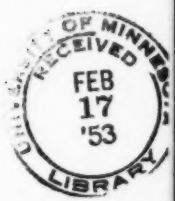


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NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
C.P., U.S.A.

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

On Conviction of the Thirteen Communist Leaders

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

On January 21, 1953, thirteen additional national leaders of the Communist Party of the United States were found guilty under the terms of the fascist-like Smith Act, in the second Foley Square frame-up trial. These comrades were: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones, Alexander Bittelman, George Blake Charney, Betty Gannett, V. J. Jerome, Arnold Johnson, Albert F. Lannon, Jacob Mindel, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Weinstock, and William W. Weinstone.

Upon this occasion the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., issued the following statement, over the signature of William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Party:

THE CONVICTION of the 13 Communist leaders in the Smith Act trial in Foley Square is a punishment inflicted upon them because they dared to speak out against the Korean war and for peace. The verdict of guilty, like the original indictment and the trial, of which it is the outcome, is a product of the present war hysteria. This thought-control conviction will

increase the alarm, already expressed among many sections of the American people, as to what is happening to the Bill of Rights at the hands of McCarthyism.

Wall Street, through its Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, is determined to rule the world, and to this end it is seeking to organize a third world war. It conceives of the Korean war as the first step towards its hoped-for general conflagration. The Communist Party has resolutely exposed and opposed this war program, and it is organizing the people to insist upon a general program of peace. Therefore, the Communists must be thrown into prison to break up their opposition to the warmongers.

As it is not yet deemed fit to arrest people simply for speaking out against war (although the McCarran Act proposes to do just this), they are thrown into the penitentiary upon the trumped-up charge that they are conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government.

The second Foley Square trial was

cut according to the same blueprint pattern that was used two years ago to jail Gene Dennis and the ten other members of the National Board of the Communist Party, as well as in various other trials. It was rammed through to a conviction in disregard of the law, the facts, and American democratic traditions of justice. This was a typical example of Communists being framed up and mechanically convicted in a hostile capitalist court.

The trial was conducted in an atmosphere of Red-baiting and war hysteria which made it impossible for the defendants to have a fair trial. The newspapers, radio, television, and other sources of public information created around the trial a sort of lynch atmosphere, so far as the Communists are concerned. In such a situation it was not too hard to wrest a verdict of guilty out of a prejudiced jury.

The charge against the defendants would be absurd if it were not so serious in its threat to American democracy. The government was unable to scare up even the slightest proof that the Communists, during the 33 years of life of our Party, had practiced force and violence; so it was reduced to the absurd device of citing, as "overt acts," that this defendant had mailed a letter, that the other had been seen entering the Party offices, and the like. The process was a trial of books and ideas; an attempt to stifle free speech and to establish thought-control, in order to silence the most active and clear-sighted political defenders of the

peace interests of the workers, the Negro people, and the whole American nation.

The Jury was well chosen to do the reactionary work expected of it. It was hand-picked, according to the New York blue-ribbon jury system. Elements who might possibly give a square break to the Communists were carefully screened out. If one or two were able, perhaps, to delay the jury a few days from bringing in its machine-produced verdict this was because of an oversight.

In the current Smith trials, the jury system has just about collapsed so far as Communists are concerned. It indeed takes a brave juror, in true response to the evidence before him, to take a stand for acquittal and to stick it out on that basis to the end. For over him hang obvious threats of loss of work, if not actual investigation and intimidation by the FBI. The function of juries at this time is to convict Communists brought before them, regardless of the facts; and the government, by its reactionary attitude, is insisting that they do just this.

The state's witnesses were the usual collection of stoolpigeons, renegades, and perjurers. One would think that the government, out of embarrassment, if not out of common decency, would cease confiding its cause and reputation into the hands of such disreputable political riffraff as this. There was not a single person in the courtroom who did not know that the paid informers as government witnesses were lying with their fantastic interpretations of

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Communist policy and practice. Nevertheless, their manufactured evidence was received as though it were heaven-sent gospel truth.

The prosecution was out to "get" the Communists at any cost and by any means.

It developed an anti-Red hysteria, beside which the Salem witch trials would seem almost like objective proceedings. The Department of Justice, with such outrageous persecution, is dragging the democratic traditions of America in the mud. The current Smith Act trials, which are a stench in the nostrils of democratic people all over the world, have done much more injustice and constituted a far greater attack on popular liberties than that by the notorious Alien and Sedition laws of a century and a half ago.

The Court, whose solemn function it was to display impartiality, exhibited a strong bias against the Communist defendants all through the trial. Many examples of this could be cited. Thus, there was the failure to sever from the case Jacob Mindel, an old and sick man who had not been active in Party work for several years past; there was the refusal to disqualify the jury and to declare a mistrial (as would have been done in a trial of non-Communists) when it was quite obvious that several of the jurors had flagrantly violated the court's instructions.

And then, too, there was the action of the judge, in his colloquy with witness Elizabeth Flynn, in seeking to shift the basis of the trial by raising the question of whether or not a

people's front government, once in power, would amend the Constitution.

The court's anti-Communist bias was also shown in various instances in the judge's charge to the jury:

(a) The definite implication in the judge's charge that Communist propaganda constituted a clear and present danger to the United States Government, which was an arbitrary conclusion without the province of the court and highly detrimental to the defendants.

(b) The statement that "it is immaterial that they may also have contemplated the teaching and advocacy of other matters, such as rent control, civil rights legislation, or any other subject." By this statement, the judge arbitrarily severed the everyday fight of the workers from their ultimate fight for Socialism. This was not only nonsensical in itself, but also highly prejudicial to the interests of the defendants; for regardless of what the Court may say, this daily fight is an inseparable part of the struggle for Socialism, and it is valid proof that our Party does not advocate or practice force and violence.

(c) The calling into question of the credibility of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as a witness because she courageously refused to act as a stool-pigeon by turning over for persecution the names of Communists.

(d) The categoric dismissal of the right of revolution by the judge, with his statement, "In law there is no right of violent revolution." By this ruling Thomas Jefferson and

Abraham Lincoln could be jailed (as they doubtless would be under the Smith Act), for they both openly advocated the right of revolution, without any "ifs," "ands," or "buts." The implication from the Judge's abolition of the American people's right of revolution is to cast discredit, if not criminality, upon the Communists who dare to agree with Jefferson and Lincoln in asserting the people's right of revolution.

(c) The offhand way in which the court brushed aside the Schneiderman decision of the Supreme Court, stating that it "would be of no moment in an issue which is yours to determine." This also was highly prejudicial to the defendants. For the Communist Party operated for a decade in the light of this Supreme Court decision, accepting it as a fair definition of our Party's policy regarding the establishment of Socialism, and also as an official assurance from the judicial branch of the Government that our Party's activities fall within the scope of the U.S. Constitution.

While accepting as valid evidence a string of lies by paid stoolpigeons, the Court swept aside as immaterial this vital Supreme Court decision. That the Schneiderman decision did give a fair statement of our Party's policy regarding the question of force and violence was inadvertently shown by the Judge himself, who, when undertaking to present a definition of our Party's general program, instead of taking it from one of our Party documents, used the precise words, without quotes, of

the Supreme Court decision in the Schneiderman case.

Our Party comrades in the trial completely refuted the lying allegations of the prosecution and its witnesses. But this did the defendants no good; they were convicted nevertheless. This emphasizes the need for Communists in such trials to get our case more clearly before the broad masses, the only force that can guarantee Communist workers a fair trial in a capitalist court.

Such a situation, of a complete breakdown of law and justice, constitutes a serious danger to the whole of American democratic rights. When the Smith Act trials began, our Party warned that they constituted not simply an attack upon the Communists, but upon the whole labor and progressive movement. The truth of this statement is now being made very evident by this latest verdict or by the wholesale witchhunting that is going on in the government, schools, unions, industries, movies, and everywhere else.

Organized labor, the Negro people, the farmers' organizations, and other democratic bodies, many of which have condemned the Smith Act, should realize the terrible menace in such a miscarriage of justice as that in the trial just concluded. They should express their protest and resentment in a mass demand that this decision be reversed in the upper courts, and that Gene Dennis and the many other victims of the Smith Act, McCarran Act and similar thought-control laws be released forthwith from jail.

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Leninism—Militant Banner of Working People of the World*

JANUARY 21, 1953 will mark the 29th anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, creator of the Soviet Socialist State and the greatest revolutionary genius of all times and of all peoples.

“Lenin was the leader not only of the Russian proletariat, not only of the European workers, not only of the colonial East, but of all the working people of the globe” (J. Stalin). Lenin pointed out to all working people ways and means for ridding themselves of the imperialist oppression and denial of rights, showed how to build a socialist society. Lenin’s name has become the symbol of the new world for all peoples—from West to East and from South to North. His entire noble life, activity and immortal teaching are indissolubly linked with the struggle of the working people for liberation. “Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship

of the proletariat in particular” (J. Stalin).

Leninism is a great internationalistic teaching. Leninism lives in the heroic deeds of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the might of the Soviet Socialist State, in the steady forward advance of the Soviet people along the pathway to Communism. Leninism lives and triumphs, in the countries of people’s democracy successfully building Socialism, in the building of the new life in the Chinese People’s Republic, in the upsurge of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries and in the growth of the world Communist movement.

* * *

Leninism lives in the policy of peace and friendship among the nations, consistently and steadfastly pursued by the Soviet Union and the countries of people’s democracy. The struggle for peace constitutes the basis of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and of all countries of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp. This policy of peace and friendship among the nations is diametrically opposed to the imperialist policy of

* Reprinted from *For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy*, Jan. 16, 1953.

plunder, brigandage and war. "Over there—wrangling, war, bloodshed, sacrifice of millions of lives, capitalist exploitation," said Lenin 35 years ago, "here—a genuine peace policy and the Socialist Republic of Soviets."

The Lenin-Stalin policy of peace and security of the peoples proceeds from the fact that peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Socialism and also co-operation between them are quite possible provided the principle of equality and non-interference in the affairs of other states is observed. All the countries of the mighty camp of Socialism, democracy and peace are unswervingly guided by these lofty principles.

Why, then, do the press, radio and all the fraudulent propaganda of the imperialists brazenly lie and slander the U.S.S.R., and the countries of people's democracy? The U.S. warmongers and their yes-men spread this deliberate lie and these slanders because they want to intimidate the peoples and poison their minds in order to mask their aggressive war plans aimed at achieving world domination, to justify the frantic arms drive, the militarization of the economy and the construction of hundreds of military air bases in Europe, Africa, in the Middle and Far East.

But the peoples of the world judge the policy of the U.S. rulers and their satellites not by what they say, but by what they do. The imperialist robbers cannot succeed in concealing their aggressive designs. The firm and consistent Lenin-Stalin peace

policy pursued by the Soviet Union, completely exposes the criminal designs of the U.S. atom-maniacs against mankind. The lie and slander are the weapon of the misanthropes of the imperialist warmongers' clique. Truth and the will for peace are the mighty weapon of the hundreds and hundreds of millions of peace-loving people of the globe.

* * *

Leninism has ruthlessly exposed the hypocrisy and falsity of bourgeois democracy, the empty phrasemongering of its apologists about "freedom" and "equality," aimed at camouflaging the fact that capitalism was and remains a system of wage-slavery. Lenin said that by "freedom" the capitalists mean the freedom of the rich to amass profits, and the freedom of the workers to die of starvation. In his historic speech to the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U. Comrade Stalin said:

Formerly the bourgeoisie permitted itself to be liberal, championed bourgeois-democratic freedoms and in doing so created for itself popularity among the people. Now, not even a trace of liberalism remains. Gone is the so-called "freedom of the individual"—the rights of the individual now are recognized only in the case of those who have capital, while all other citizens are regarded as human raw material fit only for exploitation. The principle of equality of people and nations has been trampled underfoot; it has been replaced by the principle of full rights for the exploiting minority

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and no rights for the exploited majority of citizens. The banner of the bourgeois-democratic freedoms has been thrown overboard.

Nowadays, honest, noble and progressive people in the U.S. and in the other capitalist countries are persecuted and thrown into prison for no other reason than that they openly voice their convictions and oppose the policy of aggressive wars and enslavement of peoples. The U.S. ruling clique appears today under the pirate banner of fascism, in the role of world gendarme, in the role of 20th century inquisitors.

The great principles of socialist democracy—democracy for the working people, for all the people—found most complete embodiment in the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. which does not confine itself to stating the formal rights of citizens, but stresses the guarantees of these rights, the means by which these rights can be exercised. The Soviet people, led by the Lenin-Stalin Party, have become real masters of their country; they own all the wealth of their homeland and themselves administer their socialist state. Friendly cooperation and socialist mutual aid among workers freed from exploitation constitute an essential and striking feature of life in the Soviet Union. Socialist democracy in the U.S.S.R. is a model for all the people's-democratic countries, the peoples of which have ended once and for all capitalist enslavement and

have taken their fate into their own hands.

* * *

Leninism is the banner of struggle for Communism; it is the great ideological weapon which mobilizes the proletariat and all working people for resolute struggle against imperialism. Life has proved the immense superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. The gigantic economic and social transformations in the Soviet Union, in the Chinese People's Republic and in the European countries of people's democracy are eloquent testimony that the cause of renovating the world is being realized on the basis of putting into practice the immortal ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

Imperialism may still bring great misfortunes and suffering to the peoples, but it cannot rid itself of the contradictions rending it, cannot evade its doom. World-historic development is taking place with unprecedented rapidity because the multi-million masses in the formerly backward and enslaved countries, comprising the overwhelming majority of the population of the world, are beginning to play an increasingly active role in the historical process. The old world of violence and exploitation is collapsing, the colonial system of imperialism is collapsing, while more detachments are joining the army of fighters for Socialism. Foreseeing the irrepressible striving of the multi-million masses for So-

cialism, Lenin said that the "complete victory of Socialism is fully and absolutely assured."

Growth of the world Communist movement has become the law of modern development. In the growth of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of their influence among the broad masses of working people there is widely manifested the all-victorious force of the ideas of Leninism.

The great force of the influence of the ideas of Leninism lies in their profound correctness, in that they express the vital interests of the peoples, that they inspire, mobilize and organize the million-fold masses of working people and that they instill in them boundless confidence in victory over the forces of imperialism.

* * *

The great Lenin-Stalin Party is an inexhaustible source of militant experience, a model of revolutionary action for the Communist and Workers' Parties. From its example Communists in all countries learn how to master revolutionary theory and how to apply it creatively in practice, how to advance theory, how to fight for the purity and unity of the Party ranks, for working-class unity and against its sworn enemies—the Right-wing socialist splitters, against the Tito-fascist and other hired agents of U.S. imperialism.

Lenin and Stalin forged a Party of a new type in the fire of irreconcilable struggle against all enemies of Marxism, against all enemies of the

working class. The history of the Lenin-Stalin Party is a history of struggle and of defeating the petty-bourgeois parties operating in the ranks of the working class. The history of the Lenin-Stalin Party is a history of struggle and of smashing opportunist, defeatist groups within the Party, a history of struggle against international opportunism, against the Right-wing socialist lackeys of imperialism. Lenin and Stalin have always educated Party members and all Soviet people in the spirit of keen revolutionary vigilance, of burning hatred for the agents of imperialist intelligence services, for the spies, saboteurs, assassins, wreckers and betrayers of the homeland. Leninism teaches that there can be no place for complacency, smugness and negligence in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Leninism teaches the Communist and Workers' Parties how to combat opportunism and sectarianism, constantly to strengthen indissoluble contact with the broad masses of working people. Lenin had the greatest confidence in the creative forces of the proletariat. Comrade Stalin points out that Lenin always insisted that we learn from the masses, comprehend their actions and carefully study the practical experience of the struggle of the masses.

"Faith in the creative power of the masses," says Comrade Stalin—"this was the feature of Lenin's activities which enabled him to comprehend the elemental forces and to direct

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their movement into the channel of the proletarian revolution.”

* * *

Lenin was the great strategist of proletarian revolution. Lenin's revolutionary foresight is being realized with unprecedented precision. Comrade Stalin points out that brilliant insight, the ability rapidly to grasp and divine the inner meaning of impending events, was that quality in Lenin which enabled him to lay down the correct strategy and the clear line of conduct at crucial moments of the revolutionary movement.

The guarantee of the invincibility of the Communist and Workers' Parties was and will be fidelity to Leninism, fidelity to the great continuer of Lenin's teaching and his cause—to Comrade Stalin.

Thanks to Comrade Stalin's brilliant theoretical works, the Marxist-Leninist teaching has been raised to a new, higher phase of development. Comrade Stalin's work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* is of the greatest significance for the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. This work contains an all-round analysis of the laws of social production and distribution of material benefits in socialist society, defines the scientific basis for the development of socialist economy and points out the ways for the gradual transition from Socialism to Com-

munist. Comrade Stalin's discovery and substantiation of the basic economic law of Socialism and the basic economic law of modern capitalism is a big contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

Comrade Stalin's theoretical works arm the Communist and Workers' Parties with knowledge of the methods of revolutionary reconstruction of society and with the treasury of the experience of the struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for building Communism, give them invincible strength, enable them to see the great aims of the forward movement.

The example of the Soviet Union and of the countries of people's democracy convinces all honest people of the correctness of the Lenin-Stalin ideas. There is but one way for the development of world civilization, there is but one way for the emancipation of the working people from the fetters of imperialism, namely, the way of peace and friendship among the peoples—the way of Leninism.

Leninism is the all-victorious banner of the emancipation of mankind. Inspired by the genius of Lenin and Stalin the working people in all countries are rallying closer and closer round the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle for freedom and independence, for peace, for democracy and for Socialism.

As the 83rd Congress Meets

By Frank Brewster

WITH THE CONVENING of the new, 83rd Congress on January 3rd and the inauguration of President Eisenhower on January 20th, the working class and people of the United States face two of the most fateful, critical years in its history.

It would be wrong to view the new Congress as merely a routine or ordinary succession of post-war Congresses that prevailed under the Truman Administration, pliant and devoted tools though they were in executing the policies of monopoly capital in its drive for world domination and war. The new factor with regard to the 83rd Congress is that it will reflect the policies of the Eisenhower Administration and will thus mirror the policies of the most reactionary forces in the ranks of monopoly capital. These policies carry the possibility of the greatest disaster for the American people.

It would be wrong also to view the Eisenhower Administration as merely a throwback to the Hoover regime mitigated, perhaps, by the Keynesian practices developed under the New Deal. Such a view misses the fact that U.S. imperialism, in the present period, is operating under vastly dif-

ferent historical conditions than prevailed in the 1920's and early '30's.

Unless checked by the power of the people, the policies of the Eisenhower Administration, operating under new historical conditions, must result in consequences of far greater catastrophe than the crisis and ruin visited on the American people by the Hoover Administration. The policies of the most reactionary forces of monopoly capital, today, are bound to aggravate and intensify all the inherent contradictions of U.S. imperialism.

If these policies are to be effectively challenged and defeated, it is imperative that labor and the people give serious heed to the new situation created by the Eisenhower victory, to the new economic and political trends arising out of this, and to the work of the 83rd Congress. This Congress will seek to lay the groundwork for the execution of the monopolists' plans for fascism and world war.

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION

President Truman is leaving office with hymns of praise, sung by him-

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self, to the "House of Prosperity" that Truman built. More sober representatives of Monopoly Capital, however, are not willing to humor this self-glorification. On the contrary, in viewing the economic scene, they are disturbed by a presentiment of the future that is far from rosy. What they see about them is growing economic difficulties for U.S. imperialism, a developing trend toward instability and economic crisis.

In this category of economic observers is to be found Elliot V. Bell, editor and publisher of *Business Week*, influential enough in Republican Party circles to have been considered as in line for Secretary of the Treasury, had Dewey won in 1948. Mr. Bell states, "Whether the boom lasts six months or two years, the new Republican Administration will probably have to deal with a *major set-back*." In similar vein, *U.S. News and World Report*, in a special report, declares: "Good times are going to greet the Eisenhower Administration and carry it along *for at least six months*. There is a strong chance that relatively good times will prevail through a full year and that not until 1954 will the strength of U.S. business be tested."

This pessimistic outlook is projected precisely when the national economy is declared to be at a post-war high point. The production index (1935-39=100) stood, in October, 1952, at 227, practically at capacity, and is exceeded by only the war-year figure, November 1943, when it reached 247. The national

total output is at \$350 billion, compared to \$337 billions in 1951. The outlay for business plant equipment is estimated at \$27 billion, equal to 1951. Total civilian employment is said to be at 62,228,000 (55,454,000 non-agricultural workers and 6,774,000 agricultural workers), 900,000 more than during November 1951. Unemployment is at 1,418,000, compared to 1,828,000 in 1951. Residential construction is at about \$11 billion, approximately the same as in 1951.

Without attempting to analyze or dispute the character or status of the employment and unemployment statistics, the total picture presented of the national economy would indeed seem to be impressive. Why then the pessimism?

The crux of the matter is that the economists are forced to admit that the major prop of the national economy has been military appropriations. Since mid-1950, Congress has authorized some \$181 billion for military expenditures. With another \$40 billion being requested, this would make a total of \$221 billion for this purpose. To October 1952, \$72 billion of this has been spent, the balance being authorized and to be requested, but not yet spent. An average of some \$50 billion per year is to be spent in the next few years.

This is what the monopolists and their ideologists allude to as the "leveling off" of war expenditures. But even this spectre of leveling off throws them into a paroxysm of fear, the justifiable fear that U.S. economy

is headed for an economic crisis which they prefer to conceal under the term of "recession" or "set-back."

For instance, both *Business Week* and *U.S. News and World Report* point especially to the "approaching peak in arms spending" as the main basis for their gloom about the future of the national economy. *U.S. News and World Report* explains it in the following way:

The key to the course of total output is to be found in private investment. . . . This hectic pace of investment is expected to slow down in the months ahead. . . . A major cause of this trend is that plants started because of the defense program are nearing completion. By the end of 1953, almost nine-tenths of the projects certified for special tax treatment will be completed. Sharp declines are scheduled next year by railroads, aluminum companies, electrical-machinery firms and aircraft factories. By the end of 1953, most of the expansion will be completed for power companies, steel works and oil refineries. Only a small investment is scheduled for defense plants in 1954. . . . What is developing definitely is an end to the boom in plant expansion. This has been going on at a steady pace since the middle of 1951 and has been an important prop to the general business boom. *This prop is about to weaken.* . . . The main problem in prospect for the Eisenhower Administration is that 1954 is likely to signal the end of the defense boom. That is the outlook, barring the outbreak of a major war or sharp changes in the defense program.

What then are the prospects the monopolists hold out to the masses

of the country? They no longer speak of "tapering off" in arms spending and reverting back to civilian production, of replacing the slackening pace of investments in war plants with new investments in the civilian sector of the economy. They no longer speak of this, because the one-sided war economy is simultaneously sapping the purchasing power of the masses through inflation and taxes and creating an over-production in the civilian sector.

Thus, the monopolists hold out to the American people the inspiring delusion of an endless disproportion between productive capacity and the consuming power of the masses or the alternative of endless war preparations and war itself.

U.S. News and World Report is quite blunt in blueprinting this destiny: "The boom in sale of goods going to individual consumers is expected to end in the first half of 1954. By that time some people will probably be unemployed because of the decline in plant expansion and in defense activity. Others will have smaller earnings or lower pay in prospect."

Such then is the prospect being prepared for the working class and the people generally by the monopolists, as the new Congress convenes. The working class and the people as a whole must choose another alternative—the path of struggle against the encroaching economic crisis and the drive to war. They must choose this alternative now, in the struggle against the 83rd Congress.

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INTENSIFICATION OF THE WAR DRIVE

Recent developments must serve to alert the masses as never before to the increased danger of new war provocations and the spread of the war in Korea.

This is foreshadowed by the *New York Times'* interpretation of the Eisenhower Administration aggressive war policies which it summarizes in these hypocritical words: "Eisenhower, like Dulles, appears to have a keener appreciation of Asia in our global defense than the Truman Administration, but at no time was the organizer of N.A.T.O. indicated by word or deed any change in his long-standing conviction that Europe is our first line of defense against Russia."

Every key move made by Eisenhower, since the elections, has been designed to foster a feeling of mass resignation to the inevitability of war.

The hoax of going to Korea, which inspired millions to place reliance on Eisenhower for a cease-fire in Korea, has now run its course. The shabbiest political trickster's game in the annals of American history served nothing more than to reaffirm the vicious imperialist policy of continued bloodshed in Korea, to "see it through" and to expand its scope, in the interests of finance capital.

It is therefore no accident that Eisenhower gave a willing ear to General MacArthur's "peace" plan. In recent days this "peace" plan has been elaborated by Senator Styles

Bridges of New Hampshire, influential Republican, in the following manner: "The President we have elected will be a war President, our economy will continue to be a war economy. Our taxes will be high, our sons will be drafted." Mr. Bridges' advice is to take over Taiwan (Formosa), use the atom bomb, blockade China, use Nationalist China's troops and mobilize all Asia, South Korea, Japan, the Philippines and South East Asia—to serve as cannon fodder for American imperialism. The same plan has been reiterated by Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, as elaborately reported by *United News and World Report*, January 16, 1953.

If these dreams of conquest appear to be the hallucinations of an irrational mind, it is only because the reality of American foreign policy is irrational. It is, however, the key to an understanding of why the United States opposes a cease-fire in Korea.

Recently, Walter Lippmann in the *Herald Tribune* has gone Mr. Bridges one better. "The reality," he writes, "is that we cannot continue to treat Korea and Indo-China as separate wars—to be fought out or negotiated separately." According to Lippmann, the French imperialist war against the peoples of Viet Nam is now "our" war, too.

In the same vein is one of the syndicated columns of Joseph Alsop, who, after tying Viet Nam to Korea, writes: "Those who know the facts . . . will therefore not be shocked if President Eisenhower proposes what

may be called a preventive offensive, limited to Korea and intended to bring the enemy to terms. . . ."

These inspired outpourings of the controlled press and monopoly spokesmen reflect what the *New York Times* has called "a keen appreciation of Asia in our global defense." It reflects the desire to carve out spheres of influence in Asia, within the framework of monopoly capitalism's main policy of seeking world domination and war against the Soviet Union by making Europe "the first line of defense."

In this connection, the manner in which Stalin's answers to *New York Times* correspondent, James Reston, reiterating the U.S.S.R.'s ardent desire for peace, were treated by the Eisenhower Administration and the bourgeois press, bespeaks the danger of new provocations in Europe, to which the American people must be alerted. The studious, artificial attempt to bury the answers in a shroud of "pessimism"; the deliberate, calculating attempt to palm the answers off as containing "nothing new"; all this manufactured atmosphere had but one transparent design—to close the door to peace and to still the hopes and the struggles of the masses for peace.

As the new Congress convenes, the struggle to keep Eisenhower to his promises, the struggle for a cease-fire in Korea, must assume greater proportions, must reflect the very real aspirations of the people for peace registered in the election campaign.

There is a concerted movement on the part of Big Business, abetted by the labor bureaucrats, Social-Democrats, and liberal apologists for U.S. imperialism, to create an atmosphere of national unity around Eisenhower, to condition the workers to tolerate the new regime. Such an outlook, if allowed to make headway, would prove disastrous to the masses in our country. It has its basis and motivation in the effort to silence opposition to the war program of the monopolists, to rally support for this war program.

The attempt to quiet the feeling of alarm aroused in the people by the Eisenhower victory is illustrated by the honeyed words of Raymond Moley in *Newsweek*. According to Mr. Moley: "1953 will not and should not be 1933. The most important difference will be rooted in the character of the new regime. It will be a conservative one. . . . The important fact about a conservative government is that it conserves. . . . There is every evidence that the Eisenhower regime in which Taft will be a powerful factor in legislation will be conservative in the best sense of the word . . . it will conserve the best of what we have and avoid commitments that we cannot fulfill without danger of disaster."

Along the same lines, Dorothy Schiff, *New York Post* Publisher, retroactively finds new-born virtues in General Eisenhower. According to her, Eisenhower can't be too bad, for after all, wasn't he at one time the first choice of the Americans for

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Democratic Action as Presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket?

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *New York Post* columnist, with scholastic calm, echoing the bipartisan policy approach of Adlai Stevenson and Democratic Party leaders, counsels "constructive criticism" and the role of loyal opposition to the Eisenhower Administration.

Even more insidious is the role being played by the top A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders in seeking to throttle the fear and concern in the ranks of labor and the new moods of struggle arising out of the Eisenhower victory. Both George Meany, President of the A. F. of L. and Walter Reuther, President of the C.I.O., have pledged "complete cooperation" to the Eisenhower Administration. In the case of Mr. Meany, the pledge is given in the name of the avowed purpose of making "America a better place . . . to keep America and her friends and allies free." The C.I.O. leaders have pledged their support to a "peace with honor, and stability with freedom and economic progress to the entire world."

It is not too difficult to perceive that such pledges are commitments of support to the war program of the Eisenhower Administration. They cannot but result in the subordination of the economic interests and democratic rights of the working class and the people generally to the program of monopoly capital.

But at the same time, these spokesmen are compelled to come out with

pronouncements that there will be "no let-up" in the fight for the economic program of labor. These statements express the pressure of the rank and file of the unions whose sound proletarian instinct and general concern over the Republican victory have alerted them to prepare to struggle to defend their unions and their conditions.

In somewhat similar fashion, the attempt is being made to lull the Negro people into a false sense of security concerning the Eisenhower Administration. In the face of the known fact that the elections advanced the consolidation of a Dixiecrat-Republican alliance, the N.A.A.-C.P. delegation, headed by Walter White, Channing Tobias and others, which met with Eisenhower immediately after the elections, saw only that "Eisenhower had spoken very feelingly on the necessity for having no second-class citizenship for any American citizen . . . Eisenhower revealed intimate knowledge of Senate Rule 22 [on cloture], promised to use his influence to end filibustering. . . ."

Such a statement makes no contribution to the struggles of the Negro people. On the contrary, it seeks to allay their fears when demands for real action on cloture, on compulsory F.E.P.C., on civil rights, are becoming ever more insistent and widespread.

The working class, the Negro people and the masses generally will not fall into the trap of languid resignation to the Eisenhower Adminis-

tration, so carefully being set by the monopolists and their agents. They will reject any attitudes of "marking time," "wait and see," designed to disarm them in their struggles for their economic demands, democratic liberties, and peace. They will defeat the policy of conciliation with the Eisenhower Administration, the policy of making concessions against the interests of the working class and in the interests of Wall Street's war drive.

The fears of the working class concerning the Eisenhower victory were well-founded. These fears must not be dissipated by illusions or attempts to weaken the fighting capacity of the working class.

It is ironic that the "lesser-evil" theorists who accused the Communists of failing to see the grave danger of an Eisenhower victory are the very ones who, after the elections, view the American scene with the greatest calm and relative complacency. Overnight, for them, the fascist danger has disappeared, the threat to democracy has evaporated, the most reactionary firebrands of war have suddenly become partners in what they are pleased to term "the struggle for world freedom."

What differentiated the Communists from these theorists was not the degree of concern regarding the reactionary nature of an Eisenhower victory, though it must be said that we did not sufficiently direct the sharpest fire against the Republicans.

What differentiated the Communists was our insistence that the Tru-

mans and Stevensons, under whom had been initiated the policy of world domination—which prepared and developed the path to fascist advance, which had gone a long way to bring the country to economic ruin and disaster, which had launched an imperialist war against the Korean people, which had wiped out every trace of whatever was progressive in the Roosevelt heritage—that these forces of monopoly reaction could not block the road, paved with their own hands, against an even more reactionary gang of monopoly capitalists.

But why then do the labor bureaucrats and the Social-Democrats now pretend that nothing much out of the ordinary has happened with the election of Eisenhower? It but signifies the extension, under new conditions, of the historical policy of class collaboration and accommodation to the war policy of the monopolists which those worthies pursued with such disastrous results under the Truman Administration.

The working class and people, on the other hand, have no other alternative but to assume a broad offensive on the whole front of democratic struggle and to compel the bureaucrats to break with their policy, in connection with the 83rd Congress and the Eisenhower Administration.

MONOPOLY CAPITAL AND THE NEW CONGRESS

A roll-call of the heads of the most important committees in the House and Senate which will attempt to

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grease the way for the most reactionary legislation in Congress, in line with Administration policy, will show that the American people face a hard road ahead.

The best that has been said of these committee heads, even in the capitalist press, is that they "personify the coalition of Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats," oppose "compulsory health insurance and nation-wide educational subsidies," that labor called them "wrong on every issue in the last Congress" and that they share "the old-guard conservatism" of the Republican leadership.

This leadership plans to maintain the most reactionary features of the Taft-Hartley law, and in addition it projects a ban on company-wide and industry-wide bargaining, strengthening the ban on secondary boycotts, and weeding out all militants by tightening the law on signing anti-Communist affidavits. It plans, also, to abolish the present N.L.R.B. in favor of a panel that will assist in sharper attacks against labor.

Moves to destroy the labor unions now afoot may be gleaned from the announced intention of Rep. Velde, scheduled to become chairman of the House Un-American committee. Stating that the committee has already spent too much time in the Hollywood witchhunt, he urges that the attack on the progressive forces there be subordinated for the time being to "more important matters." Among these more important matters, he listed investigation of the

United Electrical Workers, independent, and Packing House Workers Union, C.I.O.

This is fully in line with the recent Federal Grand Jury recommendation to revoke N.L.R.B. certification to the four independent unions, U.E., Fur, A.C.A., and D.P.O.W., after questioning officials of these unions, on the pretense that these unions "menace the national security."

The hopes of the monopolists to destroy the unions and the right to strike is indicated by the *New York Times* when it says that the "U.S. Chamber of Commerce will be doing the nation a service if its announced intention of investigating Communist influence on strikes in defense plants makes substantial progress."

The moves to cut wages and extend speed-up were already forecast in the 12-week Harvester strike in which the company forced the workers to accept a wage-cutting contract and in the textile industry, where at least one company has forced on the workers a fifty percent increase in the loom-load. In addition, the minimum wage-hour law, 75¢, is being scrutinized, not in connection with the strengthening of the law but its weakening.

All this is enough to indicate that labor is arrayed against encrusted reactionary forces bent on reducing its standard of living, pushing forward to new stages of fascist advance and police-state thought control.

The Negro people face even sharper attacks than labor as a whole. The

Republican-Dixiecrat coalition can be expected to exert the most powerful opposition to changing Senate rule 22, under which a two-thirds vote of the Senate is required to limit debate and under which filibustering has prevented the enactment of F.E.P.C., anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and anti-discrimination laws. Furthermore, this coalition can be expected to try to break down existing barriers to discrimination and segregation in housing, education, health, transportation, hotels and restaurants, weak as they may be today.

Unless labor as a whole rises to its responsibility on a major scale in support of the Negro people's demands, the consequences can prove very disastrous not only to the Negro people but to the entire labor movement.

This is far from all labor and the people generally may expect from the 83rd Congress. There is the current attempt to scuttle the Social Security laws, already initiated by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce which proposed to end old-age assistance to the states and to reduce the level of payments by incorporating old-age assistance into the Social Security Fund.

Further, those looking to reduce the budget to meet the promises made by the Republicans during the elections, are casting covetous eyes, not on the huge military segments of the budget, but on those meager appropriations which in any way meet the needs of the people.

For instance, of the \$85 billion

budget being projected, some \$65 billion is destined for direct war expenditures; \$6.7 billion for interest on the national debt; \$4.5 billion for the veterans program; \$4 billion for the administration of Congress, the courts, the White House and the various departments, agencies and commissions. This leaves only \$5.8 billion for: social security (\$2.3 billion), the farm program (\$1.9 billion), and public works (\$1.6 billion). But even this small sum is far from being sacrosanct to the budget "slashers"—on the contrary, this is precisely the spot they intend to attack with great gusto.

It should also be borne in mind that talk of reduction in taxes does not concern itself with reducing the tax burden of the people. Rather this talk centers mainly around abolition of the excess profits tax on corporations which is bringing in some \$8.5 billion and which expires in 1953. A new proposal by Senator Goldwater of Arizona would substitute a Federal sales tax for the excess profits tax.

There is no doubt also that the new Congress will move to scuttle all price controls, which expire April 30, 1953. As a matter of fact, these controls no longer apply to two-thirds of items originally under control. Tighe Woods, who is resigning as Price Administrator, has himself admitted that if regulation is ended, prices of 200 items would go up, among them milk, bread, gasoline, fuel, oil, cigarettes, consumer services, steel, copper, aluminum, etc.

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Rent control already ended September 30, 1952 in those communities which did not force their governments to request an extension.

On all sides, in the journals of commerce of the monopolists, talk is rife to the effect that the railroads are "over-regulated" by the Interstate Commerce Commission, that public utilities raids can count on greater governmental sympathy, that the Federal Power Commission is likely to be less critical of and more favorable to the profits of the monopolists, that the handing over of the tidelands oil to the states and unrestricted exploitation by the oil trust will similarly receive the sympathetic ear of the government.

These then are the prospects facing the working class and the entire people as the 83rd Congress convenes: the attempt to destroy labor's standards of living and the labor movement itself, sharpened attacks on the Negro people, attempts to scuttle social security and rent controls, tax robbery by the monopolists, and special interest grabs that will put the Tea-Pot Dome scandal in the shade.

The working class and people have no other alternative but to develop the most resolute struggle against all these machinations of the new Congress and the Eisenhower Administration.

If to this is added the critical need to develop a broad struggle for the repeal of the Smith Act, the McCarran Act and the Walter-McCaran immigration law, it is clear that

labor and the people as a whole have their tasks cut out for them.

Finally, it must be said that the attacks on the Communist Party will be accelerated in the days ahead. This is one promise General Eisenhower is expected to keep. But labor and the people must once and for all realize that these attacks on the Communists are but the spearhead of the attacks on the labor movement as a whole. This has been proved by the course of events under the Truman Administration, and further proof will come from the Eisenhower Administration. Labor, therefore, whether it may agree or not with the Communist perspective of Socialism for this country in the future, must, in its own interests, defend the constitutional rights of the Communists if it is to safeguard its own gains and constitutional rights from the encroachments and attacks of the monopolists.

TACTICS OF STRUGGLE

A correct evaluation of the difficult period ahead is necessary to prepare the working class and the whole people to meet the onslaught of reaction.

In pursuit of an even more fierce policy of aggression and war, faced by the prospect of economic crisis and growing contradictions at home, as well as abroad, monopoly capital will attempt to resolve its mounting difficulties at the expense of the masses. This foreshadows a period of sharper class struggles.

The working class must be invig-

orated with confidence in its ability not only to defend the hard-won gains still left to it in the economic and political sphere but to replace the gains taken from it in the last number of years and to achieve new victories in the extension of its rights.

The mood of the workers for struggle, in the face of phony appeals to patriotism by the monopolists, is indicated by the disclosure that 1952 witnessed more strikes and stoppages than any period since 1946. And Eisenhower's demagogic appointment of Martin P. Durkin, A. F. of L. leader, to the cabinet as Secretary of Labor, will not succeed in curbing the growing militancy of the workers.

What is required above all, as the 83rd Congress convenes, is the unfolding of the greatest unity of action of labor and the broadest united front struggles around a program to meet the needs of the people and to defeat the impending attacks by reaction.

The elements for such a common program covering the broad field of struggle for peace (cease-fire in Korea, cutting military budget appropriations, opposition to Universal Military Training, opposition to appropriations for military aid to U.S. allies for war, etc.), Negro rights, social security, lower taxes, and democratic rights, exist in the resolutions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. conventions, in those planks which were forced on the two parties of monopoly by the pressure of the masses, in the promises which Eisen-

hower and Stevenson were obliged to make prior to and during the elections, in the struggle for individual issues which have vitally affected the various mass organizations of the people, in the struggles of the Negro people's organizations.

In broad conferences of a united front character in localities, based on decisive unions and mass organizations of the people, in struggle developing along lines of parallel action on significant issues, labor, the Negro people and general mass organizations must hammer out a common programmatic outlook that will enable them to challenge on all fronts the reactionary forces in the 83rd Congress.

The Left forces, including the Communists, in the unions and mass organizations of the people, can contribute most effectively to advancing such a common programmatic outlook.

In this connection, it should be emphasized that the course of the election campaign has made the issue of an immediate cease-fire in Korea the broadest issue supported by the people. Everything, every form of struggle, must be developed to prevent dissipation of this issue. If this program is to find effective expression, it is imperative that the voice of the people be heard in concerted form at all Congressional hearings, as well as in state legislative bodies.

The orientation towards formation of blocs in Congress and State bodies should serve to advance the struggle

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for this program. In envisaging necessary demonstrations and delegations to Washington and Congress, the greatest emphasis must be placed not on delegations confined to Left forces, isolated from the broad stream of the labor movement and people's organizations, but rather on the need to develop the broadest type of such delegations.

The effective implementation and application of the people's program requires that this program be developed and struggled for in the unions and organizations where the mass of the people is to be found.

The elections showed that the bulk of the organized workers and Negro people supported the Democratic Party. It is therefore possible and necessary for these masses to apply pressure on and influence important sections of the Democratic Party to wage a struggle against the planned attacks of the Republicans against the people. Thus, the unfolding of struggle today within the Democratic Party itself is important to the struggle for peace and the security of the American people. At the same time, it is important to draw into struggle the masses who expressed their aspirations for peace by voting for Eisenhower.

In this connection, another decisive objective is to help unleash the full power of the Political Action Committee, C.I.O., Labor's League for Political Education, A. F. of L., National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and other people's organizations, so as to de-

velop independent struggle as well as to influence sections of the Democratic Party to struggle in behalf of the people's program. Especially will this become important in developing electoral coalitions in the coming 1953 municipal elections.

But if P.A.C. and L.L.P.E., particularly, are to attain full effectiveness, they must be converted from election-period organizations to year-round organizations of struggle. The objective must also be to help organize and activate these political instruments of labor in each and every local of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L.

The Communist Party has a decisive role to play in helping to develop the broadest coalition of struggle, as the 83rd Congress convenes. It has the major task of participating in the most devoted manner in the effort to advance the interests of the working class and people generally and doing this in such a way as to strengthen working-class ideology in the ranks of labor and its allies. Finding the correct tactics and approach, it must win the minds of the masses to a struggle against the imperialist policy of war, against the looming economic crisis, and against the growing danger of fascism.

Devoting itself ceaselessly to this task, it must do so especially within the mainstream of the labor movement, in the basic industries, in the Right-led unions and the mass organizations of the people, guarding against sectarianism and isolation from the main sections of the working class and people.

How Southern Comrades Fight Against White Chauvinism

A Report from Texas

By Don Jefferson

THE PEOPLE of our country face historic tasks. The key immediate issues remain: fascism or democracy, war or peace. The *only* way to defeat Wall Street's drive for war and fascism is to forge a broad people's coalition, led by labor, to oppose, curb and then defeat the Wall Street imperialists. Such is the road to blocking fascism and war—such also is the road toward eventual Socialism. Our realistic perspective is victory—victory in our time!

In the South, not only do we face extreme reaction, but also great opportunity for progress. This is so because, within the framework of the anti-imperialist fight for peace and democracy, the South faces the job of completing the bourgeois democratic revolution. These are tasks that can mobilize the broadest section of the South's people if we do our job well.

Following the Civil War, the eastern capitalists united with the defeated slaveholders to block the completion of the bourgeois revolution in the South. A coalition of Wall Street capitalists and the big landlords clamped dictatorial rule on the South. This rule has held southern

people to the lowest economic and political level of the whole country. The oppressed Negro people have borne and are bearing the brunt of this rule. In the Southwest, the Mexican-Americans suffer special oppression second only to the Negro people. However, this rule also weighs heavily upon all the people of the South.

In the South, three interrelated revolutionary streams exist—all of them objectively anti-imperialist. The effect of the Wall Street drive toward war and fascism is to make heavier the burdens of the people, and thereby to stir all three streams into greater activity.

These revolutionary streams are: 1) the class struggle of the working class, 2) the national liberation struggle of the oppressed Negro people, and 3) the rural struggle for the completion of the agrarian revolution. In Texas, the approximately 1,500,000 Mexican-Americans—a national minority demanding full economic, political and social equality—are a powerful section of both working class and the rural poor.

The key job is to help raise all these streams to higher levels, and

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to unite them into one powerful anti-imperialist flood for the completion of the unfinished tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the South, and as an advanced section of the country-wide people's coalition for peace, democracy and economic security.

At a later date, we may expect to have a detailed draft resolution on all these questions for full discussion throughout our Party. This brief outline is given as a necessary background to the tackling of one of the most serious problems we face.

* * *

What is the number one thing holding back the broad movement in the South as well as the development of our Party?

It is the existence of widespread white chauvinism among the white masses of the South.

White chauvinism among the white workers is the main barrier to the development of the class struggle in the South and to the achievement of working class leadership in the over-all fight for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South. The bosses use their poison of white chauvinism to block the full development of unity between Negro and white workers. For instance, C.I.O.'s "Operation Dixie" failed to organize unorganized workers in the South because it did not successfully tackle the question of white chauvinism.

White chauvinism among the workers and the white population

generally is helping to keep the Negro nation in bondage and threatens the isolation of the Negro liberation movement and its defeat. Unity between the labor movement and the Negro liberation movement is *absolutely necessary* for the success of each and for the whole people's movement in the South.

White chauvinism in the countryside is a main barrier to the uniting of the rural poor into a powerful movement for the completion of the agrarian revolution.

White chauvinism among white professionals, small business people, youth and women is a barrier to unity on these important fronts of struggle within a people's coalition.

The existence of white chauvinism—the ideas of white supremacy—also heightens the chauvinism toward the Mexican-American people. It is closely interwoven with and strengthens all Anglo-Saxon and American national chauvinism toward all nations. However, we must also note that the imperialist enemy who ceaselessly cultivates all forms of chauvinism also cultivates anti-Negro trends among the Mexican-Americans in Texas as a way of strengthening imperialist rule.

What do we mean by "white chauvinism?"

William Z. Foster, our National Chairman, answers this in his book, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*:

White chauvinism, the bourgeois ideology of white supremacy, is based upon the false notion that Negroes are inferior beings to whites. It is system-

atic discrimination and persecution directed against the Negro people economically, politically, socially. Although completely disproved innumerable times scientifically and in the real life of our people, it still persists. This is because the planters and industrialists, finding that it enables them to force lower living standards upon the Negro people, assiduously cultivate it (p. 87).

White chauvinism has a history. When the British Empire came into being, the white imperialists of Great Britain had to have an ideological "justification" for their oppression and super-exploitation of the colored peoples of Asia and Africa. White chauvinism was seized upon and cultivated by these imperialist robbers as the poisonous weapon to "justify" their foul deeds.

The most terrible forms of white chauvinism were cultivated in this country to "justify" Negro slavery. The crimes that were committed against the people of Africa (100,000,000 African people were either enslaved or murdered at home or on the sea in the slave traffic) were "excused" by white chauvinist lies that poisoned the democracy of our whole country and particularly of the South. The glaring contradiction between slavery and the most advanced capitalist democracy the world had seen, called forth the most vicious white chauvinism in an effort to clothe the naked contradiction with tatters of "justification."

The murder and torture that was used to hold the freedom-loving Negro people in slavery called forth the wildest white chauvinist lies to

cover the crimes and disrupt opposition to slavery among the white masses. Every avenue of opinion was crowded with white chauvinist lies. Even the preachers, who posed as representatives of a gospel of brotherhood, twisted Biblical quotations in to support of the slaveholding rulers of the South.

Defeat of the slaveholders in the Civil War ended chattel slavery, but the eastern capitalists, once their national power was secure, came to an agreement with the southern landlords and blocked the fulfillment of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South. Land—the chief means of production in the South at that time—was left in the hands of the ex-slaveholders. Federal troops were withdrawn and the Ku Klux Klan storm troopers drowned the democracy of Reconstruction in blood. A wave of white chauvinist hysteria was aroused to split the unity of the poor whites and the freed slaves. The Negro people, their democratic rights smashed by counter-revolutionary violence, were forced to return to the plantations as share-croppers. Thus, the economy of the South was saddled with semi-feudal forms under the political dictatorship of the former slaveholders, acting now as the junior partners of the victorious capitalists. This rule continues to this day. At the time of the defeat of Reconstruction, the southern whites were told a big lie that would have done Hitler proud. They were told that the road to progress in the South—to their progress—was to "keep the Negro in his place." Prog-

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ress in the South, including progress for the white toilers, has come only to the degree that this big lie has been exploded and its results defeated.

And this lie has been opposed. In the 1890's, the Populist movement, uniting Negro and white, challenged the rule of the Wall Street-landlord dictatorship. These ruling classes and their political tools answered with a wave of terror and white chauvinist hysteria. Josephus Daniels, the late so-called liberal editor of the *Raleigh Observer*, admits in his book, *Tar Heel Editor*, that he used red ink headlines in his newspaper to arouse anti-Negro hysteria and terror as a way of breaking the Negro-white unity of the North Carolina Populist movement which had won control of the state government. This combination of hysteria and terror smashed the Populist movement throughout the South.

Of course, as we know, the rulers of the South didn't just depend on white chauvinist poison to keep the people divided. They put laws on the books, jim-crow laws, to block the growth of Negro-white unity and to "legalize" the oppression of the Negro people. These laws have held back unity and the overcoming of white chauvinism among the white masses, but they couldn't prevent such development.

Early in the 1930's the Communist Party brought Marxist-Leninist leadership to the working people of the South. Armed with an understanding of the Negro question as a National question, the Party boldly chal-

lenged white chauvinism and the terroristic oppression that this bosses' poison was designed to shield and intensify.

These were the years of the historic Scottsboro struggle that saved nine Negro youth from a frame-up death. They were also the years of the big depression, and the Party's vanguard leadership, particularly on the question of white chauvinism, brought into being a powerful unemployed movement, uniting Negro and white workers. This movement in Texas, as throughout the South, laid the groundwork for the Negro-white unity that found more permanent organizational form in the historic rise of the C.I.O. in the South and in turn influenced Negro-white unity in the A. F. of L. This is not to say that the fight against white chauvinism has been won in the labor movement. Far from it. Only the bare beginnings have been made, but these are of historic importance.

In the rural areas in this period, our Party gave leadership to the movement of sharecroppers, tenant farmers and rural laborers that resulted in the rise of fighting organizations of Negro and white in the areas of Negro majority in Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana.

The period of the Roosevelt New Deal brought about a loose coalition of labor, the Negro people, small farmers and city middle class people. Our Party played a vanguard role in helping to organize this people's coalition to halt the drive toward fascism in this country and to win governmental assistance for the mil-

lions of victims of the economic crisis and depression.

In the South this people's coalition came into being in head-on collision with the plantation-Wall Street ruling group. Terror and white chauvinist hysteria were unleashed by these forces. And the existence of white chauvinist poison among the white workers was the main reason that the people's coalition in the South did not succeed in bringing a real "new deal" to the South by driving the gang of Wall Street-landlord politicians out of political control. Even so, advances were made, and these were due to the fight against white chauvinism carried out by advanced forces and our Party in the first place. Advances were highlighted by the organization of unorganized workers into trade unions, the rising militancy and courage of the Negro people in the South and the achieving of certain organized unity in such movements as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Browder revisionism, which dealt its main blow at our Party during the anti-fascist World War II, played havoc with our Party's fight against white chauvinism and for Negro liberation, and thereby seriously damaged the struggle for progress in the South. The liquidation of our Party was carried even to the elimination of the Communist Political Association in the South.

So the post-war scene found us fighting to re-establish our Party and overcome the weaknesses of Browder revisionism, as the ancient enemies

of the southern people moved to attack the people furiously.

The Ku Klux Klan was re-financed and rebuilt, the technique of "legal" lynchings of Negroes was given new importance while mob action was stepped up. The Dixiecrat movement, openly fascist, developed one of the most vicious campaigns aimed at stampeding white southerners into an inferno of white chauvinism. This was done in order to wipe out all Negro-white unity, to smash the gains of labor, and to lay the basis for even greater terror as a means of defeating the Negro people's liberation movement, which had passed from the relatively "easy" days of the New Deal to the bitter fighting of post-war reaction by increasing its militancy and by developing more advanced and powerful attacks against the fetters that bound them in the South.

During this period, our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Pettis Perry, launched a new onslaught against white chauvinism in our Party and against all weaknesses that prevented our Party from playing its vanguard role among the white masses in the struggle to win them from the bosses' poison of white chauvinism and to the struggle for Negro rights.

This fight, as incomplete as it has been in the South and in Texas, was of profound and historic importance and it has had its effect in the South. Today, despite the ever present dangers, we can say that the campaign of the Dixiecrats to swamp white southern working people in white

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chauvinist hysteria did not succeed as the Wall Street-plantation gang had planned. The unity of Negro and white in the trade union movement was not smashed, even though it also did not advance as it should have. The Klu Klux Klan did not win the white workers, even though some sections of workers in some places went along. And it failed completely in halting the rising tide of the Negro liberation struggle which has developed a right-to-vote movement that, in spite of torture and murder, has marched past the million figure of registered Negro voters in the South and is raising to new heights the fight for Negro representation at all levels of political life.

However, we must also see that with the launching of actual fighting and the criminal use of napalm bombs and germ warfare against the colored peoples of Asia, the rulers of America and the South have had to step up their reliance on white chauvinism and we must see that tomorrow they will need it even more and therefore cultivate it more. *The dangers on this front are great and will increase!*

Therefore, not only is the fight against white chauvinism key to advancing on every front in the South, but failure to tackle this fight with everything we have can lead to disastrous results for the people of the South. This is so because without Negro-white unity in the South, not only can the people not win gains, but they cannot do their part in halting the drive toward fascism and war.

We will tackle the question of the fight against white chauvinism under two headings, although they are merely two sides of the same fight.

We will first discuss the fight against white chauvinism within the Party and then we will discuss the mass fight against white chauvinism among southern white working people.

THE STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY

From the very start, the Communist movement recognized the hand of the bosses in all chauvinism and all oppression of peoples. Karl Marx declared with regard to slavery in the United States that: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

There is no room in our Party for any manifestation of white chauvinism whether it be conscious or unconscious. We must fight it and wipe it out wherever and whenever it shows its head.

Some white comrades seem to feel that white chauvinism is something that you can get rid of once and for all like having your tonsils removed, but it's not that simple.

We white comrades in the South live in an ocean of the most violent white chauvinism. The newspapers, radio, church, movies, schools, and general talk about us are filled with ideas of white supremacy. When we eat in a restaurant, it is lily white because of jim-crow laws. We ride in the front end of buses while our Negro brothers are forced to ride in

the rear. And so on and on. There is a constant danger that through daily familiarity we will accommodate ourselves to this jim-crow setup. Our outrage against it can become dulled by familiarity *unless we are constantly in struggle against white chauvinist ideology and its violent effects on the Negro people.*

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says that we must wash ourselves several times daily in order to rid ourselves of the filth that the bourgeoisie are constantly throwing on us.

This is the reason why our Party can *never* let up in its alertness to manifestations of white chauvinism in our Party. This takes on even greater importance in a period of reaction when security needs make it difficult for regular close relations between Negro and white comrades.

Our Party in the South faces the imperative task of developing a host of Marxist cadres (leaders and actives)—real political scientists second to none in our whole movement. This is true because the problems in the South, where an oppressed nation is struggling for liberation, are the most complex in the country.

However, it is impossible to develop a white comrade into a real Marxist cadre (or our Party as a real Marxist vanguard) unless *all* remnants of white chauvinism are completely rooted out, as well as chauvinism toward the Mexican-American people.

Comrade Stalin, in speaking of the border regions of Russia where many nations were oppressed under

It should be borne in mind that our Communist organizations in the border districts, in the republics and regions, can develop and firmly establish themselves, can become genuine internationalist Marxist cadres, only if they get rid of their nationalism. Nationalism is the chief ideological obstacle to the training of Marxist cadres, of a Marxist vanguard in the border regions and republics. (Marxism and the National Question, page 168.)

Nationalism for our white comrades is white chauvinism, the nationalist ideology of the oppressor nation. Therefore, the fight to develop Marxist cadres from among our white comrades *must* start with the struggle against white chauvinism (and chauvinism against the Mexican-Americans).

The nationalism that must be overcome among our Negro comrades in order that they may develop as Marxist cadres is that of Negro bourgeois nationalism, the ideology of "going it alone" and of mistrust of the white workers. However, we must understand that Negro bourgeois nationalism is, in the main, a defensive reaction against white chauvinism and its accompanying discrimination and oppression. Therefore, the *main* fight is against white chauvinism, not only among our white comrades, but through them, among the white masses.

For our Mexican-American comrades, who as part of a national minority face fierce economic, political and social discrimination, the struggle against nationalism that must be carried out in order to develop as Marxist cadres, is two fold. In the

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first place the fight must be made against chauvinism toward the Negro people, and in addition the Mexican-American comrades must rid themselves of nationalism expressing itself in "go it alone" tendencies and in mistrust of the white workers.

Our Party must be a homogenous organization with Negro, Mexican-American and "Anglo" in full equality and indestructible unity—a real preview of what tomorrow's Texas must become. Every comrade must be alert to fight against every manifestation of enemy ideology—enemy poison—in our Party, particularly as it relates to nationalism. But we must see that the facts of life pose this main task differently for our comrades. The supreme task of our white comrades is to take the lead in fighting against white chauvinism. However, an atmosphere must be created in our Party where our Negro comrades will feel free to help the white comrades develop the necessary sensitivity on this question and overcome blind spots in their vigilance against white chauvinism. And so our Mexican-American comrades can likewise assist the white comrades where chauvinism against Mexican-Americans is concerned.

All of our comrades must study and master our Marxist understanding on the national question as put forth by Comrades Stalin and Lenin and in the resolutions and articles on this question by our Party and its leaders. In particular our white comrades must master this question as part of overcoming white chau-

vinism and arming themselves for the fight among the white masses on this question.

It is clear that just fighting within our Party to rid comrades of white chauvinism is not nearly enough. Our inner struggle must be aimed at equipping our white comrades to carry on the most successful type of struggle among the white masses to overcome their white chauvinism, to build Negro-white unity, and to direct powerful united blows against Negro oppression and the discrimination against Mexican-Americans.

Complacency among our white comrades on this question must be wiped out. Self-criticism must be used in a continuous fight against this enemy poison. Let every white comrade ask himself or herself such questions as:

How is it that you can go into a "white only" restaurant and many times not even think of the vicious fact that your Negro brother and sister cannot eat there?

Are the white individuals that you come into contact with regularly advancing on this question because of your conscious effort to educate and win them? If not, why?

In every relation that you have with the Negro people, whether personal, business, etc., are you *sure* that the Negro people can tell clearly that they are dealing with a white who is different from the average white person in the South? If not, what should this show you?

Can you hear of or read about a case of police brutality or other vicious attack or frame-up without starting work to rally some kind of response from the

white community against it?

When the Negro people courageously challenge their 60-year old exclusion from public office by putting forth candidates for election, do you hold back support and impede the fight to win broad white support while you quibble about whether or not this or that candidate is a proper candidate, worthy of support?

Because of jim-crow oppression, Negro workers in Texas, as in the South, are forced to work at starvation wages. Negro women in the majority are forced into domestic work at the lowest wages of all. In the case where a white comrade employs a Negro worker, whether in business or in the home, the following questions are necessary:

Do you pay wages equal to what we fight for as minimum standards?

Do you guarantee working conditions also in line with our principles?

Are your personal relations free of white chauvinism?

As you see, a list of such questions could be extended into all phases of life. This is exactly what each club and each white comrade must do. And likewise, we must also tackle chauvinism against the Mexican-American people.

Remember, our fight is to overcome white chauvinist weaknesses of all white comrades. The first fight is ideological—to get understanding and clarity on this question and to fight to separate comrades from this poison of the bosses. However, if after the strongest efforts, we fail in any case, then organizational steps will have to be taken, for *manifestations of white chauvinism will NOT be tolerated in our Party.*

We have seen how the *only* way the people in the South can win over their oppressors is through the forging of a movement that unites the Negro people's movement, that unites Negro and white workers in the labor movement, that unites Negro and white rural poor, and finally that unites all three in unbreakable unity. This is why we *must* and *will* carry a winning fight to the white working masses on this question. Then we can be sure that the people's fight for peace, democracy and economic security will defeat Wall Street. Then we can be sure that the people will go on to establish Socialism in our country, not in some distant future, but *in our lifetime!*

THE FIGHT AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM AMONG THE WHITE MASSES

As we have pointed out, the existence of the bosses' poison of white chauvinism among the white masses of the South is the key barrier to the development of victorious movements for satisfying the people's needs on all fronts.

The struggle among the white masses against white chauvinist thinking and the shameful acts flowing from this is the key in the fight against fascism and war.

White chauvinism today merges with the drive toward fascism. White chauvinism is a fascist ideology—one of the main weapons of the white imperialist ruling class in its drive to war. (From the Resolution of the 15th Convention, C.P.U.S.A.)

Without headway on this front, the forging of a people's coalition in the South cannot be accomplished. Therefore, we propose to discuss the *mass* struggle against white chauvinism.

In this connection, we must understand that the struggle against white chauvinism within our Party cannot be separated from the *mass* struggle against the same poison. It is impossible for a white comrade to be free of white chauvinism and *not* be active in the struggle to overcome white chauvinism among some sections of the white population and win them to the fight against Negro oppression. Failure to fight white chauvinism where it exists—among the white masses—is one of the worst forms of white chauvinism for a white comrade. And it is also rank Right opportunism in relation to the real interests of the white masses as well. This bosses' poison is doubly lethal. It is an essential support for the oppression of the Negro people and also for continuing the low economic and political level of the white masses as well.

This is the firm basis for our confidence that the white working people of the South will be won away from white chauvinism—will be won to the struggle for Negro rights. It is *fact* that their own self-interest dictates it!

Our approach to the white workers on this question will certainly not omit the moral appeal of justice and right, but the basis is the class interest of the white workers.

Comrade Ben Davis, now a politi-

cal prisoner, in his report to the 15th Convention declared:

Tendencies to treat the Negro people as mere victims of oppression, without seeing their unique positive and revolutionary role in the struggle against capitalist reaction are a patronizing form of white chauvinism.

We must hasten the understanding among the white workers that the Negro people constitutes a powerful and absolutely essential ally in the struggle against their own enemies who are also the enemies of the Negro people. That no victories on the economic or political front can be won without unity of Negro and white within the labor movement and unity between labor and the Negro people.

(In Texas, such unity must also include the Mexican-American workers and masses generally. The struggle against white chauvinism must be joined with the fight against the closely allied chauvinism against Mexican-Americans.)

We have a job of education to do among the white workers. Our written and spoken agitation can bear most fruit in the midst of mass action. People learn in motion. Therefore our united front approach to help initiate and join in mass struggles on immediate issues is a key tactic in the struggle against white chauvinism as it is on all fronts. We do not tackle this fight in isolation but in connection with literally every aspiration and struggle of the white workers. They can best see the role of white chauvinism as a bosses'

poison when a concrete action demonstrates the need for unity and for allies. It is in the midst of action that our best education can be done on this as on all other issues.

Our politically imprisoned National Secretary Gus Hall pointed out in an article in *Political Affairs*, December, 1949:

The essence of our leadership in a united front must be mass political education in the process of the struggle itself.

A key part of our educational job is to show the white workers how the oppression of the Negro people affects them economically and politically, and who it is that profits from this oppression.

White chauvinism and the oppression of the Negro people is *only* in the interest of the white ruling class. That is: the Wall Street imperialists, their landlord junior partners and their southern capitalist agents and subordinates.

Victor Perlo in *American Imperialism* shows from government and boss figures that the American capitalists every year rake in about four billion dollars from *super-exploitation* of the Negro people. That is, they make the average rate of profit from the labor of the Negro people just as they do from the white working people and in *addition* they wring four billion dollars of *super-profits* from the Negro people. Is it strange that they, and the national, state and local governments they control, support (are in fact the in-

strument of) the oppression of the Negro people?

Of the 15 million Negro people, 10 million are in the South. Because of the greater terror and exploitation in the South, at least three billion of the four billions of the *super-profit* comes from the Negro people in the South.

But that's not all. Because they are able to oppress the 10 million Negro people in the South, the bosses are able to hold the entire South down to a level of low income, and thereby gather in added *super-profits* from the labor of white working people also.

In 1947 the income per person in the 13 Southern states was \$925 for the year. In the non-Southern part of the country the figure was \$1,470 or a difference of \$545. (U.S. Dept. of Commerce figures.)

In March, 1949, the U.S. Department of Labor gave the following figures on average weekly wages for industrial workers by states:

Alabama	\$44.74
Arkansas	40.20
Florida	44.16
Georgia	42.27
Tennessee	45.39
Texas	55.24
Virginia	46.21
N. Carolina	42.06
California	63.06
Michigan	66.19
New Jersey	61.06

The average industrial wage in the South was more than \$10 a week *less* than the average industrial wage outside the South. In other words, the failure of the white workers to

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join in a united struggle with the Negro people to smash the oppression costs these white workers at least \$10 a week. What a price to pay for the "privilege" of holding on to a bosses' prejudice!

However, Lenin in *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* pointed out that "The masses have a future, besides a past, and reason, besides prejudices." This is certainly true of the white workers in the South.

On the economic front there exists also the wide difference between the South and the rest of the country in housing, unemployment benefits, garnishee laws, etc.

White workers must be brought to understand that not only must they struggle for fullest Negro-white unity within the labor movement, but also they must take a leading role in the fight against the oppression of the Negro people. This is necessary in order to forge the unity of the labor movement and the Negro people's movement. It is necessary to stop the bosses' robbery of more than \$10 a week from the white workers. But it is also necessary to overcome a weakness of the labor movement itself. As long as the Negro workers face not only the same bosses' oppression as that faced by the white workers, but also the special terror and oppression that is the lot of the Negro people, then a big section of the labor movement (the Negro workers) face the bosses handicapped by this special oppression. The strength of the labor movement is diminished by the fact that its strong

black arm is bound by the chains of jim-crow oppression. For all these reasons the white workers, in their own interest, must take a leading and militant role in the fight to wipe out jim-crow oppression of the Negro people. This also applies in different degree to discrimination against Mexican-Americans.

Furthermore, with facts and figures we must prove to the white workers that the oppression of the Negro people is the answer as to *how* the bosses are able to hold down the income of the southern white workers. Therefore, the smashing of Negro oppression in the South is the *only* way for the white workers to realize equal pay with workers elsewhere in the country.

The white workers in the South have made progress in understanding the need for Negro-white unity in the labor movement. But this understanding is only beginning, and gains in Negro-white unity, historic though they be, are far from adequate to meet the pressing demands of immediate tasks of the labor movement.

Within the unions, discrimination and white chauvinist acts must be ended. The Negro workers must have full democratic rights in the unions. Negro brothers must be elected to union offices at all levels. Lily-white locals and unions must be changed to Negro-white bodies and segregated locals ended. It goes without saying that all jim-crow practices in the union halls must be ended.

In some parts of the South segre-

gated toilets are maintained in union halls. This is a shameful act of white chauvinism. This means that the white workers have taken a bosses' instrument for dividing the workers and insulting a section of them and installed it right in their own union hall. Let's look at the logic of this. It means that right in the union hall, the white workers would use the same toilet with the white boss if he had business at the union hall, which is sometimes true, yet they would bar their Negro brothers. In other words, in this respect, they would join with their white bosses against a section of the workers—their Negro brothers. To this extent they would certainly be scabbing on the working class. Now, while this is possibly clearer in relation to jim-crow in a union hall—it is true in all life.

The jim-crow system is a system of collaboration between white workers and bosses against Negro workers and likewise all the Negro people. And it is solely in the interest of the white boss and *against* the interest of the white workers. The only way the white worker can end this collaboration with the white boss is to join in wiping out jim-crow segregation and establish full unity of Negro and white workers *against* the boss who robs and exploits both and gathers in *super*-profits as a result of jim-crow oppression and division.

As we said, an important step is to guarantee the Negro workers first class citizenship within the unions. (This must also be done for Mexican-American workers in Texas.)

But to build the type of unshakable *unity* that must be achieved to weather the storms ahead and to forge the victory over fascism, war and *super*-exploitation, the first class citizenship must be won for the Negro workers in the shops, mines and mills. This means the winning of full rights of Negro workers to jobs and to upgrading to skilled jobs.

Why have the bosses set the pattern of giving skilled jobs almost exclusively to white workers and limiting Negro workers (and also in lesser degree Mexican-American workers) to low paid jobs and in some industries excluding Negroes entirely? Is it because the bosses have a "warm spot" in their hearts for white workers and want to give them a break? Nothing could be further from the truth. This is a cold-blooded tactic of the bosses to guarantee their class interests. This is a way of dividing the working class, keeping it weak, and enabling the bosses to rake in, above the average rate of profit, *super*-profits at the expense of the Negro workers in the first place, but also of the white workers.

The fight for jobs for Negro (and Mexican-American) workers and for upgrading is the fight to force the boss to deal with a united working class and deprive him of the ability to play one section of the working class against another.

Trade-union conscious workers understand the backwardness and incorrectness of workers who turn their back on organization, on unity

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of the workers, and try to get special benefits for themselves from the boss at the expense of other workers. Union-minded workers came to organization through the realization that competition between the individual workers for "favors" from the boss enabled the boss to crush down all the workers. Now the white workers must learn likewise that their support of the bosses' plan of barring a section of workers from jobs and upgrading is really on the same level with the backward workers seeking personal "favors" from the boss at the expense of other workers. While it's true that the white workers are "better off" than the Negro workers (and the Mexican-Americans), still because of this "divide and rule" policy they are far worse off than similar workers in other parts of the country.

Therefore, the white workers, alongside their Negro and Mexican-American brothers, must fight for union contracts that wipe out job discrimination against all workers.

Likewise the white workers must take a militant lead for the passage of national and state Fair Employment Practice laws with teeth in them. That is necessary to *force* the bosses to give up their prized weapon for dividing the workers. The increase in unified strength of the labor movement would open wide the road to wiping out the special robbery carried out against the southern workers.

The problems of combatting white chauvinism among workers in all-white industries are greater. How-

ever, our tactics are clear. Comrade James E. Jackson, Jr. in *Political Affairs*, August, 1950, wrote:

We must not content ourselves with moralizing at the white textile workers, for example, about the backwardness of their leadership in "preserving" their industry for white workers only. But rather we must help them develop their economic battles with the textile barons and in the course of these struggles on issues that they can see now, expose the untenability of their white-chauvinist, anti-working class attitudes toward their Negro class brothers (p. 71).

The political front is getting more and more attention from the labor movement. On this front, if our forces are involved with the workers in the developing struggles, we can help greatly to overcome the white chauvinism of the white workers.

Government in the South—city, town, county, and state—is controlled by the worst anti-labor and anti-Negro politicians in the country. They are the conscious agents of the Wall Street big bosses and their landlord partners.

Comrade Jackson pointed out in the above mentioned article that in the South:

The struggles of the workers to secure their livelihood and better their working conditions face local and state political regimes which are especially oppressive and brutally anti-labor.

All organizing drives by labor in the South have faced vicious repression by these governmental bodies and their police and sheriff forces.

Heightened reaction brought about by Wall Street's drive for fascism and war has not only increased "illegal" terror as well as "governmental" attacks on the Negro people, but it has also increased pressure by the state and local governments on labor's struggles. Use of police strike breaking and court injunctions has increased. (Recently three injunctions against as many different strikes were issued in one day in Houston.)

Anti-labor laws increase in every southern state at every session of the several legislatures.

Even at the trade-union level of understanding, the labor movement is being driven into more political struggles.

Here the question of how to win looms large in the minds of the white workers. This is particularly true since the November elections when they saw the Dixiecrats win big victories for the Republican national ticket. True, their alternative, the Democratic ticket, was no lesser evil, but they were convinced that it was. In other words, the coalition of the past that found the labor movement allied with the Dixiecrats has at least partially been broken. A basic political realignment in the South is closer today than ever before.

We know that a winning coalition in the South must be comprised of three inter-related basic tendencies: 1) the working class movement, 2) the liberation movement of the oppressed Negro people, and 3) the rural movement for the completion of the agrarian revolution. In Texas the Mexican-American people, who

are an oppressed national minority facing discrimination, are a powerful section of the working class, the rural poor, and city middle classes.

The main key to bringing this coalition about is to overcome the white chauvinism of the white workers, unite the labor movement and bring about unity between the working class and the Negro people's movement, including the agrarian struggles of the plantation areas.

Here the heroic advances of the Negro people's movement are forging a mighty weapon for helping overcome the white chauvinism of the white workers. The right-to-vote movement of the Negro people has won, despite terror and murder, a voting force of more than a million registered Negro voters. In political organization and militant struggle they are setting an advanced example.

More and more spontaneously rank-and-file white workers are recognizing the power of such a political ally. The time is ripe now for the initiation of discussions in the shops, departments and unions on this question. The white workers can be won *now* to an understanding of the *necessity* of a labor-Negro people coalition on the political front. And in the discussion of *how* labor can win such a powerful ally, the need for labor to take a lead in the fight against Negro oppression can be driven home.

In the fight against white chauvinism among the white workers, closer personal relations between Negro

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and white workers are very important. Informal, as well as union-meeting discussions between Negro and white workers on *how* to build a united front between labor and the Negro people's movement can serve this need well. An effort should be made for many such informal discussions in the homes of white workers (and also in Negro homes).

Our goal should be joint conferences of all labor on this question and formal approaches to leaders of the Negro people's movement on joint demands and struggles. (All of these must also include, in Texas, the Mexican-American people.)

In Texas during the presidential campaign, the so-called "loyal Democrats" constituted in some places the beginning of such a coalition. These beginnings should be maintained and extended. The Texas legislature convened Jan. 13th. A state legislative conference of labor, the Negro people, Mexican-Americans, working farmers, and "New Deal" middle class and professional people should be worked for to hammer out joint demands and the organizational guarantees of a mass campaign behind these demands. Great strides in overcoming white chauvinism among the white workers and other white masses can be made in such an effort.

The struggles of the Negro people are constantly developing. In Texas, as throughout the South, the Negro people are smashing at the fetters which bind them. Comrade Jackson, in the same article referred to earlier, said:

On every issue, at each stage of the development of the struggle, we must take pains to establish the relationship of the particular action of the Negro masses to the advanced self-interest of the white masses, to the South as a whole, to the nation, and to the general cause of world peace and democracy. Thus will we more and more master the art of attracting the white workers to active participation in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people (p. 77).

Such are some of the possibilities of waging the mass struggle against white chauvinism on the economic and political fronts. We can see how the war economy is aggravating the problem on both fronts and thereby increasing the needs and opportunities for mass struggle. We must also look ahead and understand that an economic crisis is approaching. We must see all that this will mean from the point of view of sharpening problems for the people and increasing opportunities for forging a militant coalition for combating the attempt of the bosses to shove the full crisis burden on the people.

The main issues today are the fight against war and fascism. And in this struggle our mass fight against white chauvinism is the key to victory—that is, to the building of a labor-led coalition strong enough to halt the war and fascist plans of Big Business.

But in this, we Communists have another great task: to raise the consciousness of the working class to that of class or socialist consciousness; to an awareness of its historic

destiny to lead the American people out of the darkness of capitalism into the morning sun of Socialism.

The struggle against white chauvinism among the white workers is a necessary part of that task. Comrade Jackson, again in the same article mentioned, declared:

We must elevate the class consciousness of the Southern workers to an appreciation on their part, not only of the need for interracial trade-union solidarity, but also of the historic responsibility of the working class to give leadership in the struggle of all the oppressed masses for liberation from the tyranny and exploitation of the rule of the men of the trusts and the landlords (p. 71).

As Communists, we know the key role of the working class; hence our major attention to the white workers in this discussion of the mass struggle against white chauvinism. However, we Communists as political leaders of all the masses and of all the people, particularly in the fight to complete the tasks of the bourgeois or capitalist democratic revolution in the South, must wage the mass fight against white chauvinism among the white masses generally.

The fight among the white sections of working farmers and rural poor can best be carried out in the building and uniting of organizations to champion their interests. The need for Negro-white unity parallels in many respects that in the labor movement. On the political front, too, the coalition idea appeals to the working farmers, opening up the possibility of overcoming white chau-

vinism in the building of political unity. (The particular role in this field of the Mexican-American farm workers will be discussed in a special paper on the Mexican-American question.)

Youth comprises one of the most important fields for overcoming white chauvinism and forging Negro-white unity. Among working youth, all the discussions about the white workers apply. However, because old prejudices are weaker and youthful minds welcome the new, possibilities are greater among white working youth. In addition, their common problems of the draft, etc. open up other avenues for unity.

Among the white students, especially at schools where both Negro and white are now enrolled, the building of organized ties between them is extremely important in the fight against white chauvinism. Joint student conferences of Negro and white students from different schools must be organized. Peace and the fight against U.M.T. and the draft are powerful cementing joint issues. Problems of education, the idiocy of trying to keep up two inadequate school systems with resources too small for one system, are winning issues among white students. Others can be found.

In work among white women, the role of conferences of Negro and white women on such issues as health, education, child care, peace, etc., can play major roles. In every organization of white women, P.T.A., Voters League, etc., conscious effort

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should be made to influence the holding of such joint conferences. We should have the perspective of a woman's movement uniting Negro and white women together (and, of course, including Mexican-American women.)

The crisis in education is particularly a growing issue among women. The overcrowding of schools and their deteriorating conditions is a crime as far as Negro schools are concerned, but the crisis is growing in white schools too. Classes are too large and in many grade schools two-platoon systems are already in use. There are not funds available for even a decent one-school system—let alone a dual school system. The Negro people are developing strong fights to end the oppressive and economically impossible dual school system. The economic facts of life can be used to win white women for this struggle. It is a key front for winning white women to the fight against jim-crow in education. The educational needs of *their* children demand it. Needless to say, fathers also can be won on this issue.

Among white professionals and small business people the economic facts of Negro oppression are powerful arguments against their white chauvinism. For instance, the more than three billions of super-profits taken from the Negro people in the South (and the additional amounts taken from white workers because of the jim-crow system) go into the Big Business capital funds, not into the trade circles of the South, where they would bring economic benefit

to these professionals and small business people.

However, the important starting points among this section of the population are the traditional white "New Deal" liberals who should become a part of the people's coalition in the South. They were found in the ranks of the "loyal" democrats. They should be won to full unity with the Negro people, for the fight against Negro oppression as the way to defeat the Wall Street-Dixiecrat political domination of the South, which the people oppose. Their ranks can be widened.

These people should be won to all the united-front struggles which we have discussed earlier in connection with the white workers. Conferences of these professional and middle class people, involving Negro and white, can be organized and will be valuable in overcoming white chauvinism.

Our forces working among these various sections of the white population must utilize the united-front tactic to the hilt. Struggles around one or two key issues, whatever the people are willing to move on, must be initiated. Then every effort must be used to broaden them into joint Negro-white struggles if at all possible. Also when the Negro people launch struggles, such as their fight for elected office, for admission to formerly all white schools, etc., every effort must be made to show the whites their interest in such struggles, and to win them to active support.

We must consciously develop every

type of joint Negro-white conference and meeting that is possible, including informal small gatherings in homes, among other things, to set the pattern for Negro-white mingling and to start the break-down of the separation imposed by the ruling class. We must consciously seek ways to break down the jim-crow pattern.

In carrying out our mass struggle against white chauvinism, the main danger to guard against is the *Right* danger. The *Right* danger expresses itself in passiveness in the face of the existence of mass white chauvinism. It expresses itself in a lack of confidence in the white masses on this question, a tailing behind the level of development that is immediately possible. It will continue to be the main danger against which we must constantly struggle.

However, this does not mean that there is no "Left" danger. This will express itself in a "holier than thou" moralizing approach to the white workers, in a refusal to learn from the white masses in order that our tactical approach will be one that will raise the mass level of the white workers on this question. It will express itself in approaching the question in an isolated way, rather than in connection with the issues

stirring the white workers. However, the important thing is to *start*. Whatever "Left" mistakes are made can be corrected and will not be decisive. The *Right* error of not tackling this question as *key and decisive for every other question* is the main danger.

It is clear from this whole discussion that *every white comrade must be deployed among some organized section of the white masses*. This is necessary for even a beginning in this historic struggle. Furthermore, it means that every club must check up on the activities of each comrade on this front and that collective discussion be held on the tactics needed by each in his assigned role.

We must follow a concentration policy among white workers which, in Texas, means the oil and maritime workers. A break-through here would prove decisive for the whole state.

This report is a beginning in arming our Party in the mass fight against white chauvinism. Every comrade must help in life to forge new and deeper understanding on this question. Every experience and suggestion in this connection should be shared so that it may be of use by the whole Party.

This issue of POLITICAL AFFAIRS will reach its readers during February, when is celebrated Negro History Week, founded 28 years ago by the late Dr. Carter G. Woodson. The articles published here by Don Jefferson and Samuel T. Henderson serve to mark this anniversary in the best possible way—by helping to continue in our time the great traditions of militant struggle that form the heart of Negro history.—Ed.

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Some Electoral Experiences in New Jersey

By R. D. Fletcher

IN REVIEWING the problems before the American people at the beginning of the 1952 Presidential campaign, our Party in New Jersey saw the following as issues of key importance: the people's need for peace and an end to the war in Korea; economic security; F.E.P.C. legislation; the protection of the Bill of Rights; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and other anti-labor laws.

In order to make its maximum contribution in this campaign, the Party sought to stimulate the broadest coalition of labor, the Negro people and the working farmers.

Good possibilities existed for the development of such a coalition because the domestic programs of important mass organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. and the political action committees of the C.I.O. and A.F.L., reflected the legislative and civil rights demands around which there was a wide area of agreement.

The workers understood more clearly than any other section of the population how Big Business dominated the Republican Party. Most of them still had illusions about the Democratic Party. It was the task of the Communists to be active in the Labor-Negro-Democratic coalition in order to help develop labor's inde-

pendent program as distinct from those policies advanced by reformist and Social-Democratic leadership.

To carry out the policy of developing coalition activity the Party set itself the following tasks:

1. To help build electoral coalitions around major party candidates who responded to some of the demands and pressures of labor and the Negro people.

2. To work within the general labor-Democratic coalition in such a way as to develop labor's independent role in the alliance in opposition to the domination of the coalition by Big Business.

3. To work within the coalition, understanding its present level of development, and at the same time to voice independent criticism of Administration foreign policy. To develop the struggle within this coalition for a people's peace policy.

4. To direct main attention to the Right-led unions. To help develop activities within P.A.C., L.L.P.E., N.A.A.C.P., and other mass organizations.

5. To advance further the peace issue and the struggle for a Cease-Fire in Korea by giving full support to the election campaign of the Progressive Party.

6. To concentrate in two areas to develop the movement for Negro Representation in Government.

7. To present the full position of the Communist Party and to give voters an opportunity to protest against the attacks on the Party by entering Party candidates for local offices.

COALITION ACTIVITY

The following are concrete examples of our experiences in attempting to carry out these tasks:

In Plainfield, in the 6th Congressional District, where reactionary leaders in the city administration strongly opposed extension of rent control, leaders of twenty-three mass organizations formed a Citizens' Committee for Extension of Rent Control. Led by this committee, 600 people turned out to public hearings and thousands of signatures were secured on petitions. Through the participation of the P.A.C. committee of U.A.W. Local 343, a United Labor Committee was formed to conduct this fight within the labor movement. This committee placed an advertisement in the newspapers attacking the landlords and calling for rent control. It was signed by the following unions: Independent Telephone Workers; International Association of Machinists, Local 107; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 1041; International Union of Electrical Workers, Local 435; International Ladies Garment Workers; Communication Workers of America, Local 1009, A. F. of L.; Union County Central

Labor Union; Union County C.I.O. Council; Truck Drivers and Chauffeurs Local 680, A. F. of L.

When the Plainfield City Council refused to extend rent control this United Labor Committee became a permanent organization and entered the electoral field by supporting two Democratic candidates who favored rent control extension, William F. O'Brien and William Young, an I.U.E. leader. O'Brien was elected and Young, who carried the working-class areas of his ward, lost by only a few hundred votes.

Similarly, coalition activity was developed in Newark in the 12th Congressional District. There, in the 9th and 16th wards, which include a large Jewish community, the Progressive Party has shown continuous activity and influence. Noting the unity of P.A.C., L.L.P.E. and Jewish liberal forces around the Democratic Congressional candidate, Martin Fox, the Progressive Party withdrew its own candidate, although it did not give Fox blanket endorsement. This act of withdrawal removed obstacles that stood in the way of unity of the Left forces with broad sections of the people.

People pressed their questions about Korea at election symposiums. Delegations questioned the Congressional candidates on their position and urged them to speak out in favor of a Cease Fire. Before the Montclair Teachers College, Martin Fox said that he supported, by and large, the foreign policy of the Democratic Administration and he believed the Korean war was the di-

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rect result of Communist aggression. He continued: "However, I believe that the continuation of the slaughter of young men in Korea today is totally unnecessary. The United States should unequivocally assert to the world that it is ready to enter into an immediate cease-fire along the current battle lines so that the senseless killings can be stopped while the terms of a permanent truce are negotiated." Despite his general position, the latter declaration, repeated at other election rallies, was in itself an important contribution to the cause of peace. It reflected especially the deep stirrings in the Jewish community on the peace issue.

Agreement was also reached between Martin Fox and the broadly progressive forces in his district on the issues of F.E.P.C., Taft-Hartley and rent control. Running against Robert Kean, Republican incumbent whose mass base is in the suburban areas, Fox scored an impressive vote of 69,343 as against Kean's 84,555. All the newspapers commented on Fox's very good showing. He was a political newcomer in that district and had no political organization before entering the campaign.

In the 11th Congressional District of Newark another broad coalition of labor and Negro forces rallied around Hugh Addonizio, the Democratic incumbent. Here activities on F.E.P.C. and rent control brought advanced groups like the Negro Labor Council and the Progressive Party into parallel activity with A.D.A. and P.A.C. forces. Here, too, the Progressive Party did not place

its own candidate in the Congressional race.

Outstanding work in this district was done by U.E. Local 407. For some time this local had sent delegations to Addonizio and reported to its members his stand on questions of interest to them. The workers in this local, all employees of the Edison Co., were engaged in a fight for a wage increase. They organized a rally of 800 workers in support of their demands. Congressman Addonizio addressed the rally, linking himself with the U.E. wage demand. This marked an advance over his former position on the wage-freeze issue. He gave support to the demands for repeal of the Smith Act, for an F.E.P.C., and reflected some of the pressures on the peace issue that were exerted in that district. Addonizio was reelected, receiving 69,238 votes to the 58,907 votes obtained by his Republican opponent, Barnes. Noting the contribution of labor to his victory, Addonizio declared in the *Orange Transcript*: "The work of organized labor, including C.I.O., A. F. of L, and *independent unions* [emphasis added] was a vital part of the victory in this district."

What are some of the most important lessons to be learned from these election experiences?

1. The best type of united front activity was developed in those districts where unity on concrete issues, such as rent control, was the basis for coalition activity.

2. Growing out of these activities, labor unity developed. Furthermore,

the United Labor Committees formed in two communities were not just election gimmicks. Many of the trade-union leaders involved in these committees became interested in developing legislative issues through them as a permanent feature of labor activity.

3. In general the P.A.C. committees served merely as a rubber stamp for Democratic Party big-wigs, and these committees were not lively bodies that mobilized the rank and file in election activity. Where the contrary was true, it was because a particular P.A.C. committee gave leadership to the workers on a specific issue of struggle.

4. There is a need for real struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism. "Left" sectarianism, widespread in our Party, was expressed in our District by the continued "go it alone" policy that has characterized our electoral work since 1948. Only three county organizations out of seven developed any coalition policy. Furthermore, in those counties where we developed united front approaches to election work, only a small number of members were involved. The bulk of our membership took part only in Progressive Party activities and remained outside the main stream of the trade unions and mass organizations.

"Left" sectarian attitudes were sharply evident during the campaign in Martin Fox's district. His position, which included a critical approach to U.S. foreign policy and a call for a Cease-Fire, brought forth some cynical remarks such as: "It's

only an election maneuver to get the votes." The State leadership of the Party did not adequately cope with such sectarian tendencies. It did not develop a real struggle against them during the last weeks of the campaign. Otherwise we could have utilized the advances that were made on the peace issue so as to involve more people in this struggle. We could have helped the peace forces in the 12th C.D. to unfold a positive campaign for ending the war in Korea and to build the necessary mass support for the position taken by Fox. Even if, as some comrades argued, Fox's stand on cease fire was only an election campaign maneuver, a positive approach to it would have rallied many more people in the peace fight and made any retreat on his part less likely. Our sectarianism reflected a real underestimation of the people's desire for peace and the effect it could have on political leaders. Specifically, it led to a lack of struggle in support of Fox's Korean stand within the trade unions, the N.A.A.C.P., Democratic Party clubs and Jewish organizations. This was all the more true because most of the Left forces were not in these mass organizations.

It appeared to many Left forces that the only way of registering a vote for peace was by voting for Hallinan and Bass. In reality, the vote for Fox did express a growing critical attitude towards our foreign policy. To think that peace sentiment could only be expressed by the Progressive Party vote and to overlook broader channels of expression

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were serious sectarian errors.

Tendencies towards Right opportunism also hindered the development of correct policy. The Left forces in the 11th C.D. failed to take public issue with the Red-baiting position of Addonizio. In competition with his opponent, Barnes, he made repeated Red-baiting declarations. We had not learned how to be part of a coalition movement and at the same time to exercise our right of criticism where such criticism was a vital part of the people's struggle for their demands. Criticism could have been made without in any way weakening the coalition or the influence of the Left in electoral activities. In fact, the exposure of Red-baiting would have alerted labor to the danger of being diverted from its main course. Specifically, such criticism would have been welcomed by many U.E. workers and Negro residents of that district who have had to conduct many struggles of their own against Red-baiting.

THE MOVEMENT FOR NEGRO REPRESENTATION

In the two concentration areas, some real beginnings in this struggle have been made. In Newark, the struggle for the appointment of a Negro judge to preside in the 4th Precinct took on mass proportions beginning last May. It brought into action packinghouse locals of the C.I.O., U.E. District 4, state officers of the C.I.O., Negro leaders of the N.A.A.C.P., Negro Ministers, the Progressive Party and the Civil Rights Congress. Labor and the Ne-

gro community have drawn closer together in the course of the struggle. Some partial gains have been won, as the appointment of a Negro Corporation Counsel.

Also in Newark, Roger Tucker, Negro Democrat, was nominated for the county post of Freeholder. This nomination was followed by the formation of an independent committee for the election of Negroes to public office. The committee, despite some narrowness, made a real contribution. It helped to point up the meaning of the Tucker candidacy and to rally Negro and white forces behind it—despite the fact that the Freeholder campaign normally draws very little attention—and this was a Presidential year in addition. The Independent committee projected the issue of Negro representation and opened doors to the candidate in some churches, mass organizations and trade unions. However the Left forces relied solely on the independent committee and did not take up the fight on the issue of Negro representation among the broader mass of organized workers in the trade unions.

It is a tribute to the growing understanding among Negro and white that the Negro candidate, Roger Tucker, secured the impressive vote of 170,797. Though not elected in a county where the office of freeholder traditionally goes to the Republicans, he ran ahead of the entire Democratic slate.

The most advanced movement for Negro rights was developed in Paterson. There, in the 4th ward, a Com-

mittee for Participation of Negroes in Government was formed early in 1952. It included U.A.W. members, Negro businessmen, Ministers, leaders of social clubs, women's clubs, the Elks and the N.A.A.C.P. The committee entered a Negro candidate, Frank Melton, in the Republican primaries and he came within 188 votes of winning the nomination for Alderman.

During this primary campaign the committee developed friendly relations with Jewish voters in the ward who worked through their own independent organization for Melton. The committee also developed friendly relations with the leadership of the textile locals and the auto local of 15,000 members at the Wright Aeronautical Company. Indicating the extent of the impact of the struggle for Negro representation in government, a Negro auto worker running in the local union election held at this time won a place on its Executive Board.

Following the primary election the struggle continued and took on a new form. It became a fight against discrimination in a privately owned swimming pool in Paterson. For 30 days the local press was flooded with letters expressing deep indignation at the jim-crow policies of the management of the pool. A community conference on the question united people from 34 organizations including textile, auto, I.A.M., and other A. F. of L. unions. White leaders from churches and Jewish organizations were represented in this conference and in the continuations

committee that grew from it. The Committee for Representation in Government and representatives of the N.A.A.C.P., also became part of it.

The main issue that united the conference and continuations committee was a proposal for a city-wide referendum vote on a \$400,000 bond issue to build a municipally owned pool free from discrimination. The struggle for Negro rights which began with the nomination of a Negro in the Republican primary broadened to the extent that the referendum on the swimming pool became a central election issue in that city. The referendum carried, but the close vote of 14,622 to 14,429 showed the power of the forces grouped around the real estate interests that counted on prejudice and backward sections of the people in this struggle. The existence of a broad united front campaign, and the door-to-door work done in the working-class areas of the 4th ward where the vote was two to one in favor of the bond issue, made this victory possible. The most decisive mass organizations and trade unions became part of this fight for Negro rights.

During this campaign the Committee for Negro Representation developed relationships with white community figures and candidates running for office. These candidates felt impelled to speak out for Negro rights. For instance, Charles Joelson, a P.A.C.-endorsed Democrat who was running for State Senate, declared in the press: "Negroes must get greater representation in Federal,

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state and local government." Lawrence Mendelson, an I.A.M. lodge president, and Democratic candidate for Alderman in the 4th Ward, cooperated with the committee and entered the campaign for a swimming pool.

As one of the activities during the campaign, the Committee for Negro Representation sought to have Frank Melton named to fill the sudden vacancy caused by the withdrawal of Louis Nussman, the Republican Aldermanic candidate, who took a city job. The Republican big-wigs in Paterson refused this demand. They replaced Nussman by his wife. This act aroused the Negro community which rightfully felt that Melton was entitled to become the organization's choice. The Negro representation committee issued a sharp attack on the Republican Party and called for the defeat of its candidate. They pointed to the candidacy of Theodore Kyles, a Negro, who had filed as an independent. They called attention to the fact that the jim-crow policies of both major parties meant that a Negro was often forced to run as an independent.

Early in the spring Theodore Kyles, advised by leaders of the Negro people, had filed as an independent in the 4th ward. Later serious differences of opinion developed between Mr. Kyles and the Committee, which kept it from organizing a campaign around him. These differences were reflected in the newspapers at the end of the campaign.

White progressives, aware of these differences, left the resolution of this

question to the Negro community and concentrated on developing Negro-white unity through the struggle for the passage of the swimming pool referendum. Thus they strengthened the interest of the Negro community in the committee's fundamental objective, while properly leaving to the Negro community leaders the decision as to whether or not they would support the independent candidate. Thereby the white progressives, who comprise an active part of that ward, avoided the serious white chauvinist error of attempting to make decisions for the Negro community.

The election results in this ward heartened the community. The division on the issue of Kyles' candidacy did not split the Negro committee or the unity of the Negro people. Lawrence Mendelson, Democrat, won with 3,913 votes. Mrs. Celia Nussman, Republican, secured 2,750 votes. Theodore Kyles, despite the differences, doubled the vote of a former Negro independent candidate, securing 534 votes. The bulk of the Negro community voted for the Democrat, Mendelson.

ROLE OF THE PARTY

In this entire campaign the Communist Party played a modest but important role. The Party responded *on time* to the issues that developed. It learned how to help develop the struggle. It recognized the forms of struggle, such as the letter-writing campaign to the press, that masses were ready to participate in. It did

not seek to impose methods of activity that did not correspond to the existing level of understanding of the movement. It helped many white forces to see the full meaning of the entire campaign and the contributions the Negro people were making in this fight for peace and democracy. It helped to build Negro-white unity in the 4th ward. It placed as its main emphasis the task of winning the white community to this struggle. During the swimming pool campaign the Party issued a timely leaflet in its own name which pointed out that if the U.S. Olympic swimming team came to that city it would be turned away from the pool. The efforts of the F.B.I. to split the movement because of the presence of some Left forces in the conference did not make any real headway among the participants.

Two serious weaknesses appeared in the Party's independent activity. As the campaign broadened and drew in prominent city-wide leaders the Left forces tended to rely only on the top committees to conduct the referendum campaign and neglected the necessary door-to-door activity for the referendum. There was a great tendency to underestimate the strength of the opposition to the referendum, and as a result there was a lack of initiative from below in the campaign. Also the Left forces were negligent regarding certain chauvinist attitudes that appeared in the published letters favoring the swimming pool. They could have, but did not, use the Letters from Readers columns of the newspapers to educate

the public against patronizing attitudes towards Negroes that were expressed there. This could have been done within the framework of contributing to the growing unity of those supporting the pool. There was also a lack of struggle in the mass organizations of the Left against white chauvinist attitudes that held back the fullest mobilization of the Left.

Experiences during the election campaign in New Jersey have shown that the Negro people have strong allies among the whites—and they value them. These allies are in unions, including those under Right-led leadership, and in other sections of the community. Indeed the movement which responds to the aspirations of the whole Negro people is exceedingly broad and arises in many places in our state where the Left has no responsibility for its development. Communists have no basis for thinking they are the only ones who want to fight for Negro rights.

Clearly, the movement for Negro representation has made the best headway where it has been an integral part of the struggle against a specific form of discrimination. The campaign in Newark and Paterson, coupled with election victories in Englewood and Shrewsbury and with movements for the election of Negroes in Atlantic City, Trenton, Asbury Park and many other cities, point to a new qualitative stage in this struggle. This fact places great responsibilities on the Communist Party for helping the further development of this movement.

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THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CAMPAIGN

The Progressive Party secured 5,800 votes in New Jersey for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. Katherine Van Orden, running for U.S. Senator, got 7,500. It conducted a vigorous campaign on the peace issue, despite the many serious obstacles that hampered its activity. The P.P. campaign was most fruitful in those areas where coalition activities were developed. There, the P.P. developed its own independent activities in such a fashion as to contribute to the movements of the people on issues of rent control and Negro rights. In those counties where the Left forces pursued a "go it alone" policy the independent campaign of the P.P. also suffered.

THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST PARTY CAMPAIGN

The vote for Charles Nusser, Communist Party candidate in Newark, caused the press to express great shock. Nusser polled 5,448 votes, an increase of 3,868 votes over 1951. In Trenton the Party doubled its former vote, getting 400 votes for Bert Salwen. While the favorable position the Party had on the ballot in Newark (on the third line) explains some of the increased vote there, nevertheless the vote is also proof of the growing desire of the people to speak out for their rights and to express poor can best be carried out in the their opposition to the fascist trends in this country. The Party candi-

dates, by appearing at public symposiums and rallies, contributed to the whole struggle against the drive of the reactionaries to illegalize our Party.

A FEW GENERAL QUESTIONS

In general it may be said that the Party's work in the electoral campaign showed advances toward carrying out the policy adopted at the 1950 convention, of rooting our main base among the workers organized in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. However, most of our members are not yet involved in these broader fields. Our continuous emphasis on the need to develop coalition activities has not changed the fact that a large majority participated in the campaign only through the Progressive Party.

Can this weakness be attributed solely to the membership or does it result also from political unclarities in the leading bodies of our Party? It is our opinion that the latter is one of the main factors. We have not properly assessed the relationship of forces in the labor movement. In our great desire to help bring about a third party movement we have tended to over-estimate the readiness of the working class to break with the two old parties. Many comrades explain the lack of support for the Progressive Party by saying: "If only more forces of the Left were involved," or "if only more Communists were active in the Progressive Party." Neither of these reasons explains the basic cause for the small P.P. vote. It can be traced to the

very origin of the P.P., for it lacked a mass base in the ranks of labor from the very outset. Above all, the cause for the P.P. isolation can be traced to the fact that the mass of the workers are not yet ready to break with the two-party system. However, they are ready to fight for many of the programmatic demands of the Progressive Party through the channels of their own organizations.

Agitation for a third party is not enough. Communists must develop concrete tactics of struggle that help the masses realize, on the basis of their own experiences, the need for a third party. This calls for concentrating our main efforts among the masses belonging to Right-led trade unions. It means taking part in the present coalition that exists between labor, Negro people's organizations and the Democratic Party. This coalition is an objective fact. The Left forces must link themselves with the masses in it and help the people fight for their own interests within the framework of this coalition. Our participation will guarantee that correct lessons will be drawn from the struggle within the Democratic Party. Standing on the sidelines, waiting for the masses to realize the importance of a third party for America is not the answer. The only road for us to choose is to become part of the struggles that workers must develop in their own self-interest.

Our policy of exposing and fighting the bi-partisan war program of the Democratic and Republican parties was fully correct. Within this framework, it was the task of our

Party to develop a struggle against the menace of a Republican victory while at the same time helping to dispel the illusions the masses had in the Democratic Party. Any other course would have been an act of betrayal. To have supported Stevenson, as the Social-Democrats did, would have been to go along with the war program advanced under the Truman Administration.

However, in the course of the campaign we showed considerable weakness in failing to link ourselves with the basic sections of the working class, Negro people, etc., who were primarily concerned with the menace of a Republican victory. We did not develop increased struggle against some of the most open war mongers linked with the Republican Party. For example, H. Alexander Smith, candidate for re-election to the U.S. Senate, advocated bombing Manchuria and spreading the war. We did not direct a sharp enough fire against him. We feared that by so doing we would strengthen the illusions of the masses about the Democratic Party.

A sharper fire against the most rabid reactionaries grouped around the Republican Party would have enabled us to give greater leadership to the mobilization of the American workers, the Negro and Jewish masses, who were most disturbed by the prospect of an Eisenhower victory. Actually, if we had done this, while simultaneously conducting struggle on important issues within the labor-Democratic coalition, the result would have been the creation

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of more opposition within the Democratic Party to the war policies it was pursuing.

Our country faces a whole host of problems as the Eisenhower Administration takes power. Already we see new and speedy preparations being made for the passage of more anti-labor measures, for amendments to the Taft-Hartley law attempting still further to cripple the labor movement. New attacks on the Communist Party and on the civil rights of the American people generally, is what this Administration has in store for the people. Only the people's will to struggle, and mass organization can defeat these new plots against Americans. The people in their own self-interest will fight back. Our Party must throw itself into this next phase of struggle, fully applying ourselves to the task of helping to develop the united action of the working class for a people's peace program.

Before us are a number of tasks that flow from our own electoral experiences in New Jersey. These merge with the program outlined by the Draft Resolution of the National Committee.

1. Around the immediate issues of ending the war in Korea, for higher wages, for cuts in taxes and prices, for cloture and a Federal F.E.P.C., and the defeat of all anti-labor legislation, as well as the repeal of McCarran and Smith Acts, we have possibilities of uniting wide sections of people who are already committed through their organizations to many of these issues.

2. To recognize that this struggle must be waged in the main in the organized labor movement and mass organizations that are led by a reformist and Social-Democratic type of leadership. To help alert P.A.C. and L.L.P.E. committees to these new and growing dangers in store for the working class. To help in the development of P.A.C. and L.L.P.E. committees as real instruments capable of moving the workers in the shops into the fight to realize the demands that were raised by labor during this past campaign.

The coming state and municipal elections will afford many opportunities of developing this fight on issues within the framework of the two-party system. It will open new opportunities for developing a struggle for a people's program within the Labor-Democratic coalition. The coming campaign will in a great measure test our ability to grasp the full meaning of the National Committee Draft Resolution. It will test our ability to understand the true nature of the errors we have made, so that these errors will be rooted out of our work and not repeat themselves in our election activities.

The National Committee Draft Resolution is a most welcome document. It opens the door to an intensive ideological discussion in our ranks on the basis of the most searching critical and self-critical examination of our work. This Draft Resolution gives us new aid in mastering the art of Marxist-Leninist tactics of united-front work.

White Chauvinism and Negro Bourgeois Nationalism II*

By Samuel T. Henderson

NEGRO BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM is an anti-working class ideology. It is the ideology of the Negro bourgeoisie and the Negro petty bourgeoisie. It is anti-Marxist; it is non-Socialist; it is an ideology that can serve only to confuse, blunt, weaken and undermine the struggle of the masses for Negro liberation. Marxists must see that white chauvinism and Negro bourgeois nationalism are but two sides of the same phenomenon—bourgeois ideology. It is hostile to Communism, hostile to the struggle against imperialism.

Elements in the Party which advance Negro bourgeois nationalist thinking reflect the influence of the bourgeoisie. They reflect the policy and ideology of the bourgeoisie, its influence upon the unstable, opportunist and petty-bourgeois elements in the Party. Just as white chauvinism, when it manifests itself within the Party organization, reflects the weakness of Marxist views and the hold of bourgeois ideology on our white comrades, so also does Negro bourgeois nationalism, when it manifests itself among our Negro cadre, reflect the influence and hold of the Negro bourgeoisie on elements with-

in our Party, as well as the failure to grasp the fundamental scientific principles of Marxism.

Thus, it cannot be said, as some comrades put it, that it is incorrect for the Party to struggle against Negro nationalism until the struggle against white chauvinism has been won. It is not possible for the Party to maintain its strength, its ability to play its vanguard role among the Negro masses without fighting simultaneously against white chauvinism, as the main danger, and against Negro bourgeois nationalism.

Negro bourgeois nationalism and its influence expresses itself in many ways within the ranks of the Party and among the Negro masses. Some of the ways in which bourgeois nationalism is expressed are reflected in the following wrong and dangerous views: No white Communist can master the Negro question; the leading Negro cadre of the Party tend to be Uncle Toms when they fight for the line of the Party; it's wrong for Negroes to marry whites—there should be some kind of quota system

* The first part of this article appeared in our December, 1952 issue.—Ed.

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for Negro and white marriages; William Z. Foster cannot give leadership to the Negro people; you cannot trust white workers—white workers cannot rid themselves of white chauvinism.

All of these reflect, in the first place, bourgeois ideology that is alien to proletarian internationalism and its science of Marxism.

There are some comrades who present arguments that expound Negro nationalism with pseudo-Marxist theoretical propositions so that, for example, one comrade puts forth the view that the national-liberation movements of the colonial peoples cause the crisis of imperialism and, because of this, the Negro question is the basic question of the world—more important than the fight for peace, the struggle against fascism or any other aspect of the political mass struggle. Thus, the role of the national-liberation movements of the colonial peoples, the colored peoples, is exaggerated, inflated. The role of the working class, the role of the Soviet Union, the role of the Communist Parties throughout the world in the struggle for freedom, democracy and national liberation are minimized or ignored.

Thus, Marxism, while correctly stressing the revolutionary impact which the national-liberation movements of the colonial peoples of the world are having in contributing to the crisis of imperialism, points out that the starting point of the permanent general crisis of world imperialism was the October Revolution of 1917, accompanied by the struggle of

the working class internationally against imperialism and war, as well as the conflicts between the various national bourgeoisies and the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism.

Another nationalist view is that the Negro people are the vanguard of the working class. This view is based upon observation of the fact that the Negro people represent one of the most militant sections of the American population. But such a view is clearly incorrect; for the working class is the leader of all who are oppressed by monopoly capitalism. This is true even when the working class has not yet recognized its role in society.

Secondly, they overestimate the difference, the gap, between the level of development of the Negro people—their political consciousness—and the level of development of the working class and its political consciousness. They confuse militancy with class consciousness, the national struggle with the class struggle, and ignore the fact that the Negro question is a national question with very special features.

The Negro question represents that of a nation within a nation, and therefore it is impossible to discuss the movement of the Negro people separated and apart from the movement of the working class in the United States.

One comrade puts it this way: That the development of the Negro national-liberation movement is part of the struggle for Socialism, but is not contingent on the development

of the working class of the imperialist nation.

What is wrong with this? What is wrong with it is that it poses the question of the struggle for Negro liberation in a vacuum. It fails to see that while it is possible in certain historical moments for the Negro people's movement to travel apace of and ahead of the working-class movement, precisely because of the existence of the Negro people's movement within the United States and not as a colonial people separate and apart from its imperialist oppressors, there is an inter-connection between the development of the working-class movement and the development of the Negro national-liberation movement in the United States. No basic advances can be made in the struggle for Negro liberation without simultaneously developing advances in the struggle of the working class as a whole within the United States.

Thus, what must we conclude? We must conclude that Negro bourgeois nationalism as an ideology can only weaken our movement, can only weaken our Party, disorient us, put us on the wrong path. Communists must distinguish between the fight for the united front of the Negro national-liberation movement and the all-class unity of the Negro people, and the fight for the monolithic unity of the Communist Party, based upon the scientific principles of Marxism and, in the first place, proletarian internationalism.

There are some comrades who feel that in order to fight for the united

front of the Negro national-liberation movement, it is necessary to develop a unity within the Party organization with nationalist theories. But this, the Party cannot digest, because Negro nationalist views which penetrate the ranks of the Party can only water down and dilute and betray the vanguard role of the Party as well as uphold the leadership of the Negro bourgeoisie, the nationalists, the reformists, over the Negro movement. To have a soft, conciliatory attitude toward Negro bourgeois nationalism within the ranks of the Party means to deny the fight for the leadership of the working class within the Negro people's liberation movement. It weakens the vanguard role of the Party in the working-class movement.

Thus, from the point of view of Marxism, Negro bourgeois nationalism is reactionary. Proletarian internationalism and Negro bourgeois nationalism are irreconcilable ideologies. They are in conflict, and either one or the other must triumph. They cannot exist side by side.

This does not mean, however, from the point of view of the objective historical developments, that Negro bourgeois nationalism cannot objectively and practically play a progressive role. But bourgeois nationalism can have a progressive and democratic content only up to a certain point. That point is never within the ranks of the Party.

Can nationalism be progressive? Can it have a democratic content? Lenin stated as follows:

The principle of nationality is his-

torically and, taking the Marxist theoretical elements. From bourgeois nationalism it only to the movement shall not proletarian ideology.

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• Lenin
Quotations

torically inevitable in bourgeois society and, taking this society into account, the Marxist fully recognizes the historical legitimacy of national movements. But to prevent this recognition from becoming an apology for nationalism it must be most strictly limited only to what is progressive in these movements—so that this recognition shall not lead to the blunting of proletarian consciousness by bourgeois ideology.

Rousing the masses from feudal slumber, their struggle against all national oppression, for the sovereignty of the people, for the sovereignty of nations, is progressive. Hence, it is the *bounden* duty of a Marxist to uphold the most resolute and most consistent democracy in all parts of the national question. This task is mainly a negative one. But the proletariat cannot go beyond this in supporting nationalism, for beyond begins the "positive" activity of the *bourgeoisie*, which is striving to *fortify* nationalism.

To throw off all feudal oppression, all national oppression, all privileges enjoyed by one nation or one language, is the bounden duty of the proletariat as a democratic force, and is certainly in the interest of the proletarian class struggle, which is obscured and retarded by national bickerings. But to help bourgeois nationalism *beyond* these strictly confined and definite historical limits means betraying the proletariat and taking the side of the bourgeoisie. There is a boundary here, which is often very thin, and which the Bundists and Ukrainian social-nationalists completely forget.

Fight against all national oppression—yes, certainly. Fight *for* any kind of national development, *for* "national culture" in general—certainly not.*

Thus, it is the responsibility of the Communists to support every single democratic demand, every progressive national demand of the Negro bourgeoisie within the national-liberation movement.

What are some of these demands? The fight for equal education; the struggle against police brutality, against lynch terror; the fight for Negro representation in government; the fight for government loans to Negro small business, to Negro farmers. All of these are progressive, democratic demands which it is the duty of Marxists to support—not only to support but to advance and fight for. As the Negro bourgeoisie and the Negro petty bourgeoisie put forward even more radical demands, but even here bourgeois-democratic in nature, such demands indicate the general progressive character of the Negro national movement even at this moment when the predominant leadership is in the hands of the Negro bourgeoisie.

Only a fool and a nihilist would argue that Marxists must oppose all demands of the Negro bourgeoisie. Particularly is this true when these demands are the demands of the bourgeoisie of an oppressed small nation, a nation that is a nation within a nation in the powerful imperialist-ruled United States.

To support these demands is one thing. To support nationalism is another. Some Marxists tend to confuse the support which the Party, as an organization, gives to the democratic demands of the Negro bourgeoisie and the Negro liberation movement,

* Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*, Moscow, 1951, pp. 35-37.

with the right to advocate Negro bourgeois nationalism within the ranks of the Party. Thus, they confuse the fight for the anti-imperialist united front of the Negro people with the fight for the vanguard theory of the Party.

Lenin makes it quite clear that we cannot support bourgeois nationalism. We can support the demands of the national movement. And many of our comrades confuse Negro nationalism as an ideology with the mass political movement, the objective national-liberation movement.

Here is a final example of the extent to which Negro nationalism can have a democratic content. A Negro writes, in answer to I. F. Stone's article in the *N. Y. Compass*:*

I am a Negro who has witnessed both the increase of terror against my people, and the growing lack of leadership which has resulted in the masses of Negroes losing confidence in their struggle for equality. I welcome Stone's thesis as a call for a surge of Negro Nationalism to sweep the entire Negro nation. A Nationalism that would unite the darker peoples of America in a struggle to overcome a second class position in a white man's society. A Nationalism that would include all whites who were advanced beyond white chauvinism and exclude those whites who have not yet risen above their paternal superiorities. A Nationalism that would inspire the Negro to feel that he is equal to any white.

Can we not join hands with this Negro correspondent and support this nationalist call for a militant

* Marcell Johnson of Omaha in *The Compass*, March 2, 1952. Stone's article, "Who Will Free the Negroes?" appeared in the *Compass*, Feb. 17, 1952. A critique, by Charles P. Mann, was in *Political Affairs*, March, 1952.—Ed.

struggle of the Negro people, with their white allies, for full first-class citizenship of the Negro people in the United States? We can and we must. But can we tolerate such a point of view within the ranks of the Party? No, we cannot tolerate such an approach within the ranks of the Party because Negro Communists have the responsibility to fight for proletarian internationalism, not only within the ranks of the Party but among the Negro masses, while at the same time consciously uniting with Negro nationalists in the struggle for Negro liberation.

What must be the main conclusion? That Negro nationalism cannot be confused with the national movement. The democratic content of Negro nationalism is not in its ideology as such but rather in the extent to which it helps move masses to participate in the struggle for national liberation and freedom. This is basic to estimating the progressive content of the national movement. The participation of the masses is a determining factor, but *the decisive factor is the degree to which the proletariat of the oppressed nation is engaged in the struggle and is in a position of leadership in that struggle.*

It is this basic proposition that makes the role of the National Negro Labor Council so important today.

FOR ALL-CLASS UNITY

The next question which has to be posed is the fight for all-class unity of the Negro people. We remember prior to the 1950 convention

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of our Party that a thesis was put forward by one of our leading comrades that the main sections of the Negro bourgeoisie had sold out or were capitulating to the war camp, and that therefore this bourgeoisie could not be won to the peace camp. This is a Left sectarian view that underestimates the revolutionary potential of the Negro bourgeoisie. This view is based upon the proposition that the Negro bourgeoisie has lost all revolutionary potential, that the Negro bourgeoisie as a whole has gone over to the side of imperialism. This view held that the economic reason for this tendency on the part of the Negro bourgeoisie was in the bribing of large sections of the Negro bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie by the American imperialist ruling class in the form of government loans, appointments to high positions, etc.

Both from the political and the economic point of view this thesis is false from the start. American imperialism today in its drive for world domination is seeking to intensify its hegemony over the entire capitalist world. Aid is given to the bourgeoisie of France, Great Britain, and Italy in the form of the Marshall Plan, while at the same time the basic movement of American imperialism is to undermine the national independence of these imperialist powers.

If this is true on a world scale where the American bourgeoisie is moving in to defeat its imperialist rivals, thus becoming a threat to the national independence of Great Brit-

ain and France, then certainly here within the United States, in the drive to war and fascism, the American bourgeoisie is not going to advance the position of the Negro bourgeoisie economically or politically. Therefore, while the Negro bourgeoisie has reformist, reactionary, capitulatory, compromising tendencies, it is also faced as a class with the jimcrow national oppression of the Negro people as a whole, and this objective fact presents the possibility of developing the all-class unity of the Negro people.

Let us turn to the Communist Party of China, which places the fight for all-class unity in the following way:

The General Program of the Party Constitution points out that our Party represents the interests of the Chinese nation and people. Of course, this is the essence of our Party and of the thought of Mao Tse-Tung. The interests of the Chinese proletariat and the interests of the Chinese people are identical at all periods of time. The New Democratic Revolution against imperialism and against feudalism now carried on by our Party is in the interests not only of the working class but also of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of China can succeed only when it stands not only for the partial and immediate interests of its own class but also for the interests of the entire people and only when it organizes and unites not only its own class but also the entire nation and the people to carry on the struggle. The proletariat cannot achieve its own liberation if it fails to liberate the

people as a whole.*

This was written just three years before the successful people's revolution.

In the United States this would mean that the Communists, in the struggle for Negro liberation against the white imperialist ruling class, as the main enemy, fight for the unity of the Negro workers, the Negro agricultural workers, the Negro middle classes, the Negro tenant farmers, share-croppers, farmers, as well as the Negro bourgeoisie. And, simultaneously, in the course of fighting for unity with the Negro bourgeoisie, the Communist Party struggles against the conciliatory, the nationalist outlook of the Negro bourgeoisie.

Our approach to all-class unity is unity with all classes and, in regard to the Negro bourgeoisie, unity with them and struggle against them, unity with the progressive contribution they can make and struggle against the reactionary contribution.

Thus, while the Communists in Harlem support the demand put forward by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell for an end to job discrimination in television—not only support this demand but advance it themselves—the Communists at the same time would condemn and expose the capitulation of Powell to the anti-Communist war program of the United States Congress.

Also, while Communists support the fight for the freedom of the Negro press and the progressive, democratic liberation currents reflected in this press, they simultane-

ously conduct a struggle against the anti-labor, Red-baiting propaganda within the Negro press. This is so because at the same time that we recognize the basic fact that the Negro bourgeoisie has not exhausted its revolutionary potential, we also recognize that we can fight correctly for the all-class unity of the Negro masses only to the degree that we combat the reactionary influence of the Negro bourgeoisie within the national-liberation movement.

In the fight for all-class unity or for the united Negro national-liberation front against imperialism, this struggle cannot be successful unless the Communists within the Negro liberation movement simultaneously conduct a fight for unity in the movement with a struggle against the contamination of the Negro workers with bourgeois nationalism. We must struggle against all tendencies that would disunite the Negro workers from the white workers in order that the bourgeoisie might lead them. We must fight against every tendency on the part of Negro Marxists to be carried away by justifiable hatred against the white imperialist oppressors of the Negro masses to the point where part of this hatred is directed against the white workers.

The column of I. F. Stone in the *Daily Compass* is an illustration of the point above. It also proves that white chauvinism and Negro bourgeois nationalism are but two sides of the same phenomenon. What does Stone say?

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* Liu Shao-Chi, *On the Party*, p. 28.

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terms of constitutional rights or to look for any kind of mass white support in the Negro's struggle for full emancipation is a waste of time. . . .

White supremacy doctrine is dominant doctrine in America, openly in the South but no less unmistakably in the North. The Negro is a submerged nation, reduced to the menial tasks and ill-paid jobs of a white man's country, and every white man to some degree benefits from cheap Negro labor, if not in his factory, then in his home.

Here Stone states the white chauvinist view that the oppression of the Negro masses is beneficial to the white masses in the United States. Therefore, if the Negroes want freedom, they must disunite from the whites, they must fight for it by themselves. This is the same song Negro nationalism sings. Thus, white chauvinism, Negro nationalism are intertwined—two sides of the same phenomenon.

Is it necessary to point out that this article is a dagger in the heart of the struggle for Negro-white unity, that it is a non-class concept which denies the leading role of the working class in the struggle for Negro liberation and, as all non-class approaches do, leaves the leadership of the struggle to the bourgeoisie? It capitulates to racism in its statement that the white workers cannot be won, that white chauvinism is ingrained.

The terrible thing about the article by Stone is that this blast at Negro-white unity is brought forward during a period when the struggle for Negro rights and the unity of Negro and white has reached a higher point

than perhaps any other outside of the abolitionist movement, particularly in its connection with the whole international struggle against imperialism, war and fascism.

Witness the masses of whites and Negroes who were involved in the struggle against the evictions in Stuyvesant Town. Witness the mass response of whites against Cicero, against the vile assassination by bombing of Mr. and Mrs. Moore. Witness the offer of the community of South Norwalk, Connecticut, to the Harvey family for them to live in South Norwalk as respected citizens and leave the hate-filled community of Cicero. Witness the joint struggle of Negro and white workers for higher wages, against speed-up, in industries such as Local 600, Inland Steel, etc.

It is quite clear that this thesis of Stone's flies in the face of the political facts of life in the United States today. This thesis exaggerates the strength of the white supremacists and underestimates the strength of the unity of Negro and white masses for peace, democracy and Negro rights. Stone's thesis is essentially an echo of the despair of the petty bourgeois intellectual whose faith in the masses is so tenuous that it needs constant revival with a daily inoculation of mass struggle in order to be kept alive.

Even Negro reformist leaders who have not participated in struggles or made the contribution to the progressive movement that Stone has in his fight against the Smith Act, etc., decades before today came to much

different conclusions. And in these conclusions they show the various important contributions which Marxism has made to the struggle for Negro liberation.

The Negro reformist, Ralph Bunche, while using many sociological and racial terms with which we could not agree, pointed out the essential interests—common interests—of Negro and white workers when he stated:

This conception (that of class consciousness and class unity) . . . postulates the identity of interests of the working masses of the two races, and that these interests can be protected only by unity of action by both groups, against the employers and the capitalistic structure which dictate their exploitation.

. . . This conception of the problem finds its immediate roots in the economic competition institutionalized by the capitalistic system. Under this system all workers are equally exploited, and division in the ranks of the working class is a fatal weakness. The employing class exploits the traditional hostility between black and white workers, deriving from the days of slavery, by playing black against white, keeping the two groups divided through fanning the flames of race hatred, and thus providing a mutual threat. . . This division decimates the strength of labor unions and reduces the collective bargaining power of all workers. The strength of the working class is in its unity and its ability to present a unified front to the bosses. Therefore, white and Negro workers must cast aside their traditional prejudices, in their own welfare; they must lock arms and march shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed work-

ing masses. The overwhelming majority of Negroes are working class, and most of these are unskilled. Thus, practically the entire Negro race would be included in the scope of this ideology. . . . The basis of race conflict is economic competition, it is said, and as soon as the economic structure undergoes such alterations as are necessary in order to guarantee economic security to the working masses, the dynamic causes of race conflict will have been liquidated.*

Thus, Bunche—and he later stated his agreement with this general thesis as an outlook—recognized the basic identity of interests of the Negro workers, the Negro masses with the labor movement.

James Weldon Johnson almost two decades ago wrote the following: "Organized labor holds the main gate of our industrial and economic corral; and on the day that it throws open that gate . . . there will be a crack in the wall of racial discrimination that will be heard round the world."**

Need it be said that this basic proposition of the fundamental unity and identity of the interests of the Negro masses with the white proletarian masses in the U.S. is at the very foundation of Marxism on the Negro question in the United States?

* * *

In addition to the "Left" deviation on the question of all-class unity, there is also a major danger in the struggle against the Right deviation. This deviation poses the question of

* Ralph Bunche, "Conceptions and Ideology of the Negro Problem" (1938), pp. 131-33.

** J. W. Johnson, *Negro Americans, What Now?* (N. Y., 1934), pp. 66-67.

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all-class unity without emphasizing the leading role of the working class within that all-class unity. It negates the need for the struggle for hegemony of the working class over the all-class united national liberation front.

Yet, one of the new features of the present period is that the working class leads the nation and the Communist Party leads the working class of that nation. All-class unity in the national-liberation movement cannot be achieved under the leadership of the bourgeoisie in this period.

Let us take a few of the national-liberation movements in colonial countries as examples. In Viet-Nam, where the Communist Party has achieved leadership of the working class, and the working class leads the nation, there is a militant, uncompromising revolutionary struggle for national liberation—and in China the great historic victory of the Chinese people was achieved under the leadership of the working class and of the Communist Party. All-class unity is achieved in these nations.

In Egypt, Iran, India, where the bourgeoisie is in the leadership of the national movement—there, the class struggle is sharpened between the working class and the compromising bourgeoisie which seeks to live with imperialism—all-class unity is weakened.

Therefore, the major conclusion that we must come to: where the bourgeoisie leads the struggle, it poses its own class demands instead of the needs of the entire nation

and thereby makes difficult the achievement of all-class unity which is the basis of national liberation. While in the countries in which the working class leads the struggle for national liberation, all-class unity is consolidated and there is victorious struggle for national liberation.

EFFECTS OF DEVIATION

So much for some of the theoretical questions in regard to the struggle for Negro national liberation. What is most decisive is the effect deviations in theory have on our practice.

Our whole movement must stand up at attention to the warning signal of dangerous errors flowing out of opportunist, sectarian and nationalist influences that have appeared in a series of mass organizations where Communists lead or help lead.

It must be noted that in the recent period there has been an accentuation of certain major wrong, anti-Marxist tendencies in the approach to the Negro liberation movement.

In practice there is a rejection of the basic line of the Party for the fight to shift the base of operations of the Left and progressive forces into the Right-led organizations as the main path to the development of Negro unity. While we rejected in theory the line put forward by some comrades prior to the 1950 Convention that now is the time for the organization of a Left anti-imperialist Negro organization, in practice, in a whole series of fields, we find tendencies to develop precisely such an organization.

Another example of the "Left" sec-

tarian influence within our ranks is the fact that, despite the mass political influence of the Communist and most advanced anti-imperialist Negro leadership in the U.S., the bulk of our forces are operating in the Left-led organizations, speaking to the Negro masses from outside—an American version of the Chinese "mountain-top-ism."

What is needed among our leading Negro cadre is a very conscious mobilization to fight to carry out the line of the Party, to work with the masses in the Right-led, reformist organizations and, in the first place, the N.A.A.C.P. It is only in this way that the program of the Party can be brought into life and result in the development of mass united front action in the struggle for Negro rights.

Why is it that we see these various tendencies arise within our movement? It is because fundamentally there is not a sufficient, deep-going understanding of the science of Marxism on the Negro question, a tendency to operate on the basis of practice alone without the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory.

It is also a reflection of the weaknesses of our Party in fighting to advance a socialist perspective on the Negro question. Too often there is a tendency within our ranks to regard the solution of the Negro question as one that can be achieved fully within the framework of capitalism, or that the achievement of self-determination for the Negro in the Black Belt is the fundamental solution of the Negro question. This

is wrong.

The principle of the right to national self-determination is part and parcel of the struggle for Negro liberation. Self-determination can be achieved short of Socialism. But only under Socialism can the irrevocable guarantees be established for full liberation of the Negro people.

One of the factors in the high degree of fluctuation in the Negro membership of the Party is the fact that we do not sufficiently equip our Negro cadre with a socialist perspective. It is easy to recruit Negro workers into the Party, but it is hard to keep them when we fail to equip our Negro cadre with a socialist perspective. There are tendencies within the Party, reflecting both white chauvinist influences and bourgeois nationalist influences, to limit the training of our Negro cadre to simply and solely the so-called pure Negro rights issues and the Negro question, rather than the all-around development of our Negro cadre as working-class fighters, as fighters for Socialism and as fighters who understand that the Negro question can be resolved only as a result of the achievement of Socialism.

Is it simply the influences of white chauvinism that result in fluctuations within the Party? That is a major factor. *But it is not the only factor.* From year to year our fluctuation among Negro members is 10-15 per cent. Thus the majority of our comrades remain. Why do they remain? The basic reason is that this Negro cadre has an understanding

that the Party is the only instrument and vehicle of struggle for Negro liberation in the final analysis.

They remain because they understand the Party as a social force, vanguard of the working class—a Party in which there is constant struggle against deviations from Marxism such as white chauvinism—a constant struggle in which the Party ceaselessly develops, grows and strengthens itself.

The recent pamphlet by Kammari, on *The Development of J. V. Stalin of the Marxist-Leninist Theory of the National Question*, concludes with a very important observation:

The hegemony of the proletariat in the movements for national liberation in the colonies and dependent countries is a new and decisive factor that lends them stability, organization and invincible strength and leads to victory over imperialism. As Comrade Stalin warned, the national bourgeoisie in these countries are more and more openly entering into a compact with the foreign imperialists and betraying the national interests of their countries. Another new factor in the movement for national liberation is that the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe which have fallen under the yoke of the United States imperialists are being more and more drawn in too. These movements for national liberation are from the very outset developing under the hegemony of the proletariat, under the leadership of its Communist vanguard, and are directly merging with the struggle for Socialism.

Thus, the major observation of one of the new features in the na-

tional liberation movements in the post-World War II period is the fact that the fight for Socialism is merging with the struggle for national liberation, that national liberation can only be achieved with the defeat of imperialism.

Kammari continues: "The existence of the Soviet Union is the decisive factor that facilitates and determines the successes and victories of all peoples' movements for national liberation in the dependent countries and colonies. Its very existence in itself puts a curb on the dark forces of reaction, inspires the oppressed peoples to fight for their liberation and facilitates this liberation."

The great October Socialist Revolution and Socialism triumphed in the U.S.S.R. under the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This banner has rallied around itself the great commonwealth of nations of the U.S.S.R. It is rallying around the U.S.S.R. the Peoples' Democracies. This banner will rally around itself the whole of toiling mankind and will lead to the creation of a great world commonwealth of socialist nations.

The Negro nation in the United States and the oppressed Negro national minority, will become a part—and are becoming a part—of this growing movement of the oppressed nations to merge with the struggle for a broad people's coalition led by the working class against the big monopolies for the establishment of a people's government.

Letters from Readers

New York

Dear Editor:

. . . In general there is no discussion of the problems of women workers in the articles published in *Political Affairs* on trade-union questions. For instance: in the August, 1952 issue, Michael Russo, in a generally excellent article, discussed "The Textile Crisis in New England" without any reference to the fact that women constitute 43 percent of the labor force in this industry (Bureau of Labor Statistics) which is one of the major reasons why wages in the textile industry have always been so low. To what degree have male supremacist attitudes among the exclusively male leadership in the union contributed to the failure to organize a larger section of the industry, or to fight for higher wage scales? What is the source of such male supremacist ideology and who benefits by it? . . .

These problems find no mention in *Political Affairs*, barring the occasional, and always invaluable, articles by Claudia Jones. There is an increasing effort to deal with the work and contributions of women to the peace movement, where their role and importance is being slowly recognized. Then why not in the labor move-

ment where 20,500,000, or over 32 percent of the working labor force are women workers . . .

E. N. R.

Seattle

Dear Editor:

Alvin S. Herwitz, in his article, "Pavlov's Teachings in Psychology and Physiology" (*Political Affairs*, September, 1952) writes: "As for dictatorship, it was from the University of Oregon (U.S.A.—not U.S.S.R.) that a professor was dismissed merely for writing a letter to a scientific journal suggesting that Lysenko's work was at least worthy of investigation."

Oregon State College, please, not the University of Oregon. Presumably the latter is reactionary enough to have taken the same action, but in the interests of accuracy I think this error should be corrected.

A former University
of Oregon student.

Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Editor:

I have been reading *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, by Joseph Stalin. There is one sentence in particular in that work con-

cerning which I wish to raise a number of questions.

Stalin writes: "It may be confidently said that, with this pace of industrial development, it will soon come to pass that 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" (p. 27).

Notice that Stalin speaks of the "necessity of finding an outside market for their surplus products." Is Stalin implying that the countries of people's democracy are basically capitalistic in their economic structures, and therefore, having an unbalanced economy, must expand their markets? Is Stalin implying that a socialist economy does not have

a balance between production and consumption?

B. A.

A surplus for export in a socialist country or one building Socialism is not a capitalist trait. Nor does it imply the type of unbalance between production and consumption that in capitalist systems leads to economic crisis. If a surplus for export was something impossible in a socialist society then how could the U.S.S.R. hold out the perspective of such vast trade possibilities to the capitalist countries? And what would be the use of the new democratic world market if none of the countries building Socialism could produce surpluses of any commodities?



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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