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*For Unity
of Labor and
the People
to Defeat the
Warmakers!*

REPORTS TO THE
PLENARY MEETING OF THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.
MARCH 23-25, 1950

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On This International Day of Labor

An Editorial

MAY FIRST 1950 will be the 61st year of the celebration of international working-class solidarity, given to the world in the 'eighties of the past century by the battling young labor movement of America.

In the six decades since the first celebration of this red-letter day of international labor, the proletariat of the one-time reactionary bastion of Europe has established, under the banner of the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which stands today at the head of the world forces of peace, democracy and Socialism. In the new-risen People's Democracies, the laboring classes have begun to usher in the era of Socialism in their lands. And, in that great Asian land of China, long ravaged by foreign imperialism, the people, 475,000,000 strong, have, under the leadership of their embattled Communist Party, inaugurated their People's Republic.

May Day this year is marked by a new, high stage in the epic advances of the working classes in the capitalist world, and in the unprecedented solidarity of the interna-

tional working class with the hundreds of millions of toilers in the colonies and semi-colonies who are surging forward toward their freedom.

Over the past six decades, the American working class has given ample evidence of its capacities to wage stubborn, militant class battles for the right to organize and strike, for the shorter working-day, in defense of its standard of living, against Open-Shop offensives and company terror. The great lesson that has emerged from all these struggles, which is summed up, symbolically, in May Day itself, is that of working-class unity, of the class solidarity of all who toil, against the common foe, the capitalist class.

These great historic traditions of the American working class are, on this May Day, besmirched by the deeds of the treacherous Social-Democratic and reformist top leadership of the labor movement, who have betrayed the movement to imperialism.

This May Day particularly, when American imperialism, bent on world domination, is the main threat

to the peace, security, democracy, and national independence of all nations and peoples, the American working class faces great responsibilities toward itself, toward history, toward the working classes and toiling people the world over. War-inciting, war-mongering provocations and interventions of Truman's H-Bomb "total diplomacy" State Department confront the American working class with the great task of vindicating the great international-solidarity traditions of May Day, of saving the honor of our people.

This May Day, American labor must rededicate itself to uniting its forces in defense of peace, in active, militant struggle against the brutal onslaught on the peoples of the Philippines, Malaya, Viet-Nam, Burma, etc., unleashed with the aid of American dollars and carried on with American planes, guns, tanks, and warships.

This May Day, American labor must rededicate itself to uniting its forces in solidarity with the embattled working classes of Marshallized Italy and France, who are facing Wall Street-incited police and military terror and the threat of neo-fascism and civil war.

This May Day, American labor must rededicate itself to uniting its force in resolute struggle to preserve its very organized existence, to defend its standard of living, to secure wage increases and a shorter work-week, to lessen the crushing speed-up, for equal rights for the Negro

people, against pro-fascist racism and anti-Semitism. An indispensable condition for preserving and strengthening the trade unions and defending the living standards of the working class, the farming masses and the people generally is the unity of labor. Labor must be in the forefront of the struggle to smash the pro-fascist offensive of Big Business and to defend the Bill of Rights.

* * *

The latest pro-fascist step in the United States is the re-introduction in Congress of the monstrous Mundt Bill. Alarmed by the growing peace movement and the increasing mass expressions of resentment against the disastrous foreign and domestic policies of its bipartisan representatives, Big-Business reaction is desperately seeking to clamp thought-control on the people and to silence every voice that challenges or merely questions its war program.

It is not without reason that the fascist-minded masters of our country, like their prototypes in Germany and elsewhere in the 'thirties, are unleashing their full fury at the Communist Party, true champion of peace and democracy. With increasing cynicism, in the postwar years, the monopolies of Wall Street have bared the capitalist dictatorship artfully concealed under the cloak of "democracy." And with each invasion of the democratic rights of the American Communists, this ruling class has driven its wedge deeper into the

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democratic rights of the entire people. The frame-up, persecutions, indictments and "trials" of Communists have visibly sapped the strength of the entire labor movement and have undermined the very foundation of the people's democratic rights. It is because, with all their Red-baiting, spy-hunting and "foreign agent" hysteria, they have not been able to win the American people for their war program, that the step of police-state desperation is now threatened—the pushing through of the fascist, un-American, Mundt-Ferguson Bill.

The readiness of broad sections of the population to act forthrightly against the Mundt-Ferguson Bill, once the alarm is sounded, is reflected in the public statements issued and the testimony submitted by numerous, varied organizations, and in many grass-roots expressions. But the campaign against this vicious measure, which would outlaw the Bill of Rights, has yet to be developed to the fullness that is necessary and possible. Enormous pressure must and can yet be brought to bear on both Houses for the decisive defeat of this Bill, which must be accomplished at all costs.

* * *

It is impossible for the American working class to wage an effective struggle on the burning economic, social and political issues of the day without simultaneously waging a powerful struggle for peace, for the outlawing of the A-

and H-bombs, for U.S.-Soviet negotiations to achieve a Pact of Peace, for recognition of, and trade with, the new People's Republic of China. The many burning issues confronting the workers, the Negro people, the poor farmers, are intimately bound up with U.S. imperialism's mad drive toward war and fascism. In its war drive, Wall Street is impoverishing the masses through colossal taxes, monopoly prices, and the slashing of real wages; it is intensifying its lynch-law repression of the Negro people; and it is attempting to extinguish all democratic rights through the setting up of a Gestapo Police State.

The unity of the people for peace on a scale hitherto unknown in our country is both urgently necessary and fully possible. For the first time in history there is an organized fighting front for peace that is truly worldwide, embracing a majority of mankind. On the First of May, thunderous demonstrations for peace will be held in the cities and towns, villages and hamlets of the farthest corners of the earth. The clasped hand of proletarian international brotherhood will encircle the globe, pledging unbreakable unity and solidarity against the warmongers.

In the Marshallized countries of Western Europe, particularly in France and Italy, the struggle for peace has reached a new, high stage. New, militant forms of direct struggle against war preparations—such as the refusal to produce war mate-

rials and the refusal to unload Atlantic-Pact arms shipments from the U.S. or to load troops and arms for war against the colonial peoples—are hitting at the very heart of the imperialist war preparations.

In our country, where the working class is considerably less advanced, millions of people have spontaneously expressed their profound yearning for peace, and the peace movement is growing. However, as of today, the peace movement develops too slowly in our country; it lacks the scope, breadth and depth that are possible of achievement; above all, labor is still far from playing its full role in the developing people's coalition.

For a qualitative advance in the struggle for peace, there must be *action* of a thousand varieties—petitions, rallies, mobilizations—on the many specific issues embracing the fight for peace. Peace committees and peace groups must be built in every single shop, department, work shift, union local; in every organization, church, and neighborhood. Only such diversified movements and specific campaigns can involve the millions in every walk of life: men, women, and youth, Negro and white, workers, poor farmers, professional people, city middle-classes, etc.

Only through initiating and building such movements and campaigns can there be forged in our country a mighty peace coalition, led by labor, and embracing individuals and groups of the most varied opinions

and political affiliations—but united in the demand: Peace! An end to the cold war and the preparations for a hot war! Outlaw the A-Bomb and stop producing the H-Bomb! For U.S.-Soviet friendship!

The consolidation of the American people's profound desire for peace into a powerful peace movement, headed by labor and taking its rightful place in the mighty and ever-growing world peace camp—this is the true expression of the great May Day tradition, the tradition of international working-class solidarity.

* * *

New currents of militancy are emerging in the labor movement. This May Day comes on the heels of the heroic miners' strike, which hurled back the combined force of the coal barons, the Taft-Hartley union-stranglers, and the Truman "Fair Deal" of injunctions and ultimatums of strikebreaking through militarization. The solidarity expressed in the material and moral support of the miners by wide sections of the labor movement, spurred on by the initiative displayed by the Communist Party and the Left-progressive forces, has given a powerful impetus to the growing sentiments for labor unity.

The kind of unity the rank and file of labor demands is clear and unmistakable: unity to smash Taft-Hartleyism and to win substantial pay increases and adequate pensions, unity effectively to resist the mad-

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dening speed-up, monopoly prices and the ravages of growing unemployment. The growing unity sentiment of workers in all unions—A. F. of L., C.I.O., and independent—evidences the setting in of disillusionment of the rank and file of labor in the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party.

This kind of unity, expressing the true needs and demands of the workers, has evoked new "unity" maneuvers on the part of the Murray-Green labor leadership. Murray's proposal for a joint committee of a number of major labor organizations and Green's talk about "uniting" the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. reflect this growing pressure from below and, at the same time, are designed to head off and dissipate the grass-roots sentiments for unity.

The workers should know how to avail themselves of Murray's enforced public recognition of the rank-and-file demand for unity. What stands now before the workers is to proceed to establish labor's unity—*genuine unity, in a genuine way*. Such unity will be tested by its help in the fight against unemployment, against rent de-control, for wage increases, against Taft-Hartley tyranny, for civil rights, for the rights of Negro workers, for the rights of Communist trade unionists, and for inner-trade union democracy. The workers will not be able to achieve this unity—the only meaningful, living unity—except through unity of action for peace, against the warmakers and their

labor-adjutants.

It is impossible to establish unity with Wall Street, to tie the labor movement to the war chariot of the imperialist-bipartisan warmongers—and promote the *unity* of the working class.

It is impossible to serve as State Department labor-agents in promoting the nation-enslaving Marshall Plan, the pro-fascist, war-inciting Truman Doctrine, and the openly war organizing Atlantic Pact—and promote the *unity* of the working class.

It is impossible to serve as agents of the State Department in splitting the World Federation of Trade Unions, expelling from the C.I.O. the unions militantly fighting for the interests of the workers and introducing into the unions the witch-hunt methods of the Un-Americans—and promote the unity of the working class.

Real unity can only be unity from below, unity of the working-class millions for a relentless struggle against the monopoly enemies of the people responsible for impoverishment and reaction at home and military intervention and the fomenting of war.

Such real unity can only be achieved in struggle against the Murrays and the Greens, the Reuthers, the Careys, the Dubinskys, etc.—the Social-Democratic and labor-reformist agents of imperialism in the labor movement.

The trade-union rank and file and

the lower and middle leadership of the trade unions throughout the country are justly concerned over the threat to labor in the attacks of the monopolists. They should now, without delay and with the utmost boldness, seize upon the unity proposals of Murray, as well as the earlier proposals of Lewis, to advance the movement for united labor action down below in every shop and local, C.I.O. and A. F. of L., especially in the auto, steel and other basic industries.

The May Day tradition this year can best be honored and expressed in effecting united labor action from below for the day-to-day needs of the masses, linked with the demands to end the cold war, to outlaw the A- and H-Bombs, to negotiate a U.S.-Soviet Pact of Peace.

* * *

The essence of the meaning of May Day, the day of world-wide proletarian solidarity, was long in advance of its inauguration given its high expression in the truly internationalist motto of the immortal founder of Scientific Socialism, Karl Marx: "No nation which oppresses another can itself be free." This maxim has an especially decisive significance today for the American working class to whom history accorded the honor of engendering the First of May. The central issue of forging unity to preserve peace places great internationalist responsibilities on the shoulders of the American working class. The extent to which the

American workers live up to these great responsibilities in the struggle against the American imperialist ruling class can be measured by the extent to which they occupy front-line positions in the struggle for Negro liberation and firmly press forward for the abolition of the monstrous system of Jim-Crow oppression.

The labor-imperialists, in the service of their Wall Street masters, have undermined the Labor-Negro people's alliance built up in the course of many struggles in the 1930's and in the period of the establishment of the C.I.O. That alliance must be re-established, with a greater force and breadth than ever before. The road to cementing a new, powerful Labor-Negro alliance is the road of struggle for the urgent needs and interests of the Negro masses, above all on the economic front: for jobs, for upgrading, against any and all discrimination in the shops and in the trade unions, for an end to the "lily-white" pattern adopted in numerous industries.

The fight for Negro rights—for F.E.P.C., anti-poll-tax and anti-lynch legislation, and against police brutality, segregation, and Jim-Crow—is a decisive and indispensable part of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, against the ultra-reactionary forces attacking labor and the people. It is an indispensable part of the fight for peace and democracy.

The Negro people, long suffering under the yoke of imperialism, cannot but be inspired by the true free-

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dom and full equality and brotherhood of the nations in the Socialist Soviet Union, which stands forth before the world as the uncompromising champion of peace, of national sovereignty, of true democracy, of the full equality of all nations and peoples. The Negro people cannot but gain fresh confidence in the inevitable victory of its national-liberation struggle from the glorious achievements of the invincible Chinese people's democratic revolution, and from the mighty anti-imperialist upsurge in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

All the bestiality of American capitalism in its imperialist, dying stage is vented with special force against the 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States. May Day is a most appropriate day for the masses of white workers to learn the great lesson embodied in the profound words of Marx: "Labor in the white skin cannot be free where in the black it is branded." Without the divide-and-rule strategy, the capitalist class could not maintain its domination—alike over the working class and over the Negro people. The white workers can advance their immediate interests and move toward complete emancipation only by undermining this strategy of capitalist rule, only by forging an unbreakable bond of unity with the nationally-oppressed Negro people. An essential and decisive condition for achieving Negro-white unity is the eradication of the cancer of white

chauvinism from the ranks of the labor movement as well as the elimination of the influence of divisive bourgeois nationalism from the Negro people's movement.

* * *

The Communist Party, the Party of Socialism, is the Party of true internationalism, the internationalism of the working class, the internationalism of the peoples. The Communist Party embodies and carries forward today the best and most vital traditions of the labor and people's movements.

The glorious traditions of May Day, under the present conditions of the acute peril of war and fascism, call for promoting the struggle for the unification of the working class; for imbuing it with consciousness of its indomitable strength and of its great historic role as the leader of all oppressed and exploited strata, as the defender of the true national interest against the destructive and treasonous imperialist bourgeoisie. The May Day traditions call this year for heightening the fighting spirit of the working class and helping it to assume a decisive and leading role in the forging of a broad people's anti-monopoly, anti-fascist peace front. And that is the task the Communist Party has dedicated itself to perform, which no terror can halt, no Foley Square frame-ups, no Mundt Bill illegalization threats.

The noble heritage of the Haymarket victims martyred in the strug-

gle which rang round the world and gave rise to May Day, should serve to inspire every Communist, every trade unionist, every progressive to greater resoluteness and determination in the struggle to reverse the Foley Square convictions, to defeat the Mundt Bill, to preserve the legality of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class, to keep Eugene Dennis out of jail, to stop the deportation terror and to put an end to the developing pattern of government by secret police.

On this Day of Labor, which the American ruling class fears and which it is endeavoring, with the

aid of its reactionary "united front"—all the way from the N.A.M. to the corrupt top leadership of organized labor—"to take away from the working class":

On this International Day of Labor, the voice of the toilers of our land should be inspired to ring out in brotherhood with the voices of the millions who will demonstrate for peace, for national freedom, for democracy, for Socialism—in the lands still under capitalist rule and under the imperialist yoke, and in the lands where the Socialist Sun is shining and where it has newly begun to dawn.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

Due to circumstances over which the publishers had no control, the April issue of *Political Affairs* has been omitted. All subscriptions will, therefore, be extended by one issue.

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

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New

Keynote Message of Greetings to the Plenum*

By William Z. Foster

TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Dear Comrades:

Greetings to the meeting. I wish I could be with you, but unfortunately for me I cannot. May I, therefore, participate a little by means of this letter?

Of course, it is impossible for me to try to evaluate our experiences of the past period or to discuss to any extent our policies for the coming period. All I would like to do, and that briefly, is to point out some of the newer aspects of the general political situation and to draw a few conclusions therefrom. We, as Marxist-Leninists, must be especially acute to take note of major new developments, as they foreshadow basic future general trends.

* * *

First, regarding the wage struggle: It is obvious from the strikes of the workers in steel and auto, and especially from that of the coal miners, that the struggle to protect the living standards of the workers has developed a new degree of intensity. This directly results from the more ex-

tensive war preparations and the worsening economic situation.

From now on the unions will really have to dig in and fight. This fact demands that we actively participate in all these struggles and that we develop all possible joint action pacts among the unions. Especially among the expelled Left unions must we build a strong bond of active cooperation. The economic struggle, from now on will constantly sharpen, and we must play our full part in it *at the grass roots*. The activities during the coal strike were a good beginning.

Second, about unemployment: This is rapidly becoming a decisive national issue. Even the government now admits that there are almost 5,000,000 workers without jobs. And the number is bound to increase heavily in the coming period. This means that we must pay close attention to this basic question, carefully working out our policies for organizing the unemployed and leading them in their struggles.

Let us remember our glorious traditions in this respect made during the great economic crisis 20 years ago. A special, new feature of the developing unemployment situation,

* The Plenary Session of the National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A., was held in New York City, March 23-25, 1950.

and we must realize its full significance, is the tremendous importance that it gives to social security legislation in all its aspects. The workers are now fully aware of the basic necessity of social insurance of all kinds.

Third, on the Negro question: The new element in this basic question, besides its great sharpening on the national scene, is that it has now become a major international issue. The brutal repression of the Negro people in this country is now being rightly taken in many parts of the world as the measure of capitalist democracy in the United States.

For their shameful treatment of the Negro people, the capitalist reactionaries are now paying dearly in the colonial world. This fact most seriously puts the American warmongers on the spot, with their fake pretense of being the defenders of world democracy. We must be keen to utilize this most favorable situation to advance the whole fight of the Negro people. To this end, the Party's present efforts to cleanse itself and the ranks of the workers generally of all manifestations of white chauvinism, is of real importance.

Fourth, on the defense of the Party: Party security is now of real urgency. We must be under no illusions as to the grave danger presented, not only by the "guilty" verdict in the trial of our leaders, but especially by the passage of the anti-spy bill in the House, and the

threatened passage of the Mundt Bill in the Senate. We must mobilize all our forces to fight this monstrous Mundt Bill as an urgent and immediate danger, not only to our Party, but also to the whole labor and progressive movement.

We must also tie in this fight with the general struggle against the many fascist trends in our country—Taft-Hartley Law, "loyalty" tests, attempts to smash the unions, and all the rest of it.

One of the new features of the whole capitalist world situation is the renewed efforts to revive fascism in order to prepare war to stay the advance of Socialism. This is the meaning of the recent moves to the Right by the governments in Western Germany, Italy, France, England, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand, etc. We must be fully conscious of this redeveloping fascist danger, in the United States and on a world scale. It is a key phase of the war program of American imperialism.

* * *

Fifth, on the peace movement. Here we face our most decisive political task, and I want to lay the greatest possible stress upon it. Under no circumstances should we neglect the mass struggles over wages, unemployment, Negro rights, and fascism; but we must recognize that these are all bound up with the fight against war. Everything depends upon our success in this all-inclusive key struggle. To mobilize

the masses to fight for peace should be the very center of the work of this meeting of the National Committee.

There are a number of important considerations regarding the fight for peace that I should like to comment upon briefly:

First, we must clearly realize that from now on indefinitely the struggle for peace will remain an urgent international issue. With the two worlds—Socialist and capitalist—now so sharply defined, it will take a constant effort to prevent their coming into violent collision with one another. This is because monopoly capital, particularly American imperialism, by the force of its whole structure is driven to the policy of attempting to halt the irresistible advance of world Socialism by war. Nor will capitalism abandon this war program until it no longer has the power left with which to make war.

Regardless of any agreements that may be made to soften the cold war—and such agreements are quite possible—nevertheless the war danger will continue to exist, with greater or lesser intensity. That is because of the incurably warlike character of imperialism, especially American imperialism. The war danger will last as long as capitalism does, and we must orientate upon this realization. Henceforth, more than ever before, the fight for peace must be in the center of all our Party's work.

Second, the American people do

not want war. It is a tragic fact that huge masses of them, perhaps the majority, have been convinced by the liars of Wall Street that the United State is quite innocent and the Soviet Union completely to blame for the present dangerous cold war situation.

But, while realizing this mood among the masses, as scientific Marxist-Leninists we would make the gravest possible mistake if we deduced therefrom that the American people also want war, as Wall Street definitely does. On the contrary, the democratic masses of the United States, like those in other capitalist countries, want peace. Especially now is their desire for peace sharpened up by the breaking of the American so-called monopoly on the atom bomb, and by Truman's announcement of the making of the Hydrogen bomb. This is what is new in the political situation, and we must pay the very closest attention to it; namely, the vast sharpening of mass peace sentiment in the United States because of this widespread conviction (for the reason stated) that another war, far from being the picnic-like affair for America pictured formerly by the war-mongers, would surely be a most devastating atomic war on both sides.

The American people want none of such a ruinous war. We must clearly grasp the political significance of this fundamental peace position of the democratic masses of the American people, and not be misled

by the powerful clamor of the immense war apparatus of American imperialism.

Third, the American people do not believe that war is inevitable. If they did, we would have been pushed into war long before this. While the American people, heavily deceived by Wall Street's war propaganda, widely believe that there is danger of war from "Soviet aggression," nevertheless they do not believe that such a war is unavoidable. This is why they respond so actively to every suggestion that is made to alleviate the present world tension. And now, with their recently acquired realization that the war would be a two-sided atomic slaughter, their urge to find a road to peace has become all the more intense.

We would be fools, however, to believe that the capitalists cannot eventually force the country into war in spite of this vague, unorganized mass opposition, unless it is thoroughly organized and made politically effective in fighting for a peace policy on the part of the government.

The big thing we have to understand clearly from this whole situation is to lay the heaviest possible stress upon our position that it is quite possible (as well as absolutely necessary) for capitalism and Socialism to live side by side peacefully in the world. Actually, the fundamental peace position of the American people, as well as that of other

peoples, is a tacit acceptance of this thesis.

For, only because they do believe it is possible for capitalism and Socialism to live peacefully in the same world do they respond so readily to every move in the direction of peace. We must be constantly aware of the enormous significance of this fact and bring forward with all our power the whole position of capitalism and Socialism co-existing peacefully and also tell them what is the condition for such peace—namely, the bridling of the monopolist warmongers of Wall Street.

A major point, it seems to me, in developing our fight for peace, is to focus our major peace fight around the most immediate aspects of the question: such as the holding of a meeting between Truman and Stalin, the fight against the H-bomb, the reduction of Marshall Plan "aid," the cutting of the arms budget in the country, etc., etc. These are the peace issues that the masses can be rallied around.

In our peace work, particularly in the development of the mass campaigns, we must, while explaining to the masses the full realities of the international situation, nevertheless always bear in mind that we are building the peace movement among people who have largely been convinced by imperialist propaganda that the war danger originates from the U.S.S.R.

Another new feature of the political situation is the fresh depth of

infamy to which Right Social-Democracy has sunk internationally in its lackey-like attempts to save world capitalism from its approaching doom. In no country is this Social-Democratic degradation more marked than in the United States, where the Greens, Reuthers, Murrys, Careys, Wolls, etc., in their subservience to Wall Street's war program, have become just so many militaristic war shouters, strike-breakers, union splitters, and government stoolpigeons. All this demands from us a much sharper political fight against Social-Democracy and, more than ever before, the development of the working policy of the united front from below.

* * *

In summary, let me remark that in all our work—in the struggles over wages, unemployment, Negro rights, fascism, and peace—we must be conscious that we have to do now with a definitely rising wave of militancy and struggle on the part of the workers. The general prospect is for a sharpening of the class struggle on all fronts. This is the most important of all the new features and trends in the present political situation—the increased fighting spirit of the working class. We must base our whole policy upon this key reality.

In concluding this informal letter, let me once again stress what I consider to be the greatest of all the weaknesses of our Party, namely its lack of systematic theoretical work.

The decay of world capitalism and the rise of world Socialism are generating a whole series of new, major theoretical problems. And the United States, with its leading capitalist role, is right in the center of many of these problems. Unfortunately, however, our Party is not tackling these theoretical problems as it should. This is a grave hardship to all our Party's practical work.

Undoubtedly, even with our limited theoretical forces, we could do far better than we have done in the past. I think the plenum should pay attention to this matter and take steps to improve our Party's work in this most vital of all fields.

Our plenum is indeed meeting in the midst of a most historic situation. World capitalism is suffering one defeat after another and world Socialism is more and more rapidly on the march. It is a most inspiring time in which to work and live. Our Party, situated in the heart of the greatest capitalist empire, is being buffeted about by the forces of reaction. But no real Communist will be appalled by that. Our Party can be fully relied upon to do its utmost to bring the victory of Socialism to its earliest and fullest conclusion. Let this plenum take active steps to recruit our Party membership from the ranks of the fighting workers.

Again wishing the plenum the greatest of success, I remain,

Comradely yours,

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Through United-Front Struggle to the Victory of Peace!*

By Gus Hall

I WILL ATTEMPT in my remarks to summarize the thinking of the National Committee on some of the questions involved in the struggle for peace. It should be stated at the outset that in spite of their illness, Comrades Foster and Stachel have given their valuable ideas, and that Comrade Dennis, in a very direct way, has participated in all these discussions. I should also say that only the shortcomings of this report are strictly my own.

PEACE—THE PEOPLE'S MAIN CONCERN

The single all-dominating issue that has emerged in the center of the world stage is the struggle for peace in general, and specifically, the struggle to defeat the reactionary imperialist drive of Wall Street in its attempt to conquer, enslave and subjugate the world.

The issue of peace has become the main concern of all peoples in all countries. The American people are no exception in this respect. No development can be properly judged

or estimated without taking into consideration this central question, which has truly become the one world-wide, all-embracing issue of the day. And as Comrade Foster indicated in his letter to this Plenum, this issue will be with us for some time to come.

We American Communists, the working class and the whole American people must fully recognize the grave responsibilities that flow from the fact that it is our country which has now become the headquarters for the world camp of war and reaction, that it is the ruling class of our land which now threatens to become the slave master of the entire globe. The policy of our government, doing the bidding of the monopolies of America, threatens the national independence of every country and people on earth. It is the armed forces of our country which are poised for attack in every corner of the earth. It is the masters of America who have now ordered the manufacture of the hellish H-bomb; it is this nation's finances, national resources, manpower, machinery and factories which now produce weapons of mass murder and destruction

* Opening Report to the Plenum on the Struggle for Peace.

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for the whole world camp of war and fascism. Arms made in the U.S.A. were, and still are, used to slaughter the patriots of Greece, to shoot the trade-union leaders of that land under monarcho-fascist rule, and to kill the heroic fighters for true independence in Indo-China, Malaya, the Philippine Islands, and elsewhere. It is American planes that fly over the cities of the New China and drop bombs made in American factories. It is the representatives of our country, the officials of the American government, who have become and are the guardians, the saviors and the rehabilitators of Nazi butchers, fascist murderers, and cannibalistic generals who manufactured and used deadly, crippling bacteria as a weapon against civilians, women and children.

We cannot forget that our land now houses and staffs the political, financial, military, and ideological headquarters of the world camp of reaction, fascism and war. America has become the arsenal for that camp. We Americans cannot ignore this ugly truth. Nor can we hide our heads in the sand. We must rise and meet this situation and fully face the great responsibility that flows from this fact. We have the choice of either meeting this responsibility now, by uniting and organizing to resist and defeat these policies of Wall Street, or of later facing the disastrous consequences of an atomic war unleashed by Wall Street.

Since our last Plenum of six months ago, the contradictions between the two world camps—the camp of peace, democracy, and Socialism and the camp of imperialism, war, fascism—have sharpened.

The anti-imperialist camp of peace has raised to new heights the fighting mobilization of the people to resist and defeat Wall Street's drive for world conquest. On the other hand, the imperialist pro-war camp has stepped up the tempo of its war plans, war preparations, and war provocations in all fields—military, economic, diplomatic, as well as ideological.

ACHESON'S CALL FOR "TOTAL DIPLOMACY"

Open, jingoistic, unbridled warmongering has become a common, everyday occurrence in American life. In the past, war talk had to be covered and sugar-coated with demagoguery, and only the "lunatic fringe" openly harangued for war. Now, more and more, we hear and read boastful calls by political leaders and government figures for the use of arms and for the dropping of atomic bombs. Warmongering has become an accepted fact in many quarters of our country.

Secretary of State Acheson leads the war pack with his call for "total diplomacy." Truman adds his war cry, "We must not rely on God. We must resort to our own strength." And Dulles chants the Republican

refrain: "Shift from the defensive to the offensive in the cold war." That there may be no mistake about the plans of U.S. imperialism to enslave the whole world, Dulles bellows at the peoples of the New Democracies: "We do not accept the present status quo in your country," adding: "Let us avoid the shooting war—but not at the expense of abandoning 700 million people." This is asking for nothing less than the "unconditional surrender" of the Soviet Union, China and the New Democracies. One can't help remarking that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

The new, advanced preparations for war are clear in the rising demand in Congress to deploy in all important parts of the world, ready for attack, the atomic bomb and planes in which to carry them.

The new stage in the field of military preparations is signaled by a number of developments.

1. The signing of the North Atlantic Pact was a bold step toward war, but the subsequent Arms Agreement and the actual distribution of these arms now under way to the Atlantic Pact countries in Europe come under the heading of war provocation. With the shipment of arms to Europe, Wall Street intends to kill a number of birds with one stone. These arms are for the purpose of equipping and training armies under U.S. direction for use as cannon fodder by U.S. imperialism wherever it needs them. These armies are designed for use

against the peoples of Western Europe, who are resisting Marshall Plan enslavement and expressing rising dissatisfaction with the fast-developing political and economic chaos spreading throughout the capitalist world. The Arms Agreement also provides a convenient though flimsy excuse for U.S. imperialism's shipment and stocking up of war materials and ammunition next door to the New Democracies and the Soviet Union.

2. The order to produce the Hell-bomb and the boastful announcements of preparations for the use of bacteria, new deadly chemicals and new discoveries in the field of radiology as weapons of mass destruction are symbolic of the all-out military preparations by the bipartisan war camp in the United States.

3. The ever-increasing size of the military budget is shown by the fact that by far the greater part of all the billions of dollars handled by the U.S. Government goes for war preparations or for the conduct of wars in one form or another.

4. While it is true that U.S. imperialism has been shipping arms to the foreign imperialists and their puppets in Asia before and after the Second World War, this is now being stepped up and has become the open, official policy, as admitted by the brazen Secretary of State. The official extension of the Truman Doctrine of open military intervention into the internal affairs of Viet-Nam,

Malaya and the other colonial countries in Asia whose freedom is close at hand is not "just another" step in the war preparations; it is a step in the creeping involvement and participation of the United States in actual warfare on an ever-increasing scale. In the field of military preparations, we must also take note of the rebuilding of the armies of Germany and Japan under the direction of the U.S. army brass, and of course, the continued stock-piling of the atomic bomb. This type of military preparations fits in only with a policy of driving toward war.

The war drive has also been greatly intensified in the field of diplomacy. This development has officially been heralded as "total diplomacy." Until a short time ago, the official bipartisan policy was to make noises like a diplomat, to feign a desire to come to an agreement. And if, under pressure, the representatives of U.S. imperialism had to agree to get together with the representatives of the Soviet Union, they had ways of breaking off the negotiations and then blaming the Soviet Union. Now the official policy is: No negotiations—no agreements. "Total diplomacy" is the diplomacy for the policy and line of unleashing war. It is the diplomacy of a stubborn and desperate aggressor. The truth is that this is an open admission by the State Department of the policy it has been following since 1945. The hard fact which we must not lose sight of is that if the present

aggressive policy of Wall Street continues, and if America continues its present policy of attempting to enslave the world, then war will not be avoided. The *New York Times* sees fit to print the following frank admission on this policy question: "But even if the Kremlin does not want war and will not start one for many years, this does not mean that there will be no war"—"and then it might conceivably be necessary to say, 'We have so far been containing you, can continue to do so. But the cost is more than we are willing to pay. We are sick of living in an armed camp.'"

Quite an admission by the *New York Times!* What does this mean? First you set up a bogey which you call the Kremlin, and feverishly pile up atomic bombs for "self-defense"; you try to sell the people a "bill of goods" labelled "Containment of Communism"; you sign up satellite governments for an Atlantic Pact of "defense," and then—when the Soviet Union stands revealed by its consistent peace policy, not as an aggressor, but as the bulwark of world peace, you then say, well, now that we've stacked up our bomb piles and got all dressed up for war, along comes the "Kremlin" and upsets all this by saying the world needs peace!

This "total diplomacy" also comes into the daylight with Project X. Total diplomacy is a policy of having diplomatic relations, not with the governments elected by the people in

countries where the people have taken the road to peace, progress and Socialism, but with the underworld, the gangsters, the left-overs of the fascist scum. The People's Courts of Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia have been doing a fine job of cutting off some of the "diplomatic" relations engineered by the Project-X, total-diplomacy "diplomats."

The preparations in the field of economics are also keeping abreast of the total war mobilization. The whole economy of the country is slowly but definitely shifting in the direction set forth in the Industrial Mobilization Plan. New plants are built, with an eye, not only to present production, but to quick conversion to war production. Industrial concerns already know, in general, what they will produce in the event of war. The decentralization of Ford, General Motors, General Electric and other industrial giants is not only being made with an eye to peacetime profits, but is so arranged that they fit into the scheme of wartime production. The country is studded with stockpiles of key war material. Research and technological know-how is fully geared to war production. The government and big monopolies are in joint partnership on this, as they are in so many other fields of war activity.

The atomic development is a big government "secret," but the fact is that the full know-how is in the hands

of the Duponts, General Electric, Westinghouse and Bell Laboratories. All the research and scientific brains are monopolized for war production, which explains why we make so little headway in research into such diseases as cancer and polio, and into heart diseases. Wall Street monopolies have taken over and reorganized the war industries of Japan and Germany, not only to extract huge profits, but also to work them into a plan of world-wide industrial war mobilization.

THE MUNDT-BILL STEP TOWARD FASCISM

And so it is in the field of political preparations. Each additional step toward war is prepared by a step toward fascism at home. One follows the other as night follows day. The "loyalty" oaths and the Un-American Committee indictments started with the Truman Doctrine. The Marshall Plan was soon followed by the indictments against the leaders of the Communist Party. The Ober and Feinberg Laws, and now the Mundt Bill, come with the militarist Atlantic Pact and the further extension of war preparations. Only last Wednesday, the newspapers announced the extension of the Truman Doctrine to Asia and simultaneously reported the sneak passage by the House of the "Little Mundt" Bill. The destruction of civil and democratic rights becomes as necessary as the training of an army and the manufacture of

bombs in an unjust, unpopular, imperialist war of conquest. How else can the people be forced to pay, suffer, sacrifice, and die for a cause that is unjust, that is against their best interests, that is against the interests of our country?

It is because of this that the fascist danger has increased in our country during the last six months, a fact that is most dramatically brought to us with the rush to pass the Mundt Bill. Comrades: We here, and our whole Party, must fully understand the scope and serious danger of this bill. This is not "just another" anti-Communist bill. This is the most serious threat to its legal existence that our Party has ever faced. This is the most serious threat to the democratic institutions of our country. This is a desperate attempt to institute and legalize a fascist regime in the United States.

Let us make no mistake about it. This is not just another repetition of last year's Mundt Bill. Last year the Truman Administration came out against the Mundt Bill. Even Tom Clark spoke against it. This year the Administration has not come out against this bill. The 12 to 1 passage of the bill by the Senate Judiciary Committee should sound the warning of the new conditions under which the bill now comes forward. This bill is a serious threat—but with maximum mobilization of the democratic forces it can be defeated. We must again repeat to the American

people that if this bill becomes law, we will not comply with it, we will not register under it, and also that we will not disband. Mundt Bill or no Mundt Bill, the Communist Party will continue to fight for its constitutional rights and will continue to give political leadership to the working class, to the Negro people, in their struggle for peace, economic security, civil rights and Socialism.

The hurried introduction of the Mundt Bill is the best proof that the American people are not supporting the war policy of Wall Street. The rush to pass the Mundt Bill is an admission of the increasing tempo of the peace sentiment and movement in America.

Another warning of the dangers of fascism is the passage of the "Little Mundt Bill" in the House with only two votes against it. This is a Truman Administration-sponsored bill. Here I think it is necessary to note something new in the tactics of reaction: the adoption of a combined Nazi blitzkrieg and old sneak attack as a legislative tactic. Without any previous notice, and after a very deliberate attempt to assure the people that these bills are not coming up and a lying campaign minimizing the fascist-like essence of the bills, the bipartisans sneak them into law. We truly need a Paul Revere to alert the American people against these blitzkrieg-sneak legislative attacks on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

During this same period, we have

witnessed higher Court reversals upholding the Ober and Feinberg laws, and, for the first time, in the coal-miners' strike, the Administration used the full provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. The "loyalty" oaths have been extended to private industry. These are all moves in the same direction, and when finally put together, they threaten to spell fascism, not in German, not in Italian, but in English with an American accent.

We have just been treated to two examples that show, in a small way, what a Mundt-Bill America would be like. First we have the Capitol-Hill McCarthy spectacle. Here a United States Senator takes everyone and anyone who has ever been for peace, for equal rights, against high prices and high taxes, or for Roosevelt's New Deal, or anyone who has crossed wires personally with McCarthy, Hoover or Mundt, and throws them all into an "undesirable security risk" group. The interesting thing is that McCarthy has not named anyone who, as far as we know, is for Socialism. The aim of this fascist-like spectacle is clear. It is to foment hysteria and fear throughout the country, to create a condition where no one will dare oppose any of the police-state or war measures that are coming up. Some of those mentioned by the "Charlie McCarthy" of Big Business have crawled on their bellies in asking for forgiveness for the past "sin" of having had some minute progressive

thought. This is not the way to defeat fascism. America must learn to unite and come to the assistance of all victims of these self-appointed thought-control police and to put the McCarthys and the Mundts into the Un-American, subversive garbage heap, where they belong.

Another dress rehearsal of a Mundt-Bill America was staged in the concentrated attack on the working class, the progressive movement and our Party in Western Pennsylvania. This is obviously a test case. Reaction is trying to smash the Communist Party by a concerted attack of stoolpigeons from within, and the Un-American Committee, the police, the radio, the press, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and the Right-wing labor leaders from without. The aim was to create such a condition of hysteria and mistrust that the Party would disperse. However, our Party in Western Pennsylvania is coming out of this struggle stronger, not weaker. The state leadership is drawing many lessons that will be of great value to the whole Party.

These are some of the new political preparations accompanying the war drive, designed to create a "safe" rear. These are the latest moves of American reaction toward fascism. We must understand and help the masses to recognize these moves for what they are—ominous steps toward fascism under specific American conditions.

Especially since the re-introduction of the Mundt Bill, there has been a growing realization in the public mind that these moves against civil rights are only another phase of the war preparations. This is very important. When the masses fully see this connection, then we can have a powerful movement, not only for peace, but against fascism. This is why we cannot approach the struggle against the Mundt Bill and other attacks against the democratic rights of the people in the usual "civil liberties" fashion. With proper work by the Left-progressive forces, everyone who is for peace can become a fighter for civil rights. And everyone who is for civil rights can be convinced to fight for peace. These struggles can draw strength from each other.

The ideological preparation of the American people for the imperialist war drive and for war has also been stepped up. In the very center of this campaign is the effort to create an ideology of the inevitability of war and fascism. It is the ideology of aggressive nationalism. It is the ideology of fascist-like white chauvinism. The radio, the films, the newspapers, television and the book-publishing industry have all been corralled and pressed into service for this campaign.

SETBACKS FOR THE WAR CAMP

From the above, it is not difficult

to deduce that the peace of the world is definitely in danger. The question may be posed: Is this due to a strengthening of the position of Wall Street and of the world camp for war which it heads? To this the answer can be, and is, a very definite NO. The indisputable fact is that the balance of power is tipped on the side of the world camp of peace. Further, it is a fact that the world camp of peace continues to become stronger while the war camp has received and is receiving a number of setbacks.

The capitalist world is beginning to feel the effects of a very severe and developing economic crisis. This crisis continues to develop in the United States, where its sharp outbreak is temporarily being slowed down by the war appropriations. Its tempo is much faster in the countries under the heel of Wall Street.

The effects of the Marshall Plan "aid" in France, Italy and Great Britain have been a lowering of the standard of living, cutbacks in production, and the speeding-up of the crisis developments. The Marshall Plan is having a boomerang effect in these countries and its bankruptcy constitutes a setback to the war camp. The peace movements in France and Italy have fast multiplied since the illusions about the Marshall Plan were smashed on the hard realities of life.

Among the setbacks for the war camp must also be counted the failure of Wall Street to terrorize the world

with its A- and H-bomb hysteria. The exposure of the fascist Tito gang in Yugoslavia and all their partners in pro-imperialist espionage and murder in Hungary and Bulgaria has further weakened the war camp. Even in Greece, where, with the help of Tito and the arms of America, the reactionaries were able to inflict temporary military defeats against the democratic forces, the people showed in the best way possible under very difficult conditions in last week's elections that they are not defeated. The head of the "victor" does not rest easily even in Greece.

The successes of the democratic people's armies and resistance movements in Viet-Nam, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines, and the rising people's rebellions of the 150 million people of Africa spell serious difficulties for the camp of war. And, of course, the biggest defeat, the most far-reaching defeat, is the complete rout and smash-up of the reactionary puppet rulers of China. They are temporarily huddled on the island of Formosa, but it is only a matter of time before they will be swept into the sea. These difficulties and setbacks bring with them additional problems of breaks in the unity of the war camp. As the difficulties grow, these breaks in its ranks will widen and deepen.

Such, in brief, is the state of affairs in the camp of imperialism, fascism and war.

THE PEACE CAMP ADVANCES

Let us now see what is happening in the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. Here we can record historic gains and achievements. For the first time in history, there is an organized fighting front for peace on a world scale, an organized peace movement that counts in its ranks the majority of mankind. At the head of this movement stands the Soviet Union, the inspirer and trail-blazer of the road to Socialism for all humanity. With the Soviet Union in close solidarity are the Chinese people and the peoples of the New Democracies, making a total of 800 million people that have taken power and elected governments dedicated to peace, democracy and the forward march to Socialism. This gives the world peace camp a very solid foundation. However, the partisans of peace is a movement comprising forces of many political and religious beliefs and stretching from one end of this earth to the other. In the capitalist countries, the most highly advanced peace movements are in France, Italy and the colonies. In refusing to manufacture guns and ammunition, in refusing to load or unload military cargoes, the working class of France is setting a new standard in the struggle against war in the capitalist countries.

The end of the myth of atomic-bomb monopoly was a tremendous blow for peace. The atomic explo-

sions in the Soviet Union have had a sobering effect on a lot of people, as have also the conclusion of the U.S.S.R.-China Friendship, Mutual Aid and Trade Agreements.

The world peace camp came into being to resist the aggressive policies and actions of U.S. imperialism. Since 1945, it has grown, it has gathered strength and consolidated its ranks, and now it is waging the most vigorous, most effective peace offensive in history. It is truly not just a peace movement, but a worldwide peace offensive. It has forced the warmongers to go on the defensive, and as Walter Lippman put it, it's "dangerously embarrassing."

The warmongers are getting a case of "peace nerves." The Secretary of State is constantly demanding that the people stop "badgering" him for peace. The whole ruling class was unnerved by the very good stunt on behalf of peace planned by a Post of the American Legion. The simple idea of opening a direct telephone line to Moscow resulted in an order for the investigation of the Post. The newspapers ground out front-page headlines and frenzied editorials. The radios blasted the idea as a "trap." It became an international incident.

The peoples of the world understand the new world relationship of forces. They are convinced that because of this new relationship it is possible, not only to dream about, but actually to *prevent* war. It is possible to isolate and frustrate the war-

makers and block the unleashing of a new war.

One might ask: Is it not a contradiction to say, on the one hand, that it is possible to prevent war, and, on the other, that the danger of war has increased? How is this seeming contradiction to be understood?

First, we must not underestimate the strength of American capitalism to make war. We cannot forget that while world capitalism came out of the war in a weakened condition, American capitalism came out stronger. The basic danger of war arises from the fact that Wall Street has not given up its aggressive policy and plans to conquer the world. The imminent danger to the peace of the world arises from moods of desperation in the war camp. There are strong forces in the ranks of the reactionaries who are becoming reckless because they see that time is running against them. The desperate moods of some sections of the war party can be compared to that of a losing gambler who says "win all or lose all, but throw everything into the pot." It is this that keeps the danger of war constantly on the order of the day. This was very adequately described by Comrade Suslov when he said:

The weakening of the anti-democratic, imperialist camp should not lead to the conclusion that the danger of war is lessened. Such a conclusion would be profoundly erroneous and harmful.

Historical experience teaches that the

more hopeless the position of imperialist reaction, the more it rages, the more there is danger of military adventures on its part.

The change in the correlation of forces in the world arena in favor of the camp of peace and democracy provokes new outbursts of rabid fury in the camp of imperialism and the warmongers.*

A war gamble by U.S. imperialism, now or in the future, would be even more reckless than was Hitler-Germany's. The fascist Axis set out on its war of subjugation after its war camp had been growing stronger, at least militarily, thanks to the appeasement policy of the Western "democracies." There was then no organized world camp of democracy and peace. The Munich policy blocked the concerted peace front the Soviet Union strove to establish. During and since the Second World War, the foundations of the capitalist system have further deteriorated, as witness the greatly enhanced power and world authority of the Soviet Union, the rise of the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia, the unfolding colonial liberation movement, the strengthened position of the working class and its Communist vanguard in a number of major capitalist countries.

THE STATUS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.

We can draw confidence from this

* *Working Class Unity for Peace*, by M. Suslov, P. Togliatti, and Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej.

new relationship of forces, confidence that war can be prevented and peace secured. But the securing of the peace will come only through struggle which we, the American people, have a special responsibility to wage.

Therefore, some words on the struggle for peace in our own country. I think it is proper and correct to consider the shattering of the myth of atomic bomb monopoly and the monstrous decision to build the H-bomb as a very definite turning point in the growth of the peace sentiment in the United States. These developments have had a very deep-going effect on the outlook and thinking of the American people. The elementary human desire to live began to assert itself more vigorously. These developments have had such profound effects because they came at a time when there was already a slowly rising tide against the war policy.

This peace sentiment today influences millions of Americans, I dare say the majority of Americans, in all walks of life. It is true that this mass sentiment at the present time is at a very elementary level and is groping for leadership. It expresses itself in the considerable support of the demagogic McMahan and Tydings proposals. It is expressed in the contradictory views voiced by some: "Yes, go ahead and build the H-bomb, but negotiate for peace with the U.S.S.R." It is expressed in the very important statements of 1500 American scientists, the N.A.A.C.P., the 2,000 Ohio

Protestant ministers, the National Baptist Council and in the much publicized Quaker report. It is reflected in the remarks of Paton and other farm leaders and of the leaders of the Negro Elks, in the rank-and-file National Labor Peace Conference and in the state labor conferences that have since been held in Ohio and Illinois. It is expressed in the growth of the Peace Councils in Massachusetts and elsewhere; in the mushrooming of women's peace groups and actions; in the movement for trade with China, especially on the West Coast; and in many other similar actions too numerous to mention.

The broad sentiment for peace is growing and is beginning to find ways of breaking through. The following quotation from a letter to a Congressman typifies the level of this mass peace sentiment: "There can be no point of difference so great that world destruction as an alternative would be justified."

This sentiment for peace is still largely on a level of pacifism. The broad masses do not yet see Wall Street as the instigator of war and large sections of them have been convinced by the imperialist propaganda that the fault lies with the U.S.S.R. Still others think "both sides" are to blame. Of course, there is a section of the population that has a more fundamental understanding of the question. The Negro people generally have a much higher

awareness of the imperialist character of Wall Street's policies. There are sections of the Left-progressive unions, and movements and elements around the Progressive Party, that have a more advanced understanding of the war drive. We must find ways of giving leadership to all these movements and sentiments on all levels.

But, I want to raise the question of our work now in its broadest sense. We must ask ourselves: Are we giving leadership to these millions of Americans who are now gravitating toward the camp of peace on the basis simply that war means death and destruction, but who do not yet understand the source and causes of the war danger? I think we must answer this question very self-critically and I think the answer must be—we are not. When we examine the work of our Party in this field, we must come to the conclusion that there are only a few Party districts that have even started to move with the scope and tempo that is called for. In most of the districts and Party organizations there is a lot of talk and phrase-mongering, but very little concrete planning, concrete initiative and concrete organization. We are much too easily satisfied with getting some statements issued by the Left, or too easily satisfied with just getting some statements issued—period.

Let me go into a little more detail on this question of the present level of the peace movement. Are

the broad masses that are moving into the peace camp ready for an all-inclusive peace movement of the type of the American League against War and Fascism during the 'thirties? Clearly, at this stage they are not. The mass peace sentiment will be expressed in the most diversified movements and campaigns around specific issues. For example: Are the broad masses ready for a movement or campaign for outlawing the H-bomb? or for trade with China? or for cutting taxes? or for direct negotiations with the U.S.S.R.? The answer to this is also clear: They are. We must drive home in our own thinking and to our Party the fact that we have now the greatest possibilities, the greatest openings, on all levels of American life, in all sections of the American people, for the broadest application of our United Front policy in building this peace movement.

The approach must be that it is now possible to have some type of peace movement, campaign, organization or committee in every union, church, block, neighborhood, shop, department, shift, industry, city, county, state. It seems practical that we should launch, among other things, the election in all organizations of Peace Committees as one of the standing committees. We must get more statements for peace, but that is not enough. We must get action, action of a thousand different varieties, in the widest circles,

on one or another phase of the struggle for peace. We must discard all formalistic and traditional approaches to this question. We need initiative, originality, scope, breadth—a sweeping, crusading type of movement. Every Party organization, every club, every section must have a plan for peace. Nothing less than this approach meets the situation. This is a challenge to this leadership, to every member of our Party.

We must find forms and levels of action of the population that does have a greater understanding of the issues involved. This is necessary because we need higher forms of struggle and also because the peace movement can be a winning movement only if there is a growing section that sees through the smokescreen that hides the imperialist character of Wall Street's drive for war.

While it is true that the peace sentiments will be expressed through a multitude of forms, this does not contradict the fact that a time must come in America when there will be a national center for the coordination and direction of the peace movement. The time must come when there will be a center coordinating the peace movement among the farmers, much as there is now a center coordinating labor's peace activities.

Once we have this broad united-front approach and understanding reflected fully in our daily work, we shall be in a position to tackle some other questions.

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EXPOSING THE IDEOLOGICAL
WARES OF THE WAR CAMP

As Marxists-Leninists, we have a two-fold task in the struggle for peace. We must give effective leadership of the kind that I have been discussing to the diversified movements and campaigns. But while doing so, we must simultaneously help the masses draw lessons so as to deepen and broaden their understanding of the issues involved.

Let me indicate some of the main ideas the enemy propagandizes, directly and indirectly, in order to confuse and divert the masses, creating misconceptions that we must patiently but persistently work to dissipate. Comrade Foster mentioned one of the most pernicious of these misconceptions—that the Soviet Union is the “aggressor.” This is a very key question, because underlying this one misconception are many falsehoods. Behind this smokescreen Wall Street hides its imperialist war drive. Behind it, the bipartisan war coalition is able to maneuver with demagoguery. This “Stop thief” cry blinds the masses from understanding, not only the inherent peace outlook of a Socialist society, but the character of Socialism in general. It covers up the class character of Wall Street’s war drive. It is obvious that we must do much more to expose this basic falsehood, which is the Big Lie that has been systematically repeated in Hitler-fashion and has therefore be-

come an accepted “fact” by sections of the American people.

A variation of this Big Lie is the notion that “both sides”—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—are responsible for the “cold war.” This line of thinking was put forward by Henry Wallace when he spoke about the “two big brutes.” Some people who know better use this “plague on both your houses” theme as “protection” against being labeled un-American or subversive by the warmakers. Others who spread this line are agents of Wall Street, who also know better but put forward this idea for the express purpose of creating confusion. The intentions are different, but the net result is the same: The sowing of confusion in the ranks of the people and the laying down of a convenient smokescreen for the moves of the war party.

A few words are in order here on the foreign policy resolution recently adopted by the Progressive Party, a resolution that reflects this “plague on both your houses” approach. We all know that there was a very difficult situation, flowing from some basic weaknesses in our united front work below, as well as from many factors that were beyond anybody’s control. But in spite of these difficulties—and we will face many of them in the future—the unanimous vote for the resolution must be set down as an error. We must avoid, and do everything in our power to make sure, that we will not be put

into a situation where Communists vote for resolutions that condemn the Soviet Union. Under all circumstances we must make it crystal clear that we do not agree with any notions or ideas which are embodied in "the plague on both your houses" demagoguery. Further, we must state that the resolution is a serious setback for the Progressive Party. Further steps in that direction will lead the Progressive Party to the position of the "Third Force" ideas of the European Social-Democratic fakers.

Browder puts forward the version that fits his role as an ideologist of the war camp. He compares Winchell to Ehrenburg. He speaks about the "two sides of the cold war" on an equal basis, and asks: "Who can deny that there is demagoguery on both sides of the cold war?" and concludes, "There is a general tendency on both sides of the cold war to more and more consider that searchers for peace are fair game to be shot at by both sides." This is as close as anybody in the United States has come to the official Tito position. These are not the words of a confused individual but the calculated version of an enemy agent who spews forth all this under the label of "Marxism."

The Social-Democrats peddle the wares of the war camp on the anti-fascist side of the street. Standing history on its head, they say, "But supposing it was 1937 and Hitler Germany had the A- and H-bomb. Then what would you say? Of course

you would be for the U.S. making the H-bomb. So today we have the same situation with the Soviet Union that has the A-bomb." This poisonous line must be thoroughly exposed and refuted by us. We must make it crystal clear that it is Wall Street and its bipartisan war coalition, and not the Soviet Union, that has taken the place of Hitler Germany. The Soviet Union remains on the side of peace and progress, where it has been since its birth, while on the other hand Wall Street's excursion into the peace camp was a very temporary one during the Second World War and was undertaken for selfish, imperialist reasons.

Another misconception spread among the masses that tends to hold back the peace movement is the notion that the United States is in danger of being attacked and therefore the whole war program is actually a "defense" program. With this falsehood, the war ideologists are trying to misdirect the patriotic sentiments of the American people and whip up chauvinist nationalism. We must more skillfully expose this by showing the world-wide system of U.S. war bases and by popularizing the practical proposals made by the Soviet Union for the peaceful settlement of outstanding differences.

The A.D.A.'s and Truman's favorite fish-bait to labor, the Negro people and the poor farmers is the "package" idea: The cold war and the welfare of the people in one pack-

age. The net result of this package is that the people get a cut in welfare and living standards, while the war party gets support for its war policy. There can be no such package; the welfare of the people and the "welfare" of the imperialists are irreconcilable.

The shattering of the myth of the A-bomb monopoly sobered a lot of people, but we still must expose all ideas to the effect that another war would be fought "only in faraway places with strange-sounding names" in "push-button" style. These ideas are still used to lull the masses into inaction and false confidence. Just this week, the ruling class announced plans to train a crew of doctors for atomic warfare in order to quiet the fears of the masses.

We must also expose the "World Government" fakers, whose slogans stem from the bourgeois cosmopolitanism promoted by Wall Street. Yes, Wall Street wants a world government, but completely controlled by Wall Street. But here it is important to keep in mind that there are actually millions of people, among them many outstanding individuals, who have been completely "sold" on this peace-sounding idea.

Some comrades have asked: Are we not pure and simple pacifists when we participate in this broad peace movement on such an elementary level? The answer is that we are not. If we did anything less, we would be abandoning our vanguard

role. Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action. It equips us to lead the masses in struggle and in the process of the struggle to raise their consciousness to a higher level.

In order to help allay the fears of some of our comrades, let me quote a very appropriate sentence in Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism*:

To fear *this* "reactionariness," to try to *avoid* it, or skip it, is the greatest folly, for it means fearing to assume the role of proletarian vanguard, which implies training, educating, enlightening and drawing into the new life the most backward strata and masses of the working class and the peasantry (*Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 91).

We must work very patiently to help the masses draw the important lessons about the imperialist character of the bipartisan war policy, but we must not fall into the disastrous mistake of demanding that our level of understanding be the condition for any united action. If we commit such an error under the present conditions, we will not only be driving these people away from the peace movement, we will be isolating ourselves from the peace movement.

We must reject all false notions that we Communists are not interested in peace, that we are only interested in "using" the peace sentiments of the American people. To be sure, we have never hidden our firm conviction that, while it is fully possible to prevent war now by con-

stantly fighting for peace, the danger of war will be permanently abolished only when capitalism will be abolished. There is no contradiction in this, General Bedell Smith and his fellow war-inciters notwithstanding. The danger of war and the drive toward war are inherent in capitalism, especially in its monopoly, imperialist stage. But nowhere is it decreed that the imperialists must have things their own way. The people, and the workers in the first place, can and must have their own say in this matter, and when their united voice for peace is exercised, the warmakers will be compelled to think twice before they decide to rush into dangerous adventures.

One of the most widespread and growing demands of the American people is for direct negotiation with the U.S.S.R. to achieve agreement at least on the outlawing of the A and H-bombs. In my opinion we have not given this specific sentiment the kind of attention that it deserves. During the last ten days, this demand was placed before the world in a very dramatic way. The world camp of peace received replies to its peace proposals from the two countries, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., that head the war camp and the peace camp respectively. The leaders of the Soviet Union, in a series of pre-election speeches, clearly outlined the peace stand of the Soviet Government and the Soviet people. They put forward very force-

fully the following simple but basic propositions:

(1) The Soviet Union, as always in the past, will continue to work for peace and for a peaceful solution to all problems;

(2) It is definitely possible for the two economic systems to co-exist, in peaceful competition;

(3) The Soviet Union is ready at any time to consider any reasonable proposals and to work out peaceful solutions;

(4) The Soviet Union will continue to respect the rights of nations to their sovereign independence and will use its influence in that direction;

(5) The Soviet Union wants relations of friendship and commerce with all countries and peoples;

(6) The Soviet Union will not be terrorized, frightened or bullied. In this connection the leaders of the Soviet Union solemnly warned the warmongers that, should they unleash another world bloodbath, this would be a fatal step for them.

These propositions are not necessarily new ideas for the Soviet Union, but they are here renewed in a straightforward and fresh manner.

And what is the answer of the rulers of our country? Because of public pressure, the frustrated Secretary of State was forced to abandon his flat position of "No negotiations" and put forward what he had the gall to call "proposals" as a basis for discussion. Acheson asked for nothing less than prior agreement for uncondi-

tional surrender to Wall Street. To start with, he wants Germany, Japan and Austria turned over, lock, stock and barrel, to American finance capital. Then, he demands the abdication of the governments of the New Democracies, and the right for Project X agents to restore to power governments of the type the liberated peoples have booted out. He wants the Soviet Union to agree to open up its frontiers and to give passage to the agents of Wall Street to conduct espionage and wrecking activities. He demands that the Soviet U.N. delegates take their cue at all times from the Wall Street delegates and vote accordingly. Then he insists that the working classes of all countries must peacefully submit to Wall Street's dictation, and, to show their good faith, must immediately dissolve their vanguard, Communist Parties. And finally, Acheson lays down the condition that the Soviet Union must agree that nobody will ever say anything against the policies or actions of Wall Street. It is a rank insult to the peace sentiments of the American people that the Secretary of State dares publicly to put forward a program of aggression and conquest in the name of proposals for peace.

What are some of the other answers in Congress? Here are some quotations: "Why make an offer? It will be rejected anyway." Another: "If we come to an agreement, this would not be fair to our friends."

Still another: "Even if we sign, the Soviet Union will not live up to it." Further: "Even if the Soviet Union would agree to an inspection, it would be no good. That country's too big." Finally: "If we sign an agreement, it would be no good because then we would become complacent." The contrast between the positions of the Soviet and U.S. governments is so dramatic and so sharp that the blind could see it. But the facts are systematically distorted by the propaganda mills of U.S. imperialism. We must bring the true facts to the people and point up this contrast.

The representatives of the war camp have only one answer, one policy—and no matter how you slice it, it is a policy of wanting the people to believe that war is inevitable. This goes smack against the rising peace sentiments of the American people. We have the answer that corresponds to, and coincides with, the interests and hopes of the great majority of Americans: peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition of the two economic systems.

THE WARMAKERS FACE OBSTACLES

Let us turn now to certain signs of division in the ranks of the capitalist class that have appeared on a number of issues.

First, we should understand why these rumblings are beginning to

appear. They are signs of dissatisfaction in some quarters over the setbacks and failures suffered by Wall Street in its imperialist war drive. Also, some of them are expressions in answer to the mass pressure that is growing among the people for peace.

That section of the capitalist class which was always for gambling has now, with the difficulties and setbacks, begun to show even more elements of fear and desperation and symptoms of the Forrestal disease. In this mood they are dangerous. Their outlook leads to the road of inevitable suicide, not only for themselves, but for the nation.

That section of the bourgeoisie which in the past was for a policy of going a little slower and using some caution has, as a result of the setbacks, further reason to feel uneasy and to fear the consequences of a gamble.

Both these elements are full supporters of the war drive. But because of the difficulties there now appear signs of family quarrels and elements of confusion in the ranks of the capitalist class. With relation to this development, we can make two types of errors. We could simply ignore these squabbles and say that they do not amount to anything; or, on the other hand, we could place too much reliance on them.

We must use the openings that these divisions give us, but only as wedges, as means for reaching the

masses that follow the demagogic speeches flowing from these divisions. But we must never place the main emphasis or hitch the peace movement or any other movement or campaign on these. This is important for us because we shall have to face many more, and perhaps even more demagogic, Churchills and Trumans. As the peace movement grows the tendency will increase for forces of this kind to exploit and divert the people's demand for peace.

One of the most stubborn obstacles the warmakers face is the rising mood of struggle in the ranks of the working class and among the Negro people, as well as some serious rumblings among the poor farmers. The material basis for these new moods is the present rapid ending of almost 13 years of relatively high employment. During the years immediately following the Second World War, which enriched American capitalism at the same time that it devastated the economies of the other capitalist countries, the Economic Royalists in the United States were able to postpone temporarily the onsetting economic crisis by a huge arms program, Marshall Plan exports, etc. These maneuverings could not hide the growing economic stresses and strains though they were successful in corraling for the imperialists the dominant trade-union leadership. While the masses suffered from the effects of this war and war-boom economy, it must be said that the

periods of unemployment were not continuous and did not affect millions over a long period as in the early 'thirties.

We are now in a different economic situation. For some time now, the course of production has been downward. Unemployment is steadily mounting. Speed-up has been increasing sharply. Money wages are being cut and real wages are being slashed. The plundering of the masses through high taxes, rent increases, and the high cost of living generally is undermining the standard of living of great masses of people. Without question, all of this is leading up to the sharp outbreak of a full-blown economic crisis. And its inevitable effect is to feed the anger and resentment of the workers and heighten the militancy of broad sections of the population.

These new economic conditions and the resultant rising moods of struggle, the intensification of the war drive and the resultant rising peace sentiments, have created new objective and subjective conditions which must very carefully be taken into consideration by us. Many of the other comrades will speak on these questions more fully, and so I should like to comment on this briefly.

UNITED LABOR AND PEOPLE'S ACTION FOR PEACE

In the first place, I think we have to give much more serious thought

to a renewed and fresh approach to labor unity and united labor action. We have to understand in a more basic way the decisiveness of this question for everything we do. There can be no lasting, stable movement for peace—one that will withstand the increasing political and ideological attacks of reaction—unless we have a growing, united, working-class core for this movement. The new objective conditions make it possible for us to raise this now in a fresh way. This is one of the central lessons we must draw from the victorious coal strike. In many ways this struggle was a model of united labor action, on the rank-and-file level. I think that there are also many new possibilities for achieving united labor action on top levels, but these will materialize only if we are able to unite the rank-and-file workers.

One of our most serious shortcomings, which must get our immediate and full attention, is the lack of working-class, and especially trade-union, participation in the struggle for peace in an organized sense. As yet, the main vocal expressions in the peace struggle are from professional groups, from educators, clergymen, writers, artists and scientists. Outstanding leaders of the Negro people have spoken out firmly for peace. The chief reason for this weakness is that the working class does not yet see that its struggles for wages, against speed-up and for the very life of its unions is closely tied up

with the struggle against the war-makers. The coal miners learned many lessons, but we cannot say that they now understand that the attempt to smash their union was part of the effort of Big Business to make the rear secure for the war drive. However, it is also true that to the extent to which the workers are moving into the struggle for their economic demands they show that they do not fully believe the propaganda about the need to "sacrifice" for this war drive.

The big obstacle to organized expressions of the peace sentiment that does exist among the workers is the fact that the top trade-union leadership is almost completely tied to the war camp. These lieutenants of Big Business have been able, through threats and the removal from office of workers who speak for peace, to choke off any mass vocal expression for peace. However, one of the main reasons why this could happen is that our Party, and especially our comrades in the shops and trade unions, have not undertaken the task of organizing this peace sentiment. The Labor Peace Conference is a vehicle for rank-and-file expression. But unless it gets our wholehearted support, and especially our political and organizing experience, it will not be able to accomplish its aim.

In our work, we will have to hammer home more skillfully the fact that the war drive directly picks the pocketbooks of the workers. We

must more clearly show how the war drive, which entails high prices and staggering taxes, directly leads to reduction in the standard of living and to growing unemployment and part-time work. We must show how speed-up is directly connected with war production. We must show the close tie-up between the Marshall Plan and the embargo on trade with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and China on the one hand, and growing unemployment on the other. Finally, we must show that the drive to destroy or regiment the unions is an integral part of the war drive. Let me conclude this point by emphasizing that we had better place the problem of the unemployed very high on our agendas immediately.

Many of the outstanding and clearest voices for peace in the United States are leaders of the Negro people. Paul Robeson, Dr. Jamison, the spokesman for the 10-million strong National Baptist Council, Dr. Gurnigan of the Methodists, Dr. Johnson, President of Howard University, head this long list of outstanding American spokesmen for peace. Their peace statements reflect, not only the peace stand of the Negro people, but their deep understanding of the role of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. However, in spite of this greater understanding, the general weakness also shows itself here, in that the struggle for equal rights, F.E.P.C. and anti-poll tax legislation

is put into one compartment, and the fight for peace in another.

It is our task to drive home more clearly the point that the Big-Business and Bourbon forces which perpetuate the white-supremacist lynch system in the South, and the warmongers, are one and the same gang; that the same bipartisan coalition which refuses to pass F.E.P.C. is also pushing the country to fascism and war; and that with each step toward war, there is an increase in the attacks on the Negro people.

In all struggles, we must find the proper channels for directing the attention of the workers to the need of raising their voices against war, against the war policies. This does not mean that everytime a group passes a resolution on peace it must include a section on speed-up, or that every trade union contract must include a provision to outlaw the H-bomb. The connection between the economic, civil rights and peace issues must be made at this stage, largely in the realm of education and agitation. But we must seek out those issues that lend themselves more readily for making this connection—for example, high taxes and the war budget, unemployment and the anti-Soviet trade embargo.

APPROACHING THE 1950 ELECTIONS

Now, a few words about the 1950 elections.

All of the new trends and developments will be sharply reflected in the 1950 elections and the election campaign. Candidates are a necessary factor in the elections. But we must first of all give *our* attention to and use *our* initiative in the movements of the people on issues, and secondly, we must determine how the election campaign can be used to build further the broad people's coalition and how to build the third party movement. The elections will be affected by the four broad currents developing in the ranks of the people—the mass peace sentiment, the movement for civil rights, the fight for equal rights for the Negro people, and the struggles around economic issues. In one way or another, the masses will attempt to find avenues to express their needs and demands in the campaign and at the polls. We must steer the campaign as much as possible in the direction of the third party movement, but we must also help the masses express their sentiments in the best possible fashion through all other possible channels.

It follows from this that our election tactics must involve both of these general guiding lines of approach and must necessarily be flexible and many-sided. The ruling class will use the elections to push for its objectives—and, necessarily, in a most demagogic fashion. I believe we are going to see the most demagogic election campaign in history.

While there is much that is new,

there is nothing to indicate that the workers and all other peace-loving people of our country can expect from either of the two old parties anything different from that which we Communists warned about before and immediately after the 1948 Presidential elections. This holds every bit as true for the Democratic Party as for the Republican.

On the contrary, the warnings of the Communists has been confirmed to the hilt, and if anything, our warnings in our post-election analysis were not sharp enough in describing what could be expected from the Truman Administration.

Following the 1948 elections, Comrade Eugene Dennis very correctly wrote:

We are not entering another "New Deal era." The Administration and the bipartisan Congress are committed to an anti-Communist drive at home and abroad, to an aggressive war policy and a war economy. This cannot but determine the character of, and set definite limits upon, the scope of Truman's promised social and labor reforms (*Political Affairs*, December 1948).

Not only did the millions who voted in their majority for Truman have illusions in the Democratic Party, but even in some progressive circles the stubborn hope persisted that Truman would deliver on his promises, at least on part of his domestic platform. Certain real concessions were expected on civil rights, the rights of labor, housing, price and

rent control, social security, etc. And only recently, particularly during the Formosa debate, illusions lingered that in the Truman cabinet and leading Administration circles there was a desire to lessen international tensions, to seek agreement, to forsake the adventurist drive toward war.

One must willfully deceive oneself to insist today that in the record of the Truman Administration and the Democratic 81st Congress any of these hopes were realized or that the 1948 promises will yet be carried out voluntarily by the Administration leaders.

Though the Administration has released new smokescreens of cynical demagoguery, especially during critical moments when its mass support was in danger, its considered policy has been betrayal of its promises and the subordination of all other considerations to the unfolding of finance capital's drive toward war and fascism. Its maneuvers and its lip service are becoming increasingly evident.

A key factor in maintaining the Democratic majority, and even increasing it in places, during the local elections in 1949, was the corrupt, Judas-role of the labor reformists and the betrayers of the Negro people, who, with Social-Democratic coaching, have covered up for Truman and run interference for him. The Democratic Party in the North more and more leans on the Social-Democrats and the reformist labor leaders to secure its mass base. This

factor will continue to grow in the 1950 elections. The Democratic bigwigs have obviously agreed to turn over certain areas of operation to these forces in return for their full support for the war program. Therefore we can expect more Social-Democratic, A.D.A. candidates to get the official and unofficial backing of the Democratic Party.

The Republican Party continues as of old. If anything, it very consciously plays a supporting role in helping to keep the masses tied to the Democratic Party demagoguery by labeling the reactionary war policies of the Truman Administration as "Socialistic." There is a growing concern about the condition of the Republican Party in the ranks of those who see a danger to the two-party game in the decline of the Republican Party. Some of these forces in the camp of reaction and war are looking for ways to revitalize the Republican Party by an organizational merger of the Republicans and the Dixiecrats or by a new version of the old Liberty League.

The Progressive Party, in spite of its small vote in 1948 and the difficulties it has faced since, remains an important factor in American political life. The Progressive Party has a much greater influence even today than its electoral totals would indicate. Because the Progressive Party has so vigorously raised the question of world peace, civil rights and economic security, it will be more diffi-

cult to keep these issues out of the 1950 campaign. While there is a growing support for the Progressive Party program, it still remains a fact that many of those who support this program have not yet taken the next step of breaking away from the two old parties. But we must also add that there is a growing support and widespread sentiment for independent and labor-supported candidates, as was indicated in the A.L.P. vote and in many other contests. However, there is not yet a mass third party in America. But let no one conclude from this that there never will be or that the masses do not need one. Our election tactics must always help the masses to break with their illusions in the two parties of monopoly and learn the need for building an anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist third party.

We should ask ourselves, at this point, whether the new, growing mass trends we have discussed earlier require that we make basic changes in our electoral tactics. I think that there are two factors that we must consider in either adding to or revising our election tactics for 1950. First there are these mass trends themselves, and secondly, there is the fact, hammered home by both the 1948 and 1949 elections, that some very strong illusions in the Democratic Party still persist because of the old F.D.R. tradition and the brazen demagoguery of the Truman Administration. Here we must note that

the peace movement, at its present level, is not yet moving in the direction of breaking away from the Democratic Party, but takes the form mainly of putting pressure on the Truman Administration. We must also note, however, that many of these illusions were smashed, not only for the coal miners, but for many other sections of the working class especially as a result of Truman's role in the coal strike.

All of this leads to the conclusion that we can and must more boldly project the idea of a greater organizational and political crystallization of the people's coalition forces, must make a more forceful and determined effort for labor's independent political action, and give greater assistance to the Progressive Party in its attempt to break through to win elections in a number of areas. This greater crystallization can take the form of political action conferences, united committees for political action, and the bringing together of the different political action committees of the trade unions. At the same time, we must remember that the electoral expression of the growth of these new forces for a people's coalition will necessarily still take place through a variety of channels.

If we keep in mind that our approach to elections and the people's coalition is more than a matter of parliamentary blocs, that it is mainly a question of mass movement, of struggle, of action, then the question:—Through what channel should the

electoral expression take place?—falls into its proper place. It must always be borne in mind, of course, that all of our tactics should lead in the direction of mass breakaway from the bipartisans and the building of the third party.

In some areas or contests, the purpose of the rising people's movement can best be served by a Progressive Party candidate. In other contests, it might be advisable to encourage independent candidates, especially around the issue of peace. Independent pro-peace candidates in some areas can be a powerful expression of the peace sentiments of the people. Where it is technically possible to utilize them, the primaries of the two old parties can be considered in some areas or contests. In others, it may be necessary to give critical support to one or another of the major candidates. In still others, we may have a situation similar to the last Senatorial campaign in New York where no support on our part for either of the Senatorial candidates was given, but the campaign was conducted around issues and other candidates. All these alternatives, individually and in combination, must be judged on the level of the movement, the character of the candidates, and the different election laws in the states.

Because of the attempts to legalize our Party and to drive us out of the political arena, it is especially important to have Communist candidates in the field. Where possible, they should be on the Communist

ticket, and where not, they should run as independents with Party endorsement.

We must also devote greater attention than ever in the past to the great possibilities of the election of Negro candidates to office, possibilities that arise out of the high level and growth of the liberation movement of the Negro people. The same holds true for labor candidates and candidates from the national groups.

When we say that we should consider the different avenues of electoral expression, that does not mean that we should sit and wait and see what happens, and that we should decide on our tactics after everybody has filed. I emphasize this because there is all too much of this attitude now. We must be a dynamic force, not only to help shape the movement, but to help in the promoting and selecting of candidates. When we work in and with movements that still rely on either of the two old parties, we must make it very clear that we have no illusions that either of these two parties can be captured as vehicles for peace or progress. We will go along with such movements only if they provide avenues for broadening the struggle, for involving in the struggle and in the third party movement the masses that still have illusions in these old parties.

CONCLUSIONS

The American ruling class is in trouble—serious trouble, and it senses

it. The men of the trusts, their kept politicians and their brass hats in the Pentagon are deeply distrustful of the moods of the great mass of Americans. They fear the rising will to resist on the part of the workers, the Negro people and the youth. They are in a cold sweat over the failures of their imperialist, expansionist, warmongering foreign policy, over the defeats suffered by Wall Street at the hands of hundreds of millions of peace-loving people in many parts of the world who prize their national sovereignty, who want freedom from imperialist oppression, and who seek peace in and through the camp led by the Soviet Union. They storm and threaten, intimidate, persecute and imprison in their desperate effort to stem the rising tide of peace sentiment of the American people.

But with each passing day their tasks become more difficult.

Comrades, our Party, our class and the whole American people shoulder a great responsibility. It is very important that we fully appreciate this fact. But it is equally important that we fully understand that there are developing and growing conditions making for new opportunities and for new possibilities.

Our Party and its leaders, Comrades Foster, Dennis and Winston, are doing an outstanding job. Here I must mention particularly the outstanding role of our Party in the coal struggle. Our Party showed political initiative, it displayed mobility and organizational abilities of the best

type. In many ways, we set a model for our work in other fields.

We must now organize our work so that we do not sacrifice any of the important issues and areas of activity, but at the same time place the struggle for peace in the very center of everything that we do.

I should like to conclude by reading a paragraph from the mid-Century article of Comrade Dennis:

Where our country stands in the year 2,000 A.D., and the relative ease or pain with which the American working class and people advance toward their inevitable Socialist goal—depends, to a great extent, on how effectively labor and all progressives, Communists and non-Communists, work and fight for peace *now*. Today peace—and the struggle for peace—favors and promotes social progress, and is the enemy of pro-fascist reaction. The more lasting the peace, the better for the American people and the worse for the trusts. . . .

For Communist Clarity and Resoluteness to Forge Working-Class and People's Unity*

By Eugene Dennis

[Two days after Comrade Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, delivered his remarks at the Plenum of the National Committee, the significance of his call to action for the defeat of the growing threat of fascism in the United States was dramatically underscored.

[By a five-to-two vote, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the sentence of one year's imprisonment meted out to Comrade Dennis by a Federal District Court for his courageous challenge to the fascist-minded House Committee on Un-American Activities. Ruling on the one question which it accepted for review, the Court decreed that the Federal Government may prosecute political cases before juries composed of government employees. And this, despite the fact, as stated in Justice Black's dissenting opinion, that "government employees have good reason to fear that an honest vote to acquit a Communist or anyone else accused of 'subversive' beliefs, however flimsy the prosecution's evidence, might be considered a 'disloyal' act which could easily cost them their jobs."

[The fight for the liberty of the General Secretary of the Communist Party has become a key issue in the fight for the democratic rights of the whole American people. The American labor movement, the American people must raise the demand that the Supreme Court review the fundamental issues in this case and uphold the Bill of Rights. Demand the freedom of Comrade Dennis!—The Editors.]

AS COMRADE WINSTON has mentioned, my absence from the Plenum was not a matter of personal choice on my part. I would say my absence was the result, not only of a cardiac condition, but also of a well-intentioned conspiracy entered into by the Administrative Committee and my doctor.

I wish to make clear, even though the point is obvious, that I could not, nor have I any intention of making

what would purport to be a summary. While I am familiar with the main reports and have participated actively and fully in shaping the chief points and proposals which came before the Plenum—especially the central question, the struggle for peace—I have not read all of the sub-reports. Above all, I have not had the benefit of the discussions and the many contributions which I understand have been made therein.

Therefore, with your understand-

* Remarks at the close of the Plenum.

ing, I want to make it plain that I shall refrain from commenting on some of the most important questions until I familiarize myself more fully with all the reports and discussions. And I may say that I do this without hesitation, because, notwithstanding certain shadings of differences and sharp polemics that appear to have taken place in some of the deliberations of this gathering, the main political line of the reports and sub-reports to this Plenum are sound and correct, and you have already approved them. In any case I ask you to consider my remarks in the nature of certain limited observations, certain fragmentary and incomplete comments on four questions: (1) Some problems of the united front; (2) the struggle against the Mundt Bill; (3) the congressional elections, and (4) some aspects of our trial.

FOR A UNITED AND PEOPLE'S FRONT OF STRUGGLE

As our Party and its leadership have signalized at our 1945 and 1948 conventions, at all our conferences and National Committee meetings, and very sharply and forthrightly at this Plenum—today, more than ever, it is essential, it is of decisive importance that we Communists and all whom we can influence, all anti-fascists, should do everything, literally everything, to forge the widest united and people's front of struggle, a fighting people's anti-war and anti-monopoly coalition.

For the pre-war and the post-war experiences of the working class of our country and of other countries, and especially of the international Communist movement, underscore that the broadest and most militant unity of working-class and people's struggle is today the decisive weapon, the shield by which the workers and all democratic forces can stave off the threat of another world war and prevent the establishment of fascism.

As the Plenum has noted, starting with Comrade Hall's report, not only is the need for unity of action great, but surely new opportunities are arising to promote the widest front of struggle of labor and other democratic forces. This is seen in the upsurge of the peace movement, including the highly important growth of the Labor Peace Committees, around the issue of outlawing the A- and H-bombs and promoting peaceful cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is also seen in the widening opposition to the Mundt Bill, in the extension of Negro and white unity, in the struggle for Negro rights and in the heightened fighting spirit and resistance of key sections of the working class, of the miners, auto and maritime workers, to the offensive of big capital. It is expressed, too, in the fact that these struggles and movements have been sparked, or influenced, or supported in one way or another by our Party, whose vanguard role and fighting spirit and capacity are at an all-time high level.

And all of this bears witness to the fact that the conditions are ripening for new and substantial advances in crystallizing the united and people's front and mass movement.

But, comrades, as the reports have stressed, the facts are—and we must also take into account and soberly recognize that the growth of united labor action, the extension of the movement for Negro rights and civil liberties, the developing peace front—all of which signalize that the people's democratic coalition is gaining momentum and strength—that this developing movement is not yet powerful enough, organized and united enough to measure up to the needs of the hour. There is still a great gap between the organized power and the potential strength of the democratic and peace camp. There is still a vast gulf between the existing level and organization of the labor and people's mass movement in our country and the scale and the tempo and calibre of the unity of action of the mass economic and political struggles which are still required to restrain, check and defeat Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism, which is accelerated by the developing economic crisis.

What is holding back unity of action? Here I do not want to deal with such key and important factors as the special role of the Truman Administration, which couples its H-bomb diplomacy and war preparations, and methods of repression and

terror against the popular forces—together with the use of unprecedented demagoguery and a cunning policy of picayune domestic reforms, certain "liberal" appointments and a policy of coalition with all major reformists and Social-Democratic elements and organizations in American political life. Nor, at this point, do I want to analyze, as has already been done in the reports, the treacherous role and maneuvers of labor's top officialdom and most of the A.D.A. leaders in fostering the "lesser evil" theory, in providing a "labor front" for Wall Street's war program, in promoting splits and disruptions, in spearheading anti-Communist slanders, and generally in advancing a reactionary class-collaboration policy in the name of "national unity," "national defense" and "labor's welfare." Nor, at this point, do I intend to deal with the vital need for the most consistent, resolute and skillful struggle to expose and isolate these agents of imperialism—a struggle which is indispensable for achieving united labor and people's action.

At this juncture and within the time limitation allowed, I prefer to focus major attention on some of our own weaknesses and shortcomings which impede our mass work and put a brake on the most effective application of our united and people's front policy. I want to do this, because we, and we alone can rectify our errors and shortcomings. And

as recent experience has shown in the struggle for peace, in the miners' fight, in the mobilization for Negro rights, when we do so we can help shape events in an influential and constructive way.

GUARDING AGAINST WRONG TENDENCIES IN OUR UNITED-FRONT WORK

What harmful tendencies, what Right-opportunist and Left-sectarian attitudes and mistakes have many Party leaders been evidencing and making in unfolding our correct united front policy? For one thing, there still exists in practice in most Party organizations, a gross underestimation of the fighting spirit, the political ferment and the process of radicalization now taking place in the ranks of the working class, among the Negro people, the youth and a growing section of farmers. Together with this, there was and is a slowness in many Party circles to seize upon new issues, new struggles, in order boldly to advance the mass movement and unity of action on both a local and national scale.

This was demonstrated in the limited and uneven reaction of a big section of our Party leaders and organizations to the question of the announcement on the H-bomb, as well as to the sending of military aid to Western Europe, Formosa, etc. It took many weeks to swing into action many Party Districts, and some of the biggest organizations

are not yet fully in this fight. There was a slowness in many districts to develop an all-out campaign and mass movement for relief and various forms of solidarity actions with the heroic miners' struggle—though in certain districts, such as in Ohio and Illinois and later in Philadelphia, Michigan and New York—some very exemplary activity began to be developed and in fact was developed.

Then, too, there has been a hesitation boldly to pick up and to use every opportunity, every crevice, to promote labor's unity of action, such as Lewis' recent proposal for a mutual-aid pact with the Steelworkers. Here the question is not the motivation of Lewis, but to organize a nationwide discussion in every local and council of the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and independent unions, on the need of cooperation and of a general mutual aid pact of solidarity, and in the process to help crystallize united action, on a local, state, or industry basis, especially now in support of the striking auto workers. I would also say there has been a criminal procrastination of not a few leaders of the Left-wing unions to draw the full lessons from the expulsion or pending expulsion of the 11 Progressive-led C.I.O. Internationals, and a dangerous reluctance or hesitation to move into joint activity and mutual defense and to establish on all levels appropriate rallying centers of coordination and initiation of united labor struggles.

On the other side of the coin, the fight for peace and for united labor action is severely hampered by widespread and deep-rooted sectarian attitudes and practices which lump together the Murrays, Reuthers and Dubinskys with the workers who are influenced by them. In our practical work many comrades still confuse the need of unmasking and combating these Reformist and Social-Democratic lieutenants of imperialism, with the need of patiently explaining from their point of view, the issues at stake, contrasting policies to the workers who follow the leadership of the top officialdom of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. Today it is one of the curses of the Left-wing that many Communists and non-Communist Left wingers, such as in the I.L.G.W.U. in New York, in the I.A.M., in the steel, auto, maritime and railway unions, did not and do not draw a distinction between misleaders and workers who are influenced by them. For a long time this has been a big problem in the N.M.U. and in the relations of U.E. leaders and militants to the workers temporarily influenced by the I.U.E. But the progressives, including our comrades, have been making some headway in the recent period in the auto, steel and electrical industries—but still much too slowly.

In conjunction with this we oftentimes forget in our practical work that the way to influence the majority of the masses in the C.I.O. and

the A. F. of L. is not primarily by argumentation, or surely not by argumentation alone, but by ways and means of drawing them into united action on one or another concrete issue: *i.e.*, wages, speedup and up-grading, severance pay and adequate social security, as well as H-bomb, trade with China, etc.

We must also recognize that in our approach to workers under the leadership of Right-led C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, our comrades usually give more consideration to questions that divide us, the Communists and the Left, from the great mass of the rank and file of the workers in these organizations, than we do in concentrating upon and utilizing those issues that unite us. For instance, while we must expose the Baruch Plan, we must not let the unclarities and divisions which exist around this sinister proposal keep from uniting the great mass of labor and the people in concrete actions to prohibit the A- and H-bomb, to institute honest negotiations with the U.S.S.R. to that effect, and for achieving a Peace Pact. Then, too, comrades, we often issue very sectarian appeals for united action with the workers in the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. frequently based solely on proposed activity to be achieved not only over the heads of the leaders of their organizations but apart and separate from these organizations. We often forget that on a host of issues the best results can often be

obtained by reaching and activating the workers through, and very often with the participation, of their local organizations and established shop steward committees and councils. And certainly the formal positions of the national leadership of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. in favor of disarmament, in opposing the Mundt Bill, etc. can be used as a key to open the doors of thousands of local organizations.

Secondly, I think we must take note that strong tendencies prevail in and outside of the labor movement, especially in many Left-led unions to hold back, to postpone the organization of local, district and industry-wide actions on the questions of peace, defense of our Party, labor strike solidarity—as well as a hesitation to move into struggle against white chauvinism and a number of related questions under the guise that the membership is “not ready” for such action, or that since these unions are under reactionary attack, “the situation isn’t ripe.” This too is a big impediment and obstacle in the way of developing united people’s action. It also seriously undermines and weakens the fighting capacity of these organizations themselves.

On the other hand, and feeding these wrong tendencies and harmful practices, there are constant pressures to seek abortive and mechanical organizational solutions to political problems, seeking “gold-brick”

substitutes in place of organizing broad mass movements on a grass roots level. There still exist tendencies favoring the early and inevitable crystallization of a new third trade-union federation and some sort of a Left-wing Negro center as a substitute for developing the maximum political initiative and day-to-day activity in and around the established mass organizations of labor and the Negro people. Loud voices are still heard proposing new and independent organizational centers instead of co-ordinating the influence and powers of the Left, and the greatest unity of action of all organizations and sectors of the labor and people’s movement on a shop and community basis, and also on a national level around one or several issues.

Then, too, there is a deep-rooted vice of relying on resolutions, on telegrams and letters as a decisive form of struggle. Important as these are, you can’t stop the warmongers and fascists with a front of paper, of resolutions. Resolutions have a real significance, but they are no substitute for mass action. Their value lies not only in registering protests and a certain form of mass pressure. Their chief value lies in being a means to reach and set masses in motion, a means to organize a daily struggle for peace, democratic liberties and economic security. Even today, with some of the splendid activity that has been developed, as for instance, in the struggle against

the Mundt Bill and for outlawing the H-bomb, we have not begun to scratch the surface. The Left and progressive forces have not seriously begun to use statements of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders, of educators and church leaders, and the leaders of other national organizations, not only to knock on the door and to ring bells of the John Does and Mary Smiths, but to swing into mass activity the local organizations and members of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., the A.C.L.U., the N.A.A.C.P., the Methodists and Quakers, the National Farmers' Union, etc.

On the other hand, we Communists and our Left-wing colleagues are plagued by overzealous advocates who reduce their conception of the united and people's front to convening narrow Left-wing conferences which very often do not embrace even all of the Left-wing, to setting up sectarian and top paper committees and adopting in said conferences and committees extensive and often letter-perfect programs of action. I would say, by the way, that this has been the case in the recent period in organizing certain labor peace actions, in a number of independent political action movements, and several civil rights conferences.

Admittedly, it is desirable and incumbent on us to influence organizations as well as conferences to take a forthright stand, not only on one, but on a host of key and related issues that life has placed before the

working class and all people, such as arises from the struggle for the peaceful co-existence of the two social systems, independent political action, the Negro national liberation movement, a militant wage, job and social security program, the struggle against fascism and for democratic rights, etc.

But it is time we learned—and experience should teach us—that what is usually most effective in terms of mass work and struggle, in terms of organizing united front conferences and campaigning—is that, while taking a clear Marxist position on a host of questions, it is also imperative to single out one or two key partial issues around which the combined strength and resources of all participating organizations can pool their efforts and organize a powerful, dynamic and concentrated movement of mass struggle, as on the issue of the A- and H-bomb. If one wants to compare the latest petition of the Labor Peace Conference, which bases itself on outlawing the A- and H-bomb and ties this up with establishing American-Soviet friendship and peaceful collaboration, with that of the earlier petition which called for simultaneous action on the A-bomb, China, F.E.P.C., Taft Hartley Law, etc.—it is clear that the A- and H-bomb petition will take hold, will help initiate a mass movement, will be picked up and supported by workers of diverse political and religious

beliefs, and will forcefully register where it should register, in Washington, at the Pentagon and elsewhere.

Another weakness of which we are not free in our united front activity is the frequent approach to the united front as a specialized "top operation." And also—and somewhat connected with this—there is a very bad and dangerous habit where, in correctly figuring out in advance a whole series of possible compromises that might be made, that we and other Left forces might conceivably enter into, in the interest of the working class and unity of action, many comrades tend to slip quickly into a position of adopting very vague and pious statements and the least desirable points of a possible compromise—which then often becomes the starting point in the united front negotiations, program, and activities. They tend to do so, without an adequate fight, and without reaching and mobilizing the masses in the organizations involved.

In this conjunction I must state in passing that after our discussions in the National Committee and regional conferences in November and December on our election policy and tactics for 1950, that most comrades in most districts started to orient not on how to shape and influence events, not how to advance the third party movement, not how to organize coalitions and tickets on a pro-peace and pro-labor program, operating as inde-

pendents or in one or another of the old primaries; they started operating from the viewpoint of what conceivably might be done along the lines of the 1949 Dulles-Lehman Senatorial campaign; they by-passed or overlooked all possibilities to decisively or influentially shape events and to promote various pro-peace coalitions, independent movements and tickets and new primary alignments. In this connection, often after agreeing to the limited points embraced in such compromises—and here I don't go into the merits of the issues involved or the understanding reached—to uncritically approve and accept the united front agreement as being equivalent to the position of our Party. This should never be and is not the case, and this is one of the serious problems we confront time after time in united front relations. This is frequently the position taken by many comrades who have been elected to leading posts in trade unions and other mass organizations.

Conversely we are also afflicted with a variety of sectarian practices which equally restrict and hamper the realization of a broad united front of struggle. Many comrades and organizations when entering into unity negotiations and pacts strive for and seek to use mechanical majorities and seek to impose the full and immediate program of the Party, especially upon new, united front political organizations. Likewise many comrades view in practice top agree-

ments reached with individual progressive leaders as a substitute for involving all Party clubs and individual Party members in day-to-day united front contact and activity with local, shop and neighborhood organizations, leaders and members.

Comrades, the great desire of our people for peace, for American-Soviet cooperation, if it is to develop most effectively and be organized on an ever wider scale, as it can, and if the heightened fighting spirit of the working class and the Negro people, as well as the democratic and militant moods among intellectuals, the youth and a section of the farmers—if these are to be organized into a mighty and even more effective people's coalition under labor's leadership—then we must decisively root out, but fast, all such harmful tendencies and mistakes such as I have indicated.

Now more than ever our Party can and must display the greatest political and organizational initiative, especially in the factories, in the working-class communities, and in all people's organizations, to apply boldly the tactics of the united and people's front. Simultaneously, now more than ever, we must guarantee that the Party retains and exercises its right of criticism and brings forward our Party's program and its proposals on all key questions. And here, unquestionably, we must improve and make the greatest use of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. Now more than

ever we must resolutely fight for unity, understanding that this means unity of action of and with the masses, and to win the masses. And we Communists will bear in mind that while we fight together with all labor, democratic and anti-war forces, we will march separately as the organized Marxist detachment of the working class.

DEFEAT THE FASCIST MUNDT BILL!

Now, a few observations on the Mundt Bill. In many labor and progressive quarters, and even in certain Party circles, there exists a gross underestimation of the process of fascism now going on in the country. This dangerous shortcoming stems from a *one-sided* appraisal of the fact that the camp of peace, democracy and socialism is invincible and constantly grows in strength. It stems from an incorrect estimate of the war danger and the increasingly rapacious, aggressive and adventurist policies of Wall Street abroad and at home. This underestimation in practice of the twin menace of war and fascism is stimulated by the fact that many sections of the democratic camp have learned to live with, and to accommodate themselves to, an aggressive imperialist war policy and a host of reactionary and pro-fascist measures and acts like the North Atlantic war alliance, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Loyalty Oath, the mili-

tarization program, the Foley Square frame-up, etc. There is now a great danger that many anti-fascists and non-fascists will completely miss the cumulative effects of this pro-fascist process and fail to see that at some point a qualitative change may take place, as, for instance, if the Mundt Bill were to be enacted and enforced.

For, what would the passage and implementation of such a fascist measure as the Mundt Bill signify? In brief, it would constitute a major victory for the war camp and a severe defeat for labor and all democratic forces. It would extend and intensify the police-state system which already exists and it would provide, as we have pointed out, a legal, constitutional cloak and instrumentality for bringing to completion the many-sided process of advanced war preparations and fascization now under way. Naturally, if the bill were adopted, it would be necessary and possible to continue to mount a mighty mass movement to nullify its enforcement and to restore and advance democratic liberties and progress.

But the big question, the decisive question now is to defeat the Mundt Bill and thus to help prevent the victory of fascism. I think it is necessary to warn that many comrades, including many of our leading cadres, still underestimate the fact that the Mundt Bill is in danger of passing.

On the pain of disaster, we must not rest content with the present level

of mass opposition to this Nazi-like measure—even though this broad democratic opposition continues to grow in scope and power and has a fighting chance to win. Nor must we allow ourselves to be misled by the statements of certain Senators that the bill has a low priority on the Senate calendar, or by a letter of a representative of the Department of Justice to the Un-American Committee which indirectly questions the constitutionality of the bill, etc.

For the facts are that this monstrous bill did pass the Senate Judiciary Committee almost unanimously. The facts are that today only a small percentage of Congressmen are committed to defeat it. And in the face of the attack that is being spearheaded by McCarthy and the *Chicago Tribune* against the State Department, it is unlikely that even all of the so-called New Deal Administration supporters in Congress will wage an active struggle to defeat the Mundt Bill. Above all, the facts are that 1950 is not 1948; today American imperialism has stepped up its aggressive war preparations; it has hurled its challenge of the policy of "total diplomacy," of "heating up the cold war." All these considerations make the defeat of the Mundt Bill a most serious and formidable undertaking, calling for extraordinary measures of mass mobilization which alone can defeat this un-American conspiracy.

In view of the lateness of the hour and considering the appropriate decisions already made by the Plenum, I shall not elaborate on what needs to be done. Suffice it to say that if I were to do so, my remarks would be directed primarily to the need of expanding and explaining again and again what the bill means to the American working people; to the need of organizing the broadest unity of action, of mounting a mass struggle that would reinforce the flood of telegrams and resolutions now under way by mass demonstrations and by other mass actions. And I would underscore the necessity of waging this fight, not on the defensive, but by developing a counter-offensive, involving appropriate mass activity and putting forward the following slogans of actions:

Outlaw the H-bomb—Defeat the Mundt Bill!

Enact F.E.P.C.—Bury the Mundt Bill!

Repeal Taft-Hartley — Ban the Mundt Bill!

Enforce the Bill of Rights—Scuttle the Mundt Bill!

OBJECTIVES IN THE 1950 ELECTIONS

Now, a few sketchy comments on the Congressional elections.

At the end of November we mapped out our main objectives and tactical line for the 1950 elections. Since then, this orientation has been

approved and developed further in the States and by the discussions and deliberations of this Plenum.

Concretely, what are we aiming at in these elections? Obviously, for one thing, we and other progressives aim to elect a bloc of pro-peace, pro-labor Congressmen, embracing third party adherents, independents, and some anti-war elements who may contest one or another of the old-party primaries. At the same time, we Communists will declare ourselves opposed to, and will not support, any proponents of the bipartisan war program, though we will give top priority to, and *concentrate on*, defeating the most aggressive and fascist-minded of the warmongers.

What else do we strive for? As the reports of Comrade Gus Hall and others have stressed, we strive to strengthen the third party movement around the Progressive Party, around a number of independent and pro-peace tickets and coalitions which will operate through various electoral media.

What other related objectives have we? To promote everywhere, regardless of political affiliation, unity of action of the labor and progressive forces. We aim to crusade for peace everywhere, and, together with this, for democratic liberties and economic security and, not least of all, to rally in one or another mass campaign and struggle for peace, democracy and jobs the great mass of the working people who in these elections will

still vote for Administration or G.O.P. candidates.

In so doing, we are mindful of the fact that generally, and especially this year, the parliamentary form of struggle, important as it is and can be, is not the main form of the mass struggle. It is not the chief means to effect a progressive, anti-imperialist political re-alignment to influence events. It is an important means, it must not be underestimated, but it is not the chief means.

In this connection, and finally, I would emphasize that in the forefront of our political objectives for the year 1950—central objectives for Communists and non-Communists in the election, and above all in every phase and front of the people's movement, are the following: to compel the Administration to enter into honest negotiations with the Soviet Union—to scrap the Baruch Plan and to reach an agreement for outlawing the A- and H-bomb, for inaugurating gradual and universal disarmament, and for arranging early peace treaties with Germany and Japan based on the Potsdam agreement; and to compel the Government to extend diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China and to enter into normal trade relations with the new China, the People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R.

Likewise, we will give top priority to defeating the Mundt Bill; to enforcing the enactment of effective Federal, state and municipal F.E.P.C.

legislation and to take effective executive measures to prohibit and penalize discrimination against the Negro people in the fields of housing, education, health, social security, etc., as well as to ensuring the exercise of their right to vote; and to protecting the trade unions, improving wages and working conditions, expanding unemployment security and relief, as well as Federal and state aid to the most exploited farmers and sharecroppers.

Comrades, these immediate objectives can be realized in full or in part in the year 1950. They can be achieved through clarity, unity and struggle. They can be realized if we recognize the favorable relationship of forces on a world scale, the strengthening of our camp, the camp of peace, democracy and socialism; and especially if we take into account and base ourselves on the new militant, democratic and anti-war currents taking place in the country, and if we resolutely and vigorously work to help organize a united mass movement and democratic people's coalition under militant working-class leadership.

ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE TRIAL

Now for some questions on the trial of the Eleven and some points of theory.

Our trial was historic because of the fundamental democratic issues involved, because of the high stakes

and because of the struggle waged by our Party in and outside of the courtroom. In a number of respects, the Foley Square trial for our people was what the Leipzig Trial was for the Germans and other nations.

While we did not win the verdict, which was stacked, we did, by the courageous and effective struggle that was waged, win a political and moral victory. We did succeed in rallying considerable mass support in defense of the Party. We did expose, and stiffen the popular mass opposition to, the bipartisan drive toward war and fascism, which spawned the trial.

We lost the battle, but not the war. We did prevent the immediate imprisonment of our National Committee. We did upset the time-table of pro-fascist reaction. And we gained valuable time for ourselves, for labor and all progressives, in which to mobilize the forces of peace and democracy to reverse the verdict, to invalidate the Smith Act and to organize a great people's movement and democratic coalition.

Now the key and next stage of the fight for nullifying the verdict of Foley Square is the mass fight to defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill. Mass opposition to this un-American bill and the principles upon which it rests—and especially if this fascist legislation is defeated—will undermine the foundations of the infamous Foley Square verdict.

From here, I would like to touch on another aspect of the trial. History

will record, and any serious evaluation today will also establish, not only that we 12 defendants fought courageously, but also that our Party from top to bottom ably defended its political line, and championed the aims and principles of Marxism-Leninism.

However, this over-all positive estimate should not keep us from recognizing certain weaknesses and a few errors which were made in the course of the trial, in the process of our individual and collective contributions.

One category of weaknesses, it seems to me at least, was that, while we made clear that our Party does not advocate force and violence, and while we showed who did: the Men of the Trusts, the reactionaries—we did not sufficiently defend the historic, democratic right of the people, of the majority, to revolution.

Our position would have been strengthened and we would have dealt a more effective blow against the "foreign agent" slander, and we would have rendered greater aid to all peoples struggling for national liberation and social emancipation, had we placed more emphasis on the democratic right and traditions of the American working class and people to exercise, in their majority, if and when they so choose, the inalienable right of revolution. We did this, but I am inclined to think in retrospect, we did not do it sufficiently.

Another shortcoming, it seems to me, was our failure to make maximum use of the jury challenge. If we had fought more effectively on this issue, we might have exposed more clearly the sham jury and grand jury process which is controlled by the men of Wall Street. But irrespective of this, the jury challenge afforded us an opportunity to expose even more effectively than was otherwise possible our frameup and to unmask the process of fascization and corruption that has engulfed a part of the courts. Moreover, this issue provided another link by which to bring closer wider sections of the labor movement and especially of the Negro and Jewish peoples into active defense of the democratic rights of the Party and the Bill of Rights. However, we did not succeed in imbuing the entire Party with this understanding. In my judgment we still have certain opportunities on this score which must be used.

There is another category of weaknesses and unclaritys, which it is incumbent on us to recognize and overcome.

It was correct and essential to point out as we did, not only that we Communists do not advocate force and violence, but also that as a result of international developments over the past 15 years or so, and the developing people's anti-war coalition within the country, certain possibilities could arise to elect and establish a pro-peace, democratic coalition govern-

ment. It seems to me, that these possibilities, including the presentation of the perspective and new possibilities for realizing a People's Front government, were properly emphasized. However, it is my judgment that in the material published in this connection, we did not clearly enough present our position on the law of proletarian revolution, which governs the rise of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, whatever its form. We did not, of course, abandon or repudiate this Marxist-Leninist principle. We defended it at the trial. However, in doing so there were certain weaknesses, as well as the great handicaps imposed by the court.

For instance, in my summation and in Comrade Foster's document we dealt with this question. We upheld this basic principle. Yet some of our statements are faulty or unhappily formulated, and certainly some formulations are open to misinterpretation. Moreover, and above all, the tremendous limitations of the trial and of the trial procedures prevented us from dealing with this question fully and clearly enough.

It was not necessary or advisable that in the trial we attempt to provide a final answer to all questions of the future, possible or hypothetical—and certainly under the court's rulings this was not possible. We were not called upon—nor were we allowed—to give lectures on our theory or expound all aspects of our principles and tactics. This is particularly so

when one is forced to try an untriable case in a court room.

In raising these questions, I want to alert you comrades to be on guard against the Browderites, the Franklinites and similar Tito-ite elements who, in a provocative and slanderous way, are trying to vilify our leadership and trial strategy, and who allege that we have "revised" Marxism. I also want to warn against any wrong interpretations that have arisen or may arise from a superficial evaluation of our publications in connection with the trial.

We must estimate our documents and related trial publications, taking into account many things. Surely we must take into account what was said and what was written. Doing this, we would come to the conclusion that our general strategy and political line was correct. We would consider our position and material in connection with the particular form of concrete struggle against the warmongers and fascists which the trial manifested. We would understand, too, that the rulings of the court compelled us to deal with many questions, not fully, but only in part—even though we waged an increasing struggle in the restrictive atmosphere of the courtroom against the efforts of the government and the court to prevent us from presenting our case.

We must also realize that in the course of the trial, while we made significant contributions to enriching the political line of our Party and

some aspects of our theoretical work—and this was done in the first place by Comrade Foster—conditions under which we worked and the limitations imposed by the court, did not make it possible for us in any of our documents or testimony to say the last word on all questions, including a number of tactical, theoretical and important political questions that we dealt with.

I consider it highly important to refer to these matters, even if I lack the time to spell them out. I consider it imperative and long overdue to do this, because, starting from the sound premise that our main line was and is correct, some comrades, without a full consideration of the evidence, issues and the objective circumstances, have misunderstood some aspects of our trial material, or have seized upon certain loose formulations and have construed them almost into a system of thought, which has nothing in common with our position in the trial, with our line, our program, with Marxism—while other comrades have bureaucratically and very uncritically defended up to every last comma, every document submitted in the process of the trial as being immune to criticism or improvement.

In relation to this I would like to refer briefly to one specific question raised only incidentally and indirectly in connection with the trial—a question around which a number of erroneous points of view have been set

forth in the post-trial period. This deals with the problems of People's Front government and People's Democracies. I want to underscore that here I intend to deal particularly, primarily, with certain incorrect and harmful interpretations and distortions that recently have found circulation within and around the ranks of the Party.

In connection with the perspectives of establishing a People's Front government, many comrades have distorted the position of our Party which we outlined in our 1948 National Convention, and during the trial. They mistakenly emphasize only one aspect of this struggle, the parliamentary form of struggle. They do not emphasize, or they ignore, the connection between this front of struggle and the many forms of extra-parliamentary mass struggle. In fact, some comrades even have alleged that in this period the electoral struggle has become the dominant form of mass struggle, forgetting other, key forms of economic and political mass struggle.

Let us be clear: A People's Front government, to realize its anti-war and anti-fascist aims, would have to curb the powers of monopoly capital. Such a government can be established, generally speaking, only under a number of conditions, which must include the following prerequisites:

First, the existence of a political crisis in the country. Second, the existence of militant unity of action of decisive sections of the working class,

leading a broad people's coalition and waging a resolute extra-parliamentary, as well as an increased parliamentary struggle. Third, a situation in which the Communist Party plays a leading role in this labor and people's coalition.

Further, a word on the question of the People's Front government and a People's Democracy. We should be on-guard against a loose handling of these two questions and a certain tendency of some comrades to equate them. Also, in this connection, it is necessary to take issue with any idea that a People's Front government can automatically evolve into a People's Democracy, can grow over and willy-nilly transform itself into a People's Democracy. A People's Democracy is a form of the Dictatorship of the working class, which can arise during the course of, or after, smashing the power, of the monopolies, of capitalism. It can be established with or without the previous existence of a People's Front government.

We American Communists advocate and struggle to help realize a People's Front, anti-war and anti-fascist government, because today, and in the coming period, the conditions for this course are developing, and this would provide the best and easiest way forward for our workers and people. It could help prevent the victory of fascism and could help establish a stable, a long-term peace. But I would mention in passing, without belaboring the point—it is not yet written in history that the

formation of a People's Front government is an inevitable law of political-social development. However, under the postwar condition of the new dangers of war and fascism, as well as the new opportunities for forging the united labor and People's Front—conditions are maturing favorable to promoting the establishment of a People's Front government.

In any event, regardless of the specific circumstances or features under which a People's Front government might be established, what prerequisites have proved to be essential in order to achieve a People's Democracy?

Aside from the cardinal factor that the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. was and is the decisive factor paving the way for the establishment of the new People's Democracies—and without analyzing specifically the liberating role of the Soviet Union in the anti-Axis war and the effects of this upon the countries of Eastern Europe and China—what general, over-all conditions are necessary in order to help establish a People's Democracy? Facts, history, appear to require, at least, a combination of the following factors:

That there exist an acute and deep-going political crisis, whatever its national peculiarities, representing an historic turning point in class relations. Secondly, that there exist a united working class, not only unity of action, a united working class fighting in alliance with its popular

allies, which takes the path of revolutionary struggle to attain state power for the working class. If a People's Front government exists and is waging a determined struggle to curb the power of the monopolies, this could result in the realization of a situation favorable to a relatively peaceful course of the struggle for working-class power. And for this we strive, we struggle.

But the point here is that a revolutionary struggle of the decisive majority of the workers and their allies will decide things; history has shown that there will not be an automatic "growing-over" from a People's Front government to a People's Democracy. Third, to assure victory, to help establish a People's Democracy, it is necessary that the Communist Party must be, not only a leading and influential factor, but that the working class must fight under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Party exercising not "a" but "the" leading role.

There is still another question that merits the greatest attention in connection with the problems of the People's Front government. Namely, how to create the political conditions to establish such a government, so to say, how to get there. We cannot draw a blueprint on this, but it is sufficient to say that the path lies along the lines we mapped out in our 1945 and 1948 national conventions. It lies along the road of extending the political influence and strengthening the mass base of our

Party; of forging the militant united action of labor; of expanding the Negro national-liberation movement; of establishing close ties with, and working-class influence among, big sections of the most exploited farmers; of ensuring that labor will play the key and leading part in a powerful people's and democratic coalition, and in the broadest front for peace.

Here I would like to stress that the struggle for peace, the people's fight to bridle the warmongers, the Wall Street monopolies—a struggle in which the working class must play, not only an influential but the leading role—that this is the central issue now confronting the American people. Thus, it is *also* the key link in the coming period to help bring about major political realignments in the interests of the people and hence to create conditions favorable to the formation of an anti-imperialist, anti-war people's government.

CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE OF OUR PARTY AND OUR CLASS

I have posed a number of these questions for your thinking. The National Committee, which has arrived at an informal consensus of opinion on these questions, in the near future will undoubtedly complete its discussion on these problems.

Our Party must approach these questions in the most responsible way,

constantly bearing in mind among other things the situation in which we operate. We can resolve all problems and points of difference or unclarity positively if we evaluate them within the framework of the main political line of the Party, including its application in the trial, which was and is correct. Within that framework we can then proceed to examine and where necessary to rectify, inadequacies, unclarity or errors, or any distortions which have grown up during or since the end of the trial.

We can and we must do this, as well as tackle all of our problems, in the spirit of Communist criticism and self-criticism. If we do this we will enhance, not diminish the historic role of the Party and its leadership in the battle of Foley Square. If we do this, this will not be an academic undertaking; it will help clarify perspectives, enhance our Marxist-Leninist understanding and enable us concretely to advance our theoretical work and contributions on all other questions.

Likewise, if we do this, our Party will strengthen itself politically, ideologically and organizationally. And we will imbue the workers and other progressives with greater confidence in our Party and its leadership and in the ultimate victorious outcome of the big and sharpening struggles upon which we enter at this historic turn of the mid-century—the new half century that will witness the triumph of Socialism on a world scale.

Building the Party—Key to Building the United Front of Struggle*

By Henry Winston

THIS NATIONAL COMMITTEE meets in a situation fraught as never before with the fascist menace to the working class, the entire American people, and our Party.

I speak of course of the Mundt-Ferguson Bill. This bill is the bloody dagger of fascism, aimed at the Party, the labor and progressive movements, and at the very heart of the Bill of Rights. This bill seeks to outlaw our Party as a pre-condition for establishing a police state. If this bill is not yet law, no thanks are due to the pro-fascists on Capitol Hill, but to the instantaneous response of the Communist Party and the labor movement, to the civil rights groups and to anti-fascist and democratic forces in our country.

The situation, nevertheless, is most serious. The bill passed the Senate Judiciary Committee by a vote of 12 to 1. The war forces are determined in their effort to carry through a blitz to intimidate and silence all opposition to the war drive. Their desperation grows in consequence of a series of major defeats for the

war policy of U.S. imperialism abroad, and of the mounting peace sentiment in the ranks of the working class and people of our country.

THE BLITZ AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS

The Mundt-Ferguson Bill is an attempt to outlaw the right to speak and act in defense of peace in our land; it is an extension of all reactionary and anti-democratic measures designed to place our country fully on a war footing for a predatory counter-revolutionary war. This peril can be met and overcome only if the full strength of our Party, the full strength of the labor movement and all democratic forces are organized and rallied in defense of peace and civil rights.

This is indeed a supreme test for our Party.

We can win that test, we can rout the enemy, if we have confidence in the working class and if we take decisive measures to mobilize the workers and the people against this danger.

But this will demand not only the

* Report to the Plenum on the Organizational Status of the Party.

maximum effort of every Party leader, functionary and member. It will above all demand that we go to the working class, that we draw upon the most democratic and best organized forces in the nation—the industrial workers. It will demand that we speedily and resolutely turn the full face of the Party to the shops and unions, if we are to win this decisive battle.

The working class of America does not want fascism. It wants democracy.

The working class does not want war. It wants peace.

The working class wants to maintain its unions and to secure improved conditions. It hates the monopolists. Its militancy, its mood of struggle is rising, as the miners' strike so vividly manifested. The working class, however, is not yet able to use its full strength, because it is disunited by the labor-imperialists. It does not yet see clearly the road to unity and against whom it should direct its fight. This is so, because, still lacking class consciousness on a mass scale, its vision is befogged by the smoke-screen of Red-baiting and anti-Soviet propaganda.

That is why the Communist Party must show the way. Never was the responsibility of the Party as leader, guide and organizer of the people as great as today.

The Party, armed with the compass of Marxism-Leninism and pos-

sessing thirty years of unsurpassed experience and tradition of militant struggle, must give clarity, unity and direction to the fight against the danger of fascism and war and against the intensified capitalist oppression.

It must fulfill its vanguard role with a will and determination unprecedented in our history, particularly in the fight against the vicious bill.

This monstrous piece of legislation is taken from the pages of *Mein Kampf* and adapted to American conditions. It is designed to accomplish at one blow the introduction of the most criminal features of the Nazi Gestapo and the Mikado's Near-Neighbor Police-Espionage system. Let us not forget that this piece of legislation is proposed after the Smith Act, the "loyalty" oaths, after the Taft-Hartley, Ober and Feinberg Laws and after the frame-up conviction of the leadership of the Communist Party. It is now publicized that 12,000 arrests and indictments under the Smith Act will follow the decision on the Communist trial. The fascist offensive will have reached a most advanced stage, if this Mundt Bill goes through.

This dictatorial legislation is backed by the G.O.P. as well as Administration forces. The go-head signal for the adoption of the bill by the Senate Judiciary Committee came from the Administration. It is true that partisan politics are in-

volved in this election year on this issue; however, the issue transcends partisan politics. Millions are beginning to understand that the Mundt Bill seeks to clear the road for the total cold war, or for "total diplomacy," as Acheson calls it—which means intensified preparations for a hot war.

It means the green light to the forces of reaction to work for the total political annihilation of everyone who might have uttered at any time the slightest constructive thought regarding democracy or peace.

Why should Mr. Acheson complain about the fascist-minded McCarthy's charges against the State Department? Mr. McCarthy is but carrying out the spirit and letter of Acheson's "total diplomacy."

No amount of belly crawling of the Kenyons and Jessups will placate the fascist-minded warmongers. They want abject surrender.

For the labor movement, "total diplomacy" means nothing less than complete surrender of the workers' right to struggle; it means total support by labor to a reactionary imperialist program at home and abroad.

"Total diplomacy" means that the labor and the Negro people's organizations must cease fighting for F.E.P.C., anti-lynch, anti-poll tax legislation.

"Total diplomacy" means that the million voices raised against the

hydrogen bomb, from the trade unions, church, civic, fraternal, liberal and progressive organizations are to be silenced. It means stifling the voices calling for peace talks between the United States and the Soviet Union.

But is it not clear that the arrogant imperialists are asking for the impossible? Is it not clear that a sharp cleavage is already now developing, and will continue to grow, within the ranks of the working-class and Negro people's organizations—a cleavage between the rank and file on the one hand and the Social-Democratic, labor-reformist and bourgeois-nationalist leadership, on the other? The speed with which the millions will move will depend upon their ability to see and comprehend the issues. During the recent war, which was a just war, the American ruling class was not able to stop the working class and Negro liberation movements from fighting for their demands. Under conditions of sharpening class struggle and the increasing danger of a fascist-imperialist slaughter, the working class and its allies, once they come to grasp what is at stake, will act determinedly.

UNITED-FRONT STRUGGLE CAN DEFEAT FASCISM

Well do the atomic war-incendiaries recognize this. This explains the speed with which they are attempting to push through the Mundt-Ferguson Bill. The greatest

crime that could be committed by Communists, by all anti-fascist and democratic forces—whose stand today will be judged by history—is to underestimate this measure. Only by alertness to the imminent danger of the bill's passage is it possible to determine the line of action necessary to defeat it. The Mundt-Ferguson Bill can, and must, be defeated. The objective and subjective factors are present which enable us to bring the issues to the masses, arouse and organize them for militant action in defense of their liberties against fascism. There can be nothing that stands in the way of this major task.

What is the link that must be seized at this moment which will move into action a whole chain of struggles? That link is the united front—a united-front struggle that will involve millions upon the broad platform that can unite them: *Defend the Bill of Rights! No Police State!*

It is clear that this united-front struggle will not develop by itself. It has to be fought for and organized. But only the Communist vanguard can give the qualitative leadership necessary to achieve this.

Our Party is the champion of the Socialist society. It is this Socialist perspective that enables us to fight resolutely for the democratic liberties of our people today.

The achievement of Socialism is the struggle for democracy brought to its completion, and is not its de-

nial; but that is proletarian, Socialist democracy, the highest democracy, and not the limited, precarious and ever-waning bourgeois democracy.

The millions of Americans are unfortunately not yet adherents of a Socialist system of society, of proletarian democracy. But they are adherents of bourgeois-democratic liberties, of the democratic rights which they and the generations before them have fought out.

It is the Communist Party's tireless struggle for the defense and extension of the people's democratic rights, and the desire of the masses to maintain them, which represents our common bond with millions of workers and toilers and creates the conditions for a successful united struggle to bar the path to fascism.

This community of interest enables Communists, anti-fascists, and non-fascist masses to join in common struggle, not only to defeat this measure, but to unfold a counter-offensive against every piece of reactionary legislation now on the statute books.

The fight to achieve such unity is an expression of the vanguard role of our Party. This is what Marx meant when he said in the *Communist Manifesto*:

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 (*Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 240).

In the present period, more evidently than ever before, in the struggles of the American working class, the role, activities and organization of the Communist Party is decisive!

THE COURAGEOUS FIGHT OF OUR PARTY

In the light of this historic responsibility, what is the state of our Party organization?

Just as we understand the indispensable need for building and strengthening the Communist vanguard, the class enemy seeks to destroy it.

That is why in recent years, and most openly since 1948, the monopoly ruling class and its government have directed their attacks upon us on many fronts:

The frame-up trial indictment and conviction of our Party leaders; Grand Jury indictment of State and County Party leaders in Denver, Los Angeles, Houston and Dallas; attacks upon foreign-born comrades, with threats of deportation, which spread from one end of the country to another; state laws of a Mundt-Ferguson character sponsored in Maryland, Illinois, Michigan, California, Washington and other states; attacks on Party-organized meetings in Pittsburgh, New Jersey and Con-

necticut, and attacks upon individual Party leaders and their families; contempt citation against the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Eugene Dennis, and a wide use of stoolpigeons, spies and provocateurs, not only in the Communist Party, but in the trade unions; Truman's "loyalty" oaths in government service, now extended by many employers to private industry; Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits sponsored by the bipartisans in Congress, directed against Communist and militant leaders in unions; the reactionary Social-Democratic and labor-bureaucrat drive against Communist leadership in unions and the expulsion from the C.I.O. of Left-progressive-led unions.

And all this, in an atmosphere of unceasing anti-Communist "spy" hysteria, in the press, over the radio, in the movies, and from the pulpits.

The full weight of the reactionary, imperialist bourgeois state apparatus, inclusive of the Republican and Democratic parties, and with the willing aid of Social-Democratic leaders and the leaders of the labor-bureaucrats, all and sundry, were united to isolate our Party from the working class, and to outlaw it.

Our Party fought back in a manner that will be recorded as one of the brightest chapters in the fight of the American people for freedom.

Our Party leaders, in Foley Square, at immigration hearings, before Grand Juries, and before the Un-

American Committee, defended the Party and its Marxist-Leninist science with honor.

The membership rallied in large numbers to the Party and its leadership as never before. This expressed itself in greater activities, repeated demonstrative actions and protests, house-to-house agitation, and participation with other groups in delegations, mass meetings, and picket lines.

While the bourgeois radio and press were almost completely closed to us, our Party nevertheless issued, on national and state levels, between six and seven million leaflets. If we add to this figure the leaflets issued by the counties, sections, and clubs, the number would be tripled, if not quadrupled.

We circulated, on the trial, a million-and-a-half pamphlets. There were issued 4,704,028 "Penny Extras" of the *Daily Worker*, including the Dennis Summation and the Foster Deposition—an all-time high level.

The Party launched and concluded successfully three fund drives, raising nationally a total of \$2,500,000. And in the fight for the release on bail of the convicted leaders of the Party, a bail fund of more than \$1,000,000 was raised in less than 10 days.

As to the state of the Party organization, the answer is that our Party has become hardened in struggle, better consolidated, ideologic-

ally and organizationally. Our membership has shown increased activity, self-sacrifice and devotion. We can be proud of our Party. With a realistic and critical view of its weaknesses, our Party is undertaking to strengthen itself in every way for the present and bigger battles to come. As Marxist-Leninists, we make a review of every battle—the positive aspects and the shortcomings.

SOME VITAL FACTS ON OUR PARTY'S STATUS

Needless to say, so unprecedented a drive, such ceaseless attacks, as have been unleashed by reaction could not but have some retarding influences upon our Party organization.

What are the facts?

We registered to date 83 percent of our 1949 membership. This 83 percent registration will no doubt be increased to 85 percent, meaning a 15 percent fluctuation for the year 1950.

The 1950 fluctuation is lower than those of the years 1949 and 1948. This reduced fluctuation, however, takes place on the basis of a sharp downward curve in recruiting during 1949, which accounts in part for a slight reduction in the total membership of our Party.

The following table will show (in percentages) the districts above the national average:

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86; Georgia, 85; Iowa, 85; California, 85; Minnesota, 85½; New Jersey, 85; Connecticut, 84; New England, 84; Wisconsin, 84; Illinois, 83½; New York, 83; Northwest, 83.

These figures indicate the high level of organized political struggle conducted for maintaining the Party membership.

On the other hand, there are districts whose registration average is substantially below that of the national average. In such instances the contradiction is that in most of these districts, too, the work of the Party is characterized by a growing and expanding mass activity. The precondition for ending this lag in registration is to be found precisely in these positive developments—in this developing mass activity.

The following (in percentages) is the picture relative to these districts:

Ohio, 81; Michigan, 78; Alabama,

	<i>Auto</i>	<i>Electrical</i>	<i>Steel</i>	<i>Coal</i>	<i>Rubber</i>	<i>Railroad</i>
January 1949	100	100	100	100	100	100
January 1950	96	82	85	104.3	85.5	87.5

78; Colorado, 77½; Virginia, 77½; Eastern Pennsylvania, 77; Western Pennsylvania, 75; Texas, 74; Oregon, 67½; Louisiana, 55.

The conclusions are obvious in regard to these districts:

1. That the registration of Party membership cannot be regarded as completed; and that the raising of the national average from 83 to 85 percent will be solved primarily here.

2. That the State leadership must

undertake special measures to guarantee completion of registration in the next two or three weeks, as an indispensable part of the fight to raise the qualitative level of the growing mass movements.

These general figures, while important, do not give us the basic problems involved in the completion of the registration. In the fight to complete the registration, primary attention must be given to registering our industrial membership in general, and our Negro membership in particular.

I should like to point out, by citing the registration results thus far, some key problems for our Party in the concentration districts.

The following, for example, is the registration picture of our membership in Ohio in several of the concentration industries:

This chart shows an increase in

membership among coal miners and a slight drop among auto and railroad workers, a loss which can be overcome; but it poses in sharp focus the problem of fighting to complete the registration among electrical workers, steel and rubber workers. However, these figures show the fundamental health and stability of our Party in the concentration industries. When this is taken together with the unfolding mass work against speed-up, against the discriminatory firing

of Negro workers, and the struggle for peace, we can say that distinct possibilities are present for the completion of the registration and strengthening the Party organization in these industries.

Of the total registered membership the Ohio District, it should be noted, registered the same percentage of Negro comrades as it did last year—30 percent.

In Western Pennsylvania the following is the picture:

	<i>Electrical</i>	<i>Steel</i>	<i>Coal</i>
January 1949	100	100	100
January 1950	80	71	93

The registration in Pittsburgh started off very well. But the fight to complete it was halted precisely at the moment when our Party in Western Pennsylvania was playing an outstanding role in the recent coal miners' strike. Our comrades were active in raising relief for the strikers, in distributing many thousands of leaflets, as well as the *Daily Worker*, and in obtaining scores of subscriptions to *The Worker*. In addition, the Party undertook to rally public support to the miners from unionists and other people's organizations. It was the initiative of the electrical workers in Pittsburgh that set off the chain reaction throughout the country for support to the miners. But these activities were undertaken at the expense of completing the registration, which meant a

neglect of the Party organization.

Our Party in Pittsburgh was confronted in addition with a special problem. The concentrated attacks in the Pittsburgh area against our Party, and against foreign-born comrades in particular, by the press, the use of stoolpigeons, and the printing of lists of names, also tended to divert our comrades from the job of mobilizing the Party membership, from consolidating the organization by completing the registration, from building a mass movement to meet this pro-fascist onslaught.

The registration in Pittsburgh cannot be regarded as complete. Special steps are needed to bring the average up to that of the national figure. There can be no contradiction between strengthening our Party and undertaking to build democratic and anti-fascist mass movements.

Of the total membership, the following indicates the percentage of the Negro comrades registered:

January 1949	11 percent
January 1950	13 percent

Here we have an improved situation. This is a positive feature which indicates a more stable situation. But this percentage is taken from the incomplete total registration. The problem of completing the registration still involves a struggle for our Negro membership; for the positive act of raising the general registration total could very well decrease

proportionately the percentage of Negro members. Thus, the fight for completing the registration generally must simultaneously be a fight for registering additional Negro comrades in shops and communities.

In Illinois the following is the status of our Party in the main industries:

	<i>Auto</i>	<i>Electrical</i>	<i>F. E.</i>	<i>Packing</i>	<i>Steel</i>	<i>Railroad</i>
January 1949	100	100	100	100	100	100
January 1950	71	76.7	113.7	93.7	112.4	158

The figures reveal an increase of our membership in the steel, farm-equipment and railroad industries, and a slight decline in the packing industry. The biggest drop has taken place in the auto and electrical industries. These varying figures of growth and decline in respect to the different industries again involve basically our Negro composition, and express the unevenness in unfolding the struggle for the rights of Negro workers in these industries.

Of the total membership, the following picture indicates the percentage of Negro members:

January 1949	25 percent
January 1950	28 percent

Thus, we have an increase over last year in terms of total figures, which is directly related to the Party's general struggle against white chauvinism and the fight for Negro rights in Illinois.

In Michigan, I wish to refer only to the auto workers:

January 1949	100 percent
January 1950	105 percent

Michigan not only held its own, but showed an increase in membership among the auto workers. This is associated with the mass struggles against speed-up, for wage increases and pensions, over the past year. In these struggles our Party played a

leading role in helping to build non-factional coalition movements to defend the interests of the auto workers. Yet it must be said that this increase in membership was not due so much to bringing in new members as it was to re-recruiting of former members of the Party. This positive development points the way for a more rapid tempo of Party building among auto workers.

Insofar as the Negro membership is concerned we note a decline as follows:

January 1949	19 percent
January 1950	17 percent

Without commenting in detail on this question, it is clear that our Party in Michigan must view with concern this decline in our Negro membership. Negro workers in Michigan constitute a militant and decisive section of the auto workers, and our Party enjoys tremendous prestige among them. Our Party has the task of substantially increasing its numerical strength among the

Negro workers in this very important industrial state.

In California we have the following situation in selected concentration industries:

	<i>Carpenters Teamsters</i>		<i>Auto</i>	<i>Radio & Elect.</i>	<i>Steel</i>
January 1949	100	100	100	100	100
January 1950	104.4	141.2	171	105	98.5

These figures show an increase in membership among the carpenters and teamsters and the auto, electrical and radio workers, and a slight decrease among steel workers. The situation in Longshore and Warehouse has not been adequately analyzed; however, we understand some losses have taken place. But these figures indicate a real struggle for industrial composition, resulting almost uniformly in an increase of Party membership, industry by industry.

Insofar as our Negro membership is concerned, we see the following:

January 1949	14	percent
January 1950	13½	percent

Thus, the registration of Negro comrades did not keep pace with that of the industrial membership, resulting in a slight decrease. Clearly, a little push can not only bring about the achievement of last year's average, but can surpass it.

In New York State, we have the following data as regards key industries:

	<i>Electrical Longshore Marine</i>			<i>Steel Auto R.R. Transport</i>			
January 1949	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
January 1950	115.4	119	72.9	98.7	104	146.4	82.3

These figures indicate a membership increase in the electrical, longshore, railroad and auto industries, and a slight decline in the steel industry. Note should, however, be

taken of the sharp drop in the maritime industry. Our Party has taken the initiative to build a rank-and-file movement which reacts to the grievances of the seamen, fights for the unemployed, and struggles against Curran's corruption and bureaucracy. The Party made, and is making, an indispensable contribution to this movement which already involves thousands of seamen, but this splendid development does not reflect itself in the registration results. Politically speaking, what does this show, but a persistence of economism in our trade-union work.

In regard to our Negro membership, the following is the picture:

January 1949	9½	percent
January 1950	9½	percent

Such are the figures, which show an uneven development, representing growth in some industries, in others a holding of our own, while in still others, a slight decline. Figures from these selected industries reflect the main trend in all districts. It is from these facts that we must

draw conclusions as regards the building and strengthening of our Party in general, and in the basic industries in particular.

THE CLUB—KEY TO BUILDING THE PARTY

These figures show the fundamental health of our Party, its stability; and they show a Party that is being tempered under conditions of sharpened class struggle. On the basis of giving qualitatively improved leadership to the struggles now developing, our Party will continue to grow. The building and strengthening of our Party among the basic workers is indispensable to help the working class successfully to meet monopoly reaction's drive toward fascism and war.

It is necessary, after recording the positive facts about our Party, to examine self-critically a number of shortcomings, without which it will be impossible for the Party to strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally, and enhance its vanguard role.

Some comrades say: The reason our Party did not emerge numerically stronger from this registration was due to the fact that we neglected to build the Party. This is undoubtedly true. But the answer is so general that it does not enable us to put our finger on a number of questions basic to the building and strengthening of the Party. When the question is put—in what did the neglect express itself?—the answer

is given: We didn't launch a recruiting drive in 1949. This is also true; but it is only a partial answer to the problem. While a recruiting drive could well result in a numerically larger Party, it does not automatically result in a strengthened and consolidated Party under conditions in which we work.

Some comrades ask: Was it not inevitable that our Party should show a decline in membership, in view of the attacks against us? My reply is, no! The manifold tasks before our Party in the face of these attacks were bound to multiply the difficulties for us; but that is the logic of the class struggle. The very slightness of the decline itself refutes such a conclusion. With concentrated attention to overcoming weaknesses in our approach to key problems, we could have had an improved situation. Ours is the job of learning and mastering our science in such a way as to steel the Party, ideologically, politically and organizationally. For, as Stalin said, "difficulties exist for Communists only to be overcome." And this is a lesson that our Party is beginning to learn. It is this fact that enables us to look with confidence, not only toward the growing struggles of our class against reaction and fascism, but the growing role of our Party in helping to forge and lead united-front struggles of the masses.

Too often in the past we have been satisfied with the general answer of solving problems of Party growth

solely through the medium of launching a recruiting drive. Recruiting drives were needed in the past, are needed now and will be in the future; but such drives must be viewed within the framework of helping the basic Party organization solve a number of problems key to extending and consolidating the mass influence, mass work and mass growth of Party clubs, especially in the shops and working-class communities.

Let me illustrate this point. An analysis of the 1949 registration reveals the following picture relative to shop, industrial and community clubs:

- 1) Some clubs engaged actively in mass work, and the Party organization grew in numbers.
- 2) Some clubs engaged in active mass work, held their own, but did not grow.
- 3) Some clubs engaged in active mass work, but suffered a slight decline in membership.
- 4) Some clubs, not involved in active mass work in terms of working among organized masses, grew in membership.
- 5) Some clubs, not actively engaged in mass work, remained stationary.
- 6) Some clubs, not actively engaged in mass work, declined in membership.

What shall we learn from this table of variations?

The key to realizing the line of the Party is to be found in the clubs.

The key to Party building and growth is to be found in the clubs. And it is in the shop and community clubs that a number of political and organizational problems must be boldly tackled by every level of leadership of our Party as a pre-condition for the most rapid advances in the period ahead. Clearly, the launching of a recruiting drive can be regarded only as one aspect of Party building—not its beginning and not its end.

Involved here is the entire question of the character of leadership given to the clubs in general and to the executive committees of clubs in particular. This necessitates attention to helping the clubs formulate mass policies based upon the line of the Party within the club's area of activity—shop, industry or community. It means guiding the clubs to apply in life the tactic of the united front and to strengthen their organized ties with the masses. It means assistance to the clubs, on a regular and organized basis, to improve their ideological and political work among the membership and non-Party masses, with particular attention to the development and training of Communist cadres for effective work among the masses, through comradely criticism and self-criticism in the course of work, the organization of classes, schools and study circles, the promotion of individual study. In addition, the clubs should be helped to make regular and effective use of *Political Affairs*,

the *Daily Worker*, and *The Worker*; to achieve higher attendance at club meetings as well as regular monthly dues payments; and to involve the membership in greater numbers in club activities.

Attention to the solution of these problems is the very heart of Party building.

STRUGGLE FOR THE WORKERS' NEEDS: BASIS OF CONCENTRATION

The weakness in our work with the clubs is associated with weaknesses in unfolding our policy of industrial concentration.

While our National Convention formulated a clear-cut policy on concentration and every district undertook to carry it through, this policy was watered down in practice during the years 1948 and 1949.

There are some comrades who try to trace the cause of this weakness to an "absence of a political line." Others allege a "petty-bourgeois orientation" on the part of the Party—an echoing of a Browderite slander.

Facts show that not only do we have a clear political line but that we have begun to carry into effect our political line of industrial concentration, although still unevenly, both on a national scale and in the various districts. The advances made by labor in a number of industries such as auto, packing, electrical, mining, as well as the varying developments in steel, longshore and

maritime, could not have taken place without the participation, and in some cases the decisive role, of our Party. For, the carrying through of a sound policy of industrial concentration involves the defense of the interests of the working class and the organization of struggle against monopoly oppression.

Nor was it possible to abandon our policy of concentration during the period under review. This was a period of intense trial for the labor movement. The Taft-Hartley Law threatened, not only Left- and progressive-led unions, but all trade unions, in the first place the unions in the basic industries. The labor-reformist and Social-Democratic reactionaries in the C.I.O. had inaugurated their splitting and expulsion tactic over the question of support of the Truman Administration's reactionary, imperialist foreign and domestic policies. The struggle to defeat reaction in the 1948 elections on a pro-peace, anti-monopoly, and anti-fascist platform required winning the workers against the "lesser evil" illusion, for independent political action and support of the Progressive Party. In addition, the fight for the rights of Communists, for the legal existence of our Party, for the defeat of reactionary Federal and State bills directed against Communist and progressive organizations, necessarily involved a struggle to win the workers.

But the central weakness in the fight to win the workers around all

these issues consisted in the fact that the united front of struggle, the corner stone of a policy of industrial concentration, with notable exceptions, was inadequately waged and unevenly developed in the local unions, in the shops, and especially on a departmental level.

What, therefore, is the net result of such inadequacy? The rank and file do not become active participants in the fight; they are not in a position to draw lessons from the struggles to come; they do not see the difference between reformist and Communist leadership; the Party club is not mobilized as an independent force among the workers, but tends to trail behind their spontaneous actions, or, is concerned with questions of inner-functioning. Where struggles develop, individual Communists may participate, but the club as such does not. The result is that rank-and-file pressure for correct policies is not brought to bear on the leadership of the labor movement. Furthermore, the influence and numerical growth of our Party are bound to lag.

Let me illustrate by example how this worked out in some cases. What were the experiences in the 1948 elections? We exerted our influence in unions, various people's organizations, and in the communities, in support of the Progressive Party. We undertook to help, with others, to build this Party around a platform for peace, for U.S.-Soviet friendship, against fascism, for economic secur-

ity and for the curbing of the monopolies. Attempts were made to win a labor base for this party among the workers in Left-progressive unions and among the workers in Right-led unions. In some cases, serious efforts were made to establish organizations in the shops. But what happened? The campaign to create Wallace Committees in the shops involved a struggle against "lesser evil" illusions. Where a serious fight was waged, such illusions were overcome. But in elections you are faced with a deadline. With two or three months to go to Election Day, a trend away from the shops toward the communities for the building of the Progressive Party (and not always toward working-class communities) became evident in most states. Thus, while many progressive leaders of unions were won in support of the Progressive Party's candidates, the rank-and-file of those unions generally was not. And the rank-and-file was not won because, while the fight against "lesser evil" illusions is an ideological and political struggle, such a struggle could be effectively conducted only if the Progressive Party was built in the shops on the basis of championing the interests of the workers. This aspect of building united-front struggles was practically absent.

Or, let us take the struggle for peace. Our Party has waged a valiant fight for a correct peace policy in the labor movement. Indicative is the fight at the Portland and Cleveland

conventions of the C.I.O., at state conventions, in city bodies and in local unions. We have undertaken to influence and win the labor movement for a host of demands, such as for U.S.-Soviet peace talks, against the re-Nazification of Germany, for outlawing the A- and H-Bombs, for trade with the new China, for non-recognition of Franco-Spain, against an armament economy, etc. The fight for peace has found a foremost place in our press and literature brought to the workers in the basic industries. But what is the central weakness? It is the fact that the struggle for peace has not been brought into the shops, has not been linked up with and made part of the daily economic struggles of the workers in the plants. Yet, it is quite clear that a militant movement for peace, involving millions, cannot be developed except in proportion to the organized and active participation of the workers in the peace front.

Unfortunately, a tendency expresses itself, at least in practice, to be content with a peace movement which brings together scientists, intellectuals, liberals, ministers and other professional groups, sometimes with a sprinkling of top labor leaders. While all of these progressives have a place and can play a leading role in the peace camp, it must be crystal-clear that an effective movement which fights resolutely and consistently for peace can only be built when the working class heads

that movement. The lack of organized participation of the workers in the peace front can be overcome only with a qualitative improvement of the work of the Party in the shop.

The Labor Peace Conference organized in Chicago by progressive trade unionists is a welcome development. Our Party should give full support to the efforts to collect a million signatures for peace, and help to crystallize organizationally united-front movements for U.S.-Soviet collaboration, trade with China and the New Democracies, and against a program of militarizing American industry. The establishment of peace committees in the shops and departments will accelerate the development of the peace movement in our country.

Further in this connection is the area of struggle for Negro rights. One of the brightest pages in our Party's history has been its consistent fight against white chauvinism and the entire system of brutal racist oppression of the Negro people, expressed in increasing police violence, lynchings, frame-ups, Jim Crow and segregation. This fight has been taken to the country at large, to the unions, and to the various people's organizations. If many organizations now have a more advanced position on this question, it is due in large part to the leadership of our Party.

These excellent struggles that have been waged on a united-front basis have been properly directed toward

demanding redress of grievances from the city, state and Federal governments. But what do we notice here? We do go to the shops on this issue, more than others, to get support for various legislative measures—F.E.P.C., anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and anti-restrictive covenant legislation. But what is the weakness? We do not sufficiently link up the social and political problems faced by the Negro workers with the special problems of discrimination in the plants—such as for upgrading, against discriminatory firings and layoffs, and for the employment of Negro workers in “lily white” shops. Thus many white workers who see the need to support such legislative measures are not helped to understand the special demands of the Negro workers in the shops.

And, is it not true that many labor-reformists consciously strive to prevent white workers from engaging in united-front struggle for the solution of such issues at the point of production? The fight to reinforce the legislative front by actions on the specific grievances in the plants is the fight for a new quality in the struggle for Negro-white solidarity, which can be solved only in the shops.

Whether it be the issue of independent political action, the struggle for peace, the fight for Negro rights, or other basic issues—we are discussing in essence the problem of industrial concentration, which means

to make our policies the policies of the masses in struggle.

But these examples show that the coalition tactic our Party worked out beginning with the 1948 convention was not fully unfolded in the shops, was limited in the main to the most militant and advanced sections of the working class and of its allies. Thus, in practice, a one-sided application of the coalition policy existed. This one-sidedness is explained by a failure to understand the united-front tactic of struggle as the basis for extending the anti-monopoly, anti-war people's coalition, which embraces various class and social forces. This represents a distortion in practice of our policy of industrial concentration.

MASTER THE POLICY OF CONCENTRATION

The fight to master our policy of industrial concentration looms as a decisive question for us at this critical moment. The overture of Lewis to Murray on the question of a “Mutual Aid Pact” cannot be easily set aside. The desire for labor unity is growing among all sections of the workers. The tactic of the united front is the means of realizing this unity on a class-struggle basis. The united-front tactic is key to the fight for working-class unity and for establishing the leadership of the working class in the coalition to check and defeat fascist reaction. But it is precisely this fact which places

enormous responsibilities upon the Communist vanguard. For, only our Party is able to wage the necessary ideological, political and organizational struggle against labor-reformism and Social-Democracy, in such a way as to help the workers overcome the barriers to unity, to overcome the attempts of the false leaders to misdirect the rank-and-file urge for genuine unity. Such is the understanding needed in discussing further the implementation of our policy of concentration.

We are setting before ourselves big perspectives for 1950. This is not only because of the decisive character of the Congressional elections this year, but also because of the continued worsening of the conditions of the working class, the perspective of growing militant struggles, and the imperative need for effective Communist leadership to the masses resisting the monopolist offensive.

I want to endorse fully the inspiring greetings sent to this Plenum by Comrade Foster, the Chairman of our Party. I want to associate myself also with the splendid reports of Comrades Gus Hall, Ben Davis, John Williamson and Pettis Perry. Even though illness prevents Comrade Dennis from being here with us, his excellent leadership is reflected in the reports. The only method through which the objectives of these reports can be realized is by the bold, resolute fulfillment of our policy of industrial concentration.

What in general do we hope to realize in 1950? At a recent National Committee meeting Comrade Dennis stated that our objective is to "increase the influence of the people by strengthening the people's coalition and the Third Party movement through united mass actions; influence the course of governmental affairs; elect a Congress in which the advocates of peace and economic security and the Bill of Rights will emerge as an influential and serious factor on the basis of developing the widest united front actions of labor, the Negro people, farmers and intellectuals—with the definite aim of promoting the Third Party movements, as well as various progressive political alignments and coalitions."

It was to this central thesis that all of the reports were directed. This is a perspective which calls for improved standards in implementing a Leninist style in work—a method of work which avoids the function of merely recording events without being an important factor in determining their course. Hence, the need for making the stated objective the basis of activity among the workers on a department and shop level.

CONCRETE OPERATIVE LEADERSHIP TO THE SHOP CLUBS

To do this effectively requires attention to a series of problems related to the shop clubs.

In a general way, we can say that a most formal relationship exists between the leading committees on all levels with the shop clubs. This formal relationship expresses itself in many ways:

1. Failure to give systematic guidance to the clubs on the meaning of the united front and its development around partial issues on a department, shift, or shop level;

2. Weak assistance to the shop clubs in answering the specific ideological and political arguments that arise in the course of daily work, as well as the poisonous propaganda spread by the company, the labor reformists and the Social-Democrats.

3. Inadequate transmission of reports from the National Committee, the State Committee, the county and section meetings, in that the reports are not adapted in the discussions to the special problems of the shop clubs;

4. Insufficient attention especially to the problems of the workers from the national groups, the Negro workers, the women and young workers;

5. Insufficient attention to the training and development of non-full time cadres from among the shop-worker activists;

6. Inadequate attention to the political life of the shop clubs, to the use and circulation of the Party press, and to the organized study of *Political Affairs* and Marxist-Leninist classics;

7. Lack of systematic political check-up on the mass work of the clubs.

Is it not clear that the realization of the objectives of this Plenum demands a fundamental break with the formal relationships now existing and a change to one of concrete operative guidance to the shop clubs? Is it not clear that such an orientation also means that in addition to State Chairmen and Secretaries, in addition to Trade Union Secretaries, the Organizational Secretaries of the Party must re-orient their work to give primary emphasis to the work in the shops? This type of attention has not always been present, but this is needed now to bring about a qualitative change in the status of our shop clubs. And this can and must be done in the very fight against the intensifying attacks upon us.

Comrades participating in the discussion will no doubt give examples from a number of shops to support this thesis. But, we have to put an end to a situation where shop clubs are oftentimes by-passed on major questions, questions which are handled by some special committees instead of the clubs. I have in mind specific peace actions, certain aspects of the struggle against discrimination of Negroes, etc. Quite often important struggles take place in which the shop clubs are not involved. As a result we have not made sufficient progress in overcoming "economist" tendencies, such as trailing behind

the most backward workers, limiting the activity of the shop clubs to economic issues alone, or confining their role to that of "caucuses" or "election machines" to bolster this or that progressive leadership, etc. Under such conditions the shop clubs cannot become policy-making bodies, reacting to all issues confronting the workers, and playing their vanguard role within the shops.

We must undertake, following this Plenum, to strengthen the existing shop clubs, build new ones, and end the frozen situation in our industrial clubs in order to build, where possible, shop organizations. This is the basic question at the moment.

It is not my task to deal in this Report with the problems of the community clubs. While the principles set forth here are applicable to such clubs, we have to recognize the many special problems that attach to them. We should find ways of deriving conclusions from some excellent examples of activity conducted by community clubs, as well as from many of the unsolved problems that are holding these clubs back. On many of these, and other questions, I propose we should have further discussions at a conference on organization.

Comrades, we are projecting here a basic policy out of which flow all our tactics. The question in the immediate period ahead is the fight for working-class leadership in coalition movements. This means steel-

ing our Party in the fight against blows which the enemy will attempt to direct, not only frontally, but also from within. An essential element in the fight to realize the objective expressed in our policies is to be vigilant against the class enemy and resolute in defense of our policies.

STRUGGLE AGAINST ENEMY IDEOLOGY

There does not exist a single question of mass policy in which the fight against enemy influences does not have to be waged.

To take the peace issue: the cardinal question in the fight for peace is the problem of U.S.-Soviet collaboration. The only barrier to that collaboration is the bipartisan foreign policy which rejects peace efforts. Yet what do we find? Social-Democrats, A.D.A. leaders, liberals, rather than meet the issue as it really is, retreat before the offensive of Wall Street into the "plague on both your houses" concept. And there are those who play in abstractions, calling for peace in general, avoiding the question of fixing responsibility for the present danger, and failing to mention the positive efforts for peace on the part of the Soviet Union.

All of this takes place under intensified war preparations, intimidation of peace forces, and talk of "total diplomacy." It is our task as

Communists to make clear the plain truth that the peace front can be realized, not on the basis of retreat into evasion or abstractions, but on the basis of *concretely* meeting the issues involved, of knowing the enemy of peace, and of acting upon the realization that to secure peace means to fight for peace, and that the fight for peace means to defeat the warmakers. To carry through this task, however, our Party must render itself equipped in such a way as to meet and overcome the poisonous influences of imperialism and its lackeys among the masses.

The kept press daily pours out lies and slanders about Soviet production, the "one-party system," "Soviet anti-Semitism" and "slave labor" camps. The best way to meet these arguments is to bring the facts to the American workers. This means to explain concretely the conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union, what is meant by the elimination of exploitation of man by man, the Socialist solution of the national question, the results of the Five-Year Plans, the superiority of Socialist democracy, the Socialist source of the Soviet peace policy and the antithesis of Socialism and imperialism, the basis of possibility of the peaceful co-existence and competition between the capitalist and Socialist states.

In the struggle to promote labor's independent political action, our Party is called upon to wage ideolo-

gical battles around many questions and issues. The outstanding fact among the workers for the past fifteen years is their increasingly evident desire for independent political action. This trend is compelling the High Command of the Democratic Party to pose as an "anti-Wall Street" and "anti-Dixiecrat" party and as the new vehicle of "democratic liberalism." A.D.A. leaders, labor reformists, through their P.A.C. and A. F. of L. Political League—these forces, in combination with the Truman demagogy, are helping to keep the workers in the fold of the capitalist two-party system and prevent the consummation of a new mass people's party. The fight to promote the Third Party movement and a new progressive alignment can take place only on the basis of united front struggles and of an ideological and political battle to expose labor-reformism, Social-Democracy and the Truman demagogy.

Here, it is not a question of name-calling and mere denunciation, but a recognition that the enemy and his agents have succeeded in considerable measure in injecting their pernicious ideology into the workers' midst. Hence, what stands before us, is the need for a careful, patient and, above all, *convincing* course of explanation, in a way that workers will understand, on the basis of their experiences and struggles, as to the real, unvarnished truth behind such fancy terms as "welfare state," "Fair

Deal," "civil rights program," "lesser evil," etc. Of paramount importance, in this connection, is the need to break through with our Marxian teaching that the workers cannot wage an effective class struggle on domestic issues, if they leave the sphere of foreign policy unchallenged, in the hands of the same class enemy.

Likewise, the struggle for Negro rights brings forward the need for ideological clarification of a host of problems and issues. Constantly in the day-to-day struggles of the Negro people around economic, social and political issues, the necessity arises to come to grips with a variety of ideological points—often demagogically injected by imperialism and its agents. There are certain questions that particularly demand explanation, and in regard to which we Communists must be equipped and always ready to offer enlightenment.

We must furnish Marxist-Leninist understanding on the class and social forces in the Negro people's movement—what is general and what is unique insofar as the Negro national liberation movement is concerned. There is much unclarity current, even in our own midst, as regards to the Negro bourgeoisie and the Negro petty-bourgeoisie—their status, magnitude and role among the Negro people, and in its liberation movement. Along with this there is far too insufficient understanding of

the place and role of the Negro workers, both as regards the general American working-class movement, and as regards the national liberation movement; full clarity is required on this entire question of advancing the Negro workers to their historic position of hegemony in the Negro liberation movement.

A further point in this connection is the need for understanding clearly the relationship of the fight against white chauvinism and against bourgeois nationalism. Also, to provide clarity on the manifestation of imperialist cosmopolitanism as it reflects itself among the Negro people. In general, the fight for ideological clarity involves the fullest promotion of the understanding of the *national character* of the Negro people's struggles, and flowing from this the understanding of the historic alliance of the Negro people's movement for national liberation with the labor movement. Equally important—and unfortunately a point which we do not always and sufficiently stress—is the need to make clear that this alliance is reciprocal in its historic meaning, and that without this Negro-labor alliance the working class of the United States cannot go forward to decisive victories and to the achievement of Socialism. This alliance, we must also point out, is predicated on the solidarity of the Negro and white workers, in the labor movement as a whole, both union and shop, and specifically in

the area of the subject Negro nation in the Black Belt.

Another aspect of the fight to raise the ideological level of the Party, and to equip our members to meet and answer the arguments current among workers, is to tackle head-on imperialist chauvinism, cosmopolitanism and the "world government" concept, which tend to demobilize the mass movement and paralyze the workers' will to act.

A special problem requiring the attention of this National Committee meeting is that of psychoanalysis. *Masses & Mainstream* in beginning the discussion of this question, and Milton Howard, in raising this question in his articles in the *Daily Worker*, have performed an important service in this sphere. We are dealing here with a reactionary bourgeois philosophy and practice which violates every principle of working-class ideology. But many sincere Communists and progressives, unfortunately, adhere to psychoanalysis. The fight to mold Communist thinking must be developed resolutely in a struggle against these subjectivist, idealistic, Freudian concepts, which, in essence, are anti-working class, anti-Communist, and tend to undermine a class struggle approach to social and individual problems.

The fight for the line of our Party necessarily means a merciless struggle against phrasemongering, inaction, and a certain sophistication,

which regards policy only for intellectual exercise.

All of this means to place in a new way the fight for democratic centralism—a cardinal principle of Communist organization. We must affirm through constant practice on all levels, that democratic centralism means precisely what it says: a centralism that is democratic. Therefore, there can be no Party practice which is not based on the principle of the involvement of the membership. In saying this, we should bear in mind, of course, that the inner-democracy of the Party has to be in organic relationship to strengthening the authority of leadership on all levels. But the authority of leadership cannot be made effective, unless the membership is fully drawn into the formulation and execution of policy on the basis of the widest application of the Communist principle of criticism and self-criticism.

The weapon of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism is indispensable to the full unfolding of our policy. Not only can the maximum clarity be achieved through this process; our Party can then be in a better position to detect enemy methods—rumormongering, gossip, harmful speculations, and attempts to undermine the Party.

To pose these ideological problems is to suggest at the same time the need for raising the theoretical level of the entire Party. One indication of the problem is a set of figures re-

lated to the sale of our literature. During the year 1949, for example, the Little Lenin Library circulated in 8,689 copies; *Socialism—Utopian and Scientific* in 1,045; *The National Question* in 281. It is true that we circulated 113,000 copies of Comrade Foster's book. We also sold 10,000 copies of Comrade Haywood's book. And, this is all to our credit. But the index of sales of the classics of our movement shows that we are not fighting to bring them to the membership. Neither are we fighting to bring them to non-Party workers.

What are the facts? During the year 1949, the question of Communism was on the lips of practically every single American. It was an outstanding issue of the radio, the press, the movies. The trial in Foley Square was known to all. The issue of Marxism-Leninism, of Communism, was prominently before the masses. But it is clear when we have so small a circulation of the Marxist-Leninist classics, that we have not struggled to bring the Marxist view of Marxism to the masses. This is far from reflecting a fighting attitude toward the promotion of our theory, toward educating our Party in Marxism, toward educating the millions to understand what Marxism-Leninism is.

The Resolution on Organization has a section on the question of Party literature, and I am sure this Plenum will adopt the Resolution. In proportion as we strengthen the work on

the ideological front to that extent shall we increase the circulation of our classics within the movement.

At the same time we should appreciate what is positive in our mass literature circulation, which increased during 1949. However, as everyone admits, there were weaknesses in the content of the pamphlets for mass distribution, many of which did not develop adequately a polemic against enemy ideas. We must, furthermore, view critically certain books that have been published in our movement in the recent period which have likewise failed polemically and militantly to counteract enemy ideology, and some which have distorted and misrepresented the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

TRAINING AND PROMOTING NEW COMMUNIST CADRES

A central question intimately related to the task of mastering Marxism-Leninism, is the development of a consistent cadre policy. Such a policy must enable our Party to train and develop Communist cadres, particularly from among the workers, with special attention to Negro, women and youth. A correct cadre policy must have as its aim the training of comrades for more effective mass work in the shops, trade unions and the people's organizations—by helping them draw the correct political conclusions from the struggles of the masses, equipping them with

the capacity to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions and issues of the class struggle.

The time has come to carry through to the letter the intent and spirit of the resolves we have made in the past, to set aside a definite day each week to make it possible for the membership—with the leadership setting the example—to study the classics of our movement, as an activity that shall be regarded of importance equal to other political tasks.

The Leninist approach to a correct cadre policy was brilliantly expounded by George Dimitroff at the 7th World Congress. He stressed the main criteria to be considered in the selection and training and promotion of Communist cadres, as follows:

First, absolute devotion to the cause of the working class, loyalty to the Party, iron discipline and steadfastness in face of the enemy offensive; Second, the closest possible

contact with the masses, learning from and teaching the masses, winning the confidence of the masses; Third, ability independently to find one's bearings and not to be afraid of assuming responsibility in making decisions; Fourth, irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from Marxism-Leninism, from the line of the Party.

* * *

Comrades, the attacks of the enemy are daily growing more intensified. But the struggles of the workers, increasing in extent and militancy, present our Party with opportunities to perform its vanguard task in political leadership of the workers' struggles, in helping check the drive of reaction toward war and fascism, and to accelerate the forward movement of history. Under the leadership of Comrades Foster and Dennis, our Party will fulfill its historic responsibility to our class and people. Let us build our Party! Let us go forward!

Lessons of Recent Strikes and United Labor Action*

By John Williamson

THE PAST YEAR has witnessed a growing readiness of the workers to struggle. This has been evident, despite increased unemployment, unprecedented interference by the government in the life of the trade unions, increased use of the courts and the Taft-Hartley Law by Truman, as well as the splitting activity of the majority of the trade-union leaders, who serve as agents of American imperialist war policies.

There has been a marked increase in the number of strikes and in the stubbornness and fighting determination of the workers to win their demands. There has been a re-emergence of sit-in strikes, which though still involving only small shops, are nevertheless indicative of the moods of the workers. There is also evidenced an increased resistance of workers in the shops, in the form of slow-downs, stoppages, delegations to management despite contract security clauses, and the overwhelming vote in favor of the union shop in the government-sponsored ballotings.

Indicative, too, is the number of

important victories won by progressive-led Internationals against Right-wing raiding, outstanding among which are the victories of the F.E. in Louisville and West Pullman, of the F.T.A. in Winston-Salem and California, and of the U.E. in a series of non-chain shops.

This "fight-back" attitude on the part of increasing numbers of workers grows out of a rising resentment to the great burdens the workers are made to bear of the mounting cost of Wall Street's war preparations and the developing economic crisis. In the fiscal period of 1948 to 1951, each family will have paid \$925 in strictly "cold-war" taxes. In addition, in the period of 1948 to 1951, every family will have paid \$1,050 more in taxes for "normal" military expenditures.

It is an undisputed fact that of the nearly seven million unemployed, some three million workers could find employment if the cold-war embargo on trade with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the Chinese People's Republic were lifted. A significant feature of this growing unemployment in the United States is the highly dispro-

* Report to the Plenum on the Situation in the Trade Union Movement and the Party's Tasks.

portionate number of Negro workers victimized by the growing layoffs. In January of this year, the Commerce Department reported that to 7 percent of the white workers, 14.7 percent of the Negro workers were unemployed. In many industries, Negro workers are being systematically excluded.

While the trusts are raking in unprecedented profits, amounting to an increase of 130 percent from 1945 to 1949, the real wages of the workers declined by 15 percent during the same period. For 1949, corporation profits, after taxes, amounted to 17 billions of dollars, which is 6 billion above the war-time peak and more than double the profits of the prosperity years of the late 1920's.

Beyond this—an important factor in stimulating the fighting spirit of the workers—is the maddening speedup. There is practically no shop in the country where the workers are not aroused against the employers' intensified attempts to squeeze out greater profits.

To all of these factors must be added the general kicking around that the worker is getting from the boss. This is reflected in the views of a Big Business spokesman, James H. McGraw, who recently wrote:

An influential group of employers have raised their sights beyond the immediate economic interest and have taken on a battle for a principle important to every business in the land. They have decided the time has come

—right now—to stop appeasing labor. . . .

But millions of workers are also learning from the experience of the coal miners that with unity in their own ranks and united support of the workers everywhere, they don't have to take what they don't want.

It is within this framework that I first want to analyze and comment briefly on a series of strikes that occurred prior to the recent coal miners' victory.

LESSONS OF SOME IMPORTANT STRIKES

The most dramatic of these struggles were: the strike against speedup in the Ford plant, and the strike in Hawaii, led to a great victory by the I.L.W.U.

The Ford strike was expressive of the readiness of the workers to force a showdown on the issue of speedup. It not only demanded redress of a particular grievance, but challenged the very basis of the company prerogative to speedup the production lines at will.

That Reuther finally had to accede to calling the strike was due to the fighting spirit of the workers. That he was able to betray the strike and send the workers back without any real gains was due primarily to his demagogic promises, combined with the lack of effective local-union leadership around which the workers could rally. Reuther and his lieuten-

ants consciously operated in that strike to undermine the workers' militancy.

This was further demonstrated two months after the strike when the Ford wage and contract negotiations were on the order of the day. At that time the Ford workers were completely dissatisfied with the steel Fact Finding Board proposals for pensions, which Reuther made the basis for the Ford settlement. But Reuther finally drove through acceptance of his proposals by telling the workers that they must accept his proposals or go out on strike again. The Ford workers voted to accept the settlement because, based on their recent experiences, they had no confidence that a strike led by Reuther would be successful.

On the other hand, in the Hawaii strike led by the I.L.W.U., the workers showed to what heights of courage, militancy and perseverance they could rise when given proper leadership. Here the union demanded wage increases of over 30 cents per hour. It placed this demand on the basis of achieving equality with the workers on the West Coast. Despite the unprecedented attack on the union by the employers, who control the economic and political life of the Islands; despite interference by the Island government, local court injunctions and special legislation which made it a criminal offense for workers to assemble or for anyone to give aid to the strikers; and de-

spite the Red-baiting campaign and the strike-breaking attempts of the misleaders Lundberg and Curran, the workers stuck it out for four months and gained a smashing victory that preserved their union and included an 18-cent per hour wage increase.

MURRAY'S ROLE IN THE STEEL STRIKE

Heavy responsibility for sapping the fighting strength of the unions in this period must be placed directly on the doorstep of Philip Murray, who enthusiastically hailed the anti-wage-increase conclusions of the President's Steel Fact Finding Board.

We have already indicated how this formula was used by Reuther to defeat the demands of the Ford workers. It also had the same effect in sidetracking a strike of fifteen thousand Goodrich rubber workers, who started out to demand substantial wage increases as well as pensions.

The "new" technique of betraying the workers' strikes, even after they have been called by rank-and-file pressure, was most sharply shown by the behavior of Murray in the steel strike. After accepting the Fact Finding Board recommendations—which denied wage increases and gave the steel workers a very inferior pension and insurance plan—Murray was forced to call a strike when the Steel Trust rejected even the

proposals of the Board.

But from the very beginning the strike was not conducted on the basis of formulating the kind of demands that would really mobilize the steel workers for struggle. Murray refused to put forward any wage demands, and while he talked about a ten-cent pension demand, it later developed that he accepted a pension, the cost of which to the companies was about 3 cents per hour. The average worker could see little tangible gain in the meager demands of the union leadership and was placed in the position where he had to fight defensively to maintain the union. While this was important, the average steel worker was not given any perspective for winning improvements in wages and conditions.

THE CHRYSLER STRIKE

I now want to examine specifically, and to contrast, two important strikes from which serious lessons must be drawn—the Chrysler and the coal miners' strikes.

But let us first see what has been the recent role of the Murray-Reuther leadership as regards the demands of the workers.

During the last year, the trusts adopted a hostile attitude toward the wage demands of all workers and all trade unions, whether A. F. of L., C.I.O., or Independent, whether progressive- or Right-led. They felt that they were in the "driver's seat"

with the Taft-Hartley whip in their hands, especially since most of the unions had "accomodated" themselves to the slave-labor law. They were further encouraged by the enlistment of the Green-Murray leadership into the war camp and the subsequent splitting and expulsion policy adopted by the C.I.O. leaders against the progressive unions.

While determined to say "No" to the demands of *all* workers and *all* trade unions, the trusts particularly were out to destroy some of the progressive-led unions and to "take on" and "break" the more powerful unions that had defied them—the I.L.W.U., U.E., and the U.M.W.A.

But the workers in many industries still pressed for increased wages, a shorter work-week, reduction in speed-up and elimination of such shackling clauses in contracts as company security clauses and umpire systems. Under these circumstances, the Murrays and Reuthers had to maneuver. Then came the pension demand—legitimate enough in itself, if properly presented. But, under the existing conditions, where it was giving the trusts an opportunity to substitute the 3-cents-an-hour pension settlement for the more substantial wage demands, such pensions settlements fitted into the class-collaboration policies of the Social-Democratic and reformist labor leadership.

While the workers, by majority votes, accepted these settlements—

with great confusion and even division in the ranks between young and old—there nevertheless was great dissatisfaction.

Let us now return to the Chrysler workers and the miners. The Chrysler strike, which is now in its ninth week, involves 89,000 workers. Reuther's original demand was for a \$100-a-month pension (\$68 plus social security) for workers reaching 65 years of age and after 25 years of employment with the company. He demanded that a certain amount (claimed as 6 cents an hour) be placed in a fund by the company for this purpose. The strike occurred because the Chrysler Company, while agreeing in words to the \$100 pension, added the following conditions: a worker must put in 1800 hours a year to be entitled to the pension; the company should not be forced to put aside any specific amount in a fund, but its "word" should be sufficient; and there be signed a five-year contract with a wage-pension freeze, allowing only a reopener in a year for "economic adjustments."

As against both Reuther's and the company's proposals, the majority of the Dodge workers and the Plymouth local put forward an alternative demand, in the center of which was the idea of submitting a two-package system to the workers' vote: either 10 cents in a flat wage increase, or an equivalent pension plan, plus a series of contract

changes. They also went on record against a five-year contract and any further reduction in the size of the negotiating committee. Sensing the mood of the workers, Reuther at one point demagogically accepted the 10-cent wage increase alternative, but never fought for it and never presented it for a vote by the workers.

Reuther has issued instructions since the first day of the strike for "no picketing." When asked to explain this, he called it "getting smarter every day—we are growing up." He has also issued instructions against the holding of any strike meetings or regular meetings of local unions or departments during the strike. The demobilizing purpose of this is clear.

Reuther was ready, just prior to the miners' settlement, to call off the strike if Chrysler would agree to put 6 cents into a pension fund and refer everything else, including 40 major contract issues, to arbitration. This now becomes more difficult after the miners' strike. However, his objective is to wear down the morale of the strikers through passivity and inaction in order to get them to accept his original proposals, which are not too distant from those of the company. Unless something is done speedily to change this situation, this can still happen.

What stands out in this Chrysler strike?

1. A rabid supporter of the anti-Soviet war policies of Wall Street and the Administration, Reuther will not lead a vigorous fight for substantial demands, although one must be prepared for much demagogic phrasemongering on his part.

2. The rank and file, and some local union leadership, have different ideas on what the workers should fight for. They succeeded in part in breaking through and presenting their demands. Reuther cleverly disarmed them by presumably accepting one of their demands.

3. The progressive forces in the local union leadership and the fighting rank and file failed to break through the "new and higher" strike strategy, undemocratically proclaimed by Reuther, which dispersed and disorganized the strikers.

This Reuther-imposed passivity and disorganization is contrary to the fighting traditions and experiences of the U.A.W. members; it is also criminally harmful to the successful outcome of the strike. The more experienced progressives and the Communists among the Chrysler workers should have been able successfully to influence the workers to defeat this Reuther strategy, as they have demonstrated their ability to do so in other shops. This still remains an immediate and pressing problem in order radically to change the present unsatisfactory status of the strike.

THE STRIKE OF THE COAL MINERS

In marked contrast to the Chrysler strike was the miners' strike, whose main lessons can be summed up as follows:

1. The miners won, despite the attacks of the coal operators, the Administration and the courts, and influenced the role of the union leadership, because of the solid unity of their ranks, their fighting policy and their rank-and-file initiative and self-activity.

2. The strike showed that under present-day conditions maximum labor-solidarity actions and support are necessary and possible. Such support will come from the mass of the trade unionists; the top trade-union leaders that support the war program cannot be relied upon to organize solidarity actions and support.

3. It was the united working-class actions, from elementary relief activities to the movement for more decisive mass actions including stoppages, that played a great role in forcing the operators, the government and the courts to retreat.

4. In the midst of such struggles, the strike proved, it is possible to expose the demagoguery of the Truman Administration and the role of both parties of capitalism, and to help the workers understand the need for independent political action and the urgency of the fight for peace and

the defense of the Bill of Rights.

5. This struggle confirmed once again the indispensable role of the Communists, the *Daily Worker* and the Left forces in the shops and local unions to realize united labor actions.

Let us elaborate on some of these questions. While miners' strikes in recent years have always been solid and the coal miners are known as good fighters, this strike was nevertheless qualitatively different. The new element was the active role of the miners themselves. They didn't just sit back and wait. The initiative and self-activity of the miners, and the militancy, especially of the Negro miners, and the youth, played a decisive role in the negotiating room, and the final outcome of the strike.

The miners' strike had great significance, politically as well as economically. It not only challenged openly and defeated the Taft-Hartley Act, but in the broader sense it challenged Taft-Hartleyism, including the Taft-Hartleyism of the majority of the top trade-union leaders.

The new factor in the solidarity movement in support of the miners was that it was not limited to the Left wing or the Communists. There began to mount a very broad movement, first of relief, but then extending to proposed solidarity stoppages, reaching into all circles of A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Independent union ranks. With the issuance of the two injunc-

tions, the workers began to see Taft-Hartleyism spelled out as something that not only affected Communists, but threatened the existence of their own union and the conditions gained through struggles of the past. The response was particularly good amongst the workers in the auto, steel and rubber industries because in these mass-production areas the impact of the capitulation to the war policies of the State Department by Reuther, Murray and Buckmaster is being felt by the workers in their pay envelopes. They also see how these policies lead to a crippling and weakening of their unions.

The Communists and all progressives correctly contributed to the organizing of this solidarity movement and to its political development. Without boasting, we can claim modest credit for pointing the way and influencing developments.

We can often draw truthful inferences from enemy utterances. For example, to quote from the column of Rev. Charles Owen Rice in the *Pittsburgh Catholic* of March 9, 1950: "Nobody can say whether or not the Communists gained anything in particular from their operation 'relief for miners.' They certainly acted with amazing rapidity. They were in there while others were looking around. They certainly lost nothing, and they may have contacts that we will not hear about for years."

We must, say, however, that in

too many areas and industries even we were slow and never fully grasped the significance of the miner's struggle.

There are some questions raised concerning the role and leadership of John L. Lewis, which it would not be amiss to discuss briefly. We hear it asked: "How does one explain the policies and strike settlement of Lewis, when he is not a progressive?" Of course, Lewis is a fervent supporter of the "free enterprise" system. Nevertheless, because of the sentiment of the rank-and-file of the miners; because of his temporarily isolated position in the labor movement; because of his realization of the consequences of Taft-Hartleyism for any union that fights; and because he has not been actively incorporated into the Labor Leaders Auxiliary Camp of the Truman Administration—Lewis *has* spoken out boldly and *fought* the Taft-Hartley Act and *has* led his miners' union into a struggle for substantial demands from the coal operators.

Ideologically, Lewis is a believer in the capitalist system. The *Mine Workers' Journal* has in the past joined in the chorus of anti-Soviet, anti-Communist slanders. Lewis *had* a representative present at the splitter's International in London and accepted a U.M.W.A. representative on its Executive. All these facts must be recognized and proper conclusions drawn.

Nevertheless, when Lewis or any

other trade-union leader fights for correct economic demands, leads strike struggles, or wages an effective fight against the Taft-Hartley Act, the progressives should readily support and call for maximum united labor action behind struggles for such demands.

In this connection, although in reference to a context of a different situation and a different alignment of forces, what was said by me at the 1948 Party Convention remains essentially sound:

. . . we never had a wrong estimate of Murray ideologically. Was his ideological position, however, a barrier to his playing a progressive role under certain conditions? Certainly not! . . .

We must not confuse ideology and political role. However, to avoid making the labor movement the victim of the rapid shifts of such allies, the united front on top must always be rooted in a firm alliance below with the broadest sections of the rank-and-file and local union leaders and must be strengthened in the course of common struggle.

The miners' victory opens up new opportunities for united labor action. The solidarity activities between locals of many Internationals and the miners have laid the basis for the continuation of such relations around other questions. Steel workers and coal miners employed by the same steel company want joint meetings. Miners' local unions are writing steel union locals asking their

opinion of a Mutual Aid Pact. Several mine workers' locals have pledged reciprocal actions of solidarity with the U.E. workers in their coming fight for a contract with the Westinghouse and General Electric Companies.

It is necessary also to help the miners and other workers draw political lessons from the actions of the Truman Administration and the G.O.P. in the strike. While some workers are beginning to draw important lessons, and have already arrived at the conclusion of not supporting either the Republican or the Democratic parties in the 1950 elections, these lessons should be widely extended. The immediate fight further to expose Truman by demanding repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act during this session of Congress, as well as pressure upon him to stop and defeat all legislation aimed at crippling the Bill of Rights, are next steps on the agenda in helping unmask Truman and the Republicans.

If the lessons of the strikes led by progressive unions, such as in Hawaii, Gloversville, Carlsbad, and the Singer workers in Elizabeth, etc., and especially the lessons of the miners' victorious strike, are grasped by decisive sections of the workers in other industries and unions, and if there is wide expression of bold initiative and leadership by all progressives, *the possibilities exist for a transformation of the present situation in the labor movement.* This

has not yet been understood. Of course, this transformation will not be easily or automatically achieved.

THE PROPOSED MUTUAL AID PACT

The proposal made by Lewis to the leadership of the steel workers' union, immediately after the victory of the coal miners, for a mutual aid pact, was a significant step in the common struggle against the powerful monopolies and their agents in government. Its rejection by Murray was not in the interests of either the steel workers or other workers in C.I.O. It certainly does not represent the thinking of the rank-and-file steel workers. The Murray rejection was in accord with his entire policy of sacrificing the workers' interests for Wall Street's war preparations.

This rejection does not lessen the validity or urgent necessity for mutual aid pacts. The rank and file of all labor, including the steel workers, should give their answer. Mutual aid pacts between all unions, especially those of the coal miners, auto, steel, railroad and electrical workers, machinists, metal miners, carpenters, packing, typographical, and rubber workers are a vital necessity to combat the growing aggression of the corporations and agencies of government against the workers and the labor movement.

Such mutual aid pacts can have many aspects—the pooling of re-

sources for strikes, the formulation of common demands and coordination of negotiations and strike activities, solidarity support in times of strike and against injunctions, struggle for immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and against inter-union raiding.

With the perspective of big struggles ahead, the urgency of such mutual aid pacts will become ever more clear to the workers.

THE ISSUE OF UNITED LABOR ACTION

The first emphasis in perspective is united working-class action from below as the key to developing the next stages of a successful "fight back" struggle against the trusts and all the forces of reaction. Leadership is vitally necessary today in the workers' economic struggles, in the organizing and struggles of the unemployed and in new efforts to unionize the unorganized. While it is correct to make the starting point of struggle the issues upon which there is greatest clarity and maximum unity, the Left must fight for a growing understanding among the workers that there can be no assurance of victory or of holding on to economic gains, if the workers do not simultaneously fight against the war drive of Big Business and its accompanying attacks on the Bill of Rights.

Today, under the conditions in our

country, united labor action in the shops and local unions is more than ever the key form of the united front tactic. Our trade union resolution refers to the many vital issues on which united labor action should be organized. In this report I want to single out for comment certain specific issues from which lessons can generally be drawn.

1. United labor action such as was developed in support of the miners' strike, combined with the fighting unity and initiative of the workers directly involved, can help win every strike, and at this moment, undoubtedly, could change decisively the outlook for winning the Chrysler strike. If the Chrysler workers learned the lessons of the miners' strike, they would develop their own initiative and self-activity. No Reuther or Matthews could prevent them from organizing mass picket lines, holding regular strike meetings, maintaining systematic contact with the inactive strikers, establishing a relief apparatus, and sending delegations to canvass all other trade-union locals. Nor could anyone prevent them from expressing support for their strike demands in demonstrative forms. If the Chrysler workers made clear that they were fighting militantly for their demands, there is no doubt that the rest of the UAW locals, as well as the entire labor movement, would naturally rally to their picket lines, to city-wide solidarity demonstrations and relief activities.

2. United action of the rank and file on a local union basis can help determine decisively the character of the demands submitted by unions to employers for contract negotiation. A living example is the UAW in General Motors. Two years ago, Reuther hailed the escalator clause tying wages to a government cost-of-living index as "historic," and only six months ago the same Reuther said that wage increases would not be included in the 1950 demands because "this is not the climate for it." But, during the last six months, certain key locals under progressive leadership have carried on a vigorous campaign for a program of substantial demands, first among their own members, then at regional conferences, and then by circularizing all G.M. locals, nationwide. This activity was so effective that the recent national G.M. Conference of the U.A.W., meeting at a moment when Reuther was willing to settle the Chrysler strike for a pension averaging 6 cents per hour, went on record for a 31 cent package increase, nine cents of it in a straight wage increase, and the balance in a much improved pension plan, plus vacation-pay increases, severance pay, etc. The Conference also decided on a series of important contract changes, most important of which were proposals for curbing speedup. The rank and file suffered defeat on one key proposal—the elimination of the company security clause. Under the pressure of

the rank and file, Reuther accepted these demands in words, even going so far as to state that "the escalator clause is basically unsound." When he was challenged for the failure to mention speedup in his one-and-one-half hour report, he immediately answered that he would authorize "any strike against speedup."

All this demonstrates the power of a united rank and file. But experience shows that if it is left there, the substantial demands of the workers can be seriously sliced by Reuther in negotiation. The same rank-and-file vigilance in pressing for these demands during negotiations, in sending rank-and-file delegations to visit the negotiating committee each weekend, and in keeping the rank and file constantly informed of developments, will undoubtedly bring results.

3. United rank-and-file actions and the issue of labor unity have proved strong weapons in defeating the efforts of Murray, Reuther and Carey to split progressive-led unions. Outstanding are several experiences in the electrical industry. First in importance was the collection out of a total of 12,000 workers, of 10,000 signatures favoring a checkoff to U.E. in the big plant in Schenectady. In the Erie G.E. plant, equally important, was the signing of U.E. cards by 90 percent of the members. In both cases this was carried through in the midst of splitting activities by Carey's I.U.E.

In the East Pittsburgh Westing-

house plant, the local was split wide open. The company took advantage of this situation and announced it would recognize neither union until the N.L.R.B. elections. Thus, with one declaration, the company abolished the whole steward system and grievance procedure. While the active workers were involved in a "great debate" over the merits of U.E. versus C.I.O., the mass of the workers remained indifferent and dangerously apathetic. Through the company maneuvers the workers were left defenseless against the speed-up, rate cutting, violations of seniority, etc. The U.E. then appealed to the workers, for a united fight to force the company to recognize all the stewards functioning before the split, irrespective of whether they were U.E. or I.U.E. They publicly challenged the I.U.E. to join in that fight. At first the I.U.E. shouted that this was a "Communist trick," but in a matter of days the pressure from below was so great that they had to go along with the proposition. The company was forced to retreat. The prestige of U.E. as defender of workers' interests and champion of unity rose tremendously, and the U.E. has since been conducting numerous daily struggles around specific grievances on a united-front basis, including many department stoppages and a month-long strike in the foundry.

The campaign in support of the miners by U.E. was the broadest and most successful. It helped immeasur-

ably in overcoming the danger of the U.E.'s isolation after its expulsion from the C.I.O. In Erie, the big G.E. local, after initiating its campaign in support of the miners, took the initiative in organizing a united labor committee that included the steel, rubber and other unions together with U.E., but excluding I.U.E. It is no accident that when the Erie-C.I.O. leaders ordered a voluntary three-cent per capita tax to support the I.U.E., all the C.I.O. locals voted it down as a labor-splitting act.

A final U.E. example is from Louisville, Ky. The Harvester local of U.E.-F.E. mobilized 300 of its members to help in the local Ford picket line. This, in spite of the U.A.W. raid against this F.E. local. When Walter Reuther came down to Louisville personally to direct this raid, he called for help from the local U.A.W. The Ford local then passed a resolution that any of its members found taking a hand in the raid against F.E. would be summarily expelled from the U.A.W. This no doubt contributed to the 2-to-1 vote U.E.-F.E. received there as against the U.A.W.

4. United labor action in the shops and by the locals of all unions is also key to achieving the necessary new stage of the alliance of labor and the Negro people. In the last decade and a half Negro workers have emerged as a strong and articulate section of the organized labor movement. In the industrial centers the

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Negro workers are a decisive force within the trade-union movement in fighting for progressive policies and leadership. Their very presence in these areas accelerates the possibilities for them to assume the leading role in the growing resistance movement of the entire Negro people.

In every shop and local union Negro-white unity can be realized in the course of fighting for a policy to upgrade Negro workers and abolish "lily-white" departments, to establish some form of special seniority for Negro workers in order to prevent their wholesale exclusion at time of layoffs, to achieve equal wages for equal work, to combat all Jim-Crow and white-chauvinist practices, and to promote the election of Negro members to posts of operative union leadership on *all* levels.

But, important as this is, it is not enough, since it does not provide forms for a fighting alliance between the labor movement and the Negro people's liberation movement. New forms must be found to re-establish and extend a genuine and fighting labor-Negro alliance. Its base must be the great mass of the rank and file of organized labor, the progressive-led unions and their leaders, together with the Negro people and their organizations. Among the emerging forms are the Negro Labor Councils already existing in Harlem and Chicago's South Side. They consist of affiliated local unions, as well as groups of Negro and white work-

ers from locals whose union affiliation cannot yet be secured. Their literature indicates that they have a varied activity, including (a) the initiation of actions by trade unions in support of the demands of the Negro people, (b) the uniting of Negro workers from all trade unions, whether C.I.O., A. F. of L. or independent, in support of a specific program or individual issues of concern to them, (c) the propagation in the Negro community of the concept of unity of the labor movement and the Negro people, and (d) the encouragement of Negro workers to join trade unions.

5. United action of workers in shops, local unions and communities is the key to labor's fulfillment of its role as leader of the people's movement for peace. Today the leadership to the peace movement is still being given in the main by religious groups, intellectuals, artists and scientists. Yet it is the men and women of labor, Negro and white, who alone can give this movement consistent leadership.

The significant Labor Peace Conference held five months ago in Chicago gave great promise and was hailed by the peace forces internationally as a great step forward for America. That conference was exclusively a rank-and-file gathering, with delegates from local unions or from among groups of workers in shops and unions. In view of this, it is to be regretted that the returning delegates of only a few states

conducted follow-up work and established local movements.

America needs such a Labor Peace Conference movement in every city and state. It must become rooted in all shops and local unions through the organization of peace committees. Such L.P.C. committees could then be the rallying center for activity of an increasing number of workers in each shop and local.

The Communists in all districts must give this rank-and-file movement their maximum consistent support, as well as help its efforts to secure one million signatures to the Peace Petition.

* * *

Our orientation today is to direct our main effort toward influencing the workers in the basic industries, which in the majority of cases means among workers in Right-led unions of the C.I.O., A. F. of L. or independent unions. Effective united actions of workers in Right-led unions will contribute toward building strong rank-and-file movements. Because of past neglect, special measures must be taken to guarantee systematic work among the workers of A. F. of L. unions.

COORDINATING THE ACTIVITY OF THE LEFT-PROGRESSIVE FORCES

With the perspective of bringing about a decisive change in the labor movement, especially in the light of the recent strike struggles, it is neces-

sary that the Left forces in the trade unions be ideologically united and that there be maximum unity of action.

Events such as the coal miners' struggle offered great opportunities to all Left forces in the trade unions to make their contribution to the entire labor movement. This, unfortunately, was not fully understood or grasped quickly enough by many Left trade-union forces.

The disaffiliation of the C.I.O. from the W.F.T.U. does not lessen the role of the W.F.T.U. as the largest world trade-union center, and as the only one that is fighting for peace, against fascism, and in defense of the economic interests of the workers everywhere. W.F.T.U. solidarity assistance was very helpful even in such American strikes as maritime and longshore as well as in the strike of the Canadian seamen. The affiliation of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union to the International Mining Secretariat of the W.F.T.U., together with the previous affiliation of the I.L.W.U. to the International Maritime Secretariat, points the way for many other Internationals. For the majority of unions not yet disposed to affiliate, the adherents of the policies of W.F.T.U. could well re-establish movements to popularize the vital need for American trade unionists to achieve affiliation with the W.F.T.U.

The progressive-led Internationals which are being expelled from the

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C.I.O., while constituting only one sector of the entire trend of Left trade unionists, nevertheless can and do serve as an important base for Left influence and leadership. Today, the entire labor movement would be further ahead if all the unions that are being expelled were acting unitedly. The aim of the employers and the C.I.O. leadership to destroy these unions has not been successful. In fact, some of these unions are winning certain important victories. But the fight to maintain and extend their strength would be greatly advanced if these unions were acting unitedly.

The issue today is not the organization of a new, a third Federation of Labor. Nevertheless, we do believe that the interests of the unions under attack as well as the interests of the entire labor movement, compel these unions to coordinate their activities and find the most effective form of cooperation for their mutual protection and extension of their influence and struggle.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNIST TRADE UNIONISTS

The last group of problems I want to deal with have to do with the relationship of the Party to all of these activities. The trade union resolution deals with this in a summarized way. I want to single out three points for elaboration.

1. With the major emphasis on united labor action and initiative

among the workers in the shops and local unions, it is clear that our policy of concentration among the workers in basic industry must receive greater attention. As a demonstration of our seriousness in this matter, Comrade Hall is paying particular attention to concentration in certain basic industries in his region and of course is receiving great assistance from Comrades Winter and Green—all three of whom are at the head of Party districts in the heart of industrial America. But industrial concentration must become the touchstone of the activity of all Party committees and must be understood as relating to all our activities—not just trade-union activities.

It also means that every Communist must learn to work in a new and more effective way in the shops and local unions. All our comrades must surround themselves with groups of selected workers whose confidence they must win. As issues arise in the shop or union, or in the general political life of the country, each Communist can then clarify and activate these workers with whom he has established close ties.

2. As the struggle sharpens in the trade unions, evidences of both Right opportunist and sectarian practices have arisen. Both must be ruthlessly fought against.

Right opportunism has expressed itself in underestimating the struggle for peace as a central task that must find expression in every phase of

work; in trying to place political issues "on the shelf" in the mistaken belief that in this way unity of the Left-progressive forces could be achieved; in capitulating in the struggle against the employers' wage-cutting program in some industries; in placing primary confidence in contracts and courts instead of relying on the united strength of the membership; in voluntarily withdrawing from reactionary-controlled labor federations, supposedly for militant reasons, but actually to cover up hesitation to struggle and face squarely the issues the reactionaries are raising; in refusing to condemn the imperialist war drive of the Truman Administration out of fear that it would lead to isolation; and in the failure to speak out effectively in Right-led unions against expulsion of the Left.

Sectarianism has expressed itself in tendencies to skip over movements that have not yet run their course of development; in looking for premature and narrow Left Centers of the trade unions; in the practice of many comrades who belong to A. F. of L. unions covering up their refusal to work among these workers, by claiming they are doing work for the Party by being active in a community club; in resisting coalition with other forces on single issues on which agreements could be realized because of disagreements on more basic and long-term policies.

While some beginnings have been made in the struggle against white

chauvinism in progressive-led trade unions, it has not yet reached a satisfactory level. Among too many trade union comrades, including trade union leaders who are Party members, there are expressions and practices of white chauvinism, which reflect a complete absence, not only of political sensitivity to, but of understanding of the meaning and character of, this poison of the bourgeoisie. The failure to fight boldly for retaining Negro workers in industry and the resistance to promotion of Negro workers to full-time posts of leadership are prevalent in all too many places. Even in those places where some commendable progress has been realized as regards such trade-union questions as equal wages for Negro workers and the integrating of Negro workers into the life and leadership of the union there is many times absent an understanding of the national aspect of the Negro question. It shows that white chauvinism still has deep, tenacious roots in the trade-union movement. It must be stressed that some Communists and Left-wingers are not exempt from its influence. We must intensify the struggle against white chauvinism in the ranks of all Party trade unionists.

Because of the effects of Taft-Hartleyism in the trade unions there has been a growth of the old opportunist practice of trying to hide the Party and its program from the workers. In those instances where certain

Communists and Left-wingers resigned their union posts in protest against Taft-Hartleyism, but remained as active leaders in the unions, the prestige and influence of the Party has been strengthened, and the entire progressive leadership, including the non-Party Lefts who signed Taft-Hartley affidavits under protest, were able to wage a more effective struggle against all forms of Red-baiting.

Many times in the past we have dealt with the lessons for the labor movement of the experiences during the period of the Left-Center coalition in the C.I.O. But there are also experiences and lessons which have to do with coalitions within progressive trade unions. In such unions the leadership correctly is a coalition of honest, militant non-Left forces with Communists and non-Communist Lefts. Because of this coalition character of the leadership, there are many understandable weaknesses and inadequacies in policy, tactics and perspectives. Further, there is reflected in such leaderships, not only the pressure of capitalist ideology, but also the penetration of reformist trade-union practices of "economism," restrictions of trade-union democracy, high salaries and bureaucracy. While the first responsibility of being alert to and correcting such practices rests with the Communists and non-Communist Lefts in the leadership, the decisive place to guarantee correction is among the membership, where rank-

and-file pressure can make itself felt. It is also a responsibility of our Party to popularize its program amongst the workers in such industries. Such activity will be helpful to the entire leadership and membership in such unions.

3. The fulfillment of the new and complex tasks of today necessitates a great strengthening of Party consciousness of all Party members who are trade-union leaders, of consistent adherence to the policies of the Party, and of a full recognition of the indispensability of Party discipline and democratic centralism.

Even under the best of circumstances, Communist trade-union leaders are subject to the pressures of politically backward workers in their unions. They often tend to view problems one-sidedly, fall prey to bureaucratic practices, and discontinue Marxist political reading, as well as constant re-study of our classics. In the light especially of the complex political tasks and organizational problems of today, we must recognize how urgently necessary it is to correct such a state of affairs.

The Party has a right to demand from all such comrades that they fight for Party policy among the workers and fulfill all other ideological and organizational responsibilities of Communists. However, in stressing this it is necessary to assert that the Party as such must assume responsibility for our overall weaknesses, and for the failure to ac-

tivate more effectively Communist members in the shops and local unions. At the same time, by virtue of their posts of union leadership, Communist trade union leaders can help us collectively overcome this weakness.

While pressing consistently and vigorously among such comrades for a full understanding of our Party's policies and tactics, we must not replace proper political and organizational relations with a mere organizational approach. To improve in an all-round manner the fight for Party policy, we must involve these comrades in the discussion and hammering-out of policy. And at the same time we must direct our main attention to clarifying and activating the rank-and-file Communists in the trade unions in the fight for correct policy in order to help the Communist and non-Communist progressive trade-union leaders.

In this report we have centered attention on the lessons of the strike struggles and the fight for united labor action. Our overall trade-union policy is dealt with in our Resolution on Trade Union Work.

Above all, what we must grasp from this report is: If the immediate issues that the workers are ready to fight for are made the basis of con-

crete struggles; if the rising mood of discontent and struggle of the workers is transformed into a fighting unity on the shop and local union level; if the progressive-led unions unite their own strength and activities—there is no doubt that there exists today the basis for a transformation in the labor movement.

We must help the American workers to understand what is at stake. It is not only the defense and further advancement of their economic conditions and the unity and preservation of the trade unions. American labor now faces a great responsibility in helping to maintain the peace of the world from the war-mad adventurers of Wall Street and Washington.

In the past period, despite shortcomings in the carrying through of our trade-union policies, we have been battling through on the basis of our main orientation, with some success. Our contribution to the coal miners' victory is one of which the entire Party can well feel proud.

Our Party, under the leadership of Comrades Foster, Dennis and Winston, will go forward, in a fighting spirit, to win the workers for the realization in practice of the significant perspectives set forth at this Plenum.

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The Negro People in the Fight For Peace and Freedom*

By Benjamin J. Davis

THE STRUGGLE for Negro rights is taking place today under the conditions of the drive of the big Wall Street monopolies for world domination, toward war and fascism, under the conditions of a developing economic crisis. Two main factors stand out in the present period. First is the sharp intensification of the pro-fascist offensive against the Negro people on all fronts, revealing the acuteness of the war danger—the primary question before labor and the whole American people. Second is the growing militant upsurge of the Negro people together with important sections of their allies against developing lynch oppression, at times reaching the proportions of a counter-offensive, as in the January Civil Rights Mobilization and in other outstanding struggles of the recent period. Here is demonstrated the truth that the Negro people, at this moment, are the most important, militant and effective ally of the American working class in the current struggles against war and fascism.

Therefore, the defense of the elementary rights of the Negro masses and the advancement of the struggle for their full citizenship is interconnected with the struggle against the imperialist warmakers, against the fascist-minded monopolists. It must become the conscious concern of the trade unions in the first place, and of all anti-fascist, anti-war and anti-monopoly forces.

NEGRO LIBERATION STRUGGLE LINKED TO FIGHT FOR PEACE

This is particularly true in the struggle for peace, economic security and democratic rights generally, looming in the 1950 campaign. It is at the heart of the struggle against fascism. At certain given moments and in certain areas, as in the South, it is decisive. In all situations and fields of activity, it has a profound importance for the struggle against war and fascism which Communists, above all, cannot fail to stress to labor and the American people in the most tireless, convincing and popular manner. The struggle against war and fascism will be won only by the

* Report to the Plenum on the Negro People's Movement and the Party's Tasks (Excerpted Text).

joint efforts of the labor and people's movements in firm alliance with the Negro people, through consistent struggle to achieve the democratic liberties long denied the Negro people.

International political developments are of major significance to the Negro liberation movement in our country and have had a considerable impact upon it. The signal fact, in this connection, has been the growing preponderance of strength, on a world scale, of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, led by the great Soviet Union, and the corresponding weakening of the camp of imperialism, war and pro-fascist reaction led by the American monopolies and trusts.

A key factor here is the veritable explosive upsurge of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, who, with arms in hand, are wresting their liberation, independence and freedom from the imperialist slave-masters and murderers. The struggles of the people of Southern Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, Formosa, the Philippines, and other oppressed Asian peoples are sounding the death-knell of colonialism. The savage violence of British imperialism against the defenseless native workers of Nigeria reflects the stirrings among the 160 million Africans against the gangster European imperialists who are in hock to the lustful but too late empire-builders on

Wall Street. The establishment of the new People's Republic of China, despite the almighty dollar and its corrupt Chiang Kai-shek lickspittles, not only qualitatively strengthened the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, but ushered in a new era of liberation for the darker peoples of the world long-persecuted by foreign imperialism. These colonial and semi-colonial developments further weakened the camp of war and imperialism. They inflict heavy blows upon American imperialism, the common enemy of the colonial peoples and of the Negro people, a fact from which all the necessary conclusions are yet to be drawn.

These successful colonial-liberation movements are, undoubtedly, sources of great inspiration to the Negro people in particular, and to their allies, in America. They stimulate the militancy and urge for unity among the Negro people; they deepen their sense of anti-imperialist internationalism; they inspire their national consciousness; they reveal more clearly to the Negro people that the cause of freedom and liberation is associated with the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. The victories of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples help fire the Negro people to demand and press more insistently for their full and equal citizenship in America. The Negro question in the United States is of profound international significance.

INTENSIFIED NATIONAL
OPPRESSION

These developments on a world scale, coupled with the growing militancy of the Negro people and their allies in the United States, present the issue of Negro rights to the white ruling class with ever-increasing sharpness. The bourgeoisie can no longer "ignore" this increasingly acute question. The rapid maturing of the consciously anti-war, anti-imperialist character of the Negro liberation struggles thus rises as a specter before American imperialism, whose vaunted policy of "exporting and protecting democracy and freedom throughout the world" is being exposed by the notorious lynch-oppression of the Negro people at home. American diplomacy is being judged in the eyes of the world by the status of the 15 million American Negroes.

That "glittering" woman of "American Century" imperialism, that decadent pin-up girl of the reactionary Roman Catholic hierarchy, Clare Boothe Luce, revealed the deep fear and concern of the bourgeoisie when she declared in a speech in Cincinnati:

The racial question is the single most important domestic question that faces the American people. At every point of our economic structure, you will find the Negro question is involved. It is very expensive to our economy, not to mention our spiritual development as a nation, to deny the Negro rights to

which he is entitled.

Mrs. Luce's further expression of complete satisfaction with the so-called "progress" being made by the Negro people under the capitalist system cannot hide the utter bankruptcy of the lily-white American ruling class in failing to solve this question.

The Paris statement of the world-renowned artist, people's leader and symbol of peace, Paul Robeson, threw American imperialism and its two-party lackeys into a bad case of political jitters from which they have not yet fully recovered. Robeson voiced the most fundamental interests of the Negro and colonial peoples when he boldly pointed out that their liberation lay in cooperation with the Soviet Union in the world-wide struggle against war and imperialism. In the context of challenging the aggressive war plans of the American monopolies, Robeson placed the Negro question on the order of the day, clearly and unmistakably. This anti-war, anti-imperialist declaration for the freedom of the American Negro and his colonial brothers and sisters of all races, creeds, colors and nationalities, uttered before representatives of 600,000,000 people at the World Peace Congress in Paris, was of historic significance.

Jim-Crow American imperialism did not fail to draw its own conclusions. With its program of world

conquest in the balance, with the shrinkage of imperialist rule in virtually every part of the globe, the American monopolists have considered that the "old ways" of dealing with the Negro question are inadequate. New and more varied, more cunning and brutal, ways of dealing with the Negro people had to be found. The aims are the same as of old: to smash the rising militancy and block the anti-imperialist direction of the Negro liberation movement; to strengthen the position of the big monopolies, particularly at the expense of the Negro people; to intensify the national oppression of the Negroes, while at the same time trying to win a social base among them for Wall Street's program for world domination and a third world war.

In desperately seeking out new forms for the perpetuation of their savage rule, the men of the trusts have by no means discarded their long-standing system of terror. On the contrary, they have intensified and extended the lynch system. During the past two years, the national oppression of the Negro people has become accentuated in the North and in the South. The lynch offensive against the Negro people is accompanied by a sharp increase in anti-Semitism, discrimination against Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other minorities, terror and discrimination against the foreign-born generally, including West-

Indian-born Negroes, and against Negro women in particular.

Outright terror, persecution, frame-ups, police brutality and lynch violence against Negroes by night-riding fascist gangsters of the Ku Klux Klan are accompanied by grandiose demagogy and unrestrained lies attaining Hitlerite proportions. Enlisted for all-out use, in addition to the old corrupting weapon of bourgeois philanthropy, are the labor-imperialists and the Social-Democrats in the leadership of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. The radio, press and movie industries are being pressed into service to malign the Negro masses as well as to deceive them.

ROLE OF NEGRO AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM

But despite the intensified use of violence and the Big Lie, despite the whole set-up of the developing police state, the resistance of the Negro people, supported by widening sections of their progressive white allies, continues to grow. In this situation the ruling class is resorting to the corruption and bribing of individuals and limited groups among the more well-to-do Negro professional people and businessmen in order to use them as agents of imperialism. Monopoly capital is making wider use of Right-wing Negro reformists and Social-Democrats, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois national-

ists, Trotskyites and so on, in order to undermine the Negro liberation movement, to divert and betray it, to transform it into a base of support for the capitalist war program, to keep the Negro people chained to the corrupt two-party system.

This two-party system—the Republican and Democratic parties—spearheaded by the Truman Administration, is the main political instrument of the bourgeoisie in carrying through this offensive. All of the main tactics of the ruling class—lynch terror, police intimidation, frame-ups, demagoguery, and bribery—come to a head in the Truman Administration. The grandiloquent demagoguery and unbridled lies of the Truman regime serve as a cover for the pro-fascist mailed fist of reaction against the Negro people.

The recent cynical sell-out of the Powell F.E.P.C. Bill, and its replacement by the worthless Republican-sponsored McConnell measure, could not have been accomplished without the betrayal by President Truman and the Truman Democrats as well as the Republicans and the Dixiecrat wing of the Democratic Party. Rep. Vito Marcantonio was correct when he declared that the F.E.P.C. sell-out shows that the Republicans and Democrats want civil rights legislation as an issue and not as a law. Truman's hypocritical and empty talk on civil rights, beginning with the publication of the civil rights report in 1948, shows that

the brutal, "white supremacy" oppression of the Negro people can no longer be carried out except behind a camouflage of unprecedented demagoguery.

A minority, but strategically placed and powerful, section of the Negro leadership formerly associated with Roosevelt have gone over to the bipartisan-Truman Administration and have become agents of American imperialism. Among them are such individuals as Lester Granger, Walter White, Roy Wilkins and Channing Tobias. Tobias, recently appointed the first Negro director of a Wall Street bank, the Modern Industrial, is an officer and Negro front of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which maintains wide imperialist interests in Africa, for the merciless exploitation of the natives and the natural resources of that continent. Many Negro leaders are being integrated by the Truman Administration into the imperialist and capitalist set-ups—for example, Bunche and Hastie—giving them unprecedented advantages of status and prestige from which to serve as spokesmen of capitalism and imperialism among the Negro people. Knowing the affinity of the Negro people with the labor movement, such labor misleaders as Townsend, Weaver, Tom Young (Dewey's new appointee as State Commissioner of Correction) and A. Phillip Randolph form the core of treacherous Social-Democracy among the Negro people. These Social-Democratic lackeys ped-

dle the ideology and propaganda of the warmongers, Red-baiters, labor splitters among the Negro workers; they serve as a smokescreen for the ruinous and treacherous policies of Murray, Reuther, Carey, Green and Dubinsky against the Negro people; and their role is extremely harmful and dangerous to the Negro liberation movement.

The dangerous role of these forces is clearly seen from a recent editorial of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the Negro weeklies bribed by the white ruling class, which reads in part:

It is astonishing and regrettable that the N.A.A.C.P. directors refused to accept the invitation of the American Legion recently to participate in a national anti-Communist conference and campaign launched in New York City . . . (February 25, 1950).

This is a despicable attempt ideologically to disarm the Negro people in the face of the fascist offensive. It is the inescapable logic of the position of the Negro agents of imperialism. Uncle Tom today wears a silk hat.

The Negro reformists of the Wilkins type try to pervert Negro-white unity into unity of the Negro people with the warmongering monopolies and their dupes and agents among labor and the people. This is the unity of the Negro people with their worst enemies. The last-minute scuttling of the Powell F.E.P.C. bill in the House could hardly have been

accomplished without the sell-out engineered by the reformist Wilkins and the Social-Democrat Weaver behind the backs of the Negro people, and in particular, of the N.A.A.C.P. membership. These misleaders are the main enemy within the ranks of the Negro people, the worst betrayers of Negro rights.

The differentiated role that individual reformists and agents of imperialism are playing makes it necessary that a differentiated approach be taken toward them. Bunche, for example, reflects the difficulties American imperialism is having even with some of its Negro spokesmen, as shown in his refusal to take the lead in Soviet-baiting and anti-Communism or to accept a post in the State Department because of the vicious Jim-Crow conditions in Washington. Such forces are, by virtue of the discrimination to which they are subjected, peculiarly susceptible to the growing militant pressure of the Negro workers and masses.

THE TRUE LEADERS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

The truly representative Negro leadership is anti-imperialist, and wages a militant struggle against war, fascism and the monopolies, recognizing that this is the only path to the defense of the Negro people's elementary rights and to Negro liberation. It fights for the unity of the Negro people within, and for unity with their anti-imperialist allies in

the labor-progressive movement. Among its spokesmen are such people's leaders as Paul Robeson, W. E. B. DuBois, Charlotta Bass, Charles Howard and a large and growing number of new and young Negro labor and progressive leaders, men and women, in the North and South.

In the front of those who champion militantly and unswervingly the cause of Negro rights and national liberation is the Communist Party, from whose ranks and leading cadres increasingly come forward fighters and tribunes in all areas of the Negro people's struggle.

Although under severe attack, the anti-imperialist forces are growing in strength. They give voice challengingly to the basic aspirations of the Negro masses, among whom their influence is increasingly developing.

Objectively, the Negro people move in an anti-imperialist direction. The majority of the Negro leaders formerly with the Roosevelt-labor-Negro people's coalition are not consciously identified with either of these two trends in the Negro people's movement. But if united-front struggles of the broadest type are waged on the key economic issues—in the first place, jobs—and on the over-riding issues of peace and the fight against fascism, the majority of the Negro leaders and organizations, and the majority of the Negro people, will be won as a powerful, conscious participant in the people's movement against war and fascism. This is con-

tingent, however, on the exposure of and battle against the treachery of the Right-wing reformist and Social-Democratic leaders.

This was shown at the N.A.A.C.P. Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington last January. It was the militant pressure of the rank and file of the N.A.A.C.P., and of the Negro masses generally, that compelled the Wilkins-Townsend clique in control of the N.A.A.C.P. to call the Mobilization into being. Likewise, this pressure prevented this reformist clique from splitting the 5,000-odd delegation and demoralizing the fight for F.E.P.C. The betrayal by the Truman Administration of civil rights, coupled with Wilkins' placing of the N.A.A.C.P. into a virtual C.I.O. receivership with Murray and Reuther in control, is not to be seen in disconnection from the sharp drop in membership of the organization. But the rank and file, demanding a united militant struggle for civil rights, are resisting Wilkins' Red-baiting efforts to destroy the organization. Judge Jane Bolin, a few days ago, resigned the vice-presidency of the Association. She expressed opposition to Communism; nevertheless, she stated:

... Nor can the N.A.A.C.P. continue to blind the public for its lack of a positive and alive program by continuing to yell Communist and fellow traveler about every board member and branch which is opposed to its inaction and wants to see come out of the

N.A.A.C.P. less talk and more action on a vital civil rights program.

She further charged the Board of the N.A.A.C.P. with betraying a "great trust to be exercised for the welfare of millions of Americans."

Ralph Matthews, editor and columnist of the *Washington Afro-American*, one of the largest Negro weeklies, has declared:

In permitting the Mobilization to be used as a sounding board against the so-called Leftist C.I.O. unions, Mr. Wilkins turned his back on most of the things the N.A.A.C.P. stands for and made a marriage of convenience with an emaciated skeleton which is but a shadow of the once liberal C.I.O. The reason most of the so-called Red-dominated unions have been given the boot and are now castigated by their former associates is not that they adhere to any Moscow line. . . . The unions which are being purged and with which Mr. Wilkins refuses to associate are the same unions which refuse to fall in line with the new C.I.O. policy which calls for conformity with America's traditional policy of segregation and Jim Crowism (February 25, 1950).

Due to the growing role of the Negro workers in the anti-war, anti-imperialist camp, the reformists and Social-Democrats are experiencing troubles and difficulties among strata of the Negro people in putting across their pro-war, pro-imperialist line of betrayal of Negro rights.

GROWING ROLE OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

The Peekskill victory last summer could not have been possible without the significant participation of Negro workers. Together with white trade unionists, progressive Jewish people and other anti-fascists, they defeated reaction's attempt to prevent and break up the Robeson concert. Tens of thousands of Negro workers and their families, braving threats of Peekskill-like violence, turned out to greet Robeson on his subsequent national tour. They thereby showed their readiness for the sharpest struggle against fascist reaction and their opposition to the sell-out tactics of the Wilkinses, Townsends and other Uncle Toms.

Truly heroic is the struggle, all too little known, of the Negro railroad workers in the deep South to destroy the conspiracy of the corporations and the white supremacist railroad-union leaders to drive them out of the industry and their unyielding efforts to break down the job-discrimination in the industry. This struggle has major implications for the subject Negro nation in the Black Belt, for the alliance between the Negro proletariat and the sharecroppers and for Negro-white unity in the South.

The trouncing recently delivered to the C.I.O. raiders and labor betrayers in Winston-Salem by the F.T.A. under the leadership, among

others, of two Negro women, Moranda Smith and Velma Hopkins, was accomplished against the combined strength of the tobacco trusts, the Social-Democrat Townsend and the Truman Administration's reformist agent, Mrs. Bethune. The recent historic battle of the miners against the coal operators, the Truman Administration, the G.O.P. and the Taft-Hartley slave-labor law could not have been won without the staunch role played by the Negro miners, who constitute a substantial section of the U.M.W.A., especially in West Virginia. In all strike struggles recently, Negro workers have been among the most militant. The important struggles of the sharecroppers are increasing and leading toward organization.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE WANT PEACE

On a hundred fronts the Negro people are resisting pro-fascist persecution and going over to the counter-offensive to widen the area of their citizenship and to win many local victories against Jim Crow. The struggles will multiply and gather momentum in the coming weeks and months.

Essential to a triumphant anti-war movement, and as the only course through which Negro rights can be defended and extended, is the linking up of the Negro liberation movement with the growing conscious sector of the developing peace front.

The fight for peace and the fight for freedom are indivisible. It is therefore necessary, for advanced trade unionists in the first place, and for the white peace forces in general, steadfastly to fight for Negro equality and national liberation and to resist the sharpening white-chauvinist oppression of the Negro people, as part of the struggle against war. It is of utmost importance, simultaneously, to convince the Negro people that the struggle for peace and the struggle to bridle the imperialist warmongers will serve to promote their full citizenship, politically, economically and socially.

The situation is favorable for the development of the broadest, most conscious and most effective peace movement among the Negro people. And the fact that Wall Street, through the Truman Administration and the G.O.P., through the A.D.A. leaders, the war-minded labor-imperialists and the Negro reformists and Social-Democrats, are working feverishly to establish a war base among the Negro people, serves to underscore the need to bring forward the deep peace sentiments of the Negro masses.

The Negro people constitute the weakest link in the chain which imperialist reaction is trying to forge at home in preparation for war. The horrors of the last world war, in which the one million Negro soldiers suffered doubly—by virtue of the Jim-Crow persecution, discrimination

and segregation in the armed forces—are fresh in the minds of the Negro people. This Jim-Crow still persists, and the Negro people have no heart for a war conducted in accordance with the “white-supremacy” rules laid down by Rankin and Eisenhower. The Soviet-baiting by the monopolists, the State Department and their Negro and white puppets has not succeeded in eliminating the deep admiration which the Negro people have for the equality and freedom achieved by the once Czarist-oppressed nations now living in fraternal union in the U.S.S.R. The Negro people have no enthusiasm for H-bombing and Atom-bombing the Soviet land, where human beings live and work in dignity and freedom irrespective of race, color, creed or nationality. The Negro people will not fail to note that the world peace camp led by the Soviet Union is the undeviating champion of the cause of freedom and independence for the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Finally, the Negro people are becoming more and more embittered in the face of the betrayal of the stated objectives of the last war. They, more than any other section of the population know on their own backs the true import of the State Department’s boast that it is “introducing democracy throughout the world.”

It must be noted, however, that Wall Street is using every means to prepare the Negro people psychologically for war. It is not accidental

that General Leslie (Atom-bomb) Groves has been appointed an executive director of the United Negro College Fund, facilitating his access to the Negro youth in the deep South, heartland of the Negro liberation movement.

It is necessary to challenge head-on every move of the warmongering Truman Administration and its Negro reformist and Social-Democratic lackeys. This has to be done in sharp ideological struggles and exposures on the basis of united-front struggles for Negro rights.

It is necessary to make clear to the Negro people that the establishment of a free, independent and democratic China against Anglo-American imperialism, that the present colonial-liberation struggles, are part of the world battle for peace and against the outbreak of a third world war.

World imperialism’s efforts to fasten its grip on Africa are made possible with Marshall Plan dollars. As their hold on Asia is weakened, the cartellists increasingly fix their sights on the African continent and people as resources and potential cannon-fodder for a third world war.

A cardinal task is to impress upon the proletariat and all peace forces in the United States that theirs is the chief responsibility for championing the freedom of Africa, as well as of all other colonial and semi-colonial peoples, as a part of the struggle for peace.

Deep, basically anti-imperialist stirrings are taking place among the

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Negro people on the question of Africa. It is the duty of all advanced forces, above all the Communists, to point out that the central task in the liberation of Africa, as well as of the Caribbean countries, is the struggle against American imperialism and its war program on the home front. The performance of this task is being spurred on by the work of the Council on African Affairs headed by Paul Robeson. At the same time, the ties of internationalism of the Negro people must be strengthened with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, with the People's Republic of China and the other colonial-liberation forces in Asia, with the Negro and Indian peoples of Latin America and with all the forces of peace and freedom throughout the world.

The Negro people do not want war. But it would be wrong to assume that the violently anti-Soviet, Red-baiting, warmongering campaign of the monopoly press, radio and motion pictures has not had its effects among them. The anti-Soviet slanders must be met head-on, exposed and refuted, though it is necessary to work with Negro organizations, workers and leaders who, desirous of peace, are either confused by the bipartisan foreign policy or even hostile to the Soviet Union.

Essential to the further development of the peace movement in the Negro people's liberation struggle is that it should take on an organized character while at the same time con-

necting itself with the broader peace movement, strengthening Negro-white unity.

ROLE AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

The Communist Party is the vanguard leader in the struggle for the national liberation of the Negro people, for their full political, social and economic equality and for their right to national self-determination in the Black Belt. Under conditions of today, our Party bears a heavy and historic responsibility.

It is the duty of our Party ruthlessly to root out of its own ranks, and out of the ranks of labor, all neglect, underestimation and routine consideration of this question. Our Party must be a key factor in drawing the trade unions and all democratic Americans into the struggle for Negro liberation, pointing out that the struggle for peace, for human survival, is at the same time the struggle against the racist persecution of the 15 million American Negroes.

Our Party has a cardinal task in aiding in the forging of the unity of the Negro people's movement and in bringing it into cooperation with the most advanced sections of the labor and progressive movements around a militant, anti-imperialist, anti-war, anti-fascist program of struggle. This is in accordance with the trends among the Negro people.

In the achievement of these prime tasks in respect to the Negro libera-

tion movement, the Communist Party must raise the banner of the fight on two fronts: first, against ruling class white-chauvinist ideology and practices, as the main danger; and secondly, against bourgeois Negro nationalism and against Right-wing reformism and Social-Democracy, which are key dangers within the ranks of the Negro people's movement. Both these dangers, from different approaches, meet in the common service of the bipartisan war program of the Wall Street monopolies, and must be ruthlessly combated simultaneously.

White chauvinism is today fascist ideology, propagated by the warded-minded capitalist class to undermine the struggle for peace, democracy and economic security. It is necessary to condemn and extirpate it in all its manifestations and forms, open and subtle, aggressive and passive. White workers and progressives, above all white Communists, should take the lead in waging merciless struggle against this poisonous ideology, sharpening their political sensitivity to all its myriad expressions and unhesitatingly challenging it.

Our Party is the leader of the fight against white chauvinism. In accordance with our Marxist-Leninist principles, we undertook, a year ago, under the leadership of the National Committee and the direction of Comrade Pettis Perry, Secretary of the National Negro Work Commission, a special campaign against white chauvinism.

This campaign, despite weaknesses, has aided the Negro liberation struggle. It has strengthened the political sensitivity of our Party and helped to prepare it for big struggles ahead on all fronts. It has strengthened the theoretical and ideological fiber of our Party and heightened the ability of the membership to fight for its line and policy. It has emboldened our Negro comrades, who have played a major role in the fulfillment of this struggle. But the campaign has only begun; the struggle against white chauvinism must become a conscious part of our Party's daily work, integrated in all of our mass activity. It is now necessary to unfold big struggles for Negro rights on all fronts, particularly in the economic field. This requires a raising of the level of the struggle against white chauvinism. The struggle against white chauvinism in our Party will be best facilitated by turning our Party to leadership and association with the masses in gigantic battles for the needs of the Negro people.

It is necessary now to raise the slogan of mastering the Marxist-Leninist position of our Party on the Negro question, of taking the 1946 Plenum decision off the shelf, and implementing it through a day-to-day Leninist-Stalinist method of work. The bourgeoisie and its lackey theoreticians are doing their best to destroy the concept of the special, national character of the Negro question in order to undermine the Negro libera-

tion struggle. The Negro question must be seen as a special question and treated as such in all of our mass work.

The struggle against white chauvinism must be sharpened in the trade unions. The Left-progressive unions have always advanced the fight against Jim Crow and national oppression within the labor movement, which accounts in part for the attempts of the Murray-Reuther labor-imperialists to isolate and destroy these unions. But now, more than ever in the past, the Left-progressive forces, in the first place the Communists, in all unions, must master our Party's position on the Negro question and combat the sell-out policies of the Social-Democrats and reformists. Negro-white unity in the labor movement must be based first on the understanding of the white workers of their political responsibility and initiative with respect to the Negro liberation movement.

Also decisive in the struggle against white chauvinism is the devoting of greater attention to the South, main base of the barbarous system of national oppression of the Negro people. Particular stress should be placed on the sharecroppers' movement and on the Negro coal miners. There must be an end to the neglect of the Negro railroad workers, who are in motion against the railroad magnates and the reactionary lily-white union officialdom. The broadest people's movement must be developed in the South against the fascist Rankins and

Dixiecrats, who are mainstays of the Wall Street-Truman war program. The right-to-vote movements are of key importance, and more serious efforts should be made to bring Negro workers and sharecroppers into leadership in the third-party movement. Considerable theoretical work needs to be done on the various aspects of this question, along the lines soundly charted by Comrade Foster at the December 1946 Plenum.

Major attention must also be given to the struggle against white chauvinism in the national groups. These are minimum tasks if our Party is to elevate the struggle against white chauvinism to a higher stage.

The advanced labor and progressive forces among the Negro people—above all the Communists—have the special task of isolating and defeating the Right-wing Negro reformists, the treacherous Social-Democrats, the reactionary bourgeois Negro nationalists and all other agents and apologists of the bipartisan war program. The militant unity of the Negro people's movement cannot be forged, nor can it be given an anti-imperialist, anti-war direction, unless these agents of imperialism are consistently combatted and defeated. All of their vile anti-Soviet slanders and Red-baiting—epitomized in the role of George Schuyler—must be met head-on. Their attempts to sell out the Negro liberation movement, to betray the enactment and enforcement of civil rights legislation, must be blocked. Hesitancy, reluctance and

timidity in coming to grips with these forces retards the unity and maturation of the Negro liberation movement and hampers its growth as a main sector of the labor-people's coalition against war and fascism.

Our task is to win the Negro people, irrespective of political or religious views. This requires an understanding and application of the united-front tactic, in which a serious beginning was made by the Communist and Left forces at the N.A.A.-C.P. mobilization.

Far more attention should be given to the task of promoting the leadership of the Negro workers in the Negro liberation movement in order to guarantee its stability, militancy and unity. The establishment of Negro labor councils in key urban-industrial centers—bringing together A. F. of L. and C.I.O., Negro and white workers—is essential for this purpose.

The rising militancy of Negro women must be noted and steps must be taken radically to improve our work in this regard. We must more persistently fight for an understanding of the special character of this question, and draw greater numbers of Negro working women into positions of leadership. This triply-oppressed section of the population affords great strength and power to the Negro liberation movement, a fact that we have scarcely begun to recognize and act upon.

Indispensable to the strengthening

of the work of our Party is the improvement of its ideological work and cultivation of organized, creative theoretical work. This applies with particular aptness to the field of struggle for Negro rights. The capacities and talents present among our Negro comrades, men and women, for theoretical and ideological work, need to be systematically utilized, not only for the exposition and further elaboration of our Party's position on the Negro question, but in all areas of our Party's theory and practice.

There must also be a much bolder promotion of Negro cadres, especially women and youth, with particular attention to working-class comrades, into all spheres of Party leadership. In our cadre training of Negro comrades we must be centrally mindful of the need to develop leading forces for the Negro people's movement.

The course of events in the last two years since our Party's 1948 convention has fully confirmed the correctness of our Party's line and perspective as brilliantly and creatively set forth in the historic contributions of Comrade Foster. Comrade Foster has given us a brilliant example of the combination of theory and practice. Our Party, under the leadership of Comrades Foster and Dennis, on the basis of its Marxist-Leninist line, can confidently face the coming sharp battles against war and fascism, advancing the cause of the working class and of the Negro people's liberation movement.

For Communist Vigilance*

By Gilbert Green

IT SHOULD NOW BE abundantly clear that the growing attacks on our Party are not the consequences of some momentary aberration on the part of the bourgeoisie—for this “moment” has already lasted a number of years. These attacks are inherent in the very epoch in which we live. They are part of the drive toward war. They are symptoms of the growing trend toward fascism. It is inevitable, that the deeper the crisis of the ruling class, the more vicious, the more unscrupulous are its methods of attempting to crush the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class.

Knowing this, how can we account for the fact that a certain complacency set in after Foley Square, and that only now are we in the process of being shaken out of that complacency by the new Mundt Bill sneak assault? The time has come for us to stop making these periodic round trips from the state of complacency to the state of apprehension, and back. Neither complacency nor panic must govern our work. Our work must be governed by a sober estimate

of the period in which we live and struggle.

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

Our whole Party has not yet drawn the full lessons from the experience at the Foley Square trial, from certain incidents since the trial, particularly from the valuable experience of the world Communist movement in the past few years. These prove, beyond a doubt, that the ruling class of this country is assiduously cultivating every known stoolpigeon and agent-provocateur method of the past, and

* Report to the Plenum on the Need for Strengthening Communist Vigilance.

adding a few new ones, in its attempt to infiltrate and disrupt the world Communist movement from within.

At Foley Square we witnessed a number of scummy stoolpigeons take the stand and lie themselves blue in the face about our Party. But we knew then, and know even more so today, that J. Edgar Hoover exposed only those of his Gestapo agents that were either in secondary positions, had already outlived their usefulness or had doubles in the organizations into which they had bored. He certainly did not expose his main agents and his network of brother rats.

Since the trial our Party has been shocked by the revelation that the person who was the head of the Review Commission of the New York Party organization, an individual by the name of John Lautner, who was in the Party for many years, had been for a good number of years an enemy spy in the ranks of our Party. In more recent weeks we have witnessed the exposure of a number of F.B.I. Gestapo agents, who held positions of confidence and responsibility in the Pittsburgh movement. And what was true in respect to New York and Pittsburgh could very well be the case elsewhere.

METHODS OF WORK NOT CONDUCTIVE TO VIGILANCE

That a stoolpigeon could worm his way into our organization here or there is in itself not surprising.

What is shocking, however, is that our methods of work are not conducive to detecting these false elements. Frequently they are such as to make it possible for these spies and stoolpigeons to carry on their nefarious destructive activities with complete impunity. When we examine the records of the individual stoolpigeons who were exposed at the trial, or that of John Lautner in New York, or those of Cvetic and Dietz in Pittsburgh, there is one central fact that stands out. Not a single one of their records could bear scrutiny. Had there been even the slightest degree of vigilance in our organization, these enemy agents would have been discovered long ago.

Let us take the case of Lautner as an example. True, he had a long record in the Party, but only after his full treachery was discovered did we investigate that record more closely and find many facts that would have made him an impossible candidate for head of the Review Commission. One of the things considered in his favor was that he had an army record. But did anyone stop to examine that record more closely?

International experience has shown that an army record in and by itself proves nothing. Dealing with the many devious methods used by imperialism to penetrate the Communist and working-class movements of the world, Comrade Bierut, the leader of the Polish United Workers' Party, points out how the enemy even

penetrated the glorious, heroic International Brigade in Spain. In his report on "The Struggle for Revolutionary Vigilance," selections from which appeared in the February 1950 issue of *Political Affairs*, Comrade Bierut said:

Similarly, during the period of the Civil War in Spain when numbers of the most devoted fighters of all the countries of Europe sped to aid the democratic republic fighting against fascist aggression at that time, also numerous agents of the imperialist police centers infiltrated into the International Volunteer Brigades in order to spy or in order to penetrate more easily in the future as heroes of the Communist organizations of the countries which had aided the Spanish Republic.

Certainly we must admit that our Party has been completely naive as to such methods of duplicity used by the imperialist powers.

Furthermore, had there been instituted a system of check-up and control over the work of the stoolpigeon Lautner during his period as head of the Review Commission, enough would have been uncovered to warrant at least his immediate removal from so responsible a post. But such check-up and control was not in effect. We should set ourselves to examine to what extent it is in effect throughout the Party.

How dull our political senses are to the need for vigilance, to be on guard against the duplicity of the

class enemy, is most graphically seen in the following startling fact. In the course of the trial it was revealed that the stoolpigeon Calomiris had been up on charges the previous year, but had not only been white-washed by the Review Commission headed by Lautner, but was even involved in certain confidential work surrounding the defense preparations for the trial. The least that should have occurred at the time was the immediate political removal of Lautner as an incompetent meddler, and the institution of a thorough investigation as to whether he was not more than that. But no, that did not happen. He was permitted to continue as head of the Review Commission.

Once again let me make clear that New York is being singled out because this occurred in New York, and not because we may not have similar situations elsewhere. The sorry fact is that even when our suspicions are aroused regarding one or another individual in our Party, we all too often do nothing about it until not the slightest doubt remains. But this approach is false. Whenever an individual acts in an undisciplined, irresponsible, careless, factional or anti-Party manner, whether consciously or unconsciously, it is the duty of the Party leadership to do something about it. Such an individual must be called to task, must be criticized, must be asked to explain his actions. In this fashion we can boldly and immediately correct

comrades who make errors, as well as, through open frank discussions, begin to ascertain whether we are dealing just with errors or with duplicity. We should, of course, not make the charge that the given individual is a stoolpigeon unless we know that to be the case; but neither can we permit people who by their actions create suspicion in the minds of the Party to continue to do damage merely because we are not certain as to whether they are conscious enemies or not.

It is true that a number of Pittsburgh Party leaders had become suspicious in respect to some of the activities of the now exposed F.B.I. stoolpigeon Matt Cvetic. But instead of resolute action there was procrastination. The benefit of the doubt was given the stoolpigeon Cvetic and not the Party and the working class.

SOURCE OF LACK OF VIGILANCE

What explains this tolerance, this softness, this rotten liberalism and lack of vigilance? It can be explained only in one way—the reflection of opportunism in the thinking and work of the Party and in the first place the leadership.

Comrade Bierut of Poland and Comrade Tchervenkov of Bulgaria have recently made profound self-critical examinations of the source of the lack of vigilance that manifested itself in their parties. They pointed

out that the lack of vigilance on their part flowed from the false opportunist concept that the class struggle was diminishing with the taking of state power in their countries. Comrade Tchervenkov dealt with this erroneous point of view in the following words:

We must admit that after the 9th of September, 1944, there prevailed among us the view, and for quite a long time all our practical activities were burdened by this viewpoint, that there was a special way of development for our country, a way which one fine day would bring us to Socialism. This view arose from the assumption that after September 9th the class struggle would abate more and more and that we, in contradistinction to the Soviet Union, could pass over to Socialism, without proletarian dictatorship, painlessly, so to say, organically, on the strength of a mere quantitative and gradual growth of our successes.

This lulled the vigilance of our people. It gave the enemy the opportunity to entrench himself and seek new forms of struggle against us (*For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, issue of February 17, 1950).

Now, it certainly cannot be said that there are any among us who suffer from the illusion that the achievement of Socialism in this country is going to be an easy or painless development. But, in saying this, it is also necessary to point out that some among us erred in the evaluation of the new People's Democracies. There

was a tendency to confuse People's Front government, namely the anti-fascist government administration, which still remains within the framework of the capitalist state machine, with the People's Democracy, which is the people's administration of an entirely new state power—the dictatorship of the working class. The theoretical confusion on the relationship of People's Front governments to People's Democracies—the approach that the latter represents a mere quantitative development of the former—crept into some Party publications and documents.

But what is the main opportunist source of our lack of vigilance? It is the failure to comprehend fully enough the qualitative changes that have taken place in the United States. There was a time when Lenin referred to the United States as "unequaled" in the "degree of its political freedom." That day for capitalist America is long past, never to return. We know this; but because of the illusions engendered by the Roosevelt period, because of the participation of this country in a progressive war, because with the end of the war the change in world relations has been so sharp and so abrupt, we have not yet drawn all the full implications from the fact that American imperialism is today the gendarme of the world, the crusher and violator of the national independence of peoples, of peace and democracy. And, this is not something temporary, something

that will change again tomorrow. This is the hard, cold, central fact of the entire historical period in which we now live.

THE VIOLENCE AND PROVOCATIONS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The more Wall Street imperialism loses its world positions, the more frantic and desperate it will become, and the sharper will become the struggle here at home—not the other way around. Of course, the American bourgeoisie was never characterized, not even in the period to which Lenin referred, by a gentle, milk-toast attitude toward the working class and the Negro people. It was always avaricious and cruel. It organized lynchings, frame-ups, assassinations and murders. The Molly Maguires, the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Ludlow Massacre, the Republic Steel Massacre, the murder of Joe Hill and Frank Little, of Joe York and Harry Simms, the long record of countless jailings through legal frame-ups, of which Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys stand out as indicting symbols, and the thousands of legal and extra-legal lynchings of Negro sharecroppers and workers are examples of the Wall Street brand of "democracy."

Of course, even before the period of the general crisis of capitalism, even before the billionaire barons of this country developed their mad de-

sire to lock the world in their bank vault, they used stoolpigeons and spies against the revolutionary and labor movements. It was estimated at one time that there were as many as 40,000 labor spies in this country. These were financed in the main by private corporations and operated by special spy agencies, such as the Pinkertons and the Burns. (For more facts on this side of American life, I refer you to the very useful little pamphlet by Comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, entitled *Stoolpigeon*).

What is different, however, in the situation of today as compared with that of the past, is precisely to be found in the role of the government. Today, it is no longer the private corporations and private detective companies that are the main stoolpigeon agencies. This function has now been taken over by the government itself. This has been a process which has developed as part of the whole trend toward political reaction which marks the imperialist epoch, and intensified a hundred-fold in recent years as part of the drive toward war and fascism.

DEVELOPING POLICE-STATE APPARATUS IN RECENT PERIOD

To what extent the police-state apparatus has developed in recent years is enough to stagger the imagination. The F.B.I. has grown to gargantuan proportions. From an arm

of the Department of Justice, it is actually being transformed into an independent branch of government, responsible only to itself and frequently capable of dictating to the other branches. It is true that the F.B.I. appears before a Congressional Committee once a year to ask for an appropriation. But it is also true that it always gets what it asks for, and each year more than the previous one, so that this year it has asked for and received \$57,000,000, and Hoover's salary has been boosted to \$20,000 a year. The President and Congress have the power to make changes in the F.B.I., but in practice J. Edgar Hoover is a power unto himself. With his millions of files loaded with inside dope on every politician and reasonably well-known person in the country, he holds a blackmail power over most politicians and both major parties. Thus, Presidents and Congresses come and go, but J. Edgar Hoover and his police-state network become more powerful and ominous from year to year. The way in which the F.B.I. continues to tap thousands of telephone wires throughout the country, and to wire-for-sound hundreds of private dwellings and meeting places, in direct defiance of the Constitution and the law, indicates to what illegal extents the F.B.I. can and does go with complete impunity.

When the F.B.I. appeared before a Congressional Committee recently, it informed that body that it had

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over 10,000 full-time employees and that it needed funds and 700 additional "operatives" because it was working on 21,101 cases of "subversives." It reported that its network of stoolpigeons and informers was sending in from twenty to two-hundred reports on individuals per day. It also reported that it was fully prepared to take steps to prosecute 12,000 individuals on the basis of the Foley Square trial alone, and that this number was restricted only because it does not want to expose all its sources of information.

Thus, the F.B.I. is not only an enemy of our Party, seeking to undermine, disrupt and eventually destroy it, but it represents a monstrous menace to everything democratic in American life. Besides its army of college-bred Gestapo-men, it has recruited and continues to recruit thousands upon thousands of petty informers and stoolpigeons, who spy on all organizations of the people, who snoop into the private affairs of neighbors, who concoct the most lurid tales in order to be on the good side and to prove their worth to their F.B.I. bosses. Many thousands of these are individuals who were "caught" in some crime or other, who for the sake of exoneration and "protection," have permitted themselves to become the underworld dregs of the F.B.I. Such was the character Nicodemus at the Foley Square trial; such also is the character Matt Cvetic.

STRUGGLE MUST INVOLVE MILLIONS

Certainly, the struggle against this police-state apparatus is one which must involve millions of democratic-minded people. It is one of the big tasks of our Party to expose these fascistic developments, to make the labor movement and other democratic mass organizations realize that this tremendous F.B.I. stoolpigeon machine is concentrated, not only against the Communist Party, but against every democratic organization and movement in this country.

In addition to the F.B.I. there is the C.I.A.—the Central Intelligence Agency—which has taken over the functions of the old O.S.S. and the infamous project X. The workings of this Intelligence Agency are shrouded in even greater mystery than that of the F.B.I. This outfit not only operates its own separate stoolpigeon apparatus, that runs through the length and breadth of the land, especially among the nationality groups, but it has built a world-wide espionage and fifth-column network which resorts to every conceivable crime, not stopping at wrecking and sabotage to destroy the democratic movements of the people and to carry through the diabolical plans of Wall Street.

The O.S.S., which was headed by Allen Dulles, brother of John Foster Dulles, studied and assimilated every known method of espionage. It took over, not only the methods but much

of the personnel of the Nazi and Japanese espionage services. This was exposed in the Rajk trial in Hungary. This trial also brought out the extent to which Browder's book on Teheran was reproduced and distributed by the O.S.S. throughout Europe as an attempt to undermine the Marxist-Leninist principles and distort the postwar perspectives of the class-conscious European working masses.

This use of Browder's book and the role of the Tito clique as agents of imperialism, all point to the fact that something new has been added to the methods of the enemy. The most common variety of stoolpigeon is assigned to worm his way into the confidence of the working-class organization and to gather every piece of information he can. But there is another, special type, trained to undermine the Party and the mass movement by turning them from their historic course; by destroying their self-confidence, creating ideological and political confusion, and distorting the line of the Party. The first type keeps quiet on ideological questions. He always acts as the "good" comrade. He always supports all policies. He dares not participate in ideological discussion for fear of self-exposure. The second type actively seeks to sow ideological confusion, always in a concealed way, so as not to expose his hand. It is this second type which the enemy has used more and more on an in-

ternational scale, utilizing disgruntled elements and playing on ideological and political weaknesses in the work of the Communist Parties in order to create a "mass" base for its anti-Party activities.

Speaking of this new trend in stoolpigeon activities, Comrade Bierut, in the cited report, makes this important observation:

Today the social democratic parties are no longer an adequate ideological transmission belt in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, even in the capitalist countries. This explains among other reasons the support given by imperialism to Titoism as a political diversion in the international field and its activation as a new attempt of ideological deceit in the struggle against the Communist Parties on an anti-Soviet platform.

THE ENEMY'S TITO AGENTS

How important the enemy considers this weapon against our Party can be seen in the rash of open and concealed individuals and grouplets who are trying to attack our Party in the name of Marxism, and who seize on every ideological and practical weakness of our Party in order to sow their seeds of disruption. In New York, Seattle, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, we have seen manifestations of this attempt at enemy penetration through the use of poison-pen letters which spread gossip and slander and try to undermine the confidence of the membership in the

leadership. The Browderites are active, grinding out pamphlet after pamphlet, still keeping their undercover agents in the Party waiting for the opportune moment to come into the open. The Franklins, Darcys, Dunnes, Bedachts are also busy with their undermining activities, and as for the Tito forces, these are well organized and financed, and are concentrated especially among the middle-class intellectuals and among the nationality groups. Louis Adamic is their chief American spokesman as of this moment, and from the tone of his publication, *Trends and Tides*, is no mere confused and misled intellectual.

For example, in the most recent issue of that periodical there appears an unsigned article about the Foley Square trial. This article does not consider the trial as a menace to democracy in the country. It does not even consider it an attempt to outlaw Marxism-Leninism. The inference to be drawn from this anonymous article is that the whole trial was a plot concocted between the government and the Party leadership and "ultimately none of the defendants will suffer serious inconvenience; but meanwhile the present Party leadership which has been under heavy attack, will in the aura of near-martyrdom consolidate their power at home." This is how this miserable Titoite joins with reaction to demobilize the masses, to hide from them the true meaning

of the Foley Square trial. The F.B.I. admits that 12,000 cases are already prepared for action if the Supreme Court upholds the Foley Square conviction; but Mr. Tito's agent in this country says the trial is only a plot of Communist leaders to enhance their own prestige!

The only way the Party can uncover and expose these F.B.I. caricatures of Marxism is by a constant and intense ideological struggle against every enemy view, particularly exposing for the masses the true roles and ideological camouflage of the Social-Democrats, the Titoites, the Browderites and the Trotskyites.

Only by ideologically raising the level of the whole Party, only by struggling against all manifestations of Right and "Left" opportunism, only by fighting for the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, can we so cement our Party ideologically that the enemy can not so readily penetrate our ranks and carry on his operations without exposure. Such a struggle for Party ideology and Party line we do not yet have.

As regards the full exposure of the Titoites, our Party has an important job to do. We dare not underestimate the inroads which the Titoites have made among certain middle-class intellectuals, who, seeking some way by which to "prove" that they are not Communists, are becoming supporters of Tito. They believe that this will enable them to continue to

parade as progressive and pro-peace forces, while permitting them to join in attacks upon the Soviet Union. We must make perfectly clear that, sooner or later, the period of confusion over the Tito question will have to end. Sooner or later it will be impossible for individuals who wish to be considered progressive, who wish to fight against the war plans of Wall Street, to straddle this issue. For Tito is part of the war camp. He and his clique do not represent another brand of Communism, but a brand of fascism. Yugoslavia under their terror-rule is the military and political base of operations of Wall Street imperialism in Eastern Europe.

FOR A LENINIST TYPE OF PARTY

The weaknesses of our Party in its ideological work is also reflected in its failure to bring forward at all times its own independent class position in regard to those with whom we have a basis for unity on one issue or another.

We can never operate in an atmosphere in which masses cannot distinguish between the bourgeois-liberal position of a Wallace, for example, and the working-class, Marxist position of our Party. I refer not only to the period of the recent months during which Wallace has slid backward, but also to the period of 1948, when we should have made

plain the area of our agreement but also wherein we disagreed with him. This is indispensable to the building of the united front and at the same time to guarantee that the masses can always judge between us and our allies, never confusing one with the other. This is also indispensable to the building of our Party, to the heightening of Party consciousness and pride in Party membership.

In speaking of the opportunism which was the basis of the lack of vigilance in the Communist Parties of Europe, the leaders of these parties also criticized themselves for the failure to fight for a Leninist type of Party. As Comrade Bierut put it, "without a proletarian party based on Leninist principles there is no fundamental force to guarantee the hegemony of the working class. Without a revolutionary party the working class is defenseless."

It must be said that we, too, have made some errors on this matter. We have not fought consistently and stubbornly enough for a Leninist type of Party. That is why it has been so easy for alien elements to worm their way into our Party. Of course, the problems of building a Party under conditions of working-class rule, as in the Eastern Democracies, are quite different from those obtaining in the United States. But the principles that govern the Party are the same.

Can we allow alien ideological currents in our Party? We cannot. And

yet among certain sections of our membership drawn from the middle classes we find strong influences of enemy class ideology. Freudian psychoanalysis—that manifestation of reactionary idealism which seeks an individualist “solution” for the problems which arise in class society and the class struggle—is either vying with, or replacing Marxism in the thinking of many of our non-proletarian members. And yet, we have been rather timid and hesitant about opening up an ideological war against this poisonous infiltration into our midst.

When the Party leadership opened up a stubborn fight against the manifestations of white chauvinism in the ranks of our Party there were those who were “worried” over what would be the consequences. But the results were excellent. The Party began to feel like a vanguard Party, with a single class ideology and not a mixed class ideology. A new spirit began to pervade our ranks. Here only a bare beginning was made, but it showed how the fight for working-class ideology, far from weakening the Party, on the contrary strengthens it in all respects.

The weakness in our fight for a Leninist concept of a Party is also shown in the class composition of our Party. Petty-bourgeois ideological tendencies and influences will especially find expression in our Party so long as the Party is not overwhelmingly based on the working class and

rooted in the shops. If we waver in our concentration policies, if we do not give the main attention to the shop organizations and members of our Party, this is undoubtedly brought about, to no small extent, by the pressure of the middle-class and white-collar sections of our Party membership.

We are going to face stormy days ahead, and unless we, as Marxist-Leninists, turn our major attention to the working class in basic industry—not 51 percent, but 90 percent—we are not going to establish the kind of Party that can weather all storms.

This shortcoming is to be seen also in the social composition of many of our existing cadres and in the promotion of new cadres. We still tend too much to promote the most articulate, but not always the most basic and most important people, the industrial workers. We do not select our cadres along the Leninist line advised by Dimitrov at the Seventh World Congress.

We also suffer from an insufficiency of a class approach to the personal lives of our comrades. There has developed the petty-bourgeois notion that the political lives of people are separate from their personal lives. And so we do not check on the personal lives of our people, with the result that this weakness is also utilized by the enemy. We must return to the old yardstick that an unstable person in his or her personal life,

is sooner or later going to show instability in his political life. Had the Party leadership in Pittsburgh paid close attention to the personal lives and behaviors of the Cvetics, had it known how they lived and how they made their living, what their background and friends were, when and how and why they joined the Party—they never could have bored so deeply or for so long a period. For, they were living double lives which could stand no such close scrutiny.

As was pointed out with regard to the stoolpigeon Lautner, had there been any check-up or control of his work, he could have been exposed long ago. The same is true of the stoolpigeons who appeared at the trial and of those exposed recently in Pittsburgh. All these individuals were most active. While not pushing themselves forward too obviously, they nonetheless accepted assignments and gave the appearance of responsible people. Yet, any close examination of their work would have brought to light something that was rotten. Cvetic was busy in many undertakings, but yet never had any real results to show for his activity. And when the Cleveland stoolpigeon, Blanc, won prizes in subscription getting, this was all a fake, as he himself admitted in the courtroom, for he had paid for all these subscriptions himself, as any check-up would have shown.

FOR CHECK-UP AND CONTROL OF DECISIONS

Thus, one of the most important requirements for tightening up our whole Party organization, is the institution of the strictest check-up and control over the execution of all decisions. We do that today in respect to subscription and fund drives, but not in respect to political decisions. In instituting political check-up we establish a constant system by which to evaluate the correctness of our policy and to test it not only in the ranks of the Party, but also among the masses. Further, in the process of such evaluation, we will find the deficiencies that exist in our work, uncover wrong ideological tendencies, determine how the Party line has been fought for in practice, and learn who the individuals were who produced, and who were those who did not. It is no wonder that Lenin once summed up Party organizational work as consisting of two things: the proper selection and assignment of people; and check-up and control on the execution of decisions.

The building of a Leninist type of Party, a party which helps build and lead the broadest united-front movements, but which permits no united-front approach to theoretical and ideological questions, the building of a Party of the working class which is eternally vigilant against the class enemy, can only be accomplished by

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arousing and enlisting the support of our entire membership. As in all other matters, the struggle for vigilance cannot be carried through successfully by the leadership alone. It requires the active participation of the masses, and first of all of the Party.

THE NEED FOR BOLSHEVIK CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

For this reason the European parties have tied up the struggle for revolutionary vigilance with the struggle for Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism and for inner-Party democracy. We must understand that criticism and self-criticism is not just another feature of Communist organization; *it is the law of development of Communist parties.*

Here is how a recent issue of *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!*, deals with this subject in its leading editorial:

Criticism and self-criticism is that revolutionary weapon, that tried method, by means of which the Marxist Parties ruthlessly expel from their ranks all that is alien, all that is bourgeois, which still persists in their ranks.

Criticism and self-criticism is inherent only in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties. The Communist Parties are distinguished from the reformist, Social-Democratic and Right-wing Socialist Parties in that they never evade painful questions, never hush

them up, nor do they slur over them, but always openly, profoundly and as a matter of principle, reveal and criticize their mistakes, drawing fresh strength from criticism and self-criticism, and renewed energy for improving their work and for ensuring their development.

There is certainly more criticism and self-criticism in our ranks than heretofore. That is true. We have gone a long way since the Browder days. But, comrades, we have not gone far enough. We have more self-criticism in top committees, but often this can be characterized by the remark of the comrade who said, "I want to self-criticize *you*." There is not enough real *self-criticism* and not enough open admission and discussion of errors with the whole Party. There is not enough interplay between top and bottom in the Party; too many meetings are held at which there is only enough time to hear a report from a leading comrade but very little time to hear discussion. Thus the leadership is not always aware of the various ideological questions raised in the ranks; it is not always in a position to sense and correct wrong tendencies; and it does not have the advantage of listening to and learning from the ranks. It is certainly no belittling of the role of leadership to say that while we must lead and teach the masses, we can and must also learn from the masses, Party and non-Party—in fact, a leadership that cannot

do so, cannot exercise the full function of leadership.

We must fight for our Party and for its line, far more stubbornly and effectively than ever; but never must this be distorted into refusing to listen to and accepting constructive criticism. Note how Comrade Tchervenkov of the Bulgarian Party, the Party of George Dimitrov, a Party which fought for twenty years underground, raised this matter before his own Party:

To strengthen the Party means to observe with even greater persistency, inner-Party democracy. Criticism and self-criticism must be developed in the Party, irrespective of individuals.

Without criticism and self-criticism revolutionary vigilance cannot be strengthened in the Party. Strict, ruthless measures must be taken against any one who hinders criticism in one or another degree, who suppresses criticism in the Party.

And Comrade G. Malenkov, writing on the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Comrade Stalin, deals with the Stalinist-Bolshevik tradition of leadership. He writes:

Comrade Stalin teaches that it is necessary to wage a merciless struggle against instances of the suppression and persecution of self-criticism. To persecute self-criticism, says Comrade Stalin, means to kill all independent activity in the Party organization, to undermine the authority of its leadership among the Party masses, to cause the Party to disintegrate, and to establish in the life

of the Party organization the anti-Party customs of the bureaucrats—the mortal enemies of the Party.

And further Comrade Malenkov writes:

Comrade Stalin constantly warns of the fact that it is not vanity, but modesty that becomes the Bolshevik, that any leader, irrespective of the post he occupies, is a servant of the people. The unbroken tie between the leaders and the masses, willingness to learn from the masses, to correct the shortcomings which the workers point out—this is the tradition of Bolshevik leadership. (*Pravda*, December 21, 1949, in *Soviet Press Translations*.)

Of course, real criticism and self-criticism is impossible without collective methods of work. The Bulgarian Party was merciless in the exposure of the lack of collective methods of work in its Central Committee and how this was utilized by enemy agents within the Party. Can we say in all honesty that we have solved this problem? In fact, here and there one can detect factional and clique methods of work instead of collective methods. Also here and there personal friendships and petty-bourgeois subjectivity stand in the way of frank political relations and political criticism. It must be admitted that one of the main reasons why the stoolpigeons in the Pittsburgh district were able to operate for so long a time on top levels is because

there was no collective leadership.

At the Rajk and Kostov trials, some of the defendants pointed to themselves as examples of what happens to individuals in the Party, especially in leading posts, who, because they are possessed of vanity and conceit, become subjective in the face of criticism and persist in the defense of errors; individuals who like to surround themselves with lauding "yes men," and who balk at working as part of a collective team. Such individuals, if not checked and corrected, frequently degenerate, first into tools of the class enemy, and subsequently into open agents.

Criticism and self-criticism must help create an atmosphere for collective work; collective work must in turn help encourage, unfold and further develop criticism and self-criticism. Bureaucratic methods of work are bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualistic methods; collective work, based on criticism and self-criticism, is the only Communist, the only working-class method of work and leadership.

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS

In conclusion, comrades, how can we sum up our immediate tasks in the struggle for vigilance?

1. The struggle for vigilance is a part of the struggle against a police-state and fascism. Thus, it is a broad mass question which requires the mobilization of all those who

stand for peace and democracy and against war and fascism. We must, therefore, raise this question more publicly than heretofore and enlist the broadest support in the fight against government spies and provocateurs.

2. We must put an end to all opportunist carelessness arising from an underestimation of the duplicity of the enemy. This includes where and how we hold meetings, the use of telephones, etc. We must understand that slothful, careless methods are the opposite of the Leninist methods.

3. We must raise the ideological-political Marxist-Leninist level of understanding of our whole Party and especially of our cadres. We must fight stubbornly for our working-class ideology, for the line of the Party. We must eradicate all manifestations of white chauvinism in our ranks, and also of Negro bourgeois nationalism. We must also intensify our struggle for proletarian internationalism, the most important aspect of which is a many-sided and continuous exposure of the lies and slanders directed against the first land of Socialism, the Soviet Union.

4. The whole Party must be taken into our confidence and must be enlisted in the fight against the enemy, open and concealed. This of course means activating the whole Party, tightening it up from top to bottom, and eliminating irresponsible elements. This requires the fullest de-

velopment of criticism and self-criticism as the basic law of Party development and the sharpest struggle against bureaucratic and factional methods of work and against petty-bourgeois subjectivity.

5. It is essential to develop a firm cadre policy, based upon knowing our cadres, their origin, background and struggle, with special emphasis on the development of working-class cadres, particularly from among the Negro workers, the youth and women. We must in the shortest possible time establish cadre commissions to include workers from the shops.

6. There must take place the reorganization of the Review Commissions throughout the Party so as to guarantee that they can fulfill the special tasks assigned to them.

7. A campaign is needed for the mass circulation of Derek Kartun's booklet *Tito's Plot Against Europe*, which describes the Rajk trial and the espionage-police role of the Titites, plus the role of the O.S.S. in setting up this spy network. It also deals with the way in which Brow-

der's book was used by the O.S.S.

8. The strictest check-up and control on the execution of all decisions, organizational and political, must become a system of work for the entire Party.

These are a few of the central, immediate tasks before us in arousing the vigilance of our whole Party. We must warn in advance against two dangers: one, the tendency to go along as usual, to underestimate the methods of the enemy, to continue to operate in a slothful, careless fashion; two, the tendency of exaggerating the strength of, and becoming paralyzed due to a fear of, the penetrations of the enemy.

All the labor spies American capitalism was able to purchase could not prevent the organization of the trade unions in the basic industries of the country. Nor will capitalism, with its depraved espionage, provocations, stoolpigeoning and terrorization prove successful against our Party—the vanguard, Communist Party which has arisen from the American working class and is as indestructible as the working class.

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Notes on the 1950 Elections*

By Fred Fine

I. THE 1950 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS are a crucial front in the struggle to check monopoly's drive toward war and fascism.

The American workers and common people who will go to the polls in November are deeply concerned over many grave problems. These include the frenzied determination of Wall Street and its bipartisan government to push the expansionist cold war to its insane adventurist end—total atomic war. Looming large will be unemployment and the developing economic crisis, and the ever-more ruthless attacks on the rights of the trade unions, the Negro people, the Communists and all other democratic Americans—the mounting police-state repression. The vicious, pro-fascist Mundt Bill, which aims to wipe out the Bill of Rights, shows the direction in which reaction is moving.

A mood of struggle is rising among the American people as the 1950 elections approach. The H-bomb hysteria is being countered with growing demands for peace talks with the Soviet Union. The workers are resist-

ing Taft-Hartleyism and the employers' frontal attacks on their living standards. The Negro people and their allies are fighting back against the cynical betrayals of the much-advertised civil rights program. This mood of struggle is spurred by growing mass unemployment, and the threatening collapse of the farm economy.

II. Suffering from a series of defeats inflicted by the world camp of peace and Socialism, the economic royalists are maddened by the looming catastrophe of economic crisis and by the people's growing determination to express their will for security and peace.

The monopolists approach the 1950 elections with the following main aims: 1) to push ever harder the bipartisan program for imperialist blackmail, world domination and war; 2) to make the workers and farmers foot the bill for the developing economic smash-up; and, 3) to press harder for the passage of pro-fascist measures, and to intensify repression aimed at disrupting and crushing the people's resistance.

* Extended Remarks to the Plenum.

III. The Democratic Party, under Truman's leadership, has vigorously pursued all the objectives of Big Business. Its preparations for imperialist war become ever more open, and its domestic betrayals more cynical. But as a result of its demagogic exploitation of the F.D.R. tradition, its demagoguery about a "welfare state," its hypocritical talk about civil rights and Taft-Hartley repeal, and its brazen lip service to the people's needs, the Democratic Party has received electoral support from basic sections of the working people. This trend continued in the local 1949 elections.

The people's aspirations for peace and progressive government, their growing resistance to reaction's economic attacks, and the existence and activity of the third party movement combine to force the Truman Democrats to fall back upon ever-greater use of demagoguery. Increasingly, the Democratic Party relies on the aid of the Social-Democratic and labor-reformist misleaders who act as the unprincipled salesmen of Wall Street's cold war at home and abroad.

IV. Large sections of the workers, the Negro people, small farmers and youth have been turning their backs on the G.O.P. This trend, which began in 1932, has not been reversed despite temporary gains by the G.O.P. This alarms the monopolists, who fear for the continued existence of their two-party system. Although Big Business directs the Truman Ad-

ministration's course and its bi-partisan policies, it is worried by the G.O.P.'s current decline. It fears the people's growing disillusionment with Truman's bipartisan foreign policy and broken promises, because it sees that this disillusion is pregnant with third-party break-aways.

Both the Democrats and Republicans are trying in a variety of ways to make the two-party system "work better." Both attack and strive to put new barriers in the way of the legitimate third-party movement, or if that fails, to provide for it a false leadership, destroy its true independence, and harness it to the two-party merry-go-round (as, for example, the New York Liberal Party).

The most aggressive, bellicose and fascist-minded circles are feverishly exploring new 1950 versions of the notorious Liberty League, and sending up trial balloons for a 1952 Eisenhower-Byrnes, or Taft-Byrnes ticket. The Dixiecrats represent a growing menace in Congress and in the country, play an open fascist role, and figure prominently in the plans of the corporations. Meanwhile, the G.O.P. policy makers have restated their arch-reactionary program for 1950 in blunt terms and quite openly associate themselves with Eisenhower's advice that those who want security should seek it in prison.

V. The 1948 emergence of the Progressive Party, the most advanced coalition expression of the people's

resistance, was a historic development. It placed the issues of the day squarely before broad masses. It pointed the direction of a new political alignment and mass third-party movement as the road to defeat reaction and check the war drive of the trusts. In 1948 it forced a rupture between the Truman Democrats and the Dixiecrats, and compelled the Democratic Party to give lip service to the main demands of the workers, Negro people, small farmers, and small businessmen. It helped defeat some of the most fascist-minded and chauvinistic Congressmen and other public officials.

By advancing a program for peaceful co-existence and competition with the Soviet Union, for Taft-Hartley repeal, civil rights legislation, and greater economic security, the Progressive Party has helped make these the main issues in 1950.

The people's growing support for this program has not yet found expression in new mass break-aways from the Democratic Party. However, sentiment for independent political action is increasing. It shows itself most clearly in the A.L.P. vote and influence, in bigger votes for candidates on the Progressive Party ticket—particularly Negro candidates—and in some increase in support for Communist Party candidates.

It is also expressed in the growing though confused, mass following of C.I.O.-P.A.C. and the A. F. of L. Political Action Committee, the

A.D.A. and the Liberal Party, despite the fact that leaders of these movements provide only a fake independence from the political policies and parties of Big Business.

The increased activity of the Social-Democrats, labor reformists and bourgeois liberals has been the chief obstacle to new break-aways from the Democratic Party. Coalesced around A.D.A., these forces have been impeding the unity of the working class, the Negro people, the farmers and progressive intellectuals. Their main aim is to deflect the people's growing desire for genuinely independent political action against the monopolists.

VI. The year 1950 promises a new surge forward in independent political action and the building of the people's anti-monopoly coalition. The most significant evidence of this was the recent convention of the Progressive Party.

Disappointing its Wall Street enemies and those that plotted its smash-up, this convention demonstrated the Progressive Party's vitality and staying power.

At the same time, we sound a sharp warning that the Progressive Party's great potential as the foremost present-day united front effort to build a majority third party has been jeopardized by the concessions made in its convention to the cold war hysteria. The harmful retreats in the peace platform of the Progress-

sive Party pressed upon its national convention by some of its dominant middle-class leaders has seriously endangered the unity of the Progressive Party and can only excite the appetites of the war-mongers for more concessions.

The Progressive Party was born and has been distinguished as a party dedicated to end the cold war. It has expressed the aspirations of that great section of the American people who seek a policy of peaceful co-existence and competition with the Soviet Union. It has united around itself all who would work for a lasting peace through a united front political party, irrespective of their fundamental views about Socialism. The Progressive Party can grow strong and carry through its tasks only if it seeks the utmost participation and support from the ranks of labor and the Negro people, and if it fights the war drive of the Wall Street imperialists. By avoiding and rejecting the demands of the war camp for concessions to the anti-Soviet hysteria, the Progressive Party can play an extremely influential role in the 1950 elections.

The Progressive Party can defeat all attacks by pursuing the two classic principles of the united front: a) To seek the greatest possible area of agreement and joint action; b) To respect the right of all components of the united front to exercise the right of criticism and of voicing

principled differences.

As the movement for independent political action unfolds and matures, the role of the Progressive Party can help shape the development of a majority anti-monopoly, anti-war and anti-fascist third party alignment.

We reaffirm what we said of the Progressive Party in our 1948 election platform: "The Progressive Party is by its very nature a great coalition of labor, farmers, the Negro people, youth and professional and small business people. It is anti-monopoly, anti-fascist, anti-war. By its very nature it is not an anti-capitalist party. It is not a Socialist or Communist Party, and we are not seeking to make it one. It is and should develop as a united front, broad mass people's party.

"There is only one Marxist Party in America, one Party dedicated to replacing the capitalist system with Socialism—and that is the Communist Party."

But it must be emphasized that as yet the Progressive Party does not have a substantial labor base, or great *organized* mass strength among the Negro people. Therefore, it would be an error to conceive of the Progressive Party as being synonymous with the third-party movement in its entirety.

The most advanced workers must associate themselves with *all* labor-progressive moves toward independent political action, and help bring

into being new independent coalitions and political movements, while at the same time strengthening those that already exist.

VII. If the Communists and the Left pursue a correct united front policy of struggle, the next period can bring great advances in the building of the developing people's coalition, including the third-party movement.

The latest developments and trends dictate a tactical approach which calls for further unfolding our main united and people's front anti-war and anti-monopoly policy. It takes into account the lessons of '48 and '49, and the concrete circumstances of the 1950 elections—including the need to reach and influence broad masses who want peace, democracy and jobs, but still, as of the spring of 1950, support the Truman Democrats and follow the lead of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. top leaders.

The need is for many-sided and flexible approaches to the 1950 elections, in the center of which must be the struggle for peace. In the course of the electoral struggle, activities must be initiated and developed to wring all possible concessions from this session of the 81st Congress, to expose Truman's responsibility and the responsibility of his congressional lieutenants for the war and police-state measures that are being undertaken, and for their betrayal of the

civil rights and welfare pledges. United actions, in the first place of the workers, to check every further specific step toward fascism and war must be the main feature of the 1950 electoral struggles.

Our electoral activities should be directed:

(1) To elect a bloc of peace candidates; (2) to strengthen the Progressive Party and build electoral coalition movements to advance independent political action; (3) to get labor and the Negro people to act independently by involving to the maximum the local unions, shop stewards and union rank and file, and Negro people's organizations in movements on political issues, in conferences to determine candidates, in order to influence the elections.

To this end, it is essential, alongside of energetically supporting the Progressive Party and building Progressive Party committees in the unions, that progressives inside the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. do not stand aloof, but work in the Political Action Committees of these organizations, toward general independent political action, for joint action in behalf of common issues, and for determining the nomination and election of real pro-labor and independent candidates. This does not exclude the continued fight inside these unions for the right of every trade unionist to express himself politically as he chooses, including the

right to support the Progressive Party.

Through these struggles, active efforts should be made to crystallize politically all anti-war and anti-trust sentiments and mass movements, and to strengthen the unity of Negro and white in independent political action.

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Many are the forms through which these struggles can find electoral expression. For example, in the course of the 1950 election campaign, coalitions and movements around local labor-progressive tickets can be developed—on a minimum program for peace, civil rights, and the economic needs of the workers.

In some areas such coalitions may be built around third-party or independent and labor candidates and tickets. In other areas they may express themselves through the Democratic, and even some G.O.P., primaries; for it is already evident that the most advanced peace advocates will find it necessary to influence the organization of anti-war and anti-imperialist trends and groupings among the broad masses that still follow the Democratic Party.

In all these areas there must be the greatest initiative to rally all sections of the Negro people, secure their maximum participation together with important sections of the labor movement and of the progressive forces generally, for nominating and elect-

ing Negro candidates. To make this possible it is necessary to secure the broadest registration of Negro voters and organize the fight for their right to vote.

After the primaries, the circumstances will probably call for the adoption or further elaboration of similar tactics. In some cases this may mean qualified and critical support to certain major party candidates who will fight to any degree for peace, and who actively defend the Bill of Rights and labor and the Negro people. Communists, while expressing opposition to, and not supporting, any candidate who is a proponent of the bipartisan war policy, will direct the main fire against the most reactionary and war-mongering of the major candidates to bring about his defeat.

In still other cases, the progressive electoral tactic will necessitate running candidates on the third party, or other independent labor-progressive tickets. In many instances we must do all in our power to have candidates on the Communist Party ticket, and where that is impossible due to undemocratic state election laws, Communists should run as independents.

While the concern for selection of candidates is of major importance, the *chief* concern of the people's camp, including the Communists, must, throughout the campaign, be the central issue of peace and the best way to develop mass movements

against the bipartisan instigators of a new world war. A decisive part of the struggle for peace and for the people's program in the 1950 elections is the struggle for Negro rights and job security.

In our electoral tactics we must guard against Right opportunist tendencies, such as making the candidate the point of emphasis instead of centering major attention on developing united movements of struggle; neglecting, slurring over or weakening the fight for peace and the exposure of the bipartisan war policies of the Truman Administration; and going along uncritically with trade-union endorsements of Democratic Party candidates. On the other hand, we must guard against the sectarian danger of substituting a self-isolating, go-it-alone policy for mass united front actions.

The basis for people's coalition must be laid in united front struggle around such concrete demands as peaceful American-Soviet co-existence and competition, the outlawing of

atomic weapons, Taft-Hartley repeal, the repeal of the Smith Act, the defeat of the Mundt Bill, enactment of civil rights legislation, maintenance of parity prices for all farm crops, an expanded unemployment insurance program for real measures to meet the people's social welfare needs, and the election of Negro candidates to public office.

Genuinely independent united action can only express itself in struggle against Big Business and its Social-Democratic and labor-reformist lieutenants. Its direction must be toward the promotion of diverse progressive political alignments, of people's anti-war and anti-monopoly coalitions, and of the third-party movement.

While bending every effort to set in motion new and broader mass movements and strengthen those already in existence, our Party must enhance its independent role, extend its mass ties, and increase its influence on the thinking and action of the millions of working people.

Press Forward the Struggle Against White Chauvinism*

By Pettis Perry

IT WAS ELEVEN MONTHS AGO that the National Committee of our Party, at its Plenary Session, launched on a national scale an intensified struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights. It is necessary at this Plenum to estimate the extent to which our Party has moved forward on this front and to survey the failings and weaknesses in certain phases of the struggle.

In 1949, we saw an unprecedented rise of Red-baiting, jingoism, and anti-Negro violence on the part of the bourgeoisie. This intensified oppression and hysteria has heightened the atmosphere of chauvinist nationalism that Wall Street is whipping up as a key phase of its ideological preparation to corral the American people for the drive of finance capital toward war and fascism.

Since our April 1949 Plenum, the frame-up trial of our Party leaders has been concluded. The atmosphere is foul with witchhunts and anti-Communist hysteria. The threat of the Mundt Bill grows ever more menacing. The arrogant "American

Century" imperialists have turned to the hydrogen bomb, which constitutes a new and most serious threat to the peace and security of the world.

ANTI-NEGRO TERROR ON THE INCREASE

In the light of these developments, it should not surprise us that the year 1949 witnessed some 70 cases of recorded violence against Negroes by the police. At least 34 were murdered by police officials while under arrest. Twenty-five of these killings took place in the South and 5 in New York. At least 33 Negroes were brutally assaulted and injured by police officers while under arrest, 9 of them in New York City. These attacks do not include the numerous beatings of Negro men, women and children by mobs and hoodlums. Nor do they include the numerous shootings of Negroes not under arrest by police.

Three "official" lynchings are recorded in the report issued jointly by the American Jewish Congress and the N.A.A.C.P., entitled *Civil Rights*

* Sub-Report to the Plenum.

in the United States in 1949: A Balance Sheet of Group Relations.

During the last period, the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist groups have surged forward. The revival of the Klan and the increased mob violence against Negroes, Jews and other minority groups are stimulated by the pro-war hysteria of the bourgeoisie and the ever-increasing injection of white-chauvinist ideology into the ranks of the American people.

The Anti-Defamation League has reported 59 assaults against Jewish people in 1948 and 42 in 1949, including the fascist-like attack of K.K.K. elements in Peekskill and the mob violence against Negro and Jewish people in Chicago. In none of these cases was any protection forthcoming from the "law-enforcement" officers.

The Civil Rights Congress has made a brief survey of police terror in several states. It discovered that in New Jersey, for instance, where the Negroes number 8 to 9 percent of the population, they constitute 54 percent of the prisoners. In the State of Virginia, where Negroes are 25 percent of the population, 70 percent of all prison inmates are Negroes. A survey of the death house showed that of the 30 people awaiting execution, all were Negroes. In the State of Louisiana, where the Negro population is 30 to 35 percent of the total, 80 percent of the prisoners are Negroes.

There are also thousands of frame-

ups victimizing Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed groups.

In the face of this fascist and pro-fascist violence, only two states in the whole country have Negroes on their Parole Boards (Connecticut and California). Is it any wonder that such outrages take place as those perpetrated against the Martinsville Seven and the Trenton Six, against the McGees, Fletcher Millses, Daniels and Ingrams? These are all examples of national oppression, aimed at beating down the militancy of the Negro people, aimed at splitting the ranks of the Negro and white workers. The whole world is learning, through these and other reactionary attacks unleashed by American Big Business, the real objectives of the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, the North Atlantic Pact, "Point Four," and the anti-Communist hysteria—that these are part of the drive to a third world war and fascist tyranny.

On the economic front, the Negro people are rapidly losing their limited wartime gains.

In Cleveland, where a year ago 80 percent of all unemployment insurance applicants were Negroes, today only 10 percent are. This means that the great majority of the unemployed Negro workers in that city have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits and are obliged to go on relief. In Chicago, 65 percent of all relief recipients are Negroes. This is also true of Indianapolis. On

the Pacific Coast, Negroes have almost entirely been eliminated from industry. As far back as April 1948 the Los Angeles Urban League estimated that out of 800,000 mill and factory workers, only 56,000 were non-white. This included, in addition to Negroes, Japanese, Koreans, Chinese and Filipinos. This offensive is calling forth sharp protests from the Negro masses and their progressive white allies.

North and South, the Negro people, supported by an increasing number of white progressives, are waging bitter battles against these attacks. In the South, this resistance of Negro and white masses, has given rise to demands for unmasking the Klan, and has led to the passage of Anti-Mask Ordinances in 22 cities and towns, including Augusta, Atlanta, and Macon, Georgia; Miami and Tallahassee, Florida; Charlotte, North Carolina; Chattanooga, Knoxville and Nashville, Tennessee. In Iron City, Georgia, last August, people fired on a Klan motorcade passing through there shortly after midnight. Despite all the demagoguery of the F.B.I., the Department of Justice, and other Administration agencies and spokesmen, no Klansman has been convicted for Klan terror. But, ironically enough, two Negroes were convicted under this Anti-Mask Law in Birmingham for allegedly masking themselves and frightening two Negro girls. Such is the duplicity of the bourgeoisie.

ADVANCES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

In the light of these developments, our Party must estimate how far the struggle against white chauvinism and the fight for Negro rights has advanced in the past eleven months.

Every Party district in the country has been engaged in the ideological struggle against white chauvinism, and, on one issue or another, in the struggle for Negro rights. In some districts, there are growing struggles for jobs for Negroes. Mention should be made of the splendid united struggle for jobs for Negroes in San Francisco, as well as in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington. Other districts have engaged in struggles for civil rights, housing, etc. For example, the movement in Virginia for an anti-segregation law resulted a few weeks ago in a march on the capital (Richmond) by more than 2,000 people. There is a significant struggle for housing for Negro and white workers in North Carolina, involving thousands of white workers side by side with the Negro people. Our Party made a big contribution to the development of the movement against mob violence in Chicago. And it did great service in helping to mobilize a mass outpouring of Negro and white progressives to the Civil Rights Crusade in January.

These actions have heightened the whole movement and struggle for Negro liberation. Scores of other ex-

amples could be given from almost every district.

How have the advances of the Party in this struggle been reflected in the development and bringing forward of Negro cadres? In the first place, more Negro Communists are playing an important role in the Party than ever. Secondly, we have not only brought forward new Negro comrades—we have also retained the overwhelming majority of the old cadre corps among our Negro comrades. Thirdly, we are now bringing Negro women comrades into leading Party activities.

In surveying the work of the districts, we get the following picture: In Eastern Pennsylvania, we have a Negro comrade as the District Organizer. In Texas, the acting District Organizer is a young Negro comrade. In the Louisiana District, we brought forward a Negro as District Organizational Secretary. In Illinois, a Negro comrade is the Executive Secretary. In Michigan, the Assistant Organizational Secretary is a young Negro comrade. Also, the work of our Party at the National Auto Concentration point—the giant Ford plant—was led by a Negro comrade. In Erie County (Buffalo), the Organizational Secretary is a young Negro woman. The Chairman of the Party in Cleveland is a Negro comrade. The Educational Director of our largest Party district, New York State, is a Negro comrade, a veteran of World War II.

Of 13 editions of *The Worker*, two are edited by Negro comrades: the *Harlem Worker* and the DuSable edition of *The Worker*. A Negro woman is the editor of the DuSable edition. Several other editions have Negro comrades on their staffs. This is in addition to the Negro comrades on the *Daily Worker*.

In the State of New Jersey, a young Negro woman is Chairman of the Party in the Third Ward of Newark, and serves as State Secretary for Negro work in New Jersey. In Massachusetts, for the first time in the history of the Party there, a Negro comrade is one of the full-time leaders of the Party. In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the Party Chairman is a Negro woman. In Maryland, a young Negro comrade was just brought into the full-time work in Washington, D.C.

One of the biggest advances in this field, however, has been shown in the field of youth work. In every district where there is a youth organization, young Negro men and women are to be found in the very top leadership of all phases of youth work. In fact, the fight against white chauvinism and the fight for Negro rights opened on a mass scale in the youth movement before it did in the adult movement.

MAIN AREAS OF WEAKNESSES

It would be a criminal mistake, however, to conclude, as some com-

rades are doing, that the fight against white chauvinism is "nearly over." We sometimes note thoughts like this running through the Party: "Now, thank God, we are through with the struggle against white chauvinism and we can pass on to other tasks, especially that of fighting against Negro bourgeois nationalism." This, comrades, is a serious error that is slowing down the fight for Negro rights and the struggles against white chauvinism.

It must be said that the community sections have been strongest in these struggles. The main weakness exists in the industrial organizations of the Party, and among the national groups. How is it to be explained that the industrial sector of the Party is weaker on this question than the community sector? Is it because we have better comrades in the community sections than in the industrial? Obviously not. Is it because our industrial comrades are incurable in the matter of white chauvinism? It would be erroneous to think that. Is it because we have not taken up the question with our industrial comrades? It would also be an error to think that. What, then, are the reasons for this situation?

Some of the main reasons are: First, the intensification of imperialist oppression and white chauvinism is resulting in tremendous pressure upon the non-Party white masses, and this is also affecting trade-union comrades. To paraphrase Comrade

Stalin in another connection, drop by drop, this chauvinism creeps along without face or form, drop by drop, insinuating itself into the minds of our political workers, drop by drop changing the minds of some of our political workers.

The second reason is the heightened role of Social-Democracy in the labor movement, the wholesale betrayal of Negro rights by the Right-wing C.I.O. leaders. This betrayal can be noted all the way down the line; official C.I.O. policies in the fight for Negro rights have just about been scuttled. This was reflected in the failure of the Southern organizing drive. It is seen in the lack of struggle for upgrading of Negro workers on the part of the official leadership of the steel, auto, rubber and textile workers' unions.

The third reason was our failure to carry through a serious examination of the revisionist errors in our trade-union work prior to and after the 1945 Emergency Convention. The result of this has been a carry-over of revisionist thinking and opportunism on the Negro question on the part of a number of trade-union comrades. This resulted in part in a certain complacency, a passive expectation that the past role of the C.I.O. in the general struggle for Negro rights and in the fight for equal rights in many basic industries would automatically be continued and extended. What has not been, and is not yet, fully seen, in this con-

nection, is the need to break with the past dependence on the C.I.O., whose top leadership has today abandoned the Negro workers. What has not been seen is the need to move aggressively and to give day-to-day leadership to the white and Negro workers—despite, and where necessary against, the imperialist policies of the Right-wing leadership.

Finally, and most decisive of the reasons, is the failure to understand the Negro question as a national question; the failure to understand that if there is Jim Crowism and segregation in the North, it is because of the existence of an oppressed nation in the Southern "Black Belt," a nation that suffers the oppression virtually of a colonial nation; the failure to understand that the existence of this oppressed nation within the borders of the United States is the material base for the white chauvinism radiating out to every corner of the country. It involves a failure to see that the Negro question, while not a class question, but a national question, entailing a struggle for complete national liberation, is not divorced from the class struggle between the workers and the capitalists—and that the two struggles are intimately bound up with each other and place *special* tasks and responsibilities before our Party trade-union forces.

We have a big job in the coming period—to provide our Party with an understanding of the national ques-

tion so clear that everyone will realize that there can be no effective people's coalition against war and fascism without the fullest involvement and participation of the Negro people. There can be no effective inclusion of the Negroes without a full-fledged struggle against white chauvinism, consistently and unendingly. There can be no effective gains for the American working class and the masses of the American people if our Party and all Left-progressive forces do not come to grips with this question.

One important way in which white chauvinism expresses itself within the ranks of the working class is the failure to develop an active mass struggle among and by the white workers to secure the hiring of Negroes in all industries, and particularly in those that have traditionally been "lily white," as well as to adjust seniority, upgrade Negro workers, etc.

Generally speaking, wherever we take up the struggle against white chauvinism we are treated to recitals about past performances, loyalty to the Party, etc. All of which is important, except that what is not taken into consideration by those involved is that we are not fighting against individuals, we are fighting against white chauvinism. If a Party member were thought to be disloyal or had nothing to his or her credit after years of membership in the Party,

there would be little basis for discussion.

Our aim always is to correct comrades that manifest white chauvinist tendencies, as tendencies abhorrent to Marxism-Leninism. This is our starting point. And not until this struggle has run its course for ideological clarification, do we take organizational measures in cases of white chauvinism. This does not mean, however, that we must have endless discussions.

In the national groups, we have serious problems. Some of the organizations of the national groups have refused to rent halls to Communist organizations on the pretext that Negroes would attend the meetings and social functions, and this would jeopardize their liquor licenses, etc. Deep political reasons, indeed! In some cases, Negroes are not admitted into the clubrooms of these organizations. This is true of organizations under Left as well as Right leadership.

In addition, we still have a few comrades who insist on violating the policy of the National Committee against vacation trips to Florida. No comrade has the right willingly and voluntarily to accommodate himself or herself to the Jim Crow and white chauvinist pattern of vacationing in Florida. How can Communists reconcile themselves to the thought of vacationing at a resort notorious for the most vicious type of segregation and anti-Negro dis-

crimination; where Negroes are barred from the hotels and beaches; where a five o'clock curfew compels all Negroes to leave the area except those with a special clearance pass! I think the National Committee and this Plenum should register the sharpest criticism of this practice and demand a stop to it. We expect from every white comrade the most thorough-going struggle against white chauvinism, not only in words but in their practice, their habits and way of living.

It should be clear from all this that we must continue to press the struggle against white chauvinism all the way down the line, consolidating the advances we have registered to date and rapidly overcoming all remaining weaknesses and failings. Only in this way will we succeed in more fully girding our Party for the great tasks and responsibilities that lie before us in building Negro-white unity and mobilizing the working class, the poor farmers, the doubly-oppressed Negroes and the masses of the American people for the struggle against Wall Street imperialism's aggressive drive toward war and fascist enslavement.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

Now, a few words about Negro bourgeois nationalism. Have we had any expression of bourgeois nationalism in the Party? The majority of

our Negro comrades have played an outstanding role in the struggle against white chauvinism, in bringing to the Party's attention many concrete examples of white chauvinism, both in individual acts and expressions, and in the work of certain Party organizations and committees. This role of our Negro comrades must be encouraged. At the same time, we must bring about a situation where our white comrades become the ones who are most conscious and active in the struggle against white chauvinism and assume leadership therein. Only in this way will our struggle be effective.

On the other hand, we have some Negro comrades who not only fail to raise questions pertaining to white-chauvinist practices and tendencies, but discourage other Negro comrades from doing so. This is an expression of a lack of confidence in the ability of white Communists to understand the Negro question and to fight white chauvinism. This is bourgeois nationalism, not Marxism.

There are others who say that it is "impossible" to eradicate white chauvinism among white workers—another bourgeois nationalist concept, which must also be rejected. Such contentions negate our Party's position that Negro liberation can be achieved only through a firm, fraternal alliance of the white workers and the Negro people.

There are those who say that the white workers are the main source

of white chauvinism. Is this nationalism or Marxism? Clearly, this contradicts Marxism-Leninism, which holds that the bourgeoisie is the source of white chauvinism and that the Social-Democratic and reformist misleaders are its main transmission belt into the labor movement.

Then there are those who argue "Well, when those guys are ready," meaning when the white workers are ready to struggle. This assumes that the Negro liberation movement will move to a successful conclusion despite the absence of unity of Negro and white. This is a petty-bourgeois nationalist concept, which must be rejected. No successful liberation movement is possible without such unity. The Negro people in the United States live in the most powerful imperialist country in the world. The subject Negro nation in the Black Belt is located within the territory of, and surrounded on all sides by, the imperialist oppressor nation. The Negro people's struggle for liberation cannot be successfully realized without the maximum unity, not only of their own ranks, but of Negro and white.

These erroneous bourgeois-nationalist concepts are also expressed in the view that there is "no difference" between the Right- and Left-led unions. What, for example, does the Right-wing leadership of either the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. have to its credit with regard to the struggle

for Negro equality? Nothing, except an appointment here and there, or some other pretense or token here and there. And even this was forced upon the Right-wing leadership of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. by the historic struggles of the Communist and Left forces in the labor movement for the rights of the Negro people. This does not mean that we condone the weaknesses of the Left-progressive forces on the Negro question. By a sustained struggle against white chauvinism throughout the Party and among the masses, we can and we will correct existing white chauvinist tendencies and opportunist practices on the Negro question. All loose talk by any of our Negro comrades about "no differences" between Right- and Left-led unions is a petty-bourgeois nationalist approach to the question.

Such views are especially harmful when accepted or expressed by any of the corps of seasoned Negro comrades. We expect a Marxist approach to the Negro question, and not a petty-bourgeois or bourgeois approach, on the part of our Party members. False notions of the kind mentioned here show less alertness to the issue than some sections of the Negro middle class display. It should be remembered that at the last convention of the C.I.O. even conservative Negro papers like the *Pittsburgh Courier* expressed real alarm over the attacks of the Right-wing C.I.O. leadership against the Left-led unions, and misgivings as to what would

probably happen to the Negro workers in the C.I.O.

In the last few months, there has been growing criticism from the ranks of the Negro people against the sabotage policies of the C.I.O. misleaders as regards the problems affecting the Negro people. The *Amsterdam News*, in its March 4, 1950, issue, carries a banner headline: C.I.O. FACES SPLIT ON JIM-CROW ISSUE. Ralph Matthews of the *Baltimore Afro-American* has consistently spoken out against the Murray-Reuther policy of splitting the C.I.O. and accuses these Right-wing leaders of ousting the Left unions because they challenged the whole Jim-Crow system. In a front-page article on February 18, 1950, Matthews charges the present national leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. and their C.I.O. cohorts with accepting the Rankin formula of dyed-in-the-wool Jim-Crowism. He lists at some length their policies of betrayal. He criticizes Roy Wilkins for teaming up with Murray in this whole business, pointing out that the C.I.O.'s national policy calls for the organization of Jim-Crow unions throughout the South.

We can only conclude that we must fight on two fronts—against white chauvinism, as the main danger, and against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism. Only by such two-fronted war can we be successful.

THE STRUGGLE FOR JOBS
AND F.E.P.C.

Everything must be done to help bring a full understanding to the entire labor movement of the necessity to fight relentlessly for the rights of the Negro people. Only in this way can unity of Negro and white be built and maintained. Lenin long ago told us: "The age-long oppression of colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has imbued the toiling masses of the oppressed countries, not only with anger, but also with distrust toward the oppressing nations in general, including the proletariat of those nations" (*Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 237).

It is clear, comrades, that in the coming period we must drastically improve our work as a means of rapidly unfolding the broadest coalition possible around the issues confronting the Negro people. We must cease talking about issues in general and concentrate on very specific economic, civil rights, or other issues, because the problems are so enormous that it is impossible to mount a movement at this stage on all issues simultaneously. We must single out for concentrated action the most decisive of these issues. Of these, I would list two: The main fight is for economic security, to halt the wiping out of Negroes from industry. The other is the struggle against increasing police violence, the most open, pro-fascist expression of the

American white ruling class against the Negroes.

The fight for jobs entails a whole series of issues, such as the struggle for upgrading of Negro workers and the breaking down of Jim Crow in the "lily-white" industries. It embraces the fight, which must be waged more effectively, against the disproportionately heavy layoffs of Negro workers. And major in this series is the fight for F.E.P.C., which is an immediate question. If a movement were organized around this issue, embracing all of these component parts, it would be a tremendously effective undertaking.

There is great indignation among the Negro people over the betrayal of F.E.P.C. by the Truman Administration and the Republicans in this 81st session of Congress. The Negro press has issued a call to battle for the realization of F.E.P.C. The tone of the Negro press is evidenced by the following: The *Amsterdam News*, on March 4, 1950, headlined an editorial: F.E.P.C. ISN'T DEAD YET! The *Afro-American* stated editorially on the same day: BATTLE FOR F.E.P.C. NOT LOST! The *Chicago Defender* headlined its editorial on March 11: PROMISES VERSUS PERFORMANCE. Each one of these editorials, in one way or another, expressed great alarm over this double-cross.

We must be equally aroused, and raise the demand: *Pass F.E.P.C.; defeat Mundt-Ferguson!* This slogan

should ring throughout the length and breadth of our country. Our Party and all Left-progressives must join this fight with great energy and initiative. The Senate must be flooded with resolutions and telegrams for the passage of F.E.P.C., especially the McGrath Bill, which is the companion to the Powell Bill.

It should be noted that while F.E.P.C. affects the Negroes more than any other section of the population, it is also of direct interest to the eleven million foreign-born in this country. It affects the six million Jewish people and the more than four million Mexican-Americans. Millions upon millions of people are affected by this issue, and it must call forth a first-rate effort on the part of the Left-progressive forces.

It is not enough, however, to fight for the passage of F.E.P.C. legislation in Washington. We must, in addition, direct our attention to the fight for enforcement of state and local F.E.P.C. laws where they exist. And they exist in 8 states, with city ordinances in various cities. The strongest are in Oregon, Massachusetts and New York, where there are provisions for enforcement powers. All of these laws provide for power to subpoena. The New Jersey law covers more than job discrimination; it embraces discrimination in housing, public accommodations, etc. Yet, exclusive of Cleveland, there is nowhere to be found a mass fight for the enforcement of existing F.E.P.C. legis-

lation. Clearly, this situation must be changed.

Why, for example, are there not, in New York, Massachusetts, or in Oregon, mass movements for enforcement of the F.E.P.C. legislation, for the opening up of employment possibilities to Negro men and women in public utilities, in railroad shops—in fact, in all industries from which Negroes are now excluded, and from skilled jobs which are now closed to them? The excuse cannot be that there is no provision in these bills for organizations to present grievances. What is to prevent organizations from taking up cases of discrimination, sending delegations to the F.E.P.C., and asking them to report back, as well as developing community-wide movements? This could be done in every area where there are existing F.E.P.C. laws. Specific movements around these issues are needed. We must help to build everywhere Negro labor councils made up of Negro and white trade unionists that would unite with all of the Negro people's organizations in an all-out fight on these issues.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY

A specific movement against police brutality is also urgently necessary. There must be a real united struggle on this issue, involving the N.A.A.-C.P. and other Negro organizations, and opening up a fight against the

police raids and arrests which are a common occurrence in all Negro communities. There must be public investigation into every police department and into the brutal conduct of police officers by Citizens Committees. *There must be active movements for the removal of brutal police officers. There must be a public demand for the jailing of trigger-happy policemen.* Clearly, this fight against police brutality cannot be handled on a simple case-to-case basis. The magnitude of this issue requires the most rapid building of the broadest united front of Negro organizations, of the trade unions, and other democratic and progressive bodies.

In this connection, also, serious attention must be devoted to building the Civil Rights Congress into a mass organization playing an important coalition role in every area. This would not only strengthen the fight for Negro rights, but would heighten the possibility of broadening the fight in defense of our Party and in defense of democratic liberties generally.

In this past period, our Party has noticeably moved ahead in the fight for Negro rights and against white chauvinism. But there are still many shortcomings in the work of the

Party, ideologically, politically, and organizationally. Only by the most energetic struggle involving the Party leadership on all levels and the whole Party membership can we overcome these difficulties. Only in this way can we overcome all remnants of white chauvinism within the Party. Only in this way can we abolish all opportunist vacillation on the Negro question. Only by doing this can we unify and strengthen our ranks for the struggle to save our country from the barbarism of fascism and war.

We must everywhere further strengthen our cadre forces among the Negro people, recognizing that we have made some advances, but that we must advance still further. We must boldly bring forward still greater numbers of Negro comrades, particularly women and workers, in posts of responsibility, giving them the benefit of criticism and self-criticism, which still is not practiced fully and correctly as concerns our Negro cadres.

Only the boldest and most sustained activity by the Party and Left forces will build Negro-white unity and make possible the fullest mobilization of the Negro masses on the side of peace, economic security, democratic rights and social progress.

Mass Action Can Free the Eleven!*

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

TOO MANY ILLUSIONS are prevalent even in our own ranks that we have all the time in the world, now that the eleven convicted leaders of the Communist Party are out on bail—that there is a long-term perspective while the appeal is pending before it will be finally decided upon by the U.S. Supreme Court, and that this allows us to turn our attention to all sorts of other pressing matters in the interim. It was a natural reaction on the part of the defendants, after nine months of the cramping strains of the trial and jailings, that they were desirous of plunging into work, under pressure of the many important political problems confronting the Party on their release. In addition to their interrupted work there were health problems in relation to several of the defendants. But our Party membership must be alert to the gravity of the whole situation and not forget that our eleven leaders are defendants in a serious case.

Their release on bail was the result of a really mass campaign. For the first time during the entire trial we really broke through to broad groups

of people. After this, unfortunately, we rested on our laurels. This time lapse has proved dangerous. During this period the Ober and Feinberg Laws and the Mundt Bill have been revived. We warned of this at the time of the conviction and even before, and events have substantiated the correctness of these warnings.

In December 1948, at our Party Plenum, Comrade Carl Winter correctly stated that it is twelve times twelve million Americans whose civil rights were at stake at Foley Square. This was not astronomical imagination. We have read in Assistant Federal Prosecutor Whearty's testimony to a Congressional Committee that the avowed intention of the Department of Justice is the immediate prosecution of 12,000 Americans, if the Smith Act is upheld by the Supreme Court in the appeal of the Eleven. There are a lot of trade-union and other progressive leaders who think this applies only to Communist Party functionaries; they are in for an unpleasant surprise, because it would mean them too. But this is only a sample of what will happen, should the Mundt-Ferguson Bill be

* Extended Remarks to the Plenum.

allowed to become law; the victimization will then extend to several hundreds of thousands. While the Department of Justice piously states that Congress should wait with action on this bill until the outcome of the trial, this should delude no one; this announcement is obviously calculated to lull the anti-Mundt forces into a false security. Declarations of Clark, Hoover and company have made unmistakably clear the the intentions of wholesale round-ups and concentration camps for all peace advocates. Let no one forget that Foley Square was the kick-off for all such steps toward fascism.

DEADLINE FOR ACTION

Let me now give you the government's announced time table on the appeal. By May 1 the brief must be ready and presented to the court and government with the printed record of 21,000 pages. To fail in this would cause us to lose the case by default. This printing project is costing us, plus the exhibits, approximately \$40,000. The oral argument will be made in the June term of court, so that the judges may consider the appeal during the summer vacation and render their decision in the fall. No matter what the decision is then, it will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court—by the defendants, if it is adverse; by the government undoubtedly, if it is favorable. We are being rushed by both the Department of Justice and the courts to reach the

Supreme Court early in 1951. The enormous record has taken three months to print, and is not yet completed; yet the preparation of the voluminous and vital appeal must proceed at a speed-up rate, which jeopardizes the necessary thorough and adequate preparations.

The decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals will be tremendously important. After a review by this court, it is not obligatory for the U.S. Supreme Court to grant a further review. Many people have illusions that the Supreme Court must accept and act upon an appeal. This is not correct. It has ducked plenty of important cases and decisions, and can do it again. The extent of a mass campaign, of widespread public protest, affects even the Supreme Court—as we have seen in the Scottsboro and Herndon cases. But to sit back and expect the legal appeal by itself to win a verdict is contrary to our many years' experience in labor-defense campaigns. It has never happened that way.

The physical preparation of the historic brief is under way. The defense office now works literally around the clock, with three lawyers in charge and many others assisting in the various aspects. The cost runs to about \$1,800 per week. The issues raised in the brief include the constitutionality of the Smith Act, the illegality of a thought-control trial of a political party, the challenge of the jury system, the lack of evidence

of a conspiracy or any other violation of law, the use of stoolpigeon witnesses, etc. That the leaders of the Communist Party are *not guilty of any crime under the Smith Act or any other law and that the whole case should be thrown out of court*, is the basic demand to be made to the court by all liberty-loving Americans. This trial is a political frame-up, patterned on the persecutions in fascist countries. At stake is the legality of a political party, the freedom of our leaders, including Comrade Foster, the future liberty of not only 12,000 persons immediately threatened, but of 12 times 12 million Americans.

A part of the Foley Square frame-up is the "contempt" jail sentences imposed by Judge Medina upon the five defense lawyers and Comrade Eugene Dennis. The appeal from the outrageous "contempt" citation and sentence was heard by the Circuit Court on February 6. The carrying out of the sentence, the imprisonment of the attorneys and of Comrade Dennis, has been deferred until May 2, the day after the appeal in the case of the Eleven is filed.

The issues in this case are the right of an attorney adequately to represent his client and, conversely, for the defendant to be properly defended. In the instance of Comrade Dennis it is the right of an American to defend himself. The evil "contempt" precedent already established by Judge Medina spread immediately to

New Jersey, where the Trenton Six were deprived of their attorneys' services by a bench order; to California, where Bridges' lawyer is under jail sentence for contempt; and to Connecticut, where two New York C.R.C. lawyers were barred from a court in New Haven. More serious still, involved here is the threat of disbarment and the loss of the means of livelihood confronting any lawyer who undertakes the defense of a progressive client.

FOR THE REPEAL OF THE SMITH ACT AND DEFEAT OF THE MUNDT BILL

A repealer to the thought-control sections of the Smith Act has recently been introduced by Congressman Marcantonio. During and after the Foley Square trial many public-spirited citizens, as well as newspaper editorials, characterized the Smith Act as unconstitutional. During the bail fight, even the government attorneys admitted that there are "substantial constitutional issues" involved in this appeal, a fact that they had denied throughout the trial. Marcantonio's repealer hits at the heart of the Smith Act, upon which all other sections of the bill are based. It is not possible to repeal the whole law by one act of Congress, because it has been broken up and scattered throughout the entire Federal code. Other repealers will be required eventually to wipe out all the reac-

tionary provisions of this Act. The Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is sponsoring a repealer of the original deportation law of 1918, which would repeal the Smith Act amendments as well. Our Party opposes the Smith Act on principle and supports all moves to repeal any parts of it embodying thought-control and persecution of the foreign-born.

For the present, the fight against the Mundt Bill takes precedence over the Smith Act repealer; but the two are not unrelated. If we stop the Mundt Bill it will be easier to repeal the Smith Act. *The Mundt Bill is a calculated move to cut across the Foley Square appeal and to influence and direct a court decision.* Reaction is unwilling to risk a favorable court decision; it wants to act now and by legislative edict to declare the Communist Party illegal. Defeat of the Mundt Bill will materially help the struggle to free the Twelve. These various issues are, therefore, basically all of one piece. They are not isolated and separated. The fight on the Mundt Bill has thus far evoked broad opposition. Many people are on record against the Mundt Bill who have not yet entered the Smith Act repealer fight or are not mobilized to defend the Twelve. To them we must bring the whole struggle.

In relation to the eleven Communist leaders convicted at Foley Square, we have too readily accommodated ourselves to the travel re-

strictions imposed upon them, so that they are virtually in "protective custody" in their own districts. How can we build a mass movement, how can we raise the defense funds needed, if the defendants cannot participate? Several districts have invited the defendants for May Day—Ohio, Williamson; Chicago, Dennis; Minnesota, Davis; St. Louis, Winston. A really mass campaign is developing, addressed to Attorney-General McGrath, that they be allowed to travel to these meetings and elsewhere in the United States.

One terrifically heavy burden our Defense Committee has had to carry was raising the \$110,000 to post with the government for the fines imposed on the defendants. The last one was paid today.

If time permitted, I should report at greater length on the deportation cases involving many of our comrades (Williamson, Stachel, Potash, Bittelman, Claudia Jones, Betty Gannett, Dora Lipshitz, Beatrice Siskind, Ann Ganley and others). At least a partial victory was won recently under a Supreme Court decision which compels the Immigration Service to cancel out the old hearings. In the contempt cases there has been a real victory in Los Angeles; the Denver cases are on appeal; and Comrade Dennis' appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is still pending.* However,

* Five days after this report was rendered the Supreme Court decided adversely on the appeal of Eugene Dennis.

there is a new dangerous trend in Texas, an attempt to cite for contempt citizens who refuse to act as informers in deportation cases. If they get away with this there, it may become the pattern everywhere.

In relation to the struggle to defend our Party, it is vital to organize the present fund drive on the broadest possible basis, involving not just our own members. It can and should become a united-front demonstration of support for the rights of Communists. We have said many times that we do not want to make our Party a defense organization *per se*. It has great historical tasks to fulfill. But if we do not ourselves display the greatest interest in the defense of our Party, who will? Many of the younger generation are unfamiliar with the great labor-defense mass struggles of the past. They can easily become fatalistic—inclined to believe we can never win—or too legalistic, relying primarily on the court procedures and decisions. We must be alert against both tendencies. We can win—but only if we develop a powerful movement of struggle to back the courtroom defense.

ACTION PROPOSALS

As we guard our Party and the line of our Party as the apple of our eye, so too must we guard the lives and the liberty of our Party leaders so that they may continue actively to

serve and lead our Party and the American working class.

The following are some action proposals of the Defense Committee:

1) That May Day meetings be dedicated to the defense of the Party and that we unfold a campaign to break through on the right to travel for the Eleven directed to McGrath.

2) That the demand be directed to McGrath and President Truman to dismiss the Foley Square case against the twelve Communist leaders, and to lift the contempt citations against the attorneys.

3) That the campaign to repeal the Smith Act shall be co-ordinated with the fight against the Mundt Bill.

4) That the defense of the Twelve be integrated into all Party activities (peace, Taft-Hartley, Mundt Bill, etc.). It must not be pigeonholed as a routine matter in the hands of committees, nor made a matter of fund-raising alone.

5) That more literature and articles be prepared, by the Twelve and others—on who they are, why they were tried, the meaning of Foley Square, etc., especially to highlight the appeal in May and June and refocus the attention of our Party and all progressive Americans on the importance of winning this struggle to defend the Bill of Rights.

If we fight, if we mobilize masses and spur the people into action, we can and will win this historic struggle.

Toward Unity of the Working Youth For Peace, Jobs and Democracy*

By Leon Wofsy

I SHALL DEAL SEPARATELY with three questions: first, unemployment among the youth; second, certain aspects of the industrial concentration policy of the Labor Youth League; and third, some of the efforts of Wall Street to divert the growing potential and desire among the youth for unity for peace, jobs and democracy.

Beforehand, by way of introduction, permit me to say a few words about the significance of the charter organizing drive of the Labor Youth League.

SUCCESS OF L.Y.L. ORGANIZING DRIVE

Less than ten months have gone by since the National Organizing Conference for a Labor Youth League was initiated at a Memorial Day Week-end Conference in Chicago last year. Today the League has some 200 clubs in 18 states. Its members have already engaged in a number of struggles, including participation in defense of the two Robeson affairs at Peekskill; a number of militant

and demonstrative activities against the Truman H-bomb decision and for negotiations with the U.S.S.R. to outlaw atomic weapons; support of the mine strikers; and actions in numerous localities against anti-Negro job discrimination and police brutality. The League is taking the first steps to build a fighting organization in the South, one which can help chart paths toward the unity of Negro and white youth against the fascist assaults on their civil rights and living standards.

A major milestone was reached this March with the emergence of the Labor Youth League's semi-monthly publication, *Challenge*, which, in the words of Comrade Foster, "will be the first American youth paper in almost a decade that advances a Marxist outlook and champions the principles of Scientific Socialism, bringing clarity and confidence to the young people in the fight for peace, democracy and a better life."

Although the League is still in its infancy, the tasks before it are very great.

Sometime this summer or early

* Extended Remarks to the Plenum.

fall the League, having successfully completed its initial organizing drive, will hold its First National Convention. The key question before the League in preparing its 1950 Convention will be to take stock of what is new in the conditions and trends among the youth, and to project the type of bold initiative and dramatic program that will, in a significant way, help to release the militancy and enthusiasm of the working youth, Negro and white, in the fight for their interests, in the fight against Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism.

The fact that the League is moving toward its First National Convention with growing strength and enthusiasm confirms and justifies the confidence demonstrated by Communists and by other advanced youth forces who saw the need for moving ahead boldly in 1949. The inauguration of the drive to build the League was an overdue, but decisive step forward, taken precisely at a time of severe reactionary attacks highlighted by the trial of the Twelve. Despite the angry attention that the League is already receiving from witchhunters, it has begun to answer the vital need in our country for an independent youth organization with a working-class content and direction, with a program of education in the spirit and principles of Marxism, of Scientific Socialism.

That it is only at the threshold of its development—that it has many

weaknesses and growing pains—serves to underscore the need for the League to set its sights on achieving a much more rapid rate of development so that it can meet the demands of the hour in the fight for peace, jobs, democratic rights and social progress.

THE FIGHT AGAINST RISING YOUTH JOBLESSNESS

Through the war drive and the developing economic crisis, the welfare and living conditions of American youth have come under the sharpest assault. This is particularly true in regard to the rising tide of joblessness. Experience proves that it takes a developing crisis situation and some mass pressure as well to pry a few deflated figures on the status of youth from government statisticians. It can then be taken as a sign of the times that the U.S. Department of Labor recently published a report on unemployment among teen-agers.*

What is happening to the hundreds of thousands of teen-agers who are constantly being added to the labor market as the crisis looms? By conservative Labor Department estimates there were by April 1949, already close to three-quarters of a million teen-agers from fourteen to nineteen years old in the ranks of

* U.S. Department of Labor, "Unemployment Among the Teen-Aged in 1947-49," *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1949.

the unemployed. Of course, that includes only those whom the government is forced to recognize as unemployed. It does not include many young people under 18 who are unable to remain in school, but who cannot find regular employment and do not receive work certificates. They are not counted as being in the labor market, let alone among the unemployed. Work certificates issued to 16- and 17-year-olds decreased by 40 to 50 percent in 1949 as compared to 1948.

Here it should be pointed out that while there are fewer teen-agers today than there were in 1940 (a grim reminder of what the economic crisis of the 'thirties did to the birth rate) there are more teen-agers on the labor market now than in 1940. Not only, for that matter, are 14- and 15-year olds forced to hunt for jobs throughout the country, but child-labor has been intensified sharply—with 7- and 8-year-olds in Buffalo, for example, being driven on trucks daily 35 and 40 miles out of the city for agricultural work.*

While from Labor Department figures it is clear that some 38 percent of the 16- to 19-year-olds in a "representative city" are unemployed, a big question mark is left as to the number of unemployed youth aged 20 and over—that section of the youth about to get married, begin-

ning to establish homes and families, hoping for a secure future. But this question is answered pointedly by the overflowing unemployment insurance lines and the large numbers of Negro and white youth, including young veterans, who have used up their unemployment insurance, or who, like the teen-agers, have not been able to work long enough even to qualify at all for unemployment insurance.* It can also be recorded, again by government figures, that three million young people between 16 and 24 years of age work only 15 to 34 hours a week and that another million work less than 15 hours weekly.

Through a conspiracy of silence, government sources are hoping to hush up the scandalous proportions that joblessness has reached among Negro youth, who are by far the hardest hit. But the fact is that some 50 percent of the part-time unemployed youth are Negro youth. In Illinois, while 33 percent of the unemployed white workers are under 35 years of age, 60 percent of the unemployed Negroes are under 35. How bad things are for Negro youth in Southern cities is indicated in Birmingham, Alabama, where four

* There have recently been a number of additional news reports pointing up the rise in unemployment among the youth. On March 25, the U.S. Department of Labor, in its new *Job Guide for Young Workers*, warned that "job competition" is keener than at any time since the early 'forties. On March 27, A. H. Raskin, writing in *The New York Times* under the heading, "Job Shortage Causes Worry; Many Idle Exhaust Benefits," pointed out that the "youth and age ends of the scale" are in most serious straits.

* Reported in *The New York Times*, December 11, 1949, under the heading, "Farm Child Labor Called 'Shocking.'"

out of five Negro youth are walking the streets without jobs.

The old familiar story of "worthless diplomas" is coming back in force for college students. Columbia University warns its prospective graduates to start their job search early, and proclaims that for women the "job honeymoon" has been over for years. And Northwestern University has conducted a survey which shows that corporations declare a 25 percent decrease in their prospective 1950 needs for college graduates as compared with 1949.*

Growing joblessness is being exploited by the brass-hats to intensify the militarization of American youth. The capitalist bankruptcy and policy of blackmail that are forcing many young Americans into uniform are reflected in the fact that 31 percent of the army recruits signed up because it was the only way "to learn a trade or get an education."** Taking advantage of the sharpening problems of youth to lure them into the armed services—this is perhaps one of the methods ex-Army Secretary Gordon Gray was referring to when he cynically put the question at hearings on the extension of the draft, of how "to make fox-holes more attractive."

* Reported in *The New York Times*, January 8, 1950, under the heading, "Jobs To Be Fewer for 1950 Seniors." (On March 30, Commissioner Ewan Clague of the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that 1950's graduating class will be the largest in history and that most of the 500,000 who graduate this spring will not find the type of jobs for which they have been trained.)

** See "Education in Review" by Benjamin Fine, *The New York Times*, January 8, 1950.

With the acute stage that unemployment among American youth is reaching it is no surprise that some of the most promising and militant united actions are beginning, even though in an elementary way, to make themselves felt on this front.

Indicative of this are some of the movements that have been initiated in a number of cities in Ohio, including Canton, Youngstown, Toledo and Cleveland. In Cleveland, when unemployment insurance checks were being held up, a move was initiated among the youth and vets right on the unemployed lines for an immediate delegation to the State Capital. Negro and white youth who had never before participated in such action went along to Columbus and stayed over-night until their demands to see a responsible representative of the Governor were met. They insisted that unless prompt action would be taken they would be back with a still bigger delegation soon after. A victory was won when unemployment insurance checks were granted within a matter of days and when one young Negro widow, who was on the delegation, began to receive the relief that had been previously withheld.

In Michigan the demand for "52-35"—\$35 for 52 weeks—has been endorsed by the Ford and Plymouth U.A.W. locals along with a call for a mass delegation to Lansing.

In New York, a delegation of unemployed youth went up to

Albany within the past week and a mass club of unemployed young men and women has mushroomed up.

While these are only the beginning of a fight-back movement, it is possible to note the deep response that is called forth by the demand that young people—who are a large percentage of the unemployed, but who are grossly discriminated against by existing unemployment insurance and relief laws—be granted unemployment insurance along the lines of the proposal for “52-35.” The precedent and spark for this demand was given by the important struggle that developed last year around the extension of “52-20” for the vets, which the Truman Administration finally succeeded in selling out.

The next steps, especially with an eye toward the 1950 election struggles, call for the most demonstrative, dramatic activity to put the spotlight on unemployment among youth, especially among Negro youth—to pull the mask off what is developing as a number one national scandal. In this connection, the National Youth Bill of Rights* initiated by the Young Progressives of America will surely serve as a great rallying measure in stimulating all kinds of local movements and local youth bills.

* The Y.P.A.'s Youth Bill of Rights has three provisions: (1) for “52-35”; (2) for jobs and job training on peacetime public works; and (3) for scholarships and part-time job assistance for high-school and college students.

Demands should be raised in city after city, for hearings on youth unemployment, with delegations to city halls and to state capitals. In those communities where unemployment is heaviest, hearings should be organized where jobless young men and women can testify before the public. Electoral candidates should be “put on the spot” by being called into such hearings in Harlem, in Akron, and in other important communities. Organizations and individuals should go on record on the issue of “52-35.”

Especially significant are the possibilities that exist for building clubs and committees of unemployed youth, as well as clubs and committees in the trade unions, to spark the fight for jobs, unemployment insurance and relief. Experiences in the fight for “52-20,” where committees developed around that specific issue in a number of local unions, prove that a real basis exists on the rank-and-file level for united labor action and support to the “52-35” demand.

BUILDING THE LEAGUE AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL YOUTH

The worsening economic situation and the recent major strike struggles have uncovered and unleashed a degree of militancy among young workers which was previously to some extent underestimated, and to

some extent not yet brought to a head. In this connection, we correctly took note of the fact, a year or so ago, that the Right-wing trade-union misleaders had developed an important base among the young workers in their attempts to tighten their strangle-hold on much of the labor movement.

While this is a factor that should by no means be underestimated, it is necessary to point up another trend, which became most apparent in the miners' strike. In the early stages of the mine strike, many expected that a wedge could be driven by the would-be union-busters among the young miners, who were the most confused on the Taft-Hartley Law and who had not experienced the fighting history of the older mine workers. It is true that a small number of young miners were organized for acts of hoodlumism against those who were bringing food and support to the coal fields. (And this is not at all unimportant when it is seen alongside of other recent instances of mob violence in which young workers and rural youth played a big part.) However, the young miners as a whole stood absolutely firm, and it is widely recognized that this was one of the most important developments in maintaining the strike front and in bringing to it fresh militancy and enthusiasm.

Some time back, it was pointed out that Curran's mass base in the

maritime industry was among the newer seamen. Certainly Curran still has strength there and is using some of the younger seamen as a source for recruiting his goons. Yet the recent turn in the N.M.U. could not have taken place if the rank-and-file forces had not begun to make a fresh approach to the younger seamen. It is noteworthy that a majority of the delegates at the recent rank-and-file conference were young seamen.

In regard to the Chrysler strike, it should be pointed out that the Chrysler plants have a higher proportion of young auto workers than any other major section of the industry. Here the fact that the fighting spirit of the young workers could not be undermined by the Reuther leadership's maneuvers around the pension plan (which affects only a small percentage of the Chrysler workers) reflects the extent to which these young workers are not only prepared to struggle on this issue, but to fight through for wage increases—for greater economic security now.

Precisely because of these indications of stirrings among the young workers, it is more important than ever to advance the building of the League among industrial youth. The League has an indispensable role to play in the further development of the militancy of the young workers and in raising their level of struggles to give expression, not only to their serious concern over economic security, but (even more important) to

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their deep-seated, but unorganized, sentiments for peace and the outlawing of the A- and H-bombs.

In general, it can be said that, despite a number of major weaknesses, one of the positive factors in the League's successful organizing drive is that it has begun from the outset to fight for the working-class character of its organization and for the policy of industrial concentration. There is generally, a growing consciousness of the importance of this question, which is reflected in the rising composition of working-class and Negro youth. Of the 6,200 League members organized to date, some 2,500 are employed and some 1,700 are unemployed. These categories include a significant number of non-Communist working youth, youth who did not come from the former youth clubs of the Party.

We should also point to some of the important, though modest, efforts of the League in connection with the mine strike, during the course of which League members went to the coal fields with food and messages of solidarity. The House Un-American Activities Committee is today trying to scare up a witch-hunt against the League on the basis of the tragic auto accident in the Pittsburgh area in which one young person was killed; several other League members, who had been badly injured, were grilled in the most vulture-like manner by the police, hospital authorities and other

assorted reactionaries. In Youngstown and Toledo, six members of the League were arrested for collecting food for miners' children. There is no doubt that the spirit of working-class solidarity kindled in the course of the League's limited experiences in the miners' strike has served to put new fiber and strength into this new youth organization, giving deeper meaning to the League's program of education and action in the spirit of Socialism.

Of special importance is the need for the further maturing and development of the League's policy for the building of shop and industrial clubs. The League today has some ten auto and steel clubs in such areas as South Chicago, Detroit, Gary, Flint, Youngstown and Cleveland. Nationally, the League has some thirty-five to forty shop and industrial clubs in the garment, maritime, electrical, distributive and other industries.

The League is striving to develop a variety of club forms most suitable to youth, their interests and their needs. While the main objective in regard to all of these clubs is to center their activity and work on the shop, on the young workers in a given industry, many of the clubs are developing a club-life and in some cases establishing headquarters in neighboring communities, often attracting wives, sisters and friends of the young workers.

As might be expected from ex-

periences of the youth movement in years past, a key problem is to establish clarity on the role of the League in industry. There is still resistance among some Communists to the building of youth organizations on a shop and industrial basis. Such resistance not only denies outright the special problems of working youth which are mounting, but flies in the face of the well-established principle that special forms and organizations are natural and necessary for the integration of young workers in the trade unions and mass movements of the people. There is added proof of the vitality of this principle precisely in the fact that the shop and industrial clubs of the League are attracting more young workers from day to day.

In some districts, the question is put more subtly whether the League in industry has a role in its own right. Some comrades are of the opinion that in order to avoid certain vanguardist tendencies that may crop up in the League, and to avert confusion that may arise in regard to over-all policy matters in a given shop, industry or trade union, the League should perform simply a so-called "service" role; that is, it should be geared to mustering support from youth in the community as well as from young workers generally around this or that question confronting the workers as a whole. For example, the League should limit itself to such activities as

mobilizing support for the miners and other strikers, distributing leaflets and selling papers that agitate for support to the given general struggle for wages, etc., that may be taking place.

In our opinion, such a concept of "service," which is similar to the superficial concept put forward in the early days of the A.Y.D., has nothing in common with the genuine fighting service that the youth and the League can give to the labor movement on the basis of the struggle for the needs of the working youth.

The League is not just another mass organization. It is an organization of a special kind. Its role and activities in industry, the role of its shop and industrial clubs, far from being limited to elementary service activity, involves: (1) helping to win the young workers to the fight for militant, united trade unions and against Wall Street's effort to hitch the labor movement to its program of war and fascism; (2) stimulating the consciousness of and sparking the fight for the special needs of working youth; and (3) educating and training young Marxist leaders and building Socialist consciousness among working youth—thereby among other things helping to train future working-class leaders.

This policy was emphasized at a recent Mid-west industrial conference of the League, at which Comrade Gus Hall, who was present

as an invited guest, dealt at length with some of these questions. At this conference, the League was able to record a still small, but significant number of local experiences in shops and trade unions that point up the important and varied role of the League in industry. In one place, League members of a union bowling team were able to spark a fight against the dismissal of several militant young workers—a fight which, despite the sell-out attempts of reactionary local union leaders, resulted in a victorious strike and the election of a young Negro worker as one of the local officers. In another instance, League members were able to initiate the signing of a letter by a whole number of young workers, fearful of perspective layoffs, to the World Federation of Trade Unions asking how many jobs would become available if peaceful relations and trade were developed by the United States with Eastern Europe and China. In still another area, League members in a department employing about sixty to eighty young workers were able to put the spotlight on the constant by-passing of young Negro workers when it came to upgrading, and again to win a victory against Jim Crow, not only on the question of upgrading, but in regard to the apprenticeship training program. In another industrial town, the initiative of League members resulted in two trade-union locals contributing jointly to the set-

ting up of a trade-union sports program.

In general, the League faces the task of expanding its activities and program for and among the young workers, of encouraging in the fullest way forms for youth activity and participation in the trade unions. It faces the task of developing concrete peace activity, following up the start that was given by the excellent young workers' delegation to the National Labor Peace Conference last October. It is confronted with the need to speed its growth among young white workers and to solidify, within its own ranks and beyond, the unity of Negro and white youth based on a sharpened and concrete struggle against white chauvinism. In this connection, it is called upon to initiate a policy for systematic work among the vital sections of industrial youth of the national groups. Finally, and of central importance, it has need to strengthen and develop much further its educational and ideological work, bringing Marxist theory to advanced young workers, training them in the principles of Scientific Socialism.

These are the problems with which the League, in its industrial work, is only beginning to cope.

WALL STREET FEARS YOUTH'S DESIRE FOR PEACE

I should like now to deal briefly with some of the propaganda efforts

that Wall Street is making in its attempt to divert the growing unity sentiments for peace and democracy among the youth into "safe" channels.

There are profound stirrings among the youth (though they are not as yet expressed in "sensational" developments in the youth movement) as an inevitable result of the pressure and the effects on the young people of the preparations for war and the growing economic crisis.

There is no doubt that the breaking of the so-called Atom-Bomb monopoly and Truman's subsequent order to build the H-Bomb has had special meaning in terms of the thinking of young Americans. During the days of the Atom Bomb "monopoly," the youth were told—most brazenly by Congressman Cannon—that as long as "we" had the A-bomb the next war would be a push-button affair, and that whatever fighting there was to be done would be done "for us" by the young people of Europe and other countries. In the light of subsequent events it is becoming clear that, on the contrary, it is precisely the present generation of American youth which, for the first time in the history of our country, faces the prospect of mass destruction as soldiers in a horrible and extended war. This realization, along with the effects of mounting joblessness and militarization, assaults and police brutality against the Negro youth, the

drive against civil liberties and academic freedom, are producing certain currents and desires among the youth for unity on behalf of peace and democracy—developments that are very frightening to Wall Street.

It is in this connection that we must view Wall Street's increasing reliance on the most extreme demagoguery, or liberal and Social-Democratic sugar coating, in presenting its line to the youth. This is by no means the only tack taken by Wall Street's propagandists, but it is rising most sharply in importance. (There is, of course, also the flood of brazen, openly reactionary and corrupt propaganda which invades every quarter of life: from the comic books, with their anti-Soviet warmongering plots, to the decadent deliberations of a recent national social-work conference, where it was declared that "the schooling of girls is a threat to the home.")*

Government and education circles, particularly, are presenting their anti-democratic line of jingoism, chauvinism and anti-Communism in the following ways: They are stressing so-called U.S. "moral leadership for peace" and, even at that, they are more and more presenting the policy of establishing U.S. world supremacy within the framework of ideas of "world government" and

* See the report of the address by Dr. Florence Kluckhohn of Harvard University at the thirty-first annual conference of the American Association of the Schools of Social Work, *The New York Times*, January 25, 1950, under the heading, "Schooling of Girls Held Home Threat."

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"world federalism" which, on the face of things, are appealing to the idealism of youth. Further, they are forced to and display great "concern" over questions of "brotherhood and tolerance" and the "overcoming of democracy's imperfections." Finally, they more and more feel obliged to "explain" Communism and to "argue" against it in defense of "free enterprise."

It is worthwhile reviewing some examples of this key propaganda tack of Wall Street as far as the youth are concerned. There has recently been a veritable rash of youth "forums." Taking first place in the money and ballyhoo put into its project, as well as in the brand of demagoguery unfolded, was this year's *Herald-Tribune* Forum. Whereas, last year, the foreign high-school students who participated were picked from the Marshall Plan countries, this year the foreign "representatives" to the *Herald-Tribune* Youth Forum were handpicked from colonial countries in order that Wall Street's views might be presented to American youth in anti-imperialist guise. The key adult speakers at the forum included Senator McMahon, Ralph Bunche and Lillian Smith. McMahon saved the most demagogic appeal, of all his recent utterances, for the youth, as shown in his hypocritical call for a "new approach" to outlawing the atom bomb. The attempt to divert the peace sentiment of the young people included the

projection, as a key idea, of the notion that "World Federation" is the only "hope"; the popularization of Truman's "Point 4" program; and demagogic stress on the need, as Lillian Smith particularly placed it, to "do something" about "white supremacy" so that "we don't give capital to Communism."

The *Daily Mirror* also ran a youth forum and, sensing the keen interest of the youth in international friendship, it, too, invited foreign delegates, handpicking representatives from such countries as Spain, Western Germany, Greece, the Scandinavian countries, Israel, etc. But the Hearst forum made the mistake of allowing several hundred American youth to take part in panels, and the resolutions that came forward, each one of them, showed in unmistakable terms the basic democratic sentiments of the young people. The youth called for expanded job training and education, objected to censorship of text books and curricula, opposed the quota system and asked for higher salaries for teachers. Most important, on the peace question the delegates formally recognized "the gravity of the present international situation and the need for collective security and decisive action toward rapprochement between East and West" as the key to a solution. About the only succor Hearst got is that the resolutions were concluded with the "hope" that "*The Mirror*, sponsor of this forum, stand as a

guiding light in helping us to achieve our common and ultimate goal." Small wonder that Hearst quickly buried the findings of this youth forum.

Finally in the swing of youth forums, the Town Hall Forum hit on the safest formula. At this forum on "Can Youth Have Faith in the Future?" it was not genuine youth from this country or any other country who were invited to answer the question, but such professional youth as Harold Russell of the Amvets and others who did the talking. It is significant, moreover, that the Town Hall voice of reaction found it necessary to use Jackie Robinson as one of its participants. Jackie Robinson, who was the butt of the most patronizing brand of chauvinism on the part of moderator Denny, was used to help make more palatable to young Americans such false, reactionary ideas as that civil rights are practically won (and with everybody's cooperation!) and also that America is the only country where "you can start out as a newsboy and become a banker."

In regard to the demagoguery about "countering Communism and overcoming democracy's imperfections," it is important to note that this has become the heart of the Brotherhood Month theme to which the Y.W.C.A. Woman's Press devoted its entire February issue for the second consecutive year. Also, an extensive program for the "teaching of current

affairs" throughout the school system has been sponsored by the *New York Times*,* and publications are being forced on high school and junior high school students such as to name but one, *Young America*, which passes off the most blatant falsehoods as being the genuine principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Certainly, Wall Street has never been more afraid of youth's thirst for knowledge, truth and ideals than it is today. It is trying desperately, against the odds of history and the aspirations of our country's youth, to insulate *Young America* from the fresh winds of peace, democracy and Socialism that are making headway throughout the world.

There is growing proof, not only in the nature of Wall Street's propaganda, but in living experience, of the underlying democratic desires and peace sentiments of youth, which the imperialists are trying to divert both through demagoguery, as dealt with here, and through more open appeals to chauvinism and violence via the films, the radio, television, the comic books, etc. In terms of living experience, this is evidenced in the first beginnings of a youth movement for peace and against militarism; in the mushrooming movements of unity among Negro and white youth in the fight for civil rights; in the demand for greater expression and the right to organize

* See "Current Affairs and Modern Education," by James F. Corbett and others, published by *The New York Times*.

on the part of the N.A.A.C.P. youth; in the initial development of a movement for jobs and expanded unemployment benefits for youth, as indicated previously. While we cannot here take the time to document these beginnings, the important thing is that these very elementary movements toward unity, especially on the peace question, can be expanded and unfolded quantitatively and qualitatively, into an important democratic upsurge among large sections of the youth in 1950.

This is the major question that confronts our Party among the youth, one which, among other things, points up the importance of

the leading role of the League (as an advanced youth organization with a Marxist content) in actively rallying and stimulating the broadest movements of youth everywhere—in all the youth organizations, in the trade unions, on the unemployed lines, on the campuses.

In the period between now and the First National Convention of the League, the job of vastly enhancing the League's capacity for leading and influencing youth on a mass scale in the great struggles ahead must receive the consistent attention, the dynamic and imaginative leadership, of every Communist and advanced worker.

Make the Communist Press a Powerful Organ of Struggle*

By Phil Bart

THE REPORT of Comrade Winston lays down the main approach and objectives in the strengthening of our Party, increase of its membership, and building of our press. His report gave main emphasis to the implementation of our policy of industrial concentration, by means of which our Party can and will deeply root itself in the basic section of the American working class. I wish to single out for more detailed attention one phase of this task and perspective—increasing the circulation and extending the influence of our press, *The Worker* and the *Daily Worker*.

Our Party, from the day of its founding, has recognized the need and fought for the establishment of a daily Marxist-Leninist newspaper. With deep pride, we proclaimed in a front-page editorial appearing in the very first issue of the *Daily Worker*, January 13, 1924: “. . . The first English-language Communist Daily in the world has been realized.”

Although our Party was much smaller at that time than it is today, its influence weaker and its resources more meager, it undertook the task

of publishing a daily newspaper; for it recognized the indispensability, for all our Party's work, of a regularly-published, daily Communist press. Our agitational work cannot be anywhere near adequate in the absence of a newspaper that speaks up daily on the issues confronting the working class and the people, interprets them, and helps mobilize and organize the masses for struggle.

SPECIAL TASK OF THE COMMUNIST PRESS

The main task of the Communist press in the United States today is to help develop a broad united-front movement of the working class and its allies for democracy, peace and security. Our press must be a powerful organ providing day-to-day guidance in the struggle to bridle the warmongers. It must be a force in the struggle for Negro rights and in labor's fight for higher wages and against the reactionary measures directed against it. It must champion the defense of the Communist Party and all democratic rights of individuals and organizations, now seri-

* Extended Remarks to the Plenum.

ously threatened by the Mundt-Fergusons and all other un-Americans. The duty of the Communist press is to crusade on these issues among the millions, in the first place among the workers in the basic industries.

There are other voices that appeal for united action on various issues and levels of organization. But our press has a *special* task to perform in developing the united action of the working class, and that is to develop and deepen the class-consciousness of the workers, for the united-front movement can reach higher levels only to the extent that the class-consciousness of the workers, Negro and white, grows and matures. Only when the workers fully grasp the historic role that they can and must play in the anti-imperialist struggle can they make their full strength felt in leading the movement for peace. Only to the extent that their class consciousness is developed can the workers give leadership—staunch, undeviating leadership—to the other classes and sections of the population whose interests and aspirations are menaced by Wall Street imperialism.

The development of the class consciousness of the workers, as the great guiding spirits and leaders of Communism have many times emphasized, is not an automatic or spontaneous process. It requires the proper fulfillment by the Party of its vanguard role. It requires today the waging of an all-out ideological bat-

tle for the exposure and refutation of the Red-baiters and Soviet-baiters, of the cynical imperialist demagoguery of Truman, Acheson and the bipartisans, of the class-collaborationist and pro-war policies and practices of the Social-Democratic and reformist trade-union top leadership.

That is why the building of the Communist press is of such mighty importance in developing every phase of our work. Press building goes hand in hand with the carrying out of our policy of industrial concentration, of firmly rooting our Party among the workers in the main plants and industries of our country and winning their support and confidence through vanguard participation and guidance in their day-to-day struggles.

We must help develop higher forms of class solidarity. It begins with the picket line, but proceeds to the recognition that the interests of the capitalists and the workers clash on every issue.

We should constantly look to the experiences of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, which teach us the vital role of the press in the struggle of the working class. The Bolshevik press played a vital part in raising the class consciousness of the Soviet workers, in building the strong ties between the Party and the masses. *Pravda* was in the center of every struggle, of every united-front movement. In the words of Comrade Stalin:

The *Pravda* of 1912 was the laying of the cornerstone of Bolshevism in 1917.

With proper attention and work by our whole Party, the American workers can and will come to see in the *Daily Worker*, their own paper, their best supporter.

Comrade Foster in his greetings to this Plenum and Comrade Winston in his report have stressed the need for the Party's developing the ideological struggle on every front. This is absolutely necessary.

MONOPOLY PRESS STRIVES TO POISON MINDS OF THE MASSES

The powerful monopoly press could never be accused of underestimating the ideological struggle. "Selling ideas" is a Big Business in America. Philip Murray and William Green may babble about the class struggle being "alien" to this country; the newspapers devote columns of type to this twaddle. But the monopoly press, as we all know, is very much concerned with the reality of the class struggle. It leaves no stone unturned in its desperate search for ever newer "arguments" and slanders against Socialism and our Party; it shudders and grows frenzied at every expression of interest in Socialist ideas on the part of the Negro and white masses.

Editor and Publisher, organ of the monopolist press interests, reflects

this fear in its issue of March 4, 1950:

Perhaps at no time in the recent history of man has so much energy and money been spent in the "Battle for Men's Minds." The economic, political, and social orders are changing so rapidly they are approaching chaos.

"Money is no object" for Wall Street in the "Battle for Men's Minds," but the men of the trusts can see only "approaching chaos" [read: their own inevitable doom]. They must admit, even if only in discussion among themselves, that the class struggle is sharpening. They say: "In this country there has been an intensified struggle between labor unions and management [the capitalists]." Consequently, while sharpening their ideological weapons and intensifying their attacks, they must place ever-greater reliance in fascist-like attacks on the trade unions (Taft-Hartley), the Negro people (lynch terror and police brutality), and our Party (Foley Square frame-up, Mundt-Ferguson Bill, etc.) in order to attempt to gag all opposition to their war drive.

At the same time that we strive to immunize the workers and the people generally against the ideological poison spewed forth by the imperialist press, we must help mobilize and organize them for struggle. In both respects, *The Worker* can and must play a growing role.

The task of increasing the circula-

tion of *The Worker* and the *Daily Worker* is not a "general" one, just as the building of our Party cannot be approached in a "general" way. As Comrade Winston emphasized, Party building must be approached on the basis of our concentration policy, that is, of winning the working class, and first of all the most exploited workers, in the huge trustified industries. This approach also holds true for building the press.

RESULTS OF *THE WORKER* SUB DRIVE

In the recent Press drive, we obtained 33,400 subscriptions to *The Worker*. This campaign was carried out in a period of sharp reactionary attacks on our Party and press. It was launched in the midst of the intense anti-Red hysteria of the Foley Square frame-up trial, in the midst of new attempts to illegalize our Party and growing attacks on the labor and Negro people's movements. It was carried out at a time when every sentiment for peace was, as it still is, made out by the warmakers to be a highly suspicious, if not treacherous, opinion.

Yet we succeeded in securing over 33,000 subscriptions for *The Worker*. It should be reported that 30,000 of these were one-year subscriptions. This, at a time when the people were suffering greater financial difficulties.

Seven Party districts completed the

drive, while some of the others came close to their goals.

In examining the results in greater detail, let me begin with some of the major concentration districts.

Illinois, with a goal of 3,000, obtained more than 3,300 subscriptions. Although we lack an industry-by-industry break-down of the statistics for this district or the others, reports are that a large number of the Illinois subs were secured from auto, steel and railroad workers.

Western Pennsylvania, whose goal was 500, went over the top with 674. We have established our paper here in the metal and electrical industries, and to some extent in the steel industry. While very little was achieved in the mining areas during the first part of the drive, a pick-up was noticeable during the last two weeks of the coal strike. This was also true in the other mining areas.

The results in Indiana, in my opinion, are outstanding. This district turned in 570 subs on the basis of an original goal of 350. Its best results are among the auto and steel workers.

New Jersey, with a goal of 1500, completed the drive with 1604 subscriptions. The lessons of that district's work are to be found in the splendid advance organization and involvement of a considerable part of the membership which guaranteed the completion of the drive on schedule.

In New York City, the Kings,

Queens and New York county organizations achieved their goals, with the first two surpassing their original quotas.

After citing these figures, which show certain districts exceeding their quotas, we must ask ourselves: why has the circulation of *The Worker* remained so static—with very little increase from year to year—in recent years? In 1948 the total circulation was 72,237; in 1949 it was 72,673. What are the reasons for this situation?

Among the reasons, the following stand out:

1. In each year's drive for subscriptions a large number are renewals. This is very good; it is necessary to accomplish this, if we are to maintain a stable circulation. But the circulation will not be *increased* unless we reach other people and get new readers.

2. A large number of subscriptions expire and are not renewed. Regular and close relations are rarely maintained between the readers and the sub-getters. Here is an astonishing figure: I reported that we secured 33,400 subs during the recent drive; but in that same period we removed 11,183 names from our subscription lists. This loss was not made up in the drive.

3. During the period of the subscription drive, the members of the community clubs canvass many readers who receive our paper by personal delivery and convince them to pur-

chase subscriptions. This method is very satisfactory in helping us to win new subscribers. But it is precisely in this period that *The Worker* bundle orders drop sharply, with a consequent over-all circulation decline.

THE GAP BETWEEN MASS WORK AND PRESS CIRCULATION

These facts point up the need for a constant political struggle to involve every Party club and every Party member in the work of expanding the circulation of our press. While working continuously for increased subscriptions, we must convince our membership that this must not and cannot replace the direct sale of the paper in the shops, communities and mass organizations. There is no substitute for this method of reaching out to new readers and it must be an important phase of all our Party activities. The drive to build our press must utilize every avenue for reaching the workers and must be *integrated* with all mass activities.

The establishment of the various state editions of *The Worker* has helped to stabilize and maintain circulation in the respective states. However, the inability of many districts financially to sustain them threatens the continued existence of these editions.

When the state editions were launched, the goal projected, with but few exceptions, was that they

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should achieve a circulation of about 5,000 each. Six editions show an increase of almost 1,900 readers over the previous year, with a combined circulation of 25,957.

<i>Edition</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
New England	3,038
New Jersey	4,393
Pennsylvania	4,833
Ohio	4,572
Michigan	4,258
Illinois	4,863

Ten states receive the Southern edition, which has a circulation of 3,614. This represents a drop of over 200 from 1948. The content and circulation of the Southern edition require a careful review following this Plenum. In the main, the present circulation of our paper in the South reflects the absence of any particular concentration.

New York shows the largest decline in *The Worker's* circulation, from 35,713 in 1948 to 33,602 in 1949. The drop is equally divided among the various sales channels: subscriptions, bundle orders and newsstands.

Comrade Winston has stressed the need for integrating the various phases of our mass campaigns and overcoming the condition where one campaign interferes with the prosecution of some other mass activity. A wide gap continues to exist between mass work, on the one hand, and the press circulation and Party building, on the other.

It is precisely during the period of

the most intense mass activities that we record the largest decline in circulation. Here are the facts: In the first quarter of 1949, the average weekly circulation of *The Worker* was 84,027. During the last quarter of the year, when the Foley Square frame-up trial was coming to an end and the election campaign was in its final stage, the average circulation dropped to 57,520. Lest any one conclude that the drop was mostly in the form of year-end subscription expirations, it should be stated that the drop was recorded in bundle orders and newsstand sales as well.

We want to project at this Plenum a goal of 100,000 sales for *The Worker* by the end of the year—this to be achieved by:

1. Consistent, day-to-day attention to the press, with specific goals set for each month right through December. The increase should include subscriptions and bundle orders.

2. Designation of a brief period during the year for a concerted subscription drive.

In order to reach this goal of 100,000 *Worker* sales weekly by the end of 1950, we recommend that each district set as its goal an increase of 50 percent over the present circulation. This will mean: (1) New York should attain a total circulation of 50,000 by the end of the year; and (2) all other districts should achieve a combined total of 50,000 sales.

My remarks have been devoted mainly to increasing the circulation of *The Worker* by reaching out to

tens of thousands of present non-readers. While the attainment of this objective is necessary and possible, we must record the fact of our neglect of the *Daily Worker*. The average circulation of the "Daily" is 18,000, one of the lowest figures in many years. The circulation through forms other than subscriptions and newsstand sales is about 3,000 nationally. In other words, this is the daily total circulation directly through our Party organizations.

ARREST THE DECLINE IN *DAILY WORKER* CIRCULATION

The decline in *Daily Worker* circulation shows the lack of full recognition of the Leninist principle of Party organization that holds the press to be an indispensable agitator and organizer in the class struggle. The Communist Party, in developing and leading mass movements, must have a daily press to reach the working class.

Consequently, in examining the decline in press circulation, particularly of the *Daily Worker*, we must draw the necessary political conclusions. The conclusion can only be that this development is an expression of a strong liquidationist tendency as regards the press.

The *Daily Worker* should be utilized by our members and the leading militant and Left forces in the

shops and mass movements. But this is not the case today.

What is the reason for this condition? Why is it that so very few of our members read the *Daily Worker* regularly? I think the answer was supplied in Comrade Winston's report, in the section dealing with the functioning of the club organizations. Our active forces get their guidance through personal contact with a leading comrade. When the individual comrade faces certain problems, these are usually resolved through such discussions, without the participation of the Party club as a unit. The club leadership does not, and is not encouraged to, take the initiative; it does not give guidance in the day-to-day activities of the membership.

Consequently, the use of the *Daily Worker* as an aid in the daily work is generally ignored. When the political initiative of the club is encouraged; when the whole club participates in formulating, as well as executing, decisions, then every means of sharpening political thinking is required and sought out—and the *Daily Worker* becomes a concrete aid in the many-phased work of the club.

The training of a strong, stable leadership is a prerequisite for strengthening our clubs and making them a vital force in the shops and working-class communities. One of the indispensable means of equipping club leadership with ideological clarity and political guidance on the

issues of the day is the consistent and regular study and use of the *Daily Worker*.

Many comrades consider the *Daily Worker* as "auxiliary" reading to other daily newspapers. It is picked up once or twice a week on the newsstand in order to get some information and to "know the line."

But the *Daily Worker* must be viewed as required daily reading by the membership and an indispensable weapon in the daily, regular work of the club. The program presented by Comrade Winston here should go a long way toward strengthening the Party club leadership, which will help advance the regular use of the *Daily Worker*.

As part of the task to improve the work of the club, strengthen its leadership, and reach out to the active and militant forces in the labor and progressive movements, we recommend as a goal for this year the increase of the *Daily Worker* circulation to 25,000 daily. That will mean an increase of 7,000, as follows: 2,000 nationally, and 5,000 in New York.

We further propose to secure half of the new subscriptions, 3,500, from

the leading forces on the club, section, county and district levels, as well as from the active Left forces in the labor and progressive movements. With the cooperation of the Organization and Education Departments of the Party, this can and should be achieved.

The balance of the increase, an additional 3,500, should be gained in New York by new subscriptions and bundle-order and newsstand sales.

* * *

We have self-critically recorded numerous weaknesses in our Party's work. The enemy will not get much comfort in this. As a result of this examination, we are confident that our Party in all districts will organize the membership to bring about a fundamental change in the mass circulation of our press.

But we must not relax. We must throw ourselves with greater energies into the work that must be done, systematically striving to overcome our weaknesses, improving all phases of our work and organizing our Party as a greater force in the cause of peace.

ERRATUM

The second sentence of the first complete paragraph in the first column on page 44 should read as follows:

"For one thing, there still exists in practice in most Party organizations, a gross underestimation of the fighting spirit, the political ferment and the process of activation now taking place in the ranks of the working class, among the Negro people, the youth and a growing section of farmers."

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