauvinism is mainly the task of the white comrades and is the pre-condition for a successful struggle for Negro rights, Negro Communists must wage a simultaneous struggle against the pernicious influences of bourgeois Negro nationalism which would deny the role of the working class as the most important ally of the Negro people in the fight for full equality.

The struggle for a correct political line is crucial to our work in the shops and within the trade unions. This requires a struggle for a policy of shop concentration, for concentration upon the workers in the basic mass production industries, for shifting the main weight of our trade-union work to work among the workers in the Right-led trade unions. That which should distinguish Communists in the trade unions and shops is their consistent struggle for the economic and political interests of the workers, their pursuance of a policy based on class struggle as against the class collaboration policies of the Greens and Murrays, their relentless struggle for labor unity and for trade union democracy. All deviations and opportunistic distortions of our Party's line for work in the shops and

unions, all attempts to deny the role of the Party and to preach in effect economism, must be sharply fought against.

Finally, the struggle for a correct political line necessitates an uncompromising fight against the various renegade groupings—the Browderites, Titoites, and Trotskyites. They try to pose as “Marxists” in order to confuse and divert those who are seeking the path of struggle for peace, for progress, and for Socialism. Each of these groups direct their main fury against the Soviet Union and the Peoples’ Democracies. These groupings seek by every means to foster confusion in the ranks of the Party, to encourage opportunistic and sectarian manifestations, to sow and feed upon factionalism wherever it may rear its head. Enemy agents planted in our Party find these renegade groupings and their “radicalism” a God-send enabling them to better serve their masters. All manifestations of Browderism, Titoism, or Trotskyism, any signs of liberalism in combatting these groupings, must be sharply fought.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

The attacks of the class enemy upon our Party have made necessary various organizational steps to assure that our Party can fulfill its vanguard role under any and all conditions. American history has shown that in the fight for independence from Britain as well as in the fight against

Negro slavery the advanced forces were compelled to take certain measures to shield themselves from the anti-democratic blows of their enemies. This was also true of the early pioneers who built the labor movement. We need not apologize for whatever measures we find necessary today to protect our Party as the political party of the American working class. John Gates was a thousand times correct when he told the McCarran Board:

We are fully justified in adopting every measure possible to thwart unconstitutional invasion of our privacy. We are not a secret organization. We have always sought the widest publication and dissemination of our program and of our views on all issues affecting the people.

Such protective measures cannot be interpreted to mean that the basic Party organizational principles have outlived their use. While these basic organizational principles, like everything else, must be adapted to assure maximum Party security and the maximum continuity to all our political work, the validity of these principles in this period cannot be questioned. On the contrary, more than ever is it necessary to wage a relentless struggle for their enforcement. This is essential in uncovering enemy agents and in defeating their dastardly designs within our ranks. The enemy can best operate where these principles are flouted. What are some of these basic Party organizational principles and how do they apply today?

## INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY

Inner-Party democracy is essential to the fullest clarity of our Party membership, to their fullest participation in the formulation as well as the execution of Party policy, to the fullest activation of the membership. Speaking before the McCarran Board, John Gates defended the principle of democratic centralism upon which our Party is based, stressing that the Party is "a million times more democratic than the Republican or Democratic Parties," and pointing to the democratic nature of the Party's pre-Convention discussions leading up to the Convention and the final formulation of its basic resolutions and decisions. For Communists, inner-Party democracy is not a license for petty-bourgeois chatter, but rather a medium for hammering out the line of the Party and unifying its ranks for its execution in every day political life. The conditions in which our Party operates today often require new approaches to realizing Party democracy, but they do not in the least negate its importance. Where Party democracy is discouraged, it is far easier for enemy agents to operate undetected and unmolested. A classical example of this was the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party whose leadership was infested with Hitlerite, American and British spies.

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM  
—THE LAW OF PARTY  
GROWTH AND  
DEVELOPMENT

Criticism and self-criticism are

prime requisites to the growth and development of Party organizations and cadres. Where these are nil or perfunctory, there lies the danger of stagnation and retrogression, of opportunism and of bureaucracy. Criticism and self-criticism are decisive in formulating Party policy, in testing that policy and learning from its results, in evaluating the work of all Party organizations and Party leaders, and constantly correcting and improving all of our activities. For it to be more than purely formal, the aim of such criticism must be to search out the roots of errors and weaknesses and indicate the path to their correction. Criticism and self-criticism should at all times be constructive with a view to improving the work and helping comrades rather than tearing down such comrades. Where criticism is absent or discouraged, where it is used for destructive rather than constructive ends, there is where enemy agents find a protective wall behind which to operate. Such enemy spies as Lautner would have found it difficult to conceal themselves for such a long time, had their work been subjected to the penetrating light of Bolshevik criticism.

PARTY DISCIPLINE  
AND PARTY UNITY

The Party cannot fulfill its role as the vanguard of the working class without maintaining discipline and Party unity. To do otherwise would result in the degeneration of the Party into a debating society incap-

ble of providing the needed leadership against a most cunning, ruthless, resourceful and determined class enemy. The strength of such Party discipline and unity lies in the fact that the Party is a voluntary association of the most advanced, the most loyal, the most class-conscious and self-sacrificing elements of the working class, basing itself on the liberating science of Marxism-Leninism, and pursuing as a common purpose the advancement of the immediate and the fundamental interests of the American working class, the cause of Socialism. Whoever and whatever weakens this discipline and undermines the unity of the Party objectively aids the class enemy. Every breach on this front, particularly at this time when the Party is subjected to continuous blows from the camp of reaction, should be exposed and vigorously combatted. The example of Phil Frankfeld should be a timely warning to our entire Party (opposition to the line of the Party on the character of the fascist danger and how to struggle against it; elements of political and personal degeneration; unprincipled factionalism).

Experiences of Communist Parties throughout the world have shown that enemy agents thrive on the promotion and the intensification of factionalism. Factionalists and "oppositionists" in a Party draw enemy agents like honey draws flies, both because this provides a convenient cover-up as well as a channel to distort the line and split the Party. Where factionalism exists one may often find

the hand of a conscious enemy agent. In a factional atmosphere self-criticism is alien, and loyalty to the Party and the working class is replaced with loyalty to a faction and to certain individuals. Under such conditions united and effective action becomes difficult if not impossible, the Party becomes bogged down in endless discussion, differences become exaggerated, collective work becomes extinct, and the Party is turned inward instead of enhancing its political work among the people.

#### COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP VS. BUREAUCRACY

Collective leadership remains at all times a cardinal principle of Party organization. The attacks upon our Party may necessitate reducing the size of Party branches and of leading committees, or a greater stress on initiative at all levels, on more individual responsibility, but it in no way does away with the need for collective work and for collective leadership. It would be an unpardonable crime if bureaucracy, which has been a long-standing disease within our ranks, were today allowed to flourish and justify itself in the name of "Party security." Bureaucracy and Party security have nothing in common. The spy and bureaucrat Lautner could get away with his dirty work for so long because, among other things, he was not accountable to a functioning, collective committee which in turn was answerable to the Party leadership. Enemy spies feed upon bureaucracy since they can move about unques-

tioned and unanswerable to the Party membership, to the Party organization and its leading committees.

#### EXECUTION OF PARTY DECISIONS—CHECK-UP AND CONTROL

Once the political line has been determined, Stalin teaches, organization decides everything, including the very fate of the political line itself. There can be no artificial wall between politics and organization. He who would attack the Party line often does it by undermining the organization and execution of Party tasks. Enemy agents are able to resort to bluff and deception to hide their sabotage of Party decisions where there is no check-up and control of activities. In this way they are able to deceive the Party, win the confidence of its members and leading committees, be entrusted with important responsibilities and promoted into Party leadership. From the witness stand the stoolpigeon John V. Blanc of Cleveland told how he fooled the Party by pretending that he recruited several workers from his shop and secured a number of *Worker* subscriptions (the F.B.I. paid for initiation fees, dues and subscriptions). Had there been a serious check-up on results claimed, had there been real live contact established with *Worker* readers and subscribers, it is hardly likely that Blanc could get away with this deception.

Often enemy agents find their work made easier because we continue to tolerate looseness and slop-

piness. This shows up in relation to where we hold meetings and how they are organized, how appointments are made and kept, how names of comrades are bandied about, how telephones are used, how notes are kept, how loose talk and gossip are spread, etc. Enemy agents make it a point to be good listeners, to encourage others to talk, to frequent places where comrades tend to gather. It is necessary to declare a war against all forms of looseness and sloppiness in our methods of work.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR A CORRECT CADRE POLICY

A correct political line, by itself, is not enough. For it takes people to bring the political line to life. It takes people to apply policy. Without the proper people often the best of decisions become meaningless. Based upon a correct political line, the proper cadres become invincible, while, at the same time, the proper cadres help forge a correct political line. More cadres is the crying need of the Party today—cadres, not in the narrow sense of inner-Party functionaries divorced from mass work, but cadres for work among the people, in the peace struggles, in the fight for Negro rights, in the shops and trade unions, in the organizations of the people.

To be of greatest use to the enemy, their agents seek above all to penetrate our Party cadres, to get into positions of leadership within the Party and within progressive organizations. Bewailing the necessity of



revealing some of his informers for use at trials and hearings, Hoover told a Congressional committee: "As you well know, you cannot develop an informant overnight. It takes months and years to get them into the high echelons of any organizations, particularly the Communist organization. The Communists have become more and more security conscious."

At the heart of the problem of struggle against enemy penetration is the pursuance of a correct cadre policy—of knowing one's people, of the proper selection, verification, training and development of cadres. Too often we have a hit and miss approach to cadres, try to solve our problems not by enlarging our cadre pool but by constant reshufflings, proceed on the basis of expediency and endless emergencies. What is lacking is a long-term approach to the bringing forth of new cadres and promoting those who have proven worthy of such promotion. Too often there is a pitting of newer, perhaps younger and more energetic comrades against older, more tested and tried comrades who perhaps find it harder to maintain the same pace shown by them a few years before. Our Party needs both the new and growing forces that are emerging as well as the older and more mature forces.

Verification of Party cadres must become a permanent feature of all our work. It cannot be confined to some formal questionnaire no matter how useful this may be. Above all, the verification must be based on a

continuing evaluation of the quality of work performed, of political growth shown, of weaknesses exhibited and the ability to correct such weaknesses. It should become an elementary feature that when a comrade is being released from a responsibility or is being given a new responsibility irrespective of whether this involves a demotion or promotion, or simply a transfer, that such person's past work is critically evaluated. This will help the comrade to grow. Such evaluations should be made available to the new committee with which the comrade will be associated. It is necessary to end the impermissible situation where people can operate over many years, hold innumerable responsibilities, and yet never have their work properly evaluated. This does not aid the comrade's growth. Nor does it make the new committee with which he will work aware of both his good qualities as well as his weaknesses and shortcomings in order to better help the comrade. Too often there is a petty-bourgeois approach to "selling" the comrade to the new committee with which he is to work, praising to the skies his good points and covering up or ignoring his weaknesses.

The development of Communist cadres for work in the trade unions is of decisive importance. This is far from being an easy matter since in no other country has the bourgeoisie been in such a position as here to bribe and corrupt trade union leaders, to convert them into labor lieutenants of American imperialism,



into betraying the interests of the workers. The employers have long learned how to play on the vanity, the conceit, the arrogance, of those who become divorced from their trade union base and who show signs of becoming "soft." There is a need for far greater attention to the political training and development of our trade union cadres, to strengthening their ties and integrating them into the Party organization and leading committees, to combatting all manifestations of opportunism and any signs of bourgeois corruption. These comrades who for the most part come from the shops and have emerged into union leadership in the course of sharp class battles can and must be among the most valuable of our Party's cadres.

Today, more than ever, our cadre policy must be based on bringing forth, at all levels of leadership, comrades from the shops and unions, comrades imbued with a working class ideology and who have ties with the workers in the shops. Attempts to keep leading committees as "closed corporations" confined to full-time Party functionaries and rationalizing why shop workers are either excluded completely or are maintained nominally on such committees, has to be ended.

Together with bringing forward of shop and trade union comrades must go a policy of advancing into the leadership Negro comrades and women comrades, particularly Negro women. The hurdle to fully realizing

this policy is the prevalence of white chauvinism and male supremacy within our ranks which must be rooted out.

The past year or two has been a trying period for our Party. Numbers of Communists have been jailed under the Smith Act and other repressive measures. Numbers of them among the foreign-born are facing deportation. Communists have been denied jobs or ousted from existing employment. Communists, as well as non-Communists, have been spied upon and harassed by Hoover's snoopers. Communists have felt on their backs the fury of the blows struck by the governments, by the employers, by the labor bureaucrats and Social Democrats, by jingoistic warmongers. These years have been filled with sharp struggles on every political front. These trying times have served like a giant magnifying glass—they have shown up those who are firm and those who are frail, those who are loyal and those who are fair-weathered, those who are courageous and those who shrink before the enemy's attacks, those who exhibit confidence in the future and those who lose their heads and become panicky. The steadfastness of people in the face of the enemy attack is an important criterion in judging cadres. Fundamentally, this period has shown our Party and its cadres to be sound, firm, courageous, standing their ground and fighting back, determined and capable of fulfilling their vanguard role under the most diffi-

cult of conditions.

The following main criteria for the selection of cadres emphasized by Georgi Dimitrov bear constant reiteration and application today: "First, *absolute devotion* to the cause of the working class, *loyalty to the Party*, tested in the face of the enemy. . . . Second, the closest possible *contact with the masses*. . . . Third, *ability independently to find one's bearings in making decisions*. . . . Fourth, discipline and Bolshevik hardening in the struggle against the class enemy as well as irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from the Bolshevik line. . . ."

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For thirty-three years our Party has continued in the forefront of every struggle of the American people. It was baptized in struggle and has courageously weathered all enemy attacks. It has a proud tradition which Communists and the American people as a whole can take pride in. It has pioneered in the struggle for peace and for friendship with the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union. It has pioneered in the struggle against the open-shoppers, in support of endless hard-fought strikes and economic struggles, and for the building of industrial unions in the mass production industries. It has pioneered in the fight for the rights of the unemployed, for Social Insurance and Social Security. It has pioneered in the battle for full, equal rights for the Negro people, waging

such imperishable struggles as that for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys and of Angelo Herndon, of Willie McGee and Rosa Lee Ingram, of the Trenton Six and Lieutenant Gilbert, and of countless others. It has pioneered in the struggle against domestic and international reaction and fascism—for the freedom of Tom Mooney and of Sacco and Vanzetti, in defense of Republican Spain, and on the battlefields to destroy detested Hitlerism. It has rejoiced in the forward sweep of Socialism which has liberated one-third of world's humanity from the blight of capitalism, of imperialism, of fascism. It has forged a leadership of which the American working class can be proud—men and women like William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, Gus Hall, Harry Winston, Ben Davis, Gil Green, John Williamson, Bob Thompson, John Gates, Carl Winter, Jack Stachel, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Irving Potash, Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones, Steve Nelson and many others.

Our Party faces the storms ahead, confident in the American working class and the people, knowing that victory, despite difficult sailing, lies ahead. Our sentiments have been well written in the following words of Lenin:

Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, overdo things, commit stupidities . . . acting thus the bourgeoisie acts as all classes doomed by history have acted. Communists should know that the future, at any rate, belongs to them.

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# Labor and Third Party Perspectives

By Thomas Jameson

## A Discussion Article

THE PERIOD of this election year has been characterized by growing moods of struggle in the labor movement, among the Negro people, and among other broad sections of the people generally. It would be a serious mistake not to see that ever wider masses are *beginning* to look for a way to bridge the gap between new moods of struggle and their electoral expression.

### INCREASED QUESTIONING OF TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

The fact that the bourgeoisie and top labor officialdom have been forced to resort to increased demagoguery and more subtle maneuvers indicates the increasing difficulties they face in maintaining this gap. An upsurge of struggle is breaking through and is registering its impact even in Right-led unions, under reformist and conservative leadership in NAACP, Negro churches and fraternal orders, in farm organizations, bourgeois-led women's and youth organizations.

An awareness of this situation constitutes the starting point for examining the question of how to close the gap. This situation explains the *in-*

*creasing discussions of the third party question*, not only in Left and progressive circles but also in Social-Democratic and liberal circles.

How do various elements in the labor movement react to this question? Elements like Reuther generally fear the formation of a third party. Yet, they recognize the value of being able to *talk* third party at certain strategic moments; of being able to offer it as a *future* possibility whenever the disgust of the rank and file with the two party system is on the increase. Their approach might be summed up as follows:

a) Speak and do as little as possible about a third party. Focus labor's attention on the old parties and labor's "friends." Stray as little as possible in practice from the traditional Gompers formula of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

b) As the rank and file becomes more dissatisfied with the Democratic Party, talk up labor's "new role" and the greater "political influence" of its "statesmen" in the old parties (specifically the Democratic Party). Hold out the hope of a rejuvenated Democratic Party with labor on the inside as the decisive ele-

ment and with the Dixiecrats out.

c) Give lip service to a third party sometime off "in the future" when sentiment for a real third party of labor and the people is on the upsurge and has to be headed off into a blind alley.

d) When confronted with mass trends toward a third party be prepared to organize local third parties upon condition that they exclude the Left and collaborate with the Democratic Party as a new "balance of power."

e) Finally, if and when all such maneuvers prove inadequate, then, and only then, take organized steps towards formation of a national third party while striving to give it the characteristics referred to in point "d."

But there are, of course, other elements of labor that are either already actively discussing or beginning to move in the direction of a third party. They include Communists, progressive-led unions, progressives in Right-led unions, and workers who consider themselves neither "Right" nor "Left" but who are dissatisfied with labor's present political role. Included also are many workers who think of themselves politically as part of the "Right" but who are convinced that labor must play a far greater independent role. Moreover, among many militant workers, getting more and more fed up with the corruption and boss control of the old parties, who are politically active through the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee (P.A.C.) and the A. F.

of L.'s Labor League for Political Education (L.L.P.E.), there is a growing feeling that these "political arms" of labor aren't the real answer. Such workers are becoming more receptive to a discussion of new political alternatives including that of a third party.

Within this broad current there are widely divergent approaches and many basic differences of opinion. Their common denominator, however, is either their already conscious desire for or their first halting steps in the direction of a people's party led by labor and basically different from the two major parties.

#### DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS ON THIRD PARTY POSSIBILITIES

In broad terms, the wide variety and shades of opinions as to what constitutes a people's party and as to the tactics to be pursued in organizing it can be found in the following general and often overlapping categories:

a) The Democratic Party can be transformed (or captured) by labor's political efforts; the old Roosevelt coalition revived and the Dixiecrats driven out, thereby turning it into a "people's party."

b) Failing this, labor, "liberal" and Negro people's forces will eventually walk out of the Democratic Party and form a new party. Concepts of this new party range from the idea that it will resemble the old "New Deal" Democratic Party to the notion that it will be a facsimile of

either the Progressive Party or of the New York Liberal Party.

c) In a process of disintegration of the Democratic Party and resulting political realignments, new peace forces and a much more powerful Left will combine with the present Progressive Party to form a new party.

d) The present Progressive Party will slowly gain ground and win over new public figures. As the Democratic Party and its labor lieutenants become politically bankrupt and as the Left wing emerges to political leadership of labor, a new mass party can then be launched.

e) The trade unions must launch their own "labor" party or a "Farmer-Labor Party."

None of these positions of course represent the policy of the Communist Party. Yet all of them do to one or another degree influence many Communists and Left workers, reflecting the fact that Communists have not yet fully projected and rounded out their own policy and perspectives. It is therefore important at this point that we turn our attention to some of the ideas prevalent in the Left and among many Communists.

#### LINE OF THE PARTY

First, let us establish the present line of policy of our Party which, from its inception, has been grappling with this question of an independent mass political party of the working class and its allies.

This was projected in main outline in the report to the 1950 National Convention by Gus Hall in the following words:

Now we need a new initiative, a bold, broad approach to unfold a systematic campaign for a mass third party. We must get away from all old, narrow concepts of how this party is going to emerge. Millions of workers, the Negro people, the poor farmers, are now drawing basic lessons from their experience in the 1950 elections. We must fire them with enthusiasm for a third party.

At the same time, we must throw off all notions that America needs a third party simply because three parties are better than two. America needs a third party whose main base is the working class, the poor farmers, the Negro people. It needs a third party that champions the rights of these groups in the broadest sense—that fights for peace, democracy, and economic security. Such a party cannot be created in a smoke-filled room. The initiative must come from the broad ranks of the workers in the Right-led unions, from organizations like the NAACP, the Farmers Union, and other similar groups.\*

And again, in speaking of the fight for carrying out such a policy, the main political resolution of the same Convention defined the decisive factor in its realization in these words:

The working class and particularly the organized labor movement is the decisive force that will decide the issue of whether a political regrouping takes place and how swiftly it becomes

\* Gus Hall, *Peace Can Be Won!* (New Century Publishers, 1950), p. 56.

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

### IMPLEMENTING THE LINE

In the implementation of this policy and as a result of serious problems and difficulties, there have developed at least two very marked trends within the Left and within certain circles of our own Party.

Some, having drawn the conclusion that the Progressive Party is too narrow to effectively challenge the two old parties, advocate one form or another of reliance on the "liberal wing" of the Democratic Party, coupled with a search for new, broad "names" around whom to rally.

Others, having no confidence in any major political realignment within the Democratic Party, seek mainly for a way to expand the Progressive Party. At best they look forward to the creation of a similar but broader party, coupled with constant appeals to the workers to build this third party over the heads of the leaders of the Right-led unions.

In either case, whether pulling to the "Right" (Democratic Party) or to the "Left" (Progressive Party),

they generally have certain things in common:

a) An incorrect estimate of the Democratic Party. This inevitably leads to lack of confidence in and underestimation of the potentiality of major political realignments and mass break-aways, or to writing off the Democratic Party and its labor leadership as already "bankrupt," "disintegrating" and already "repudiated" by the workers.

b) The idea that emergence of a real mass third party is possible *only after* a political defeat of the Right-wing labor leadership and policies primarily through a rank-and-file, Left-led revolt against the present leadership of the major unions.

c) That, in order to represent a step forward or merit support by the Left, such a party must from the outset stand on a staunch anti-war program similar to that now advanced by the Progressive Party and the progressive-led unions, and fully accept Left participation in its leadership.

d) A tendency to express dissatisfaction with the Progressive Party, especially with its lack of a broad labor base, but nevertheless *in practice* to restrict political activities to the Progressive Party under the mistaken impression that little good can come of participation in PAC and LLPE; or, *in practice*, to use this as an "excuse" to justify either a do-nothing policy or opportunist reliance on old-party politicians.

Thus, the substance of these views

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all too common in Left circles, indicates constant attempts to create a third party for the American working class without a firm grounding in political realities, over the heads of the trade union leaders and even over the head of the working class itself. What is absent is a policy of fighting for a third party with the American working class at its present stage of development and under existing political realities.

We cannot at this point argue from the entirely correct premise that the weakness of the Progressive Party lies in its extremely weak working-class base and then be satisfied with criticizing Left labor forces and exhorting them to correct the situation. However correct or necessary such criticism or exhortation may be in a given situation it must not be allowed to lead to the conclusion that one or another trade union leader or all of them together are responsible for not producing a real working-class base for the Progressive Party.

Under existing conditions no political party organized and led by the Left can under the present relationship of forces and level of the working-class movement have a broad working class base. We cannot, seriously and realistically, expect the millions of workers who have not yet broken with their Social-Democratic, reformist or even conservative trade-union leaders and are imbued with deep-rooted illusions in the two party system, to discard literally overnight all their illusions, repudiate the po-

litical advice of leaders whose trade union policies they still support, and walk directly into the arms of a full-blown and Left-led third party.

This kind of thinking, if followed to its logical conclusion, would leave but the poor alternative of "going it alone" in a simon-pure Left political movement and postponing all ideas of the fruition of a serious mass independent labor political movement until after the workers have been won programmatically and ideologically to the leadership of the Left.

#### PRESENT LEVEL OF WORKING CLASS

It is necessary to face up squarely to the actual level of the American working class and to tackle the question of a third party not only from the point of view of the need for such a party, but also from the point of view of what is possible now.

First, we can establish that the American workers, by and large, are in a militant mood and prepared to engage in mass struggles to defend their trade union organizations and protect their economic conditions from the growing restrictions of the war economy. This dissatisfaction was most dramatically expressed in the unprecedented steel strike, in the current coal shut-downs, etc.

Even a growing number of top level trade union leaders of the Right are compelled to give voice to this sentiment which is not crystallized in any clear-cut anti-war, anti-monopoly



program, but which has elements of both. By way of example to indicate the trend we could quote but two such leaders from the right. George N. Harrison of the AFL Brotherhood of Railway Clerks stated that the major issue is "to check the economic royalists before their top heavy profits pile collapses our economic underpinnings." He added:

Inflation is already building up toward deflation and depression. If this is allowed to happen, the result will be disastrous. Beyond this, big business profiteering is causing our European allies to distrust our motives in calling for rearmament. Our own profiteers have made it possible for the Russians to argue, with increasing effect, that our paramount interest is profits at the expense of the world. Abroad there is growing mistrust. At home there is growing fear that big business control of our rearmament program may produce a degree of counter-armament that can only end up in war. . . .

The economic royalists will, if not restrained, destroy the basis of economic democracy, undermine constitutional liberties, and in so doing give aid and comfort to the forces driving toward war and annihilation.

Harrison mentioned no political party, noting only that since "Franklin D. Roosevelt's death the money-changers have been coming back." (*The Nation*, May 10, 1952).

Frank Rosenblum, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, cited a number of domestic welfare issues, repeal of the Taft-Hartley, McCarran and Smith acts and "positive efforts toward a resolution of the basic issues involved

in international tensions so that the threat of a world war and its consequences will be eliminated."

The ACW official said most Americans fear the return to power of Republicans. "This was the major reason for the Democratic victory in 1948," he said. "It could be the decisive factor again, provided the party platform is forthright and constructive" (*The Nation*, June 14, 1952).

Neither of these leaders expresses third party sentiment; but both are indicating dissatisfaction with the war drive, in their own limited ways, and differentiate themselves from the Administration.

Secondly, there is evidence of growing dissatisfaction with the two-party set-up and labor's role within it as well as indications that this as yet limited political ferment is headed toward sharper collisions with the main pro-war reactionary trend of the Democratic Party. There is, for instance, a sharp conflict between the major measures including Taft-Hartley Act repeal, F.E.P.C. and civil rights legislation, social welfare measures presented by the top A. F. of L. and C.I.O. top leaders to the old party platform committees at their respective conventions and the reality of the platforms and performance of both old parties.

The bitter disillusionment of many workers in the Democratic Party was recorded to a certain degree in the column of the notorious Victor Riesel when he observed that the efforts of a group of union chiefs and A.D.A. leaders "to reshape the Dem-

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ocratic Party into America's first national labor party" ended "amid the scattered waste paper on the Democratic Convention floor." The fact that Murray and the top C.I.O. leaders jumped on the Stevenson bandwagon to dutifully support the Democratic political bosses and Truman administration can stem only temporarily the eruption of new and mass sentiments for finding political channels to effectively voice labor's grievances and objectives.

Third, one must note crystallization of sentiment for a third party of labor and the people in this recent period which is by no means restricted to the Left or to Left-led unions. It should be recalled that the UAW Convention of last year only defeated a specific resolution calling for a third party when Reuther succeeded in getting before the Convention a substitute proposal for U.A.W. initiative in convening a national political conference of labor prior to the 1952 elections. That adopted resolution itself represented an advance. It should be noted that the more recent national convention of the United Packinghouse Workers C.I.O., under Right-wing leadership, voted unanimously as favoring formation of a national third party. Clearest expressions for a new party of labor and its allies have of course come from a number of the Left-led unions. Note should also be taken of resolutions either adopted by many local unions or submitted to various state and local labor bodies by local unions.

What stands out is that these reso-

lutions are a reflection of moods among the masses and that they are not restricted to Left-led unions but cut across Left and Right trade union alignments. It would be a mistaken notion to believe that because in many cases the practical policies of the trade union leaders are proving bankrupt and contributing directly to victories for labor's enemies that the rank and file workers are either falling into political passivity or are prepared to step outside their unions into such political vehicles as the Progressive Party. On the contrary, the evidence has indicated a growing dissatisfaction among masses of workers with the limitations of the current political line and strategy of the labor leadership and a *movement forward in the direction of a more independent political role including readiness to accept the idea of and promote the formation of a third party*. There are sharp differences among these many advocates of a third party over the ultimate *character, program and role* of a third party. But this should not close our eyes to the wide scope of agreement on the minimum question of a need for labor's own political party, nor to the fact that even elements of a minimum working class position on peace, Negro rights, economic demands, etc., are emerging from ever broader sections of the trade unions, including some important trade union leaders.

Certainly these conditions reflecting the level of development of the American labor movement are favorable to the emergence of a widespread

movement toward a third party. What is most important to observe in this regard is that they are developing *within* the main channels of the trade union movement. The existing sentiments on both program and organization cannot come to fruition; but on the contrary, wither away, get choked down in narrowness when the attempt is made to build upon them outside of the regular trade union organizations or "over the heads" of their leaders. The reactionary top leadership finds it relatively easy to defeat or head off proposals for political action outside the established trade union channels or through such vehicles as the Progressive Party. *It is quite a different matter when the question is posed in terms of labor as a whole striving for more independent political action or to build a new party, or if the issue is placed of action to implement what the leaders often do or say, regardless of whether their intentions may have been demagoguery pure and simple.*

#### BUILDING A MASS THIRD PARTY

The conclusion is that a mass movement for a third party now within the organized labor movement, not only under the slogans of "rank and file" action, but also under the slogan "this is what your leaders say, let's do something about it," would quickly gather up steam. It could result in campaigns requesting trade unions bodies and leaders to call political conferences locally and

nationally. Such an approach would open the door to a mass discussion of the third party in the ranks of organized labor. Undoubtedly such a movement would do much to force the hand of the trade union leadership, in vitalizing much of the work of the P.A.C. and L.L.P.E. committees, in creating new break-throughs in the two party system and the "lesser evil" theory, and can result in the actual beginning of organizational steps of the labor movement and its allies for the formation of a new party led by the American working class.

Now some may say that this is all to the good and may even be possible, but it doesn't answer the \$64 question of who leads the working class, who will lead such a party? What good, they may ask, would a third party be if it is led by the same pro-Truman, pro-war elements now leading the major unions?

We do not argue that such a political movement or third party either inevitably must or will emerge under reformist or Social-Democratic leadership. What we do say is that at the present stage of development the formative steps to a genuine mass third party must correspond to the general level of the labor movement, that they will not and cannot develop *solely* as a movement from "below" or under Left leadership.

So as not to beg the question we will state categorically our opinion that a party based on the organized labor movement and its allies, even if led by the same people who are to-

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day in the leadership of the trade union movement, would be a step forward over what we now have. For it would change the nature of the struggle in the labor movement from the issue of *whether to break with capitalist politics and parties* to one of *what direction and policy labor's own party should take*. Even under such conditions it would represent a major historic break by the American working class toward participating in politics as a class through its own organization.

But it is not at all a foregone conclusion that such a party will have the *same* program and the *same* leadership as the present major sections of labor. On the contrary, the upsurge of militancy which gives rise to a stronger movement toward independent labor political action receives a basic impetus from the *dissatisfaction* of the masses of workers with the conditions resulting from a war program and from their desire to *resist* its effects. Necessarily this direction of mass struggle must leave its imprint upon the program of such a movement and the leadership must at the least make concessions. No matter how far short the program and leadership of a third party movement might be from what *we* desire; it cannot and will not be what a Murray or Green today desire, even if they are compelled to participate in and even head such a movement. Movements of this type have a logic of their own. Visualize for instance the early development and role of the C.I.O. as compared to the ideas

of John L. Lewis, its principal organizer at that time.

Further, although prepared to support *all* serious proposals for a third party, the Left is not indifferent to the program and character of such a party, and such a movement would necessarily also be subject to the influence of the Left, both of the Left unions and of Left workers in the Right-led unions. Moreover, it would necessarily bear the imprint of pressure of the militant Negro workers and the powerful Negro people's movement with which it must necessarily ally itself.

As for its leadership, given a powerful enough demand from wide masses of workers, trade union leaders would be compelled either to support and participate or stand exposed as obstructing the efforts of the workers in their own unions to organize politically. The fact is that a Reuther remains in a better position to sidetrack third party resolutions at a U.A.W. convention or to "forget" the decision of his union to convene a national labor political conference in 1952 precisely because the struggle in U.A.W. for progressive labor independent political action did not concentrate on implementing that resolution which was an advance over the U.A.W.'s previous position. If, as we often point out, exposure of the political maneuvers of the Social-Democratic and reactionary labor leaders is necessary to build a mass third party, then it must be added that this criticism and exposure cannot be delivered from the sidelines,

but can most effectively be developed precisely in the fight for a third party *within* the main trade union organizations. Such exposure would be developed if the Left and progressive workers are outstanding in supporting and calling for implementing every proposal for a third party initiative regardless of who it comes from or why it is advanced, endeavoring to unite the advocates of a third party regardless of the many differing basic concepts as to the ultimate program and character it should assume.

It should be obvious that even before the organizational stages of developing a third party are arrived at, the benefits of a policy of struggle for a third party *within* the organized labor movement and for moving the mass of the working class would immediately open up new perspectives. It would certainly help inspire masses to break with the two party system for a realistic alternative—not an alternative contingent upon the rank and file going over the heads of their leadership, or an alternative of supporting a narrow and small minority party with no “practical” results.

Such a policy would give the Left forces, especially in the Right-led and conservative unions a more realistic perspective to work toward. It is a fact that these forces in the Right-led unions have never been able to fully reconcile our constant urging to work in P.A.C. or L.L.P.E. with

the equally constant demand to make the Progressive Party and its candidates the main arena of their struggle.

Undoubtedly such an approach would give new life and direction to the struggle within the Democratic Party and for a basic political realignment particularly in those considerable areas where the trade unions are an important or decisive influence in some local Democratic Party organizations. Such an approach would be registered in battles for concessions on program, in a more effective fight for labor candidates for offices and generally in a new conscious direction looking towards a breakaway from a Democratic Party to a new party led by labor.

The coming period will be one of sharper struggles, especially as the masses see after this election campaign once again an ever sharper disparity between promises and deeds, between their aspirations and the realities they face, and with the approach of economic crisis in the wage-gear capitalist economy. It will be a period in which new sections of the working class will be drawn into debate of important questions and on political alternatives. The fight for a mass people's party by labor must be fought out in the midst of this broad mass current of American life, not in the eddies or backwash of the main stream.

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# Further on Race, Nation and the Concept "Negro"

By Harry Haywood

IN HIS ARTICLE, "Race, Nation and the Concept 'Negro'" (*Political Affairs*, August, 1952), Comrade Doxey A. Wilkerson corrects certain erroneous views hitherto held by himself and some others on the question of race. In this respect the article represents a substantial step forward in helping to clear up certain misconceptions in an important area of theory on the Negro question.

Because, however, of the great importance of the subject and the wide prevalence of the mistaken concepts involved, his article should not be viewed as closing the discussion. In this article an attempt will be made to stress certain points already raised, to offer further evidence on aspects of the question, and to bring forward additional phases of the entire subject.

Comrade Wilkerson's critical article correctly rejected the formulation contained in his original Memorandum that race as such did not exist, and that, specifically as applied to the concept "Negro," the matter of race, color, or African origin played no part.

This point is of such central importance that it will bear re-stressing.

In saying that the Negro people are oppressed primarily as a nation

in the South and as a national minority in the North, the original Memorandum was, of course, correct. With the exception of the brief period of Browder revisionism, this has been the Communist Party's position since 1928 and was reaffirmed in 1946.

When our Party adopted the position that the Negro question is in essence the question of an oppressed nation, it made a great leap forward from the bourgeois liberal view which regarded it solely as a question of race that had to be resolved through education and humanitarian uplift. Characteristically, this bourgeois liberal view placed the main onus of racial prejudice not on the ruling class oppressors but on ignorance of the white masses.

The Party's position was also a sharp break with the Social-Democratic viewpoint, in which racist oppression was considered of no relevance in defining the position of the Negro people in the United States. According to this view the plight of the Negro people was regarded as purely a question of class, the same as that of the working class in general. Thus, in the name of the general class struggle it denied the special character of the Negro question, regarding the fight for special de-

mands of the Negro people as divisive and tending to distract the workers from the struggle for Socialism.

Both views were not only scientifically incorrect but concealed the profound revolutionary and anti-imperialist character of the struggle for Negro rights which could only be finally resolved through the land revolution and the right of self-determination in the Black Belt, in the area of their majority, and through winning equal rights in the North.

The formulation of the Negro question by the Party as in essence a question of an oppressed nation correctly related the struggle of the Negro people to the class struggle of the American working class against capitalism, imperialism, and for Socialism.

But when the Party made this decision, did it exclude color, African ancestry, *i.e.*, race as a factor? Quite the contrary, the Party applied the Marxist-Leninist doctrine that every national question, in every country, must be studied concretely, with due regard to its peculiarities.

This principle was stated in "*Left Wing Communism*," by Lenin, who wrote as follows:\*

The whole thing now is that the Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account the main fundamental tasks of the struggle against opportunism and 'Left' doctrinarism as well as the definite *peculiar features* which this struggle

assumes and inevitably must assume in each separate country in accordance with the peculiar features of its economics, politics, culture, national composition (Ireland, etc.), its colonies, religious divisions, etc. . . .

. . . To investigate, study, seek out, divine, grasp that which is peculiarly national, specifically national in the *concrete manner* in which each country *approaches* the fulfillment of the single international task . . . is the main task of the historical period through which all the advanced countries are now passing.

Certainly, among Marxists, there is perfect agreement that the Negro question in the United States is essentially a national question, and that in the Black Belt area of their majority, the Negro people manifest all the objective attributes of nationhood. Most assuredly, they are an "historically evolved community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, manifested in a common culture."

In dealing with any specific question, of course, Marxists do not confine themselves to general formulae, but deal *concretely* with the given question. "Marxism," says Lenin, "is not a dogma but a guide to action." This truth should be particularly obvious with regard to such a complex problem as the national question. As Stalin observed: "If, indeed, a dialectical approach is required anywhere, it is required here in the national question."\*\*\*

\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, pp. 134-35.

\*\* Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question* (International, 1942), p. 26.



Stalin's classical definition of a nation illuminates the specific features common to all nations, the oppressed as well as the oppressor. However, we are not concerned here with the national question in general, but with a particular national question—that of the oppressed Negro nation in the United States—in which the element of race, that is, actual physical attributes, and the special persecution based upon it, constitute a major distinguishing feature.

In the historic resolution of the Communist Party in 1930 which fully elaborated the Negro question as the question of an oppressed nation, these peculiarities were taken into account. The resolution cited two main distinguishing features: 1) the existence of "racial distinctions," and 2) "remnants of slavery." Here is what the resolution said:\*\*\*

In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question, the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely, as the question of an *oppressed nation*, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily distressing situation of national oppression, not only in view of the prominent *racial distinctions* (marked difference in the color of skin, etc.), but above all, because of considerable *social antagonism* (remnants of slavery). This introduces into the American Negro question an important, *peculiar* trait which is absent from the national question of other oppressed peoples.

The Party's 1946 discussion also

considered color or racial distinctions, not as primary, but as important contributing factors. After emphasizing that the Negro question is a national question, Comrade Foster wrote, in his discussion article in *Political Affairs* in June, 1946, as Comrade Wilkerson partially quoted:

We must not brush aside the question of race, as we have done too often in the past. On the contrary, we must evaluate the role racial prejudice plays in the oppression of the Negro people and show its relation to the larger, more basic political question of the national oppression of the Negro people.

#### RACE AND NATION

It is wrong to counterpose racial and national oppression in the Negro question in the United States and to place the matter as one of either/or. As stated in *Negro Liberation* ". . . the so-called racial persecution of the Negro people in the United States is a particular form and device of national oppression."\*

In no country, with the possible exception of South Africa, has racist oppression been made to play such a *decisive* role in the socio-economic subjection of a people. Nowhere has it served for such a long period as an instrument for ruling class oppression.

Obviously, the element of racial persecution is an integral component of the Negro national question, inex-

\*\*\* *The Communist Position on the Negro Question* (N. Y., 1934), p. 41.

\* Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation* (N. Y., 1948), p. 137.

trically bound up with the history of the Negro people and their development as a subject nation in the United States. The factor of race has been not only an element in the maintenance of the super-exploitation of the Negro people, but it has also acted as an important force in their internal cohesion, in the development of the psychological make-up. This is particularly evidenced in their strong cultural unity, born of common sufferings and racial proscriptions—the curtailment of political and civil rights, the infliction of economic and social disabilities—which have been rationalized by racism. Indeed, this racial factor is crucial in explaining the especially vicious character of the national oppression of the Negro people. Ignoring it results in a serious underestimation of the degree of that national oppression.

Of course, the Negro people were not enslaved because they were black, or because it was their “destiny” to be “the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.” They were not enslaved because they were naturally an “inferior race,” as the ideologists of racism contend. The fact that the slaves were African blacks was not due to any innate superiority of the Europeans, but rather to the circumstances of historical development, which saw western Europe arrive first at the stage of capitalism.

Thus, as is well known, the primary cause for the subjection of the Negro people in the United

States was capitalism. Aspects of this connection and the developing organic tie between U.S. imperialism and the super-oppression of the Negro people were treated in Comrade Wilkerson’s critical article.

He also correctly indicated that, with the development of imperialism, the status quo of Negro inequality became a rigidly frozen pattern which could be broken only on the basis of anti-imperialist struggle. Thenceforth the issue of Negro equality in the South could be solved only via the path of the revolutionary struggle for full nationhood, that is for the right of national self-determination in the Black Belt. The Negro question had now definitely become the problem of an oppressed nation striving for national freedom against the main enemy, imperialism.

But in all this the factor of color, of physical difference between Negroes and whites was used by the ruling class as a prop upon which to rest its false racist notions. The use of differences between peoples such as language, religion, race, national origins, etc., is a well known device in the ruling-class policy of divide and conquer.

In its concept of racism with its idea of inherent inferiority, the ruling class found an infinitely stronger peg than either language or religious differences upon which to hang its virulent type of anti-Negro chauvinism.

As stated in *Negro Liberation* (p. 138):

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Among American Negroes, physical difference becomes almost the sole characteristic whereby the subject race can be distinguished from the oppressor nation. In the absence of such socio-cultural distinctions between white and Negro as language and religion, the "racial visibility" of the Negro enables the Anglo-Saxon ruling clique to set him apart from all others among the population as a permanent object of scorn and oppression.

It was a whole multiplicity of factors—the close proximity of Negroes to whites, the fact that the Negro people were set down in the very midst of the oppressing nation, and especially the abiding fear of alliance between the Negro people and white farmers and workers—it was all this that impelled the ruling class to desperate measures to guarantee the continued subjection of the Negro and to prevent the natural process of amalgamation. Toward this end it seized upon the swindle of racism as the theoretical foundation upon which was built the whole noxious system of Negro segregation and the corollary "white supremacy."

On the basis of this vicious swindle, the notorious Jim Crow system was erected, which sets the Negroes apart as America's "untouchables." It is a system of racial segregation sanctioned in law and custom, and buttressed by genocidal violence and lynch rule.

Acting continuously as a brake on the class struggle, this system of racist

barbarism is a mainstay of capitalist domination over the working class and the masses of the U.S. people. It has also served as a model for reaction and fascism in other countries. It was not our Bourbons who learned from Hitler, but Hitler who learned from our Bourbons. And today, as it seeks world domination and drives toward a global war and fascism, the Wall Street cohorts have unfurled the banner of Anglo-Saxon racism. White chauvinism is a basic ingredient of this rapacious theory.

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At this stage, the road to national liberation of the United States Negroes is clearly via the path of struggle against the Wall Street-Dixiecrat racist system, *i.e.*, for equality in every sphere, — economic, social and political. Only through this struggle, and on the basis of their own experience, will the Negro people be brought to an understanding of their status as an oppressed nation in the South, whose ultimate goal is the winning of basic land reform and the right to self-determination.

It is precisely because of the racial element in the national oppression of the Negro people that the Negro liberation movement attaches such significance to the fight against racial discrimination, to the wiping out of jim crow, and all color bars, as an integral part of the struggle for Negro equality. One cannot achieve Negro-white unity by denying race as

an objective fact; and the Negro people would certainly reject such approaches which conflict with life and their daily experiences.

#### ON THE CONCEPT "RACE"

Is it correct to speak of race? Yes, it is.

In dealing with the question of race, I want to make clear that the terms race, anthropological type, ethnic group, etc., are here employed as inter-changeable when understood as referring to certain physical characteristics of groups of human beings, all of which constitute the human race, or humanity. Different faces, anthropological types, or ethnic groups are only variations of the human family.

We submit that it is immaterial to this discussion whether one speaks of physical differences among mankind as "racial," "ethnic," or "anthropological." *The important thing is that such physical differences do exist.*

The scientific concept of race refers to population groups whose members have certain common superficial physical characteristics—as color of skin, texture of hair, facial conformation—which mark them off from other population groups. Viewed in this sense, race offers no explanation for social phenomena.

But in the name of the struggle against racism, the original Memorandum slurred over the obvious fact of the existence in nature of physical differences between groups of mankind. Seemingly, it regarded even

the acknowledgement of this objective fact as a concession to racism. It rejected "the concept of race as scientifically unsound and politically reactionary."

This viewpoint doubtlessly confuses two fundamentally distinct concepts—the scientific fact of race and the social myth of racism. These are, of course, entirely different things.

We have discussed the social myth of racism above. It is necessary to add only that the scientific concept of race as a biological category, emphatically rejects the unscientific assumption of the existence in nature of biologically inferior and superior races, which is at the core of the racist quackery.

The scientific conception of race also takes issue with the current loose usage of the term race in which it is construed as interchangeable with national, religious, or linguistic divisions. It was precisely the existence of such muddled thinking, deliberately cultivated by the racists, that helped Hitler spread his "Aryan" myth. In sharp contrast to this racist fakery, the scientific concept of race attempts to describe and explain the obvious differences between the various branches of mankind.

Two points should be borne in mind. First, human beings are fundamentally the same physically and in mental capacity. Science recognizes no "superior" or "inferior" races. Above all, the Soviet Union under socialism affords a living re-

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futation of the fascist race theories. As Stalin said:\*

Formerly it was the "accepted" belief that from time immemorial the world had been divided into lower and higher races, into black and white people, the former incapable of civilization and due to be the object of exploitation, whereas the latter alone are the bearers of civilization, called upon to exploit the former.

Now this legend must be regarded as a shattered and discarded one. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it inflicted a mortal blow on this legend, showing in practice that the liberated non-European peoples drawn into the channel of Soviet development are capable of promoting a TRULY advanced culture and a TRULY advanced civilization to no less a degree than the European peoples.

Secondly, from the earliest times peoples have commingled, a process that has of course been vastly accelerated under modern capitalism. Race differences are by no means static. Quite the contrary, race as a biological category is a dynamic, a historic concept. As Lenin said, all lines of demarcation "in nature and society are conditional and mobile, relative and not absolute" (*Collected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 126).

There are no "pure" races. Races are continuously changing, developing, and amalgamating. It is in this general sense that Marxists have always understood the scientific reality of racial or ethnic divisions among

mankind. This understanding appears in the works of Soviet scientists, some of which were cited in Comrade Wilkerson's article. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. itself (Article 123) provides for, "equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality and race." Stalin, in the booklet, *On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.* (p. 21) states that the Constitution "proceeds from the proposition that all races and nations have equal rights." He continues: "It proceeds from the fact that neither differences in color or language, cultural level or level of political development, nor any other differences between nations and races, can serve as grounds for justifying national inequality of rights."

The original Memorandum, when it declared that "there are no Races of Mankind" and that the term "race has no meaning and should be abandoned," proposed in effect that we surrender the field of anthropological science to reaction. This can only serve the cause of the racist obscurantists. Rather than abandoning this field to the white supremacists and fascists we must popularize a truly scientific Marxist-Leninist position on the question of race.

It is sheer idealism to try to overcome the phenomena of racial differences by simply discarding the term "race." It would be equivalent to the assumption that the amalgamation of peoples towards which all history is striving has already taken place.

\* Joseph Stalin, *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow, 1947), p. 201.

## THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

Now let us examine the question of what is a Negro in the United States. On this Comrade Wilkerson's critical article was, in my opinion, still quite inadequate. And it is here that the subjective idealist approach was especially pronounced.

The original Memorandum offered the following definition of a Negro: "A 'Negro' is a person who shares the common psychological make-up of the Negro people of the United States, who views himself as belonging to the Negro people of the United States (even though he may indulge in nihilist and escapist denial of the term 'Negro') . . . and who moves in the society and is fully accepted as an integral part of the Negro people of the United States."

According to this thesis, the basis of "the concept Negro" is not African ancestry but just a matter of psychological affinity or "make-up." This definition is patently incorrect. It reflects a mechanical, non-dialectical conception of race, and an un-Marxian separation of race and politics, or racial and political factors. It is pure idealism and eliminates all objective criteria for determining the make-up of the Negro people.

It is clear that there are two fundamental factors entering into the concept "Negro" in the United States. The first is the element of African (Negro) ancestry, i.e., the biological or racial factor. The sec-

ond is the socio-political factor, that is, the common super-oppression of all people of any African ancestry, regardless of the degree of their coloration. The characterization of Negro, in the United States, carries with it definite legal, social and economic barriers erected and maintained by the ruling class.

There are several hundred years of change that have gone on since the American Negro first came from Africa. There have been intermarriages, with Indians, whites, etc.—wholesale seduction of Negro women by slave masters and the present day Bourbons—and children stemming from different racial origins. Yet despite these changes, the Negro people have not lost their racial identity. *The predominant group of the Negro people in the United States, are dark and black, and what is an obvious fact, have "racial distinctions" (color of skin, etc.) which are, for the most part, different from those of the dominant white nation.*

The Negro people may call themselves black people, colored people, Afro-Americans, Negro Americans, Negroes. The common feature of all these terms is that they are a dark folk; they are in fact an American variant of the Negro race, or, if you please, of the ethnic group generally defined as Negro, or as Du Bois puts it, "The darker part of the human family."

Du Bois writes:\*

\* W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now* (N. Y., 1939), p. 197.

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In general the Negro population in the U.S. is brown in color, darkening to almost black and shading off in the other direction to yellow and white and in some cases indistinguishable from the white population. . . . It has been estimated on admittedly partial data that less than 25 per cent of American Negroes are of unmixed African descent, the balance having in varying degree Indian and white blood.

E. Franklin Frazier in giving figures of the black and mulatto Negro population states that in 1920 (the last year he cites for these figures) out of 10,463,131 Negroes, 8,802,577 were black and 1,660,554 were mulatto. It must be noted that he states that proportionately there are more Negroes of "darkest complexion" in the South, than elsewhere.\*\*

The Memorandum asked: "Could a person of African ancestry become a white person?" and answered, Yes. By this the memorandum wished to prove that African origin had nothing to do with what constituted a Negro.

This is spurious reasoning and its refutation was not adequate in the Wilkerson article. Of course a person of African ancestry can become a white person, since amalgamation and integration of peoples and nations goes on continuously and will continue to go on, despite ruling class restrictions. *But no person of African ancestry can be integrated into the white community if he can be identified by his color or parentage as being of African ancestry, or in other words, can be identified as*

*a Negro, in this country.*

Moreover, while it is true, as the Memorandum said, that there are many whites or near-whites of Negro parentage, who pass over into the white community, the Memorandum failed to point out that in the past, and especially today, this can be done only by severing or concealing ties with Negro relatives and by living in constant terror of exposure. For many persons of Negro descent, to move over to the white community demands a complete change of personality. Hence for many people of Negro descent who are white or near white in color, the question of which community they belong to is not a voluntary matter, as the document inferred: it is fixed by the political system.

Despite the strong words against "escapist tendencies" and "nihilistic denials of the term 'Negro,'" the arguments of the original document actually gave support to these petty bourgeois escapist and nihilist tendencies. All this reflected reformist and nationalist pressures.

Moreover, these ideas contain the danger of reopening old divisions among the Negro people, for as Foster points out in his *Outline Political History of the Americas*, the "distinct echo [of white chauvinism] is also found in certain widespread color prejudices between Mulattoes and Negroes—a fact which has played an important political role in Haiti and elsewhere."\* One can add, that

\*\* E. F. Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (N. Y., 1949), pp. 186-87.

\* William Z. Foster, *Outline Political History of the Americas* (International Publishers, 1951), p. 563.



until quite recently, differences in color have played an important divisive role among Negroes in the United States.

#### INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION

Let us now discuss briefly the matter of international relations between the Negro people in the U.S.A. and their ethnic kinsmen in Africa and the New World as affected by the ideas put forth in the Memorandum, which, we feel, were not dealt with sufficiently in Comrade Wilkerson's critical article. It should be noted that the document preempted the term "Negro" as the exclusive property of the Negro people in the United States. It stated "The definition of 'Negro' ventured above deliberately restricts the concept of the Negro people to the United States. It takes issue, therefore, with the common usage which designates various peoples outside the United States as 'Negroes'."

It maintained that the application of the term "Negro," to peoples of Africa and the West Indies and Latin America blurs over "the truly significant frame of reference—their development as distinct nationalities and nations."

It is of course true that the Negro people of Africa have developed into nations or are in the process of national development. Throughout Africa, national liberation movements and national consciousness are in various stages of development.

This development is uneven. Where there are nations, as in Liberia, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Uganda, the Gold Coast, etc., Negro peoples refer to themselves in terms of their nations; in other cases, in terms of their tribes, etc. They emphasize nationality because they demand respect for their national sovereignty or are fighting for the right of self-determination against the imperialist colonial oppressors. This explains why in some cases, in order to emphasize their fight for National Liberation, some may object to a general classification of "Negro."

But it is not true that African Negroes fail to acknowledge and, indeed, emphasize color, racial ties, or common descent, especially when they are fighting against racism. For example, V. J. Jerome, in his excellent Marxist study on *The Negro in Hollywood Films* cites the resolution introduced by Dr. Namudi Azikwe, an outstanding leader and member of Nigeria's Legislative Assembly to the United Nations, calling for the banning of "Films which are derogatory and humiliating to the Negro race."

Nor do they object to the use of the term "Negro" when making a world appeal, in acknowledging their kinship and bonds of solidarity to Negro people in the New World.

The point, however, is not whether the term "Negro" is or is not used by African people. The point which the document evaded entirely is that racism and racial discrimination is

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a factor in the imperialist oppression of the African peoples.

Quite significantly, the original document skipped over South Africa where the basic content of the anti-imperialist movement is the struggle against racial discrimination and Comrade Wilkerson did not sufficiently point to this in his criticism. This is of great importance in view of the tremendous revolutionary upswing of South African Negroes and their white and colored allies, against the racist Malan "Apartheid" Laws.

While the original document referred very briefly to the existence of "especially close bonds" between the Negro peoples, it immediately proceeded to blur over these special bonds and to speak generally of the "loose identification of colored peoples with one another which stems primarily from their common struggles against imperialist oppression," which, it said, "should be encouraged and strengthened."

But here again it missed the issue. The question is not just the bonds of sympathy among colored peoples in general, which certainly exists. The point is that we are dealing here not with "colored peoples" in general, but with specific "colored peoples"—the Negro peoples of Africa and their descendants on the American continent. Despite the obvious fact that the Negro peoples both in Africa and in the New World embrace many nations in varying levels of economic and social development, they have in common 400 years of history, beginning with the

African slave trade and the institution of the system of slavery on American soil. The fact is that in most of these areas they still, in different degrees, are the bearers of the "black man's burden." The especially close bonds among the African Negroes and their immediate and remote kinsmen in the New World is, therefore, the result of historical causes. The fact that the Negro people in South Africa marched in demonstration singing Paul Robeson's songs shows the solidarity and kinship of South African and American Negroes. Today the ties between the Negro peoples all over the world are being more tightly welded under the impact of the imperialist drive toward global war.

Having thrown out the factor of racial oppression in the Negro question in the U.S.A., the memorandum proceeded also to deny it in regards to the Negro population in Latin America.

The peoples of Latin America, it contended, ". . . constitute, with minor exceptions, integral parts of their respective nations. They are correctly designated, therefore, not as 'Negroes,' but as Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Brazilians, Haitians, and the like."

It is clear that in this denial of a special Negro question in Latin America, the Document overestimated the process of the integration of the peoples of these countries, and underestimated the growing danger of white chauvinism, which, particularly at the present time, is being

vigorously spread by U.S. imperialism and its native puppets.

It is true, of course, as Comrade Foster points out, that "nowhere in Latin America does racial discrimination reach the extreme virulence prevalent in the United States." He observes: "The lesser degree of white chauvinism among the Latin American peoples is largely a result of the racial and national integration tendencies. . . . Much of the race prejudice that does exist among Latin-American peoples, for example Cuba, is due to the corrupting attitudes of white chauvinists (diplomats, tourists, and businessmen) from the United States. It is also bred from fascist trends. The spread of race prejudice is one of the most pronounced ideological consequences of the extension of the influence of United States imperialism." He remarks that, "white chauvinism does exist in Latin America," and quotes Blas Rocas, General Secretary of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba, as follows: "There are those, in these times, who attempt to deny the existence in Cuba of discrimination against Negroes, to dissimulate and obscure it in order to maintain it."\*

To deny, as the document did, the existence of a Negro question in Latin America and, in effect, to stress integration precisely at a time when U.S. imperialism, in pursuance of its plan of world conquest has made the ideology of white chauvinism a major article of export, is to do an

extreme disservice to the liberation struggles of the entire Latin-American peoples.

## CONCLUSION

What is the practical and political meaning of these ideas? How does it affect the international relationship between the Negro peoples in various parts of the world? How does it affect the common struggle of the Negro peoples against Anglo-American racism?

1. By ignoring the historically developed solidarity among Negro peoples, these false views would sever the most economically and culturally advanced segment of the Negro people in the world—those in the United States—from their ethnic kinsmen in Africa, the West Indies and Latin America with whom the strongest bonds of kinship are felt and exhibited in political struggle. They underestimate the special responsibility of the Negro working-class of the U.S. in giving practical and political support to its kinsmen in other parts of the world. It is a historically established fact that the Negro peoples of the world look towards the Negroes in the U.S., and especially the Negro workers, for their support. The anti-imperialist struggle and working class internationalism demand that the people and particularly Negro workers, render every possible aid to the Negro peoples of the world.

2. The denial that the Negro people's African background has any importance in the Negro question in

\* W. Z. Foster, cited work, pp. 563-65.

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the United States, throws out the Negro people's pre-American history, which, thanks to the yeoman work of Du Bois, Woodson and others, has become incorporated into the historic and cultural traditions of the U.S. Negro nation. This background has played no small role in contributing to the Negro's dignity, refuting the stereotypes which depict him as a man without a history and, therefore, unworthy of an equal place at the table of civilization.

To reject the factor of African ancestry as playing any role in the Negro question is equivalent to discarding a major plank in the historical traditions of the U.S. Negroes, on which he has based an important part of his ideological battle against his white chauvinist defamers.

3. Especially now, living in the midst of a country whose ruling class is the dominant force for global war and fascism, the Negro workers in the United States, by virtue of their ties with white labor, are able to mobilize not only the Negro peoples but masses of white workers in support of the liberation movements of Africa, the West Indies, and Latin America. It is their duty to counteract the sinister plans of the Wall Street imperialists and their Negro bourgeois reformist agents, who under the facade of the Point Four Program, are trying to crush the libera-

tion movements and the peace movement and further enslave the peoples.

To ignore these especially close and historically developed bonds among the Negro peoples of the world is not only to reject the special international obligations of the Negro workers of the United States, but is equivalent to the desertion of the Liberation Movements of these peoples to the tender mercies of the Negro bourgeois reformist agents of U.S. imperialism. It is precisely in this international sphere that these agents are rendering their most valuable service to their Wall Street masters. The Wall Street strategy of world dominance especially in relation to Africa, as baldly stated by John D. Rockefeller, III, is to hold Africa "... as a reserve continent" of imperialism, to prevent it from following Asia's example.

The intimate ties binding together the Negro peoples of the world constitute a great source of strength in the national liberation struggles in three continents. They are great weapons in the battle against the imperialists, especially those of the United States and Great Britain. These fraternal ties, held together by centuries of common struggle, represent a powerful force with enormous potential in the world-wide fight for freedom and for peace.

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Readers are invited to submit manuscripts, up to 4,000 words. Letters of comment are also welcomed.—*the Editor.*

## THE WORLD'S HEART

By Joseph North

*The Heart of Spain*, edited by Alvah Bessie. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, N. Y., 494 pages. \$4.50.

THE VERY APPEARANCE TODAY of *Heart of Spain* is a battle won. Commercial publishers would not touch this book. Sensitive to the will of the F.B.I., they know that Americans who read of Madrid 1936 will better understand Pyongyang 1952.

Warm thanks are due Alvah Bessie, writer and Lincoln Brigader, who edited this anthology on the Spanish Civil War. He has arranged his selections so that they serve as an inspiring chronicle of the years 1936-39, in Spain, years so magnificent that many in the United States cannot, to this day, speak of that time without pride—and grief; pride, in the knowledge that 3,000 Americans enlisted in the International Brigades and that many thousands more shared in the movement to aid Spain; grief, that popular resistance did not prevent the Roosevelt Government from abetting the destruction of the People's Front Government by its "Non-Intervention" embargo that condemned the Republic to die under Nazi and fascist bombs. This book can help to galvanize a new generation to prevent the tragedy from happening again to new Spains. And to speed the defeat of Franco at the hands of the freedom-loving Spanish people.

Almost a hundred writers, poets,

dramatists, journalists and statesmen of many lands and varied politics appear in these pages at the side of soldiers who took the pen to tell their story. Here, in print, is the anguish, the hope, the passion, the promethean power of a people that struggled against enormous odds for independence, democracy, unity. The Republic not only fought Franco: it faced the combined might of Hitler and Mussolini. It was stabbed in the back by the governments of the United States, Britain, France; it was betrayed by reactionary Social-Democracy whose Leon Blum, "socialist" premier of France, lined up with the American and British governments in the "Non-Intervention" Committee, which was a screen to help the fascists. The Soviet Union alone of the great powers was Spain's friend—in the halls of the League of Nations, helping in every conceivable way, by diplomacy, and by the shipment of arms and food.

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The record of Spain is a history of struggles for freedom, for independence. Those readers who may be unaware of Spain's great history, to whom this book must certainly go, will learn from it that the republic was born in 1931; it matured in the greatest flowering of unity in Spain's history when the peasants, city workers, urban middle-classes—hitherto divided—closed their ranks to elect, by overwhelming majority, the Popular Front Government in Febru-

ary, 1936. (Who can forget the rejoicing that rose in all lands where men understood the politics of freedom?) The generals, representing 20,000 grandees who had kept a nation of 28,000,000 in feudal poverty, rebelled against the popular will in July, 1936. Spain's *Frente Popular* could, as numerous writers here attest, have suppressed the indigenous fascists, had these traitors not been aided by the armed aggression of Hitler, Mussolini, and their abettors in the United States, Britain and France. The unarmed people became lions of valor on the battlefields as well as on the home fronts. Epics of achievement were written under the bombs. Production rose despite the torrents of German and Italian steel; popular education flourished for the first time in Spain's dark centuries; the people drew nearer to one another in their common struggle. That they were finally defeated, Bessie writes, was due to "the Hitlerian Big Lie." Spain, he says, "was lost because of this lie, just as the German republic was destroyed by it, Italian freedom was strangled by it and American democracy and world peace itself are jeopardized by it today." Franco and his allies in this country claimed that the war was "a battle between Christianity and Communism." The witnesses in this book, most of whom saw for themselves, testified that it was a war between fascism and democracy.

The book teaches the great lesson of our time: world peace, democracy, will triumph when the people stand together, as in the Popular Front, to defeat the Big Lie. The truth of 1936 holds for 1952. And, as the editor observes, the lessons of what this unity can achieve "have not been lost on the majority of the people of the world. . . ."

Eye-witnesses to these truths, in this book, represent a variety of political origins, and reflect the ardent sympathy for Spanish democracy among the world's plain people. Each writer presents his irrefutable testimony—in stirring prose, or in magnificent poetry like that of Pablo Neruda, Langston Hughes, Louis Aragon, Nicholas Guillen, Genevieve Taggard. And the writings by the veterans of Spain have the power of their bullets. All add up to the complete affirmation of the editor's foreword. The contributors include Communists and non-Communists, like Dolores Ibarurri, the famed *La Pasionaria*; Julio Alvarez del Vayo, a Socialist who was the Republic's foreign minister; Herbert L. Matthews, war correspondent then for the *New York Times*; Steve Nelson, John Gates, Robert Thompson, the Communist leaders whose heroic records in Spain are legendary; Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet novelist and war correspondent; Dr. Edward K. Barsky, the fearless surgeon who served in the Republic's medical corps at the front; Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, Dorothy Parker, Lillian Hellman, Martha Gellhorn, and many others. Overwhelmingly they are fighters who have never faltered in their services to democracy; a few, like Matthews, never again achieved the clarity of vision they had during Spain. All gave their permission to appear in this book.

What they wrote refutes every lie that is current in our press today. First, let us consider the book's testimony on the nature of the Popular Front government, what it represented. Mr. Del Vayo's authoritative contribution, "One Small Detail," presents indisputable proof that the Government was chosen by an overwhelming majority of the people; that the Popular Front was a coalition of all parties upholding the

Republic elected in 1931; that it was a bourgeois-democratic government; that it endeavored to institute a series of modest, even minimal, reforms within the framework of capitalism. "Any other liberal party in Europe," he writes, "would have been amazed that such a program of State reform should have been necessary in the third decade of the twentieth century."

The coalition, defending the Republic, sought, first of all, to restore civil rights. Progressive Americans, all who abhor the Smith and the McCarran Acts, will know how to evaluate the fact that the amnesty of political prisoners was the primary demand of all the democratic parties. Some 40,000 had been imprisoned for resisting the reactionary regimes of 1934-36, "the two Black Years" which had nullified every gain established by the 1931 Republic. Freedom for them, Del Vayo recalls, was "the outstanding feature of the Popular Front campaign." It is imperative to remember this as the Smith Act takes its toll of victims in our land.

What happened after the legitimate government came to office is another reason why no commercial publisher in the United States would handle this book. For the true record of democratic Spain contains a shattering refutation of our Government's argument in the Smith Act cases. Big Business—not the Communists—conspired to overthrow the Republican government by force and violence. The generals, representing the millionaires like Juan March, the feudal landowners, rebelled. The Communists were the staunchest proponents of the people's will. Their record is represented here in the magnificent calls to resistance by La Pasionaria, spokesman for her Party and peerless patriot of her country: "Rise

as one man," she cried to all; "prepare to defend the Republic, national freedom and the democratic liberties won by the people." The Spanish Communists, followers of Marxism-Leninism, stood in the van of the government's defenders.

The will of Spain's people was to protect their country by every means at hand. Constanca de la Mora, head of the government foreign press bureau, contributes a vivid picture of the people's desires in her account of the first days' fighting in Madrid when Franco's troops held the Montana barracks. The masses, virtually unarmed, overwhelmed the armed traitors and captured Franco's general. So it went in most major Spanish cities, those first days: indisputable proof that the people would have put down the uprising. But the generals opened the gates of Spain to Hitler and Mussolini.

The workings of their conspiracy are revealed in the chapter "Aide Memoir"; the duplicate of the agreement reached by representatives of Spanish fascist parties with Mussolini. It is dated March 31, 1934. The evidence first appeared in a book written in 1938 by the pro-loyalist Duchess of Atholl. Mussolini agreed "to help with the necessary measures of assistance to the two parties in opposition to the regime obtaining in Spain in the task of overthrowing it and substituting it by a regency which would prepare the complete restoration of the monarchy." The terms of the agreement, its signatories, are here in black and white.

After Franco's initial setbacks, Italian arms, German warplanes and technicians, enabled him to recover ground and advance on Madrid. Then came a magnificent achievement: the hardest and most farsighted spirits of all lands determined to cast their lot with the

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Republic. They knew that if the fascist Governments of Berlin and Rome succeeded below the Pyrenees their homelands were next. The International Brigades were born. Workingmen and intellectuals, men of all parties opposed to fascism, crossed the Pyrenees to take up guns for democracy.

One of the proudest pages in our history was written by the 3,000 American volunteers, Communists and non-Communists, who fought for the Republic. Eighteen hundred are buried in Spain's soil. Most had never handled a gun in their lives; they were among the most youthful of the Brigades: many of those who arrived first were rushed into crucial segments of the battle lines after firing a few practice shots at a target.

How fast they learned to become soldiers! Harold Smith's "Action at Brunete" describes yesterday's civilian during his first terrifying experiences under the bombings, in the line and under fire, and though every fibre shrank from the snarl of the bullets, he advanced, knowing he would not turn back. "His decision had been made before." "El Fantastico," taken from Steve Nelson's book on Spain, is a masterpiece that catches the daring and courage of the plain Spanish soldier, a story that will live and glow. It is heartening to know that the book will be published by *Masses & Mainstream*. O. H. Hunter's superb "700 Calendar Days" tells why he, a Negro, enlisted in Spain's cause. For Negroes were among the best soldiers of the Brigades: men like Oliver Law and Milton Herndon were killed there, in battle, and Hunter's Negro volunteer, dying, whispers: "If I find my deep six here, could I do better?" "Tell them in America," he pleads, that death "will find me buried some place where the white and black march, eat,

sleep, fight and love, side by side." There is not space here to give the essence of the other powerful contributions from Bessie, Irving Fajans, David McKelvy White, Milton Wolff, Dr. Barsky, Edwin Rolfe, Joe Gordon, James Neugass, or the writings of soldiers from other lands, like Germany's Alfred Kantorowicz' "Fritz Giga"; of Britain's John Cornford and David Guest, both of whom died in battle.

It would have been well if writings had been included from the many other nationalities who fought in Spain, as those from eastern Europe and from Asia and Africa. The absence of such selections is false to the universality of the Spanish experience and tends to reflect the influence of imperialist ideology that so-called Western culture is all that matters.

Finally, this book destroys a lie that did, perhaps, as much mischief as any lie of this time—the myth that the Popular Front was the enemy of religious freedom and that Franco was its defender. It is established that the hierarchs of the Roman Catholic Church blessed the fascists and condoned the murder of millions of their own faith. Freedom of worship was a tenet of the Popular Front (Point Six of Negrin's famous Thirteen Points). Millions of Catholics fought for the Republic because they knew that well. The irrefutable testimony of Catholics is here, like that of Jose Bergamin, famous editor, Father Leocardio Lobo and Father Juan Garcia Morales who pleaded with the Pope over Radio Madrid, Sept. 15, 1936 "to condemn those military chiefs and clergy who have taken up arms against a legally constituted government." Lawrence A. Fernsworth, a well-known American correspondent, wrote in the *New York Times* on April 10, 1938, "that the

Government is not 'anti-God' and insists, even in the midst of Franco's terror, on sanctioning and protecting religious worship."

The people fought on for two and a half heroic years. "To resist is to conquer," Premier Negrin adjured his nation. They were able to resist because they had achieved the greatest unity of their history: Their disunity had always been reaction's greatest ally. When that unity was breached by a group of turncoat generals and politicians, "a camarilla of Trotskytes, anarchists, Right-wing Socialists and 'Left Republicans' who had not been uprooted in time," as Art Shields tells in his vivid eye-witness account of Madrid's last days—only then could the enemy triumph. The Popular Front government, betrayed by all the great powers save the U.S.S.R., disrupted from within by its concealed enemies, fell, fighting to the last minute. That the Republicans fought so long as they did and so well is an eternal tribute to them, as it is a deathless heritage of inspiration to peoples everywhere today.

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More remains to be said. The book would have had even greater power had it included writings dealing with the inner forces of the Spanish Popular Front—the specific role of the various parties, the Communists, Socialists, Republican Anarchists. The book magnificently shows the Popular Front's nobility and strength: it does not reveal the inner-springs of its weaknesses. It could have shown, more specifically, why the coalition of anti-fascists was broken, had it discussed the role of the traitors and the policies of the weaklings in government. It could well have depicted the treason of the P.O.U.M. Trotskyites and their influence on the "uncontrollables" of the anarchists, their

treasonous uprising May 1, 1937, their aid to Franco, the Gestapo and Mussolini's O.V.R.A. Such a section would have revealed the strength and weakness in the Popular Front structure and shown whose policies were historically right and whose were wrong. It would have placed responsibility where it belongs, thus aiding another generation to learn the lessons of yesterday so that they could avoid the pitfalls of today. For the pre-requisite of history now, to achieve peace and democracy, demands the coalition of all who oppose war and fascism. The Popular Front was a precursor of such unity and it was rich in lessons. It would have been well to depict the divisive role of such Socialists like Caballero and Prieto, of bourgeois republicans like Casada. Who were the concealed enemies? What policies helped or hindered the struggle? Why were Premier Azana and others in the first Popular Front regime taken by surprise on July 18 after Jose Diaz, leader of the Spanish Communist Party, and others had long warned that an uprising was imminent?

Further, such a section would inevitably have shed further light on the role of the Communists today at a time when the minds of millions are assailed by every variety of lie about Communists, as well as the Popular Front. It would have shown exactly how the Communists defended their government to the last. And why their Party grew from 30,000 to 500,000 before the war ended.

The history of the resistance has a wealth of data on this score: how the Communists formed the famous Quinto Regimiento of Madrid in the first days of the war that became the symbol of the people's heroism; how the Communists were the first of all parties voluntarily to turn over their militia

to the government's authority; how the Communists were the first to plead with the Cabinet to reopen those churches the anarchists had closed. And much, much more. It would show that the Communists fought selflessly for the national good, in the interests of the majority, in their single-minded, patriotic zeal for their country.

Another vital point: the selections do not depict the policy of the Soviet Union, in contrast to that of the western bourgeois democracies. The record would have shown that the workers' State, alone of the big powers, stood by the Republic's side throughout. Washington, London, Paris refused to sell arms to the Republic (while Hitler and Mussolini shipped planes and tanks to the peninsula by the thousands); it was the shipment of Soviet planes, the famous *chatos*, that drove the Messerschmitts from the skies over Madrid where they had bombed and strafed the populace, unhindered. The record would show that the opposition of the imperialist powers to the U.S.S.R. in the League of Nations destroyed Republican Spain—and led directly to the deadly fruits of Munich which paved the way for World War II.

Finally, this reviewer questions the bibliography which lists without critical selectivity books published on the war. "No effort has been made," the editor says, "to separate them into categories: pro and anti-Loyalist, or 'neutral.'" And he suggests that the reader who examines these works for himself "will find the truth and he will find the lie." Will he? Can a reader, unaware of the facts, always successfully "compare the words with the fruit those words have borne in actual life?" Evidence of that "fruit" is unavailable

to most readers in the United States today. Overwhelmingly they encounter the lie: the basis for the comparison is deliberately concealed. Should this splendid anthology—frankly partisan—suggest that mankind's enemies, these foes of Spain, like the defender of the counter-revolutionary P.O.U.M., George Orwell, or Arthur Koestler, be included with humanist fighters for democracy and freedom?

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The failings cited do not alter the fact that this is a magnificent book. *The Heart of Spain* will endure, and the Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, its publishers, continue their services to democracy. Though they were mustered out of uniform in 1938, they were never mustered out of service. "Where freedom is not," another old International Brigader named Tom Paine once wrote, "there is my country." The Lincolns are to be found wherever the people's liberties are in danger. You found them in the mile-long circle of defenders at Peekskill; in the courtroom of the fascist McCarran tribunal when John Gates took his memorable stand; they are sentenced to savage terms of prison, like Robert Thompson and John Gates. One of the most beloved leaders of the International Brigades, Steve Nelson, a hero of American labor, is sentenced to virtually a lifetime in prison—twenty years! This book should serve as a rallying point for their freedom—and all America's. For the Lincoln Brigaders are, where freedom is *not*, upholding the banner of democracy. They remain the conscience of America today as they were in 1936-39.

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