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political affairs

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HIS WORK WILL ENDURE . . .

ON THE FOURTEENTH OF MARCH, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. . . . An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the death of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt. . . .

His name and his work will endure through the ages!

—*FREDERICK ENGELS at the grave of Karl Marx
who died March 14, 1883*

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MARCH, 1949

A Magazine Devoted to the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

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JACK STACHEL, MAX WEISS

The Politics of the Truman Administration

by Arnold Johnson

THREE MONTHS have passed since the elections which returned President Truman to office. Riding into office on a wave of promises to labor, to the Negro people, to the farmers, and indeed to the whole people, the "new look" President and his Administration have had an opportunity to show what they are doing on behalf of the people's living standards, in defense of civil liberties, and on the paramount issue of peace.

Each passing day confirms the fact that the dominant question facing the American people—as well as the entire world—is the question of war or peace. This is the issue which will determine whether millions of American youth will be offered up on the altar of imperialism in Wall Street's scheme to dominate the world. This is the issue: shall the American labor

movement be emasculated and surrendered into serving the imperialist war machine, will the American people be saddled with unbridled reaction and fascism at home, or will labor and its allies, in a broad people's coalition, assert themselves effectively for peace, democracy, and economic betterment?

Each passing day confirms the fact that the politics of the Truman Administration, "new look" version, is designed to dash the hopes of the American people for an enduring peace, for economic security, for democratic rights.

**"I WOULD RATHER
HAVE PEACE"**

Faced sharply with the fact that (to quote him) "throughout the world today the people yearn for

peace," Truman spared no effort during the election campaign to picture himself as the champion of peace. Conveniently "forgetting" that his Administration had repeatedly frustrated the desires of the people by rejecting repeated Soviet offers to negotiate for a settlement of outstanding differences, and dressing up the warmongering policies of the bipartisans under his direction as a "democratic" crusade "against Communism," Truman demagogically reiterated throughout the campaign that:

As I have said before, I would rather see the peace of the world preserved than be President of the United States.

Our policy is not now and never has been directed against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we recognize that the peace of the world depends on increasing understanding and a better working relationship between the Soviet Union and the democratic [read: capitalist] nations" (*New York Times*, October 19, 1948).

He told the American people that,

The heart and soul of American foreign policy is peace. . . .

A President must approach this task humbly and sincerely. He must be sure in his heart that no error, no pride, no arrogance on his part offers an obstacle to the achievement of peace (*New York Times*, October 30, 1948).

The whole world knows that this pre-election oratory was a forced concession to the people's deep-felt desire for peace, an aspiration that was

eloquently and courageously voiced by the new People's Party and its banner bearer, Henry A. Wallace.

How true this is can be seen from the fact that Truman cynically aborted his own Vinson "Peace Mission." His Inaugural Address, with its hysterical attack on "Communism," was charged with war talk. That address, in Wallace's words, "comes closer to a declaration of war than the Inaugural Address of any peacetime President in our history." Truman's State of the Union message pronounced the continuation and extension of the warbreeding Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine. And on the occasion of his appointment of Dean Acheson as Secretary of State, Truman angrily denied that the Administration was abandoning the "cold war" against the Soviet Union.

While Truman was spouting cheap campaign words about peace, secret meetings of representatives of the U.S. and its Western European satellites were in progress, hatching up an infamous "North Atlantic" Military Alliance. In the words of *Time* magazine (January 24, 1949, p. 17): "Seldom since the war had a diplomatic document been drafted in greater secrecy."

Despite the State Department's attempt to justify this plan as a "defense" measure necessary for "enhancing our security" and as compatible with the United Nations Charter, it is clear that the plan is not a regional arrangement in keep-

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ing with the U.N., but an anti-Soviet alliance for aggression. In the polite language of the Foreign Policy Association (*Bulletin*, January 21, p. 2): "The strong anti-Soviet character of the document officially advanced for the treaty appears to be out of line with President Truman's frequently announced belief that it is possible to have a peaceful relationship, free of tension, between the United States and Russia."

This proposed pact aims at bolstering the military forces of Western Europe with American equipment controlled by American military missions, and at acquiring key bases for the U.S. in Canada, Britain, France, and the "Benelux" countries, as well as in their colonies (the U.S. possesses a mere 500-odd bases ringing the globe at present). It symbolizes the arrogant U.S. imperialist policy of hypocrisy and undermining the U.N. and of clubbing every possible nation into support of Wall Street's anti-Soviet war program.

Having violated the sovereignty of independent countries in the economic and political sphere by the Marshall Plan, the dollar pirates are now determined to enforce their domination over other countries by military alliances, arms standardization pacts, military bases, and colossal air, land, and sea forces.

During the election campaign, Truman told the people:

There are some misguided persons who believe that further peaceful discussions are useless.

But that is not the position of the United States Government.

So long as I am President of the United States the door will not be closed to peace.

I will always explore every possible means, no matter how difficult or how unconventional, for reaching agreement (*New York Times*, October 30, 1948).

But Truman, Acheson & Co. have a curious way of "exploring" for peace. When the Soviet Union renews its offers for negotiations, Washington, Wall Street, and the brass-check press thunder against the "danger" of a "peace offensive." In words that speak volumes for the brazenness of the Wall Street warmongers, the Big Business organ, *U.S. News & World Report* (January 28, 1949, p. 60), states:

Joseph Stalin is causing U.S. policy planners a little embarrassment by his sudden shift to peace as the basic Russian line. The Russians are set to try out a peace offensive that complicates U.S. plans for war preparations at home and abroad.

It would be futile to seek logic in this arrogant rationalization for aggressive imperialism. The allegation that the Soviet peace policy voiced by Stalin represents a "sudden shift to peace" is the familiar refrain of the imperialist war camp, which seeks by such demagoguery to deflect from itself the onus of guilt. But so tortured is the "logic" of this accusation against the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, that the nakedness of U.S. imperialist war

preparation must needs expose itself in the process.

And when Premier Stalin sent the hopes of the world soaring by reaffirming his willingness and desire to meet with Truman to settle all disputed issues, the peace "explorers" cynically poured cold water on these hopes. Acheson could not restrain his bitterness when he decried the "unconventional channels" to which Stalin had allegedly resorted.

But the flippant and scornful manner with which Truman brushed aside Stalin's invitation did not sit well with the millions of peace-loving Americans, who well remembered how similar Soviet efforts at negotiation had met a similar fate. It brought back memories, for example, of the comi-tragic floundering and renegeing of the men in striped trousers last May when Molotov took ex-Ambassador Smith at his word ("the door is open to negotiations").

Clearly, drastic steps had to be taken to smokescreen the peace jitters that hit Washington. This is the hard reality which underlay the all-out offensive of warmongering and anti-Soviet hysteria launched by the Administration and by all the lay and clerical organs of imperialistic propaganda, under the guise of defending "freedom of religion," in attempting to create a cause celebre of the Mindszenty case. And so, the morrow after the headlines were taken up with Stalin's peace offers, press, radio and pulpit drowned out that "minor" issue with hair-raising revelations "all

about" the Cardinal's "confession drugs" and "truth potions."

The groundwork for Cardinal Spellman's call for a holy war against democracy and socialism was actually laid in Truman's Inaugural Address, which took over the perspectives of the "American Century" and proclaimed that the peoples of the earth "look to the United States as never before for good will, strength and wise leadership." On this basis the President cooked up new definitions of democracy and Communism in keeping with the greedy desires of the Wall Street monopolists.

And since imperialism, as it constantly discredits itself, must as constantly seek to refurbish itself, Truman announced in his Inaugural Address "a bold new program," solemnly assuring the world: "The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profits—has no place in our plans." Continuing to mouth sugary words about supporting the U.N., Truman affirmed the continuation of the Marshall Plan and the launching of the "North Atlantic" Military Alliance, and set forth "a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available" to the "underdeveloped areas" of the world.

But his denial that this "bold new program" constitutes "the old imperialism," is patently belied by the sum and substance of this plan which is outright imperialistic market-grabbing and colonial domination. This is implicitly to be seen in the follow-

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ing item appearing in *U.S. News & World Report* (February 4, 1949, p. 16):

The question of guarantees for capital is getting much study from the planners. A provision in the E.C.A. Act assures that private investors can transfer foreign currencies into U.S. money. . . . Now, it is proposed also to guarantee a market for the products resulting from capital invested abroad. This would apply especially to materials needed by this country for stockpiling. Still another type of guarantee would protect investors against expropriation or other discriminatory action by foreign nations.

The imperialist nature of Truman's policy was brought out in bold relief by Henry Luce's *Life* magazine, trumpeter of Wall Street's dream of an "American century." Commenting editorially on the President's program (February 14, 1949, p. 24), under the title "AMERICA OVERSEAS—We are Already Pioneering Truman's 'Bold New Program,'" *Life* reports:

Businessmen in smoking cars praised that speech, and the subsequent elucidation that private capital would serve as the "catalytic agent" of the "bold new" idea fell upon grateful ears.

The President attached no blueprints to his inaugural proposition. His "bold new" idea, however, is something that has already been pioneered by American businessmen. . . .

We have discussed here only some of the more outstanding aspects of the Truman Administration's record

on foreign policy during the period since the elections. The scope of this discussion precludes a fuller study of developments in Japan, in Germany, in Latin America, in the Near East, etc., all of which point in the same direction as the foregoing. We shall, however, cite one article, "Revived Ruhr: New Danger Spot?" (*U.S. News & World Report*, January 28, 1949, p. 22) as an indication of what is going on in Western Germany. This article is prefaced by the following sub-heads:

German Ruhr, recovering rapidly, is bringing new headaches for U.S. and Britain. Production is outstripping control.

Krupp plants are busy again. Steel is pouring out. So is coal. German bosses who ran things for Hitler are back in charge.

Problem is to keep Ruhr going as peacetime producer. Plants thriving now can rearm Germany if Allied control slips.

Yes, whom is Truman's "bold new program" building up?!

BUDGETING FOR WAR

When we turn to the President's budget message, the full force of the Administration's guns-not-butter program (camouflaged as a guns-and-butter program) strikes with dramatic impact. Out of a record-breaking request for \$42 billion—which does not include the \$1 or \$2 billion which will be demanded later for "lend-lease" arms to members of the Atlantic Military Alliance—75 per-

cent is devoted to "past, cold and future wars," as the *New Republic* put it.

During the election campaign, on October 26 to be precise, Truman told a rally in Toledo, Ohio:

National defense begins at home. It begins with the things that make life worth while for the average industrial worker, for the average farmer, for the average small business man.

That is the kind of national defense I believe in.

But what Truman recommended to the new Congress was quite another kind of "national defense." His message calls for \$14,268,000,000 for armaments (representing a 40 per cent increase over the previous year, when the armaments budget was \$10,924,000,000), \$6,709,000,000 for the Marshall Plan and related measures, and \$5,450,000,000 for interest on the national debt. Only 6 per cent of this "Fair Deal" budget is for social welfare.

Some ten years earlier, in 1938, President Roosevelt asked for an armaments appropriation of \$1,200,000,000. Today, *after* the defeat of aggressive German and Japanese imperialism, with our country in no danger of attack, the arms budget of 1938—then considered "tremendous"—is multiplied some 13 or 14 times.

The pitiful and absolutely false excuse offered, to the effect that our country is in danger of "attack" from the Soviet Union, falls apart at the seams when one remembers that the

Austin-Dulles-Vandenberg crowd misrepresenting the American people in the U.N. have turned down repeated Soviet proposals for world disarmament.

The guns-not-butter nature of Truman's proposed budget is indicated clearly by his "social welfare" program. Truman roundly denounced the "gluttons of privilege" in his campaign speeches, but the eight-point program to eliminate "the evil of inflation" advanced in his State of the Union message makes no reference to the colossal profiteering of the trusts. At the same time, he called for increased production and power to freeze wages.

During the campaign, Truman made sweeping promises that he would act quickly to provide adequate housing, education, a health program, etc. He said, for example, that "we must spare no effort to raise the general level of health in this country. In a nation as rich as ours, it is a shocking fact that tens of millions lack adequate medical care." But in his budget message he called for a mere 22 million dollars for health. There were promises about slum clearance and urban redevelopment, but the budget message states that "the only Federal expenditure likely in the fiscal year 1950 are loans to 10 million dollars for planning the projects." There was the promise of low-rent housing projects, but the budget informs us that "contracts involving maximum annual contributions of 85 million dol-

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lars would be authorized for the fiscal year 1950."

Throughout the campaign, Truman promised "generous" federal aid to solve the crisis in the school system. On October 27, 1948, he told the people: "You'd think everybody would agree that school children are at least as important as the highways over which the school buses carry them to the school-house." But in his budget message he asked for a grant of \$505 million to the states for highways and only \$290 million for federal aid to education. The kind of "education" for American youth Truman really has in mind is revealed by his budgeting of \$600 million for universal military training and by his warning that next year the cost would rise to \$2 billion.

The budget exposes the brazen hypocrisy of Truman's declaration in his State of the Union message "that wealth should be created for the benefit of all." It exposes the mock character of his campaign for "peace." It exposes all the pious pretensions of the Administration to be waging a campaign against inflation. It saddles the people with an enormous tax burden. It means more power for the brass-hat militarists. It spells out more super-profits for the profit-bloated men of the trusts. It signifies a further step toward gearing U.S. economy for war production.

What more open revelation could be desired about the real nature and purpose of the armaments program as preparation for imperialist war

and as a futile attempt to stave off economic crisis than the Paris dispatch by Harold Callender which appeared in *The New York Times* on February 20, 1949? Describing the jitters of the European capitalists, who have been betraying their nations to Wall Street, over the indications of a price decline in the United States, Callender writes:

There is a revival of the theory that one of the motives of the Marshall Plan was to anticipate and cushion a slump in the United States.

To stave off a slump United States policy might be to push exports further, it is suggested, but these exports would compete with reviving European exports and thus hamper European recovery. . . .

Economists and business men here say that if an American slump developed it would have a catastrophic effect on Europe. . . .

On the political side, such a slump would be regarded as justifying Communist prophecies and playing into the hands of the Soviet Union. For this reason, European business circles incline to the opinion that the United States would prevent it at almost any cost. By this they mean Washington would spend heavily on armaments to counteract deflation. Some even mean the United States would prefer a war to another major slump.

"Better a war than a crisis," is the headline over an article in the conservative financial weekly, *Vie Francaise*. . . . It insists that the first effect [of a crisis] would be to reinforce the United States military power by forcing expanded armaments.

The Communist paper *l'Humanité* seizes upon this statement to argue that the United States moves toward war for the same economic reasons that produced Hitlerism in Germany.

Let us make no mistake about it. The appropriations called for by Truman are primarily and preponderantly for war preparations. With very few exceptions, all Congressmen and Senators — whether “liberal” Democrat, Dixiecrat, or Republican — are in a “united front” on one issue: the war program and the war budget. Everything else comes last. Every cent for any other purpose, for “the things that make life worthwhile”—housing, education, health, social security—gets last consideration. Even Truman’s woefully inadequate requests for social welfare—half-hearted concessions to the will of the people—will have to be fought for, step by step, by the mass pressure of the people.

TAFT-HARTLEY

Throughout the election campaign, Truman sought to capitalize on his prior veto of the Taft-Hartley Act, omitting mention, of course, of the fact that he had himself paved the way for the infamous slave-labor law (by his own strikebreaking, and by his statements to Congress), and that he had not put up any kind of fight against its passage in Congress. At the same time that Truman denounced the law in order to scare up votes among the millions of workers outraged by the union-busting Taft-

Hartleyism, the Democratic National Campaign Committee supported — with funds, speakers, etc. — candidates running on Truman’s own party ticket who had voted for Taft-Hartley, even over Truman’s veto.

But this did not faze the labor bureaucrats one whit. Truman, champion injunction wielder, was transformed by them into the champion of labor’s rights. After the elections, the “liberal” press and the Social-Democratic and bourgeois reformist misleaders of labor paraded the claim that “labor was in command at the White House.” To hear them, one expected Taft-Hartley to be wiped out and an unamended Wagner Act restored forthwith upon the opening of the new session of Congress.

Yet what are the facts? The labor section of Truman’s State of the Union address constituted, in the words of Henry Wallace, “a fatal retreat from pre-election commitments”; Truman “retains the language of his repeal Taft-Hartley campaign slogan but destroys its substance.” Truman’s speech called for “certain improvements” in the Wagner Act such as “I recommended in Congress two years ago”:

Jurisdictional strikes and unjustifiable secondary boycotts should be prohibited. The use of economic force to decide issues arising out of the interpretation of existing contracts should be prevented. . . . Means should be provided for setting up machinery for preventing strikes in vital industries. . . .

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Philip Murray of the C.I.O. hailed the speech as being "in the best tradition of constructive American liberalism." Truman, he said, "has kept full faith with the people who elected him." But, aware of powerful rank-and-file resentment against Truman's fondness for strikebreaking by injunction, Murray was obliged to warn that "government-by-injunction in the field of labor relations must be eliminated. . . ." Murray laid the basis for capitulation on full-scale restoration of the Wagner Act, however, when he added that the C.I.O. "stands prepared to make constructive recommendations to Congress." The "constructive" nature, in terms of labor's interests, of the recommendations can be seen in the C.I.O.'s testimony, discussed below, on the Administration-sponsored Thomas Bill. The A. F. of L. said, more openly, that it "will be more than willing to give sympathetic consideration to suggested amendments to the Wagner Act."

The maneuvers surrounding repeal of Taft-Hartley would make a fascinating study in intrigue and double-dealing. Suffice it here to relate that:

(1) In flat contradiction of Democratic Party promises for immediate and unequivocal repeal of Taft-Hartley and re-enactment of the Wagner Act, the Democratic bills under consideration follow the "single package" approach instead of the two-step approach previously advocated by the C.I.O. and the A. F.

of L. leaders. That is, the Taft-Hartley Act will not be repealed immediately and replaced by the Wagner Act. Rather, hearings will be held in the House and Senate for amendment of the Wagner Act, and the Taft-Hartley law will be repealed only when a castrated Wagner Act is ready. This procedure means long delays in repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the emasculation of the Wagner Act even beyond Truman's own recommendations for "improvements."

The "single package" approach, designed by Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin, was announced by Rep. John Lesinski, Democratic Chairman of the House Labor Committee from Michigan, who was quickly seconded by House Speaker Rayburn and by Senator Elbert A. Thomas, Chairman of the Senate Labor Committee.

(2) The Truman Administration cherishes the notion of continuing to break strikes by use of the injunction. Truman told a press conference that "he thought he already had injunction powers—but wouldn't object to having it spelled out in a bill" (*Time*, February 14, 1949, p. 22). In line with this, Attorney-General Tom Clark sent a legal opinion to the Senate Labor Committee asserting that the power to issue injunctions "was inherent in the Presidency."

(3) Truman-appointed Secretary of Labor Tobin, encouraging the further Taft-Hartleyizing of the Wagner Act, testified that "Congress should pass a law prohibiting Com-

munists from holding any office in labor unions." When questioned by Senator Taft, who evinced surprise (Do "you want to make it a crime for a Communist to be an officer of a labor union?"), Tobin replied: "That's correct" (*Ibid.*).

In his testimony before the Senate Labor Committee on Senator Thomas' bill, which embodies the President's proposals, Arthur J. Goldberg, C.I.O. general counsel, expressed the unhappiness of the C.I.O. misleaders in not being able to brag about a speedy repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act in line with Truman's promises. But no criticism of the Democratic strategy to stall on repeal was voiced. Endorsing the Thomas Bill as "the only practicable method of obtaining speedy Taft-Hartley repeal and re-enactment of the substantive provisions of the Wagner Act," Goldberg contented himself with the statement: "The position of the C.I.O. is that we do not oppose in principle the amendments to the Wagner Act contained in the Thomas Bill" (*C.I.O. News*, February 7, 1949, p. 3).

The statement of John Williamson, Labor Secretary of the Communist Party, to the hearings of the Senate Labor Committee, exposes the delays, maneuverings, and "constructive" amendments. It shows that the Democratic Party is not fulfilling its promises "because it is yielding to the pressure of Big Business." The statement of the Communist Party charges that:

The very forces that have been successful in getting the Taft-Hartley Law on the statute books are now renewing their efforts through the same kind of campaign of deceitful information and pressure. They seek to salvage all they can in the discredited law and incorporate it in a re-enacted Wagner Law. In opening the door to amendments, the Administration bill really opens the way to the emasculation of the Wagner Act. This may be cunning politics, but it is not what the President and Democratic Party platform promised.

The statement further declares that the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. misleaders of labor, wedded to the Wall Street-controlled Democratic Party, "are giving up the fight before it has even started" and calls on labor,

... particularly rank and file labor, to continue to struggle to have the Administration live up to its promises. We urge labor to follow the issue to the very end, to watch it at all stages of the legislative process, and to be careful of the game of wearing down the measure from Committee to House to Senate and back again whereby even bills which ostensibly are favorable to labor are changed into their very opposite. Only vigilance by labor will accomplish the end of Taft-Hartleyism.

The organs of Big Business are gleefully reporting that the Administration and the top leadership of the labor federations are capitulating on the repeal of the slave-labor law. The daily reports on the Congressional hearings are confirming the correctness of the Communist Party's

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warning that only a full-scale struggle by the rank-and-file workers and the people can result in wiping out the infamous Taft-Hartley Act and restoring the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Throughout the election campaign, Truman made beautiful speeches about his civil rights program—when he spoke in Harlem or in other large Negro communities (in the North). He promised nothing less than a new birth of freedom.

What does the Administration's record on civil rights show, however? Truman has taken no steps to guarantee passage of a national F.E.P.C., anti-lynch, poll tax repeal legislation now bottled up in committees. He has not uttered a single word on legislation to curb filibustering in the Senate. The pre-election promulgator of the much-touted "civil rights program" has refused to invoke his powers to end Negro discrimination and segregation in the nation's capital and in the armed forces. The family quarrel with the Dixiecrats is being settled behind the scenes. To quote the *New Republic*, which whooped it up for Truman during the campaign and hailed his election victory as nothing less than a "people's revolution":

... The Administration has not lifted a finger to "purge" the dissident Dixiecrats from their place in the

party. . . . Nothing has been done about the outworn seniority rules which gives disproportionate control of the Congressional committees to the senile and the South.

So spoke the issue of January 17, 1949. The February 21 issue of the same publication, editorializing under the title "The Fair Deal Falters," announces the complete collapse of all the half-hearted Democratic "efforts" to curb filibustering in the Senate.

The "civil rights" legislation the Administration is pushing is of quite another variety. Attorney-General Tom Clark, who complains that he is "powerless" to do anything about lynchings in the South—or, for that matter, in the North, where they have a more "legal" facade—is very active in pushing legislation to legalize wire-tapping by the F.B.I. Among other recommendations for legislation made by Clark under the guise of eliminating "espionage" is a requirement for the registration of all persons trained by "a foreign government or foreign political party." This police-state project was incorporated in Senate Bill 595 introduced as an Administration measure by Senator McCarron. With its demagogic phrasing, it is charged with the gravest dangers for the labor movement and all progressive-minded Americans, who will not bend the knee to the gilded idol of Wall Street.

This is the setting in which the trial of the twelve Communist leaders is taking place.

In his Inaugural Speech, bristling with hatred for Communism, President Truman set himself "to bring about a major turning point in the long history of the human race." That speech was made three days after the opening of the trial in Foley Square where the government seeks to outlaw the Communist Party by court action and seeks to put court approval on an indictment which deprives the people of their right to judge a political party. That trial would outlaw the Bill of Rights. That trial began in an armed camp with over 400 policemen on duty. The indictment was brought by a grand jury of the wealthy and propertied representatives of the capitalist class. Negroes, Jews, and members of the working class were systematically excluded from the grand jury panels. This entire procedure was in violation of the Bill of Rights and exposed the court and the grand jury as instruments of a capitalist class, intent on clamping a police state on the people. The indictment, clearly in violation of the Constitution, charges the Communist leaders with "conspiracy to advocate" ideas and then makes the false identification of Marxism-Leninism with "force and violence." Every event, from the manner in which the grand jury was selected to the daily procedure in the court room, only demonstrates that this case should be thrown out of court.

The trial and the indictments indicate the meaning of Truman's

"turning point." And in that speech, the President also said, "We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and expression." Are there no bounds to hypocrisy? It is clear that the Administration is using the tactic of pretending to defend that which it seeks to destroy. Such tactics of deceit and hypocrisy must be understood by all. That tactic is not used only against the Communists. Under this tactic Negroes are brutally beaten and lynched while promised civil rights. Those in power in a capitalist state would use that tactic ruthlessly against every progressive movement of the people.

The trial in Foley Square exposes a certain characteristic of this period of history. The report of Comrade Eugene Dennis at the 1948 National Convention of the Communist Party is in large part devoted to exposing the rise of the fascist danger in America. Events since the convention confirm the line of argumentation advanced by Comrade Dennis.

This is not an ordinary frameup. This is not just a case in the courts. It is that event which can become "the turning point." Truman and Wall Street are using many devices against the people. The people must seize that event which can turn a whole series of events to the advantage of the people. In this sense the trial on Foley Square can and must become an instrument of the people to defeat the forces of war, reaction and fascism in our own country. That is why labor, the Negro people,

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the women and youth organizations, the national groups, the veterans, the professional and white collar workers, and every section of the population who have a stake in democratic rights have a responsibility to demand that the indictment be quashed and the case thrown out of court.

The statement made by Comrade Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, on January 28, 1949, a week before the peace-mobilizing Stalin interviews, tied up the struggle for peace with the trial of the Communist leaders. Comrade Dennis declared:

We American Communists have been hammering away at the proposition that World War III is not inevitable. In fact, we were indicted for holding this heretical view and for helping to organize a people's coalition to fight for peace. Naturally, we are glad that events in China and elsewhere are immeasurably strengthening the world camp of peace, and such distinguished Communist leaders as Marcel Cachin and Palmiro Togliatti are renewing their expressions of confidence that another world war can be averted.

What the press calls a peace offensive, we call by its right name—a people's struggle for peace. To be effective, such a struggle must naturally be directed against the main forces making for war. We cannot blink at the fact that those forces now have their headquarters in Wall Street—a few blocks from this court house—and in the Pentagon Building, a few blocks from the Justice Department which is prosecuting this case.

The course of events underscores the growing desperation and fear of the people on the part of Truman and his banker-generals as a result of the mounting defeats being dealt to Wall Street's war-incendiary policies by the peoples of the Soviet Union, the East European democracies, Greece, and China, and as a result of the stiffening resistance of the peoples throughout the world to U.S. imperialist domination. This fear of the ruling class was incisively exposed by Comrade William Z. Foster, National Chairman of our Party, in his article, "Tell Truman You Want Peace," which appeared in the *Daily Worker* of February 4, 1949. Comrade Foster emphasized that meetings for peace negotiations take place only as a result of the mass pressure of the people on the Wall Street imperialists. A special responsibility devolves on the rank and file of labor, which must take the lead in demanding and fighting for a peace policy. As Comrade Foster concludes:

In the recent elections the American people demonstrated that they are in favor of peace. Now then, is the time to make their peace will prevail by insisting that honest negotiation for the preservation of peace be carried on with the Soviet government. The reactionaries must not be allowed to defeat the present peace initiative of the world's people.

Now is the time for a united demand upon the Truman Administration:

To end the cold war.

To abandon all maneuvers for the North Atlantic war alliance.

To stop arming for war.

To join the Soviet government in discussion for the preservation of peace.

The deterioration in the living conditions of the masses, the assault on the rights of the people, the drive to war and fascism are creating new moods of struggle, are deepening the understanding of millions of Americans that peace, democratic rights, and economic security are inextricably interrelated. The failure of the Administration to fulfill its demagogic pre-election promises is bound to undermine, on an ever-growing scale, the people's faith in the two-party system. Day-to-day developments are increasingly shattering the people's illusions about Truman.

All this serves to underscore the fact that this is a time for the greatest political and organizational activity among the people, particularly in the unions and the shops of basic industrial workers. It is also becoming ever clearer that the very conditions which brought the Progressive Party into existence in the respective states and on a national scale are the dominant issues of the day which make the role of this new people's party ever more important. The efforts of the Democrats, Republicans, the A.D.A. "liberals," the Social-Democrats, and all the other forces of reaction to wipe the Progressive Party

off the books have failed. The efforts to isolate it are also failing, as is evidenced by the forging of new relations by the Progressive Party with independent democratic forces in the struggle against Jim Crow and for the rights of the Negro people, in many legislative conferences, and in various peace actions. The ability of the Progressive Party to meet its great tasks during the coming period as the political rallying center for the people's coalition against monopoly oppression, war, and fascism, will largely be determined, however, by the degree to which a solid labor base is built for it in the trade-union movement, in the shops, and in the communities. At the same time, full support must be given to the general, broad coalition movements of the people which are developing around partial and major issues. This is paramountly true in relation to the struggle for peace, as well as for the rights of Communists, of the Negro people, and for civil rights generally.

Truman's refusal to discuss peace terms indicates that the Administration and the ruling powers in the U.S.A. are deeply committed to a war program. The responsibility and the power to change this rests with labor and the people. An intensive struggle, based on a broad united front from below, around the demands raised by Comrade Foster provides the basis for changing the course of America.

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"Life Will Assert Itself"

by George Siskind

IN THE AFTERNOON of the fourteenth of March, 1883, the heart of humanity's greatest thinker and revolutionary genius, Karl Marx, ceased to beat. The vastness of his contributions to human thought can hardly be exaggerated. The extent of his influence upon history is hard to grasp fully.

Throughout his lifetime and during the 66 years since his death the genius of Marx has robbed the ruling classes, the mighty lords of capital, of their equanimity and self-assurance. Hardly a month has gone by since the appearance of the immortal *Communist Manifesto* but the apologists and defenders of an outlived and doomed social order have sought either to "annihilate" Marxism or to "take it over" by lending it a halo of bourgeois respectability. But all in vain. After each loudly proclaimed "annihilation" by bourgeois "science" and watering down by Social-Democratic revisionists, the ideas of Marx became more "menacing," the "specter" became more real, clothed with the flesh of additional millions marching under the glorious banner of Marxism.

The words spoken by Engels in 1883 at Marx's graveside are fresh today:

. . . Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of this time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. The bourgeoisie, whether conservative or extreme democrat, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when necessity compelled him. And now he has died—beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America. . . . His name will endure through the ages, and so will his work!

What Engels said about Marx applies in full to the science he founded. Our American generation, experiencing the final convulsions of the dying world of capitalism in its last remaining stronghold, can draw new inspiration and courage from the inexorable verdict of history on the destiny of Marxism. Of what avail were the exceptional laws of Bismarck against the Marxist party of Bebel and Liebknecht? How futile proved the Czarist knout, the gallows, Siberia, and the fulminations of the Kerenskys and Tchernovs against the party of revolutionary Marxism reared by Lenin and Stalin! What a mockery history has made of

the boasts of Hitler—that book-burning and concentration camps had forever eradicated Marxism from Europe—when his present-day imitators are confronted with the millionfold increase in the influence of Marxism in the Eastern democracies and Marshallized Western Europe. And what lesson does China hold? To what avail have been the prolonged Chiang Kai-shek “extermination” campaigns and Marshall-Truman arms and gold? Marxism, the science of the emancipation of the working class, has proved its vitality as the dynamic ideology and animating force of the peasant millions.

What blind conceit then, what desperation born of a sense of doom, for a petty grand inquisitor Clark and his deputy Medina to attempt to outlaw the most advanced thought of mankind, to banish science, to stop the future by proscribing truth with a framed trial of twelve Communist leaders!

The science and movement of Marxism have triumphed over every persecution, have swept away every sordid calumny and base slander of the hirelings of capital, because the foundations of Marxism are indestructible. “The teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is true,” is the simple but historically decisive conclusion of V. I. Lenin, the great continuator of Marx and Engels, the founder of the first socialist state. The indestructibility of Marxism lies in its *truth*—and that truth has been tested and verified in the crucible of

practice, in the fire of the experience of millions, in the march of history.

Marxism is invincible because the working class is invincible. Compelled by its position in capitalist society ceaselessly to resist the encroachments of capital, the working class gravitates toward Marxist ideology as an objective law of social development, for the vanguard party of the working class is the embodiment of Marxist science. Marxism is the beacon light of the proletarian class struggle. While the unevenness of the development of capitalism of necessity leads to the unevenness in the tempo of maturing consciousness and unity of the working class in different countries, the laws of capitalist development pre-determine the acute sharpening of the class struggle in the epoch of monopoly.

Lenin thus stresses the objective basis of the Marxist doctrine of the inevitability of socialism:

... Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the movement of contemporary society. The chief material foundation of the inevitability of the coming of socialism in the socialization of labor, advancing in its myriad forms ever more rapidly, and manifesting itself with special conspicuousness, throughout the half century that has elapsed since the death of Marx—in the growth of large-scale production, of capitalist cartels, syndicates, and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and the

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power of finance capital. The intellectual and moral driving force of this transformation, its physical executor, is the proletariat, trained by capitalism itself. (V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx," in *Karl Marx: Selected Works*, International Publishers, Vol. I, p. 45.)

Marxism is indestructible because it is the mortal foe of all narrow dogmatism and stifling sectarianism, because of its very nature as a creative science—as the science of life, as a guide to action,—tested and developed in action. It was because he was first of all an uncompromising fighter for the purity of Marxism against all revisionism, that Lenin further developed and enriched Marxism. It was because they were creative Marxists and implacable foes of all dogmatism, that the founders of the Bolshevik Party and creators of the Soviet state, Lenin and his best disciple and co-worker, Stalin, elaborated Leninism — the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism.

It was under the banner of Marxism that the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, forged and steeled in three revolutions, led the working class to victory in October 1917. The march of the Socialist Soviet Union from triumph to triumph in consolidating the conditions for the gradual transition to Communism is the best confirmation of the validity of Marxism-Leninism as that advanced scientific theory which correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union "demonstrated in

practice to the oppressed masses of the whole world that the hope of deliverance is not lost, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists is short-lived" (Stalin).

The final and irrefutable confirmation of Marxism-Leninism in our day lies in the Lenin-Stalin analysis of the contradictions of capitalism in the epoch of monopoly, and in the scientific analysis of the general crisis of capitalism. Manifested in the First World War, and in the emergence of two world systems, the general crisis of capitalism is chiefly characterized by the growing decay and decline of the capitalist world, and the growing expansion of the socialist sector. Out of the acutely intensified general crisis of capitalism, expressed in World War II, there emerged the new democracies, the powerful colonial anti-imperialist independence movements, and the mature, mass Marxist-Leninist parties in Western Europe. The world of capitalism is still further restricted. The world of Socialism and of People's Democracy in transition to socialism is greatly expanded. This development attests to the brilliance of the Marxist-Leninist postulate that in the epoch of monopoly, capitalism is hopelessly and innately reactionary, retrogressive and decadent, and that social advance is possible only in the direction of socialism.

The advanced decay of capitalism in the epoch of monopoly is evident in every phase of life, and nowhere as glaringly as in the last stronghold

of world capitalism, monopoly-ridden U.S.A. The greatest conquest of science, the mastery of the energy of the atom, is used exclusively to pile up atomic bombs. The conquest of the profound secrets of life means only more horrible instruments of planned mass slaughter and calculated death. The unparalleled accumulation of productive capacity threatens to consume the substance of the people because monopoly capitalism can only utilize productive forces for war and destruction. The tremendous expansion of production facilities gives rise to the anguished cry from the "neo-Malthusians" for drastic reduction of population through war because "growth of population is outrunning potential food supplies." In the epoch of its senile parasitism, capitalism has turned cannibal.

The tremendous rise in the productivity of labor leads only to mass unemployment and impoverishment. A social system to which peace means disaster—which can only maintain itself by means of war and fascist barbarism—has lost all moral and ethical justification. Such a system has forfeited the objective possibility for existence. History has thus determined that today "all roads lead to Communism."

Marxism is indestructible because the Marxist movement is a movement of the overwhelming majority in the interests of the overwhelming majority. Marxist-Leninists, Communists, have no interests apart from

the interests of the working class. They are guided and inspired by the role assigned them in the class struggle by the *Communist Manifesto*:

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. . . .

The history of frightful Czarist persecution, of savage fascist extermination campaigns, of raging imperialist reaction everywhere, have confirmed that the Marxist-Leninist party is indestructible if it roots itself in the masses, champions every right, fights every injustice, wrong and abuse meted out to the people, while imbuing the masses with the consciousness of socialism as the *only* final solution of the social problem.

Framed trials of Communist leaders do not feed the people. Witch hunts and thought control eliminate neither capitalist crisis nor monopoly profiteering. Anti-Communist hysteria and Red-baiting do not bring peace or consolidate democratic liberties. They do not end exploitation, poverty, unemployment, discrimination and degradation. As long as capitalism exists, these social problems of the people

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remain. As long as the social problems of the people remain, the Marxist-Leninist Party is indestructible. With the supreme confidence born of scientific certainty Lenin says:

Communism springs from positively all sides of public life; its shoots are to be seen literally everywhere. . . . Life will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, go to extremes, commit follies, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance and endeavor to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany, etc.) hundreds, thousands and hundreds of thousands more of yesterday's and tomorrow's Bolsheviks. In acting thus, the bourgeoisie is acting as all classes doomed by history have acted. Communists should know that the future in any case belongs to them; therefore we can (and must) combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober estimation of the frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie (Lenin).

A sober calculation of the frenzied ravings of the American bourgeoisie

must lead us to recognize that their drive to war and fascism is a sign of desperation and weakness, not of real strength and confidence. A cool estimation of the relation of world and internal forces can only lead to the conclusion that the conditions are favorable for effecting a powerful people's coalition to block the road to fascism, to halt the war incendiaries. We must strengthen our ties with the people. We must root ourselves in the working class, primarily in basic industry. We must bring the victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism to the masses as we fulfill our vanguard role in every social struggle of the working class and the people. We can and must rally the people to decisively defeat the attempts of the forces of war and reaction to outlaw the vanguard of the American working class, by stopping the frameup trial of our leaders. We must build the Party of Socialism, the Communist Party.

The Struggle to Fulfill the Tasks of the W.F.T.U.*

by Vassili Kuznetsov

AFTER THE SPEECHES MADE by [Arthur] Deakin and [James] Carey the situation has become perfectly clear. The representatives of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the United States propose to abolish the World Federation of Trade Unions. It follows from Deakin's and Carey's speeches:

1. The representatives of the General Council of the T.U.C. and the C.I.O. do not agree under any conditions to co-operate with the W.F.T.U. and the various national trade union centers.

2. They settled this question long before this meeting of the Executive Bureau.

3. The representatives of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. seek to shift on to the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., Italy, France, China, of the new democracies, etc., responsibility for the split.

In other words, a proposal has been submitted to us to destroy

the world-wide trade union unity achieved through the efforts of the organized labor of all countries, which constitutes one of the greatest victories of the working class. The working class has always aspired toward unity, regarding it as the main guarantee of democratic liberties, as an earnest of a durable peace and of better conditions of life. The working class has traversed a hard and long road of struggle and has made numerous sacrifices to reach this goal.

ASPIRATION TOWARD UNITY

The workers' aspiration toward unity has always met with desperate opposition from the bourgeois trusts and monopolies, which derive their prosperity and power from exploiting the working class and which are therefore anxious to split its ranks. The working class has paid a heavy price for lack of unity in its ranks, both nationally and internationally. The disintegration of the labor movement between the two world wars prevented the working masses from opposing the criminal designs of fascism by their united efforts. The working class and all working people generally had to pay a dear

* Text of the speech made by the Soviet representative, Vassili Kuznetsov, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, at the session of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Paris, January 17-19, 1949. Reprinted from *Soviet News*, London, January 14, 1949.—*Editor*.

price for that. And it was at the price of immense sacrifice that fascism was crushed on the battlefield.

The Soviet Union played a decisive part in defeating fascism. The world-wide unity of the trade unions took shape and gained strength in bloody war against the bitter foes of mankind. The workers of Great Britain and the United States played no small part in this. The creation of the World Federation of Trade Unions in October 1945, represented the greatest gain of the working class in its advance toward this goal.

The workers of the world have charged the Federation with great tasks. They have entrusted the Federation with waging the struggle for the final elimination of fascism, with the struggle against war and its sources, with the struggle for establishment of a durable and lasting peace, with defending the interests of the working masses of the world, with organizing the general struggle of the trade unions of all countries against all encroachments upon the economic and social rights of the working masses and on democratic liberties, with the struggle for a steady rise in living standards and improvement of labor conditions of the workers.

For the first time in the history of the world labor movement the working class succeeded in founding a universal trade union organization. To the working masses, the World Federation of Trade Unions is an organization capable of energetically upholding the workers' rights, their

democratic liberties, social progress and peace. The World Federation of Trade Unions is dear to the hearts of the workers and of all the working people. The Federation has done no little good to the workers in the three years of its life.

The Federation has repeatedly raised its voice to protest against the prosecution of democratic trade unions and their leaders in Greece, Iran, Franco Spain and in other countries. The Federation has assisted in setting up trade unions in countries where there were none before, has advanced the vital demands of the workers before the United Nations and has rendered aid to trade unions in a number of countries. The Federation could, however, have done still more if it had not been retarded but assisted by certain national trade union centers affiliated to it, and if it had worked to full capacity.

Seventy million organized factory and office workers, and scientists are the producers of practically all the benefits that contemporary society has at its disposal. They are the backbone of progressive mankind. And if this immense organization of working people develops its activity as it should, if it makes use of all its opportunities for protecting the interests of the working class, organizes as it should the struggle for higher living standards of the workers, for the principles proclaimed in the Federation's Charter, it will without doubt reach its goal.

The Federation has proved too

formidable a force—though as yet only potentially—for the old world, for the exploiters. The imperialists regard the Federation as a practical threat to their welfare; they regard the Federation as their dangerous enemy. This is why they exert every effort to retard the further consolidation of the Federation, calculating first and foremost on the contradictions within the W.F.T.U.

ENEMIES OF UNITY AGAINST W.F.T.U.

As the Executive Committee of the Federation declared at its session in Rome last May, the free trade unions have been strangled in a number of countries, martial law has been proclaimed, and true democratic trade unions driven underground. This has occurred in Spain, Greece, Iran, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, India and elsewhere. Of late we have been witnessing the prosecution of strikers in the United States, France and Britain, and attempts to split the labor movement in many countries (France, Italy, Latin America and so on). The leaders of the American Federation of Labor are particularly zealous in their attacks on the W.F.T.U.

No one will be surprised when the enemies of the working class, the enemies of its unity—for instance, such as the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor—wage a subversive activity against the World Federation of Trade Unions. But when the leaders of an

organization which is one of the founders of the W.F.T.U. undermine it, this evokes deep alarm among the workers. The decision of the General Council of the British T.U.C. of October 27, 1948, on suspension of W.F.T.U. activity, a decision seconded by the C.I.O. representative and Kupers [representing the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions], is bound to arrest the attention of all sincere champions of working-class interests.

Let us briefly analyze the arguments advanced by the General Council of the T.U.C. in its memorandum and in the speeches by representatives of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. at this session in favor of their splitting plan.

The T.U.C. advances as its chief argument the refusal of the international trade secretariats to co-operate with the W.F.T.U. It is worth recalling a piece of history. The Soviet trade unions always maintained that industrial departments should be set up within the W.F.T.U. on agreement with the international trade secretariats and jointly with representatives of other trade union centers. The Soviet trade unions did a good deal to secure such agreement.

It will be remembered that the international trade secretariats were given every opportunity at the conference of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. with the representatives of the international trade secretariats, to settle the question of their affiliation to the Federation and co-operation with it. The international

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industrial secretariats, however, turned down all proposals to that effect and declared that they refused to co-operate with the World Federation of Trade Unions under any conditions whatever. Had there been good will and a true desire for unity on the part of the international trade secretariats, nothing could have prevented the negotiations from yielding positive results. The T.U.C. in particular, whose representatives head the major part of the secretariats, could have added much to success in this respect.

It is not too late even now to settle the question of the industrial departments, if you believe this to be the conditions for your further affiliation to the W.F.T.U. It is well known, however, that neither you nor the leaders of the international trade secretariats want this. The leaders of the international trade secretariats, for instance, Chester (General Secretary of the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Trade Secretariat and member of the General Council of the T.U.C.), are circulating orders denying to trade unions of the new democracies and of all countries, which are in disagreement with the policy pursued by the international trade secretariat, the right to participate in its conference, although these trade unions are members of these organizations.

SPLITTING TRADE SECRETARIATS

In November 1948, Chester circu-

lated a letter in which he declared, among other things:

"According to a unanimous decision, we should immediately see to it that our international begins functioning and, consequently, it was decided that I should call a conference of our international, to be held in London in early February of next year. At home I have consulted the British trade unions on this subject and they have also expressed the desire that our line of conduct be defined.

"Our friends," he wrote in his circular letter, "have discussed the composition of the conference and hold the view that an invitation to federations which share the principles of the Cominform, or to federations whose leaders are Communist Party members, would yield no major result. You will, of course, understand that it is perfectly clear that federations with such connections would remain loyal to the W.F.T.U. and would not agree to participate in international organizations opposing the Cominform or W.F.T.U. activities.

"I have been authorized," Chester went on, "to inform you of the measures undertaken by us, to supply you with the documents circulated in this connection, but not to invite you to send representatives to the conference if you do not fully agree with the establishing of our international on the aforesaid basis. Following these instructions, I am herewith conveying to you the preliminary documents that have been

circulated, and perhaps you will discuss whether or not you will participate in the conference, complying with the conditions I have mentioned above. I am afraid that circumstances are highly difficult both for you and for me," Chester concluded his letter.

How, then, can one set up industrial departments in these conditions and how can the W.F.T.U. be blamed? This is nothing but hypocrisy on the part of the international trade secretariats, but they have failed to mislead anybody. Paragraph 18 of the T.U.C. memorandum claims that the representatives of the General Council had never succeeded in securing a positive decision voluntarily and that they were always obliged to resort to ultimatums and threats of quitting the W.F.T.U. This assertion holds no water. Indeed how can the W.F.T.U. or individual trade union centers be accused of lack of co-operative spirit, when every single decision of the Federation was passed unanimously and the representatives of the British T.U.C., together with the others, voted for those decision?

SOVIET TRADE UNIONS AND W.F.T.U.

Perhaps you mean to say that you were compelled to adopt decisions contrary to your will? You have repeatedly said, both now and prior to this session, that the Soviet trade unions dominated the W.F.T.U. This is untrue. The Soviet trade

unions never and nowhere made use of the fact that they have the largest membership.

The number of votes of which the Soviet trade unions disposed at sessions of the General Council and congress of the W.F.T.U. is in no way larger than the number of votes of which the British and American trade unions dispose, although their membership is less than half of the Soviet trade unions' membership. The Soviet trade unions have always displayed, just as they do now and are willing to display in the future, a desire to co-operate, and it is precisely owing to this that we were able to adopt unanimous decisions throughout three years.

Then the representatives of the General Council of the T.U.C. and the C.I.O. claim that the W.F.T.U. was not efficient and advance this claim as an argument in favor of their proposal to abolish the W.F.T.U. It goes without saying that the Federation could have done more if the representatives of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. had really endeavored to extend its activities. In fact, however, the representatives of the British trade unions have never displayed a desire to activate the Federation since its formation, but on the contrary they have sought to curb it.

They wanted to turn the London conference of 1945 into a consultative and advisory one and proposed that no decision should be passed to set up the World Federation of Trade Unions. As for the Paris Con-

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gress, they likewise proposed to consider it as a preliminary one and insisted that there should be a certain transitional period for settling all the organizational matters involved in the establishment of such a Federation.

Throughout its activity the Federation has been obliged to persuade the representatives of the British trade unions to agree to this or the other measure and to find solutions acceptable to the British trade unions. Though officially agreeing with the decisions, the representatives of the British trade unions actually retarded their implementation.

Thus the World Federation of Trade Unions repeatedly passed a decision to strive for unification of the German trade unions in all four zones and for the establishment of a united nation-wide German trade union center. But the representatives of the General Council of the T.U.C. and of the C.I.O. actually sabotaged the above decision. They deliberately prevented its implementation and at the Executive Bureau's session in September last officially renounced this task.

AID TO TRADE UNIONS IN COLONIES

Furthermore, the very first congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions held in 1945 passed a resolution on rendering aid to the trade unions of the countries of Asia and Africa. May I mention in passing that the initiative in the above

case did not belong to the Soviet trade unions. Nevertheless, throughout these three years, the representatives of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. have been sabotaging the convocation of a conference to discuss this problem, and in September 1948, they had officially renounced the above decision at the session of the Executive Bureau.

The leaders of the British and American trade unions voted for striving for due representation of the W.F.T.U. at the United Nations, yet they did not demand that their Government carry out this decision. It was by the votes of the British and American representatives that the majority of the proposals advanced by the W.F.T.U. were turned down in the United Nations. They thus rejected the Federation's proposals in regard to protection of Charter rights and liberties, equal pay for equal work, elimination of racial discrimination in wages.

Fearing to have their splitting tactics exposed for all the world to see, the leaders of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. hindered convocation of the regular World Congress of Trade Unions. Yesterday Deakin once more declared that the representatives of the T.U.C. were against convening the congress as they feared that it would become a rostrum for Communist propaganda.

Paragraph 20 of the T.U.C. memorandum claims that the September session of 1948 demonstrated the lack of a basis for agreement in regard to the majority of problems.

But it is only too well known to all those present that the September session was unable to pass any constructive decisions precisely because the representatives of the British trade unions and of the C.I.O. filibustered discussion of all matters and practically wrecked the whole session.

Meanwhile the General Council of the T.U.C. presents matters as if the representatives of the General Council of the British T.U.C. have done everything to solve the problems on the agenda, but that someone else prevented them from succeeding in this. How dare you then accuse the World Federation of Trade Unions of not being efficient? Now we understand that your idea was thus to base your latest proposal, which you presented to the Federation as "happy tidings"—your proposal to suspend the Federation's activity.

ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA

The problem of the so-called propaganda is dealt with at some length in the memorandum and in the speeches of the representatives of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. Those speakers were dissatisfied with the Soviet press for criticizing them. You are well aware that the British and American press pours buckets of filthy slander on the Soviet Union, on the Soviet trade unions and their leaders.

What kind of propaganda are you talking about? We may with good reason ask whether Deakin's speech

in Margate, replete with vicious outburst against the Federation, was propaganda. Was the article by O'Brien, member of the General Council of the T.U.C. which was filled with slander against the Soviet trade unions, a piece of propaganda, or was it not? In May 1948, he came out with a slanderous article replete with malignant attacks on the Soviet workers and Soviet trade unions, though he himself had never been in the Soviet Union and wrote his article relying on rumors.

There have been many other just as vicious attacks on the Soviet trade unions and our activities. We could have presented far more newspaper clippings to this effect than Deakin has. The British and American press is full of attacks on our trade unions. Yet they did not advance this fact as an argument in favor of suspending W.F.T.U. activity. I would like to mention this in connection that we are not afraid of criticism and self-criticism, for we regard criticism as a means of improving our work. Soviet criticism is characterized by truthfulness.

Now that we have analyzed the arguments presented by the General Council of the T.U.C. in its memorandum, we arrive at the conclusion that the arguments presented by the General Council to substantiate its proposal are fictitious and inconsistent. The memorandum seeks to veil the real situation in the W.F.T.U. The memorandum presents a totally distorted interpretation of the attitudes of the individual na-

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tional trade union centers and of the representatives of the T.U.C.

What are the true motives and what is behind the motives of the General Council? At any rate they are not the motives advanced in the documents submitted to us. The leaders of the General Council did not dare openly to tell their workers the truth. Toward the end of 1947 and early in 1948 the press carried reports about a plot against the W.F.T.U. And now these reports have been clearly borne out by subsequent developments. May I remind you what was discussed then and what it was our press and the foreign press warned labor public opinion about.

The fact was that leaders of the General Council of the T.U.C. had been given, behind the back of the working class, an order to destroy the W.F.T.U. They were given that order, not by the workers, because the workers could never have given an order to kill their creation.

PLAN TO SPLIT W.F.T.U.

Men that had nothing to do with trade unions but exerted quite substantial influence upon government circles appraised the situation thus. They wanted the Marshall Plan to be used for a final splitting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in a way that would be advantageous for the monopolists, thereby providing an opportunity for the merger of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., such a merger being likewise politically profitable to them.

It was considered desirable for the General Council of the T.U.C. to extend full support to that plan. Consequently, the representatives of the T.U.C. in the W.F.T.U. were instructed to secure support for the Marshall Plan by the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U. Not discussion, mind you, but support for the Marshall Plan.

It turned out that the C.I.O. was preparing to go into battle on this issue as far back as November 1947, provided it had the support of the representatives of the General Council, Arthur Deakin and Vincent Tewson. The T.U.C. however, was not too energetic in supporting Carey at that time. And for that they were duly reprimanded.

Furthermore, it turned out that had the T.U.C., C.I.O. and A. F. of L. reached agreement on that point contrary to the "Communist majority" in the W.F.T.U., the latter would have not only been rendered utterly useless for the Russians, but the above three federations could have set up the nucleus of an international trade union organization that would not have been based on the socialist countries. The question was whether or not to bring pressure to bear on Arthur Deakin and Tewson, or in other words whether or not they were to be given certain advice and were to have the substance of the problem explained to them. You may rest assured that the substance of the problem was duly explained to Deakin and Tewson, understanding was reached and the

plan for splitting the W.F.T.U. was worked out and set going. This plan was realized as follows.

ATTACKS ON W.F.T.U.

The first attack in regard to the Marshall Plan was launched against the W.F.T.U. in November 1947. That attack failed. The second attack, in regard to the date for convening the Executive Bureau, was launched last February. It failed as well, but the splitters had set up a committee of 16 as the nucleus of a future international.

Next followed an attack on the W.F.T.U. in regard to policy and administration of the W.F.T.U. at the session of the Executive Committee in Rome last May. The splitters' attack fell short of its objective, and the W.F.T.U. carried on. A fresh attack followed last September at the session of the Executive Bureau and the W.F.T.U. continued to carry on nevertheless.

Now the representatives of the General Council of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. want the national trade union centers affiliated to the Federation not only to suspend the W.F.T.U. activity but to discontinue all international work altogether, while Tewson sets up another international organization of trade unions that would be the obedient tool of the American monopolists and their servitors in Britain. Irving Brown, as its ideological leader, has formulated the principles for such an organization, and the British and American representatives agree with

him. It is to be an organization unconditionally upholding capitalism, an organization whose aim shall be to oppose all progressive trade unions, and primarily the Soviet trade unions, as well as those of the new democracies and of other countries that would deny support to capitalism.

Such we believe to be the underlying motives of the proposal to abolish the W.F.T.U. These motives have nothing in common with those formulated in the documents submitted and the speeches we have heard here. Carey says that the Soviet trade unions are subordinated to the Soviet State and the Cominform. This is a sheer lie. The Soviet trade unions are an important and influential organization in Soviet society, but the Government has never been in command of the trade unions.

In our country Government authority belongs to the working people. The Soviet Government is glad to help the trade unions and duly considers their opinion. There can be no such situation in our country as exists in certain other countries where the capitalists are in power and trade unions are disbanded and their activity limited. What, then, do you want? Do you want the Soviet Government to prosecute and limit the activity of the trade unions? Will that make you happy?

Carey does not like it that there are no strikes in the U.S.S.R. Yes, there are no strikes in the U.S.S.R.,

and not because they are prohibited by law, for on the contrary our law permits strikes. But there are no strikes. Why? Because we have no exploitation — and Carey should finally understand this. Everything produced by the effort of the workers goes only to the working people, to the common weal.

You prefer capitalism to socialism. That is your business. But don't try and force us to retrace our footsteps to something that existed 30 years ago. Our working class will not reinstate the Czar, landlords and capitalists to please you.

ECONOMIC AID WITHOUT STRINGS

Carey similarly misrepresents the Soviet trade union's attitude toward the Marshall Plan. Is it true that the Soviet trade unions are against countries assisting each other economically? No, this is untrue. The Soviet trade unions have always considered as a natural act the economic assistance of one country to another. However, the Soviet trade unions are of the opinion that economic aid of one country to others must be without strings of the economic and political submission of the countries receiving this aid to those who render it.

Is it true that the Soviet trade unions refuse to discuss the Marshall Plan? No, this is untrue. Let Carey recall the course of negotiations in Moscow last February. As a result of negotiations with Carey a document was evolved entitled "Declaration of

the Soviet Unions on the subject of the Marshall Plan." In that declaration the Soviet trade unions perfectly clearly announced their attitude toward the Marshall Plan, and there is no need for repeating that declaration since it is universally known to world opinion.

Neither during the negotiations nor in the declaration did the Soviet trade unions oppose discussion of the subject of the Marshall Plan in the W.F.T.U. Quite to the contrary, it was the Soviet trade unions that suggested discussion of it in a democratic way in the Executive Committee, as in a body with broader representation. Yet it was the representatives of the C.I.O. and the T.U.C. that refused to discuss that question in the W.F.T.U.

It seems that Carey abides by the rule that if facts are against him, all the worse for the facts. He alleged that the Communist press had demanded banishing the reformists from the W.F.T.U. As far as the Soviet trade unions are concerned, we proclaimed our attitude toward the various political trends within the W.F.T.U. in our declaration on the Marshall Plan which we handed over to Carey.

RIGHT OF FREE DISCUSSION

Among other things, the declaration said: "The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions is and always has been of the opinion that any national trade union organization must have full rights and opportunity

for free discussion of any political matters in the W.F.T.U."

Deakin says that countries which support the philosophical and political concepts of the Soviet Union cannot freely expound their views. Where does that opinion come from? And it is not the other way round? In no other country are the working people provided with such a complete opportunity of expounding their views as in the U.S.S.R. There is no freedom for exploiters in our country—that is true. But I believe that working people generally and the working class of the U.S.S.R. do not suffer from this fact. And if Deakin is anxious to provide freedom for exploiters, we cannot give him support.

In the U.S.S.R. freedom of speech and of the press have not only been proclaimed but ensured by the fact that the workers' organizations have newsprint, printing facilities and newspapers at their disposal. You need only to peruse our newspapers to see with your own eyes how sharply and freely we criticize our shortcomings.

Deakin voiced the opinion that a Communist faction, which acts on the instructions of the Cominform, has been set up inside the W.F.T.U. There is nothing new in Deakin's accusing Communists and Communism of all the evils of capitalist society. Is not this the reason that prompted the leaders of the T.U.C. to deny the French miners support in their just struggle for improving their conditions of life?

In actual fact, however, there is not and has not been any faction inside the W.F.T.U. Meanwhile you have been waging and continue to wage separate actions against the W.F.T.U. This is borne out by the creation of the trade union committee of 16 countries, by the official conferences between leaders of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. prior to the present session of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U.

Deakin declared that there existed a gap between Communist and non-Communist trade unions and that their fundamental differences could not be settled. There is no such thing under the sun as Communist or non-Communist trade unions. Trade unions are non-partisan organizations. Soviet trade unions believe that the co-operation of various political trends within a common international trade union organization is perfectly possible.

You consider this impossible, so what do you want? What is to be done if there are people on earth who differ from you in their beliefs? What is to be done if there do exist Communists and non-Communists with progressive ideas? Do you want to compel them to do their thinking as it pleases you or do you want to wipe them out? But what kind of democracy is this?

WILLING TO CONSIDER CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS

Indeed, the picture is perfectly clear. Had the representatives of the T.U.C. and C.I.O. really aspired to

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prevent the wrecking of the W.F.T.U. and their quitting it, we could have found a solution of all disputed matters. We have come to meet them halfway at times, even to the detriment of the Federation. We are willing to consider constructive proposals, even now. It turns out, however, that what you want is to abolish the Federation. May I tell you plainly that you are setting yourself an impossible task. This will not be.

In this connection I would like to recall a few lines from Russian literature. Saltykov-Shchedrin depicted a city mayor an ignorant and silly man who thought that everything could exist only by his permission and order. And one day he was notified that such a thing as America existed. The mayor started pondering—how could America emerge without his permission. Consequently he issued an order—to close down America. At the last moment it dawned on him, however, that he had gone a little bit too far, and he added this to his order: "But it seems that this is something outside my power." And I think that to abolish the W.F.T.U. is outside your power.

Abolition of the W.F.T.U. does not conform either to the desires or will of the workers. They would never forgive us and would stigmatize the splitters. Kupers declared that the rank-and-file membership in Britain was for abolishing the W.F.T.U. I doubt it. Perhaps they could show us a decision of the workers to this effect. From press reports we know that certain trade union

organizations oppose the decision of the General Council.

In its letter the General Council of the T.U.C. suggests the institution of a trustee council that would take over all the funds of the Federation and would within 12 months or earlier decide whether or not the Federation should continue its existence. Clearly before speaking about the procedure for abolishing the Federation, we must decide the problem of its existence, and this must be done by decision of Congress.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

It goes without saying that seven persons cannot take a decision on such a matter of the greatest significance to the working class as the existence of the World Federation of Trade Unions. And no amount of talk about this here will help, as this would be empty talk which would only demonstrate that the authors of such a proposal have departed a long way from the democratic principles underlying our organizations.

Deakin's statement that nine members of the Executive Bureau—of whom only seven are present—can seal the fate of an organization to which the trade unions of 65 countries are affiliated, is so totalitarian that it needs no comment.

I would like to ask the following from the authors of the proposal on the suspension of the Federation's activity without having this matter settled in the Executive Committee, the General Council or Congress:

are such practices possible within British trade unions? Is it possible, for instance, for Deakin and Tewson, who are entrusted with the leadership of the trade unions, to decide to close down British trade unions, to put a padlock on the Transport House door and then wait for 12 months or until a trustee council also appointed by them, reconsiders the question.

How would the General Council of the T.U.C. and the British Trades Union Congress react to such "democratic actions," if you please? I ask the representatives of the C.I.O. whether seven men, no matter how highly placed these leaders are, can close down the C.I.O. by a hush-hush decision? Congress alone can pass a decision on such a matter as suspension of W.F.T.U. activity.

Can the Federation remain in the position it has been brought to by the representatives of the British trade unions and the C.I.O.? Of course not. We shall not be a party to the abolition of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Millions of workers are expecting from the Federation big work, protection of their interests and assistance in their struggle.

The colonial workers, who are slaves to this day and have been cheated by promises to carry into life the Atlantic Charter, and have been cheated by promises to be provided with minimum decent conditions of life—they expect help in the struggle against inhuman exploitation. The Greek democratic trade

unions, the trade unions of Iran, Jamaica, India and other countries await help. The workers in these countries, confronting the passivity of the Colonial Department, headed by the American [Elmer] Cope, will be inclined to think that not only do you oppose betterment of their conditions, but that the entire Federation does so as well.

The Federation's position must be clarified. We cannot restrict ourselves to discussion of the proposal submitted by the General Council of the T.U.C. in the Executive Bureau in a hush-hush manner. We must submit it for discussion to the Executive Committee, the General Council and Congress. It is the fate of the Federation, the fate of the organization that is involved which, in the eyes of millions of workers, is the sole representative body capable of defending their interest. And we definitely cannot agree even to a temporary suspension of W.F.T.U. activity.

TO CONVENE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

I second the motion of the General Secretary, Louis Saillant, to convene urgently the Executive Committee. Should the representatives of the British trade unions and the C.I.O. refuse to participate in the Federation's further activity, we shall carry on without them.

An organization to which 65 countries are affiliated definitely cannot cease its existence just because this is desired by the representative of the

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C.I.O. and of the General Council of the T.U.C. We certainly shall regret such a splitting act of the leaders of the British trade unions and of the C.I.O., which definitely damages the international trade union movement as well as damaging the interests of the workers of Britain and the United States.

We are of the opinion that proceeding from the interests of the working class, all our difficulties could be solved. Whoever declares that disputable questions cannot be settled is against unity. If you maintain that there are no possibilities for co-operation, the responsibilities for the split rest with you.

All our efforts to preserve unity have been of no avail, although even now we are willing to continue co-operating with you. But you emphatically reject co-operation. We believe that every measure must be taken to activate the W.F.T.U. work, to promote the struggle for fulfillment of the noble tasks set the W.F.T.U. at the Paris Congress and inscribed in the Federation's Charter. The Federation must, with still greater resolution and consistency, strive for higher living standards of the workers, for democratic liberties, for a lasting and durable peace among the nations.

Fighting for the Needs of the Young Workers*

By Leon Wofsy

The 14th National Convention of our Party placed important stress on work among the youth, and provided the basis for gearing our youth work to the advancement of the Party's policy of industrial concentration. The reports of Comrades Winston, Gannett and Thompson (*Political Affairs*, September, 1948) called for centering our attention on the working-class youth, their problems and their needs—thereby pointing toward the correction of serious shortcomings in this field of work.

As the hysterical efforts of reaction to move the youth toward fascism increase, it is daily more urgent that our Party and the progressive forces in the labor movement fight for the leadership of the young workers and militantly champion their interests.

This central question of attention to the working youth has a special relation to the perspective of creating a young people's organization which educates and rallies the youth in the spirit of Socialism. With the initial steps toward the formation of the Marxist youth organization soon to be undertaken, a prime consideration is the winning of young workers, Negro and white, as its main base. Only if this objective is kept upper-

most will the new organization be able vitally to enhance the growth and strength of the developing democratic youth movement in our country. On such a basis, the Marxist youth organization will be able to deepen significantly the democratic will of America's youth against the poison of chauvinism and to spark youth's militancy in the fight against war and fascism. It will be able to connect the hopes and aspirations of the young people to the struggles of the working class today and to the ultimate advance to Socialism.

Therefore, to begin making a major turn in the fight for the needs of the young workers—precisely at this time—would be our Party's greatest contribution to the successful establishment of the Marxist youth organization. It would, in a broader sense, be an invaluable contribution to the whole cause of peace and democracy.

The considerable divorcement from the youth is a dangerous handicap for the progressives in the labor movement. It is this state of affairs that permits the labor reformists and Social-Democrats to take advantage of youth's inexperience and, thus, to expand their Red-baiting, warmongering influence. This lets Murray get away with a shameless distortion of the history of the C.I.O. and

* Based on a report to the National Committee, Communist Party, January 24, 1949.

of the whole significance of the slogan of "Organize the Unorganized," as witnessed at the Portland Convention of the C.I.O. It allows Reuther to cash in on his build-up as the "symbol" and "champion" of youth. It permits Curran to pit young maritime workers against older militants and minority group seamen, in an effort to drive the latter out of the industry. It has been a key factor in a number of defeats for progressives in local and international unions.

At the same time, it must be said the progressives are that force in the labor movement most capable of attracting the youth, championing its interests, rallying its enthusiasm and energy. This was seen in several recent labor struggles, such as the West Coast Maritime Strike. Young seamen, between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, were the heart of the rank-and-file upsurge in the San Pedro port of the National Maritime Union, where they put up a sustained and spirited fight against goons and police.

A SPECIAL APPROACH TO WORKING YOUTH

For winning the young workers, it is essential to base ourselves on a special approach to the working-class youth and their problems. It is necessary to combat certain false conceptions and rationalizations that have cropped up in recent years among progressive trade unionists and even among some Communists. It is not uncommon to hear: "There was a

real youth problem during the '30's, and there will be in the next depression, but not now"; "The young guys are still getting too much money to worry about 'special' problems." Further, one hears that we should emphasize the "general" problems, not the special problems, because the latter are "divisive" factors between younger and older workers.

These and other variations on the same theme would in effect reduce the youth problem to an overall trade-union problem, on the one hand, and—at best—a student problem, on the other.

To minimize the special problems of working-class youth today—from any angle—is as much as to say that capitalism has changed its stripes. The special exploitation of young workers today is apparent at a glance. Wages? The average wage of workers under 24 is one-third to one-half less than the median earning for the total working population. Jobs? Over half the country's unemployed are under 25. In its drive toward war and fascism, capitalism has spread its most threatening clouds over youth's hope for a decent life, a job, education, marriage and a home. Fundamentally, the youth problem is deeper today than ever.

The special problems of working-class youth are, of course, inseparable from those of the working class as a whole. That is precisely why attention to these problems by labor is not a factor for division, but rather the indispensable basis for

heightened solidarity. Only when the special problems and special approaches to youth are ignored does the boss succeed in using such factors as wage-differentials, seniority, speedup, etc., to turn young and older workers against each other. It is, therefore, a source of great danger to the labor movement that in recent years it has not been engaged in conscious struggles around youth needs, in or out of industry. This failing must be contrasted with the '30's, when labor's support of the American Youth Act was an important factor in foiling the siren call of those who tried to woo the youth to fascism. This championing of youth's needs in the '30's inevitably went hand in hand with the large-scale involvement of youth in the great drive to organize the unorganized and to build the C.I.O.—in which the Young Communist League played an exemplary part.

Finally, Communists disassociate themselves from any alarmist tendencies among some progressive trade unionists who see the young workers as a center of "apathy" or "reaction." Our Marxist-Leninist understanding gives us a firm grasp, not only of the nature of the youth problem, but of the very character of the working youth as "the heart of the movement for social emancipation." It would be mockery to talk of confidence in the working class of our country without confidence in the young workers. By fighting for the youth—for their needs—the ad-

vanced sections of the labor movement will unleash the kind of energy displayed in the fight against insecurity and fascism by the youth of the '30's and of World War II. It is the labor misleaders and demagogues who must really fear the youth; for they do not put up a real fight for the interests of youth, any more than for the interests of the working class as a whole.

A PROGRAM FOR WORKING YOUTH

Militarization and a sharp decline in job opportunities are the two major problems hitting at the well-being of young workers today. The enormity of these dangers is revealed in the December 1948 *Fortune* poll of youth. Elmo Roper's questions are loaded as much in favor of the marvels of "free enterprise" as his election survey was out of line for Dewey; nevertheless, it appears that 80 per cent of America's young people live in fear of another economic crisis, or another war, or (as the highest number answer) both. This staggering total becomes a highly significant exposure of Wall Street's criminal responsibility, especially when the poll admits that no more than 14 per cent of the youth have been sold on the line that it is or will be necessary to "fight Russia."

It is necessary to point to Truman's war program as the greatest threat to the economic status of working youth. This is expressed, first

of all, in the lay-offs caused by Marshall Plan dislocations in almost every section of the country, which strike most heavily at Negro workers, youth, and women. Secondly, the Draft and the call for Universal Military Training threaten to drive additional thousands of youth off the job. Thirdly, where young people manage to hold jobs for the time being in war production industries, they are put on the most unskilled speed-up operations, where their health and hopes for advancement are ruined. Fourthly, the war budget stands between the young worker and his need for a health, housing and social-welfare program.

On no issue is the top labor leadership's sell-out of youth more blatant than on the Draft and U.M.T. Committed to Wall Street's war program, the 1948 C.I.O. convention for the first time failed to oppose the peacetime draft. The A. F. of L. went still further in breaking long-standing precedent in the labor movement by flatly endorsing the draft. In turning their backs on the fight for peace, Murray and Green are also inevitably ignoring the most concrete needs of youth. They are silent on the fact that many jobless youth see no alternative but to enter the armed forces. In accepting the draft, Murray and Green fail to challenge the vicious system of Jim Crow against Negro youth. They tacitly sanction the draft "loyalty" purge,¹

which, together with Jim Crow, exposes the anti-labor character of the army that Wall Street wants to build. Under the "loyalty" system, any young draftee who wants peace or decent army chow may face anything from "surveillance" to work camps or a dishonorable discharge.

The fight for repeal of the Draft and defeat of U.M.T. legislation is vital to a genuine program for young workers, as well as to the whole struggle for peace.

The basis of a program to meet the economic needs of young workers must be the main demands for all workers: for a new round of wage increases! For an end to the Marshall Plan, the armament program, the Draft! For repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and re-enactment in full of the Wagner Act! For a Federal F.E.P.C.! For a 30-hour week!

In addition to these demands, it is time—as Comrade Thompson stated in his Convention Report—to think in terms of a specific national youth security program. Of the many needs of working youth, it is necessary to pick out a few which strike at the main economic problems, can be put into legislation, can be dramatized widely and can win mass support. This requires joint exploration and initiative, first of all, of the young workers and of all progressives. There is one demand, in particular, which should receive the greatest consideration: *Unemployment insurance for first-job seekers and for laid-off young workers!*

¹ cf. "Army Requires Loyalty Tests." *New York Sun*, Nov. 8, 1948.

This demand expresses a very real and growing need. In 1947, with still limited unemployment, 56 per cent of those already seeking jobs were youth. In August 1948, the Department of Labor reported that about 1½ million young people were looking, vainly, for jobs in industry. Now, youth unemployment is becoming so severe that several Congressmen are asking for a House labor sub-committee to look into the problem of the large number of 18-25 year-old job-seekers, of whom many "appear" to be veterans.² For Negro youth today, the situation is doubly acute. In the Ford plant, as of the first of the year, a young Negro worker could not find a job, while a young white worker still could. One Young Progressives club in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn reports 40 out of 60 of its members unemployed. There are similar reports daily from Chicago South Side, Harlem, and other Negro communities.

With unemployment insurance rolls hitting a post-'30's high peak in many states, young workers are in a real plight. Those who have worked have not had a chance to earn enough to qualify for unemployment insurance. Fresh thousands out of high schools, who never had a chance to get jobs in industry also are stranded by the present laws. So, we have the shameful paradox, that there is no protection whatsoever for that sec-

tion of the population where unemployment is the highest!

To this must be added the veterans—8 million of whom are under 28 years of age—whose 52/20 expires this June. 52/20 created a precedent for unemployment insurance regardless of previous length of employment. It should be extended and expanded to meet the high cost of living.

Another demand of special importance to young workers is the fight for the dollar minimum wage. That is because young workers are largely in unskilled jobs and many work in unorganized shops. Here again, the situation is most critical for Negro youth (cf. the survey referred to in Comrade Gannett's Convention Report, showing that Negro veterans average 30-75 per cent less in wages than white veterans).

A third demand is for a public works and job-training program for housing, under union standards and supervision. Truman, in his State of the Union Message admitted that 8,000,000 housing units today come under the heading of slums, fire traps, and shared homes. Housing is an acute aspect of the youth problem. Not much has changed since 1946-7, when half of the 21-34 age group were looking for a place to live in (42 per cent of whom were veterans), and 32 per cent of married couples, 18-24, were doubled up.

Also closely associated with these demands, must go others on health

² *Akron Beacon Journal*, Jan. 25, 1949.

insurance and expanded education. As to the state of youth's health, U.P. reported on October 31, 1948, an 87 per cent draft rejection in New York (72 per cent in the entire nation) because of "psychoneurotic disorders," heart disease, eye defects, etc.

In regard to education, while it is not the purpose of this article to outline a student program, it should be noted that a panic campaign is on to keep working-class youth, Negro youth, and veterans out of colleges: the *New York Times* shouts that we are facing a surplus of B.A.'s without jobs; the Association of American Colleges asks that students no longer be draft exempt, except essentially for a select few; and everywhere tuition fees are skyrocketing far beyond G.I. Bill levels. The growing economic problems and intensified discrimination against Negro youth are clearly reflected in the education field: only 3 per cent of America's college students are Negroes; last year, there was a drop of 17 per cent in the number of Negro youth entering college, and Negro veteran enrollment fell 15.4 per cent as compared to a 7 per cent decline in white veteran enrollment.

While popularizing a number of demands for all working youth, our Party must take the lead in opening up a concrete fight for jobs for Negro youth. This fight—where unemployment is most serious already—sets the pace for the fight for jobs for all youth. The militancy of Negro youth, who resent being forced into

joblessness or degrading jobs, is being met by a rising tide of police brutality. This is a definite factor in the Case of the Trenton Six. It is also flagrantly obvious in the case of Harold Allen, 18-year-old Philadelphia Negro youth, who was arrested on a Y.P.A. picketline against job discrimination and faces the threat of a heavy jail sentence on charges of "insurrection."³

It is possible and necessary to organize united conferences in a number of important areas to expose this situation and develop a program to combat it. These conferences can surely involve youth organizations, local unions, church and civic groups. They should raise demands against job discrimination in given industries; for unemployment insurance, for free vocational and administrative training programs, and for an F.E.P.C. They should undertake a consistent fight against every instance of police brutality. The few minor fights against job discrimination that have recently been won (e.g., on New York's East Side; Lorain, Ohio; and Philadelphia) must now be replaced by well-planned, consistent campaigns in every major city. These campaigns should be city-wide in character, mobilizing white working youth and fighting for union participation. They will be directed in one place at an auto plant which stops hiring Negro

³ Since this was written, the movement around the Allen case has succeeded in winning a dismissal of the charges.—Ed.

youth; elsewhere, at a telephone or gas and electric company or large department store network. They should begin to feature demonstrative actions around plant hiring lines or around offices of the U.S.E.S., which engage in the vicious practice of forcing Negro youth to take low-paid, service jobs.

PROBLEMS FACING YOUNG WORKERS IN THE SHOPS

Projecting an overall program for working youth only underscores the task of mobilizing our Party and progressives around the concrete problems of youth in and around the shop. There is a pressing need to know and publicize what is hitting the young worker in each particular shop and industry. Merely to scratch the surface, here are the kind of things to which our entire Party in industry should alert the progressive forces:

1) In most industrial towns, recreation is a basic need for the youth in the plants. There just isn't any place to go but the tavern. The fight for recreational facilities, making use of the union hall, pushing for a union sports program are vital issues.

2) Speed-up, the enemy of all workers, has a special meaning for the young workers. In the Ford plant, where a rank-and-file campaign against speed-up is being waged, note has been taken of the notorious use of young workers as pace-setters to speed up the whole line. This, of course, is an expression

of the fact that the boss exploits the young worker's insecure hold on the job to force him into extra speed-up, and then uses this as a club over workers who cannot work so fast.

In this regard, it is necessary to point out to the young worker that he stands to be the first to work himself out of a job. What speed-up does to the health of the young workers needs to be fully exposed—not only what it does to their life-span, but how it knocks the hell out of their desire to have a good time, to build a decent home, to enjoy married life. Furthermore, the finger should be put on the monotonous, hopeless kind of jobs set aside especially for youth, as part of the system of speed-up and rationalization. (In this connection, the *Fortune* youth poll above referred to reports that of all employed youth, those in factories find their jobs least "enjoyable.")

3) The probationary employment system presents sharp problems for young workers throughout industry. This situation is described in a recent letter from a "young Auto Worker" that appeared in the *Michigan Worker*, January 9, 1949. The correspondent writes the following about the "many thousands of probationary employees in auto plants in Detroit":

They can be fired at will by the foreman or the company. . . . Probationary employees almost always get less money for doing the same work as other workers. . . . The company gets extra profit

by firing probationary workers at a short time before seniority status is due and hiring a batch of new workers. . . .

The progressive trade unionists should take up this fight, not only in the auto industry, but in contract negotiations in the steel and other industries as well. The demand should be raised to shorten the probationary period (in many plants it is six months). Probationary employees should enjoy union protection, and the unfair wage differentials should be eliminated.

4) In many electrical plants, separate male and female key sheets are provided for jobs of the same grade. Young women frequently get from 18 to 25 cents less, with Negro young women at the very bottom of the ladder. In every industry, the demand for equal pay for equal work is urgent. A vigorous fight is also needed to stop disgraceful discrimination against young women in regard to sickness and disability benefits. For young working mothers, free child-care centers and nurseries are other cardinal demands.

5) The maritime industry is refusing to recognize wartime ratings. This hits especially hard at young Negro seamen, who first broke through on ratings during the war. The demands for draft exemption and eligibility for veterans' benefits are also vital to young seamen.

The above are but instances of the host of on-the-job demands of young workers which must be concentrated

upon. What an exposure of capitalist society is contained in the sum total of youth's grievances! Each is a miniature reflection of the sordid life capitalism offers to the younger generation in this wealthiest of all lands.

How youth is "treasured" under the system of "free enterprise," is symbolized by the sharp rise of child labor in the past decade, and the barbarous maiming of children from eight to sixteen years of age through industrial accidents (cf. "Have We Given Up on Child Labor?", by Edith M. Stern in the *Woman's Home Companion*, February, 1949).

What "encouragement," what "hope" does imperialism hold for young Americans? How does it use the talents of even the handful who manage to rise to the professions and the sciences? A young scientist may use his talents mainly for research in atomic destruction; or, he may devote himself to looking for new super-Hitlerian techniques of germ warfare, designed to sterilize at one blow the entire male population of a country. There are no lower depths than those plumbed by Wall Street in its day-to-day economic and moral exploitation of our country's youth.

Contrast this cheating on the health, aspirations and elementary well-being of youth to the warmth, confidence and boundless opportunity for youth that is Socialism!

What Socialism means for young people is exemplified in the report of the U.S.S.R.'s delegation to the

International Conference of Working Youth, held at Warsaw in August, 1948.⁴ Delegate Klimov was able to say, proudly:

Such things as exploitation, unemployment, oppression our youth gets to know about only from literature. . . . Each young worker at a factory has the possibility of a permanent perfection of his profession and of improving his educational level. The methods of study are organized at the expense of the factory. During 1946-1950, 21.6 million workers will pass through these courses of study . . . the working youth, as all Soviet citizens, use medical service free of charge. . . . In the last 5 to 6 years 40% of the places in the holiday homes and sanatoria were given to young workers. . . . Annually the Government allocates 60 to 70 billion rubles for the cultural services of the population, to which can be added the substantial allocation made by the trade unions. In 1950 the Government's allocation for this purpose will reach the sum of 106 billion rubles, *i.e.*, 2.6 times more than in the pre-war year 1940.

These simple facts represent a fragment of the bright life to which our youth can aspire, when the system of exploitation of man by man no longer weighs down upon our great land.

WINNING THE YOUTH FOR PROGRESSIVE ACTION

By putting up a fight for the immediate needs of working youth—

⁴ The Conference was sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, with headquarters in Paris.

for repeal of the Draft, for unemployment insurance, for jobs for Negro youth, and for the manifold on-the-job demands—the progressive-led unions and the progressives in other parts of the labor movement will help to arouse a strong trade-union consciousness among the youth. This struggle is of great importance at a time when the conditions of the workers are becoming steadily worse; for the employers, with the aid of the labor misleaders, will increasingly try to turn youth's dissatisfaction into the channel of demoralization and pro-fascist moods. The progressive-led unions must pioneer in the consistent development of a youth program, and corresponding forms of activity and organization, directly within the framework of the unions. This should express itself in actively encouraging the establishment of various kinds of young workers' clubs, as already exist around some plants and unions. Further, it should be expressed in really organized, mass labor sports under the leadership of the young trade unionists; also in functioning educational and activities committees making regular use of the union hall.

Within the youth movement itself, an important contribution to the fight for the economic needs of working youth is now developing in the work of the Young Progressives of America. Although the organization is still very new and has hardly begun to realize its potential, what is most promising is that it is seriously

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striving to gear itself to the needs and desires of working youth. This is reflected in an effort to put primary emphasis on a recreational, sports and cultural activities program in many states. Also, the actions projected by Y.P.A.'s post-election National Council meeting in Pittsburgh all concern themselves with the needs of young workers. Y.P.A. has proposed a united national youth pilgrimage against the Draft and U.M.T., which will undoubtedly point up attention to the social-legislative needs of youth. Further, Y.P.A. is organizing economic conferences in many cities and states to dramatize the problem of working youth in each area. The Y.P.A. Council meeting also spoke in terms of establishing a permanent youth-adult national advisory commission on youth's economic needs. This would show real initiative and be an important step forward—especially in light of the fact that one of Truman's famous demagoguery commissions has been constituted on the youth question for a long time now. The Truman body has not been publicized yet, and seems to be "sitting" on the youth problem waiting for the "psychological" moment.

It is pertinent to note that the Y.P.A. is now out to build a number of clubs in and around industry. In Detroit, 50-75 young Negro foundry workers—all in the same department and on the same shift at the Packard plant—formed a successful Sunday night club of Y.P.A.

In Los Angeles, Y.P.A. made good friends among a number of young rubber workers, through sustained and popular activity around a particular plant gate (including the use of a lively float on repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act). As a result, a Y.P.A. club of the young rubber workers is growing up in the community where they live, in the vicinity of the plant. These clubs and others like them—that Y.P.A. will build, are not and cannot be considered clubs of a political party; they are essentially social-athletic-educational clubs which base themselves on the interests and needs of young workers. Wherever they exist, they will contribute seriously toward cultivating a firm democratic and anti-war spirit among working youth.

BUILDING OUR PARTY AMONG INDUSTRIAL YOUTH

The successful development of our Party's industrial concentration policy necessarily requires a real approach to working youth. At the same time, the building of our Party among the young industrial workers is indispensable to the development of a truly militant and meaningful struggle around the needs of working youth.

It is our Party which can connect youth's specific demands with the decisive political struggles of the day: the fight to end the "cold war," for negotiations with the Soviet Union, for freedom of the 12 and defense of

democracy. It is our Party which can lead the fight against the vicious influences of national chauvinism, white chauvinism, anti-Semitism, Red-baiting, and anti-Soviet slanders, which are aimed at blinding the young workers to their own interests. Above all, it is our Party that can in the course of struggle around grievances, big and small, inspire growing numbers of young workers with class-consciousness, Socialist consciousness; for, by the very nature of the case, it is the young workers who most balk at being forced into the mold of a drab routine and a future without hope.

The recruiting of young industrial workers is a cardinal element for the entire Party in the Foster recruiting drive. The question of consistent, planned, concrete work among industrial youth is a matter demanding the concern of every shop and industrial branch. Yet, it is of especial importance to the Party youth clubs and sections who are helping to secure an industrial base for the Marxist youth organization. In the spirit of Comrade Winston's Convention Report, the National Youth Commission projects a policy of youth concentration in industry. Of primary importance is our work among the particularly large numbers of youth employed in the auto and electrical industries. In a few places, specific attention will be turned toward young workers in the steel, maritime, and distributive industries.

In the plants selected for concentration, we propose the building of Party youth clubs at this time. Our recent experiences prove again what the Y.C.L. learned, that special forms for Communist youth activity are a necessary guarantee of the development of youth work in industry.

The building of Party youth clubs in the youth concentration plants will break ground for the formation of clubs of the Marxist youth organization a few months later. Moreover, this will stimulate the Party's attention to youth questions throughout industry.

In each major city or youth section, a top youth force should be placed in charge of this work, meeting regularly with our comrades in the shops. A leader of the Party industrial work in a given area or section should be assigned to participate in these meetings.

Our concentration policy requires that a major political and educational campaign now be organized for all Party youth. Every Party youth club should be familiar with the needs, problems and aspirations of the young auto or electrical workers. Every major youth activity must center, first of all, on reaching out to, and winning, the participation of young workers. This means changing a situation where our youth work, actions, and special material on the issues in the trial of our Party leaders hardly touch the young workers. It means centering our plans for World Youth Week,

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March 21-28, on popularizing the inspirational material and decisions of the 1948 International Conference of Working Youth, which demonstrated the strong identity of interests of the young workers of the world in the struggle for peace, freedom, and a better life.

In our Party youth and student clubs, organized classes are getting under way around the role of the working class and on the Negro question and the fight against white chauvinism. Special education should be planned for those workers already in our ranks, and for Party youth who are convinced to enter industry. A good experience was the recent Mid-West youth concentration school made up of 18 industrial workers, half of whom were Negro youth.

There are many additional aspects to the job of mobilizing the Party youth. Our work among students will be examined, so that every student club views as its basic permanent task the winning of the widest possible section of the students as allies of the working class and with-

in this framework, knows exactly its duties to the industrial concentration work of the Party. The opening up of systematic work among national group youth must figure seriously in our plans.

While we are just making the barest beginnings in an up-hill fight, we believe that real enthusiasm will take hold of our Party youth. This will be reflected in an increased flow of youth into industry, and widespread emulation of the spirit of the martyred Harry Simms, Joe York, and other heroic Y.C.L.'ers of the '30's. It will be reflected in the unfolding of struggles on basic youth needs. It will show itself in a new pride in Communist youth work and in the building of our Party among young workers.

This enthusiasm will infuse militancy and working-class zeal into the new Marxist youth organization from the first day of its birth. It will set an outstanding example for the thousands of non-Party youth who will rally to the building of this organization.

Indonesia: the Struggle for Independence

by Badji Tembaga

AFTER 340 YEARS of Dutch imperialist rule, the Indonesian people revolted against the Dutch yoke, and in August 1945 established the Indonesian Republic.

Momentarily surprised, the Dutch imperialists soon went into action, relying on the assistance of their rivals, British and American imperialism, which had a big stake in smashing all colonial liberation movements. The history of Indonesia, since its initial liberation, has been marked by a series of brutal armed interventions, protracted "negotiations" designed to permit the Dutch to prepare for new invasions, and growing class struggles within Indonesia.

At this moment, the Indonesian people, in guerrilla armies, in village defense units, through all means at their command, are resisting Dutch control. The people of Indonesia are conducting a scorched-earth defense; they are harrasing Dutch garrisons, making roads impassable, disrupting Dutch communications. Even as the people of China suffered grave defeats and made their orderly retreat on the Long March, so, in this period, the Indonesians are regrouping for the time of offensive action to secure complete independence.

IMPERIALISTS SAY: NO REPUBLIC

Emerging greatly weakened from the war in Europe in 1945, Holland was compelled to call on its imperialist rivals, the United States and Great Britain, to help destroy the Indonesian Republic. Britain, in command of the Southeast Asia theater in 1945, dispatched its troops to Indonesia to repatriate the defeated Japanese forces. Its military strength limited, Britain instead put the Japanese under orders to fight the Indonesians. British commanders on the scene quickly reported that the situation was out of hand, that insufficient troops were present to destroy the Republic. The British counselled the Dutch to negotiate with the Indonesians, or imperialist control might be expelled completely. This was the first in a series of differences among the imperialists over tactics. In principle, British, Dutch, and American imperialism were in agreement that imperialist control should be reimposed over as much of Indonesia as possible, within the limitations of the situation.

The Indonesians, noting only the differences, and failing to see the cause, made their first blunder. The government of the Republic refused

to accept the proposal of the Soviet Ukraine in the United Nations Security Council meeting of February 1946, that the United Nations investigate the presence of British and Japanese troops in Indonesia. The Premier of the Republic, Sjahrir, declared that it "preferred" the presence of British to Dutch troops. The British troops remained: by the fall of 1946, they won footholds in important coastal towns, and oil and rubber centers. Holland secured loans and armaments from the United States, and through conscription, was prepared to replace British forces in late 1946.

The Dutch retained their original intention of seizing Indonesia by force, but the tactics were modified. A policy of "limited warfare" which would put the Dutch in strategic areas without the problem of engaging in mass battles, was coupled with the British plan of negotiations. Thus, political pressure was utilized to secure maximum concessions, under quasi-peaceful conditions, with military power kept in reserve for swift, decisive campaigns.

Dutch-Indonesian peace talks were begun in late 1946. In March 1947, the Linggadjati Agreement was signed which granted the Republic *de facto* recognition over the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Madoera. Sovereignty over the rest of Indonesia was reserved to the Netherlands. Further, a United States of Indonesia, as part of a Dutch-Indonesian Union, was to be set up by January 1, 1949, with joint Dutch-Indonesian control

of foreign affairs, finances, and armed forces. In reality, while granting political concessions of a substantial nature, the Agreement was little more than the 1942 Commonwealth proposal in another guise.

Instead of implementing any of its responsibility under the Agreement, the Netherlands violated it by setting up puppet states, thereby weakening, through splitting Indonesian national unity, one of the principal Indonesian weapons for independence, and violated the Agreement further by sending additional troops to Indonesia. The Indonesian Republic, however, permitted the Dutch to retain their garrisons in vital oil and rubber centers in Java and Sumatra within Republican territory. In July 1947, four months after signing the Agreement, the Dutch used these garrisons as spearheads for their military attack against the Republic.

From July 21 to August 4, 1947, Dutch forces occupied all important industrial, agricultural, and communications centers. No troop withdrawal was ordered by the United Nations Security Council. Instead, a "Committee of Good Offices" was set up to "assist in establishment of a lasting peace in Indonesia." The sole member of the Committee that showed a friendly attitude toward Indonesia was Australia; the other two members were the world's dominant imperialist country, the United States, and the U.S. satellite, Belgium. Such a Committee could scarcely be expected to favor the cause of Indonesian independence

at the expense of Netherlands imperialism.

The Renville Agreement of January 1948, produced under the aegis of the Committee, surrendered legally to the Dutch what they had seized by force of arms. An imperialist peace was established as onerous as Brest-Litovsk, as cynical as Munich. Unlike Brest-Litovsk, it was not signed by the weaker party to gain strategic time to consolidate its internal strength, nor was it denounced by the victim as was Munich. On the contrary, some Indonesian leaders hailed it as a significant step forward in spreading peace in Indonesia. Underlying this position was an understanding reached between certain American imperialist and Indonesian circles.

U. S. INTERVENTION

Before the Second World War, Indonesia had been important to the United States in two respects: as a source of raw material, and as an area for investment. In 1940, the United States took one-third of all Indonesian exports. Principal among these (in terms of total exports from Indonesia to all countries) were: rubber, 61 percent; tin, 64 percent; manganese, 67 percent; palm oil, 60 percent; tapioca, 59 percent. In the same year, direct private U.S. investments were 350 million guilders (about \$116 million). The actual amount was larger because of U.S. holdings in Dutch, British, and other investments. Between the two World

Wars, British and U.S. capital tried to supersede Dutch investments, particularly in rubber and petroleum.

With control of Indonesia falling to the Japanese from March 1942 to August 15, 1945, Anglo-American-Dutch rivalry over Indonesia was greatly restricted. However, in efforts to find substitutes for imports of vital raw materials in the hands of Japan, the United States did not overlook possibilities of strengthening its position in the postwar period *vis-à-vis* the Dutch in Indonesia.

Many progressive Americans who are appalled at Holland's wanton aggression in Indonesia fail to note that U.S. direct support makes it possible. Above all, they fail to relate Holland's exploitation of Indonesia to the imperialist American incubus upon the Netherlands. Even while the Dutch imperialists seek to turn history back by protracted warfare in Indonesia, U.S. imperialism props up the Dutch sector of world imperialism to keep it from bankruptcy, simultaneously encroaching upon Holland's economy.

Because of this dual aspect of American imperialism, the United States has backed the Dutch against an independent Indonesia. However, there are distinct limitations to that support: 1—the United States gives prime importance to the European theater, bolstering European capitalist circles to "contain" the Soviet Union and the New Democracies; 2—the U.S. considers China the pivotal Asian country; 3—U.S. impe-

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rials propose to utilize Holland's dilemma by wresting concessions from the Dutch, and thereby to strengthen their position in Indonesia's economy; 4—these circles would not be averse to an Indonesian government free of Dutch control which could prove itself politically "reliable" to U.S. investors; 5—American imperialism wants a government in Indonesia that may be used economically and militarily to "contain" democratic China.

Exposure by the Soviet Union in the Security Council of Dutch, British, and U.S. imperialist maneuvers, coupled with the Soviet Union's consistent support of Indonesian independence are also an important brake upon open U.S. support of Dutch aggression.

Nevertheless, when the prolonged Dutch-Indonesian war—which has become a war of attrition—has threatened to stalemate Holland, the United States has bailed the Dutch out. It would be straining coincidence to account for the following in any other fashion. In 1946, when the Indonesian issue was first raised in the Security Council, the United States released two billion dollars of frozen Dutch wartime assets and granted Holland a loan of \$300 million. On June 28, 1947, three weeks before the Dutch blitzkrieg, the United States, in an aide-memoire to the Indonesian Republic, urged acceptance of Dutch demands and held out the inducement of possible loans. Then when the Dutch did attack in July 1947, the World Bank, of which the

United States is the principal creditor, lent the Dutch \$195 million. During the Dutch-Indonesian negotiations leading up to the Renville Agreement, \$422 millions in Marshall Plan funds were allocated to Holland, and \$84 million to the "Netherlands East Indies," *i.e.*, Indonesian territory under Dutch control. On December 22, 1948, while American diplomats were scolding the Dutch for their most recent aggression against the Indonesian Republic, the Marshall Plan allocated an additional \$547 million to the Netherlands.

WEAKNESSES IN THE REPUBLIC

The advances made by the Chinese people prove, in life, the correctness of their path, *i.e.*, resolute anti-imperialist struggle, resting on the fullest support of all democratic sections of the population. This is of great significance to the Indonesian people who have suffered serious setbacks in their fight for independence because of tendencies in Indonesian leadership to collaborate with imperialist countries, particularly the United States.

The Republic started on a narrow base of a coalition of the Nationalist and Moslem parties, under the leadership of prewar political figures. However, the Socialist and Communist parties, which had been illegal before the war and during the Japanese occupation, began to come forward quickly. The workers formed the All-Indonesia Trade Union Federation (S.O.B.S.I.), having a membership of over 1,200,000, which took

political form in the Indonesian Labor Party. Similar expansion was registered by the Peasant Union, and the Socialist Youth Party. These five parties joined together in the Left-wing coalition (Sajap Kiri), and, as a bloc, controlled 50 percent of the votes in the Parliament.

Although the Republic began many praiseworthy ventures, both in its internal reforms and its international relations, these efforts have been unsuccessful, because of vital weaknesses within the Republic. The Republic lacked a program which would satisfy the foreign and domestic interests of the people, viz., internationally, to conduct an anti-imperialist struggle for independence that would merge with the liberation movement of Asia; and, internally, to carry out a minimum program of agrarian reform and improvement of the conditions of the people. The Indonesian people lacked a strong anti-imperialist movement to project such a program and assure its success in day-to-day activities involving the broadest masses, particularly the workers and peasants, until the spring of 1948.

Republican policy has been closely associated with Soetan Sjahrir. He has been Premier of the Indonesian Republic several times, its spokesman in the Security Council meetings and the New Delhi Asian Conference of 1947. He subsequently became chief advisor to the President of the Republic, Achmed Soekarno. Although professing to be a Socialist, Sjahrir was expelled from the Indo-

nesian Socialist Party (P.S.) for his "attitude of compromise with imperialism." Sjahrir's thesis is that the U.S. "is now by far the greatest power in the Pacific," and "though we exert ourselves to the utmost we shall not have sufficient power to cause the collapse of this [capitalist] world."

This view illustrates the line of defeatism and capitulation which have characterized the policy of the Indonesian Republic in times of critical struggle. The Republic generally, in accepting Sjahrir's thesis and guidance, has failed to give proper weight to the assets of the Indonesian struggle, or full significance to the intense imperialist rivalry for domination of Indonesia. Efforts have been put forward, not without some success, to isolate the Indonesian struggle from the Asian liberation movement as a whole. Some Indonesian leaders, in seeking to establish an "acceptable" bourgeois state, put the Indonesian people at the mercy of imperialism, and jeopardized the very existence of the Republic. Thus, Leftist terminology and lip service to socialism have served merely to conceal vital concessions made to imperialism.

INDEPENDENCE IS BETRAYED; LIBERATION MOVEMENT DEVELOPS

July 1947 marks a turning point in the Indonesian struggle for independence. This was the period of the first successful military action undertaken by the Dutch. It was the first time that a major break occurred in the

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previously united front of all Indonesian parties around the program of the Republic. The Left-wing coalition (Sajap Kiri) forced the resignation of Sjahrir because of his concessions to the Dutch. This split over whether to accede to Dutch demands—which would have meant surrender of Indonesian control of its armed forces—in the hope of U.S. loans, or resolutely to resist Dutch pressure regardless of U.S. imperialist reactions, crossed all party lines.

Prior to the Renville Agreement in January 1948, the United States, through its decisive position in the "Committee of Good Offices," skillfully played one Indonesian party against another through threats and bribes. U.S. diplomats led some Indonesian leaders to believe (as they were only too willing to believe) that if the Republic signed the Renville Agreement, the United States would check the Netherlands from further aggression.

Just *six days* after the Agreement was signed, the Sjarifoeddin Government was overthrown by a coalition of the reactionary wing of the Moslem and Nationalist parties. U.S. imperialism, having found so-called reliable Indonesian elements—namely those prepared to make substantial concessions to the Dutch to curry American favor—had demanded that the Indonesian Republic be put in "responsible" hands. The Nationalist-Moslem coalition which ousted the previous government for having signed the Renville Agreement, promptly announced that it

considered itself bound by the Agreement, and, further, considered it an acceptable working basis for the establishment of lasting peace between Indonesia and the Netherlands!

Sentiment in Indonesia was so strong against Renville that the people began to exert pressure for a new course of action particularly on the Left-wing parties. An examination of speeches by President Soekarno and Vice-President Mohammed Hatta (Premier of the Nationalist-Moslem government) indicates that they used their utmost persuasion to keep the population from becoming restive.

By the spring of 1948, the Left-wing parties began a serious reevaluation of their positions on Renville, and of the ground which had to be traversed to reach full independence.

The Communist Party (P.K.I.), emerging from twenty years of underground activity in October 1945, faced many problems, the greatest of which was learning how to win over and mobilize the masses for action in the unprecedented Indonesian circumstances of the struggle for independence. The P.K.I., which had supported the previous policies of the Republic (together with the four other parties making up the Left-wing coalition, Sajap Kiri), recognized the dangers inherent in the Hatta government. This government was completely under the influence of the United States. In following the directives of American imperialism, the Hatta government attempted to transform the Indonesian Re-

public from the center of the independence movement, into an American satellite state. By the summer of 1948, the Indonesian Communist Party took the initiative in formulating a policy to unite all progressive elements in Indonesia.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT

In the course of this clarification, Sjahrifoeddin, Premier of the Government which signed the Renville Agreement, repudiated the Agreement as an imperialist manocuver to deprive Indonesia of independence by quasi-legal methods. All the Left-wing parties joined with the Communist Party to form the People's Democratic Front (F.D.R.) The F.D.R. proposed a joint conference to the Nationalist, Moslem, and other Right-wing parties to map out a comprehensive program for defense of Indonesian independence and to repudiate the policy of capitulation which had brought Indonesia to the brink of ruin.

U.S. imperialism, recognizing the militant mood of the Indonesian people at this point and the positive leadership which the F.D.R. was providing, and the mass support it was winning, demanded that the Hatta government take action to restrain the F.D.R. Otherwise, the United States "doubted" if it could hold back the Dutch from taking action against the Republic. The Hatta Government did not need much persuasion, for it saw that the program of the F.D.R. was favorably received

throughout Indonesia, and that the Conference called by the F.D.R. for the beginning of October would result in shifting the political balance in favor of militant anti-imperialist policies.

Three weeks before the October Conference, the Trotskyite Siliwangi Division of the Indonesian Republican Army kidnapped sixty pro-F.D.R. officers of the Republican Army in Solo, Java. The Hatta government approved this provocation. The Trotskyites abandoned their pose of opposition to the Republic for its lack of "militancy," and now found common cause with the Hatta government to destroy the center of the anti-imperialist movement. The Republic had characterized Tan Malaka, Trotskyite leader, as a Dutch agent when his band kidnapped Sjahrir in 1946; he was released from his imprisonment for that offense in September 1948 by the Hatta government. This "unity" between the bourgeois-nationalist elements which had sold out Indonesian independence to imperialism, and the Trotskyite agents of imperialism in the ranks of the workers and peasants, whipped up an anti-Communist hysteria among the masses to cover up their own betrayal of the struggle for independence. The Trotskyites tried to destroy the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement, paralyze the functioning of the F.D.R., and, through terrorism, seize leadership of the masses.

F.D.R. leaders toured the country to explain the program of the com-

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ing Conference, and warned the people against the Hatta government-directed campaign of intimidation and provocation. A mass demonstration was called by the F.D.R. in Madioen, Java, for September 18, 1948. The Hatta government declared that a "Communist revolt" had broken out, and ordered the Republican Army to "suppress the revolt." Forty thousand people were killed or wounded by the Army in these operations. The government ordered the mass arrest of leading people in the various component organizations of the F.D.R. Simultaneously with the Republican campaign, the Dutch rounded up all persons in territory under their control who were suspected of having "Communist ideas."

HATTA GOVERNMENT: IMPERIALIST TOOL

In attempting to give final proof of its loyalty to U.S. Big Business interests by its campaign against the F.D.R., the Hatta government not only weakened the trade unions and progressive political parties in Indonesia; it laid itself open to swift military invasion by the Dutch. Imperialist Holland did not hesitate to use the opportunity. On December 19, 1948, the Dutch started a military campaign which culminated in the seizure of remaining key points held by the Republic and in the imprisonment of all leading Republicans.

The United States, after calling the Security Council in emergency session, concluded the Council deliberations on January 29, 1949, with a

resolution calling upon the Netherlands to set up a United States of Indonesia under Dutch auspices, as part of a Dutch-Indonesian Union by 1950, "if possible." A Soviet resolution demanding withdrawal of Dutch troops to pre-attack positions failed to pass because the entire imperialist Western Bloc, led by the United States, abstained from voting.

The Indonesian people, and it is to be hoped, some of the leaders of the Indonesian Republic, will learn from this bitter experience that imperialist commitments between Holland and the United States, or among other imperialists, for an anti-Soviet war will at all times supersede their pledges to the Indonesian Republic, regardless of the basis or international legality of those commitments. The entire Indonesian question, together with that of all colonial Asia, has to be viewed in the context of the projected "Eastern Union," which, along with the "Western Union," is marked out for its role in the United States imperialist policy for world domination. One need only point to the proposal for such an Asian bloc, to include India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, Vietnam, and Indonesia, made by Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Delegate to the United Nations, on February 14, 1949, who, the Associated Press reported, called for "a regional organization of all 'free, democratic, non-Communist nations of Asia' . . . to push back the tide of Communism in the Orient." (*New York Times*, February 15, 1949.)

The Hatta government did not hesitate to imprison and kill progressive Indonesians in its efforts to prove its "loyalty" to U.S. imperialism.

The Hatta government put the population at the mercy of the Trotskyite Siliwangi Division of the Army and other terrorists to prove its "stability" to U.S. Big Business. Matthew Fox, president and 51 per cent owner of the American-Indonesian Trading Corporation (which has a monopoly of trade between the United States and the Republican Government), candidly explained the Indonesian situation (as reported by Westbrook Pegler, February 1, 1949, *New York Journal-American*):

Last October, our State Department was concerned because the Dutch blockade has the people naked. I worked out a credit for \$5,000,000 for 12,500,000 yards of textiles. I wanted native-owned raw materials to pay for this. The State Department wanted to help the republic for the great stand it had taken against Communism.

In return for this type of "help," Republican leaders, Trotskyites and other destructive elements played Judas in behalf of Dutch and American imperialism against the most militant Indonesian fighters for independence.

U. S. IMPERIALISM IN ASIA

Nineteen Asian countries met in New Delhi on the Indonesian crisis during the Security Council discussions. The *New York Times* (Janu-

ary 25, 1949) editorially drew attention to the fact that "The throb of the emotions of hundreds of millions of Asiatics determined to be free and self-governing was not perceptible." The Asian Conference questioned the imperialists' tactics regarding Indonesia, but did not offer proposals that would weaken imperialist domination. On the contrary, following the line of proposals by the Indonesian Republic, the Conference suggested methods by which Dutch hegemony might be *strengthened* through creation of a United States of Indonesia under Dutch control. The deliberate exclusion from the Conference of Liberated China and Viet-Nam, as well as the exclusion of Soviet Asia, assured that the Conference would not advance the emancipation of Asia.

The Conference concerned itself primarily with the establishment of an Asian bloc aimed against the colonial liberation forces and the anti-imperialist struggles led by democratic China. Its aim was to present the United States with the foundations for an "Eastern Union" as worthy of Marshall Plan "aid" as the Western Union. The significance of this Conference lay in its efforts to consolidate the present leadership of the Asian countries against the militant demands of the people, particularly the workers and peasants, and their consistent anti-imperialist leaders.

The imperialist warmakers have by no means withdrawn from the stage, leaving "trusted" colonial

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agents in charge. On the contrary, having lost China as a stable base for operations against the liberation of Asia, U.S. imperialism is accelerating its drive to preserve the remnants of imperialist control over the colonial world. This was clearly revealed in the Inaugural Address of President Harry S. Truman on January 20, 1949. Truman's call for a "fair deal" for the "underdeveloped" areas of the world was a bid for strengthening the hand of bourgeois sections of the colonial people which will act to hold back the liberation movements in their own countries and co-operate with imperialism. The "fair deal" is directed toward "freezing" the political situation, that is, stabilizing remaining imperialist control over the colonial world either directly by the United States or through other imperialist members of the "Western Union." Finally, the ambitious Truman plan is directed at expanding U.S. economic control over Asia as is being done now through the Marshall Plan in Europe. This sinister scheme for world domination accelerates the proposals of Bernard Baruch that the resources of the colonial countries are indispensable adjuncts to the Marshall Plan in "stabilizing" Western Europe, and that the United States have a direct voice in the utilization of these resources, particularly rubber, petroleum, tin, and other vital, potential war materials.

U. S. imperialism has planned three rings of "defense" for "containment" of Asia. The first ring,

preservation of Chiang Kai-shek China, has already been broken. To mend this breach, all manner of imperialist manoeuvres are now in process to split southern China away from the rest of the nation in order to build a hostile front on the border of democratic China.

The second ring is a cordon sanitaire of military bases around the mainland of Asia to limit its access to the rest of the world, and leave it vulnerable to invasion from the Kuriles, South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and through Indonesia. Indonesia is the least stable link in that chain today. Through Dutch control of the Outer Islands and United States dominant influence in the Republic of Indonesia, an effort was made to pit one Indonesia group against another (the "Federal States" against the Republic, the Republic against the People's Democratic Front (F.D.R.) within its own territory) for the aggrandizement of the imperialists. Now that the delicate balance between Dutch and American imperialist control has been destroyed by Dutch aggression, the Indonesians continue their struggle against an unmasked imperialism.

The third ring consists of control of ostensibly independent Far Eastern nations, including South Korea, the Philippines, the Indonesian Republic, and occupied Japan. American backing of "co-operative" elements in these countries serves two purposes: to divert the liberation sentiment of the masses by "giving"

them a government of their own nationality which carries out imperialist directives to weaken the liberation movement; and to perpetuate imperialist domination of these countries' resources. The recent election in Japan, in which the Communist Party increased its representation from four to thirty-five seats in the Diet, shows the inevitable political trend in Asia, even in a nation under the absolute control of General Douglas MacArthur. The Indonesian Republic, now that its strategic territory is in Dutch hands, has been given a few square miles around Djokjakarta by the Security Council (if the Dutch honor this order). Such a Government would have as much authority in Indonesian affairs as the usual student council has control over a university's finances and policies.

The United States has permitted the Dutch to breach the Asian front of American puppets. Although the United States has objective financial, military, and political supremacy over Holland, it has not pushed the Dutch out of Indonesia. The Dutch, as part of their price for participation in the "Western Union," have demanded a free hand for unilateral actions in Indonesia. Thus, while the United States diplomatically decried the most recent Dutch aggression (financed by the United States), it did nothing to halt or turn back the Dutch. This hypocrisy was fully exposed by the refusal of the United States to support the Soviet resolution in the Security Council for the

withdrawal of Dutch troops to pre-attack positions.

TASKS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The bill for American imperialist expansion is being paid by the colonial peoples, the working class in the European countries, and the American taxpayers, particularly the workers.

Because the American people have been poorly informed about Indonesia and have considered the struggle for Indonesian independence a remote issue, in no way touching upon their lives, many moves by U.S. imperialism in Indonesia have gone almost unnoticed. The U.S. labor movement—whose top leaders are trying to sell the imperialist Marshall Plan and an anti-Soviet war to the American workers—with the exception of a few progressive unions, does not respond quickly and give positive demonstration of its international solidarity with the oppressed colonial peoples.

American progressives must begin to bring to the widest circles the full significance of the victories of liberated China: democratic China has shifted power to the colonial liberation forces, and American imperialists and warmakers have suffered a tremendous defeat. There is a need to demonstrate sharply that the American taxpayers' dollars, to the tune of six billion, that went down the rat-hole to Chiang Kai-shek China, and the billion dollars the United States has already given the

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Dutch for their Indonesian war, are taken out of the food, shelter, and clothing of the American people.

It is the responsibility of the labor and progressive movements to reach and involve broad sections of the American people in support of the struggle for Indonesian independence. The Indonesian people, fighting for their freedom, have a right to expect full support from Communists, progressives, and the labor movement in the nation which makes their enslavement possible.

Aggressive Dutch imperialism has stirred the American people to protest. Even leaders like Philip Murray have been impelled by mass feeling to go beyond the formal State Department "protest" by demanding that Marshall Plan funds to Holland be curtailed until Dutch aggression stops. Demands should be raised that the C.I.O. implement that position by refusing to sail ships carrying Marshall Plan goods to the Dutch aggressor, and other concrete positive actions.

Above all, the Communist Party has the responsibility to clarify the issues involved in the Indonesian crisis. That means, in the first place, bringing the facts about American involvement in the Dutch war to the

people. It means clarifying for the American people the heroic efforts made by the Indonesian People's Democratic Front to set Indonesia on the path of emancipation. Let the American people know that the murder of Musso, Chairman of the Communist Party, and other people's leaders, by the Indonesian Republic was perpetrated at the instigation of U.S. imperialism!

Today, the Indonesians are regrouping for offensive action to secure complete independence. Indonesian independence will be hastened if the American labor movement and American progressives extend full international solidarity. The broadest support must be organized to demand a stop to the present American policy of intervention and support for Dutch imperialism.

Cease all interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia!

Withdraw all imperialist troops and agents from Indonesian soil!

The Dutch war of aggression continues because of U.S. financial support, particularly through the Marshall Plan.

Demand an immediate end to U.S. aid to imperialist Holland!

No bar to complete Indonesian independence!

Ideological Basis of the United Workers' Party of Poland*

by Boleslaw Bierut

THE UNITY CONGRESS of the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party, said Comrade Bierut, is a great and joyful event for the working people of our country.

The political unification of the working class is the end of the long, militant path, rich with experience, traversed by the Polish working class during the past 70 years. The Polish working-class movement has reached this victorious stage through unremitting class struggle and by overcoming its internal ideological vacillations.

The platform of the Polish United Workers' Party will be based firmly and resolutely on the science of Marxism-Leninism, the only true inviolable principles, tested by the history of both the international and the Polish working-class movement — the principles leading mankind to Socialism.

The result of the seventy year struggle of the Polish working class is our new social system of People's

Democracy leading to Socialism. The result of this struggle is the present vanguard role played by the Polish working class among the people and in the state; the result of this struggle is the present Unity Congress. The vast majority of the people are paying close and sympathetic attention to the Congress.

Comrade Bierut devoted a considerable part of his report to a historical review and to an estimation of the development of the working-class movement in Poland, the formation of a Marxist-Leninist Party, overcoming the Luxemburg influence, the Party's struggle for working-class unity and against reformism and nationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, Comrade Bierut went on, had a profound effect on the working people of Poland. After Polish independence had been proclaimed thirty years ago, the Communist Party of Poland was formed by the unification of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the Left wing of the Polish Socialist Party. Despite ideological immaturity during the first years of its existence, the

* Report delivered at the Unity Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party, held in Warsaw, December 15-21, 1948. This is a condensed text, as published in *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!*, January 1, 1949.—Editor.

Communist Party played a great role in the struggle of the working people of Poland, mobilizing broad masses of the people to fight against the Pilsudskyites, against fascism, for peace and for friendship with the Soviet Union.

Comrade Bierut dwelt in detail on the work of the Polish Communist Party, on its struggle to form a united front of working people, and to expose the reactionary essence of the opportunist leadership of the Polish Socialist Party at that period. He analyzed the weaknesses and mistakes of the Communist Party, and pointed out that the penetration of enemy agents into its ranks led to its dissolution in 1938.

We certainly do not adopt an uncritical attitude toward the Communist Party of Poland, said Comrade Bierut. We are the Party of the Polish working class at a new historical stage of its development. At the same time we are the heirs to all the gains achieved by the self-sacrifice and heroic struggle of those who formed the ideological core of the Polish Communist Party and whose model in ideological and organizational matters was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The heroic traditions of the struggle of the Polish Communist Party are the corner stones on which we build unification. We also carry on the traditions of the fight of the Left wing of the Polish Socialist Party against the Right-wing Pilsudski

leadership, recognizing the great significance of their struggle for a united working-class front.

* * *

The Polish Workers' Party created in 1942 mainly on the initiative of the active members of the Polish Communist Party, based its program on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Polish Workers' Party was the initiator and organizer of the armed struggle against the Hitler invaders. In its struggle for Poland's national and social liberation the Polish Workers' Party always linked this struggle with confidence in the victory of the socialist Soviet Union over Hitler fascism.

The Polish Workers' Party organized and led into action the detachments of the Ludowa Guard and Ludowa Army [People's Guard and People's Army] which did considerable damage to the Hitler invaders.

On the initiative of Polish Communists, the Union of Polish Patriots was set up in the Soviet Union. With the assistance of the Soviet Union and the personal help of Generalissimo Stalin, the First Kosciuszko Division was formed which grew into the First Polish Army in the Soviet Union. Because of this real friendship and assistance of the Soviet Union, the Polish Army was able to fight victoriously on Polish soil shoulder to shoulder with the heroic Soviet Army and fought a victorious path from Lenino to Berlin.

Influenced by the sharpening strug-

gle of the Polish Workers' Party for national and social liberation, the Left trend in the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party which was demanding a united front also became stronger and more mature ideologically. A similar process took place in the Stronnictwo Ludowe [People's Party] where the Left elements gradually managed to get rid of the Mikolajczyk leadership. As a result of the concentration of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the people around the Polish Workers' Party in Poland and the formation of the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa [National People's Council], an important realignment of class forces began to take shape.

In this vital period, on the eve of Poland's liberation by the Soviet Army, said Comrade Bierut, vacillations which actually led to a distortion of the policy of the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa and to the negation of the leading role of the working class in the struggle for state power began to show themselves among a section of the leadership of the Polish Workers' Party. This tendency expressed a lack of confidence in the forces of the working class, a retreat before the desperate pressure of reaction and the petty bourgeoisie. But history has fully confirmed the correctness of the policy of the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa as representing the power of the people led by the working class. The capitulation tendencies found no support in the Party.

* * *

The defeat of Hitlerism by the Soviet Army brought liberation to the Polish people. The policy of the Polish Workers' Party—a policy based on the inseparable alliance between the Russian revolution and the Polish revolution—was victorious. The people's Poland was created on a wave of revolutionary enthusiasm, was created as a result of the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army.

The Polish Workers' Party, from the moment of liberation when it emerged from underground, was the initiator and the guiding force of the main revolutionary changes in our country, the organizer of the broad democratic front whose base already existed in the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa.

In the period after liberation, the Polish Workers' Party concentrated all its efforts on building a new apparatus of power. Party members were the first to work in the public security apparatus, they were the first members of the Polish People's Army, the first to serve in the new administration of central and local government.

The Polish Workers' Party organized the peasants to put the land reform into effect themselves with the help of the workers, thus extending the alliance between the workers and peasants and giving it a new content.

The Polish Workers' Party, relying on the support of the workers, brought about nationalization which was later made legal by legislation.

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It mobilized the workers to put their plants into operation and to guard them, to set up factory committees and trade unions.

From the very outset the Polish Workers' Party was able to direct the selflessness and enthusiasm of the working class, its released energy into active channels, for rebuilding the country, particularly the capital which the invaders had destroyed.

When at Potsdam, after the determined stand of the Soviet Union, frontiers were established on the Oder, the Neisse and the Baltic, the People's Poland was faced with the practical task of uniting the Western territories to the motherland as quickly as possible and resettling them with millions of Poles either from Poland itself or from abroad. The tremendous work, unprecedented in history, of resettling the Western territories was carried out successfully due to the selfless work of the Party organizations.

* * *

These great tasks were being carried out while a sharp class struggle was being conducted against the elements of landlord-capitalist reaction. Terror, sabotage and armed underground organizations were aimed at destroying the people's power which was just being formed and which had not yet been consolidated at all levels. But the Soviet Union's victory made it impossible for the imperialists to intervene openly and paralyzed

the attempts of Polish reaction to start civil war.

The activity of the Polish Workers' Party and the successes in the building and consolidation of People's Poland had a great influence over the working people, and helped toward the formation of an ideological platform for the other parties. The leadership of the regenerated Polish Socialist Party stood for a united front and co-operation with the Polish Workers' Party. The struggle of the Polish Workers' Party for a united front and working-class unity became the corner stone of the people's power in Poland, the basis for the consolidation of the alliance between the workers and peasants. The leadership of the Stronictwo Ludowe [People's Party], after it had broken away from the Right wing, became the rallying point for radical elements in the peasant movement. In this way a broad democratic people's front grew up with the Polish Workers' Party as the leading force.

The concentration of the democratic forces led to the exposure and rout of Mikolajczyk's party (P.S.L.) which was closely linked with the underground fascist movement.

Comrade Bierut then went on to stress how in these great class battles, the united front of the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party was consolidated in spite of the resistance of the Right elements in the Polish Socialist Party. The election victory of the united working-class

front leading the broad masses of the working people convinced the working class of the correctness of the policy of working-class unity and led to the rapprochement between the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party.

Summarizing the results of the Party's work prior to the Congress, Comrade Bierut said:

Striving for organic unity, both Workers' Parties have carried on considerable work to raise the ideological level of their members and the political consciousness of the working people. This work particularly deepened and developed in the struggle against the Right opportunist, reformist tendencies and the mistakes in the Polish Socialist Party, in the struggle against the manifestations of the Right, nationalist deviation of a section of the Polish Workers' Party leadership. In the struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideology, in the struggle to purge the Party ranks of hostile or casual elements, the unity of the two Parties matured, and it is this unity which is expressed at this Congress.

ROLE AND NATURE OF THE STATE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

The entire historical and revolutionary experience of the Polish proletariat confirms how correct and profound is the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Considering the question of the essence, class content and nature of the state under conditions of People's Democracy from the point of

view of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Bierut said: The fact that there was no clear answer to this cardinal question was the reason for many mistakes and distortions in the estimation of the historical period in which we are living. This estimation was often confined to regarding People's Democracy as a system which differed qualitatively and in principle, from the system foreseen by the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Some people have imagined People's Democracy to be a kind of synthesis between capitalism and Socialism, a specific kind of social-political system in which socialist elements and capitalist elements exist side by side on the basis of mutual recognition. Others, while recognizing that People's Democracy results from a certain temporary postwar relation of forces, were ready to reconcile themselves to this balance of forces in the hope that it would be possible as time went on to return to the prewar positions. Others again would have liked the new form of People's Democracy to continue forever as some kind of "successful" compromise, as a kind of bridge between the capitalist West and the socialist East. Finally, some people who wanted People's Democracy to be a road to Socialism, considered that this road was distinguished by some sort of special qualities which exceeded the bounds of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The conception of People's Democracy as a fundamentally specific and

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new path to Socialism was meant to go hand in hand with the political conception of the Polish Workers' Party as a party which was organizationally new and allegedly isolated from its predecessors and from its revolutionary traditions, a party representing a kind of ideological mixture of the Polish Socialist Party conception of "independence" and the traditions of class struggle waged by the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the Polish Communist Party.

There is no doubt that all these theories arise out of a social-democratic attitude. They are in one form or another a relapse to social-democracy and a return to the opportunist or semi-reformist tendencies in the working-class movement.

* * *

A review of the history of our working-class movement, continued Comrade Bierut, shows the great role played by the Party in the development of the movement, particularly in the period of the proletariat's direct struggle for power. The history of our working-class movement is simultaneously the history of the revolutionary party, guiding the class struggle of the Polish proletariat.

From the day when the first Social Revolutionary Party, known as "Proletariat" was founded, through the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, the Left wing of the Polish Socialist Party, the Polish Communist Party and the Po-

lish Workers' Party and right up to the time of the United Workers' Party, the forms and the names of the Party were changed.

However, all this time the question really amounted to the problem of establishing a party expressing a consistent and genuine proletarian ideology. For the proletariat has one, and only one ideology—the ideology of scientific Socialism, that is, of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle between the two trends of the Polish working-class movement was, in fact, the struggle between two opposed class ideologies—the ideology of the proletariat and the ideology of the bourgeoisie: the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the ideological influences of the bourgeoisie which permeated the working-class movement in order to subordinate it to the aims and interests of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie.

The Polish Workers' Party fought for a proletarian ideology in the specific historical period when the struggle of the proletariat for power was closely bound up with the struggle for national liberation.

Hence the peculiarities and the historically justified difference in the tactics, slogans and organizational forms which corresponded to the specific conditions of wartime, the specific conditions of the struggle against the Hitler invaders as the main enemy not only of the proletariat but also of the entire people.

But while fighting for national lib-

eration, the Polish Workers' Party did not give up the struggle for working-class power. On the contrary, it was the only party which inseparably linked the struggle for working-class power with the struggle for national liberation.

The waverings of certain comrades in the Party who tended to separate these questions from each other and to subordinate the question of the struggle for power to the question of national liberation, considering the latter to be the main question, undoubtedly represented a manifestation of opportunism and a departure from Leninist principles.

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At this stage the tasks of social and national liberation could only be solved on two basic conditions. First, the defeat of fascism by the armed forces of the Socialist state, without whose assistance neither the national liberation of Poland nor her social liberation, that is, the seizure of power by the proletariat, was possible; second, the alliance of the working class with the semi-proletarian elements of town and countryside, with the main masses of the peasantry and the working intelligentsia without which it would be impossible to maintain and consolidate the power of the proletariat.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the war was the basic factor determining the entire further course of the history of mankind. It was the

greatest victory of the Socialist state in the struggle against imperialism, and Hitlerism, at that time its most aggressive detachment. Herein lies the historical and class meaning of this victory.

Without the defeat of the imperialist Hitlerite aggressor which was brought about by the Soviet Union's victory in the war, both the national liberation of Poland and other nations enslaved by Hitlerism, and the conquest of power by the Polish proletariat when the country was liberated, would have been impossible. That is why the people's democratic state is the direct result of the historical victory won by the Socialist state over the Hitlerite invaders during World War II.

The second condition is closely bound up with the maintenance of power and consolidation of the people's democratic state. It determines the essence and class character of this state. People's Democracy did not arise as a result of an armed revolt aimed at seizure of power by force; it did not arise as did Soviet power in October 1917; it was the result of the victory of the Soviet Union over the armed forces of German fascism.

The entire state apparatus of Poland was at that time in the hands of the German fascist invaders and was the apparatus of their dictatorship. As German fascism was defeated, this apparatus in the occupied countries including Poland, fell to pieces. The underground bour-

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geois landlord organizations had prepared to seize this apparatus the moment Hitler Germany was defeated.

The combination of the liberation struggle of the mass of the people carried through under the guidance of the working class, and the victorious liberating march of the Soviet Army made it possible to build up the revolutionary power of the people on the ruins of the bourgeois apparatus. Thus, it follows that the People's Democratic state is the revolutionary power of the popular masses headed by the Polish working class.

* * *

Is it possible to regard People's Democracy as composed of two opposing social systems, as a static mixture of peacefully co-existing socialist and capitalist elements?

It is clear that such a formulation of People's Democracy is absolutely false. The history of social development knows no instances of the co-existence of antagonistic elements of social systems without struggle.

Analyzing the economy of People's Poland and the shape of its development Comrade Bierut said:

The task of the working class which is building the foundation of a new social system is to strengthen and deepen the alliance between the workers and peasants, the basis of the people's power.

As long as capitalist elements exist and develop, and small-scale economy

is left to the spontaneity of the exchange market, the economic roots of capitalism may put forth new shoots and capitalism has the opportunity of regeneration.

As long as the economic roots of capitalist exploitation are not fully dug out, capitalist elements will seek in every possible way to restore the old system of capitalist economy. That is why the working class must wage an irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist elements, must strive to liquidate completely all forms and economic sources of capitalist exploitation.

It follows from this that People's Democracy is not a form of a synthesis or stable co-existence of two different social orders, but is a form where the capitalist elements are dislodged and gradually liquidated while at the same time the foundations of future socialist economy develop and strengthen.

Developing the question of the essence of People's Democracy, Comrade Bierut said: People's Democracy is a specific form of revolutionary power which has arisen in the new historic conditions of our epoch; it is an expression of a new correlation of class forces on an international scale.

The October Revolution raised the revolutionary movement of the proletariat to a higher level, which it had not until then been able to reach.

The October Revolution [wrote Comrade Stalin] has at the same time created in the first proletarian dictatorship a powerful and open base for the world revolutionary movement, a base

such as the world revolutionary movement never possessed before and on which it can now rely. It has created a powerful and open center of the world revolutionary movement such as the world revolutionary movement never possessed before and around which it can now rally and organize a united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed nations of all countries against imperialism.

* * *

The historic victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, Comrade Bierut went on, has made a new, deep breach in the world system of the imperialist forces and created a new powerful foundation for the revolutionary, anti-imperialist front. The working class and its Communist and Workers' Parties everywhere headed the struggle of the peoples against the Hitler invaders. In this combination of the national liberation struggle and the class struggle, the class factor was the leading one. For in the period of imperialism, only the working class can consistently defend the independence and sovereignty of the peoples from the machinations of the imperialists.

The working masses, the working class enslaved by Hitlerism, and its political organizations had in the Soviet Army their class ally which not only brought liberation to the peoples enslaved by Hitlerism but which, by its very presence, paralyzed the camp of reaction and deprived it of the possibility of taking up arms against the revolutionary

movement. The presence of the Soviet Army was a guarantee that the imperialist powers would not decide the fate of any country against the interests of the people.

Under such conditions, the anti-capitalist revolution was able to take place without a revolutionary upheaval, without widespread civil war, without the use of violence on a large scale.

The specific feature of the development of People's Democracy in Poland was the fact that during the period of its rise, the administrative apparatus of the occupationists had been smashed and the state machinery of the Polish bourgeoisie compromised, crushed, and made powerless.

One must not forget, however, the cardinal historic truth—that this could happen only because of the presence of powerful class revolutionary forces which did not allow the bourgeoisie to capture power, but helped the working people to seize political power.

The working class of the countries where imperialist armies entered did not have such conditions, but we enjoyed such conditions when we linked the destiny of our country, our independence, our advance to Socialism with the Soviet Union, with the fraternal Soviet Army, with the Bolshevik Party.

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Dwelling on the question of the path of transition from People's

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Democracy to Socialism, Comrade Bierut said: The main laws of development governing our advance to Socialism arise from the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism:

Seizure of power by the working class which stands at the head of the popular masses.

The leading role of the working class in alliance of workers and peasants and in the democratic people's front.

Realization of leadership by the revolutionary political party.

Irreconcilable class struggle; elimination of big capital and landed property; offensive against capitalist elements.

But these general laws do not preclude specific, diverse forms.

Our particular way along the general path—not to mention the inevitable specific form arising from national peculiarities—is above all the outcome of the fact that we as a People's Democracy came into being with the help and support of the Soviet Union, as a result of the defeat of fascism in World War II.

People's Democracy in Poland is one of the specific features of the Marxist-Leninist path to Socialism, a path blazed for the first time in the history of mankind by the victorious proletariat of Russia. The distinctive feature of our path is that:

We were not threatened with imperialist invasion. On the contrary we had the fraternal, allied Soviet Army.

We did not become economically

dependent on the imperialist countries which would have led to political dependence, because we received the fraternal economic assistance of the Soviet state.

Lastly, we were able from the very outset to make extensive use of the experience and achievements of the Soviet Union in the political, economic and scientific spheres and in the domain of culture.

Thus, just as at the basis of our People's Democracy lies the selfless, heroic help of the Soviet Union, the basis of the distinctive feature of our path, compared with the Soviet path, rests on the all-round help of the Soviet Union and on the utilization of the experience and achievements of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, thanks to which we, within the framework of Peoples' Democracy, are able, in our way, to realize the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Peoples' Democracy as a new form of political power of the working people, headed by the working class, best of all ensures under present historic conditions, our advance toward Socialism.

EDUCATING THE MASSES IN THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONALISM

The political unification of the working class, said Comrade Bierut, will raise the consciousness, the spirit of selflessness and enthusiasm of the working people to a still higher level, will accelerate the tempo of our con-

struction and ensure a more rapid advance to Socialism.

However, the essential condition for the growth of this political consciousness is to educate the Party and the popular masses in the spirit of understanding the exceptional importance of international ties between the working people at the present new historical phase—the phase of new aggressive attacks by imperialism against the working-class movement, against the new democracies, against the land of Socialism, the U.S.S.R.

Drawing the correct conclusions from the history and experience of our movement, and combining this experience with an analysis of the present international situation, we must wage a particularly resolute and irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of nationalistic tendencies as a special form with the aid of which the class enemy will seek to retard our development, our advance, our socialist construction.

Concluding his remarks on the international situation Comrade Bierut said:

The hatred of imperialism and its "Socialist" agents for the U.S.S.R. and the countries of the People's Democracy is being intensified now due to the powerful consolidation and constant growth of the popular forces which are waging a struggle for freedom and peace throughout the world.

Only the nationalistic Yugoslav traitors broke away from the united

anti-imperialist front; by utilizing the machinery of state power they are impelling their country and its courageous peoples onto the path of dependence on imperialism. By becoming more and more dependent on imperialism the nationalistic Tito group in Yugoslavia is sliding down into the camp of those who are fighting against the international working class and the popular movement which defends peace and freedom.

The history of the working-class movement teaches us that nationalism is the most dangerous and concealed enemy of the liberating aspirations of the people and is a weapon in the struggle against the consolidation and unity of the working class. Nationalism is the opposite of real, profound patriotism. Patriotism is sincere and genuine only when it is international. It is impossible to be sincere in love of country without fighting for human freedom and social progress.

Absence of vigilance in relation to the nationalistic tendencies which are introduced into the working-class movement owing to the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements is a great danger which dulls class consciousness, Comrade Bierut stressed. That is why the struggle against nationalism, the struggle to educate the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the deep-going traditions of which the United Workers' Party is inheriting from its predecessors, is the main and cardinal duty of every Party member.

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PARTY AND STATE TASKS

The draft of the ideological declaration of the Polish United Workers' Party, said Comrade Bierut, submitted to Congress for approval, notes that the People's Democratic state, during the short period of its existence, has achieved the following successes:

Stable guarantee of the independence and of the frontiers of the Republic;

Rapid recovery of the country from the devastation caused by the war, rapid industrialization of the country, and expansion of the economic potential of the socialized sector;

The reuniting of the Western lands and their settlement; introduction of planning in economy and elimination of crises;

Abolition of unemployment, steady improvement of material position of the workers, provision of extensive opportunities for social advancement and growing participation of the working people in state administration;

Serious alleviation of the land hunger of the peasant masses and improvement of the living conditions;

Development of education at all stages making education and culture accessible to the broad masses;

Improvement of the position of the working women;

Provision of extensive opportunities for work and study to the urban and rural youth.

Basing itself on these achievements and first and foremost on the unity of the working people, a manifestation of which is the political unity of the working class, the United Party has set itself the great historic task of laying the foundations of the Socialist system in Poland.

To fulfill this task we must eliminate and overcome a number of difficulties inherited from the capitalist system, namely:

The existence of exploiting classes and their hostile activity directed against the national economy, the working people and against the people's state;

The economic backwardness of the country and the devastation caused by the war and the Hitlerite occupation;

The low productivity of labor due to this backwardness, and as a consequence the still unsatisfactory living standard of the masses;

The cultural backwardness of a substantial part of the population which we inherited from the rule of capitalists and landlords;

The presence of elements of bureaucracy in our state machinery, etc., etc.

The united working class, under the leadership of its Party guided by historical experience and by the teachings of Marxism and Leninism, will undoubtedly overcome these difficulties.

* * *

What is this main task of the

People's Democracy which we define as building a Socialist society?

It consists in creating conditions of well-being and culture for the popular masses that would correspond to the achievements of modern science and the natural potentialities of our country. Socialism is not simply a distribution of the fruits of labor produced by society; it is first and foremost the highest level in the development of the productive forces that can be attained at the present state of technical knowledge.

Both the victory of the October Revolution and the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. were based on the alliance of the workers and peasants. In Poland also, the People's Democracy must firmly rely on an alliance of workers and peasants to lay the foundations of Socialism in town and countryside; it is impossible to build Socialism in the town without caring for the development of the village, for increased agricultural output.

Comrade Bierut defined the perspectives for the development of the countryside as follows:

A stable guarantee for the well-being of the toiling peasantry and for a substantial increase in agricultural production is possible only under conditions of collective farming in the countryside effected in the form of producers co-operatives. This is best shown by the experience of the Soviet Union. Concrete forms of this co-operation, adapted to our conditions, will be created and deter-

mined by the Polish peasants themselves who will rely on the people's state and on the alliance with the working class, and who will become convinced from experience of the superiority of collective farming.

In the countryside as in the town, in agriculture as in industry, the main task is to increase the productivity of labor of the peasant by perfecting the means of production, by using machinery and modern agricultural equipment, which would make it considerably easier to raise the yield. One of the obstacles in applying modern methods of cultivation and production is the scattered nature of the peasant households. The only way to overcome this difficulty is to farm the land collectively and collective use of the machinery and agricultural equipment which cannot be accomplished by individual small households.

It is necessary to effect a steady and systematic improvement in the material conditions of the workers, so that together with increased productivity of labor, wages are increased and the general standard of living raised. Nor should it be forgotten that the rapid growth of industry must be accompanied by a parallel increase in the cultural level and professional knowledge of the workers.

Recalling Stalin's words regarding the decisive importance of cadres, Comrade Bierut defined the task of training and educating cadres as an important task of the Party.

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The propagation of knowledge and culture, he said, is the most important and, at the same time, most honorable task of the Party. To give the masses access to all the achievements of culture—through the construction of Socialism—such is the task of our Party.

Concluding his report, Comrade Bierut pointed out:

We are uniting as the vanguard of the Polish proletariat, as the leading force of the Polish people in their onward march to Socialism, as the Polish detachment of the international front of democracy and Socialism. We are uniting in order to lead Poland forward to the full triumph of social justice, to the elimination of all and every exploitation of man by man—to Socialism. (Stormy applause.)

Class Forces in Israel's Fight for Independence

by A. B. Magil

THE AREA OF ISRAEL is only slightly larger than that of Connecticut, and its population is smaller than that of the Bronx. Yet its struggle for freedom has an epic meaning which has affected world relationships and has stirred and heartened freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

PALESTINE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Basically, the problem of Israel as of all of Palestine is part of the problem of the Middle East. It is the problem of freeing this vast area from the grip of foreign imperialism, of releasing the forces of national and social revolution that can break through the feudal relationships which landlock the Middle East. The birth of the state of Israel and the struggle for independence it is waging is an integral part of this massive transformation.

The Middle East is the world's greatest oil gusher. It contains nearly 42 percent of the proven reserves of oil. American oil companies today own about 40 percent of the Middle Eastern reserves, and their stake is growing.

These oil buccaneers have intimate connections with the government, notably with the State Department

and with Secretary of Defense Forrestal. That they exert powerful influence on American policy toward Palestine and the Middle East has been abundantly proved in testimony before Congressional committees. However, the prevalent tendency to paint the portrait of this policy exclusively in oil is an oversimplification. It obscures the connection between the Palestine policy and American foreign policy as a whole and the underlying forces that shape both.

The Middle East was a major arena of power struggle for centuries before oil was first commercially produced there some forty years ago. This great area, which forms the land bridge between Europe, Asia and Africa, has been called "the strategic epicenter of the world." It commands the sea-lanes to India and the western Mediterranean channel to Europe. It is the bastion of the Suez Canal. And today it constitutes, apart from Norway, imperialism's only direct land and air approach to the Soviet Union. Ernest Bevin once aptly termed the Middle East "the throat of the British Empire." In 1919, this throat spewed bullets and bombs when the British used Iran as a base for military operations against the young socialist state. Today British

and American bases in the Middle East are preparing for a much larger edition of the anti-Soviet crusade.

THE JEWISH NATION

It is against this turbulent background, as an inseparable part of a gigantic oil empire and war base, that Israel and its problems must be considered. At the same time, the Jewish state and its problems have their own distinct character that sets them apart in important respects from the rest of the Middle East.

The Jews of Israel belong to one of the oldest peoples in the world, and constitute the youngest among nations. Though Zionism proclaimed the thesis that the Jews of all countries have throughout the nearly two thousand years since their dispersion constituted a single nation, with Palestine as their homeland, it was not the mystical bonds of the past but the brutalities of the present which brought into being the Jewish nation in that country.

Hitler made the difference. The spread of the Nazi terror profoundly changed the actual social, economic and cultural environment of the Jews of Europe west of the Soviet border. It changed this environment in a way that was common to millions, *forcibly uprooting* large numbers of them from Germany and the nations which fell under the fascist shadow. With the doors of most other lands virtually closed, hundreds of thousands sought salvation in Palestine. In the eight years from 1932

to 1939 inclusive, more than 200,000 Jews entered the country. The number would have been even greater, had it not been for the Arab-Jewish disturbances of 1936-1939 which the British used as a pretext for limiting immigration. After 1939 only the White Paper, backed by naked force, prevented new hundreds of thousands of refugees from entering.

Thus it was only in the 'thirties that the factors of nationhood began to mature—the beginnings of a stable community with a national market and a common economy within a territorial framework. Industry required workers in sufficient numbers, capital, and the technical skill to combine both in production. The 'thirties provided all three, the German immigrants especially bringing capital, technical knowledge and in some cases modern industrial equipment. This marked the first period of industrial expansion in the Jewish economy of Palestine. An even more rapid expansion took place during World War II, when capital investment and the number of workers doubled and industrial production increased more than twofold. This growth of the forces of industrial capitalism effected a decisive qualitative change within the Jewish community, transforming it from a colonization project into a modern nation with a common territory, economic life, language and culture. The maturation of this nationhood, colliding with the British efforts to short-circuit its further development,

generated the national struggle for statehood and independence.

THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The confluence of three factors made possible the birth of the Jewish state: the mass struggle within Palestine and the support it received from the peoples of other countries; the firm and energetic stand of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in the United Nations; and the Anglo-American conflict, which provided an opportunity for public opinion in the United States to press our government into voting, after much vacillation, for the partition resolution of November 29, 1947.

Bevin brought the Palestine problem to the U.N. in the hope of further entangling it in international conflict and endlessly delaying a solution. There is no doubt that the United States would have played along with Britain had not the Soviet Union boldly championed the national aspirations of both the Jewish and Arab peoples. There are those who believe that in Gromyko's historic speech the Soviet Union reversed its previous position and abandoned its position on Zionism. This is shallow thinking. The U.S.S.R., adhering to Leninist-Stalinist principles, *always* opposed imperialism in the Middle East, as elsewhere, and *always* sympathized with the anti-imperialist struggles of all peoples. Socialism is in principle opposed to all forms of bourgeois nationalism,

including Zionism. But the Socialist State was and is sympathetic to the efforts of oppressed nations to free themselves, even when those efforts are led by bourgeois nationalists who are never consistent fighters against imperialism.

When, as a result of developments in Palestine and internationally, the relations between the Jewish community and the mandatory power changed and that community moved toward resistance to Britain and toward independence, the Soviet Union necessarily lent its support to the national aspirations of *both* Palestinian peoples.

Soviet policy toward Israel is not based on ephemeral tactical considerations. The U.S.S.R. alone among the great powers has shown genuine friendship for Israel and fidelity to the U.N. partition decision because only its policy is based on that consistent anti-imperialism and defense of the right of national self-determination which characterize the whole of Soviet foreign policy.

THE JEWISH WORKING CLASS

The Jewish working class of Palestine came into existence, not through the draconic dispossession of free peasants from the land, as in England or most of Europe; not through the concentration of land ownership, as in Virginia; nor through the expropriation of debt-ridden small producers, as in other parts of the American colonies. In Palestine the Jewish working class was created as an agricultural prolet-

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ariat through the deliberate acts of middle-class immigrants who chose to work on the land rather than continue in trade or the professions. At first they worked for private capitalist farmers; later many were employed by public capital on co-operative farms. With the inevitable rise of industry and growth of building construction and transport the higher wages paid in these branches attracted some of the agricultural workers as well as new immigrants.

The labor movement in Jewish Palestine has also had a unique development. It originated among the agricultural rather than the industrial workers. The Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labor) includes not only workers, but individual co-operative farmers, self-employed persons in the cities who do not hire labor, and the wives of workers. Thus, perhaps 40 percent of its membership is non-proletarian. And if we exclude the collective farmers (members of *kibbutzim* who receive no wages), only about half of the nearly 200,000 members of the Histadrut are wage-earners. Another characteristic of the Histadrut is that colonization and settlement and the business enterprises related to them have occupied its energies at least as much as trade-union activity.

The Jewish labor movement was from the outset deeply imbued with a nationalist rather than internationalist ideology. One of the ways in which this expressed itself was in the chauvinist slogan of *kibbush avodah* (conquest of labor), which was used

to exclude Arab workers from Jewish enterprises. Moreover, this is a labor movement suckled on reformism from birth; whereas in other countries reformism arose after the establishment of the trade unions and the considerable growth of industry, in Palestine it preceded both.

These five factors—the petty-bourgeois social origin, the agrarian genesis of the labor movement, the large petty-bourgeois element in its membership, the Histadrut's deep-rooted chauvinism, and its reformist character—have shaped the development of the Jewish working class and its organizations. This working class has evolved so recently that even today, despite the considerable advance of industry, it has not yet outlived its petty-bourgeois origins, which the influx of predominantly non-proletarian immigrants tends to renew and perpetuate. And the collective and co-operative farmers continue to wield a large, and in some respects preponderant, influence in the labor movement and the Zionist workers' parties.

However, contrary forces have also molded the Jewish working class. With growing industrial development came strikes that increasingly shattered the harmony which the trade-union leadership sought to establish with the employers. An exceptionally sharp rise in the strike curve took place during World War II as a result of the rapid expansion of industry and the inflationary ascent of living costs.

The rising class struggle has also

been reflected in the Histadrut, where a Left opposition now commands the support of a substantial part of the membership.

One of the most significant war-time phenomena was the first joint strikes of Jewish and Arab workers. At the same time, chauvinist walk-outs against the employment of Arabs virtually disappeared. In the postwar period these joint strikes reached an even higher level, the largest of them being directed at British government enterprises and merging with the general struggle against British rule. The climax of this joint movement came in May 1947, when 40,000 Arab and Jewish workers in government camps and shops took part in the largest strike ever held in Palestine.

These struggles marked a momentous break with the ingrown nationalism and mutual distrust in which the workers of both nations had been reared. The sharpening class struggle and the closer inter-linking of the Arab and Jewish economies as a result of the growth of capitalist relations within both communities have also produced a trend in the Zionist movement toward Jewish-Arab cooperation. This is a minority trend and it has been represented chiefly by Hashomer Hatzair, a Left Zionist party with its base in the collective farms (it is now part of the United Workers Party).

THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE

The national struggle unleashed by the White Paper of 1939 has also

been an arena of class struggle. The issues of resistance or capitulation to foreign imperialism have tended to reflect class alignments. It is from the workers and collective farmers that the main impetus in the fight for freedom has come. A limited and inconsistent impulse in this direction also developed among the industrialists—often in the extreme chauvinist and near-fascist form represented by the Right-wing Revisionist Party and the Irgun, its offspring. However, the industrialists are not a factor independent from the commercial and financial bourgeoisie—or from the British and American investors in Palestine industry. In general the capitalist interests, bound by a thousand threads to their counterparts in the "mother" country, have resisted any move that might weaken this profitable relationship. On the other hand, the Revisionists reflected to some extent American capitalist influence, which was not averse to loosening the British grip on Palestine in favor of the American.

Not far behind the bourgeoisie in subservience to British authority was the reformist leadership of the Labor Party (Mapai), which controlled the trade-union movement. Through this Social-Democratic party and the Histadrut the workers were for years tied to the policy of the bourgeoisie—to collaboration with British imperialism. The symbol of this was the alliance formed in the world Zionist movement between the Labor Party chieftains and the Right-wing General Zionist, Dr. Chaim Weizmann,

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The White Paper of 1939 whipped the Jewish community into mass resistance and forced a rift in the marriage of the bourgeoisie and Mapai. From that time until today the Labor Party leadership has vacillated between the claims of the Right and the pressure of the Left. Within the party itself a Left wing crystallized as a result of differences over both class and national issues. In 1944 this Left wing broke with the Labor Party and formed one of its own, Achdut Avodah (Unity of Labor). It was this group that became a dynamic force in the Haganah and was largely responsible for the creation of the Palmach, the commando formation which was the best-trained sector of the Haganah.

But the path from resistance to the fight for independence was one which the Zionist leaders traversed most reluctantly and only after their best efforts to conciliate Britain and to dam the tide of popular struggle proved unavailing.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

The national liberation war which Israel has waged against the mercenaries of British and American imperialism has given the world new magnificent examples of the courage, initiative and skill that flood out of a people fighting for its freedom. The men and women of the formerly illegal Haganah, predominantly workers and farmers, joined with

the militant survivors of the Nazi concentration camps in forging and defending Jewish statehood. The popular character of the Haganah (even though in an earlier period it had been guided by a pro-imperialist policy); the major role that Left Zionist elements played in the Haganah's leadership; the absence of a military caste; and the relative weakness of the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus combined to give the army of Israel a predominantly democratic people's character.

The same cannot be said for the government in either its provisional or elected form. A coalition of the bourgeoisie and Social-Democracy, under the sharp prodding of the people, hesitantly picked up the pieces of state power scattered to the wind by the departing Britons. However, once the state was an accomplished fact, the capitalists sought to consolidate their positions within it and to compromise the war of independence through concessions to Washington and London operating behind the façade of the United Nations. One faction of the ruling class, fearing the strength of the democratic masses, tried to seize exclusive power through the insurrection of the Irgun Zvai Leumi a little over a month after the creation of the state. In that test of strength Prime Minister Ben Gurion found it necessary to call on the Left, on the Palmach, to extinguish the putsch. The Irgun did not lack apologists in the Right wing of the General Zionists and among the clerical leadership of the Mizrachi, the

religious Zionist party. However, the major capitalist elements preferred to achieve their ends in other ways.

Paced by the Laborites, who held the key government positions, the bourgeoisie was able to impose its policy of placing the economic burden of the war on the backs of the people. The tax system was modeled largely after the one in force under the British: 70 percent of the revenue is derived from indirect taxes, corporation taxes are considerably lower than those in the United States and Britain, and no levies have been placed on excess profits, gifts and inheritances. Price control is more shadowy than in World War II under the mandate; as a result, the black market and profiteering have flourished, and living costs mounted another 35-40 percent during 1948.

The course of Israel's independence struggle has been chiefly reflected in conflicts over two issues: foreign policy and the social character of the army. The latter conflict centered around the leadership of the army and the role of the Palmach. The Israeli bourgeoisie had the bad luck to achieve state power without a "reliable" military force at its command. Even before the proclamation of the state Ben Gurion set about remedying this situation. After various maneuvers he eventually succeeded in ousting the commander in chief of the Haganah, Israel Galili of the United Workers Party, and in dissolving in fact, if not in name, the Palmach. These were important steps toward remolding the army in the

image of the government. However, the struggle is not yet over, and the progressive elements still retain significant influence in the armed forces.

The most important test for Israel's government, decisive for the country's future, is foreign policy. Government leaders have repeatedly stated that in the conflict between East and West they want to pursue a path of strict "neutrality." There is no doubt that for the present they do not wish to align the country openly and completely with one side.

However, the world conflict is not geographical; it is between the forces of imperialism and anti-imperialism everywhere, between democracy and reaction, between the millions who strive for national self-determination and the exploiting few who seek world domination and oppression. In this context the very birth of Israel was an "unneutral" act, a taking sides with the anti-imperialist and democratic camp. And it was no accident that the creation of the Jewish state was opposed and sabotaged in different ways by the leaders of the world imperialist forces, the United States and Britain. The prosecution of the war and the resistance to the territorial amputation of Israel have further brought the Jewish state into repeated conflict with Britain and the United States.

Similarly, it is no accident that the establishment of the Jewish state and the defense of Israel's independence have been firmly supported by the leaders of the anti-imperialist side, the Soviet Union and the Peo-

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ple's Democracies. Thus, strict neutrality is a mirage; what strengthens or weakens Jewish independence tends to align Israel with one or the other side in the world conflict. And it can be said that to the extent that the government has attempted to achieve a spurious neutrality—as, for example, its silence on the question of whether the Soviet Union should be included among the United Nations truce observers—it has *taken sides against Israel*.

Second, even if the government of Israel takes no active measures to strengthen its bonds with the ruling circles of the United States and Britain, economic gravitation pulls it into the imperialist orbit. It can be pulled out only by determined counter-measures — measures which include struggle against the domination of foreign capital, against attempts to Marshallize Israel, and for closer economic, political and cultural ties with the world anti-imperialist forces headed by the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

The pro-imperialist orientation is masked by frequent insistence that Israel's foreign policy is based on the United Nations. Since the United Nations is itself based largely on American and British control, this statement is a pious figleaf for subordination to the dictates of foreign imperialism. The truce, with its apparatus controlled largely by Washington, has been one aspect of this subordination. Significantly, it was chiefly pressure from the Israeli army that on several occasions forced re-

sumption of the war to drive the invaders out of the country.

With the Soviet Union, relations have been formally friendly and correct. The attitude may be gleaned from an official press release issued by the Foreign Ministry on a press conference held in Tel Aviv December 26, 1948, by Aubrey Eban, Israeli representative to the United Nations. The release states: "Of the attitude of the U.S.S.R. during the Assembly Mr. Eban said that it had been based unswervingly on the actual text of the November 29 resolution. Such fidelity to a decision of the United Nations by a member state must be treated with respect." Respect! This is the only positive conclusion which the molders of Israel's foreign policy draw from the powerful and consistent support their country has received from the U.S.S.R. and its allies.

Toward Britain a policy of double bookkeeping has been in force. Britain is vehemently denounced as the arch-enemy of Israel. At the same time, no move is made against British capital even when it sabotages the war effort, as in the case of the Haifa refineries, which refused to resume production of oil. On the contrary, reciprocal delegations of British and Israeli businessmen are strengthening economic relations and opening new channels for the investment of what is called "Anglo-Jewish capital." This is part of the general drift toward the imperialist West.

In regard to the United States, the government's public attitude is to

pretend that a fundamental cleavage exists between American and British policy and to depict the United States, like the Soviet Union, as Israel's friend. Washington's frequent betrayals are attributed to a few diabolical pro-British State Department officials who are seeking to scuttle the "real" American policy of friendship for Israel. This has the effect of facilitating the American aim to replace Britain as the dominant power in Palestine, thereby strengthening the whole U.S. position in the Middle East. Politically, this aim has already been largely achieved. The economic invasion is to follow. And Israeli government spokesmen are issuing appeals to U.S. capitalists to "come and get it."

The situation is similar in regard to contributions from abroad. Four-fifths of these come from the United States, largely from American Jews. This fact has been converted into a Damoclean sword by the government of Israel and all the Zionist political parties. Concessions to American imperialism are defended on the ground that Israel cannot break its ties with the largest Jewish community in the world. This is patent sophistry. The Jewish people of the United States have more than once demonstrated their affection and support for Israel and their opposition to the bipartisan duplicity of their government. It is the Right-wing leadership of the Zionist Organization of America, and their loyal opposition, the former leadership, who counsel and practice subservience to American imperial-

ism. This leadership is closely associated with the reactionary General Zionists in Israel, whose party received only 5.1 percent of the vote in the recent election. Nevertheless, the Israeli government, led by a party that professes to be socialist, instead of appealing to the Jewish people of America to support the struggle for complete independence from imperialism, is by its appeasement policy helping immobilize them in face of the Truman-Dulles drive to convert Israel into a semi-colony of Wall Street.

The majority of Israel's people, however, do not favor a so-called western orientation, but an orientation on Israel's interests. That is why the Soviet Union is the most popular great power in the country—so popular that in the election campaign even the Irgun found it necessary to give lip-service in its platform to friendship with the U.S.S.R.

THE ARAB QUESTION

The entanglement in the imperialist web has been facilitated by the government's Arab policy. This policy is devoid of realistic national self-interest, let alone consideration for the rights of those who were to have been Israel's friendly neighbors in Palestine and a large minority within the Jewish state.

The Palestinian Arabs have more than once demonstrated their hostility to British rule and their desire for independence. On various occasions, however, reactionary leaders succeeded in betraying the people's struggles

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by turning them against the Jewish community. This tactic was facilitated by the pro-imperialist and anti-Arab policies of the Zionist leadership. Any discussion of the treatment accorded the Palestinian Arabs by the government of Israel must start with one fact of towering significance: *with relatively few exceptions, the Palestinian Arabs did not participate in the fighting against the Jews.* This was in contrast to the situation in 1936-39. The refusal of the mass of Palestinian Arabs to join the Mufti's bands, despite the reactionary pressure to which they were subjected, is a fact that was at one time publicly acknowledged and welcomed by Jewish leaders.

The Arab population of Palestine thus constituted a potentially great asset to the Jewish people and the Jewish state in their struggle against the foreign invaders instigated, subsidized and armed by Britain and the United States. The government of Israel, however, has done almost everything to transform this potential asset into an actual liability.

Instead of announcing that when a general armistice is established, the Arab refugees—citizens of Israel to whom full equality of rights had been pledged—would be permitted to return to their homes, the government has made it clear that few, if any, will be readmitted. To justify this callous policy—a policy which strengthens the hand of Arab reaction—it has been necessary to falsify history. The myth has been concocted

that the majority of the Palestinian Arabs attacked the Jews and that their flight expressed in the words of Foreign Minister Moshe Shertok, "a guilty conscience."

No less foolhardy from the standpoint of Jewish national interests is the Israeli government's attitude toward the fate of the Arab sector of Palestine. The U.N. partition resolution provided for the creation of two independent states, Jewish and Arab, politically separate but economically joined. It requires no profound understanding of the politics of the Middle East to recognize that a friendly democratic Arab state, apart from its importance to the Arab population of Palestine, is a necessity for the Jewish people and its state—essential for their economic health and military security. Yet the government of Israel has adopted an attitude of virtual neutrality toward the future of Arab Palestine. A government spokesman, commenting last September 23, on the Bernadotte report, which proposed annexing the Arab sector to Britain's synthetic puppet kingdom of Transjordan, made this astonishing statement: "The situation as regards the Arab part of Palestine appears to be too confused to justify any definite comment."

"Neutrality" on this issue, as on the larger question of foreign policy, means at best non-interference with the plans of Israel's enemies. For, needless to say, annexation of Arab Palestine by Abdullah, with perhaps a few crumbs of land thrown to

Egypt and Syria, would be a major disaster for Israel. It would mean British troops and bases at its doorstep. And instead of having as its neighbor a friendly Arab state, Israel would be encircled by enemies, its independence forced to cower before British military might, while American economic might straight-jacketed its future.

During the recent election campaign the Labor Party leaders sought to justify this policy and their hostility to the progressive forces among the Palestine Arabs by donning the demagogic mask of "peace." They cynically put the label of "the war party" on those who wanted to help free the whole of Palestine and implement the full U.N. partition decision.

THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

The organized progressive political forces of Israel consist of the United Workers Party (Mapam) and the Communist Party. Growing sections of the Labor Party membership, including some lower officials, also see eye to eye with the U.W.P. and the Communists on most questions.

The United Workers Party is not only the second largest in the country, but it holds important positions in the armed forces, the trade-union movement, the collective farms, and various other institutions.

The U.W.P. is a mass party with many militants in its ranks. It was formed in January 1948 through the merger of two Left Zionist parties,

Hashomer Hatzair (The Young Guard) and Achdut Haavodah-Poale Zion (Unity of Labor-Zionist Workers). The latter had been established in 1946 through the fusion of Achdut Haavodah and Left Poale Zion. Achdut Haavodah arose as a Left wing within the Labor Party, breaking with it in 1944; its strength lay among both city workers and collective farmers. Left Poale Zion, a much smaller group formed in an earlier split among the Zionist Social Democrats, was almost exclusively urban. Hashomer Hatzair, somewhat larger than Achdut Haavodah, had its membership mainly in the collective farms; in fact, the Hashomer Hatzair political party was created by the collective farm movement of the same name. In the united party all three groups continue to retain to a considerable extent their original identity together with certain differences in outlook. Not only for this reason, but also because neither of the three constituent groups is monolithic in structure and ideology the U.W.P. is a party of conflicting tendencies.

The platform adopted at the congress that created the U.W.P. declares that the party stands for the "revolutionary class struggle," has as its ultimate aim "the creation of a classless socialist society," and "will base its educational activity on the theory, the world-view and strategy of Marxism." But first place in its basic principles is given to the statement that "The party is united upon the recognition of Zionism as the

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resolution of the Jewish problem. . . ."

This attempt to reconcile Marxism and Zionism is of course not new. However, the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has nothing in common with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalism in any form.

A study of the program, history, structure, ideology and practical work of the United Workers Party leads to the conclusion that it is basically a Zionist, that is, a nationalist party, which has been strongly influenced by the advanced working class in Palestine and internationally. If, for example, we examine the ideology of the U.W.P. we encounter the non-Marxist theory that in the movement for socialism in Jewish Palestine hegemony belongs not to the industrial proletariat, but to that section of the agricultural proletariat which lives on collective farms, receives no wages, and is on the whole isolated both from the class enemy and the class brothers and allies. Thus the ideological leader of Hashomer Hatzair, Meier Yaari, has stated that "the collective farm movement is the core of the workers' movement in the country.

. . ." (*Tsvantzig Yor Kibbutz Artzi*—*Twenty Years of Kibbutz Artzi*, p. 11. Prague, 1947.)

The U.W.P. is not a party of struggle. Its excellent statements against appeasement of Anglo-American imperialism, for co-operation with the Soviet Union and its allies, for the creation of an independent, democratic Arab state, in defense of the democratic character of the army,

against various reactionary measures on the home front—are too often a glittering shell of words lacking the fertile content of deeds. This absence of genuine combativeness is part of the petty-bourgeois Zionist heritage of the U.W.P. Undoubtedly it was the effort to evade sharp conflict with American imperialism and its labor lieutenants in Israel that caused the majority of the party's leaders to reject a united front with the Communists in the recent election. The proportionate decline in the U.W.P.'s vote was largely attributable to this vacillating and opportunist policy.

Within the United Workers Party, however, there are forces that are pressing toward militant policies and joint action with the Communists. With the passage of the center of gravity in the national liberation fight from the military to the political and economic spheres, and with the sharpening of the class struggle, it remains to be seen whether these forces will be sufficiently strong and resolute to bring the U.W.P. into a common front with the Communists against official trends that threaten Israel's independence.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party is the only party which includes Arabs as well as Jews, and is based on the joint organization and struggle of the two peoples. In this respect it is the only truly national party in Israel, since all others exclude that group which today constitutes 10 percent of the

population and would become an even higher proportion if the refugees were permitted to return. The Communist Party is the only party which, throughout the nearly thirty years of its existence has unwaveringly raised the banner of independence and anti-imperialism.

Throughout almost its entire history up until 1943 the party was illegal and savagely persecuted by the British authorities. Until recent years it also had to face the active hostility of all the Zionist parties because of its opposition to collaborating with British imperialism and its defense of Arab national and democratic rights. Working under these difficult conditions, in a colonial country with an Arab majority and with a Jewish community whose nationhood was still in the seed, the party made certain errors during the period before World War II, which were also shared by Communist parties of other countries. These consisted of underestimating Jewish national development and failing to perceive clearly enough certain reactionary manifestations within the Arab anti-imperialist national movement.

Once emerged from illegality, the Party began to make rapid progress. However, almost at the outset of its legal existence, it was confronted by serious internal problems and had to wage struggles against deviations toward both Jewish and Arab nationalism. These struggles resulted in the separation of the Arab

and Jewish Communists into two distinct organizations (the Communist Party of Palestine and the League for National Liberation). However, under the impact of the national liberation war and the new responsibilities that came with statehood, and as a result of the untiring and unceasing efforts of the Communist Party, the original differences were resolved and the two groups were reunited within the Communist Party of Israel. This is a major achievement which strengthens the working class and the people, both Jewish and Arab, in their fight for national independence, peace, and social progress.

In 1944 the Party expelled a Jewish Right-wing group, which later organized its own party. In December 1948 this group, professing agreement with the principles and program of the Communist Party of Israel, was readmitted. However, in February the leaders of this group had to be expelled again when they were caught in an anti-Communist conspiracy with the terrorist Stern group.

In the past year the Communists have won an important place for themselves by their militant patriotism and clear-cut opposition to all appeasement of British and American imperialism. They have fought for a policy of friendship and co-operation with Israel's friends, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and have opposed mortgaging the country's independence and fu-

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ture to Wall Street. They alone have consistently combated all chauvinist actions in regard to the Arab citizens of Israel and have demanded a policy that would help create a democratic independent Arab state as Israel's neighbor. They have opposed reactionary domestic measures and have defended the interests of the soldiers and their families. They have helped mobilize all the country's energies for the war effort and have also organized aid from abroad. And more than 80 percent of the Jewish members of the Party and the Young Communist League have been either in the armed forces or in other forms of war service.

The Arab Communists, organized in the League of National Liberation, have covered themselves with glory as the only political force that opposed the Mufti's mob and the foreign invaders and led the struggle against them. It was the League of National Liberation which initiated in the Arab sector of Palestine, in the teeth of terror, anti-war demonstrations that won wide support among the Arab masses and stirred the admiration of the Jewish community.

The Communist Party was virtually the only party that registered a percentage gain in the recent election, increasing its vote from 2 percent in 1944 to 3.4 percent. Among the Arab voters it was the first party—testimony to the high political level attained by the Arab citizens of Israel as a result of their experiences in recent months.

PERSPECTIVES

Israel's national independence struggle is under the political leadership of the bourgeoisie, which utilizes reactionary Social-Democracy to obtain mass support for its policies. However, the Left forces in the trade unions and in the army have considerable strength, even though today, as a result of U.W.P. policies, only part of this strength is being thrown into the fight. It is inevitable that with the establishment of peace or a prolonged armistice, sharp struggles will develop around the major issues of foreign and domestic policy.

At the same time the fact that the working class of Israel is still strongly influenced by reformist and nationalist ideologies and has not yet achieved sufficient maturity to assume political leadership of the nation means that the danger is very great that Israel will be sucked into the American imperialist whirlpool. The military phase of the struggle has served to obscure the extent to which the United States has already established a dominant position within the Jewish state. Through the U.N. truce, mediation and conciliation machinery, through loans granted or deferred and the conditions attached to loans, through the American Zionist leadership and the funds they control, through American private investment, and through pressure exerted by means of various Arab states, the United States is extending its control over Israel.

Thus American imperialism has

supplanted Britain as the number one enemy of Israel and of all the people of the Middle East. We must evaluate the government chiefly by the extent to which it resists or capitulates to this number one enemy. While it would be a mistake to regard the strong official tendency toward national surrender as a completed process and to overlook the counter-pressures, it would also be a serious error to view the Israeli government as anti-imperialist. It is the people that constitutes the anti-imperialist force.

Israel cannot escape its geography and the politics of its geography. Israel can, however, escape imperialist vassalage, but only if it mobilizes to the full, not only its own internal energies, economic, political and moral, but also its allies and potential allies in the Middle East, in the countries of socialism and People's Democracy, among the American people and the democratic forces everywhere.

For the American people and for

our Communist Party the Palestine issue is an inseparable part of the struggle against the entire bipartisan war policy for world domination which betrays our national interests and makes America an object of distrust and hatred throughout the world. It is precisely on the Palestine issue that we have witnessed at various times the widest and most militant protests against our government's policy. Today the American Zionist leaders have succeeded in choking off most of these protests and covering the real visage of U.S. policy with silken hosannas.

Our Party, the entire labor movement, and all progressives face the task of renewing the fight, now on a different level, and organizing the broadest efforts among Jews and non-Jews to keep Israel from becoming Marshallized and Forrestalized. In the movement for aid to Israel, we also must devote special attention to assisting the working-class and progressive forces on whom Israel's future so largely rests.

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Toward a Democratic Land Program for the South

by Lem Harris

THE LONG-STANDING THREAT to democracy inherent in the semi-feudal plantation system of the South assumes today a more menacing form than at any time since Reconstruction. The unholy alliance of Wall Street finance-capital and the plantation Bourbons constitutes a partnership for maintaining this outmoded land system and also for giving support to every reactionary and fascist development in America.

This alliance of Southern planters with Northern capitalists is far from being one between equals. The Bourbons are completely dependent on Northern capital for continued loans on their crops and for the mortgages on their land. Every feature of the Southern economy reflects this domination of Wall Street capital—the lack of basic industries, the low pay of Southern workers, the super-exploitation of the Negroes, the survival of primitive methods of farming—all these conditions are evidences of the semi-colonial status of the South.

As in every colonial, or semi-colonial area, the bulk of those who work on the land are severely oppressed. The effect of the plantation-sharecropping system is disastrous to both the people and the land, making

the South what the late President Roosevelt called the nation's number one economic problem. Here slavery of the Negro people survives in a different but in certain ways no less barbarous form than before the Civil War, and inevitably the Southern white masses are also degraded by the oppression of their Negro neighbors. Impoverished homes, eroded land, intense racial oppression, these are the bitter fruits of the monopoly-nourished plantation system which call for its elimination from American life.

At the close of the Civil War solemn promises were made of land and work animals to all who wished to work the land, without discrimination. But all such promises were quickly betrayed by Northern Big Business which had an interest in restoring the slaveowners to power. To this day the plantation continues to dominate the cotton and tobacco regions of the old South. The 1945 Census shows that 40 per cent of the cotton acreage in the five main cotton states east of the Mississippi, and 46 per cent of the tobacco acreage in the four main tobacco states, are on the plantations. In Mississippi, where, in 1945, 69 per cent of the cotton acreage was from multiple-

unit farms,* a Bilbo and a Rankin can be elected, and it is no accident that the most plantation-ridden state is also the state where "white supremacy" has been vaunted in the most outrageous and arrogant manner.

A SEMI-FEUDAL INSTITUTION

The plantation system differs sharply from the large-scale farming to be found in other parts of the country. It does not depend on wage labor or ordinary farm tenancy, but utilizes a peculiar type of tenure known as sharecropping and share-tenancy. In the case of the cropper, the landlord usually extracts 50 per cent of the crop plus one-half of the fertilizer costs. The share-tenant gets three-quarters of the crop if he pays for the fertilizer, and supplies work stock and equipment. In addition to his agreed-upon share from both cropper and share-tenant, the landlord sometimes even makes deductions for the cabin and always charges usurious interest rates for any advances or "furnishing" he makes before sale of the crop. One study of such subsistence advances showed that the average annual rate of interest paid by croppers and tenants in 1934 was 37 per cent.

Sharecroppers and share-tenants have no legal rights to their crop. The landlords make a practice of selling it without consulting or informing them, and usually hold the

first lien on any and all the property the croppers and tenants may have as security for their advances. There is no written contract; the landlord keeps the books and forces acceptance of his accounting. Any white tenant who disputed the accounting would be driven from the land. Any Negro would run the imminent danger of being lynched. By such means, a million sharecropper and tenant families are held down to conditions of destitution, in numerous instances remaining permanently indebted to the landlord and kept in a state of peonage. By such means, croppers and tenants, together with their wives and children, are forced to contribute their labor with no recompense but the meanest subsistence.

Not only does the plantation ruin the people who work the land; it ruins the land itself. The plantation rigidly adheres to the single-crop system because it provides the readiest opportunity to exploit the croppers and requires the smallest investment in equipment. The planting of cotton right up to the cabin door, not even allowing space for a garden, although decried in every government study of the South, continues just the same. Without a garden, the cropper is forced to buy all his food at the landlord's commissary, or at a store designated by the landlord, at marked-up prices and at a usurious rate of interest.

The failure to rotate crops has thinned the soil and exposed it to wash, until today one-third of the old

* A multiple-unit farm is defined by the Census as one "in which two or more sub-units are handled as a single-farm enterprise."

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South is eroded. As planters move to fresh land, many former croppers and tenants are left stranded on the eroded land, "free" to subsist on a starvation basis. The high incidence of pellagra, rickets, hookworm, and other diseases of malnutrition are the inevitable penalties of the intense exploitation and poverty which characterize this one-crop system.

THE PEOPLE AGAINST PLANTER RULE

There are deep stirrings among the people to break up the power of the plantation and establish the democratic rights of the majority. There is hunger for the land and a need for help in obtaining it, in repairing the damaged soil, and in getting modern equipment to work it. Blocking such changes is the planters' power to oppress the Negroes and, as a result, to enslave poor whites as well. "White supremacy" is the main foundation of plantation rule. The ending of Jim Crow and lynch terror, outlawing the K.K.K. and convicting lynchers, will open the door for the Negro workers, croppers and tenants, together with the oppressed whites, to escape from the tyranny of the plantation. *The fight for Negro rights is also the fight against the plantation, and conversely the weakening and final break-up of the plantation is essential to Negro liberation.*

Full political rights, including the right to vote and hold office, are nec-

essary for the reorganization of the land on democratic lines. In the Black Belt area, where the Negro people are in the majority, they are ground down as an oppressed nation. Their majority rights include the right to reorganize the land and the government of the area in whatever manner they may determine. Self-government for the Negro nation in the Black Belt includes the full right of self-determination which is essential for a democratic South and for the freedom of both Negro and white.

Though the South has not as yet succeeded in shaking off the Bourbon rule, it has an honorable record of struggles by the common people against oppression. During the few years of Reconstruction when Negroes and poor whites occupied seats in all the Southern legislatures, they put through laws for universal educational facilities, libraries, hospitals, and other cultural facilities. They fought a losing battle against a return to power of the former slave-owners who promptly rescinded these progressive statutes.

When the Populist movement rose out of the West at the end of the century, the South became one of its strongholds. During its early period, Negro rights were championed. In Texas, two Negro leaders were on the state committee and united rallies of white and Negro voters were addressed by Negro speakers. The North Carolina Populists demanded "a secret ballot law, with a provision

in said law that will secure voters who cannot read an opportunity to vote."* The North Carolina legislature of 1894 included Democrats, 56; Republicans, 64; People's Party, 100. In Georgia, where the Populists once held a quarter of the seats of the legislature, the tradition continues to be a political factor to this day. Even Talmadge is careful to present himself as an exponent of populism versus "the big banker crowd in Atlanta."

During the past twenty years, the Communist Party has either led or been associated with every development which could contribute to Negro liberation and which could weaken the economic rule of the planters. The epic Scottsboro campaign aroused the whole nation and was a blow against the lynch rule of the planters. There is no more stirring chapter in American history than the heroic challenge of thousands of sharecroppers and farm laborers in the cotton fields who dared to struggle for better living conditions.

For nearly a decade the Alabama Sharecroppers' Union maintained the struggle against landlord oppression right in the heart of the Black Belt. One of its sources of strength was its close connection with steelworkers and miners from Birmingham which furnished organizational assistance. Then at different times it was affiliated with the National Farmers Union, and the United Can-

nery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America. At all times the Communist Party gave it assistance. Though all but a handful of the members were Negro, their struggles won for them the confidence and good-will of small white farmers over wide areas. In fact, through timely warnings from such friendly neighbors, many a raid by landlord gangs was met with effective resistance. Lives were lost on both sides, at the Camp Hill affair in 1931 and at Reeltown in 1932. In the valiant struggles which it fought, the organization realized a part of its demands, and dramatically called the nation's attention to the semi-feudal conditions of the rural South.

Other Southern areas, such as Arkansas, Missouri, the Rio Grande Valley, and Florida citrus groves, all saw organizing activities of Negro and white tenants, croppers and agricultural workers. All of them encountered landlord violence and fought back with great militancy.

These beginnings paved the way for struggles to make New Deal farm benefits available to croppers and tenants. For the most part, the planters arrogantly appropriated benefit payments as their feudal right. But in the later period of the New Deal, measures associated with the names of President Roosevelt and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, such as Rural Electrification Cooperatives, Tennessee Valley Authority, and Farm Security Administration, played a role in channeling some aid

* Anna Rochester, *The Populist Movement in the U.S.*, International Publishers, p. 60.

to the small operator. The Communist Party supported these constructive programs and helped to enlarge the benefits from them, while at the same time combatting the efforts of the large planters to gobble up the lion's share of the spoils at the expense of those who actually worked the soil.

Throughout this period, Communists have contributed to the rise of the Negro people's struggle to organize themselves and engage in political activity. The fight against the poll tax, which has reached nationwide proportions, the fight against lynch terror, the fight of Negroes and poor whites for the right to register and vote—all these campaigns are being pushed forward in the teeth of planter poll tax-Democrat fury. Communists have never let up on helping to arouse and organize the people in this struggle, because upon its outcome rests the hope of the South and the freedom of the Negro people.

Clearly, neither of the two old parties nor a bipartisan combination of them, will come within seeing distance of measures to eliminate the plantation. Both are tools of top financial circles which have a stake in continuing the plantation system. The reactionary majority of the Southern wing of the Democratic Party, in particular, is pledged to uphold the planters' rule.

Even though all the reactionary forces are united to maintain the status quo, the reconstruction of

Southern agriculture requires the breaking up of the plantation system and the redistribution of the land among those who work it, Negro and white. Those who now work the land without owning it must become full owners. Those thousands of small, debt-ridden subsistence farmers, who live on eroded and damaged land must be given access to the land held by the big estates. Eighty years of misuse of the land establishes the right of the government in the name of public welfare to buy up plantation land and turn it over on favorable terms to working farmers.

The Marshall Plan has been widely ballyhooed as a "relief" program to feed the hungry peoples of Europe, and the warmakers of Wall Street profess to be motivated only by the noblest, humanitarian principles. But the lie is given to these claims by the wanton disregard on the part of these "Good Samaritans" for even the most elementary democratic rights of the sharecroppers and tenants. The billions that are now being squandered for aggressive military purposes would be more than ample to electrify, mechanize, and reconstruct all of the small farms in the South.

SPECIAL MEASURES

In order to hasten the elimination of the plantation system, it is necessary to give every possible support to the croppers' and tenants' struggle to improve their conditions. Here

are some of the more pressing measures as related to the different types of small farmers which can be put into effect immediately:

SHARECROPPERS AND SHARE TENANTS

1. A written contract should specifically guarantee the cropper's or tenant's rights to:

a) Sell his share on the market freely;

b) Buy freely wherever he wishes, and where the landlord supplies the "furnish," specific protection against usurious rates of interest.

2. Where the landlord sells the cropper's or tenant's share, a written accounting with bills of sale to prove its accuracy should be provided with specific recognition of the cropper's or tenant's rights, whether Negro or white, to check the accuracy of this accounting.

3. Provision must be made for an acreage reserved for garden, poultry, and livestock for family use.

4. A lease should run for three or more years, with provisions for scaled-down shares paid to landlords in return for rotation and other soil building practices. The cropper or tenant reserves the right to leave at any time, and the landlord has no claim on his labor or property, specifically no involuntary servitude or peonage.

5. There should be established Federal credit facilities to provide loans for those croppers and tenants

desiring to become owners. The granting of such loans should be decided by local democratic committees, in no way influenced by the desire of a landlord to hold croppers on his land.

CASH TENANTS AND SMALL OWNERS

1. Lower rentals should be charged tenants, enforced by rent control laws.

2. A renewed and expanded Farm Security Administration type of loan program should be introduced whereby small farmers can obtain the facilities for modern farming and modern living. Such a loan policy should include the following provisions:

a) In the case of tenants, such loans should be for movable machinery, livestock and movable home facilities.

In the case of owners, the loans should also cover permanent installations.

b) When located on submarginal land, they must cover relocation on improved land. There should be an elastic repayment feature on all loans, whereby in years of short crop or low prices a smaller payment is required than in a year of bumper crop or higher prices. There should be no evictions, foreclosures, or seizures of equipment because of failure to make payments.

c) Democratically elected committees of local farmers, with pro-

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proportional representation of Negroes, should pass on and administer all loans.

3. A government program should make available the most desirable mixed fertilizers, at cost.

4. A land tax should be introduced which graduates the rate upwards for the larger holdings. Exemptions should be made for small farms operated by owners, with special care to see that the Negro owner's rights to such benefits are not brushed aside, as is often the case in those Southern states which already have homestead tax exemption laws on the books.

AGRICULTURAL WAGE WORKERS

These workers must be brought under the protection of Federal minimum wage and social security laws, and they must be guaranteed the right to organize and bargain collectively. All-year-round plantation workers often find that charges for loans, cabin rent, and "furnish" were figured by the landlord to total more than their share of the crop, and thus they often receive no cash at all for their labor. Such workers, as well as seasonal workers, must be guaranteed a minimum income payable in cash. This applies not only to workers on the plantations but also to those in the turpentine and labor camps. Peonage practices, based on "vagrancy" and "jumping contract" laws must be abolished.

GENERAL DEMANDS

Federal and state projects are urgently needed for health, education, housing, electrification, and flood control. Here, too, the stultifying influence of the plantation holds back progress as incompatible with its continued role. These demands for community improvement can unite all sections of the population in opposition to the plantation owners and their hirelings.

The place to start on a health program is the introduction of clinics in each township. Those most in need of medical aid lack the facilities for traveling to the county hospital, if one exists. Present clinics are temporary affairs, using storefronts, etc., and are only opened in case of epidemics or special health drives. The need is for permanent, well-equipped clinics available without discrimination to the whole community.

Regarding education, a law providing compulsory education up to the age of 16 for nine months each year must be passed and conditions established for its enforcement. North Carolina already has such a law, but it is not enforced. Such enforcement requires a program of enlarged and improved facilities, since in numerous areas there exist no facilities for Negro education. Frequently, Negro families are charged half the cost where school buses are provided, while white children ride free. Buses must be free for all and available to all. Another common practice is to

locate the Negro school on plantation land so that it may be under constant threat of being forced to move to a new location, thus discouraging the investment in permanent facilities. The objective must be not only the equal allocation of funds and facilities but, as with all other forms of discrimination, the ending of segregated schools.

Extension of the T.V.A. method of establishing flood control, cheap power, the development of soil conservation programs, improved agricultural practices, and industrial development are practical steps for the entire South. Especially in the Mississippi Delta area is such a giant project an urgent necessity for the protection of the thousands of tenants and croppers whose homes have been submerged by recurring floods. There is also need to establish government-operated markets open to all growers or their agents, with no racial discrimination permitted with respect to use or location of stalls.

PROGRESSIVE COALITION

Clearly, this economic program stands or falls on the basis of the extent of organized mass support backing it.

This challenge to a corrupt and decadent planter aristocracy will encounter the opposition of the powerful financial circles which oppose any change. But it is late in history for landed aristocracies. Witness the new democracies in Europe which

have shown a way of eliminating large landed holdings and distributing them to families who wish to work them. In the case of the European democracies, those landholders betrayed their country by collaborating with rapacious fascism and inevitably an outraged people eliminated them with swift justice. Our Southern landlords also represent all that is backward and reactionary. In the past they organized a rebellion in order to retain their political power and the system of chattel slavery. Today we see them sponsoring the Dixiecrat Party pledged to "white supremacy"—the most openly fascist party yet to appear in America.

But the progressive forces exist, which, if united, could unseat the Bourbons. The Negro people, the labor movement, some farm groups and their cooperatives have been slowly mobilizing their strength. The key to winning this economic program is the building of a labor-led political coalition of all progressive forces which can unite on such basic principles as Negro rights, abolition of the plantation, land to those who want to till it, and modernizing the small farm. Spokesmen for such a coalition must drive home the truth that without struggling for Negro rights there can be no serious advance of the labor or farm movement; without upsetting the planters' rule there can be no political progress for the South.

The campaign to win the vote for those illegally disfranchised has

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gained momentum at each of the recent elections. The struggle goes on in every Southern state, including those which have eliminated the poll tax. The 1948 election campaign witnessed more widespread mass political activity in the South than has occurred since Reconstruction days. Over 750,000 Negroes in twelve Southern states ignored Dixiecrat threats and registered to vote. By contrast, there were in 1940 only 150,000 registered Negro voters in these states. The Georgia Negro registration increased from 20,000 in 1940 to 140,000 in 1948. In Texas, the Negro registration rose from 30,000 to 200,000.

Naturally, the bulk of Negro registration is in the cities where the workers have more experience with political action, and where there is more protection from Bourbon violence. But there was also a scattering of registration in rural counties, accompanied by a number of outrages committed at the instigation of the plantation owners.

Thus, in Montgomery County, Georgia, Isaiah Nixon will be remembered in American history as a man whose vote cost him his life. He received a number of threats before election day, but chose to ignore them. On election day, he was the only Negro to vote in that county. After voting, he returned to his home. Armed white men came to his house, called him to his front door, and there they shot and killed

Isaiah Nixon, the father of six children.

Another such victim of the white "supremacists" was Maseo Snipes. At the funeral, Mrs. Snipes led her son up to his father's coffin, and there had him swear that when he grew up, he would go to the polls and vote.

The campaign of the Progressive Party reached masses of people far beyond the official vote for Wallace. Active campaigning put the party on the ballot in every Southern state. In Georgia, 80,000 people signed the Wallace petitions. Negro candidates appeared on the ballot for state and Federal offices.

The attention of the nation was focused on Henry Wallace's Southern tour where in city after city of the deep South he challenged segregation and demanded the upholding of the Fourteenth Amendment which provides that the equal rights of all citizens shall not be abridged. He condemned the draining away of millions of dollars from the South by the big banks and corporations, a condition which he termed one of the main obstacles to the development of Southern economy. He proposed the taxing of those corporations which profit from Southern farms and factories and the expending of a billion dollars a year for four years in government subsidies for modernizing the South. He proposed that half of that amount should be used for the development of industries in the South, and half for the transforming of croppers and tenants into

owners, supplying them and other small owners with modern equipment, and restoring the fertility of their land.

These objectives, which the South and the nation need so urgently, can only be advanced by the building of a great progressive coalition, led by labor. Such a coalition will reach beyond those forces which are now building the Progressive Party and must include those major sections of the Democratic Party which oppose white "supremacy" and will fight against the Dixiecrat Party.

The whole recent history of progressive organizations in the South shows that they have suffered from mutual isolation, and efforts to penetrate the rural areas, for example, have so far not been adequately integrated with union organizing drives or other progressive urban movements. Thus, the National Farmers Union has in the past made several attempts to organize Southern farmers, albeit usually the middle stratum, and though the Farmers Union has long maintained a friendly attitude toward organized labor, most unions have been so steeped in "economism" that little attention has been paid to these rural organizing campaigns and little interest shown the task of developing a farmer-labor alliance. Only recently has there been a noticeable change in the more advanced sectors of organized labor, a greater realization of the need for winning their rural allies.

The Sharecroppers Union, which sought to organize the lowest income group, has passed out of existence, but many of its former members, who are still on the land, have pledged their support for a new and broader organization of the oppressed in the Black Belt. The Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Union has organized much of the tobacco industry, including many thousands of workers in the leaf houses which are located mostly in small communities in the Carolinas. The union has made a start in contacting farmers in the rural communities which surround the factory towns.

Here, at least, are the beginnings of a coalition of those who work in the fields and factories. Northern labor can strengthen the coalition by pressing for a real drive to organize the unorganized in the South. Thus far the C.I.O. has made limited headway with the exception of the organizing of important plants by the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Union.

Finally, the coalition must include the Communist Party, which has been identified for many years with the major struggles of workers and sharecroppers for civil rights and higher living standards. Today the Communist Party can make a signal contribution by grappling with the basic problem of the land and the working people of the South.

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