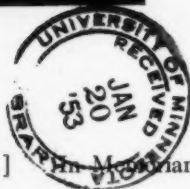


# affairs

DECEMBER 1952 • 25 CENTS



- [ 1 ] *Minnam*: Robert Minor
- [ 4 ] Draft Resolution on Situation  
Growing Out of Presidential  
Elections
- [14] On Stalin's *Economic Problems*  
*of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*
- [30] White Chauvinism and Negro  
Bourgeois Nationalism
- [43] The Party and the Trade Unions  
in the Post-War Period
- [58] In Battle For Peace  
(*Book Review*)
- [63] Index for 1952

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

## In Memoriam: Robert Minor

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

*On November 26, 1952, our beloved Comrade Robert Minor died. The National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States issued the following statement, signed by William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry:*

\* \* \*

The National Committee of the Communist Party expresses its profound sorrow at the death of Comrade Robert Minor. Known and revered by millions, Minor was an outstanding leader of the Party, a member of the National Committee for many years, a great and world-renowned political cartoonist, journalist, pamphleteer, and above all a front-line fighter for labor, democracy, for the Negro people, for peace and Socialism.

The workingclass, the Negro people, the democratic and cultural forces of the United States and the entire world have suffered an irrepar-

able loss in the passing of this stalwart figure, of this powerful and fearless mass leader.

The loss is particularly heavy at this time because, despite his critically ailing heart, "Fighting Bob" worked relentlessly day in and day out, for the defense of the Party, for the defense of those on trial under the Smith Act, against the savage persecution of the heroic Steve Nelson, and for the freedom of Gene Dennis, Benjamin Davis Jr., and the other courageous imprisoned and convicted Communist leaders.

Bob died as he had lived, selflessly giving his last breath for the cause of liberty.

\* \* \*

A descendant of an old Virginia family, himself a robust and hearty Texan, Comrade Minor had deep roots in the American people, in its democratic traditions and history which he cherished.

He was a working man—a sign painter and a carpenter, and he belonged to the Carpenters' Union in 1902-1905; he was a Socialist from 1910 and a deep and passionate Communist after 1920. He was a man of many talents, an intellectual who not only knew what had to be done, but did it. He was a mass fighter who thought in terms of millions of people and brought to all his work a tremendous energy, scope and breadth. He inevitably therefore made enduring contributions in the major fields of his activity.

Even before World War I, when he worked in various newspapers, he was world famous as America's foremost political cartoonist. Later he gave of his great talents to *Masses*, *Liberator*, *Worker Monthly* and *Daily Worker*. His gifted work will live forever. His drawings for the *Daily Worker* in the early 1920's against capitalism, particularly against Big Business, open-shop slavery, for the organization of the unorganized, for recognition of the Soviet Union, for a Labor Party and independent political action, for Negro rights, are landmarks, unforgettable blows struck for the advance of labor and the people.

As editor of the Left-wing cultural political magazine, the *Liberator*, in 1920-1922, and later through his work in the Party, he helped, along with others, to lay the foundations for a Marxist, democratic people's cultural movement in our country.

Minor will always be remembered

for his outstanding defense of democracy, by his fight in Spain against fascism in 1936-1938, and by his lifetime's work as champion of labor defense, of the defense of the Negro people and the foreign-born against the mounting assaults of the reaction since World War I. He was directly associated with the most important cases of his time.

\* \* \*

IN 1917, he left his highly paid job on a newspaper and plunged into the successful fight to save the life of Tom Mooney, militant union leader in San Francisco, framed by the monopolists and warmongers of the time. He helped the Sacco-Vanzetti fight. He was in the forefront of the campaign to free the Scottsboro Boys initiated by the International Labor Defense.

Together with Ben Davis, Jr, he fought successfully to free Angelo Herndon; he aided the Gastonia textile leaders and the Gallup, New Mexico, striking workers, as a result of which he was kidnapped, beaten and left to die in the desert. In recent years he worked for the Smith Act victims, realizing that the Smith Act trials are a fascist-like weapon to break the back of the labor and progressive movement. Bob Minor was a fighter for the unemployed, and was arrested and imprisoned with William Z. Foster, Israel Amter, and others for participation in the historic New York unemployed demonstration of March 6, 1930.

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Born in the South, he revolted against the bitter oppression of the Negro people. He was an irreconcilable foe of racist bigotry and a determined and uncompromising fighter for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people. He was extremely sensitive at all times to this question. He was among the first to point out the great contributions of the Negro people to America. He was one of the first in the Party to see the necessity of a special approach to the Negro struggle, to recognize it as one of national oppression in the South and of an oppressed national minority in the North. He worked conscientiously to bring forward Negro leaders and did yeoman work to develop the movement in the South, through the establishment of the *Southern Worker*, and in the development of an anti-lynching movement.

\* \* \*

MINOR was a staunch fighter for peace. As a journalist in Europe in 1919, he was imprisoned by American military authorities because he appealed to the French and other European workers to oppose the imperial-

istic intervention against the newborn Soviet Republic.

Along with John Reed and Lincoln Steffens and other long-visioned Americans, he was among the first to visit the new socialist land and to bring the truth of its aims and struggles to the American people in the face of a vicious campaign of lies and hysteria. A proud internationalist, he worked resolutely for American-Soviet trade, cooperation, and at all times for a firm, active friendship.

Finally, Comrade Minor was a Party man, a builder of its organization, loyal to its principles and aims—the improvement of the people's conditions, the advance of democracy and the achievement of Socialism. He constantly studied and worked to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism, in which science he saw the liberating role of the working class and its Party. He was warm, kind-hearted, and at all times friendly in his day-to-day relations to comrades and people generally—the mark of every genuine Marxist-Leninist.

We will always remember Bob Minor—dear friend, steadfast comrade, staunch man of the people.

# Draft Resolution on Situation Growing Out of Presidential Elections

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

*In releasing the following Draft Resolution, the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States calls upon all club organizations of the Party to discuss it during the months of January and February. And it adds: "The National Committee asks all clubs, on the conclusion of their discussions, to send in their stand on this Draft Resolution and any opinions they may wish to express to the National Committee. All communications should be submitted by clubs through their respective Section Committees"—The Editor.*

A GREAT FRAUD was perpetrated on the American people in the 1952 elections. Seeking to create the impression that the people were being afforded a real choice, the Republican and Democratic Parties spent a hundred million dollars to stage this colossal deception. The election campaign of both parties represented a cruel hoax which robbed the nation of its ability to translate its genuine peace aspirations into an effective electoral mandate.

Not the people, but the warminded men of the trusts and monopolies, the duPonts, Rockefellers, Morgans and General Motors—dictated the choice

of national candidates and the programs of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

Neither the extreme demagoguery nor the false promises of the election campaign can hide the fact that both parties fully expressed the determination of U.S. imperialism to press on with its criminal war of aggression in Korea, to step up the tempo of its imperialist armed adventures. Despite the fact that World War III would inevitably end in the defeat of U.S. imperialism, both parties adhered to the insane design of launching a war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

In this situation the resolute efforts of our Party to project peace as the central issue of the campaign was a vital contribution to the working class and the people as a whole. Particularly important was the timely and militant campaign organized by our Party, on the initiative of Comrade Foster, for an immediate ceasefire in Korea. Of great significance also was our Party's contribution to the campaign for Negro representation which reached nation-wide proportions and resulted in a number of victories.

Our Party correctly rejected and fought against the line of the reform-

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ist and Social Democratic leaders of support for Stevenson because this policy, no less than endorsement of Eisenhower, meant support of the bi-partisan war program of monopoly capital. Our Party correctly supported the Progressive Party national ticket—the only clear voice for peace in the 1952 elections.

## II

The outcome of the 1952 elections strengthened the hand of the most reactionary forces of monopoly capital.

1. It placed the professed party of monopoly capital, the Republican Party, in control of the government. This is the Party which most openly represents the interests of the trusts and does not have to rely to the same degree as does the Democratic Party on organized labor and the Negro people as its social base. Monopoly capital therefore looks upon the Republican Party as its main instrument in forcing pro-fascist and war measures on the nation.

2. It strengthened the hand of such advance guard fascists as McCarthy, Nixon, Jenner and Potter.

3. It heightened the influence in national affairs of the most aggressive anti-labor, anti-democratic forces as represented by Taft, Hoover and McArthur.

4. It bolstered the position of the Dixiecrats through advancing the consolidation of a practical working alliance of Dixiecrats and Republicans.

5. It laid the groundwork for stepping up more aggressive pro-fascist

measures by monopoly capital against labor and other popular forces, including a union-smashing offensive.

6. It increased for the immediate months ahead the danger of moves designed to spread the war in Korea and the Far East and of provocative actions in Europe aimed at preventing a blowup of NATO. The Eisenhower-Dulles position on a war of "liberation" exposes the extreme aggressive aims of the Eisenhower regime.

It is harmful obscure the fact that the GOP victory in the 1952 elections does in fact strengthen the hand of the most reactionary pro-fascist, pro-war elements of monopoly capital. It is the duty of our Party to arouse mass awareness and understanding of this fact while building confidence that the people can prevent fascism from coming to power.

The feature of the new political situation which has supreme importance for us and upon which our tactical line must be based is the great and justified alarm among the masses over the Republican victory. We must fully appreciate the existence of this deep-going concern in the ranks of workers, Negro people, poor farmers and lower income urban middle classes.

We must fully associate ourselves with this concern. We must also associate ourselves with the many millions who voted for Eisenhower primarily because of their peace aspirations.

There is a very real contradiction between the attempt by millions, including large numbers of women and

youth, to register a peace mandate through Eisenhower and the actual course and policies of the Republican Party. This, in the first place, accounts for the fact that these millions do not represent a stable base for the Eisenhower regime.

Wall Street will do everything in its power to transform these millions as rapidly as possible into a mass base for its imperialist and pro-fascist aims. It will try to create ever greater gaps between these millions and the labor and Negro people's movements.

*The heart of the resistance movement to Wall Street's program lies in labor, the poorest strata of farmers and the Negro people.* The mobilization and unity of this giant core, which already recognized the peril inherent in the GOP victory, represents our most basic and immediate task.

In this lies also the guarantee that millions who voted for Eisenhower will move in the direction of resistance rather than surrender.

Our Party must be the foremost, the most effective, the most consistent fighter for unity of the working class, for unity of action of the working class, Negro people, farmers and democratically-minded people. The unfolding of this all-pervasive struggle for unity is the central task of our Party in this new political situation. By unfolding this struggle for unity of action against the pro-war, pro-fascist course and measures of the Republican Administration, our Party will develop among the masses an understanding of the central lesson emerging from the victory of reac-

tion in the 1952 elections.

Support of the pro-war measures of the Truman administration; acceptance and propagation of the "Big Lie" of the external and internal "Communist menace" disarmed the workers, blocked the path to independent action by labor and its allies and paved the way for a Republican victory.

The major responsibility for this policy and its consequences rests squarely with the reformist and Social Democratic trade union officialdom. This was the content of the policies of the Reuthers, Dubinskys, Wechslers, et al., who paralyzed independent political action by projecting the myth that Stevenson was an obstacle to the advance of reaction. They pursued these policies despite the fact that the Democratic Party administration, operating with bipartisan support, originated and unfolded the current war program in behalf of Wall Street.

### III

The rapacious greed and feverish search for maximum profits determine the basic drive of American monopoly for world domination. American monopolists are fundamentally united behind this drive, as they seek a way out of the deepening crisis of U.S. and world capitalism through aggressive imperialist adventures, attacking democratic rights and instituting reaction, and through the further impoverishment of the masses both at home and abroad.

Our Party and the working class cannot project any real perspective of

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struggle nor can it correctly utilize existing and future rifts in monopoly ranks unless it recognizes the basic unity of monopoly capital behind these aims.

The rifts in monopoly circles arise out of the contradictions between their common aim of world domination and the realities of the world situation, economically and politically. These realities include the disintegration of the world market, and the coming into being of two world markets. They further include the growing contradictions, rivalries and antagonisms between different imperialist countries.

Because the American imperialist drive necessitates the ruthless conquest and subordination of all peoples, it is necessarily a program of war and fascism. Because the most determined and consistent opposition to its program of enslavement and aggression comes from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, Wall Street views the Soviet Union as its main enemy, as the force which it seeks to destroy.

The rising strength of the peace camp headed by the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, the rising movements and armed struggles of the colonial nations for independence, the sharpened struggles and contradictions between various imperialist groupings, created an ever growing crisis in American foreign policy. This is further aggravated by the growing resistance on the part of the American working class and the people generally to the consequences of

the war drive as felt in their daily lives.

The main rift in the ranks of monopoly capital in this period arises over the question of the feasibility of launching an early war against the Soviet Union. This division finds its chief expression in the controversies between the Truman-Acheson-Dulles-Eisenhower trend on the one hand, and the Taft-Hoover-MacArthur trend on the other.

The Truman-Eisenhower-Dulles trend has been and continues to be the dominant viewpoint of monopoly capital. This viewpoint is founded on the perspective of an anti-Soviet war as its central and first objective. This "global" policy, as well as the whole body of policies—foreign and domestic—developed by this trend within monopoly capital, arise out of their overall strategy for achieving world domination and the anti-Soviet war. Ever increasing exploitation and subjugation of all nations and states is an integral part of this strategy. This trend seeks to execute this policy behind a facade of an "alliance of free nations."

The Taft-Hoover-MacArthur trend represents powerful forces of monopoly capital but is not the viewpoint of the dominant sections. This trend also pursues world domination and war against the Soviet Union but it seeks at this stage the full subjugation of the capitalist world by an unrestrained offensive against its capitalist rivals, in the first place Britain and France. It presses for the more rapid fascization of the United States and the swiftest destruction of the labor

movement. It demands even more aggressive policies aimed at carving out an expanded colonial empire for U.S. imperialism. The tendency of this trend is also to attach great importance to the unfoldment of more reckless imperialist policies in Asia.

At many points the concrete manifestations of the policies pursued by these two trends overlap and merge. Wall Street's direct representative, John Foster Dulles, works feverishly to heal these rifts and strives to bring the two trends into greater harmony.

As the body of the Truman-Eisenhower-Dulles policies based on an early anti-Soviet war founders on the growing difficulties in Europe and Asia, the tendency is for growing support in the ranks of monopoly capital to the Taft-Hoover-MacArthur trend.

The American working class can take advantage of these contradictions only if it takes upon itself the historic responsibility of uniting and leading the majority of the nation in a great peace crusade against any kind of imperialist and aggressive war. Unlike the Roosevelt period, no basic political realignment, no great and powerful people's coalition against war and fascism can be built today which can succeed in reversing American foreign policy *that does not have the working class as the basic organizer, leader and backbone of the coalition.*

#### IV

The dominant circles of monopoly capital will exert great efforts to build an atmosphere of "national

unity," around Eisenhower and the Republican administration. Eisenhower's selection of a member of the AFL officialdom as Secretary of Labor, his promise to amend the Taft-Hartley law; his declaration of opposition to union smashing are intended to facilitate the creation of a "national unity" atmosphere around the pro-war, pro-fascist course to be pursued by the incoming Republican administration.

Powerful forces in the Democratic Party including the Southern Dixiecrats, the Farley forces in the North and the "liberals" most directly grouped around Stevenson will, all in their own particular and different ways, promote this phony national unity effort. Undoubtedly sections of Social Democracy and reformist trade union officialdom will take a similar line, at least in the early stages of the Republican administration.

Despite the attempts to build an atmosphere of national unity around Eisenhower, many factors are operating towards an early breakdown of these efforts. These factors are:

(1) The continuation and aggravation, under the pressure of growing failures of U.S. foreign policy, of division in the ranks of monopoly capital over the question of the feasibility of early war with the Soviet Union.

(2) Mounting pressure from sections of monopoly capital for passing over to fascist forms of rule in the U.S.

(3) The prospect of sharpened class struggles in the U.S. as the unity and resistance of the labor movement mounts in the face of attacks on its

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conditions and very existence.

(4) The spreading character of the pro-fascist offensive which increasingly tends to include among its targets the broad field of Social Democratic and reformist trade union officials as well as liberal public figures.

(5) The mounting crisis of the U.S. and world capitalist economy and the ever closer peril of a devastating economic crisis.

(6) The consequent rapid sharpening of the intra-imperialist contradictions.

Monopoly capital brought the Republican Party into power because it is now prepared to drive for an even more aggressive policy of imperialist aggression; because it is preparing for a deep-going economic crisis in the U.S. and the capitalist world as a whole. It demands more drastic measures to insure that the masses bear the full brunt of the horrible consequences of this crisis. It is determined to wipe out the gains achieved by the Negro people over the past 20 years and to force them more fully into a form of colonial status. It insists on more aggressive and repressive measures against labor and against the Communist Party, thus paving the way for union-smashing offensives and for passing over to fascist forms of rule.

Thus, the Republican victory in the 1952 elections has strengthened and emboldened the forces of extreme reaction. Simultaneously, however, it has opened up a perspective of sharper and broader mass struggles. For the attempt to sew labor up in a "national unity" of class collabora-

tion will face even greater difficulties and be increasingly exposed as monopoly capital steps up the tempo of its drive against the working class, the Negro people, and the nation as a whole.

The Republican victory opens up a perspective of broader and sharper class struggle involving the decisive sections of the working class now under reformist and Social Democratic leadership. It would, however, be a fatal error for Marxists to consider that this will develop in a purely spontaneous way. Struggles must be participated in, organized and led. It would be equally fatal to consider that because of the Republican electoral victory, the reformist and Social Democratic trade union officialdom will now suddenly reverse their class collaboration role and policies.

Communists must not rely on spontaneity or illusions about Social Democracy. What is required is a deeper understanding of the role of our Party as the foremost force stimulating, organizing and influencing the development of mass united front struggles on the key issues confronting the working class. What is needed is greater understanding of the primary importance of Party shop organization in the basic industries in the forging of working-class unity. What is needed is confidence that as our Party resolutely unfolds a broad and flexible united front policy against the pro-war, pro-fascist measures of the Republican administration, and as the masses move in the direction of united front struggles

against these measures, new opportunities for the development of united front relations at all levels will arise in the labor and people's movement.

### V

The election outcome does not indicate that wide masses of workers, of the Negro people and poor farmers have broken with the Democratic Party and from the influence of the reformist and Social Democratic leadership. Neither does it represent the disintegration of the two party system. On the contrary, the election returns confirm the fact that, despite important defections, the alliance of the bulk of the organized workers, the Negro people and poor farmers that constituted the popular base of the Democratic Party since 1936, in the main remained intact behind Stevenson. There is no immediate outlook for a mass popular desertion of the Democratic Party.

### VI

It was correct for our Party to reject and fight against the line of the reformist and Social Democratic leaders who pursued a policy of support of Stevenson because this would have meant support for the bipartisan war program. It was correct for the Party to subordinate all considerations in bringing forward peace as the central issue in this campaign. It was correct for the Party to support the Progressive Party national ticket which was the only clear voice for peace in the elections.

The main weakness of our electoral tactics in the 1952 elections consisted

of the following:

1. A rigid third party line that had no sound foundation in the existing alignment of forces and mass trends.

2. The failure within the framework of a correct policy of basic attack on both parties and tickets to sufficiently direct the sharpest fire against the Republicans.

3. The failure to consistently unfold a policy of united front and of coalition approaches on issues and in congressional and senatorial races. This was particularly the case in many areas where the most notorious symbols of reaction ran as incumbents.

While the leadership attempted to broaden the approach of the Party in the direction of a coalition policy, it failed in this because it itself had not self-critically examined the root of the resistance to such a policy which flowed primarily from the mistakes made in the 1948 election campaign.

The failure of the national leadership of the Party to examine objectively and fearlessly the outcome of the 1948 elections resulted in our Party not drawing a number of conclusions vital to a fully correct tactical line in the four-year period through the 1952 elections.

The conclusions that should have been drawn at that time must be drawn now. They include the following:

a. It was incorrect to have favored the departure of the Wallace forces without masses from the Democratic Party. Every effort should have been made to encourage the Wallace forces

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to fully unfold the struggle for peace to its conclusion within the Democratic Party in a determined effort to influence the mass base of that party.

b. In the 1948 elections we were confronted with the task of finding the broadest united front electoral vehicle for bringing sharply before the American people the question of peace. From this arose the need for our Party to help stimulate the formation of a united front peace ticket and even the formation of a united front party machinery to campaign for that ticket.

However, the mistake our Party made was to confuse this task with the historic task of forming a new mass party of the people. As a consequence, there existed the wrong estimate that the formation of the P.P. represented something more than the simple emergence of an important fighting force for peace; that it represented in fact the emergence of a great mass people's party.

This estimate erroneously ignored the fact that in mid-twentieth century America there could not emerge a great new mass party as against the two parties of Wall Street until the labor movement, at least its decisive sections, had been broken from the two-party system, particularly the Democratic Party. This arose in no small measure from an overestimation of the radicalization of the masses and an underestimation of the deep-seated influence of the labor reformists on the organized working class.

This mistake also arose in large

measure from a Right opportunist exaggeration of the role which liberal bourgeois forces (around Wallace) could play in bringing about a basic political realignment in the ranks of the working class and its allies.

c. These errors were not recognized by our Party even when the 1948 election results made painfully clear that we had been incorrect in our estimate of the mood of the masses, especially of the working class and the Negro people. Had we stopped and re-examined our thinking and brought our conclusions to the Party, much confusion and many mistakes could have been avoided. We did not do this. The fact that we did not do so acted as a strait-jacket on our Party and hampered the unfolding of a correct united front and coalition tactic.

## VII

It has been increasingly clear that the formation of a *broad* and *mass* people's party in the U.S. which will represent a historic and necessary advance on the part of labor and its allies must arise out of the basic mass trade union and people's organizations. Movement in this direction will be facilitated to the degree that every effort is made to stimulate independent political action and resistance against the attacks and policies of reaction.

The Progressive Party, though it has performed yeoman service in the struggle for peace and against reaction, is not and cannot be a major vehicle in the emergence of a mass people's party led by labor. This is

why we agree with those forces in the P.P. who feel that the outcome of the elections requires a substantial modification of its role.

### VIII

The perspective for the immediate future is that of the unfolding of important struggles among the masses who form the base of the Democratic Party. Undoubtedly a coalition of northern reactionaries like Farley together with the southern Dixiecrats of the Byrnes stripe will attempt to exercise control of the Democratic Party. Stevenson and other forces will attempt to render the Democrats impotent by having them play the role of the "loyal opposition" to the Republicans. It is expected that labor will also seek to extend its influence in this party.

Our Party and other progressive forces must under no circumstances stand aside from this fight. On the contrary, we must exert our maximum influence toward bringing into being a coalition of forces which will work toward:

1. The development of forms through which labor can exert a unified class influence on the national political life and on the Democratic Party (similar perhaps to Labor's Non-Partisan League) and by development of broader alliances of labor and its allies through such forms as the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the Independent Voters League in the South, etc., etc.

2. Maximum development of P.A.C., L.L.P.E. and N.A.A.C.P. activities in every shop, local and com-

munity for independent political action through struggle on issues affecting the people and thereby also playing a role in the struggles within the Democratic Party. Such efforts must be stimulated in other groups such as the A.D.A. and the Liberal Party.

3. Forcing on sectors of the Democratic Party, to the maximum extent and wherever possible, a genuine program of struggle against the pro-war and pro-fascist course and measures of the Republican administration.

4. The formation of blocs of legislators in Congress and state legislatures that will fight for this program.

Our Party will not cease in its efforts to deepen the understanding in the ranks of labor of the need for a mass people's party led by labor. Agitation and propaganda for such a party is important. It will be of real value, however, only to the extent that it takes place within the framework of consistent struggles for unity on issues within the mainstream of labor and within the framework of those organizations through which the mass of labor and the Negro people express themselves politically. The tasks outlined above are the most immediate steps necessary to help lead the decisive sections of the working class to move in the direction of support for such a party.

### IX

Most immediately the people are confronted with a series of urgent problems. Among them are:

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The mass demand for a cease-fire and an end to the war in Korea faces frustration from the incoming Eisenhower regime.

The most rabid reactionaries are preparing to ram new anti-labor bills through Congress, including measures to outlaw industry-wide bargaining and even more crippling amendments to the Taft-Hartley law.

The promise to enact a cloture rule in the Senate faces scuttling by the Dixiecrat-GOP alliance as do the campaign pledges to reduce taxes and prices.

The Party must persistently help the working class, Negro and democratic forces to develop the broadest united movements in action for an immediate end to the war in Korea; not only to persist in the fight for Taft-Hartley repeal, but also to enter the fight around Taft-Hartley amendments; to defeat the passage of new anti-labor legislation; to demand the passage of the cloture rule and of a Federal F.E.P.C.; to press forward the fight for tax and price reductions; repeal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law and the Smith and McCarran Acts.

The main arena of struggle on these immediate issues is the organized labor movement and the mass organizations of the Negro people and the democratic forces. Every P.A.C. and L.L.P.E., every political and legislative avenue through which the people express themselves must be alerted for a positive and active policy towards the Congressional and state legislative sessions. Everywhere, the forces of labor and the people

must be encouraged to move into political action to win their just demands.

The 1953 municipal elections assume a new significance in light of the outcome of the 1952 elections. The primaries of these municipal elections will coincide with a growing mass indignation against Eisenhower's Korea policy, the first fruits of the new Congress and a number of contracts and wage re-openers in many basic industries.

The *chief feature* of our Party's tactical line in the 1953 municipal elections is to help unfold a mass coalition policy embracing the labor movement, the Negro people and the democratic forces, based on a program corresponding to the people's most urgent needs. Only by developing such an approach will we enable the masses to wage an effective struggle against reaction and war, to win important local victories in the fight for peace, democracy and security.

The fight for this policy in the 1953 municipal elections can help us advance towards a new, mass political coalition firmly rooted in the decisive unions and main mass organizations of the Negro people, small farmers and white collar masses.

#### X

In the interest of our class and of the nation, in the interest of safeguarding the cause of peace, the National Committee calls upon every Party organization and member to join in a great initiative to develop the united front and above all unity of action of all working class, Negro and democratic forces.

# Great Contribution to Treasury of Marxist-Leninist Theory\*

On J. V. Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R."

THE APPEARANCE of the classical work of J. V. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, is an event of the greatest significance in the ideological life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the life of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, an event of enormous international import. J. V. Stalin's latest work equips the world revolutionary and working-class movement with profound knowledge of the laws of social development, the laws of the steadily increasing disintegration of the world capitalist system, of the laws and ways of the revolutionary reconstruction of society. The Stalin ideas illumine with a bright light the pathway of building Communism in the U.S.S.R., the perspectives of the struggle of the popular masses of all lands against the yoke of imperialism, the pathway of successful struggle for a radiant future for the peoples.

J. V. Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* is a great and invaluable contribution to the treasury of Marxist-Leninist science. The great significance of this work by

Comrade Stalin is that the theses and conclusions advanced in it are inseparably linked with the tasks of Communist construction in the U.S.S.R., that these theses and conclusions give clear and exact answers to the urgent, vital questions of the advance of Soviet society along the pathway to Communism.

J. V. Stalin's work on the economic problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a model of creative Marxism, an example of how to advance and develop science. Generalizing the experience accumulated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the struggle for the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist ideas, and the tremendous experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., Comrade Stalin thoroughly elaborated the cardinal questions of Marxist-Leninist economic science, discovered and substantiated the basic economic law of Socialism and charted the program theses concerning the basic preliminary conditions for preparing the transition to Communism.

J. V. Stalin fully developed the theses of the immense superiority of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist system, made a pro-

\*Reprinted from *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* Oct. 31, 1952.



found Marxist analysis of the further sharpening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system, discovered the basic economic law of present-day capitalism, pointed to the disposition of the forces of Socialism and capitalism, operating on the world arena.

J. V. Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* marks a new stage in the development of Marxist-Leninist science, the peak of Marxist-Leninist political economy.

### I.

In his work J. V. Stalin discloses the nature, character and action of economic laws under Socialism, laws which reflect objective processes, taking place independently of the will of man.

Some comrades, (writes Comrade Stalin), deny the objective character of laws of science, and especially of the laws of political economy under Socialism. They deny that the laws of political economy reflect law-governed processes which operate independently of the will of man. They believe that in view of the specific role assigned to the Soviet state by history, the Soviet state and its leaders can abolish existing laws of political economy and can "form," "create," new laws.

These comrades are profoundly mistaken.

The laws of economic development, teaches Comrade Stalin, are not

"created," they are not "transformed" by the leading organs of society, they must not be confused with the laws issued by governments, which are made by the will of man, and which have only juridical validity. Marxism, Comrade Stalin points out, regards the laws of science—whether they be laws of natural science or laws of political economy—as the reflection of objective processes which take place independently of the will of man. Man may discover these laws of nature and society, get to know them, study them, reckon with them in his activities and utilize them in the interests of society, but he cannot change or abolish them. Still less can he form or create new laws of science.

Denial of the objective character of the laws of political economy in general, as well as of the economic laws of Socialism, signifies, in effect, denial of political economy as a science, denial of the possibility of any provision of scientific direction of economic activity.

But society, Comrade Stalin points out in this connection, is not at all powerless against economic laws. On the contrary, by getting to know economic laws and relying upon them, society can restrict their sphere of action, can successfully utilize them in the interests of society. Comrade Stalin is against making a fetish of laws, against making oneself the "slave of laws." He insists on understanding their objective character, on knowledge of them and on utilizing

them for the development of society.

Comrade Stalin points to the peculiarities of the laws of political economy compared with the laws of natural science.

One of the peculiarities of political economy, teaches J. V. Stalin, is that its laws, unlike those of natural science, are impermanent, that they, or at least the majority of them, are valid for a definite historical period, after which they give place to new laws. But economic laws are not abolished, they lose their validity owing to the new economic conditions and depart from the scene in order to make way for new laws, laws arising on the basis of new economic conditions.

Another peculiarity of the laws of political economy in contrast to the laws of natural science—where the discovery and application of a new law proceeds more or less smoothly—is that discovery and application of a new law in the economic sphere, affecting the interests of the outgoing classes, encounter the most stubborn resistance on the part of the latter. What is needed, therefore, is a social force capable of overcoming this resistance. In the old Russia such a force was found in the form of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, who represented the overwhelming majority of society, and who, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew capitalism and built Socialism. The standard-bearer of utilizing economic laws in the interests of society

is always and everywhere the vanguard class.

## II.

The great service of J. V. Stalin is that he thoroughly investigated the laws of social production and of the distribution of material wealth in socialist society, and, basing himself on the experiences of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., disclosed and scientifically substantiated, for the first time in the history of Marxist economic thought, the economic laws of the socialist mode of production.

In his work Comrade Stalin, with his usual profoundness and clarity, scientifically elaborated the question of commodity production and the law of value under Socialism; explained the function and role of the law of balanced, proportionate development of the national economy, discovered the objective economic law that the relations of production must necessarily conform with the character of the productive forces, and showed the great role of this law for getting to know and transforming things.

Developing the theses advanced by V. I. Lenin in his works on "The Tax in Kind" on the necessity for preserving, for a definite period, commodity production as the only form acceptable to the peasants of economic relations with the town, Comrade Stalin has given an exhaustive explanation of the peculiarities

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of commodity production under Socialism.

Commodity production in the Soviet Union, J. V. Stalin points out, is not usual commodity production but commodity production of a special type, commodity production without capitalists, concerned mainly with goods of associated socialist producers (the state, collective farms, cooperatives). The sphere of action of this commodity production is restricted in the U.S.S.R. to items of personal consumption. Under Socialism, in the sphere of domestic economic circulation, means of production ceased to be commodities. Comrade Stalin has explained further that the need for commodity production under Socialism arises from the existence in the U.S.S.R. of two forms of socialist production—state production (national) and collective-farm production.

Under Socialism the remaining commodity production does not lead and cannot lead to the rise of capitalist relations. Commodity production exists under Socialism within strict limits, due to decisive conditions such as the social ownership of the means of production, the abolition of the system of wage labor and exploitation.

Comrade Stalin's theses about commodity production under Socialism as commodity production of a special type, about the sphere of its operation are a classical substantiation of the policy of the Party in relation to the working peasantry in the con-

ditions of Soviet society. They enrich economic science with new ideological wealth, equip economists in the Soviet Union with a clear understanding of one of the vital problems of socialist economy.

J. V. Stalin points out that commodity circulation, with its "money economy," will disappear as an unnecessary element in the national economy, when instead of the two basic production sectors—the state sector and the collective farm sector—there will be only one all-embracing production sector with the right to dispose of all the consumer goods produced in the country. But so long as this is not the case, so long as the two basic production sectors remain, commodity production and commodity circulation must remain in force, as a necessary and very useful element in the system of national economy of the U.S.S.R.

An exceptionally rich theoretical content is given by Comrade Stalin in his elaboration of the law of value under Socialism and the sphere of its operation.

Comrade Stalin proved clearly and convincingly that the law of value is not a permanent law, binding for all periods of historical development, that value, like the law of value, is an historical category connected with the existence of commodity production, and that with the disappearance of commodity production, value and its forms and the law of value will likewise disappear.

Inasmuch as commodity production remains under the socialist sys-

tem, J. V. Stalin points out, the law of value also remains and functions. Wherever there are commodities and commodity production, J. V. Stalin stresses, the law of value must also exist. However, under Socialism the sphere of operation of the law of value is restricted by the new social relations.

Under Socialism the sphere of operation of the law of value extends, first of all, to commodity circulation, to the exchange of commodities through purchase and sale, exchange, chiefly, of articles of personal consumption, where, within certain limits, it preserves the function of a regulator.

The functioning of the law of value also extends to production, although there it does not operate as regulator. The sphere of operation of the law of value under Socialism, just as the sphere of operation of commodity production, is strictly limited and contained within definite bounds. It is restricted by the absence of private ownership of the means of production and by the socialization of the means of production both in town and countryside. It is limited by the operation of the law of balanced, proportionate development of the national economy. It is limited by the annual and five-year plans and by the economic policy of the socialist state generally, which are based on the requirements of the law of balanced development of the national economy. The effect of all this is that under Socialism the law of value

cannot function as regulator of production.

"This, indeed," J. V. Stalin points out, "explains the 'striking' fact that whereas in our country the law of value, in spite of the steady and rapid expansion of our socialist production, does not lead to crises of overproduction, in the capitalist countries this same law, whose sphere of operation is very wide under capitalism, does lead, in spite of the low rate of expansion of production, to periodical crises of overproduction."

Of singular interest are J. V. Stalin's theses on the distribution of labor among the branches of production under Communism, and on the regulation of social production under Communism.

In the second phase of Communist society, J. V. Stalin teaches, the amount of labor expended on the production of goods will be measured not by a roundabout way, not through value and its forms, as is the case under commodity production, but directly and immediately—by the amount of time, the number of hours, expended on the production of goods. The distribution of labor among the branches of production will be regulated not by the law of value, which will have ceased to function by that time, but by the growth of society's demand for goods. This will be a society in which production is regulated by the requirements of society, and computation of the requirements of society will acquire paramount importance

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Defining the role and significance under Socialism of the law of balanced development of the national economy, Comrade Stalin showed that this law arose in opposition to the law of competition and anarchy of production under capitalism, that it arose from the socialization of the means of production, after the law of competition and anarchy of production had lost its validity. It became operative because a socialist economy can be conducted only on the basis of the economic law of balanced development of the national economy.

The significance of the law of balanced development of the national economy is that it enables the planning organs correctly to plan the social production. But in order to turn this possibility into actuality, stresses Comrade Stalin, it is necessary to study this economic law, to master it, to learn to apply it with full understanding, and to compile such plans as fully reflect the requirements of this law, and which also conform with all the requirements issuing from the basic economic law of Socialism.

### III.

Of enormous significance for understanding the crying antagonisms of present-day capitalism, for understanding the peculiarities of the post-war international situation is Comrade Stalin's elaboration of the dis-

integration of the single world market and deepening of the crisis of the world capitalist system, of the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries, and of the objects and tasks of the present-day peace movement.

The most important economic result of the Second World War and of its economic consequences, Comrade Stalin points out, is the disintegration of the single, all-embracing world market, which has had the effect of further deepening the general crisis of the world capitalist system. Comrade Stalin teaches that at bedrock of the all-round crisis, embracing both the economy and policy of capitalism, there lies the steadily increasing disintegration of the world economic system of capitalism, on the one hand, and, on the other, the growing economic might of the countries that have broken free from capitalism—the U.S.S.R., China and other people's democratic states.

As a result of the Second World War two opposite camps took shape on the international arena—the aggressive, anti-democratic camp headed by the U.S. and the peace-loving, democratic camp embracing the Soviet Union, China and the other people's democratic countries. The economic consequence of the existence of two opposite camps was that the single, all-embracing world market disintegrated, and two parallel world markets, also confronting one another, appeared. Comrade Stalin points out in this connection that the

U.S.A., and Great Britain and France, themselves contributed — naturally without desiring it—to the formation and consolidation of the new, parallel world market. They imposed an economic blockade on the U.S.S.R., China and the European people's democracies, which did not join the "Marshall Plan" system, hoping thereby to strangle them. The effect, however, was not the strangling but the strengthening of the new world market.

In the post-war period, the U.S.S.R. and the countries of people's democracy have joined together economically and established economic co-operation.

"The experience of this co-operation shows," Comrade Stalin says, "that not a single capitalist country could have rendered such effective and technically competent assistance to the People's Democracies as the Soviet Union is rendering them. The point is not only that this assistance is the cheapest possible and technically superb. The chief point is that at the bottom of this co-operation lies a sincere desire to help one another and to promote the economic progress of all."

As a result, industry in the countries of people's democracy is developing at such a fast pace that soon these countries will not only be in no need of imports from capitalist countries, but will themselves feel the necessity of finding an outside market for their surplus products.

"But it follows from this," J. V. Stalin points out, "that the sphere of exploitation of the world's resources by the major capitalist countries (U.S.A., Britain, France) will not expand, but contract; that their opportunities for sale in the world market will deteriorate, and that their industries will be operating more and more below capacity. That, in fact, is what is meant by the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system in connection with the disintegration of the world market."

The weakening of capitalism further aggravates its internal antagonisms, sharpens still more the struggle inside the imperialist camp. The policy of economic expansion pursued by the U.S. monopolists in relation to their "junior partners" in the U.S.-British bloc, subordination of the economy of these countries to the interests of American billionaires, the invasion of American capital into the sphere of influence of Britain and France, ousting them from their "own" colonies, which presages the doom of high profits for the British and French capitalists—all this cannot but sharpen and is sharpening the contradictions between the U.S.A. and Britain, between the U.S.A. and France. Simultaneously the contradictions between the U.S.A. and the vanquished countries—Japan, Italy, and Western Germany—which live under the occupation yoke of the American dictators, are steadily sharpening.

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rade Stalin stresses, that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavor to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.

"It is said that the contradictions between capitalism and Socialism are stronger than the contradictions among the capitalist countries. Theoretically, of course, that is true", writes J. V. Stalin. "It is not only true now, today; it was true before the Second World War. And it was more or less realized by the leaders of the capitalist countries. Yet the Second World War began not as a war with the U.S.S.R., but as a war between capitalist countries. Why? Firstly, because war with the U.S.S.R., as a socialist land, is more dangerous to capitalism than war between capitalist countries; for whereas war between capitalist countries puts in question only the supremacy of certain capitalist countries over others, war with the U.S.S.R. must certainly put in question the existence of capitalism itself. Secondly, because the capitalists, although they clamor, for 'propaganda' purposes, about the aggressiveness of the Soviet Union, do not themselves believe that it is aggressive, because they are aware of the Soviet Union's peaceful policy and know that it will not itself attack capitalist countries."

From this Comrade Stalin draws the conclusion that the struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and their desire to crush their competitors proved in practice to be stronger than the contradictions be-

tween the capitalist camp and the socialist camp.

"What guarantee is there, then, that Germany and Japan will not rise to their feet again, will not attempt to break out of American bondage and live their own independent lives? I think," Comrade Stalin says, "there is no such guarantee." But it follows from this, says J. V. Stalin, that the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force.

There also remains in force Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war. It remains in force, despite the existence of powerful popular forces which have come forward today in defense of peace and against another world war.

"The object of the present-day peace movement", teaches Comrade Stalin, "is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war. Consequently, the aim of this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish Socialism—it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace. In this respect, the present-day peace movement differs from the movement of the time of the first world war for the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war, since the latter movement went farther and pursued socialist aims.

"It is possible that in a definite conjuncture of circumstances the fight for peace will develop here or there into a fight for Socialism. But then it will no longer be the present-day peace movement; it will be a movement for the overthrow of capitalism.

"What is most likely is that the present-day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That, of course, will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force—and, consequently, the inevitability of wars will also continue in force.

"To eliminate the inevitability of wars, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."

J. V. Stalin's conclusions on the inner contradictions of modern capitalism, his criticism of the incorrect viewpoints alleging that at present, after the Second World War, wars between capitalist countries are no longer inevitable, his thesis to the effect that since imperialism remains, there also remains the inevitability of wars between imperialist states, are of exceptional importance for the ideological arming of the cadres of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

J. V. Stalin's theses, defining the aims and the nature of the present-day movement in defense of peace, are filled with profound meaning. Having pointed out that this movement is a democratic movement

which does not set itself the immediate aim of establishing Socialism, Comrade Stalin indicates the vast opportunities existing for this movement in the sense of extending its mass base, for establishing an anti-war coalition of various classes and social strata interested in ending the international tension and in averting a new world war.

#### IV.

The great historic service rendered by J. V. Stalin is that he discovered the basic economic law of modern capitalism and the basic economic law of Socialism.

For the first time in Marxist literature Comrade Stalin posed the question of the significance of the basic law, determining the essence of the given mode of production, all the main features and all the main processes, characterizing the development of the given mode of production.

What precisely does the basic economic law of modern capitalist represent?

"The main features and requirements of the basic economic law of modern capitalism", teaches Comrade Stalin, "might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward

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countries, and, lastly, through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits."

The basic economic law of modern capitalism explains the profound contradictions of imperialism, lays bare the reasons for the aggressive predatory policy of the imperialist states. The operation of this law leads to aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, to inevitable intensification and explosion of all the contradictions of capitalist society.

The importance of the basic economic law of modern capitalism consists, among other things, in the circumstance that, since it determines all the major phenomena in the development of the capitalist mode of production, its booms and crises, its victories and defeats, its merits and demerits—the whole process of its contradictory development—it enables us deeply to understand and explain them. It is precisely the maximum profit that is the motor of monopoly capitalism; it is precisely the necessity of securing the maximum profits that drives monopoly capitalism to such risky undertakings as the enslavement and systematic plunder of colonies and other backward countries, the conversion of a number of independent countries into dependent countries, the organization of new wars—which to the magnates of modern capitalism are the "business" best adapted to the extraction of the maximum profit.

The situation in the major capitalist countries wholly and fully confirms the outstanding significance of Stalin's analysis of the contradictions and antagonisms of modern capitalism.

The United States made fabulous profits out of the First and Second World Wars. The American moneybags are raking in huge profits from the preparation for a new war. However, having somewhat increased production by means of the arms drive, the U.S. is now sliding down to economic crisis. The U.S. at present has at least three million fully unemployed and ten million part-time unemployed. Direct taxation of the population in the present fiscal year, even allowing for the currency devaluation, is more than 12 times higher compared with the 1937-38 fiscal year. The relative and absolute impoverishment of the toiling masses is growing. The standard of living of the population is deteriorating catastrophically and purchasing power is sharply declining.

The economy of Britain, France, Italy and other countries of the aggressive U.S.-British bloc is in a bad way. As a result of protracted imperialist oppression and the feudal survivals the economy in the colonial and dependent countries is in a state of decline. Tens of millions of people in India, Indonesia, Iran and the countries of Africa live in conditions of chronic hunger and enormous numbers die of starvation. The peoples of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries are putting up an

ever more determined resistance to the imperialist enslavers. The advancing and developing socialist system is in complete contrast to decaying and dying capitalism.

The discovery by Comrade Stalin of the basic economic law of Socialism is of the greatest significance for the further development of the theory of Leninism and for the practical work of Communist construction in the U.S.S.R. Comrade Stalin gives a classical definition of this law, discloses its radical difference from the basic economic law of modern capitalism:

The essential features and requirements of the basic economic law of Socialism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques.

Consequently: instead of maximum profits—maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of society; instead of development of production with breaks in continuity from boom to crisis and from crisis to boom—unbroken expansion of production; instead of periodic breaks in technical development, accompanied by destruction of the productive forces of society—an unbroken process of perfecting production on the basis of higher techniques.

The securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising ma-

terial and cultural requirements of the whole of society, stresses J. V. Stalin, is the aim of socialist production; constant expansion and perfecting of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques is the means for achieving the aim.

Proceeding from the requirements of the basic economic law of Socialism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has steered and is now steering the national economy of the country along the pathway of steady advance and flowering. The directives of the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-55 graphically mirror the requirements of the basic economic law of Socialism.

"The fifth Five-Year Plan," the directive points out, "determines a new, powerful upsurge of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., and ensures a further substantial advance in the material well-being and cultural development of the people.

"Fulfillment of the fifth Five-Year Plan will be a big stride forward along the pathway of advancing from Socialism to Communism."

The main index of the rising standard of living of the Soviet people is the growth of the national income. Between 1940 and 1951 the national income of the U.S.S.R. rose by 43 percent. As distinct from the capitalist countries where more than half the national income is appropriated by the exploiters, in the Soviet Union

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the entire national income is the property of the working people. About three-quarters of the national income is used for satisfying the material and cultural needs of the working people of the U.S.S.R. and the remainder goes for expanding socialist production and for other state and social needs.

The fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. (1951-55) provides for an increase of at least 60 percent in the national income during the five-year period, for an increase of at least 35 percent in real wages and salaries, taking into account the retail price reductions, and for an increase in the incomes of the collective farmers in cash and in kind of at least 40 percent. Large-scale housing and municipal construction is being carried out. The network of public health and educational establishments is growing. Conditions of labor and life are being constantly improved. The material well-being and cultural level of all working people are systematically rising.

Improvement of the standard of life of the Soviet people is ensured by the continued, powerful upsurge of the national economy of the country. The peaceful Soviet economy and the economic might of the Soviet Union are developing at a pace unknown to capitalism. The over-all output of industry in 1951 was more than double the prewar level of 1940. The over-all grain harvest this year reached unprecedented

heights, totaling 8,000 million poods, with gross production of wheat—the most vital food item—exceeding the 1940 level by 48 percent. The yield of animal husbandry has increased considerably.

The directives of the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union set the task of increasing the level of industrial output for the five years by approximately 70 percent with output of the means of production going up by roughly 80 percent and production of consumer goods by roughly 65 percent. This means that the volume of industrial production in 1955 will increase three times compared with 1940! Production is being constantly perfected on the basis of new, higher technique. Great hydro-technical projects are under construction on the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper and Amu-Darya; shipping and irrigation canals are being built; field shelter belts are being planted on an extensive area; all branches of the national economy are developing rapidly; science and culture in the Soviet Union are forging ahead.

The mighty socialist power is advancing steadily towards Communism.

Such a system, Comrade Stalin points out, will require a tremendous increase in the amount of goods allocated by the town to the countryside, and it will therefore have to be introduced without undue haste, according as stocks of town goods are accumulated. Such a system, by re-

stricting the sphere of operation of commodity circulation will facilitate the transition from Socialism to Communism. Moreover, it will make it possible to include the basic property of the collective farms, the product of collective farming, in the general system of national planning.

That, J. V. Stalin stresses, will be a real and effective means of raising collective-farm property to the level of public property under present conditions in the U.S.S.R.

3. It is necessary, in the third place, to ensure such a cultural advancement of society as will secure for all members of society the all-round development of their physical and mental abilities, so that the members of society may be in a position to receive an education sufficient to enable them to be active agents of social development and in a position freely to choose their occupations and not to be tied all their lives, owing to the existing division of labor, to some one occupation.

For this, J. V. Stalin says, it is necessary, first of all, to shorten the working day at least to six, and subsequently to five hours. This is needed in order that the members of society might have the necessary free time to receive an all-round education. It is necessary, further, to introduce universal compulsory polytechnical education, radically to improve housing conditions, and raise real wages of factory and office workers to at least twice, if not higher, the present level, both by means of

direct wage and salary increases, and, more especially, by further systematic reductions of prices for consumer goods.

Only after all these preliminary conditions are satisfied in their entirety, Comrade Stalin teaches, may it be hoped that labor will be converted in the eyes of the members of society from the nuisance that it was under capitalism into life's prime want, and that social property will be regarded by all members of society as the sacred and inviolable basis of the existence of society. Only after all these preliminary conditions have been satisfied in their entirety will it be possible to pass from the socialist formula, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," to the Communist formula, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Comrade Stalin insistently warns against light-minded jumping ahead and going over to higher economic forms without first creating the essential pre-conditions for this transition.

On the basis of a profound analysis of social phenomena, Comrade Stalin has also given in his work a scientific solution of such great social problems and program questions of Communism as the abolition of the antithesis between town and country, and between physical and mental labor, and has also elaborated, for the first time, a question new in Marxist science—the question of the elimination of the essential distinc-

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tions between them, which still exist in socialist society.

Comrade Stalin explained at the same time that abolition of the essential distinctions between industry and agriculture, and between physical and mental labor cannot lead to the abolition of *all* distinction between them. Some distinction, even if inessential, will certainly remain owing to the difference in the conditions of work in industry and agriculture and owing to the fact that the working conditions of managerial staffs and of workers are not identical.

Comrade Stalin's theses concerning the main prerequisites for preparation of the transition to Communism, his directives concerning the ways of abolishing the essential distinction between agriculture and industry, and between physical and mental labor are of exceptionally great theoretical and practical significance, and constitute a weapon of tremendous mobilizing power in the struggle of the Soviet people for building Communism.

The outstanding work of Comrade J. V. Stalin opens a new chapter in Marxist-Leninist science, raises to a new, higher level the theory of scientific Communism founded by Marx and Engels and further advanced by V. I. Lenin in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Con-

tinuing the cause of Lenin, the great Stalin steadily carries forward the theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin, creatively developing and enriching it with ever new scientific discoveries.

The XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was marked by the powerful ideological influence of Comrade Stalin's classical work, resolved, in revising the Party Program to be guided by the basic theses of Comrade Stalin's work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*

Comrade Stalin's theses on the conditions and ways of effecting the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism were accepted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its program of struggle for building Communism. These theses of the great leader inspire the Soviet people for fresh labor exploits and heroic deeds.

The brilliant work of J. V. Stalin equips ideologically all Communist and Workers' Parties in their struggle against capitalist slavery; it is an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the working people of the People's Democracies, inspires them for new successes in building Socialism, and imparts strength and confidence to the working people of the world in their struggle for peace, for democracy, for Socialism.

# White Chauvinism and Negro Bourgeois Nationalism

By Samuel T. Henderson

A NEW PERIOD of struggle against white chauvinism and for the rights of the Negro people is opening up.

The Negro people with their white allies in the United States and with the support of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, are striking ever more powerful blows at their national oppressors, the white supremacist ruling class of the United States, chief instigators of war and fascism in the world today.

A whole series of fortresses of jim-crow are being attacked in a broad movement embracing hundreds of thousands, one of the outstanding features of the new mass upsurge against the consequences of the program of war and fascism of U.S. imperialism. These struggles will inevitably come into collision with the war program. In the South, the right-to-vote movement has expanded from 250,000 in 1950 to over one million Negro votes in 1952. The fight for equal education is advancing, with over 4,000 Negro students attending universities in the South that were lily-white six years ago; new currents of protest are rising against lynch terror, police brutality,

and jim-crow in all of its forms, particularly in the Black Belt plantation area, the territory of the American Negro subject nation. This spirit of battle for equal rights and national liberation is crystallized most recently in the historic mass protest, both in the North and South, against the political assassination of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, leaders of the Florida NAACP, the right-to-vote movement, the swelling movement for Negro representation, and the impact of all these movements on the two major parties reflected in the struggle over Civil Rights at the recent conventions. In the North, the struggle for jobs in industry, against segregation in housing, police brutality, gerrymandering of Negro voting districts and discrimination on every level is reaching new high points.

Reflecting the impact of the historic presentation of the petition on genocide by William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, to the United Nations Organization, the phrase, "Don't genocide me", is becoming common in Negro life.

On the other hand, in a two-pronged tactic of desperate savagery and use of the most blatant dema-

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gogy, the imperialist ruling class, through its Trumans, Talmadges, Stevensons, Eisenhowers, and McCarthys, seeks to stem the tide of national liberation. The organizers of global war to enslave other nations and peoples find a people, a nation fighting for freedom in their rear "intolerable".

As Benjamin J. Davis, jailed by the Truman Administration for his militant advocacy of Negro rights in the first place, said at the 15th National Convention of the CPUSA, in December, 1950:

The new element in the relationship between the struggle for peace and Negro liberation is the growing acuteness of the contradiction between American imperialism and its war program on the one hand, and, on the other, the struggle of the Negro people and their supporters to defend their elementary liberties and to advance the cause of full citizenship. This is by far the most important single new factor of the general political situation to be noted in connection with the struggle for national liberation of the Negro people.\*

It is this contradiction which places the imperialists and their agents in the Negro-liberation and labor movements in the quite impossible position of supporting the Korean invasion and at the same time posing as champions of Negro rights.

That is why the ruling class is concentrating a heavy attack against all sectors of Negro leadership in its

desperate efforts to behead and smash the evergrowing national-liberation Negro rights lies in the sharpened movement of the Negro people. The revolutionary aspirations of the Negro masses for national liberation are a thorn in the side of U.S. imperialism's aims of world domination.

The basic explanation of this intensified white-chauvinist attack against the rights of the Negro people and the upsurge of struggle for contradiction between the peace and democratic aspirations of the American people as a whole, Negro and white, and the war program of the imperialist ruling class of our country. This contradiction also reflects the fact that the class struggle and the national struggle, intertwined and interconnected, have sharpened within the United States.

The Communist Party, giving militant, persistent political and organizational leadership to the struggle for Negro rights, has made an immeasurable contribution to the advance of the struggle for Negro liberation. On a whole series of fronts, the Communist Party, working in united action or parallel action with a number of other forces, has been responsible for a number of major successes in the struggle for Negro rights—such as the mass protest against the Moore killings; contributing to the international discussion of the Negro question; breaking through jim-crow housing in such places as Stuyvesant Town and Levittown; organizing struggles against the hate bombings of Negro homes in such places as

\* Benjamin J. Davis, *The Negro People in the Struggle for Peace and Freedom*, New Century Publishers, 1951, p. 3.

Chicago and Los Angeles; and fighting against job discrimination in longshore, steel, auto and in a whole series of other industries.

It is in this positive setting that any estimate of the role of the Communists in the struggle for Negro rights must be made. That must be the starting point of any discussion.

It is, however, the purpose of this discussion to focus attention on some of the major ideological, political and organizational weaknesses that act as a barrier to the further development of the struggle against white chauvinism and the struggle for Negro rights.

New manifestations of white chauvinism have appeared within the ranks of the Left-progressive movement and within the Party itself. Despite the concentrated attack against white chauvinism that has been developing since the reconstitution of the Party and particularly since 1949, it must be said that the situation is still unsatisfactory.

#### SOURCES OF WHITE CHAUVINISM

Why is it that in this period we see a whole series of manifestations of white chauvinism within various Party organizations and even within the ranks of leading committees of the Party?

There are a number of general reasons:

1) The increase of white chauvinism in the country generally, reflecting the drive toward war, fascism,

and, specifically, the drive for world domination by United States imperialism.

2) The failure to understand fully the national character of the Negro question within our ranks.

And, thirdly, the general objective difficulties confronting a small Party organization operating in the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

However, these general reasons are not sufficient to explain the many forms of white chauvinism that have expressed themselves. A number of specific reasons must be added. They are:

1) An underestimation of the deep-going roots of white supremacist ideology in the labor movement. As a consequence, there has been an insufficiently deep-going struggle within the ranks of the Party, and too often the Party organizations as a whole have had a general and somewhat superficial approach to the struggle against white chauvinism. Thus, we find that a whole number of comrades, because they have participated in some partial advances or limited successes in the struggle for Negro rights, begin to develop a certain smugness and complacency about their own understanding of the Negro question. In a recent struggle in one of the large counties of New York, where the county organizer had to be removed, this comrade developed an approach which implied that he had obtained immunity from the effects of white chauvinism, and it was precisely at the height of



his so-called immunity that he made one of the most serious mistakes in his political life.

What was wrong with this implied theory of immunity? What was wrong was that he looked upon the struggle against white chauvinism in a metaphysical, undialectical and idealistic way, and failed to see that the struggle against white chauvinism is a process of social development which takes place continuously, daily, and which will continue in the United States and within the ranks of the Party until long after Socialism has been achieved in the United States.

The only "immunity" that a Communist can gain is that which is guaranteed by a ceaseless struggle, a day-to-day struggle, a 24-hour struggle, against every manifestation of white chauvinism in theory and in practice. The moment one ceases to be alert and vigilant to the manifestations of white chauvinism and their influence, that is the moment that represents the possibility of the wrecking of the individual or the demolishing of the ability of a Party leader to lead the Party in the struggle for Negro rights.

Thus, one of the major dangers is an underestimation of the influence of the bourgeois ideology of white chauvinism within the Party, within the labor movement.

2) There is an underestimation of the growing struggle for Negro rights and the advance in the fight for Negro-white unity. This underestimation is at the root of many opportu-

nist and sectarian practices that reflect themselves in the struggle for Negro rights. For example, in a number of large shops, white Communists have failed to develop the struggle for upgrading of Negro workers, because they have felt that it would isolate them from the masses of white workers and narrow their ability to influence the general fight for labor unity.

3) There is an underestimation within our Party of the influence of Negro bourgeois nationalism, particularly of the reformist variety. There is an estimate, for example, by some that Negro masses will automatically flock to the Left-progressive organizations simply by the issuance of militant-sounding slogans, militant programs. This is accompanied by an estimate that the reformists have lost their leadership over the Negro masses, and that the Negro masses are leaving the existing reformist-led Negro organizations. This underestimation is also reflected in the failure at all times to fight for the development of the broadest unity of the Left-led organizations and masses and the reformist-led organizations and masses in the struggle for Negro rights.

4) There is an underestimation of the growing influence of Marxism on the Negro question among Negro and white masses. That influence is disconcerting the enemy. In the last ten years, volumes of books, magazines, pamphlets, newspaper articles—a veritable Niagara of words—have been written on the Negro

question in the United States by reformists, Social-Democrats, bourgeois intellectuals, reformist social workers, trade unionists, government figures. All of it is devoted to attempting to argue down the basic truths of Marxism and its analysis of the Negro question in the United States.

One of the most important books—if not the most dangerous—that has been published in the United States in recent years is Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. Myrdal, a Swedish economist of Social-Democratic political extraction, was invited to come to the United States as a so-called neutral observer, to study the Negro question. He assembled dozens of the outstanding Negro and white intellectuals, economists, in the United States to prepare the basic material for this volume. The result of this Herculean effort, covering some 7 years of work, was a book of 1500 pages with close to 750,000 words. And every single one of these words was designed to argue against the Communist point of view on the Negro question. Just this one example indicates the estimate of the ruling class of this country of the tremendous ideological influence of Marxism on the struggle for Negro liberation.

5) There is still serious weakness in the development of Communist criticism and self-criticism, a law of development of a Marxist Party. Too often the attitude towards criticism is that it is okay if you will let me "self-criticize" you, rather than a

Communist ruthless searching analysis and bringing out in theory and in practice one's own weaknesses. Too often, when the heavy fire of criticism is turned upon comrades for mistakes committed in the course of the work, there is much blushing, emotion, subjectivity, rather than a calm, working-class objective joining in with the Party to root out weaknesses in the individual or the particular Party organization.

6) Too many comrades, bogged down in day-to-day practical work, lose faith in the inevitable victory of the working class and Socialism in the United States. They tend to underestimate the strength of the working class and over-estimate the strength of the ruling class. Hence, they fail to see the possibility of victory in the struggle against white chauvinism and in the struggle for Negro liberation. Failing to see the possibilities of victory, they fail to develop the type of inspiration and follow-through necessary to victory.

In the recent period, particularly since June 4, with the indictment, jailing and forcing of sections of our leadership into the status of political refugees—like the fugitive slaves of pre-Civil War days—ideas of the inevitability of war and fascism and the inevitability of the illegalization of our Party, have expressed themselves within our ranks. These ideas of inevitability of war, fascism and the illegalization of our Party have done more to weaken the struggle against white chauvinism and the struggle for Negro rights than per-

haps any other factor in this particular period. How is it possible for a Communist or a Party organization, on the one hand to feel that the Party must necessarily be driven underground and, at the same time, to see realistic possibilities of developing mass, open victorious struggles for the rights of the Negro people?

7) The weakness in the social composition of our Party—insufficient numbers of workers—Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Irish, Italian and other national groups, women, youth—from basic industry and the most oppressed sections of the working class—tend to weaken the general ability of the Party to develop the most persistent, advanced, militant struggles for the rights of the Negro people. Thus, the failure to carry through the fight for the industrial concentration program of the Party is one of the major factors retarding the struggle against white chauvinism and the fight for Negro rights.

8) Another major factor in explaining the weakness in the struggle against white chauvinism is the low level of political vigilance and the struggle against enemy ideology and enemy agents within the ranks of the Party. There is a weakness in our organization in the fight to recognize that the doors of the Party, the purity and health of the Party organization can be sealed against the destructive influence of enemy ideology and enemy agents only to the degree that the struggle against enemy ideology of every variety is raised to new levels within the Party organization.

What is needed to overcome these basic weaknesses?

First, the development of a sustained ideological and political campaign among the membership, embracing schools, classes, Party conferences, mass meetings, that would popularize in a special way the theoretical and political program of the Party in the struggle for Negro rights.

Secondly, the concrete program worked out in each Party organization for developing struggles for jobs, housing, against discrimination in all phases of life, in the unions, the shop, the community.

Thirdly, the organization of a cadre that will be able to give leadership to these struggles in every Party organization—a cadre of thousands who would be able to go into any county, any section, any club of the Party and successfully carry through and organize the struggle against white chauvinism and the struggle for a program of mass action in the fight for Negro rights, without at all times having to have the participation of the highest committees of the Party.

Fourthly, the merging of this inner-Party struggle with the mass struggle for Negro rights on the basis of united front action of every type.

#### CURRENT EXPRESSIONS OF WHITE CHAUVINISM

What are some of the current expressions of white chauvinism within the ranks of the Party?

1) The resistance to the organization of struggle. This must be pilloried in every Party committee—the failure to work out a concrete program, to organize that program. This resistance to the organization of struggle, to working out a concrete program and carrying it through, reflects a capitulation to bourgeois influences. The bourgeoisie preaches that the struggle for Negro rights on the part of the Communists incites race conflict. Objectively, the failure of Party leaders, of Party organizations to organize the struggle for Negro rights represents a form of capitulation to that view. Aren't there some in our ranks who feel that the organization of the struggle for Negro rights represents tremendous difficulties and burdens for the Party, isolates the Party from the white workers? Isn't this a form of capitulation to this view of the bourgeoisie?

But we know, as Communists, that the fight for Negro rights, the organization of struggle, is a force to create unity between Negro and white—friendship, fraternity. It weakens the Ku Klux Klan forces in our nation. It weakens imperialism. It weakens all of the forces in our country who foment racism, conflict, between Negro and white.

Thus, the struggle of the Communists for Negro rights is a basic contribution to the fight for unity of Negro and white within our country, the fight for real democracy.

2) There is a narrow, sectarian approach on the part of many of our

white comrades who fail to pose the struggle for Negro rights in its connection and relationship to the general problems of the mass of white workers and to the current assaults upon the foreign-born. For example, in the present job struggle which is being organized, already there appear tendencies on the part of some of our Party organizations simply to regard the program of struggle for jobs for Negroes as the end-all of their responsibilities in a particular industry—the failure to link and explain to the mass of white workers that this fight for the job rights of the Negro workers is intertwined with the general struggle of the labor movement against wage freeze, against the high taxes, against the open shop, anti-union currents that are in operation today.

3) There are too few of our leading white cadre who are equipped to estimate currents, trends, developments among the Negro people; too many fail to keep up with these developments and have to get any estimate of trends, developments in the Negro movement, second-hand.

4) There are still strong paternalistic tendencies, reflecting a petty-bourgeois orientation, on the part of many of our white cadre—expressed in an uncritical approach to Negro cadre, their weaknesses, their work, and a failure to develop the sharpest critical approach to the development of the work of the Party organization.

5) On the part of some, there is a hyper-critical attitude toward Negro

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leadership. This is especially reflected in a number of trade unions on the part of leading white trade unionists.

The main conclusion that we must draw is that a more far-reaching campaign must be developed than any we have witnessed before in the Party organizations. This must become a permanent feature of the work of the Party.

If we examine the whole sum of these problems, there can be no question that the main danger to the Party, to the working class, to the Negro people, as well as to the masses in general, on the Negro question, is the white-chauvinist danger. Our Party has repeatedly pointed this out. In 1946, the Resolution of the National Committee stated as follows:

Especially as it influences the labor and progressive movement, white chauvinism feeds separatist tendencies and distrust of white workers among the Negro people. Therefore, the encouragement of every movement among the Negro people toward greater integration with their white allies, requires a simultaneous struggle against white chauvinism, especially whenever it shows itself within the labor and progressive movement.

By its own actions, the Communist Party must set an example before the whole labor movement. Every influence of white chauvinism within its ranks, whether it manifests itself openly or in a concealed form, must be systematically combatted and expunged. It is the over-riding responsibility of white Communists to fight white chauvinism relentlessly.

## WHITE CHAUVINISM AND BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

While posing the danger of bourgeois nationalism, our Party in its Resolution also warned that this can be conducted only within the framework of the struggle against white chauvinism as the main danger.

In 1950, Comrade Perry wrote:

There are some comrades who argue that Negro comrades are not affected by bourgeois nationalism. Can it be said, however, that white comrades are affected by bourgeois ideology—white chauvinism, while Negro comrades are immune to bourgeois ideology—bourgeois nationalism? Clearly, such an assumption is wrong.

I think it would be wrong, however, to pose the question now that bourgeois nationalism is the main danger in the struggle for Negro rights. That could be true in another historical setting, but for a long time to come the main danger will remain that of white chauvinism. That does not mean that we should not carry on a fight on two fronts; but it means simply that at all times the main blow must be directed against white chauvinism. To the extent that this is done, it undermines the main driving force of bourgeois nationalism.\*

At the 1950 Convention of the Party, Comrade Davis, in his report, declared:

In the struggle against Negro bourgeois nationalism, I think more and more we have to grasp the fact that we have not sufficiently sharpened up this question, just as we have not sharpened up the struggle against white chauvinism, which is the main danger.

\*Pettis Perry, "Further Strengthening the Fight against White Chauvinism," in *Political Affairs*, December, 1950, p. 55.

Negro bourgeois nationalism and reformism, fed by existing white chauvinism, have an economic base among the Negro people. The position of the Negro bourgeoisie, however small and parasitic, arises from the class divisions among the Negro people. Negro bourgeois reformists who sell out to Wall Street and its war program place their narrow class interests above the national interests and liberation struggles of the Negro people.\*\*

In 1951, Comrade Perry repeated:

While recognizing the bourgeois essence of both white chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism, we cannot and must not equate the struggle against them. The main danger now and in the foreseeable future is white chauvinism. To the extent that we mercilessly combat white chauvinism, we will strengthen the ability of our Negro comrades more effectively to carry on the fight against Negro nationalism. Hence, the need to fight on two fronts, delivering the main blow against white chauvinism, while stepping up the fight against bourgeois nationalism and national reformism in the ranks of the Party, in the Negro people's movement, and in the labor and progressive movements generally.\*\*\*

Thus, repeatedly, our Party leadership has fought to mobilize the Party as a whole in the struggle against white chauvinism as the main danger. And it is only in this framework that the question of the struggle against Negro bourgeois nationalism can be raised.

What is the relationship between the struggle against white chauvin-

ism and the struggle against Negro bourgeois nationalism? This is a question of great complexity, to which there is no simple answer. But there are certain general conclusions that must be made that can serve as a guide to the strategy and tactics of Communists in the struggle against both deviations from Marxism-Leninism.

There have been two wrong tendencies reflected within our ranks. One is the tendency to pose the question of Negro nationalism simply and solely as a reflection of white chauvinism.

Secondly, a tendency to pose Negro nationalism simply and solely as rising out of the economic strivings of the Negro bourgeoisie for the Negro market.

Both of these tendencies fail to see that nationalism, while it has its ultimate source in the economic relationships, is engendered by ideological and political factors as well as the economic factors. To fail to see that is to fall into a one-sided mechanistic, economic-determinist approach.

Engels, generations ago, combatted this approach to Marxism when he stated:

According to the materialist conception of history, the determining element in history is *ultimately* the production and reproduction in real life. More than this, neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. If therefore somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract and absurd phrase.

\*\*Benjamin J. Davis, cited work, p. 21

\*\*\*Pettis Perry, "Certain Prime Aspects of the Negro Question," in *Political Affairs*, October, 1951, p. 19

The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc.—forms of law—and then even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the combatants: political, legal, philosophical theories, religious ideas and their further development into systems of dogma—also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements, in which, amid all the endless *host* of accidents (i.e., of the things and events whose inner connection is so remote or so impossible to prove that we regard it as absent and can neglect it) the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary. Otherwise, the application of the theory to any period of history one chose would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree.\*

Thus, as Engels points out, it is undoubtedly true that the economic factor plays a decisive role. But to state that the causes of Negro nationalism are simply to be found in the economic strivings of the Negro bourgeoisie for the market is to oversimplify and fall into the trap of economic determinism.

On the other hand, to pose the question that white chauvinism is the sole source of Negro nationalism is to fail to recognize the existence of the economic factor and fall into the trap of subjective idealism.

\* Engels to Bloch, Sept. 21, 1890, in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1936, p. 475. Italics in original.

Thus, it is not true that nationalism is simply a reflection of the strivings of the Negro bourgeoisie for the market; nor is it true that nationalism is simply a reflection of white chauvinism.

Both factors operate. A specific examination of the concrete relationship of the economic, political and social factors as they affect ideology of both Negro and white must buttress the basic fact that Negro nationalism today among the Negro masses and among Negro Party cadre is largely expressed as a "defensive" reaction to the deep-rooted influence of bourgeois white supremacy ideology.

That is why at all times the struggle against bourgeois nationalist ideology and practice must be conducted on the background of the national oppression of the Negro people by the imperialist white ruling class.

Again it must be remembered that the Negro people are oppressed as a whole and overwhelmingly, not by the Negro bourgeoisie, but by the white bourgeoisie of the U.S.A.

What about nationalism as an ideology itself? What are the two main forms of Negro nationalism? The two main forms in which the Negro bourgeoisie express their nationalism are a reflection of the particular position and development of the Negro bourgeoisie as a class within the Negro nation and the Negro national minority within the United States.

One form of Negro nationalism is the reformist variety that preaches

integration, faith in the white ruling class, hostility to the white workers. This reformist variety of Negro nationalism urges the gradualist solution of the Negro question, and opposes revolutionary struggle. Its ideology has an economic base in the infinitely weak position of the Negro bourgeoisie in relation to the ruling white bourgeoisie of the United States. Even the reformist writers, Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, in their book *Black Workers and the New Unions*, state the following about the Negro bourgeoisie:

It is extremely improbable, with very few exceptions, that the present Negro leadership will encourage the Negro workers to line up in a fight against the capitalistic interests of the country. Negro leaders as a class will probably have little sympathy with any organization which might engage in a long, bitter and bloody economic warfare. They will hardly undergo the disadvantages of loss of prestige and the curtailment of income necessarily involved in such a struggle (p. 379).

Thus, in the very objective position of the Negro bourgeoisie lies the basis for their reformist theories. The Negro bourgeoisie, confined as they are to insurance, real estate, the cosmetic industry and other peripheral areas of profit-seeking, are quite realistic when they see little possibility of reaching a position of being able to compete with the huge cartels and industrial giants controlled and run by the ruling white bourgeoisie of the United States. Thus, they develop a line of trying to get crumbs

off the table in return for the policies of capitulation and compromise which stem and hold back the full development of the Negro liberation movement.

Just one example would indicate the very weak position of the Negro bourgeoisie. On the South Side of Chicago, which is a predominantly Negro community, one-half of the businesses are owned by Negroes, but only one-tenth of the money income obtained from this community goes to these 50 percent of the businesses which are Negro. Ninety per cent of the money income from the South Side of Chicago goes to white-owned businesses.

Thus, Negro business is weak, puny, unstable and is only capable of maintaining its existence to the degree that it does not come into conflict with the interests of the big monopoly corporations with their chain stores, mass production, ability to sell at lower cost, etc.

Thus, the dominant tendency in Negro nationalism does not express itself in the illusory demand for a separate Negro economy as was put forward by sections of the Garvey movement and certain Negro intellectuals and leaders in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

This dominant feature of Negro nationalism, today expressed most crudely in the appeal to bourgeois humanitarianism "We are Americans, too," is the plaintive call of a weak bourgeoisie to the white ruling class to do that which can be accomplished only by the combined



struggles of a broad people's coalition of Negroes, white farmers and urban middle classes led by the working class—against the white monopoly capitalists.

Thus, reformism—or one of its forms, integrationism—in fact, offers no road to Negro liberation, but feeds illusions among the Negro masses that equality and national liberation will be given by the hand of the imperialist ruling class of the United States.

Reliance on the ruling class with its inherent drive to war and fascism leads only to continuing and deepening jim-crow enslavement of the Negro people.

This integrationism preached by the Grangers, Whites, and Tobiases is the Negro variety of the bourgeois cosmopolitans in every nation who attempt to destroy national pride, national consciousness as a springboard to national enslavement by U.S. imperialism.

True integration means amalgamation of peoples.

Amalgamation of peoples becomes fully realizable only in the second stage of Communist society—when the economic and political basis of complete equality and fraternity between nations and peoples has been achieved. But the Negro bourgeois integrationists have nothing resembling that in mind. They want integration for themselves in the banks and boards of directors of big corporations and international cartels. They are not at all interested in removing the source of national oppression,

jim-crow, exploitation of the Negro masses—capitalist society and its ruling class.

At the same time, the other form of nationalism, that is, the separatist variety, does have a base and does operate, even though the operation is by no means comparable with the strength of the reformist, integrationist theories.

It was indicated in 1934 by James Weldon Johnson in his book, *Negro Americans, What Now?* (p. 13):

There is in us all a stronger tendency toward isolation than we may be aware of. There come times when the most persistent intergrationist becomes an isolationist, when he curses the white world and consigns it to hell. This tendency toward isolation is strong because it springs from a deep-seated, natural desire—a desire for respite from the unremitting, grueling struggle; for a place in which refuge might be taken. We are again confronted by this question. It is ever present, though often dormant.

This represents a source in terms of ideas, but also economically this separatist tendency is expressed in the following way: Ralph Bunche says in his "Negro Leadership, Programs, Ideologies and Achievements of Negro Betterment and Inter-Racial Organizations," published in 1940:

At best, Negro business becomes a parasitical growth on the Negro society. It must eke out a meager existence from the segregated Negro community, as a middle layer between large white business and the Negro, through exploitation of the race problem. Negro business recognizing its inability to

compete with white business on equal terms demands for itself special privilege and marches under the chauvinistic banner of race loyalty, thus further exploiting an already sorely harassed group.

Another form of the expression of the separatist tendency comes from a whole layer of Negro middle class society, professionals, whose main source of income is from their positions of employment in Negro schools, churches, etc.

In contradiction to these tendencies, the fact that the oppression of the Negro people is national (therefore the Negro bourgeoisie is also oppressed by big capital) gives rise to anti-monopolist, anti-imperialist tendencies among the Negro bourgeoisie.

These are progressive—expressed as they are in a whole series of demands—representation, credits, loans, etc., which become mass issues for struggle.

The fight for all-class unity cannot be won nor can working-class hegemony of the national liberation movement be won *unless* the working class consistently fights for the democratic and anti-imperialist demands of all classes.

To the degree that this is done, sections of the Negro bourgeoisie can be won to participate in the anti-imperialist struggle, even if only in a temporizing, vacillating and impermanent way.

Moreover, a number of concrete historical facts from the history of the Negro liberation movement deserve mention.

1. Sections of the Negro bourgeoisie, more particularly the petty bourgeoisie and professionals, have to rely on the mass struggle of the Negro people to make advances. Their ability to negotiate even small concessions with the white ruling class has been dependent on the level of development of the mass struggle.

2. The heavy weight of the Negro proletariat in the Negro movement makes it difficult for the Negro bourgeoisie to concern itself simply with its own class problems.

3. The mass struggles of the Negro people have been more responsible than any other factor in winning gains for the Negro bourgeoisie. That is why it is very short sighted to see only the reactionary tendencies in the Negro bourgeoisie.

Negro bourgeois nationalism has many forms of expression and a number of sources. But they are sources which produce contradictory, conflicting tendencies that arise out of the life of the Negro bourgeoisie itself—its conflicting, contradictory position in the general class and national relationships within the United States.

But to discuss the forms of Negro bourgeois nationalism requires us to examine more closely what Negro bourgeois nationalism is. What must be the attitude of Communists to Negro bourgeois nationalism?

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*The concluding installment of this article will appear in the next issue—*  
ed.

# The Party and the Trade Unions in the Post-War Period

By Alex H. Kendrick

The years since the end of the Second World War have seen questions of the relationship of our Party to the twelve million strong union organizations of the country assume unprecedented proportions within the labor movement and in national political life. This is not an outgrowth of the anti-fascist character of the Second World War. It is a product of the imperialist, pro-fascist character of U.S. ruling class preparations for a third World War.

The status of the trade unions in the U.S. was not to the liking of Wall Street when it began its post war offensive for world mastery. Emerging from World War II, the powerful union organizations bore the stamp of the progressive character of the war and of the long period of anti-fascist mass upsurge following the rise of Hitler. A big section of it (the C.I.O.) in 1945 developed direct ties with the world trade union movement through the W.F.T.U., and throughout the ranks of organized labor there existed a healthy admiration for the great achievements of the working peoples under Communist leadership in Asia and Europe and above all in the

Soviet Union. There existed in labor's ranks a great militancy and a feeling of confidence in its organized strength which found expression in the powerful national strikes throughout industry in 1946 (the biggest in U.S. history), in the launching of the drive to organize the South, and in strong trends toward aggressive participation in political action. An important source of labor's strength was its pretty general alignment with the Negro people in their fight for F.E.P.C., against segregation in the armed forces, and for such measures for political and social equality as the ending of the poll tax and the death penalty for lynchers. Most decisive of all, in the C.I.O. and to a lesser extent in the A.F.L., the Left-center unity of the Roosevelt period and war years was still in force and Left-led unions (in the C.I.O. with a membership of 7-800,000) exerted a strong influence on the direction of labor's policy as a whole.

In short, the trade unions of the United States emerged from the Second World War in a strong position with the potentialities of becoming the base of a broad and powerful working class opposition to

Wall Street's plans for a Third World War. Averting and undermining this opposition has been a basic objective of ruling class policy in the U.S. since the end of World War II. The ruling class could not (without many unfavorable consequences) and did not attempt a head-on attack aimed at destroying the trade unions with a single blow. It settled upon, and for the past seven to eight years has been carrying through a longer range policy. This policy aims at disorientating and befuddling the great mass of union members with a consistent barrage of war propaganda and at undermining and destroying the working class characteristics of the unions to the point of their becoming servile accomplices of Wall Street's war aims and prisoners of its drive for fascist reaction and war profits at home. In the execution of this policy the ruling class relies most heavily on its "labor lieutenants"—the assortment of Social Democratic and conservative officials in the hierarchy of the A.F.L., C.I.O., and R.R. Brotherhoods.

This is the post World War II setting in which problems of Party-Union relations have taken on new proportions and importance.

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Beginning with 1946, the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Government, the leaders of finance and industry, moved on a grand scale into the business of protecting the "free trade unions of the U.S." from

Communist influence. Typical of the scope and character of the steps already taken have been the assumption by the State Department of direct leadership of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. top bureaucracy in efforts to split the W.F.T.U., isolate union members in the U.S. from that body, and form a divisive scab labor adjunct of the North Atlantic War Alliance; the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act with its many provisions shackling unions and depriving union members of the legal right to elect Communists to union offices; the establishment of Maritime "Loyalty" Screening Boards in 1948 and the subsequent firing and permanent blacklisting of hundreds of militant unionists (Communist and non-Communist) from both the seagoing and shoreside craft of the maritime industry; the revamping, largely behind the scenes as yet, of personnel departments and hiring and firing practices of major corporations, bringing into being for the first time in the history of our country a national, government-directed system for mass firing and blacklisting of workers throughout industry whose political views are "discovered" to be unacceptable to the government; the direct use of Senate and House Committees to harass, undermine, and in some cases jail on contempt citations, democratically elected leaders of international and local unions whose political views are "discovered" to be radical; the issuing of a first wave of some 60 indictments

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aimed at beheading and illegalizing the Communist Party under the profascist Smith Act; the increasingly aggressive inroads by government and industry into labor's right to strike through the assumption by government and its agencies of the "divine" right to authorize or ban strikes at will under the guise of forcing "loyal cooperation" by union members in the present phony "national emergency".

During this same period the top figures in the officialdom of the A.F.L., C.I.O., and R.R. Brotherhoods have been drawn as junior partners into the booming "protection of free labor" business as a reward for their servile support of ruling class war preparations. As a result, these corrupt labor bureaucrats have received a few benefits. They have been blessed by laudatory praise from the government and its agencies, much of the press, and have even been publicly patted on the head by more "liberal" spokesmen of capital.

When pressed by the militancy of working union members and lower echelons of union officials into pushing economic demands they are tolerated as good fellows at the conference table by the representatives of management and can even count on occasional intervention by government to help them secure the minimum dole of concessions from management necessary to avert big rank and file movements and strikes. They are fed pie in the sky promises about

their role of world "labor" leadership in some future Marshallized world.

The main result, however, of participation by top labor officials in the business of "protecting the free trade unions of the U.S." from Communism has been to create the most basic (even though as yet largely obscured) conflict in the history of the U.S. labor movement between the policies of the main trade union centers and the interests of the twelve million members of organized labor. Moving from the stage of passing resolutions "resenting and rejecting" Communist influences, (1947 C.I.O. convention resolution) the leaders of the main trade union centers adopted a line of aggressive support of U.S. war moves and of carrying through such measures as the expulsion of Internationals (eleven Internationals with a membership of over 700,000 expelled from the C.I.O. since 1947); the ousting of leaders democratically elected by local memberships and their replacement with appointed trustees (U.A.W., Hotel & Restaurant Workers, I. A. of M., Painters, etc.); cooperation with Government organized blacklisting practices in industry (Curran, NMU; Ryan, ILA; Reuther, UAW; Carey, IUE, etc.); subservient acquiescence in the creeping destruction of labor's right to strike; abandonment of militant policies defending the interests and rights of the Negro people; full compliance with the State Department orders in the project of under-

mining world trade-union unity.

Stripped of demagogy the objective of this post World War II boom in the business of protecting "the free trade unions of the U.S." from Communist influence is the reshaping of the labor movement, the destruction of its class unity, the realizing in the U.S. of the state of affairs which Lenin spoke of as the possibility of "something like an alliance—between the workers of a given nation and their imperialists against the other nations." It is this over-all objective which determines the actions, maneuvers, and demagogy of the ruling class and its labor lieutenants at each particular moment and in every situation. Always, their hallmark is the effort to avert working class opposition to Wall Street's war preparations; to undermine union militancy and promote class collaboration illusions and tendencies; to deaden and stamp out feelings and manifestations of international trade union and working class solidarity; to cultivate feelings of chauvinist nationalism (including anti-Negro prejudices); to continuously cultivate anew illusions in one or the other of the capitalist parties and prevent any substantial break in the two party system. Always, their chief target is the isolation and destruction of organizations, positions, and influence of the Left in the unions.

As a part of its preparations for launching World War II, the German Government under Hitler de-

stroyed the trade unions and replaced them with new fascist State "labor" organizations. It did this with a frontal attack and *Blitzkrieg* methods. As a part of its preparations for World War III, the U.S. Government under Truman also pursues a policy aimed at the removal of the trade unions as an obstacle to its war preparations. Operating under the conditions of a different world and national situation (conditions largely imposed on the U.S. ruling class by the anti-fascist character of the victory in the last war due primarily to the role of the Soviet Union) it has feared and so far avoided a frontal attack on the unions. It pursues, instead, the equally insidious, but far more demagogic, course of attempting the step by step transformation of existing unions into servile instruments of Government war policies.

The German ruling class under Hitler destroyed the trade unions with the double edged sword of extreme demagogy and extreme violence. The ruling class of the U.S. wields the same weapon, even though in a different way and with the immediate objective of transforming, instead of physically destroying, the trade-union movement. While avoiding, at this time, a frontal attack on the trade-union movement as a whole, it attempts to behead and legalize the Communist Party and unfolds a policy of violence against the Left-led unions, rank and file movements and

other peace forces. This is not, as some would like to believe, a substitution of attacks on the Left for an onslaught on the trade-union movement as a whole. It is the dress rehearsal for such a frontal fascist assault.

In short, the business of "protecting the free trade unions of the U.S." from Communist influence has as its objective during the present stage of war preparations the demobilizing of working class resistance to those war preparations and the transforming of the existing trade unions into servile instruments of Government policy. Its longer range objective is to so soften up and hog-tie the trade union movement in the U.S. that it will be unable to effectively resist its own destruction at the hands of a full fledged fascist state.

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Fortunately for the working class and the people of the U.S. the post war history of the trade unions is by no means being written exclusively by the ruling class and its labor lieutenants in the top hierarchy of the AFL, CIO & RR Brotherhoods. The Communist Party and its Left-wing allies have a part in the writing of this history. That part will grow as the disastrous consequences flowing from the alliance of the top labor bureaucracy and the Washington warmongers falls with increasing heaviness on the twelve million working members of organized labor.

The strongest feature of ruling

class post war strategy aimed at crushing the Left and demobilizing the trade unions is its ability to rely on the services of a thoroughly corrupt strata of Social-Democratic and conservative "labor" officials. Its Achilles heel is its inability to prevent the aggravation of conditions giving rise to militant moods and struggles, especially on the part of the workers in the basic and other mass production industries. This is creating a widening gulf between the policies of the main trade-union centers and the interests of the mass of working union members, and is laying the basis for struggles which will bring changes in the trade union movement quite different from those desired by the ruling class.

The point is past of maximum ability of the ruling class to achieve a base of support for its war preparations in the working class through utilization of super profits exacted from the Negro people, its imperialist holdings, and its "Marshallized" allies such as England, France, Italy, and Japan. Of course, the profit bloated ruling class of the U.S. still retains certain maneuvering ability in this direction, but it is definitely and irrevocably on the decline. It is this fact which underlies the increasingly hardboiled stand of the big corporations (steel, auto, oil, etc.) towards further wage concessions and their increasingly aggressive and arrogant demands that the masses bear a greater burden of the cost of the war preparations through

jacking up prices and "spreading" taxes. This fact (*i.e.*, the fact that the well of imperialist super profits is in the process of drying up) is also a factor speeding the outbreak of economic crisis in the U.S. and areas of the world dominated by it. All of this spells stormy weather for the Green, Murray, Reuther, Woll breed of labor officials.

Conditions of the class struggle are in process of undergoing great change in the United States. Already, when workers under the pressure of intolerable conditions move into strikes, they are confronted with a host of new employer weapons the range of which include the political bludgeon of a "National Emergency"; hamstringing "cooling off" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act; court injunctions; government seizure and operation of the struck industry on behalf of the employers; direct intimidation of strike leaders by the FBI and other government bodies; a sharper role of disruption, sabotage, and in some case outright strikebreaking by Social Democratic and conservative union officials. These conditions have left their imprint on recent struggles and are promoting tendencies and methods of struggle which will play a big role in the future of the trade-union movement in the United States. Two recent strikes are especially rich in lessons and reveal with particular sharpness many of the features which will characterize struggles in the period ahead. These are the highly

important rank and file strike of longshoremen in New York and the successful strike of the copper miners led by the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, both in the fall of 1951.

The importance of the N.Y. longshore strike does not at all lie in any "exceptional circumstances". Its great (and for the U.S. labor movement one may say historic) importance is that it foreshadows an essentially similar pattern of development in many other industries where the unions are saddled with Right-wing lickspittle leaderships, tied to Wall street's apron strings.

In this industry and union (ILA) there existed in advanced forms most, if not all, of the factors which the policies of the main trade union centers and the government are fostering from one end of industry and the labor movement to the other.

In no other industry has "free labor" received quite so much "protection from Communism" as in longshore. It is on the N.Y. waterfront that the government established its first "Loyalty" Screening Boards, and also began its mass roundups of foreign born workers. In no other industry does there exist a union with a more virulently pro-war and anti-Soviet leadership. In no other industry does there exist greater harmony and relations of mutual support between employers, union leaders, and government. In no industry has there been a greater subordination of the interests of the workers to the "good" of

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industry and the war effort. In short, in almost classic form, there existed in longshore many of the essential features of the situation which the "protection of the free trade unions" business seeks to achieve throughout industry. The net result of all this has been one of the greatest and most successful rank and file strikes in U.S. history, the longest and tightest shoreside shutdown of the Port of New York that has ever occurred, a big weakening of the Ryan machine control of the ILA, and an important strengthening of the rank and file progressive forces throughout the union. Without elaboration it is possible to say that the longshoremen of New York in the course of protecting themselves from the stevedoring companies and Ryan have somewhat extended and strengthened their relations with the Marxist Party of their class, the Communist Party of the U.S.

In the longshore industry of New York, the employers, the government, and the ILA leadership had command of everything—with two exceptions. They could not do away with, they could not alleviate, the intolerable worsening conditions of pay and work imposed on the longshoremen by the war economy, and the consequent development of a determined mood of militancy among the workers. They could not determine the policy of the Communist Party, and of the Left forces in general, both of which in the face of sharpened attacks proceeded to im-

bed themselves deeper and more solidly among the workers and to develop broader and more flexible united front tactics.

The significance of the New York longshore strike lies in the fact that these two factors—the burdens imposed on the workers by the war economy, and the policy of the class-conscious forces in the labor movement—are precisely the factors which the employers, the government, and the corrupt trade union officialdom, nowhere control. This accounts in part for the fact that the ruling class strategy of demobilizing the trade unions is easier to blueprint than to carry out.

The strike of the copper miners occurred under much different circumstances. It developed under the leadership of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, expelled in 1948 from the CIO because of its refusal to line up in support of Truman's war policies. This union is headed by one of the most militant and resourceful groups of leaders in the labor movement. From the outset this strike faced all of the employer-government weapons that have frustrated and partially or totally defeated wage movements and strikes in other industries, including oil, transport and steel. In addition to having been expelled from the CIO and being a relatively small union (70-80,000), it suffered from isolation and lack of broad general support. Its "Left complexion," by virtue of its expulsion from CIO, made it the target of

a general press and radio attack of utmost virulence. Under these circumstances, and confronted with a group of employers determined to deal the union a smashing blow, the MMSW won a bitter, hard-fought strike, winning more in the way of immediate demands for the workers than any Social Democratic or conservative leadership has been able to secure for all of their fawning support of governmental war policies. In their conduct of this strike the leaders of the MMSW refused to worship at the feet of court injunctions and Taft-Hartley cooling off booby traps, based themselves squarely on the militancy and class instincts of the mass of working copper miners, and refused to sell out the demands of the miners to advance the war aims of the employers.

The strike of the copper miners grew out of the same intolerable conditions of work and pay imposed by the developing war economy as the strike movements in steel, oil, rubber and auto. Its significance lies in the fact that it was given the militant class leadership required by the emerging new conditions of the class struggle.

Nothing is more certain than that the mass of working union members will demand policies which avoid defeats and win battles. From a political point of view the Greens, Murrays, Wolls, Knights, Dubinskys are organically, and constitutionally incapable of supplying that leadership. Basically the kind of leadership de-

manded by emerging new conditions of the class struggle must come from the opposite quarter of the political compass—from the Left. That in part is why—Smith, McCarran, and Taft-Hartley Acts notwithstanding—the weather ahead is not at all unfavorable for Left tendencies and forces in the trade union movement of the United States.

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The importance of the strikes of the copper miners and the longshoremen lies in their advanced character. In relatively highly developed forms they displayed characteristics arising directly out of the new conditions of class struggle generated by U.S. imperialism's war preparations. As such they foreshadow forms of struggle that have a big future role. For the most part the forms through which sections of workers during this period display mounting resistance to the burdens of ruling class war preparations do not have such advanced characteristics. Generally these forms are more influenced by widespread confusion in labor's ranks caused by ruling class war propaganda; by the still dominant Social Democratic and conservative trade union officialdom among the mass of the workers; by the illusions regarding the "pro-labor" or "impartial" role of various government agencies and of the Truman Administration itself in labor disputes; and by the ever present factor of the weakness of the Left and its inability in many situations to come forward with the necessary

clear and effective leadership. Despite these retarding factors every section of the trade-union movement is alive with the developments which express, in a variety of forms, and with widely varying levels of effectiveness and consciousness, mounting resistance to the consequences of the war preparations going on in the country and the policies of the main trade union centers.

In the recent period, more often than not, Social Democratic and conservative union leaders have followed the tactics of avoiding head-on clashes with such developments, confident of their ability to keep them from getting out of hand and to quickly dissipate serious movements arising from them. Unfortunately, in all too many situations this has proved to be the case, either because Left forces failed to develop, in time, broad and flexible united-front tactics and committed sectarian mistakes leading to their isolation, or because an organized Left did not exist. Typical of recent developments expressing healthy mass tendencies of resistance and struggle in various unions has been the unity movement in the oil industry which in the recent strike finally forced an elementary degree of unity and cooperation on the part of 22 unions in that decimated industry; the adamant persistence of rank and file members and Chapter and Lodge leaders of the R.R. Brotherhoods—in the face of broken strikes and repeated demoralizing sell-outs by their top officials—to keep

alive the fighting capacities of their organizations and to break out of the prison of the "Railway Labor Relations Act"; the aggressive participation by large numbers of steel workers in activities around the on-again-off-again steel strike, their trigger quick response to each strike call, the widespread but unorganized sentiment among them for the kind of serious struggle against the steel companies and Government interference needed to win their demands; etc. Another expression of this resistance is the sentiment in the membership ranks of the ACWU, Butchers, and Hotel and Restaurant Workers, which have led to the highly important fissures in the top trade union bureaucracy expressed in recent public statements on civil rights and on peace by Rosenblum, Gorman, and Ernst.

Advanced or elementary, big or small, every one of these developments represents a form which mounting resistance of the working class to ruling class war policies is taking. It does the Republican and Democratic Parties no good, and alters nothing, to wish that these movements and tendencies did not exist. It does the Communist Party no good, and alters nothing, to wish that they had a more advanced political character. Their significance lies in three things: First, they are the real life forms which the resistance of organized sections of the working class to war is taking at this moment. Second, each and every one of them

represents in its own way and at its own level movements or tendencies away from support of ruling class war policies and toward a conscious working class opposition to these policies. Third, they represent the direction in which the trade unions must move in order to save themselves and their country from catastrophe. Because of this they carry with them the future of the U.S. trade union movement.

The supreme test of the maturity of our Party, and of its tactical line, is its ability to work as an integral part of every such movement and tendency, to effectively promote in them a rising level of conscious working class political opposition to ruling class war policies, and to influence their development in the direction of a united working class and People's Front of resistance to war and fascism.

In the immediate years ahead an issue that will emerge with constantly mounting urgency and sharpness before the millions of working union members is the need for fundamentally changing the political character of the leadership of the trade union movement in the U.S. The outcome of this issue will determine the speed and character of changes in the relationship of class forces in the U.S., for any such substantial change must be predicated upon a prior change in the political character of the leadership of the mass organizations of the working class, above all of its trade unions. In the struggles

that will determine the outcome of this issue the present dominant leadership of the trade unions, the Social Democratic and conservative hierarchy of the A.F.L., C.I.O. and the R.R. Brotherhoods, have hitched themselves to the chariot of Wall Street war policies.

The Communist Party bases the future of its relationship to the trade unions on its unshakable opposition to a third world war, its fervent advocacy of relations of peaceful co-existence between the Soviet Union and the U.S., its firm conviction that the world relationship of forces has changed irrevocably in favor of the world camp of peace, democracy, and Socialism, its integral association with every expression of mounting working class resistance to ruling class war preparations, its ability to supply the concrete forms of tactical and political leadership required by the working class in the new and changing conditions of the class struggle. The Communist Party, because it is shaped by the science of Marxism-Leninism, is built to withstand and to best strengthen its ties and its role of leadership in the working class in periods of stormy weather such as lie ahead. The breed of conservative and Social Democratic labor officials now dominating the trade unions have long outlived their usefulness to the working class, and are now in the process of wearing out their usefulness to the ruling class. These are the factors that will deter-

mine the future of the Party-Union relations in the U.S.

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The main effect on the trade union forces of our Party of the drive by the ruling class to behead and illegalize the Communist Party, and of the unprecedentedly sharp Right-Left struggles in the trade unions, has been to speed their development as steeled and mature Communist cadres. A secondary effect has been to give rise to a certain amount of confusion, and in some instances to directly anti-Marxist, opportunistic concepts on questions of the relationship of the Party to Union in Left circles. Those opportunistic concepts have appeared most sharply in situations where responsibilities of mass leadership subject Left forces to great pressure. In a few situations, where the emergence of these opportunistic concepts is coupled with circumstances in which formerly Left forces have undergone a process of degeneration by opportunistic practices of long standing, and by elements of corrupting petty-bourgeois standards of life, the result has been full desertion to the side of the war camp. In all situations the objective role of these opportunistic concepts is to paralyze Party mass work; foster the growth of class collaborationist relations with employers; stimulate confusion on the issues of war and peace among the workers and pave the way to the ascendancy of Right-wing, pro-war elements;

open the door to the development of white chauvinist prejudices and practices against Negro workers; undermine the unity and fighting capacity of the union. If not resolutely fought and eliminated, such opportunistic concepts of the relation of Party to Union could quickly pass from affecting individual sectors of Party work to the disruption of the entire field of Party trade union work.

In the main these opportunistic concepts fall under four main headings.

The first of these is the concept that the Party should pursue a hands-off policy towards problems developing within unions. This is a concept that the Marxist political party of the working class should not concern itself with the problems of the main organized sector of its class. In effect it says that the Party should remain neutral towards the most decisive questions affecting its class and country.

It was the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class who demanded such neutrality at the C.I.O. convention in 1947, when they proclaimed that they "resent and reject" the influence of the Communist Party in the union.

Are the parties of Wall Street neutral toward the working class and its trade unions? Of course not. According to their division of labor, the Republican Party attacks frontally with its direct threat of an open shop, union-busting offensive. Truman Democrats attack with both whip and whipped cream—carrot and club

—as the steel and oil wage struggles show. But both parties work in behalf of their class—the millionaires—to force the subordination of the working class to its war policies. Both are doing their damndest to interfere in the life of the trade unions down to the last detail—including the determining for union members of whom they should and shouldn't be permitted to elect to leadership.

Those of the Left who advance the concept of neutrality “resent and reject” Communist activity, because they are moving in the direction of supporting the war policies of the ruling class. They want to be left alone—to be pulled comfortably and without recriminations down the path of petty-bourgeois clinging to the skirts of finance capital. They develop “theories” of neutrality to justify their desertion of working class principles. They raise the demand of Party neutrality today, in order to fight for the dissolution of the Party tomorrow.

The Party is not today, and never will be, neutral towards problems of the trade unions. No Party organization will adopt a hands off policy towards problems vital to the sector of the working class of which it is a part.

The second opportunistic concept is one which in practice holds that the Party is not an organized vanguard sector of the working class but an agglomeration of individuals who profess adherence to the gene-

ral principles of the Party. This concept is convenient for those individuals who on the basis of their status in mass organizations desire to make their own policies separate and apart from those democratically arrived at by the Party.

The first inevitable fruit of this anti-Marxist concept is the emergence of factionalism and tendencies toward dual centers of leadership. Its inevitable final result, if not overcome and replaced with Marxist concepts of the Party as a system of organization, is a degeneration into the path of open hostility to the Party and its policies.

The third opportunistic concept is that the Party policies in the struggle for Negro rights and for the alliance of the Negro people and the working class has little or no application in the trade unions. Underlying this concept are white chauvinist prejudices and a failure to grasp the full meaning of the Party's analysis of the Negro Question as a National Question. A host of evils flow from this crassly opportunistic concept. These include passivity on general democratic issues directly affecting the status of the Negro people as a people, (such as the right to vote in the South, the passage of equal rights and FEPC legislation, the blocking of persecutions of national and working class spokesman of the Negro people such as Robeson and Du Bois and the Communists Henry Winston, Ben Davis, Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones, and

James Jackson). They include chauvinist attitudes toward the many problems of discrimination in housing, of police brutality, of intolerable social and political discrimination arising from the national forms of the oppression of the Negro people. They include innumerable instances of failure to approach Negro trade union leaders, and the problems of development of a cadre of Negro trade union leaders, from the standpoint of their responsibilities of leadership to the Negro people as well as to the working class. In its essence this anti-Marxist concept represents a narrow, simple trade union viewpoint of the role of unions as confined to that of serving as bargaining agents with employers. This viewpoint is opposed to a class approach towards the unions as the mass vehicles of the working class defending and advancing their interests as a class.

The failure of the labor movement to adopt a working class position on the Negro question has proven very costly. Illustrating this is the failure of the much heralded Southern organizing drive of the post-war years. Instead of basing the drive on the decisive section of workers in the South—the Negro workers—and fighting through against jim-crow, the unions yielded to the white supremacist forces. As a result, they gained not even the temporary advantage they sought—a base among the white workers. The drive failed to organize either the Negro or white

workers. The labor movement is now paying for this in devastating wage differentials, in a haven for runaway shops and in a base of reaction in national political life.

The fourth opportunistic concept consists of a failure to really grasp the fact that attacks on the Communist Party are attacks on the working class and its organizations as a whole and affect in a most fundamental manner the status and rights of the entire class. This leads to passivity in the work of developing broad working class defense of the legality and the leaders of the Party under the guise that these are "left" sectarian issues in which broad masses cannot be interested.

The real fact of the matter is that defense of the Party is one of the broadest and least sectarian tasks confronting organized labor. The reason for this is that the 12 million members of the trade unions in the U.S. have paid heavily for these attacks and for the "protection" which the ruling class is giving them from Communist influences. This price includes loss of several of the most fundamental and long standing democratic rights of union members in the U.S.—rights still considered commonplace and elementary in other capitalist countries such as England, France, Italy, Australia and long since completely taken for granted in socialist countries such as the Soviet Union and Peoples' Democracies.

No democratic right is more ele-

mentary, and at the same time more fundamentally important to the trade union movement of a country, than the right of union members to elect their own union officials and leaders without employer or government interference. In 1947 Congress shot holes in this right by proceeding to "protect the free trade unions of the U.S." with the Taft-Hartley Act, which among other things "freed" union members from their legal right to determine for themselves whether or not to elect fellow union members belonging to the Communist Party to union posts. Once having set itself up in the business of determining who should and should not lead unions, Congress has busily expanded that business. It has already become a run of the mill occurrence for any and every anti-labor two-bit, lickspittle subcommittee of the House or Senate to arrogantly summon before it leaders of locals and internationals democratically elected by tens and even hundreds of thousands of workers and proceed to pass judgment on the acceptability of their political views and therefore the "right" of the members of their unions to have them as their officials. In terms of internal union democracy and the elementary right of union members to determine for themselves who should lead their unions the flourishing business of "protecting the free trade unions of the U.S." from the Communist Party is already approaching dangerously near its goal of a government man-

aged "labor" movement similar to the state run "labor" movements of Germany and Italy under Hitler and Mussolini.

A foundation of the strength of unions in any country has always been their right—and the ability to back up this right—of protecting the job security of their members from discriminatory firings and blacklisting practices of employers. With the organization of the basic mass production industries in the mid-thirties, the unions of this country were able to force the big corporations to virtually abandon those union-busting weapons. The past several years have seen the practices of mass discriminatory firings and black lists reinstated. It began on a grand scale in 1948 when the government and ship owners established boards to politically screen all workers in the maritime industry with the objective of firing and permanently black-listing all workers with Communist or other political views unacceptable to the government and ship owners.

Organized and systematized by the government on a national scale, similar "screening" procedures have been or are being instituted throughout most of the basic industries. Already many thousands of militant workers, all of them staunch union members, although only a minority of them members of the Communist Party, have been fired and black-listed. Most important of all, the government is now thoroughly entrenched in the business of black-listing and



mass political firings. For the first time in their history the right of the "free trade unions" of the U.S. to defend the job security of any of their members whose political views do not receive the stamp of approval of boards established by the government is threatened with complete destruction. Thus the business of "protecting the free trade unions of the U.S." from the Party has already resulted in gravely undermining the very foundation of trade-union strength in this country—the right and the ability of the unions to defend the job security of their members in the face of discriminatory firings and black-listing.

The most vital, even though still most widely underestimated, right of the 12 million members of unions in the U.S. is that of using their organized strength as they see fit in national political life. From the mid-thirties through the Second World War the bare beginnings of organized participation in national political life by the main trade-union centers made the organized labor movement the most powerful base within the country promoting policies of an anti-fascist, civil rights and social reform character. It also aroused in big business an abiding fear of the day when the members of organized labor would develop their independent political action on a large scale and along lines fully in their own class interest. With this fear came the grim determination to fashion a political straitjacket for the "free

trade unions of the U.S."

The first big move in this direction has been to undertake to establish the right and the ability of the government to determine for the working class what political parties it can and can't have. This is the meaning of the effort to legalize membership in, and support of, our Party. The current jailings of the Communists under the Smith Act is equally an effort to destroy the legal existence of the Communist Party and to destroy the legal right to freedom of political thought and action of the members of "free trade unions of the U.S." Thus Big Business-government "protection" from the Communist Party faces the members of the "free trade unions" with the gravest danger they ever confronted of being stripped of real political rights and freedom of action.

The opportunistic concept that a ruling class attack on the Party is something other than an attack on the working class as a whole has done enough harm. It has no place among honest workers whatever their political persuasions and it certainly has no place in our Party. The trade unions cannot defend their rights effectively without defending the rights of the Communists. They cannot effectively fight to regain rights already lost without fighting for restoration of full legality for the Communist Party and amnesty for its leaders victimized by the Smith Act.

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In pursuing their strategy aimed

at the demobilization and ultimate destruction of the trade unions, the ruling class has raised to unprecedented proportions all questions of relationships between the Party and the unions. We of the Communist Party are confident that this strategy will run foul of the class instincts and unity of the millions of working union members and will founder

ingloriously. We are also confident that these millions of working union members will in good time make the question of their relationship to the Marxist Party of the working class a paramount factor in national political life, and in a way that will spell the end for all time of the triple evils of war, poverty and fascism.

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(The above article was written in the spring of 1952.)

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## Book Review

### IN BATTLE FOR PEACE

By Herbert Aptheker

*In Battle for Peace: The Story of My 83rd Birthday*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, with Comment by Shirley Graham. Masses & Mainstream, N.Y. 192 pages. \$1 (paper); \$2.50 (cloth).

The historian of the future, seeking to portray the infamy of the American ruling class in this "Time of the Toad," will require many pages. Should he want to pick one scene most reflective of the depths this infamy reached, his choice might well fall upon a day during Negro History Week in 1951 when, in a Federal courthouse, in the nation's capital, a man was being arraigned, one amongst several accused "felons". This was a Negro man, rather slight of build, dignified, handsome, impeccably dressed, and 83 years old.

The scene is etched for us:

"After the arraignment I was told to follow the marshal, and walk down some narrow stairs at the back of the courtroom into a small basement room, perhaps ten feet square. There I was fingerprinted and asked details as to my life and work; told to remove my coat and empty my pockets, and then examined carefully by an orderly for concealed weapons! As I turned to go upstairs where the matter of bail was to be arranged, the marshal put handcuffs on me . . ."

Thus did the Federal government mark Negro History Week in 1951 (Virginia celebrated, too—its rulers executed the Martinsville Seven) by arraigning and fingerprinting and searching and handcuffing the twentieth century Frederick Douglass—William Edward Burghardt Du Bois! Du Bois was to be tried as a "foreign agent"!

Yet the handcuffs remained on Du Bois' wrists but a few moments and our future historian will particularly note what caused their removal. Not the government's acknowledgment of its wrong—it is not capable of this—but rather, as Du Bois writes, when the handcuffs were fastened on him: "A stir and murmur rose sharply from beyond the grated partition where the public could look through and see what was happening. I heard one of our attorneys protesting sharply. The marshal grumbled, looked disconcerted, but finally unlocked our handcuffs . . ."

The story of this shame and this victory—of the indictment and trial, as "foreign agents," of Dr. Du Bois, Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, Miss Sylvia Soloff, and Messrs. Kyrle Elkin and Abbott Simon, of the Peace Information Center, and of their acquittal—is told in this volume. Told, too, is the true history of that Peace Information Center and its work, capped by the 2,500,000 signatures to

the Stockholm Peace Appeal obtained under its leadership. And it is told by Dr. Du Bois, that is to say, it is told by the Dean of American Letters and of American Scholars, by one who is social scientist and teacher, novelist and playwright, editor and organizer, and—particularly—poet. It is told by an historic pioneer who blazed new paths wherever he trod, like a veritable John Henry clearing a wilderness.

Here is the man who urged the Negro people—in 1888—to break with the two-party system and strike out for independent political activity. He gave voice, in Georgia, sixty years ago, to the Negro's resistance against the conquest of the South by monopoly capitalism. He led the struggle against Big Business' "philanthropic" effort to mis-educate the Negro people and corrupt their leaders. He recognized the irresistible logic of Socialism half a century ago. He organized the Niagara Movement, in 1905, and, speaking out for his people, who had always fought like lions for freedom, he said: "We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans." It was this Niagara Movement, and Du Bois personally, that were so vital to the launching, in 1909, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Du Bois is the man who, forty-five years ago, saw, with the clarity of genius, an essential element in the unfolding of this twentieth century in

the United States: "The cause of labor is the cause of black men, and the black man's cause is labor's own." And it was he, too, who, a generation ago, saw the anti-imperialist liberating potential in a world-unity of Negro peoples, and so founded the Pan-African Movement.

And the essence of his life, as writer, thinker, educator and organizer, has been the call for Peace—for dignified, decent, secure, fraternal living-together by a creative humanity. "I believe that War is Murder," he wrote in his "Credo" of 1904—one of the most influential essays in the history of American letters. "I believe that the wicked conquest of weaker and darker nations by nations white and stronger but foreshadows the death of that strength."

Increasingly, Du Bois has seen that the good things of life—based, as they must be, on Peace so that the good things may be created, shared and enjoyed—can be obtained only by struggle, by organized struggle. And increasingly he has seen that the leadership and the main role in this struggle falls and must fall—if the struggle is to be a principled one, an effective one—to the working class and to its allies. As he put it: "Naturally, out of the mass of the working classes, who know life and its bitter struggles, will continually rise the real, unselfish and clear-sighted leadership." That to which the whole logic of his life—that is to say, the whole logic of American life—has been moving, is caught and presented in Du Bois' characteristically lucid, sharp, direct style in this work so significantly entitled *In Battle for Peace*.

Du Bois insists that imperialism is evil, that racism is vile, that poverty is conquerable, that world war is not inevitable. Dr. Du Bois knows that the Big Lie—whether coming from Hitler or Truman or Eisenhower—is still the Big Lie, and so he writes:

"With jail in sight I hammered at the proposition that the Soviet Union did not want war, while our masters did; that we in demanding peace were opposing Big Business which wanted war, and that we did this as free Americans and not as tools of any foreign or domestic power."

He insisted on meeting head-on the government's frame-up attempt to brand as "alien" the fight for peace. For he knew that the yearning for peace was universal and the demand for it arises amongst the peoples of the world everywhere out of their own needs.

As a twenty-five year old student, Du Bois had promised himself, "be the truth what it may I shall seek it on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking—and Heaven nor Hell, God nor Devil shall turn me from my purpose till I die." The next three-score years have represented the fulfillment of this promise of youth. And it is now, therefore, that he chooses to write: "I follow a world peace movement which arose in the Soviet Union and today finds there its chief support," and again, "While, then, I am and expect to be a loyal citizen of the United States, I also respect and admire the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

It is this dedication to truth that is at the root of Du Bois' iron courage. When, after months of uncertainty and mountains of slander, the American Civil Liberties Union had refused its

help, and the government's campaign of vilification had led Professor Zechariah Chafee of Harvard to fail to answer Dr. Du Bois' letter requesting advice, and had induced Mr. Walter White to conduct a loud whispering campaign devoted to spreading the "unfortunate" fact that Du Bois was "guilty," it was at this moment that the government played its trump card. It let Du Bois know that if he would not fight the government's case—not plead guilty, of course, but simply offer no defense, *i.e.*, enter a plea of *nolo contendere*—he would have his freedom. Steeped in white chauvinism and reflecting the "ethics" of imperialism, the government officials did not know with whom they were dealing. Du Bois tells us: "I immediately wrote my attorney and said flatly that before I would enter such a plea I would rot in jail."

The government was to go through with it, then, and there was to be a trial labeled *U.S. v. Du Bois, et al.* Well, it would be falsely labeled, for the trial would be between K.K.K. fascist-minded, war-incendiaries temporarily clothed in power, and men and women, led by Dr. Du Bois, who believed in and struggled for peace, equality and democracy. Therefore, as Du Bois writes, since the trial "was not going to be simply a legal process, but a political persecution, the outcome . . . would depend on public opinion."

And his book tells of the battle to mobilize public opinion—led by himself and his heroic wife, the noted biographer and novelist, Shirley Graham. Through his pen—extended in glowing and perceptive commentary by Miss Graham—this great crusade to reach the consciousness and the conscience of the American people is described. And

it was the support of "large numbers of poor people" in Du Bois' words, that swung the balance and won an acquittal. Not alone, of course, as he says. World-wide support was forthcoming; the legal defense—headed by Vito Marcantonio—was brilliantly effective; and some of the Negro bourgeoisie and intelligentsia did rally to his support. But, basically: "Without the help of the trade unionists, white and black, without the Progressives and radicals, without Socialists and Communists and lovers of peace all over the world, my voice," writes Du Bois, "would now be stilled forever." And of decisive significance was the unanimous support rendered Dr. Du Bois by the Negro masses, who see in him a fearless man of integrity, who see in him, as Shirley Graham writes, "the symbol of our hopes and aspirations."

With his typical forthrightness, Dr. Du Bois faces up to "the witch-hunting and the calumny," and deals with the question of a unity which openly embraces all elements of the Left, including Communists. Concerning this unity, and support from Communists, he writes: "I do not want to avoid this question; on the contrary, I want to make myself perfectly clear: I am thankful for it; I deeply appreciate it, because it strengthens in my mind my belief that much of what they believe corresponds with my belief and with the belief of all honest people." And he continues: "I refuse to be diverted from what I think is right, because someone charges that my program is socialistic or communistic. No program of human progress can escape this charge, for it is true. I do not try to escape. I believe in Socialism just as firmly as I believe in democracy."

The book teaches the need for unity of all who hate fascism and love peace, and its main story—the acquittal—testifies to the strength of unity. In addition, the *style* of the book, as of the man, offers profound lessons in the *tactics* of unity-building. The book is cogent and precise. It is measured, clear, persuasive. It is filled with imagery and color and warmth and humor.

Structurally, the book has a feature which, to this reviewer's knowledge, is quite unique. I have reference to the Comment written by Shirley Graham. These Comments appear at the close of several chapters and offer penetrating insights into the whole nature of the frame-up and the conduct of the successful struggle against it. They bring to the book a personal and informal nature and, at the same time, a vividness, which add greatly to the volume's overall impact.

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Of particular value in this book is its positive and conclusive evidence of the Federal government's concoction and participation in cold-blooded frame-ups, directed especially at fighters for peace. Du Bois shows, in detail, in his case, the absence of evidence, the attempt to manufacture it, the use of provocateurs and corrupt witnesses. While, in fact, of course, the long record of persecution of working class militants, of Negro people, and anti-imperialist forces in this country is filled with legal frame-ups, it remains true that many people, unaware of this, simply do not believe that the U.S. government has or would stoop to such practices. In these days of the intensification and the glorification of the frame-up system, Du Bois' devastating, documented exposé of the frame-

up aimed at himself and his fellow-defendants, a frame-up successfully overcome, is a keen instrument for laying bare the rotten nature of bourgeois "justice" in this country. Du Bois, himself, comments: "What turns me cold in all this experience is the certainty that thousands of innocent victims are in jail today. . . . God only knows how many as innocent as I and my colleagues are today in hell."

Above all, this book demonstrates that the ruling class—with its kept press and prostituted scribblers, its rigged courts and its banks bursting with plunder—*can be beaten*. This book shows how—and only how it can be beaten—by militant, aggressive, organized, united struggle of Negro and white, by boldly and confidently going to the masses with the message of resistance to reaction and war, with the demand for equality, security and peace, by selfless, determined leadership and by unity, unity and again unity!

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In the 1906 Address to the Nation of the Niagara Movement, penned by Dr. Du Bois, are these words:

"Our enemies, triumphant for the present, are fighting the stars in their courses. Justice and humanity must prevail . . . no bribe of money or notoriety, no promise of wealth or fame, is worth the surrender of a people's manhood or the loss of a man's self-respect. We refuse to surrender the leadership of this race to cowards and trucklers. . . . On this rock we have planted our banners. We will never give up, though the trump of doom find us still fighting. . . ."

"Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. All across

the skies sit signs of promise. The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer, with ballot in his hand, is voting open the gates of Opportunity and Peace."

In our day what reality has come to this prophecy of genius! Now from Peking to Berlin stands an immense bulwark of peace and of freedom, grounded in the indestructible might of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

So, in this work, comes again Du Bois' call to continued confidence and intensified struggle. He points to the "great silence [which] has fallen on the real soul of the nation," but he says: "My words are not a counsel of despair. Rather they are a call to new courage and determination to know the Truth."

The U.S. government will grant no passport to Dr. Du Bois, nor to Paul Robeson; it jails Ben Davis and hounds Henry Winston and tries Pettis Perry and Claudia Jones. But that on basic issues a Du Bois stands with a Robeson and a Robeson with a jailed Benjamin Davis demonstrates that it is in the battle for peace, in the fight for liberation, in the resistance to fascism, in the struggle of the working class, that one finds the mainstream of the history of the Negro people in the United States.

No more timely volume has appeared than *In Battle for Peace*. It is a book which, while of a lasting quality, will have tremendous value right now in helping the struggle against witch-hunting, government frame-ups, white chauvinism and the war and fascism program of imperialism. The work is what

its title says, but its effectiveness depends upon how conscientiously partisans of peace bring it onto the arena. This book will be read and will be influential, if it is sold—the more widely the better, and its attractive price makes this especially realizable.

*Masses and Mainstream*, having pub-

lished Neruda's *Let the Rail-Splitter Awake!*, Lloyd Brown's *Iron City* and V. J. Jerome's *A Lantern for Jeremy*, merited the appreciation of all progressive humanity. This appreciation is now greatly enhanced with the publication of W. E. B. Du Bois' *In Battle For Peace*.

Pressure of space has forced the omission of the Letters from Readers section. Readers are cordially invited to submit manuscripts, not exceeding 4,000 words, for publication in *Political Affairs*. Letters of comment will also be welcomed; those submitted for publication should not exceed 400 words.—The Editor.

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# Index For 1952

- Alpatov, M.—On the Transition From the Ancient World to the Middle Ages, July, 45-59.
- Aptheker, Herbert—Corruption, Inc. (review of **How to Get Rich in Washington**, by Blair Boles), July, 60-64; (with George Blake)—"Flesh and Bone of the Working Class . . ."—on Foster's **History of the Communist Party**, September, 48-56; review of **In Battle for Peace**, by W. E. B. Du Bois, December, 57-62.
- Bianca, Michael—Atomic Imperialism (review of **Atomic Imperialism**, by James S. Allen), May 61-65.
- Bittelman, Alexander—Lenin's Teachings and the Liberation of Humanity, January, 1-11; Corruption, Warmongering and Pro-Fascist Reaction, March, 1-14.
- Blake, George—The Supreme Court Will Not Have the Last Word, March, 15-21; (with Herbert Aptheker), "Flesh and Bone of the Working Class . . ."—on Foster's **History of the Communist Party**, September, 48-56.
- Brewster, Frank (with Peter Colton)—On the Question of Sectarianism in Our Peace Activity, September, 21-32.
- Charney, George Blake. See Blake, George.
- Colton, Peter (with Frank Brewster)—On the Question of Sectarianism in Our Peace Activity, September, 21-32; A "New" Theory of Capitalism (review of **American Capitalism: the Concept of Counter-vailing Power**, by J. E. Galbraith), November, 58-62.
- Communications—On Chauvinism Against the Mexican-American People, by J. D., February, 51-56; Women of the Soviets, March, 46-50; Notes on Recent Developments in the South, May, 41-51; On a Marxist History of the North American Indian, May, 52-54; Letters from Readers, November, 63-65.
- Davis, Benjamin J.—The Struggle for Peace and the Negro Liberation Movement, June, 51-57.
- Dennis, Eugene—The Fascist Danger (reprint of part of report to the 1948 Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.), April, 14-25.
- Editorial—The Real Issues in the 1952 Elections, August, 1-12.
- Elson, James—Dr. Just: Pioneer Biologist, April, 52-60.
- Figueres, Leo—A Form of Socialist Democracy: People's Democratic Power, November, 46-57.
- Fleischer, Louis—The International Economic Conference, May, 1-10.
- Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley—Freedom for the Communist Leaders!, July, 1-6.
- For **A Lasting Peace**, editorial—On Stalin's Economic Problems of Socialism in U.S.S.R., December, 14-27.
- Foster, William Z.—History of the Communist Party of the United States (outline), January, 30-37; The Communists and the LaFollette Movement of 1924, February, 21-31; Reply to Communication, "On a Marxist History of the North American Indians," May, 54-60; Peace—Today's Central Issue, September, 1-5; The Formation of the Communist Party (1919-1921), September, 33-47.
- Gerson, Simon W.—The Jury System and Democratic Rights, July, 35-44.
- Ghosh, Ajoy—The General Elections in India, March, 34-44.
- Hall, Gus—The Importance of Communist Cadres, January, 38-48.
- Haywood, Harry—A Mighty Weapon in the Fight Against Genocide (review of **We Charge Genocide**, edited by W. L. Patterson), January, 60-65; Further on Race, Nation and the Concept "Negro," October, 47-59.
- Henderson, Samuel T.—White Chauvinism and Negro Bourgeois Nationalism, December, 25-33.
- Herwitz, Alvin S.—Pavlov's Teachings in Psychology and Physiology, September, 57-64.
- Holden, Joseph M.—On the 1952 Steel Strike, November, 36-45.
- Jameson, Thomas—Labor and Third Party Perspectives, October, 37-46.
- Jerome, V. J.—A Powerful Film for Peace (review of **Peace Will Win!**), February, 64.
- Joliot-Curie, Frederic—Halt Bacteriological Genocide!, April, 26.
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