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

Editorial Board: V. J. JEROME, Editor, ABNER W. BERRY, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN,
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Combat the War Incitements Against the Soviet Union*

(On the Thirty-third Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution)

By Alexander Bittelman

NEVER SINCE the Great October Socialist Revolution thirty-three years ago, the revolution which opened up a new epoch in the history of mankind, have the imperialist slanders and war-incitements against the Soviet Union been carried on with such recklessness and violence. This is especially so in the United States. And in the forefront of this contemptible and despicable "crusade" of war-incitement we find the "old and proven" servants of Wall Street—the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy, Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders and the phony Truman-liberals.

The reasons for this are all too obvious. The Wall Street monopolies and their agents in the labor movement are in deadly fear of the growing popularity of the Soviet Union among the toiling masses of all nations, countries, and continents.

They fear that this will become manifest also in the United States, despite all their "crusades." The peoples of the world—whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or the Americas—have come to love and trust the Soviet Union because it is the true leader in the world-wide struggle for peace, for justice, for real democracy, for Socialism. In country after country, the masses have made it known in various ways that never, never will they fight against the Soviet Union.

And what is Wall Street's answer to that? More slander. More violent

* Since this article was written, Comrade Bittelman, member of the Editorial Board of *Political Affairs*, and one of the national leaders of the Communist Party, was arrested, along with other leaders of the Party and other fighters for the cause of labor and peace—including Claudia Jones, Betty Gannett, and George Siskind—by the order of Attorney General McGrath, in the drive against the peace forces, the labor movement, the Negro people and the Communist Party, under the McCarran Act. At the time this issue went to press they were still held at Ellis Island.—Editor.

war-incitement. More persecutions against all who dare to defend the Soviet Union and tell the truth about it. More of the fascist antics of McCarran & Co. More and speedier preparations for the opening of hostilities against the Soviet Union, *i.e.*, for the launching of World War III.

Imperialist slander against the Soviet Union is nothing new. Ever since the birth of the Soviet Union the imperialists and their labor lieutenants have been trying to confuse and mislead the masses as to the true nature of the Socialist revolution and the Soviet state. The history of the last thirty-three years is replete with all sorts of lying inventions and forged documents designed to hide from the peoples the democratic and Socialist nature of the Soviet state and system. There are many who still remember the years of imperialist "crusading" against the "nationalization of women" in the Soviet Union. This was the period when world imperialism, led by the monopolies of Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, was waging criminal wars of intervention against the young Soviet state.

The imperialists and their labor-reformist flunkies were defeated. They were defeated in their ideological crusades as well as in the military ones. The Socialist revolu-

tion triumphed over its external and internal enemies, and changed the course of world history. The Soviet Union created by the October Revolution later saved humanity from fascist slavery in World War II and has thus made possible the victory of national liberation and of Socialism in large parts of Europe and Asia. It now stands guard over the peace of the world and is leading the fight to prevent World War III which is being organized by the imperialist and fascist camp headed by American imperialism. It stands for the peaceful co-existence and competition of the Socialist and capitalist systems. It represents the greatest hope of mankind in the struggle to save the world from the madness of atomic war.

Now, in the new world situation, Wall Street and its agents—Green, Murray, Reuther, Dubinsky, Carey, Potofsky, etc., including the Truman-liberals—are seeking to engineer "crusades" against the Soviet Union on "new" issues. They are setting afoot new lies and slanders. Some of these are simply fantastic, but in their desperation the warmakers are determined to try everything.

For example: The Soviet Union is now being slandered and "crusaded" against by Wall Street's champions of "truth" on the ground that it represents a "new imperialism," "Red imperialism," a "Communist impe-

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rialism." In lying inventiveness this beats even Hitler and Goebbels. It is superfantastic. But Wall Street needs it to confuse the masses who hate and distrust imperialism as to what imperialism really is and to incite and prepare for war against the Soviet Union.

Another example: the Soviet Union is slandered and attacked as being the same as Hitler-Germany, as representing a "Red fascism," on the lying and fantastic ground that "Communism and fascism are the same." Again, the purpose is obvious. It is to confuse the masses who hate fascism as to what fascism really is and to promote further the war-incitements and war preparations against the Soviet Union. This imperialist "big lie" has the purpose of isolating the masses of the American people from the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, which is being led by the Soviet Union.

From the foregoing it is clear that the fight for peace—against a new world war and the growing fascist danger—demands a consistent and militant struggle against Wall Street's slanders and war-incitements against the Soviet Union. These slanders must be exposed and combatted hour by hour and day by day, because it is precisely under the smokescreen of these lies and slanders that Wall Street and its labor lieutenants are

organizing World War III, carrying on and expanding their criminal aggression in Korea, and paving the way for fascism in the United States by promoting reaction and fascist methods of rule.

To expose these slanders we must first make clear what imperialism is.

IMPERIALISM IS MONOPOLY CAPITAL AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION

Imperialism stands for many things, all of which are reactionary and are based upon the exploitation of man by man and nation by nation. How can there be a "Communist" imperialism when Communism stands for the abolition of all forms of exploitation—class and national—and represents a new and progressive form of society supplanting the old and dying capitalist form?

Further: imperialism has as its economic base monopoly capital. In every capitalist country, it is Big Business, finance capital, that is the backbone and motive power of expansionism abroad, of the drive to secure domination over sources of raw material, of cheap labor power, of markets for the export of capital, of strategic military positions. In other words, imperialism is a stage of capitalism; the highest and last stage, as Lenin called it. How, then, can there be a "Red" or "Communist"

nist" imperialism when Communism supplants and abolishes the whole capitalist system, *i.e.*, when it abolishes the capitalist monopolies which are the very substance of imperialism? How can there be a "Communist" imperialism when there are no economic or class forces in Communist society, or in Socialist society which is the first stage of Communism, to drive that society to the export of capital, to the search for cheap labor, to the fight for domination and monopoly control of sources of raw materials and markets for the export of goods? Socialist society does not need it and there are no classes in it that are either interested in or capable of pursuing a policy of expansionism.

Still further: imperialism means national domination and oppression. It represents the rule of the so-called "higher" and "superior" nation and race over the "lower" and "inferior" nation and race. It represents in most instances the domination of the "white" race over the colored races and peoples. Now, then, how can there be a "Communist" imperialism when Communism spells the abolition of all forms of national or race discrimination, inequality, domination and oppression? More than that, Communism stands for friendship and collaboration between nations and peoples, on the basis of equality, for their common good and

well-being. Communism stands for the principle that advanced nations must help those less advanced to catch up with their sister nations for joint further economic, social and cultural advances. They must help those that were kept forcibly in backwardness by British, French, Belgian, Dutch, German, Japanese, Italian and—last but not least—American imperialism, over decades and centuries. In what way can imperialism originate from this sort of a Communist principle?

"Yes," says the labor-reformist flunkey of the Wall Street war-mongers, "but look at the Soviet Union: Since the end of World War II, hasn't she grabbed for herself the Baltic provinces, the whole of Eastern Europe, part of Germany, China, etc., etc., and isn't this expansionism and imperialism?" Having thrown out this smokescreen, Wall Street's flunkey proceeds to crusade for a new world war, for "sacrifices" by the people, for wage-freezes, no-strike pledges, etc., etc. But what is the true situation?

The true situation is this: in making the fantastic charge of a Soviet Union "imperialism," Wall Street and its agents are attacking, first, in relation to the Soviet Baltic, *the very idea of a union of Socialist states and nations*. Further, they are denying the right of peoples and nations to go Socialist: They are denying the

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right of peoples and nations to become independent. They are denying to independent nations the right to live in peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, to collaborate with it for the peace and well-being of their peoples. They are denying to independent nations and peoples the right to recognize the Soviet Union as their friend, helper and leader. And why? Because Wall Street is driving to establish its imperialist world domination, is preparing a new world war for that purpose, is seeking to check and crush all democratic and Socialist movements and peoples, and has already started direct aggressions in the Far East against Korea and China.

Consider the full meaning of the attack that the Soviet Union has "grabbed the Baltic provinces." Here, after decades of hard and self-sacrificing struggles against domestic and foreign fascism and imperialism, the peoples of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania have finally succeeded in reuniting their countries with the Soviet Union from which they were forcibly separated by world imperialism in its many efforts to overthrow and destroy the Soviet Union. These are historical facts. Now, when in the face of these facts, Wall Street and its agents resume their war incitements against the Soviet Union for its "grab" of the Baltic provinces, they are actually calling for the dis-

memberment of the Soviet Union. They are in effect declaring that no people has a right to join the Soviet Union. This means a denial of the right of peoples to determine for themselves the forms of their state existence. This means a claim by Wall Street that it is going to decide the forms of state existence of other peoples. And to enforce that claim, Wall Street is organizing World War III.

Consider also the full meaning of the lie that Soviet or Communist "imperialism" is dominating eastern Europe, China, etc. Now, the peoples of these countries have realized their age-long dreams. They freed themselves from the miseries of feudal rule and exploitation, of age-old backwardness and poverty. In eastern Europe, the peoples freed themselves of the rule of native capitalism and its master, foreign imperialism, and are laying the foundations of a Socialist society. In China, the people have achieved a victory of world proportions which makes possible the democratic unification of the country as an independent people's Republic, its rapid economic growth and development, the building up of all prerequisites to a subsequent advance to Socialism.

In all of this, the Soviet Union played a most important and, in many respects, a decisive part. It was the leadership of the Soviet

Union and the decisive battles of the Soviet armies in the Second World War that saved mankind from fascist slavery and liberated the countries and peoples of Eastern Europe. It was the help and guidance of the Soviet Union that enabled the peoples of Eastern Europe, led in struggle by their Communist and Workers' Parties, to establish their own rule in their own countries, to establish the system of People's Democracies, and to initiate the transition to Socialism. And the liberation of China, achieved in historic battles of the Chinese people headed by their Communist Party, against foreign imperialism—chiefly, American—and its Chiang Kai-shek agents, became a fact only because it was helped decisively by the victories of the Soviet Union, by its victory over Nazi Germany and fascist-militarist Japan, by the favorable world situation arising from the tremendously increased influence of the Soviet Union in world affairs.

Now, when in the face of these facts, Wall Street and its agents attack the fraternal relationships between the Soviet Union and the new People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and the Chinese People's Republic as "Red imperialism" or "Communist imperialism," they are really attacking the achievements and historic consequences of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which

took place thirty-three years ago. This revolution, which opened a new epoch in human history, *marked a fundamental turning point in world history—a turning from the old capitalist world to the new Socialist world.* The rise of New Democracies in Europe and Asia expresses this new historical process. *A Socialist world is coming into existence. Socialist nations are being born, and these nations, in various stages of transition to Socialism, naturally and inevitably recognize the Soviet Union as their leader and helper, and are freely and independently collaborating in the great cause of peace, democracy and Socialism.*

This is one of the great consequences of the October Revolution, which was never a narrow national affair but the greatest event in human history, an event of *world* significance, of *international* significance. This means that the Great October Socialist Revolution opened up the epoch of the triumph of Socialism and of the victory of colonial and anti-imperialist revolutions. It opened up the epoch of the united front of the working class with the oppressed colonial peoples against imperialism. And this is what has been happening; victorious Socialist and colonial revolutions in various parts of the world; the consolidation of the united front of the proletariat with the oppressed colonial peoples,

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together with all democratic and peace forces of the world; and the rise of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the *Soviet Union*, which is the natural and recognized leader of this great camp.

Naturally, Wall Street and its agents do not like it. They are mortally opposed to it because the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism led by the Soviet Union stands in the way of Wall Street's drive to world domination. That is why Wall Street is organizing a new world war—to break up and destroy the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. But we must help the masses of the American people to see clearly that what Wall Street and its labor lieutenants are attacking and are organizing a world war to destroy is not a non-existing "Red" or "Communist" imperialism, but a very much existing and very much alive world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, embracing the majority of the human race and led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Wall Street and its agents also attack as "Red imperialism" the policies of the Soviet Union in relation to the German Democratic Republic. But what are these policies? First, they realize the Potsdam agreement regarding Germany which the signatories—the United States and England—are violating. Secondly, they

have helped the people of Eastern Germany—again in accord with the Potsdam agreement—to deal radically with the fascist criminals, to bring to the fore the democratic forces of the people, to lay the basis for the German Democratic Republic. Thirdly, the policies of the Soviet Union are enabling the German Democratic Republic to live and develop as an independent state, helping it to restore and build up its economic, political and cultural life on the basis of democracy, peace, and anti-imperialism. Fourthly, these policies—in fulfillment of the major point of the Potsdam agreement for the creation of one, united, democratic and peaceful Germany—are directed to opposing the violations of the Potsdam agreement by the imperialist powers headed by Wall Street—violations which have prevented thus far the unification of Germany, have systematically built up the Nazi and fascist forces, have suppressed the democratic forces, and are turning western Germany into a colony of American imperialism and into a military base for World War III. In short, the policies of the Soviet Union are fulfilling the Potsdam agreement for the creation of a united, democratic and peaceful Germany. The imperialists are doing the exact opposite, and in order to hide this fact—which cannot be hidden—Wall Street and its agents slander the So-

viet policies as "Red imperialism."

Furthermore: in attacking "Red" or "Communist" imperialism, Wall Street and its agents, including Tito and the Titoites, are attacking *working-class internationalism*, which is most fully embodied in the Soviet Union as a union of Soviet Socialist states and nations, as well as in all its policies, domestic and foreign. Among other truths of world significance, the Great October Socialist Revolution has also demonstrated that the only correct and effective way of liberation of oppressed nations from imperialism is the way of proletarian internationalism and not bourgeois nationalism. The way of bourgeois nationalism is the way of national separatism, rivalry and hostility between the toiling masses of different nations. It is the way of subordination of the working class and its allies to the bourgeoisie. It is the way of oppressing other nations and of capitulation to, and unity with, imperialism. On the other hand, the way of proletarian internationalism is the way of the fraternal unity of the workers and peasants and all toilers of various peoples and their collaboration—voluntary collaboration—on the basis of internationalism.

This is the way—the way of proletarian internationalism — which guided the Great October Socialist Revolution in the liberation of the

oppressed peoples in the old empire of the czar. These are the principles that underlie the Soviet Union as a union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These are the principles that guide the relations of the Soviet Union with all other nations and peoples in the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

Wall Street and its agents call this "Red" and "Communist" imperialism. They do this in order to confuse and mislead the masses as to what imperialism is. They do this in order to hide the fact that American imperialism is now the most rapacious, most reactionary, most aggressive and most warlike imperialism. They do this in order to hide from the masses the truth that the Soviet Union is fighting consistently for working-class internationalism—for friendship and fraternity between nations, for peace and peaceful collaboration. And it is *this* that Wall Street fears—the internationalism and the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

IS THERE AN AMERICAN IMPERIALISM?

It is interesting that when the *New York Times* (Sept. 22, 1950) tried to give specific examples of Soviet "expansionism" in Asia, this is what it pointed to: The Mongolian People's Republic—an independent

state in every respect, which maintains relations of fraternal collaboration with the Soviet Union and is part of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. As another example of Soviet "expansionism" in Asia, the *New York Times* pointed to the non-existing Soviet "control" of Dairen and Port Arthur and of the Manchurian railways. In doing so, this mouthpiece of Wall Street has once more revealed its determination to violate and break all international agreements signed by the United States government with the Soviet Union. In this case we deal with one of the Yalta agreements, entered into by the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, by which certain rights of the Soviet Union were to be safeguarded in the two Manchurian ports and in the railways. These matters are now being regulated by the historic treaty between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. But Wall Street and its mouthpieces recognize no treaties and no agreements which stand in the way of their drive to world domination and a new world war.

In the same *Times* editorial we are told once more that there is no such thing as an American imperialism. However, it is certain that the peoples of Latin America have a different opinion. One of the most wide-

spread and popular slogans and demands of all progressive and peoples' movements in Latin America is: "*Down with Yankee imperialism!*" There is Puerto Rico—a direct colony of Wall Street. In the Philippines, the American monopolies have never been more dominant in the economic life of that unfortunate country; and, despite the appearances of "independence," American imperialism is also the political and military boss of the country, on which it is imposing through its puppets a terroristic regime of the most rapacious colonial exploitation.

But this is not all by far. MacArthur and Truman are building up Japan as a colony of American imperialism, as a base of war, as a means of aggression upon China with the aim of re-conquest, as a weapon for turning the Pacific Ocean into an American lake. McCloy and Truman are building up western Germany into a Wall Street base—a colony—economically, politically and militarily, for the conquest of Europe, for the opening of World War III to establish the *world* domination of American imperialism.

TURNING MARSHALLIZED COUNTRIES INTO DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

What about western Europe and the Marshallized countries? These

are already well on the road of becoming *dependent countries*, countries dependent upon American imperialism. Who can deny that? It is true that this whole business cost Wall Street very little. With all the "magnanimous" contributions of the Marshall Plan funds, the American government has spent from 1946 to 1949 inclusive about 25 billions of dollars to subsidize Wall Street's attempts to penetrate and conquer the economies of western Europe. This is rather a cheap price for turning western Europe on the road of *dependence* upon American imperialism. A very cheap price, considering that these billions have been squeezed out of the toil and sweat of the masses of American workers, working farmers, and middle classes.

The price begins to look even cheaper when we find that this Marshall Plan "philanthropy" is also helping Wall Street to grab more and more new economic (and political and military) positions in the *colonies* of the Marshallized west European countries. By making the west European countries dependent upon itself, American imperialism has begun to displace them in their own colonies. And this covers quite a bit of the world: in the near East, in Latin America, in Africa, and in parts of Asia. *American imperialism is taking over from the older imperialisms, in some spots directly*

and in others indirectly, through subjugating gradually the life of the older imperialist countries.

Not only is there in fact an American imperialism but a most rapacious, most aggressive, most reactionary and most warlike imperialism. This is explained mainly by the historic fact that American imperialism is making its bid for monopolistic world domination in the epoch of the general crisis of the capitalist world system. This world system is going under. The so-called colonial world is liberating itself and is acquiring the power to win and maintain its independence in united action with the growing Socialist forces of the world. Consequently, to attempt to establish imperialist world domination, as Wall Street is trying, in the present epoch means to embark upon a course of ruthless wars and utmost violence against whole peoples and nations. The end of this policy must be failure and catastrophe. *And this is precisely the reason why American imperialism is so desperate, reckless, brutal, cannibalistic, repacious, ultra-reactionary and fascist.*

Korea abroad and the McCarran monstrosity at home demonstrate this truth. In Korea, American imperialism is waging a war of destruction and extermination in an attempt to turn that country into a Wall Street colony and a base of

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military operations against the Soviet Union and China. It is becoming ever clearer that direct armed intervention is the only way in which American imperialism can finally attempt to subjugate other peoples. These other peoples are now capable not only of protesting and resisting but of waging national wars of liberation and of winning them.

At home, American imperialism, operating through Truman and his supporters, is establishing a police state and is introducing fascist methods of rule, thus preparing the ground for a fascist regime. This kind of violent reaction against the people at home flows inevitably from Wall Street's insane drive to world domination and world war. The American war criminals know full well that they must try to shackle the American people, especially the working class, to crush their most advanced fighters for peace and democracy and living standards—the Communist Party—as they prepare to risk the unfolding of a new world war.

This is the internal course of American imperialism today. It is the course of establishing a police state, of introducing step by step—and under the cover of democracy and “Americansm”—fascist methods of rule, of thus preparing the ground for the imposition of a fascist regime upon the United States. The Tru-

man Administration, supported by the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy and the phony liberals, is the instrument of American imperialism for paving the way for fascism in the United States. We saw how this worked in the case of the McCarran Bill. Truman vetoed the bill in order to maintain among the masses the illusion that he is for democracy and against fascism; but he and his Administration have done nothing to mobilize their own party in Congress to sustain the veto while they have done everything to prepare the ground for McCarran and his fascist monstrosity. Yet it is precisely this traitorous gang of reactionary trade-union bureaucrats, Right-wing Social-Democrats and Truman-“liberals” that has invented the dastardly fraud that Communism is “Red fascism,” that “Communism is the same as fascism.” And this fraud, as is well known, is now one of the main ideological instruments for the preparation of World War III.

FASCISM IS THE OPEN DICTATORSHIP OF THE MOST REACTIONARY MONOPOLIES

One need but ask this question: how did fascism originate and how did Communism originate? Who and what brought them into existence, what are the consequences of their rule, where do they lead to?

Fascism originated from capitalist

and imperialist reaction in the period of the general crisis of the capitalist world system. It came into existence as a means of crushing the revolutionary working-class movements, of destroying all forms of democracy, of preparing and bringing about a world war for establishing the world domination of the fascist powers. It came into existence as a means of enslaving the peoples of the world to the fascist imperialists, of destroying the national independence and freedom of all peoples. It originated as a desperate method and instrument of saving the rule of the monopolies and the reactionary feudal aristocracy—as a desperate gamble to save capitalism.

Fascism is promoted, subsidized and brought to power (where this took place) by the most reactionary sections of finance capital and, in some capitalist countries, in combination with the feudal aristocracy. In Germany, this was symbolized by Thyssen and Hindenburg, the former representing the most reactionary monopolies, the latter—the landholding aristocracy. In any analysis of the forces and factors promoting fascism, the role of clerical fascism, as epitomized by the reactionary Vatican, must be fully considered.

The road of fascism to power was paved by the treacheries and betrayals of the labor lieutenants of the monopolies—the Right-wing Social-

Democrats and trade-union reformists. The road of fascism to power is the road of fascization of the methods of capitalist rule, the road of capitalist and imperialist reaction, the road of the growth of a police state. This is in fact the history of the rise of fascism to power in Germany and Italy.

Fascism is the answer of the most reactionary and warmongering sections of monopoly capital to the crisis and disintegration of bourgeois democracy when the monopolies can no longer rule with the methods of bourgeois democracy. *Fascism is, therefore, the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist circles of finance capital.*

Fascist rule brought slavery and ruin. It brought to the peoples of Germany and Italy national disaster.

This is fascism and fascist rule. Does it look like Communism? Does it look like Communist rule?

Communism originated in the dreams of the best thinkers and greatest minds of humankind—in the dreams of the masses everywhere of a system of social justice, of true humanitarianism. This beautiful dream came to expression in a truly wonderful way in the works of the Utopian Socialists—the French, English, Russian, American, and among many other peoples. Then Communism made a tremendous step forward. It was transformed from a

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dream into a science. It became scientific Socialism, the Socialist theory based on the laws of social development and merged with the labor movement. This is how Communism originated — the Communism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It came as an answer to capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression.

The Socialist state was brought to power—wherever it came to power—by the masses of the people headed by the working class. This was so in Russia, in the Great October Socialist Revolution. This was so in the new People's Democracies. In the Soviet Union this fact, symbolized by the hammer and sickle, was expressed in the alliance of the workers and peasants, led by the working class, which is the substance of the proletarian dictatorship. In Germany, as already shown, the terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary monopolies which brought Hitler-fascism to power was symbolized and expressed by Thyssen, the Ruhr magnate, and Hindenburg, the Junker-militarist.

The road to working-class power was paved by revolutionary struggles for democracy, for more democracy, for the highest forms of democracy. The objective of the first stage of the revolution in Russia was the overthrow of czarism and all remnants of feudalism and semi-slavery and

national oppression; the next stage was the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

The Soviet state came to power on the basis of a united working class, leading all oppressed and exploited, headed by its Communist Party. In contrast fascism came to power in Germany and Italy because the working class was divided, split by Social-Democratism and trade-union reformism, with the petty-bourgeois masses demoralized and confused and debauched, with the most reactionary monopolies backing and directing the whole change.

Communism in power—in the Soviet Union—organized and led the victorious building and construction of a Socialist system of society. It created the conditions for the initiation of a gradual advance to Communism, the highest stage of Socialism, which realizes the great principle: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.

Communism in power *saved humanity from fascist slavery*. The Soviet Union was the leading and decisive force in defeating the fascist Axis in World War II. We emphasize: *it was Communism that was decisive in defeating the fascist conspiracy to enslave the world*. This decisive power was led by Stalin; it was inspired and led to victory by

Stalinism—the embodiment of everything that Marxism-Leninism stands for in the present epoch and of the genius of Stalin's leadership.

Communism in power brought glory and greatness to its peoples. It brought to the countries led by it the ardent love and profound respect of the whole of progressive mankind. It placed the mighty first Socialist state—the Soviet Union—in the position of leadership of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

In brief: Communism brings liberation from class and national oppression and promotes the freedom, well-being and happiness of all peoples. It stands for peace and equality of nations. Fascism brings slavery to the exploited classes and oppressed nations, promotes the terroristic rule of the monopolies, impoverishes further the masses of the people, develops to the utmost the chauvinist-imperialist ideologies of the "master race." It brings war, national disaster and inevitable defeat.

Communism is working-class internationalism. It is embodied in the system and policies of the Soviet Union and of the new people's democracies. Fascism is the most extreme expression of reactionary bourgeois nationalism. This also takes the form of Wall Street cosmopolitanism which declares all ideas of national independence and freedom

as obsolete and even reactionary because these ideas, and the struggles inspired by them, stand in the way of the drive of American imperialism for world domination.

Finally, from where does the present process of fascization in the United States originate? From where does the fascist danger come at the present time? Certainly, there can be no question about the fact that there is a process of fascization taking place in this country, presenting the people of the United States with the growing danger of the victory of fascism, and promoting step by step the establishment of a police state. What other meaning is there to Taft-Hartleyism, to the "loyalty" oaths, to the inquisitions of the un-American committee, to the deportation hysteria, to the persecution and conviction of the Communist leaders and the drive to outlaw the Communist Party? What other meaning is there to the Mundt-Nixon-McCarran monstrosities, to the attempts to terrorize and outlaw the advocacy of peace and democracy?

This is the danger of fascism. And it comes from the camp of imperialist reaction, from Wall Street, from the imperialists and warmongers. The process of fascization is carried through for the monopolies by the Truman Administration, by Wall Street's two political parties. And the Communist Party is the main

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target of this pro-fascist drive which seeks to destroy all civil liberties, to crush all progressive thought and movements, to enslave the American working class and the whole American people. These same pro-fascist and fascist Wall Street monopolies are building up fascist elements and forces in all other capitalist countries. They are doing so with Franco-Spain, with Greece. They are following a similar line with France and Italy, especially concentrating on building up the fascists and Nazis in western Germany, as well as the fascist forces in Japan. All of these fascist activities are directed to the preparation of a new world war.

Now, if Communism is "Red fascism" and if "Communism is the same as fascism," why do capitalist reaction and fascism make the Communists their first and main target? Why does Wall Street, the chief source of pro-fascist reaction and fascism, plot a world war to destroy Communism? And why does Communism consider Wall Street and the monopolies the main enemy of the people? Why does Communism, if it is "the same" as fascism, make it one of its main tasks at the present time to rally the masses against the fascist danger and fascism? If Communism is "Red fascism," why does Communism make its main fight for peace in the world today, for the prevention of a new world war, whereas the reactionaries, the

pro-fascists and the fascists are all hell-bent on precipitating a new world war and precisely against the Soviet Union?

Consider the main lines of policy of the two camps into which the world is now divided. The camp of imperialism, reaction, war and fascism, led by American imperialism, advocating the inevitability of a new world war, is driving to a new world war and to fascism. The camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, led by the Soviet Union, believing in the peaceful co-existence and competition of the two systems, fights to prevent a new world war, to defend and expand democracy, to liberate the oppressed nations and peoples. The first camp is dominated by pro-fascist reaction and fascism. In the second camp the Communists are in the forefront of struggle and leadership. How then can Communism and fascism be "the same"? They cannot and they are not. And the inventors and propagators of this "Communism is the same as fascism" fraud know themselves that they are spreading a dastardly and criminal lie. Why are they doing it?

**ANTI-COMMUNIST LIES
SERVE TO CAMOUFLAGE
BETRAYAL OF LABOR
BUREAUCRATS**

Let us state once more that this fraud originated with the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats, phony

liberals, and Right-wing Social-Democrats. In this fact alone there is considerable significance. This group of capitulators to imperialist and pro-fascist reaction, the reaction which paves the way for fascism and prepares a new world war, had to have this fraud to justify before the masses its support of the pro-fascist attacks upon the Communists and the Communist Party. These capitulators had to have this fraud to justify their betrayal of the Bill of Rights and of the revolutionary and democratic traditions of the American people and of the working class. They had to have this fraud to justify their treacherous policy of throwing the Communists and the Lefts in general to the wolves of pro-fascist reaction in the vain hope of saving their own skins—a vain hope because a triumphant pro-fascist reaction in the United States will spare the capitulators just as little as their prototypes were spared by the Nazis in Germany. This has been amply demonstrated even though only in its beginnings, in the Taft-Hartley Act, in the inquisitions of the un-American committee, in the outbreak of McCarthyism, in the general witch-hunt of the Red-baiters, but especially in the monstrosities of the McCarran-Kilgore Act.

The most dangerous aspect of this fraud is its use to justify and sup-

port Truman's reactionary political course on the phony ground that it is directed "only against Communists." This is what Truman himself is saying. This is what the Greens, Murrays, Dubinskys, Reuthers, Careys, etc., are trying to sell to the workers and to the people generally. But has not life itself demonstrated that the Truman line of destroying the democratic rights of "Communists only" gives birth to, and strengthens McCarthyism, Mundt-Nixonism, McCarranism? Has not experience shown that the Truman method of destroying the Bill of Rights "step by step," under the vicious pretense of "for Communists only," is stimulating and promoting the McCarran fascist monstrosities, paving the way for fascism, and building "step by step" a police state for the *whole* of the American people, for *all* progressive forces, and not only for Communists? It is precisely the *special* role assigned by Wall Street to the Truman Administration and its labor lieutenants and phony liberals to pave the way for fascism in the United States and prepare World War III *under the guise of defending peace and democracy*. It is in this special role, not in the class essence or main objectives, that the Truman outfit differs from the more open band of reactionaries and pro-fascists: Hearst, McCarran, McCormick, Dewey, Dulles, Taft,

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Wherry, etc. It is for the special purpose of deceiving the masses of the American people that the "Communism is the same as fascism" fraud is perpetrated. Its intention is to hide the fact that the Truman Administration itself is paving the way for fascism.

It is for the above reasons that the exposure of this fraud assumes first rate political importance. It is a major task calling for mass political education. It is inseparable from the crucial task of developing united-front struggles from below for peace, for civil liberties, for living standards, for equal rights. The broad masses will learn to recognize Truman's special role of deceiving the people *in the course of struggle for their daily needs and precisely for those of their needs that the Truman Administration pretends to favor.* By means of united-front daily struggles the masses must be helped to discover, in their own experience with the Truman demagogic promises and professions, that the Truman Administration and its labor lieutenants are working for Wall Street, although in a "special," demagogic way, in deceiving the masses.

In these daily struggles we must project insistently the need of defending the civil rights of the Communists and of the Communist Party. We must make the fullest use of the experiences of the American

masses with the Taft-Hartley law, the McCarran Act, etc., to demonstrate that to try to defend civil liberties in general "except for the Communists" is not only to try the impossible but to help reaction and pro-fascism instead of combatting it. In a similar way we must make the fullest use of the experiences of the masses to demonstrate that to fight effectively for peace and democracy it is necessary to combat systematically the imperialist slanders and war-incitements against the Soviet Union. In the course of the daily united-front struggles of the masses, it is imperative to expose fully the fraud that the Soviet Union represents a "Communist imperialism" or that "Communism and fascism are the same." *To expose and combat these frauds is to dissipate the smoke-screen behind which Wall Street is driving to fascism and World War III.*

TO POPULARIZE AND DEFEND
THE PEACE POLICIES OF THE
SOVIET UNION IS TO DEFEND
PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND
WORKING-CLASS
INTERNATIONALISM

It is absolutely essential that the consistent fighters for peace and democracy in the United States always pursue the ideological and political offensive on the major issue

of popularizing and defending the peace policies and the leading role of the Soviet Union. The reason for this is that it has become impossible to wage a consistent, a vanguard fight for peace and democracy in the present world situation without a consistent fight for the defense of the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

From the standpoint of proletarian internationalism it has always been true that only those are real working-class internationalists who always defend the land of Socialism, peace, and freedom, the Soviet Union, honestly and unswervingly. The Soviet Union is the embodiment and leader of the forces of proletarian internationalism. By waging a consistent ideological and political struggle in defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialist slanders and war incitements, we are spreading the ideals and building the forces of working-class internationalism—the vanguard fighters for peace, democracy and Socialism.

In waging this struggle, we must take full account of the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, is the leading Communist Party of the world. It is the Party that organized and led the Great October Socialist Revolution. It organized and led the construction of Socialism—the triumph of Socialism—in the Soviet Union. It led and or-

ganized the struggle which defeated the fascist Axis in World War II. It is now leading the world struggle to prevent World War III, to halt imperialist aggression, to combat fascism, to defend peace and democracy. It is leading the fight of the proletarian internationalists in support of the struggles for national liberation. It is leading the fight for Socialism.

By the magnitude of its achievements for the liberation of the masses and the progress of humanity, for which there is no comparison in the whole of man's history, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has become the leading and model party of Communism. It has become the greatest Marxist-Leninist authority, the source of the most profound theoretical and practical wisdom for all who fight for the good of the masses, for the progress of humanity. It has become the greatest, the most powerful, helper in the struggle for peace and democracy, in the fight for national freedom and independence, in the struggle to build Socialism. To recognize the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to act upon this recognition is to impart tremendous strength and confidence to the entire struggle of the present epoch—the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

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to recognize the leading role of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party in the fight for peace, democracy and Socialism is to be a "foreign agent," a "Soviet agent," an "enemy" of the United States. This is imperialist slander and war-incitement. *And the only effective way to meet it is the ideological and political offensive in defense of the Soviet Union as the leader of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.* Communists and other vanguard fighters will carry on this line of defense of the Socialist policy of the Soviet Union as a defense of the principles and leadership of working-class internationalism, based on the recognition of the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It is precisely to undermine and demoralize the fight for peace and democracy that Wall Street and its agents are making full use of Browder, the Titoites, the Trotzkyites, to create doubts, distrust, suspicions, and opposition to the leading role of the Soviet Union in the camp of peace and democracy. And these are only first steps on the path of getting the confused and demoralized elements into the camp of imperialism, war and fascism. Hence, it is of great importance to expose these machinations of the Titoites and Trotzkyites for what they are: wrecking activities for the Wall Street im-

perialists, warmakers and fascists.

To support and defend the peace policy of the Soviet Union is to make the masses of the American people realize that the very existence of this powerful Socialist land is a source of strength to the American working class and its allies in the fight against monopoly capitalist exploitation. It is to make the American workers and all working people understand that the triumph of Socialism in the Soviet Union has created an inexhaustible treasure of experience for the revolutionary struggle to abolish exploitation, to abolish capitalism, to build a just social system, to establish true democracy. It is to remind the American masses that the Soviet Union, our great ally in World War II, was decisive in winning the victory and that this was so because the Soviet Union is a Socialist state and is led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin. It is necessary finally, to demonstrate daily the major truth of our time that the path of peace, democracy, economic security and general well-being for the American people is the path of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union. The other path, the one followed by Wall Street and its agents, is the path of war, crises and national disaster. To prove these truths to the American people, to the workers, first of all, means to defend the best national

interests of the American people. This only proves once more that the *popularizing and defense of the leading role of the Soviet Union in the fight for peace is an organic part of the defense of the national interests of the American people.*

In celebrating the thirty-third anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we recognize once more the tremendous achievements of Stalin's leadership in all fields. His genius has been decisive for the victories and achievements of the Soviet Union and of the entire camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. He is the Lenin of our time.

To learn from Stalin, from his teachings and leadership — from Stalinism—is to learn how to fight for the interests of the working class and all exploited, *and how to win.* It is to learn how to build and lead the vanguard party of the working class—the Communist Party—without which the working class cannot achieve its liberation. It is to learn how to organize and lead the masses, how to learn from the masses, how to discover the best tactics and policies for the promotion of the strategic aims of the movement — the struggle for Socialism, for the final triumph of Communism.

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Strengthen the Party Among the Basic Industrial Workers*

By Henry Winston

WALL STREET's aggression in Korea mirrors the world policy of United States imperialism. This policy threatens the whole of mankind with an imperialist world war to destroy the peoples' movements for national and colonial liberation; their strivings for democracy and peace in all countries; and their historic achievements in the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies.

In pursuit of these criminal objectives, the ruling circles of our country have undertaken at the same time to destroy democracy at home and saddle our class and people with a fascist regime. The danger that they will succeed is real and menacing. The task of our Party flows from this central fact. This situation makes it urgently necessary that the knowledge and the energies of our Party be concentrated and directed to the end of winning the working class and its allies in united-front struggles to defeat this policy and thus write

one of the most glorious chapters in the history of our country in the fight for democracy and peace. This is the task placed upon our Party by history.

The fulfillment of this task requires that we build and strengthen our Party ideologically, politically and organizationally as the vanguard Party of the American working class. The building and strengthening of the Communist Party involves questions of inner life. But these questions must be approached so as to help solve the problems of struggle for the united front of millions of American workers and toiling farmers, Negro and white, in the fight for democracy and peace against fascism and a third world war. The magnificent report of Gus Hall and the sub-reports of John Williamson and Ben Davis formulated in a concrete way the main political tasks before us. It is our responsibility to make this program the property of the millions. Our ability to do this will depend upon how quickly we are

* Report (abridged text) to the Plenary Session of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held on September 19, 20, 1950.—Editor.

able to improve and readjust the functioning of our Party under the new conditions of class struggle.

The struggle for clarity and united action in the shops and communities, involving masses with varying political and religious convictions, to stem the drive toward fascism and war will not arise spontaneously, but will depend upon the fulfillment of the vanguard role of our Party. That is why reaction seeks not only to weaken and isolate our Party but to destroy it, to make it impossible for the Party to function, to incapacitate it, imprison and in many cases annihilate its cadres. It wants to disperse and rout the membership and its sympathizers and force them to surrender to reaction and give up their Communist convictions. Need it be said that the enemy will not succeed?

McCARRAN LAW AIMED AT ALL LABOR

The most immediate danger which gives a license to fascism in the United States is the McCarran-Kilgore Bill. This bill, in addition to its registration features, provides, among other things, for a dragnet roundup and jailing, "in emergency," of those who fight and defend the rights of labor and the Negro people, as well as those who oppose any and all aspects of the war program; for the tightening of immigration

laws in such a way as to permit fascist elements into the country but to exclude Communists and other democratic forces; and for the prohibition of picketing of Federal courts. In the name of "anti-Communism," the bill strikes at the very heart of democracy in general and the working class in particular. For example, this bill establishes by law that Communists cannot be employed by the government and that no Communist can work in a defense plant. Thus, by government edict the basic industrial workers in steel, auto, electrical, mining, aircraft, packing, chemical, as well as in railroads and public utilities, cannot be members of the Communist Party. What does this mean? It means:

1) That the ruling circles of our country, in the guise of anti-Communism, are exerting the full force of state power in an all-out drive to weaken and undermine the fight for wage increases, pensions, upgrading for Negro workers; to smash the fight against speed-up and ultimately to re-establish the open shop and destroy free trade unionism.

2) That the ruling circles of our country are striving to sap the militancy of the labor movement, not only on economic questions, but to prevent the emergence of united-front actions in the fight for peace and civil rights and to block the development away from the two-

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party system of capitalism into independent working-class political action.

3) That the ruling circles of our country will use labor reformists, Social-Democrats and Negro reformists up to the point when the monopolists feel that this brutal policy has been carried out, following which they will either incorporate such leaders as an organic part of the machine which oppresses the workers, or expel them from the labor movement altogether.

4) That the ruling circles of our country strive to discredit the Communist Party and isolate it from the mass of workers in industry in order by legislative fiat to deny the leadership of its vanguard to the working class—in the fight for its immediate interests and its historical objective of Socialism. As can be seen, this bill, which would outlaw our Party in industry, is aimed fundamentally at the labor movement as a whole. The fight for the repeal of the McCarran-Kilgore Bill, while involving the rights of Communists, is at the same time a fight to maintain, strengthen, and extend the trade-union movement in our country.

The action of the U.E. Convention in adopting a resolution for the repeal of this bill will find similar expressions in all unions throughout the country. The U.E. resolution asserted that the defense of the rights of the Communists was a precondition

for the defense of the rights of the labor movement as a whole. The leaders of the electrical workers recognized that the attack upon our Party is but an excuse for an all-out pro-fascist drive. This action is symbolic of sentiments that exist in all A. F. of L., C.I.O. and independent unions and must be given organized expression. The fact is that the entire trade-union movement is on record against the passage of this bill. But the boldness of reaction in pushing ahead is partly due to the fact that opposition has consisted primarily of formal resolutions and unilateral action on the part of unions and other mass organizations. And who shall say that reaction is not emboldened in pushing its McCarran police-state legislation by the Red-baiting, expulsion, and union-splitting policy of long duration on the part of the reactionary trade-union chieftains? The new stage of this struggle requires the development of militant, united-front action on a local and national scale, of a many-sided character to wipe this fascist legislation from the statute books. Our Party must help the workers in industry to find that form of unity in which they can give united expressions for the defeat of this measure. Our Party must help to organize a crusade among the masses in the fight to preserve democratic liberties by organizing mass meetings, shop meetings, street meet-

ings, forums, debates, radio broadcasts, visiting of organizations, letters and telegrams to Congressmen, delegations to city councils and state legislatures, memorializing them against this bill. In addition, mass petitions, round-robins, picket lines and other forms of action should be organized in shops to alert the working class and the people generally to the fascist danger threatening our country. Every public leader must be made to state where he or she stands on this issue. The leadership of our Party to the masses was never more crucial than at this moment.

PROMOTES PRO-FASCIST REACTION

Many comrades have asked: would the enactment of the McCarran Bill mean that we have a fascist regime in the United States? The answer, of course, is no. By fascism we mean "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." But it must be clear that the passage of this bill gives pro-fascist reaction full license and thus brings the danger of a fascist dictatorship much closer in our country.

The aim of this bill is to outlaw our Party and to isolate it from the masses. Our aim is to maintain the legality of our Party and strengthen out ties with the masses. The goal

of the enemy is fascism and war; ours is peace and democracy. Many obstacles and difficulties confront us in our work today, but in spite of the difficulties, the enemy will fail; we will succeed. We will succeed because we have confidence in our class, in our Party and in the ability of the masses to respond to the correct program of struggle.

Of course, confidence based on Marxist-Leninist understanding of the relation of class forces is very different from lack of vigilance based on wishful thinking. We cannot afford to have any illusions about the new conditions under which we are obliged to work. The monopolists and their government have carried the process of outlawing our Party to an advanced stage—and their aim is to outlaw all Communist ideas, political activity and mass work. Naturally, this obliges us to take new measures to safeguard the integrity of our Party and guarantee its functioning in the face of new difficulties. We have to be alert to all sorts of tricks, through which pro-fascist reaction attempts to penetrate our ranks and undermine our Party by sending into it spies, agents provocateurs, and traitors to the working class. We should be truly guilty of the gravest crime if we were to let ourselves be caught unawares by the advent of fascism, and thus permitted the enemy to destroy our Party or even to cripple it seriously.

But, on the other hand, we know that every attack on the Communist Party is an attack on the labor movement, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, the economic welfare and civil liberty of the whole American people. Because this is so, the working class and its allies will fight with us to defend the legal existence of the Communist Party, and we have already seen that when we fight boldly and correctly for our constitutional rights we need not fight alone. A few recent examples show that the democratic spirit still burns bright in the American people, and that as the fascist danger sharpens they become increasingly aware that it threatens non-Communist and Communist alike.

Take, for example, what has developed around the local bills enacted in various cities to outlaw our Party. A little Mundt-Nixon registration bill was passed in Los Angeles. Not a single Communist, anti-fascist, or progressive worker registered. All that the police measured was two crackpots throughout the county. The Party did not go underground, but maintained its offices and courageously and steadfastly continued to defend the vital interests of the workers. The Party is waging a valiant fight against these bills and is meeting with the warmest response among all sections of the population. Instead of a decline in activities of Communist Party

members, there has been a rapid increase in the number of comrades participating in these struggles and a consequent expansion of the Party's mass work. The membership is rallying as never before. Our comrades are on the streets with leaflets, selling the *People's World*, knocking on doors of mass organizations, speaking before unions. The Party is succeeding in creating the widest unity of action in opposition to this measure. Similar bills directed against our Party were passed in Birmingham, Jacksonville, McKeesport, Cumberland, and other localities. In each case, our Party is organizing mass opposition to these bills and challenging them in the courts as a violation of constitutional liberties.* In Western Pennsylvania, Steve Nelson, Andy Onda, and Jim Dolsen were jailed under a hoary "criminal syndicalist" law. This may become the pattern for other states. New deportation arrests are taking place and in many cities difficulties are created to prevent our Party from communicating with wide masses of workers by withholding permits for street meetings, banning the *Daily Worker* from newsstands, refusing radio time, denying space in newspapers for advertisements, and refusing to rent meeting halls and office space to the Communist Party. The General

* Since the delivery of this Report, the popular resentment has resulted in Federal Court reversals of the fascist ordinances in Los Angeles, Birmingham, and Jacksonville.—Editor.

Secretary of our Party, Comrade Eugene Dennis, remains in jail, while the convicted crooks, Congressmen May and Thomas, are set free, just as their Nazi counterparts are set free in Western Germany. The National Committee members of our Party are denied the right to travel. These vindictive and desperate measures by the enemy indicate, not their strength, but rather their weakness, their dread of our potential strength among the masses who are more and more questioning the whole criminal policy of the bipartisans. It is within this framework that we must take note of the courage and heroism of our members who are battling on every front of struggle to defend the cause of the working class and the liberties of our people, who are raising high the banner of our Party.

IMPLEMENT CONCENTRATION POLICY IN BASIC INDUSTRIES

However, we must undertake to strengthen our Party so that we may multiply a hundredfold our mass work to the end of involving the masses in resolute, united-front struggle for democracy and peace. This means, above all, that our Party is undertaking an ideological struggle within its ranks against any conceptions that overestimate the power of the imperialist rulers or underestimate the actual and potential strength

of the working class and our Party. Tendencies in this direction could lead to fatalism and an abandonment of struggle; without resolute struggle against such Right-opportunist conceptions, the Party will not be able to play its vanguard role among the masses.

These tendencies manifest themselves in many different ways. But they all come down to this: an underestimation of the necessary and indispensable leading role of the working class in the unfolding struggles of the people. Either the organized sections of the working class are decisive, or they are not. If, as we know, they are decisive—then nothing can excuse neglect of our work in the basic industries, or failure to implement our industrial concentration policy. We are fighting for peace, and to defend the Bill of Rights, for the rights of the Negro people, and for the economic welfare of the masses. How can we carry on the struggle to win the workers for united action "in general," if we do not try to win them for united action around the concrete issues that confront them every day in the shops? It is in the shops, at the point of production, that the class struggle originates and rages unceasingly every hour of every day. That is where the workers create surplus value, and are robbed by the employers of what they create. That is where the workers experience man-

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killing speed-up, and the brutal oppression of the capitalist system. That is where the Negro workers and the women workers taste the bitterness of their double exploitation. It is at the point of production that the working class comes into direct conflict with the ruling class, and in practice discovers that the interests of these two classes are in fact irreconcilable. Hence, it is in the shops that the decisive forces in the camp of peace and democracy daily come up against the monopolists who head the camp of fascism and war. This is the basic front of the class struggle—a front from which we dare not be diverted and to which we must direct our major efforts on pain of suffering a major defeat.

It should not surprise us that work among the basic industrial workers is today the most difficult work we have to do. On the contrary, the very fact that this is the decisive front explains why it is precisely here that Wall Street carries out its own "concentration policy," and makes maximum use both of repression and extreme demagogy. If we Communists want to influence the course of events in American political life, we must breathe new life into our shop clubs and convert them into effective organizers of the broadest united action in the shops.

Around what issues can such actions be organized? Some comrades, in answering that question, have a

tendency to confuse the role of a Communist shop club with that of a trade-union local or shop unit. For example, some take note of the fact that today the workers are concerned primarily with economic questions. From this, they incorrectly conclude that the fight for peace is not to be raised in the shops. But such a conclusion would mean leaving the working class at the mercy of the labor fakers who hand out the demagogy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. It would mean letting the struggle to prevent a third world war go by default, without even trying to mobilize the masses of workers against the war preparations.

THE WAIT FOR BETTER TIMES PRETEXT

In one case, the theory was advanced that it was "necessary" to endorse American intervention in Korea in order to "save our trade union." But in reality this false conception led to the adoption of a policy which not only endorsed an unjust imperialist war waged against the interests of workers everywhere and against a people fighting for liberation, but must lead to the undermining of all free trade unions in our country.

In some quarters there is a tendency to duck the fight for peace on the theory that we should wait for "better times." But the imperialists

are not preparing for better times—they are preparing for a criminal atomic world war. There is no "better time" to fight for peace than when war threatens. All too many are those who advocate peace when there are no war clouds on the horizon. But they are sunshine patriots who would abandon the defense of peace when it is in peril. The test of the sincere advocate of peace is his readiness to *fight* for peace precisely when peace is endangered.

Still another poor excuse for giving up the fight for peace among the workers in industry adopts the opportunistic theory that all struggle, including economic struggle, must be put aside in wartime. This idea, the hall-mark of Social-Democracy, is, of course, extremely useful to the big employers, who go right ahead intensifying their exploitation of the working class while demanding an end to all protest against their war profiteering. It is peddled by the labor reformists, whose bourgeois nationalism and social-chauvinism thus lead them to betray the immediate economic interests of the American workers, as well as the cause of working-class internationalism. It is interesting in this connection to note that the very trade unionists, including, it must be noted with shame, some Left-progressives, who tend to shy away from the fight for peace were also slow to see what was new in the developments on the economic

front in the labor movement. Trailing behind the masses of workers, they missed the bus when the fight for wage increases first emerged as the dominant labor issue, replacing the question of pensions as the issue uppermost in the minds of the masses. In so far as it involves Communist cadres, such slowness in sensing what is stirring in the shops blunts the vanguard role of the Communist Party.

The most flagrant manifestation of a Right-opportunist tendency is the failure to champion and explain the peace policy of the Soviet Union. We have unprecedented opportunities to explain *concretely* why the Socialist state, the Soviet Union, by its very nature, is the most consistent, the unflinching champion of world peace. We should bring into the shops the debate about "why doesn't the Soviet Union fight" which is raging in the capitalist press. We should utilize and popularize all available material and data—including those occasionally furnished in the bourgeois press by honest observers—dealing with the vast peacetime construction projects under way in the Soviet Union's transition to Communism, the rising living standards and cultural advance of the Soviet people, and the tremendous popular concern with world peace. We should be responsive to the American workers' anger against war-profiteering, and help them understand that

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where there are no war profiteers and no basis for war profiteers, there is no desire for war, no policy for war and conquest. Certainly every Communist must, by grasp of theory and pursuit of practice, further the conviction among all who struggle for peace today, that there can be no effective, resolute fight for peace without recognition and support of the leading role of the Soviet Union in that fight.

OPPORTUNISM ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

The Right-opportunist tendency expresses itself most sharply on the Negro question. The central weakness is the failure to wage the fight against white chauvinism by organizing white workers against discriminatory Jim-Crow practices. Basic to this weakness is the insufficient understanding of the relationship of the fight against white chauvinism to the fight against the reactionary ideological pressures of the imperialist bourgeoisie in all other areas. As Leninists, we must be the ones to help all workers to understand that there can be no such separation into compartments, namely, the struggle against white chauvinism as something separate and apart from the struggle against Right-opportunist capitulation to the exploiters, the warmakers, the fascists. The fight is one common

fight. This recognition is vital to the promotion of the labor-Negro alliance. And this recognition starts from the shops. Hence, our Party's industrial concentration policy can be truly that when it proceeds from that recognition. However, it must be said in self-criticism that this understanding is not yet present in all areas of our concentration activity, which accounts for the deficiencies in the fight against lily-white shops, discriminatory firings of Negro workers from many industries, and the failure to enlist the white workers in the fight for upgrading of Negro workers. These weaknesses are interconnected with weaknesses in regard to struggle around the general political question of Jim-Crow in the armed forces, the poll-tax, lynchings, police brutality, and discrimination in housing, education, travel, etc.

While emphasizing the struggle against every expression of Right-opportunism, we must recognize at the same time the need for an ideological and practical struggle against all manifestations of "Left"-sectarianism. Leftist-sectarianism also in effect overestimates the power of the monopolists and underestimates the possibility of moving masses in struggle for economic security, democracy and peace. This tendency is expressed in different forms. Flowing from the premise that masses cannot be involved today in united-front struggle, the conception is advanced,

and the conclusion drawn, that when things get better maybe the workers will find out that our Party has been in the right all along. This line of thinking expresses itself in the practical work of many comrades. Wherever such conceptions are present, you will find the fight for the united front absent. Thus, a situation arises where some comrades content themselves with merely proclaiming the principles of Marxism-Leninism without a resolute, day-to-day struggle to win the masses on the basis of united-front actions for peace, economic security, and civil rights, on the basis of a minimum program around which the masses are ready to act now. To put it crudely, this tendency states, "Either with us on our full program or no united front on any program at all." This type of thinking does not help to strengthen the Party's ties with the masses; it does not help to involve masses in struggle against fascism and war. On the contrary, it gives the reactionary forces in our country full sway without opposition. Thus, a situation arises where forms of action, resolutions and slogans are put forward on which masses of workers are not prepared to act. The vanguard alone cannot win the fight against war and fascism. The fight can be won only with the working class, with the working class in the lead of the popular coalition. "Left"-sectarianism is

a cover which shields Right-opportunism. The two-front fight against Right-opportunism and against "Left"-sectarianism is the line of struggle to engage the masses in the democratic, anti-fascist, and anti-war struggle.

STRENGTHEN THE SHOP CLUBS

If in the past we sought to turn the face of the entire Party toward the shops, that need is even greater today. The most important task in this respect is the building and strengthening of the shop clubs having daily organized contact with the masses of workers in industry. It is through the club that the solution is to be found to the problems of the united-front action of the workers on a department, shop and plant level. It is here that masses of varying levels of understanding must be engaged in united action around the central issues. But the shop clubs must solve this problem at a time when the fight for the legal existence of our Party presents itself as a major question. While the new situation places tremendous difficulties before us, nevertheless the shop clubs are functioning among the workers, who have not been won for the whole policy, domestic and foreign, of the Administration. Nor have they been swept off their feet by anti-Communist hysteria. These

are favorable factors for us. But it is true that as a result of an unprecedented offensive against us through the capitalist-controlled press, radio, film, pulpit, and school system, as well as through the trade-union movement under reactionary domination, the class enemy has succeeded in demobilizing the struggles of the workers, prevented the achievement of united labor action on a class-struggle basis, and disoriented the understanding of large numbers of workers as regards the role and functioning of our Party. To some extent this poisonous influence has seeped into the ranks of the workers, creating confusion in some quarters. But in spite of this, the desire of the workers for peace is unmistakable. It is manifesting itself in a growing demand for peace, expressed concretely in the support given to the idea of U.S.-Soviet collaboration, the admission of China into the United Nations, and the question of withdrawal of American troops from Korea. It is also expressed in labor's almost unanimous opposition to the McCarran-Kilgore Bill. In addition, the demand for wage increases is growing in industry after industry, in spite of the mounting terrorization. And if the workers have not been swept off their feet by anti-Communist hysteria, it is due in no small part to the past and present work of our Party in defending the interests of the workers. It is clear

that if we strengthen the role of our Party and of our Party shop clubs, in every respect, the workers' resistance is bound to grow and we shall help resolve the contradictions between the rank and file's needs and desires and the slowness in developing united-front action in defense of their interests. This is the decisive task that the shop clubs have to solve in this period, and that is why it is so important to wage a resolute struggle against all tendencies which make it difficult for the Party to realize this task. Our shop clubs cannot work in the old way. The form of our Party organization has to be readjusted in order to defend the interests of the workers.

In this respect, I believe that we have been moving all too slowly in solving a number of these problems. Further, we cannot be satisfied with a situation where the number of shop clubs is practically the same now as it was a year ago, and where there does not exist a political and organizational fight to extend them on a department and shop level. This is connected with the low rate of recruiting which has characterized our work over the past period. The primary task we are confronted with today is to strengthen existing shop clubs, build new ones and bring the most advanced sections of the workers into the ranks of our Party. Another weakness is practically the absence of shop papers which can play

a tremendous role among the workers in answering the day-to-day problems posed by the workers in the shops. The slowness with which we undertake to organize and give assistance to shop clubs in the issuance of shop papers is in reality an underestimation of the ideological and political role that our shop clubs can play. Further, the decline in the circulation of our press, the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, as well as of our literature generally, indicates the need for practical measures to change this situation. Only to the degree that we help the shop clubs solve this particular problem can we say that we are organizing the political mass fight to answer effectively the questions in the minds of the workers and show them the path along which they can achieve the unity necessary to defend their class interests. This means that the work of leadership today must be judged on the basis of how it is orienting the Party as a whole and the shop clubs in particular by:

1) helping to solve the ideological and political tasks faced by the clubs through strengthening their political education; 2) helping the clubs to develop the fight for the united front of workers on every level in a given shop and solving the political problems that arise in the process of achieving unity among the workers; 3) helping the clubs to find the organizational forms most conducive

to strengthening the Party's mass work and enabling them under the new conditions to guarantee continued leadership to the workers in industry; 4) helping the clubs to solve the problem of leadership, which should include not only the selection of people for the clubs but also their training for more effective leadership of mass work; and 5) helping the clubs to solve the problem of editing and issuing shop papers, as well as increasing the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. These are among the most important tasks that we can undertake at the present moment in our fight to win the working class to meet the raging offensive of reaction.

Let me in this connection re-state in part what we set forth at the Party's 14th National Convention as regards the tasks and the methods of work of our shop clubs:

If these clubs are to be able to play their rightful role, the entire level of our theoretical and political work has to be raised. If these clubs are to reflect in the shops and industries the vanguard role of the Party, we must assist them to become the policy-making bodies within the shops and industries, firmly grounded in the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. It is only in the struggle to realize such an objective that the clubs and individual members will be able to play the leading role in the development of the united front on a

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departmental, shop and industry level. Through such methods these clubs will be able to work with, and give leadership to, broad sections of the workers in the struggle for the defense of their economic needs and to spur the workers to independent political action and class consciousness. More and more workers will thus come to realize the class nature and role of the state, the crisis in the two-party system, the harmful role of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade-union bureaucrats, the need for becoming fully involved in the development of the progressive movement, etc.

EXPOSURE OF IMPERIALIST DEMAGOGY IS CRUCIAL TASK

A crucial aspect of the struggle to win the masses for united-front actions is to expose in every way the demagogy of the imperialist rulers and their labor lieutenants. The ruling class resorts to the most cunning propaganda as it drives toward fascism and World War III. The slogans of the world democratic camp in World War II have been taken over and are now being used by the bipartisans as their own, as a cloak under which they prepare for a war of a different character, a reactionary, imperialist war. The masses of the people are being told that they are engaged in the same struggle as before, except that now the enemy is the Soviet Union. The ruling class takes advantage of the healthy, democratic aspirations of

the masses and attempts to turn these against the Soviet Union, against our most dependable war-time ally, the country which carried the brunt of the anti-Hitler struggle and helped save humanity from the scourge of fascist barbarism. Thus, imperialist war preparations in general, Wall Street's armed aggression in Korea and threats of aggression in other parts of the world are dished up in the name of defending peace, democracy, and the small nations against "totalitarianism," against Soviet "imperialism." Aware of the growing anti-fascist, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist moods among the masses, the monopolists and their statesmen in effect deny the existence of capitalism in the United States. They do not come before the masses as defenders of fascism, of capitalism, of imperialism. They even deny the imperialist character of U.S. capitalism. They speak of the state system of the United States as being that of a "welfare state," "free enterprise" system, and "democracy." And Philip Murray rushes to meet his imperialist masters with obedient denial of the existence of the class struggle, or even of classes, in the United States!

Such is the nature of the propaganda given to the masses daily through publications of the Un-American Committee, newspapers and magazines, radio and television, bourgeois politicians, liberals, Social-

Democrats, and labor-reformists. Only our Party, with its Marxist-Leninist science, is capable of proving to the masses that the big monopolies are moving along the path of fascism and war and that the working class and its allies cannot defend the liberties of our people except through the united action of Communists and non-Communists.

We must reach the masses, even though bourgeois channels of communication are closed to us, by undertaking in a most thorough and systematic way the building of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, as mass organs to be read by additional tens of thousands of workers. We must issue and distribute popular mass literature which undertakes to answer in a simple way the questions in the minds of the masses. We must turn with greater zeal to the issuance of mass leaflets and of shop papers.

In addition, our Party must undertake to organize in all communities, forums, mass meetings and street meetings to counteract the vicious propaganda of the imperialist camp. The masses seek an alternative to war and fascism. It is our Party that can provide those alternatives, establish clarity within the ranks of the masses and organize them in united-front actions to defend their gains and liberties. It is clear that clarity cannot come by itself. It will require the most pains-

taking ideological, political, and organizational work involving every single member of our Party. Basic in this connection is the need to explain, popularize, and defend the peace policy of the Soviet Union. It is incumbent upon every Communist, every militant worker, every anti-fascist, to oppose the bipartisan policy of hostility toward the Soviet Union and its isolation from the world family of nations with an aggressive campaign for U.S.-Soviet collaboration for peace. The peace of the world can be saved only on the basis of U.S.-Soviet collaboration and peaceful competition, and since the policy of the ruling class of the United States is one of war for world domination, it wants no agreement with the Soviet Union. But since ours is a policy of peace, it is necessary to win the masses for U.S.-Soviet peaceful co-existence and collaboration. There are many in the mass movement who desire to see U.S.-Soviet collaboration. But there are tendencies among some to swing away from the fight to challenge this imperialist hostility to the Soviet Union which is the very essence of the war policy of the Administration, on the grounds that the pressures are too strong. The failure to fight for collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union weakens the fight for peace. And if there are timid souls who desire peace but desert this particular struggle, they

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are bound to wind up in the war camp, as enemies of peace. Our Party must explain to the masses the nature of the Socialist system in the Soviet Union and show why the cornerstone of its policy is one of peace, national independence, democracy, and freedom for all peoples. In addition, we must show how the Soviet Union is a living example of a state where the working class rules and is freed of capitalist oppression, while on the other hand U.S. imperialism is launching its fury at the Soviet Union, not because the latter is an imperialist state, but because it is a *non-imperialist* state which stands as the most powerful force in the world today for peace, against imperialist aggression and a third world war.

We must show how in practice U.S. imperialism gives support to imperialist France in its destruction of the national-liberation movement of the peoples in Indo-China; support to imperialist Great Britain in its oppression of scores of millions of peoples in the colonies in Africa and in the Far East. We must show how U.S. imperialism is preparing to extend armed aggression in Korea to other parts of Asia as well as to Europe in its drive toward world domination. We must expose the reactionary, imperialist nature of this policy. This is a major task confronting us at the present time. And while we undertake this task we must at the same time explain the

program and policies of our Party. To show that the theory of the McCarrans, which maligns us as being, not a political party, but a "foreign conspiracy," is an integral part of the whole drive toward fascism and war. We have to show that we are attacked, not because we are a foreign conspiracy or advocates of force and violence, or saboteurs, but because we are the only political party that the working class has in the United States, a party which serves the interests of our class and of the common people with heart and soul, and which has a program of struggle that can save American democracy and prevent the rise of fascism in the United States and the involvement of our country in a third world war. We must show that this slander against us is designed to isolate our Party from the masses and deny to them a program to defend their hard-earned gains, their liberties. The fight to involve the masses in defense of the rights of the Communists is inseparable from the fight to defend American democracy as a whole.

These are some of the questions that must be tackled militantly at the present time, because these are the questions around which the enemy hopes to achieve its despicable objectives.

The strengthening of the Party work among the masses makes necessary a struggle against all bureaucratic methods of work. Bureaucracy

tends to deny the involvement of all our cadres, members, and workers in the determination of policy, as well as its execution. It were well if we always bore in mind in this connection the following words spoken by Stalin in 1937:

It means that our experience alone, the experience of the leaders, is not sufficient to enable us to lead properly, that, consequently, we must supplement our experience, the experience of the leaders, with the experience of the masses, the experience of the Party membership, the experience of the working class, the experience of the people.

. . . it means that we must listen attentively to the voice of the masses, to the voice of the rank-and-file members of the Party, to the voice of the so-called "little people," to the voice of the people.

Further:

We, the leaders, see things, events and people only from one side, I would say, from above; consequently, our field of vision is more or less limited. The masses, on the other hand, see things, events and people from the other side, I would say, from below; consequently, their field of vision is also to some extent limited. In order to find the proper solution to a problem these two experiences must be combined. Only then will the leadership be correct.

The application in life of such a principle, in terms of the conditions and experiences of the American workers, will enable the widest development of constructive criticism and self-criticism and guarantee the fulfillment of our objective.

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Trade-Union Tasks in the Struggle for Peace, Jobs, and Negro Rights*

By John Williamson

THERE IS much discussion today as to what can be expected from the American working class in this period in relation to the struggle for peace, the struggle against fascist reaction, and the struggle in defense and for the improvement of its own economic conditions and standards.

The report of Comrade Gus Hall** gives our Party an accurate estimate of the present situation, expresses basic confidence in the working class and outlines strategy and tactics that correspond to the present level of development. It is aimed at influencing the workers to help determine the outcome of events in their own interests.

It is within the framework of that report that I will direct attention to a number of specific questions on trade-union work. Since the start of the Korean war, the movement for higher wages has systematically developed, until it is involving workers in many important industries and in various sections of the country. This

movement has also taken the form of strikes, which in the last two weeks alone have involved more than a quarter of a million workers. This movement had its origin in rank-and-file demands, buttressed in such key spots as Ford and Chrysler, with slowdowns, department walk-outs, etc. Of significance also is the fact that involved in such strikes have been workers in Right-led unions and workers in industries such as utilities who have little experience in struggle. The present wage movement, although not yet inclusive of all the trade unions, has broken through the previous opposition of the trusts to any wage increases.

As early as our Plenum last March we emphasized the need of developing a movement for increased wages instead of the inadequate pension settlements. But it is only in the last couple of months that the workers have made the wage demand *the* issue. This development is explained by:

- a) the continued rise in the cost of living;
- b) the knowledge that in a short

* Report (abridged text) to the Plenary Session of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held on September 19, 20, 1950.—*Editor*.

** Published in the October issue, under the title, "The Present Situation and the Tasks of Our Party."—*Editor*.

while there will be a 20 percent increase in the withholding tax on the wages of every worker;

c) the fear that the Truman Administration will soon impose a wage freeze;

d) the confidence that comes from rising employment; and

e) the inability of the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants to arouse sufficient enthusiasm for the war in Korea to be able under the false flag of patriotism to influence the workers to hold back on their economic demands.

In the face of this sentiment, which is also spurred on by the workers' knowledge of the fabulous profits of the trusts, the government is preparing to step in to try to put the brakes on these wage demands and finally to impose a wage freeze. In his radio message to the nation, Truman emphasized: "For wage earners, the guiding principle must be: Do not ask for wage increases beyond what is needed to meet the rise in the cost of living." The legislation adopted by Congress imposes wage freezes as a condition for price controls. William Green of the A. F. of L. implies full support to a policy of wage freezing if a gesture is made to reduce the growing gap between wages and constantly increasing cost of living. The C.I.O. Executive Board issues a program that it calls the "most important document ever prepared by a labor organization."

Actually it is a pledge of all-out support to the Truman war program and is intended as a means of trying more effectively to chain the C.I.O. members to that war program. Among other things it echoes Truman and calls for "equality of sacrifice." It never even speaks out against the danger of a wage freeze. It sounds the trumpet for labor-management-government boards. It does not mention the inhuman speed-up that increases in the factories. It even pledges overtime work. Phil Murray calls this C.I.O. program "unprecedented." It is, but only in the sense of its bald betrayal of the workers in tying them to the imperialist war program.

As the wage freezing program was still being readied, sections of Big Business decided not to meet head-on the growing demands and struggles for wage increases. Rather, in collusion with some of the Social-Democratic and Right-reformist labor leaders—and in the case of Ford and Chrysler actually through secret backdoor negotiations—they tried to head off the growing movement by granting as little as possible in wage increases in exchange for renewed long-term contracts and worsening of overall contract conditions and weakening of the union shop steward system. In this way the door is opened to giving a free hand to the employers to increase still further the speed-up system.

While, no doubt, this conspiracy between sections of the trusts, government and Right trade-union leaders may slow down the developing sweep of a big national strike movement, with all its political consequences at this moment, we must also see as highly significant the workers' determination and readiness to struggle to increase their wages now. Even where they vote, as in Ford Local 600, to accept Reuther-imposed five-year contracts, you hear workers saying: "Don't worry about the long-term contract. Didn't we just bust wide open the present contract and secure a wage increase before it was due through our organized strength?"

As a result of this upward development of wage struggles and government maneuvering, there are many important lessons and new questions that must be clarified. What stands out in this first phase of struggle?

1. Important sections of workers developed unauthorized struggles to force these wage increases; while there are increasing numbers of militantly conducted authorized strikes.

2. For the first time in many years there has been a cracking through of the sanctity of contracts.

3. Wages and not pensions have again become the dominant issue. In addition in certain industries other issues (such as the shorter work week in the railroad industry

and the hiring hall for West Coast longshoremen) are paramount, but these are combined with wage demands.

4. The rank and file actually gave leadership in this round and Murray and his Steel Workers Union did not.

5. While a pattern approximating a basic ten cents an hour wage increase is gradually emerging, it is possible to increase this, as has been seen in certain industries. It is also possible to increase the total gain by other concessions as regards additional wage increases for various types of work, additional paid holidays, pensions, etc. A central weakness, however, in all these new contracts is the failure to establish guarantees against increased speed-up.

6. It is necessary that we help the workers understand their own decisive role in these recent events and allow no illusions to develop regarding the employers or the Right trade-union leaders. We must help them draw the conclusion that with the same fighting approach, in addition to better organization, they can force other concessions on Negro job rights, curtailment of speed-up, the shorter work week, etc.

DON'T TIE WAGES TO THE COST OF LIVING FORMULA

There is one central question con-

fronting the workers that we must discuss further and regarding which we must work out a clear policy. The monopolists and the government, with the ready connivance of most of the Right trade-union leaders, are trying to establish as a principle that all the workers should worry about is maintaining their present wage standards. That is the thesis of Truman. That is the essence of the "escalator" provision, which is being included in a growing number of contracts and over which the Harvester workers in the U.E. continued to strike after all else had been settled although finally they were forced to accept it. This false theory of tying your wages to the cost of living is then made worse by the effort to impose long-term contracts on the workers, which means, in a war economy, driving down further the real wages of the workers.

If the government wage freeze is delayed at this moment, it could well be in agreement with Murray of the Steel Workers Union. It is possible that the escalator principle may be incorporated into some formula for the steel workers by the Truman Administration when their wage reopener comes due (or even before that). This could then serve as the formula for a wage freeze on all workers with some escalator gimmick as bait, all with the hope of also re-establishing some of the lost prestige of Murray.

In all contract negotiations today, it is imperative that the workers fight against long-term contracts of three and five years. Within the life of any contract the aim should be to include the maximum number of wage reopeners.

It is, however, necessary to examine further what our attitude should be toward the increased inclusion of escalator clauses in contracts. We must continue to oppose the inclusion of escalator clauses, to expose the Reuther and Trotzkyite claims that these are a "basic contribution" to the workers, and to show that actually they have as their aim the impossibility of ever improving the standard of living. At the same time, it is necessary to recognize that there has been a certain change in the attitude of workers toward the question of escalator clauses.

Prior to the arrest of the economic crisis by the developing war economy, workers were beginning to express discontent with the escalator clause in the General Motors contract. However, at present, with the perspective of a constantly rising cost of living, workers have second thoughts and at least demonstrate an unwillingness to strike on this issue. We must therefore face this issue and state our position approximately as follows:

1. We continue to work for the defeat of the inclusion of escalator clauses in negotiations and, if neces-

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sary, by workers' actions.

2. If this is not possible, then the course must be to fight for such modifications as:

a. to get a one-way escalator clause which would be an increased cost of living clause.

b. to fight for a separation between an escalator clause and a long-term wage freeze through long-term contracts. The escalator could be for a shorter period than the contract, so that there could be an earlier re-examination of the entire basis of wage standards.

Separate and apart from negotiations there are two basic issues on which all workers and unions should develop the most energetic struggle today, namely:

Workers must constantly fight to improve basically their standards of living, and not be satisfied with a mere balancing of them with the cost of living.

Workers must fight resolutely against all wage freezes proposed by Truman or the Social-Democratic labor leaders.

WHAT NEXT IN STEEL, COAL AND ELECTRICAL INDUSTRIES?

Let us now direct ourselves to another aspect of this issue. While wage increases have been won by the workers in important companies of the auto industry, in G.E. in electri-

cal, in farm equipment, leather, building trades, teamsters, etc., there are two basic industries which are always key—steel and coal. In each of these, we must try to influence the workers to initiate and develop a movement for proper wage demands. In the steel industry where negotiations are to open soon, the anti-Murray sentiment which was expressed on a trade-union level in the recent local union elections, should be influenced to speak out boldly, as was already done by the Inland Steel local, which demanded a 25-cent an hour increase. But this is not enough. Efforts should also be made to influence the local unions to express themselves against any contract modifications in exchange for a wage increase, such as a further extension of contract, a further curbing of rank-and-file action on economic grievances, the granting to companies of a free hand to change work and tonnage rates, etc. Moreover, while we should actively support the Steel Workers Union campaign for a union shop, this also is not a substitute for their necessary wage demands.

What about the role of the progressive-led Internationals in this wage fight? As a group they certainly did not register the impact of their united influence and initiative in outlining a wage program that would have increased their prestige everywhere in contrast to the Right-

wing leaders. The basic reasons for this will be dealt with later. It is true that the main progressive-led Internationals have projected or are projecting a wage program, with a number of important victories so far. It is also true that the majority of such unions won wage increases last year, when many Right-led unions demanded nothing or merely extended their contracts.

A central weakness in this group of unions is their underestimation of, and at times resistance to, united action in the same industry or allied industries with the members of other Right-led unions. This arises firstly from an understandable bitterness against the Right-wing splitters and raiders; but it is wrong to allow this to degenerate into mere factional bitterness in which the rank and file of both unions suffer. Fundamentally it also reflects a confusing by these progressive-led unions of the rank and file of such Right-led unions with the Right leaders. This attitude is wrong and must be combatted.

In one union you can see two approaches. In the Harvester strike, the U.E. leadership made three separate appeals to the membership and leadership of United Auto Workers Union for joint action against the company, although even here nothing tangible was done to unite the members of both unions in demonstrative actions against the company. In the

General Electric negotiations, where the chain is split between U.E. and I.U.E., two shortcomings were obvious:

1. Decisive forces in the top leadership of the union did not propose or adopt a fighting policy in mobilizing the rank and file against the G.E. company, although there were numerous stoppages of workers in U.E. shops.

2. The top leadership resisted an approach of real united action of U.E. and I.U.E. and their members. It is true that a letter was sent to all local unions in the G.E. chain, whether in I.U.E., I.A.M. or I.B.E.W., warning against the maneuvers of the company and the I.U.E., and calling upon all such local unions to resist and reject such maneuvers. This letter was good as far as it went, but it lacked a call for joint demands, joint negotiations and above all united mass action of the rank and file of both unions, whether in or outside the shops.

On both of these issues the stand of the Communists in the industry was clear and secured support in some local unions, but this was never able to be registered consistently or adequately on a national level.

When Carey, for his own demagogic reasons, called various I.U.E. local strikes, the U.E. national leadership termed them phony, and resisted all efforts of U.E. locals to join them on the picket line or es-

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establish other forms of joint action against the company. In cities such as Lynn and Cleveland the U.E. locals nevertheless adopted certain united-front actions with the I.U.E. strikers. Not to see the contrast between the motives and schemes of a Right-wing leader like Carey and those of the thousands upon thousands of workers on strike in Lynn merely demonstrates where blind factionalism can lead.

The contract with G.E. just signed by U.E. is generally sound and is much superior to the I.U.E. settlement, in so far as it contains among other features three wage reopeners during the life of a two-year contract. We must see the shop struggles of U.E. workers as well as the strikes of I.U.E. workers as both contributing to this settlement. Further, the existence of a progressive union like U.E. and its alertness to company-I.U.E. maneuvering made it more difficult for Carey to sell out the workers.

To the extent that our struggle for correct policy and tactics were effective among the rank and file, we contributed to influencing the union to make some moves for united action, and also to preventing certain moves that would have played into the hands of Carey.

Today, with the G.E. contract settled, the lessons of this struggle should be learned and quickly applied by the workers in the Westing-

house situation. In this chain the workers should demand that U.E. should take the initiative in proposing joint struggle for a wage and contract program and in this way re-establish its influence over many Westinghouse workers who were misled by Carey.

Another significant development was the joint negotiations conducted by the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions with the employers in the packing industry, which resulted in an eleven cent hourly cash increase plus three wage reopeners in the contract.

In summarizing this first point, we see a growing determination of the workers to struggle. While the maneuver of the companies and Social-Democratic trade-union leaders may have slowed up the development of a strike movement of national proportions, this need not dull the fighting spirit of the workers in the shops. The gains won by these first groups of workers are going to be equally demanded by all others. Soon, the growing burdens of the cost of the war in Korea, together with the tremendous outlay of American imperialism in preparing for a third world war, will fall on the shoulders of the workers and their families; and once having learned their potential strength, it is possible to expect a renewal of struggles on a national level. The decisive thing is for us to have our roots among the workers in the shops and local

unions, to expose more effectively and convincingly than ever the Right-wing leaders and their policies of helping the companies, the government and the war makers; to see that the Left is alert and takes the proper initiative at each new stage of development, and always to fight for the maximum united-front action of all unions and especially of the workers and local unions in the same industry in support of common demands. In line with this section of my report we will present for adoption later a National Committee statement on wage policy for mass distribution.

WIN THE WORKERS FOR PEACE WHILE STRENGTHENING UNITY OF UNIONS

If the same degree of clarity and determination to struggle for a policy of peace existed in the ranks of trade unionists as is present with regard to economic issues, and if there were even the same extent of support for our Party policies on peace as on economic issues, we, of course, would have a fundamentally different and better situation.

There is great confusion among trade unionists as to the anti-working-class character of the war aims and preparations of American imperialism and there is lack of understanding as to the imperialist character of American intervention in Ko-

rea. There is a deep feeling for peace and fear of atomic war, as was demonstrated in the response of workers in signing the World Peace pledge. But as regards Korea there is confusion and even a mounting anti-Soviet feeling, although no enthusiasm and no jingoism are apparent except in isolated cases. As against this, there is no articulate feeling or action against the war, although a certain wariness is manifest, as expressed in the resolution adopted by a number of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions. There is a mounting concern for the economic consequences of the war and the policies of a war economy, as we have previously seen. This situation is present not only among the rank and file of Right-led trade unions, but in varying degrees also among sections of the membership of the progressive-led trade unions.

In this situation, with the labor bureaucracy working full time to tie the workers to the war program of Truman and the bourgeoisie, with the growing fascist-like terror throughout the country, with encouragement by the companies to groups of jingoistically inclined workers to terrorize active workers and even drive them out of the shops, we all know the difficulties and problems that confront the real fighters for peace in the shops and unions.

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nists and Left forces in some trade unions. Some have tried to evade the issue or "sit it out." Some have tried to skip the issue and refer to their past record of defending the interests of the workers. The issue of peace or war, the issue of American intervention in Korea, must be met in the trade unions, with the participation of trade-union leaders. It cannot be ducked. The starting point in the activity of Communists in trade unions on such a controversial political question is to get agreement on the right to discuss the issue and project different solutions, to get agreement on the right to disagree, and, above all, to get agreement that this democratic procedure must be followed up with a determination that no one will be allowed to split the union.

Of course, we cannot dismiss or underestimate some of the real problems that exist in the trade unions. We must help Communists see their responsibility in finding answers to these questions while maintaining their influence with the workers. The tactical questions such comrades in trade-union leadership face is how to defeat the overall ideological influence of American capitalism and, while not yet able to win the mass of workers for a correct position on the war, not to lose their leadership. Clearly a compromise position is involved. What should be the proper procedure for such a com-

promise? To my way of thinking, it is one of developing and winning support for a policy that does not yet express in the full and maximum sense what needs to be said in the situation, but which does not for one instant approve even in part the war policies of American imperialism. This approach has been adopted in various places with substantial success. However, it is also necessary to sound two notes of caution in applying this policy:

1. Trade-union comrades must be on guard not to underestimate the pro-peace sentiment of their membership and use that very underestimation as an excuse for not quickly enough projecting and fighting for an adequate policy.

2. Trade-union comrades have a responsibility constantly to raise the level of understanding of their membership on opposing the imperialist war developments, on the basis of their own experiences and new facts.

A tendency that is wrong and harmful is the practice of certain top trade-union comrades of pushing through the adoption of a full or practically full Left-wing program in some top committee of a union in which they occupy leadership without properly estimating the level of understanding or development of their members and with no adequate preparation among them. Experiences of this type have resulted in the rejection of the position of the lead-

ership by big sections—sometimes majority sections—of the membership below. This sort of action does not enlighten workers, does not activate them in the struggle for peace or against imperialist intervention in Korea. It lessens the prestige of the leaders, sometimes brings to the fore an aggressive Right-wing group and endangers the positions of the Left trade-union leaders.

HOW TO FIGHT FOR PEACE

The fact that there are such problems even in progressive-led trade unions indicates several things—the failure of the leadership over a period of time to involve the majority of the membership in the hammering out of basic policies, the substitution of Party leaders in top positions for an active and ever-growing Party organization and influence among the membership and the failure of the Party with its sum total strength systematically to influence the workers ideologically and develop their class consciousness. While the basic responsibility for this lies with the Party, some Party members who have been trade-union leaders for five, ten, or fifteen years could well ask themselves, "What is the sum total value of my leadership for that long period of time, if the level of class consciousness among the workers I have been leading is not basically higher than

in those places where there are no Communist trade-union leaders?"

The basic problem today, when workers who are ready to support militant-democratic trade-union policies and elect Communists and Lefts to leadership but are not yet ready to take a forthright stand for peace and against American imperialist intervention in Korea, is that they do not see the relationship between the trusts whom they fight in industry and the role of these trusts in formulating the political and war policies of the country. They do not see the connection between the employer or trust they struggle against in industry and the role of that same class enemy in running the government through the two old parties. Consequently they can still be confused as to who and what represents the interests of the nation.

To us these things are very clear; but obviously they are not clear to decisive masses of workers. Yet, these same workers will adopt contradictory positions. At the longshore caucus of the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast, the same men who adopted a fundamentally false and vicious anti-Soviet resolution pledging support to Truman in the Korean intervention, also adopted resolutions criticizing the Truman government for imprisoning their leader Harry Bridges, precisely on the war issue. They also demanded wage in-

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creases, voted to strike if the hiring hall was taken away, voted against extending security screenings to workers in non-war shipping and determined that everyone should get his equal share of work. Clearly, these workers were wrong on the key and basic issue, but with their attitude on other questions and in the course of experiences they will gain in struggles around these other issues, they can be won to a correct position on the war if the Party and Left forces help them draw such conclusions. Many similar experiences could be cited.

It is also important to advance the struggle for a correct political position against imperialist war, by effectively linking it up with the struggle on issues the workers do understand more clearly—against wage freeze, controls, long-term contracts, abolition of hiring hall, no-strike pledge or law, loyalty screenings, Taft-Hartley Law, etc.

While our Party must intensify the popularizing of a full rounded-out program against the American imperialist war program and actions, Communists and those they influence in the trade unions must learn how to take partial issues that will move workers in a correct direction and develop mass support and struggle around them. While the most elementary form will be in relation to the issues mentioned above, it is also possible and necessary to take a

stand and win support on the partial but important political issues already mentioned in Comrade Hall's report, such as: against policy of "preventive war," for mediation in Korea by the full U.N. Security Council, against a third world war or atomic warfare, for direct negotiations between the governments of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, exposure of the demagogic use of Negro troops in Korea while Jim Crow and discrimination continue at home, for the withdrawal of the American fleet from Chinese waters and the seating of the People's Republic of China in the U.N.

Even workers who mistakenly support Truman in Korea can many times be won to support action on one or another of these partial demands.

SUPPORT THE LABOR CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

This brings me to the role, status and perspectives of the Labor Conference for Peace. The movement had an auspicious beginning in the Chicago conference which was heard throughout the world, as was evident from its literature as well as from reports of our own Party districts. But, frankly, there is today no organization such as was visualized in Chicago.

The Labor Conference for Peace declared that it conceived of itself as

a medium for enlisting tens of thousands of workers in shops and local unions, irrespective of their politics or affiliation into a loose, non-Party, labor, peace movement. It further visualized itself as the main mass movement for peace. We declared that *all* Party trade unionists would work in the Labor Conference for Peace—but only as a minority. The Conference did not conceive of itself as a movement from the top down, but from the bottom up, with its main emphasis on the simple issues and tasks that would enlist tens of thousands, organized into loosely functioning committees in shops, local unions or even industrial communities. With such a conception, this would give the broader peace movement the working-class base and leadership it was and still is so badly lacking.

Was the perspective adopted by this Conference correct? I think it was. However, today there is practically no Conference. In city after city there is not even a functioning committee, far less membership committees in shops and local unions. While the L.C.P. provided an important medium for collecting a substantial part of the signatures on the World Peace Pledge, little organization was built.

What happened? It is clear that those working in this organization and those guiding it never conceived of it as a broad organization. The

approach was not one of a united-front body from the bottom up. In the progressive-led Internationals I am afraid the thinking was that the L.C.P. was not necessary. Where it was built—and the best organizations seem to have existed in New York City, Chicago and Detroit—there were wrong tendencies, even among some Party members who were active in it, to view it as a substitute for our own Party. This was not only seen insofar as the narrowness of membership and leadership was concerned, but too often the L.C.P. issued literature with demands that were far beyond the possibility to mobilize mass trade-union support around them.

An analysis of the reasons for this situation, it seems to me, raises sharply two ideological questions—the understanding of the leading role of the working class in the struggle for peace, as against the important but general and shaky middle-class base; and, secondly, the extent to which we are really fighting for the application of the united-front tactic to move and organize masses whom our Party cannot yet reach or influence directly. In assessing responsibility it is clear that the National Committee, including the trade-union committee, must assume the first responsibility for not vigorously fighting through and realizing the proper conception, program and activity of a united-front organization.

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Is there still need for a peace organization of rank-and-file workers? Decidedly so. The L.C.P. is still a sound conception of organization; but it should be built and activated by broad masses of trade unionists, as originally conceived. This Plenum should endorse this united-front approach and then demand from the districts that Communist trade unionists contribute to this hard but necessary job.

HEIGHTEN THE STRUGGLE FOR JOBS FOR NEGRO WORKERS IN INDUSTRY

I now pass to some aspects of the Negro question in the trade unions.

1. The struggle for jobs for Negro workers is key today in the struggle for Negro rights. While continuing to battle on the legislative field for such demands as F.E.P.C., the struggle for jobs in industry is paramount. This should be developed inside and outside the trade unions. It means, among many other activities, that each union should be won now to fight for a non-discrimination clause in its contract; that each union should already now begin to fight for employment of Negro workers and for abolition of existing lily-white shops; that the unions should also develop an organized drive for upgrading, for opening of all skilled crafts and the inclusion of young Negro workers in the many plant apprentice schools; that the trade unions should

fight for the establishment of training centers for all unskilled workers, with special attention to the inclusion of Negro workers; and that community struggles should be developed for employment of Negro workers in areas where new shops are being opened.

2. To succeed in this struggle necessitates clearing up two ideological questions. What are these?

a) Some comrades ask: Is it correct for the Party to fight for jobs and all related demands for Negro workers in industry, when this will mean, in effect, aiding the imperialist war effort?

The unequivocal answer is—yes, it is correct to make this fight. While the comrades raising the question may have good intentions, it actually reduces itself to a Leftist phrasemongering in favor of abandoning the struggle on behalf of jobs for Negro workers. While we are striving to influence the industrial workers concerning the character of the war and the fight for peace, the struggle for jobs for Negro workers must be waged.

The employment of Negro workers in industry will actually make easier our Party's task of enlightening all trade unionists as to the imperialist and anti-working-class character of the war and their involvement in the many-sided struggle for peace.

b) Today the Social-Democratic trade-union leaders and the Negro

reformist leaders are joining together in demagogically proclaiming that now is the time to realize the objective of Negro rights. But, they emphasize to the Negro people, this cannot be achieved by opposing the war. To the bourgeoisie they say, "Grant Negro rights because we need manpower, and furthermore you can help win the war in Korea, if you show the peoples of Asia that there is no discrimination against the Negro people."

We must expose the demagogy of such leaders, and especially explain the following points:

This approach was used in the last war, but the jobs of the Negro workers were quickly wiped out after the war. The question of jobs for Negro workers must be approached not as something that must be geared to manpower needs, but as an issue that proceeds boldly from the principle that Negro workers are entitled to jobs.

Enslavement of the colonial peoples and war against their national independence can never help the Negro workers at home in their struggle for jobs and equality. This war, in fact, gives greater power to those who are the worst oppressors of the Negro people.

The Social-Democrats who slanderously accuse us of "using the Negro people" are guilty today of this most cynical pro-imperialist maneuver.

3. It is necessary to reiterate the decisive role of the developing movement of Negro Labor Councils that were stimulated by the highly successful Chicago Trade Union Conference for Negro Rights. We have read of such Councils being organized in Seattle, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Boston, Newark, Detroit, in addition to New York and Chicago.

To help these Councils fulfill their role and extend their influence, Communists active in them should support the policy of developing activities that correspond to the specific program of the Councils and should combat any tendencies toward the adoption of positions that would result in the isolation of the Councils. While there will no doubt be plenty of leeway in activity of the Councils in each city, the Communists in such Councils should understand that the program adopted at the Chicago Conference remains a valid guiding approach for their local activities. We must say that the model contract clause adopted at the Chicago Conference has not been seized upon by all Left-wing and progressive trade unionists as a medium of circularizing every single local union and shop committee in city after city, around which tremendous discussion and activity, among white and Negro workers, could be developed in the struggle for jobs for Negro workers.

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number of Progressive-led trade unions, especially U.E. for the first time, in organizing the struggle for Negro rights within the unions themselves and involving the unions in the general struggle. However, these are just mere beginnings and should be so understood.

Similarly, while definite headway is being made in the election and development of Negro workers into various posts of operative leadership in the trade unions, this objective nevertheless is far from complete, and Communists in every union, progressive as well as Right-led, must constantly be alert to it. Of considerable significance was the integration of Negro steel workers into many of the slates that swept pro-Murray forces out of office in the recent local union elections.

In summarizing this first section of my report I would like to emphasize that I think we have answered the first question posed as regards what can be expected from the American working class in this period. We must reject the idea that the working class is in full partnership with Truman and that it cannot be counted upon to develop an effective struggle for peace. We must reject the idea that in the struggle against pro-fascist reaction in our country, we must write off the organized labor movement and the powerful Negro people's movement. We must also reject the idea that the ability of the

American capitalists to maneuver and obstruct the current developing wave of strike struggles means that we must conclude that there will be no big mass economic battles in the near future. All of this is defeatist thinking and would lead to the conclusion that the workers cannot engage in big battles now. It flows from an attitude of no confidence in the working class, and adoption of a no-struggle policy in the unions and by the workers. It consequently leads to no consistent fight for daily application of a policy of united labor action, whether on a shop or industry-wide basis.

At the same time, the American working class has a tremendous responsibility to the American people and to the peoples of the world. It is the force that can help determine the issue of peace or war; that can, in unity with other peace forces of the world, stop the drive of American imperialism to dominate the world.

But this responsibility cannot be fulfilled merely by a willingness to engage in economic struggles while failing to oppose the reactionary foreign policy of the government; by passivity toward the war adventures of the bi-partisans in Congress, without an organized drive for peace; or by a failure to disassociate itself from American chauvinism and especially anti-Soviet incitement.

True, this will not happen by it-

self. It needs bold but skillful leadership and especially the learning of lessons by the masses in the course of struggles. It especially needs an intensification of the exposure and defeat of the influence of the Social-Democratic and Right reformist leaders like Green, Murray, Reuther, Dubinsky, etc., among the workers. But this will not be done merely by name calling. It will be done by a combination of patient explanations that unmask these gentry, in addition to the development of mass struggles and an effective application of the united-front tactic with the workers still under Right-wing leadership.

Rather, we must see that as the great burdens of the Korean war and the preparations of the madmen of American imperialism for World War III are unloaded upon the backs of the workers and their families, and as the full meaning for Americans at home is registered from the role of American imperialism in destroying the national independence of peoples and nations in the Far East and in resurrecting Nazism in Western Germany becomes clear, that the way will be opened for some big struggles.

TRANFERRING THE MAIN WORK TO WORKERS IN BASIC INDUSTRY AND RIGHT-LED TRADE UNIONS

For all the above tasks to be most successfully carried out, it is impor-

tant that we keep before us as a central objective several things that were underscored in our trade-union resolution of last March. In it we stated:

Our Party must at all times be guided in its trade-union work by the objective of maintaining contact with and influencing the main body of workers in the organized labor movement . . . the main attention of the Party must be concentrated on the main body of workers and trade unions, not only on the progressive-led Internationals.

While there is general acceptance of this orientation in words, and some change in emphasis and activity, it is not yet what is necessary or what the Party expected. Nationally we have made an effort to give more attention and leadership to the activity in the steel, auto, electrical, and maritime industries, but we must recognize that there has been no basic change in attention to the coal miners, the railroad workers, and the A. F. of L. unions. During this period, more systematic attention and leadership was given to the work in the electrical industry than at any other time in our Party history. As a result, we hammered out a Party program for some very complex situations and, above all, carried through a struggle for Party consciousness and main reliance upon the Communists in the shops and local unions. In the course of this we correctly parted company with some trade-

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union leaders who had previously been associated with us. With others, we will work on a united-front basis from now on. Everywhere we fight that the Left forces shall be independently organized and that they shall have their own program, for which they shall fight among the workers while always ready to enter into coalition agreements with well-intentioned, even though inconsistent, progressive forces. In the period ahead we must yet battle through and defeat all opposition to considering work among members of the I.U.E. of equal and necessary importance as activity among workers in U.E.

In the Districts the main emphasis in actual work is also not yet satisfactorily transferred to the workers in the basic industries and to the big unions under Right-wing leadership. There are, however, some important experiences in various districts that can be brought forward in the discussion.

Furthermore, our emphasis on work in Right-led unions has borne important results, even though it has not been uniformly carried out in all Districts and all industries. But we must emphasize especially now the great need for intensifying and qualitatively improving our efforts in this direction.

We have many concrete proofs to show that even under difficult conditions much can be accomplished

when we base our work among the rank and file and pursue a policy of united front. The example of the achievements of the Communists and progressives in the Ford plant is one I already mentioned earlier, where they demonstrated their ability to weather many attacks and to develop the wage struggle among the rank and file.

Lately in the local union elections we had the very important developments in a number of steel locals which showed that the policy of concentration and united front brought important advances there.

Above all, we must emphasize now the following:

1. The importance of each individual Communist developing the maximum initiative and resourcefulness in working with his shopmates in such a manner as to earn their respect as a fighter for their most immediate needs. Raising issues and slogans around which the workers in the shop can be united, creating an atmosphere wherein it will be possible to bring forward at least in discussion, if not for immediate action, propositions in support of peace and against all aspects of the war drive.

2. We must help our comrades in the shop to establish close contact with those who are already more inclined to progressive thought through belonging to progressive organizations in the communities or reading

progressive papers.

3. We must guard against throwing our comrades in the shops (especially those in Right-led Internationals and locals) into the kind of activity which will lead to their dismissal from the job or expulsion from the unions.

4. The task of developing militant workers into class-conscious workers and toward Party membership must be carried on systematically by discussions with individual workers, by small gatherings where Marxist literature is discussed, and by the spreading of basic literature as well as current material.

5. It is imperative that our comrades, especially in the Right-led unions, constantly develop and bring forward new militant workers, both men and women, who will fight on issues, and that we carefully avoid creating situations where our comrades constantly come forward *themselves* on every issue, thereby curtailing their own effectiveness.

A fight to realize the above approach in the shops is in the last analysis decisive in the period ahead for our ties with the masses of the workers and against our isolation.

VARIED FORMS OF LEFT-WING MOVEMENT IN THE TRADE UNIONS

At certain stages of development

the absence of a particular medium of activity, direction, and leadership can spell the difference between moving forward or going back in influencing the trade unions and their millions of members.

We recognized this previously and for over a year had expressed the opinion that the interests of the unions who had been expelled from the C.I.O. as well as the interests of the entire labor movement, compelled these unions to co-ordinate their activities and find the most effective forms of co-operation and joint action on a national level. That is why, although it came a year later, we greeted the announcement of discussions about co-ordination by the expelled progressive-led Internationals, as reported in the public press. While this is still equally urgent today, developments are such that the trade-union movement cannot go forward, unless there is a crystallization of an active Left-wing movement in all unions without any exception.

Without this there is no common goal or nationally co-ordinated activity of the Left forces who are presumably striving individually for the same program and aims. There is a growing gap and even complete indifference as to activities between the Left-wing as represented within the progressive-led Internationals and the Left-wing rank-and-file movements in the Right-led unions of

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C.I.O. or A. F. of L. There is, of course, no organized co-ordination of the progressive-led Internationals themselves on a national level. Clearly, with such a situation, this important section of trade unionists will find difficulty in making real progress. It is now time for the entire Party to mobilize all Party trade unionists to express readiness to join with other trade unionists on all levels in this task in every town and city.

Such a Left-wing trend in the trade unions, irrespective of its organizational forms, will have to work out for itself a common orientation, perspective and program and a knowledge of where it is going and how it is going to get there. In such discussions Communist trade unionists should consider proposing that the objective shall be to challenge the program of reaction and its labor representatives as it unfolds among the workers and affects the trade unions, to expose the anti-working class character and effects of the class-collaboration policies of the top trade-union officialdom on the life and conditions of the workers and their trade unions and to organize struggles on single issues that aim at enlisting majority support. The Left-wing forces should project into the present trade-union movement the fighting traditions of militant democratic unionism in America. It must challenge the policy of government-

approved unionism, of government wage freezes, "loyalty" oaths and screenings, of Taft-Hartley-engineered N.L.R.B. elections. It must have a fighting approach on all issues, infusing the workers with ideas around which they can be most effectively united in common struggle.

Such a Left-wing trend will have to work out its own national program, a good draft of which is represented in the Declaration of Principles that appeared in the first issue of the republished magazine, *March of Labor*, although such programs will undoubtedly be further concretized industry by industry.

The reports we receive indicate that discussions are already taking place among workers as to how to go about organizing such an overall Left-wing movement in the trade unions. Some trade unionists project the idea of one co-ordinating center nationally and in each locality that would unite all progressive-led unions and all the Left-wing rank-and-file groups in the Right-led unions. Others, more correctly, in my opinion, point out that if these Left-wing trade unionists tried this, it would be wrong, since it would endanger the rank-and-file movements in the Right-led unions. However, just because it is not advisable to proceed in this direct way does not mean that the Left wing in the trade unions should remain disorganized and splintered up. They themselves must find ef-

fective forms of co-ordination and united action.

Under these circumstances it is necessary that the members of the trade unions who adhere to the policies and activities of the Left should in their discussions combine their own experiences with previous experiences of American trade unionists. The Communists or our co-workers should not hesitate to participate in such discussions and join with the large sections of non-Communist Left-wing trade unionists in hammering out answers to these questions. Without having finalized opinions on such questions, it does seem to us that there are four main lines of action that should receive consideration:

1. Among the workers in each industry the Left-wing should be organized in support of a program that represents the best interests of the workers in the industry and unions of the industry. They should aim at winning maximum adherents from members and local unions. The specific forms of loose organization should vary from industry to industry and should be decided by those concerned. Such Left-wing forces, while popularizing their own program and projecting their own candidates, should also follow a policy in union elections of joining with broader forces on minimum programs.

2. The workers in the unions con-

cerned should try to influence the speeding up of the national co-ordination decided upon and publicly announced some months ago by the representatives of the great majority of the progressive-led Internationals expelled by C.I.O. No doubt, the crystallization of such national co-ordination was held up due to a number of reasons, such as different levels of development in various unions, the fact that over a period of a year some unions were already expelled from C.I.O. and others not, the continued illusions that some unions could avoid expulsion, the tendency toward going it alone on the part of some Internationals, etc. While the city co-ordinating committees of the locals of these progressive-led Internationals are not dependent upon national co-ordination, certainly its establishment will strengthen them.

3. Support should be given to the republished Left-wing trade-union magazine *March of Labor* which is independent of such a national co-ordinating committee. The two issues that have appeared demonstrate its role and purpose and how useful it can be. In many respects, establishment of guarantees for the continued publication and mounting circulation of this magazine is the most important factor in all aspects of the building and activating of a Left wing in the trade-union movement. The magazine can provide the

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medium for reaching tens of thousands of members in all unions with a Left-wing program and with an exchange of experiences of members of different unions. The magazine can serve as that bridge between the separately existing Left-wing movements in various trade unions. If it had tens of thousands of readers, the magazine would normally become a powerful organizational force in each city, industry and union.

4. Supplementary to these organizational forms of the Left-wing movement in the trade unions, there will also exist the various united-front bodies on a local or national level.

It is clear, comrades, that there does not yet exist such a varied type of Left-wing organization in the trade-union movement today. It is understandable why this discussion goes on today, for it is evident that the organizing of this Left-wing in the trade unions today is the most decisive, key and urgent task that confronts all trade unionists at this moment.

ESTIMATE OF PARTY WORK IN TRADE-UNION FIELD

In these last six months we have stepped up our struggle for Party policy among our members in the trade unions, especially in trade-union leadership. The main struggle today continues to be against right

opportunist tendencies — especially the tendency to evade sharp political issues of a controversial character and concern oneself only with so-called pure-and-simple trade-union questions and, in a few cases, to avoid a class-struggle policy even on economic issues. This latter tendency is connected with defeatist feelings. Almost nowhere is there a real organized fight for united labor action by those unions where the Left is in the leadership, a situation which leads to isolation from the masses of the rank and file in Right-led trade unions. While considerable progress has been made in the struggle against white chauvinism in the ranks of our trade-union members, this task is far from complete and must be relentlessly carried forward.

Irrespective of what industry or union we may have in mind, or what city or state we are working in—irrespective of whether it is a Left-led or Right-led union—the great emphasis we placed six months ago on united working-class action from below as the key to developing all aspects of “fight back” struggles, remain equally true at this moment and must be our guiding policy everywhere.

The single biggest job today is to learn to rely upon the mass of our Party members in the trade unions and not just on a few leaders. In fact, the main reliance upon the Party rank-and-file will help strength-

en the position of Party members in positions of trade-union leadership. If organized and given proper leadership by the respective Party bodies, these are a tremendous force. Our Party Committees in industries where there are progressive-led trade unions must concentrate their main efforts on clarification and execution of policy on major political questions, rather than try to substitute themselves for the union or to cross every "t" and dot every "i" of trade-union policy and practice.

Irrespective of the growing difficulties of functioning in this period, among many things, two are decisive:

a) There must be a greater fight than ever before for ideological clarity on the part of comrades in trade-union work and guarantees must be established with reference to reading and discussing Party newspapers, periodicals, and literature.

b) There must be guaranteed, irrespective of how many new forms may have to be resorted to, the regular functioning of the Party members in an organized way.

Before concluding this report, let me say a few words on the functioning of the trade-union department and an estimation of our work. Despite all the difficulties of the last period we have tried to hold fast to the main policies in the report and resolution on trade-union work adopted last March. With many ap-

parent weaknesses for which the trade-union department bears the first responsibility, the things to which we have tried to hold fast were the emphasis on transferring our main attention and work to the basic industries and the non-Left unions, alerting the Party to the possibilities of developing shop and trade-union struggles on the wage issue as well as other grievances, influencing the workers to fight for a sound peace policy and against American intervention in Korea, consolidating the Left-wing and organizing it in its varied organizational forms and developing its activities. Within each of these fields of work there has been headway made, but there are also serious shortcomings. I have tried to indicate them throughout the report, and if any given field of work were examined separately, these could be gone into in greater detail.

The trade-union department has had many difficulties of personnel reductions nationally and in the districts, of serious gaps in the functioning of the remaining personnel, of growing difficulties in meeting with comrades in the trade unions, and, not unimportantly, the serious consequences of the government-enforced ban on the National Labor Secretary's right to travel, which means his inability to visit the rest of the country where the main industrial workers and trade unions

are to be found. As distinct even from other departments in the Party National Office, the difficulties of meeting Party members in the trade unions and learning from them, as well as transmitting Party thinking and policies, has become a major obstacle to effective work. Lastly, I would urge the reconstitution of the trade-union departments in those districts where they were virtually wiped out and the guaranteeing of consistent leadership in our trade-union work, under any and all circumstances.

In conclusion, let me re-emphasize the decisive importance of work among the trade-unionists in the difficult period that lies ahead. We have a sound policy. We must under all circumstances defeat the efforts of the enemy to isolate us from the workers and their trade unions. There are such dangers in a number

of districts and industries today. We must be so rooted among the workers and work in such a skillful way, making all the tactical adjustments necessary without ever compromising basic working-class principles, that, come what may, Communists will be at work shoulder to shoulder with workers in the shops and unions. While the bourgeoisie in its fury of desperation is intensifying its attacks upon us, it is inevitable that the way will be opened for the involvement of broad sections of workers and their unions in struggle against unloading the cost of the war upon the workers, against the growing pro-fascist reactionary assaults and, in the course of this, against the imperialist war drive itself. This Plenum, in the report of Comrade Hall and all others, equips our Party for the fight ahead.

Due to exigencies of space, we are compelled to postpone publication of the report by Pettis Perry to the September Plenum of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., titled, "Further Strengthening the Fight Against White Chauvinism." This important Report will be published in our next issue.—*Editor.*

The National Question and Leninism

(An Answer to Comrades Meshkov, Kovalchuk, and Others)

By Joseph Stalin

[Dated March 18, 1929, this important work was published in 1949, in Russian, under the above-stated title, by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow, in Volume XI of the *Collected Works* of J. V. Stalin.

[The Foreword of the Institute refers to this essay as follows: "In the hitherto unpublished work, 'The National Question and Leninism,' which is devoted to the further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory and basis of the policy of the Bolshevik Party on the national question, J. V. Stalin sets forth the state of the new, Socialist nations, first formed in the Soviet Union; he shows the differences in principle between the bourgeois and the Socialist nations; and he stresses the solidarity and vitality of the Socialist nations."

[We present here, for the first time in English, Sections II and III (pages 335-349 of Volume XI) of that profound contribution to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.—*Editor.*]

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS

One of your serious mistakes con-

sists in throwing into one heap all presently existing nations and in failing to perceive the difference in principle between them. There are varying nations in the world. There are nations that have developed in the epoch of rising capitalism, when the bourgeoisie, in destroying feudalism and feudal fragmentation, was concentrating the nation into a unit and was cementing it. These are the so-called "modern" nations.

You assert that nations arose and existed prior to capitalism. But how could nations arise and exist before capitalism, in the epoch of feudalism, when the countries were divided into separate independent principalities which not only were unconnected by national bonds but resolutely denied the need of such bonds? Your erroneous assertions notwithstanding, no nations existed nor could they exist in the pre-capitalist period, since there were as yet no national markets, there were neither economic nor cultural national centers; hence, there were not in existence those factors which liquidate the economic fragmentation of a given people and draw

together the hitherto disjointed parts of this people into an integrated national whole.

Clearly, the elements of the nation—language, territory, community of culture, etc.—did not drop from the skies, but were already forming themselves by degrees in the pre-capitalist period. But these elements were in an embryonic state and at best represented a potentiality, in the sense of the possibility of forming the nation in the future under certain favorable conditions. The potentiality became actuality only in the period of rising capitalism, with its national market, its economic and cultural centers.

We should note in this connection the remarkable observations of Lenin on the question of the rise of nations which are contained in his pamphlet, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*. Polemizing against the Narodnik [Populist] Mikhailovsky, who derived the rise of national bonds and national unity from the development of gentile bonds, Lenin wrote:

And so, national ties are a continuation and generalization of gentile ties! Mr. Mikhailovsky, evidently, borrows his ideas of the history of society from the fairy tale that is taught to school-boys. The history of society—this copy-book maxim runs—is that first there was the family, that nucleus of all society, then the family grew into the tribe, and the tribe grew into the state. If Mr. Mikhailovsky impressively repeats this childish nonsense, it only goes

to show—apart from everything else—that he has not the slightest inkling of the course even of Russian history. While one might speak of gentile life in ancient Russia, there can be no doubt that by the Middle Ages, the era of the Muscovite tsars, these gentile ties no longer existed, that it to say, the state was based on territorial unions and not gentile unions: the landlords and the monasteries took their peasants from various localities, and the communities thus formed were purely territorial unions. However, one could hardly at that time speak of national ties in the true sense of the word: the state was divided into separate "territories," sometimes even principalities, which preserved strong traces of former autonomy, peculiarities of administration, at times their own troops (the local boyars went to war at the head of their own companies), their own customs frontiers, and so forth. It is only the modern period of Russian history (beginning approximately with the seventeenth century) that is marked by an actual amalgamation of all such regions, territories and principalities into a single whole. This amalgamation, most esteemed Mr. Mikhailovsky, was not brought about by gentile ties, nor even by their continuation and generalization, but by the growth of exchange between regions, the steady growth of commodity circulation and the concentration of the small local markets into a single, all-Russian market. Since the leaders and masters of this process were the merchant capitalists, the creation of these national ties was nothing but the creation of bourgeois ties.*

* V. I. Lenin, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, Moscow, 1946, pp. 33-35.

Thus stands the question of the rise of the so-called "modern" nations.

The bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties were, and remained during this period, the chief directing force of such nations. Class peace within the nation for the sake of "national unity"; expansion of the territory of the nation through seizure of foreign national territories; mistrust and hostility toward foreign nations; repression of national minorities; a common front with imperialism—such is the ideological and socio-political equipment of these nations.

Such nations should be characterized as bourgeois nations. Of this kind are, for instance, the French, English, Italian, North-American and other similar nations. Before the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Soviet system in our country, the Russian Ukrainian, Tartar, Armenian, Georgian and other nations in Russia were also such bourgeois nations.

Naturally, the fate of such nations is bound up with the fate of capitalism, and with the fall of capitalism such nations must leave the scene.

It is precisely to such bourgeois nations that Stalin's pamphlet *Marxism and the National Question* refers when it states that "a nation is not merely a historical category but a historical category belonging to a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism"; that "the fate of the national movement, which is essentially a bourgeois movement, is natu-

rally connected with the fate of the bourgeoisie"; that "the final collapse of the national movement is possible only with the collapse of the bourgeoisie"; that "only under the reign of Socialism can peace be fully established."*

That is how matters are with reference to the bourgeois nations.

But there are also other nations in the world—the new, Soviet nations, which have developed and crystallized on the basis of the old, bourgeois nations after the overthrow of capitalism in Russia, after the liquidation of the bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties, after the establishment of the Soviet system.

The working class and its internationalist party constitute the force which cements these new nations and guides them. The alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry within the nation in order to liquidate the remnants of capitalism for the sake of the victorious construction of Socialism; the elimination of the remnants of national oppression for the sake of the equality and free development of the nations and national minorities; elimination of the remnants of nationalism for the sake of establishing friendship between the peoples and strengthening internationalism; a united front with all oppressed and disfranchised nations in the struggle against the policy of conquest and wars of conquest, in the struggle against imperialism—

* Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, p. 17 and p. 24.—*Ed.*, *Political Affairs*.

this is the spiritual and socio-political physiognomy of these nations.

Such nations must be characterized as Socialist nations.

These nations originated and developed on the basis of the old, bourgeois nations as a result of the liquidation of capitalism, along the course of their radical transformation in the spirit of Socialism. No one can deny that the present Socialist nations in the Soviet Union—the Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Tartar, Bashkir, Uzbek, Kazakh, Azerbaidjan, Georgian, Armenian, and other nations—differ radically from the corresponding old, bourgeois nations in old Russia, both in respect to their class composition and cultural physiognomy and in respect to their socio-political interests and aspirations.

These are the two types of nations known in history.

You do not agree with the view which links the fate of nations, in this case the fate of the old, bourgeois nations, with the fate of capitalism. You do not agree with the thesis that the old, bourgeois nations will be liquidated with the liquidation of capitalism. But with what, indeed, can the fate of these nations be linked, if not with the fate of capitalism? Is it difficult to comprehend that with the disappearance of capitalism the bourgeois nations engendered by it must disappear? Or do you mean, perhaps, that the old, bourgeois nations can exist and develop under the Soviet system, under the dictatorship of the proletariat?

You fear that the liquidation of the nations existing under capitalism is tantamount to the liquidation of nations in general, to the liquidation of every nation. Why, on what ground? Are you perchance not aware that besides the bourgeois nations there exist also other nations, Socialist nations, which are much more solidified and vital than any bourgeois nation?

Indeed, in this precisely lies your error—that you fail to see other nations besides the bourgeois nations, and thus you have overlooked the whole epoch of the formation of Socialist nations in the Soviet Union, which have risen on the ruins of the old, bourgeois nations.

This is the issue, namely, that the liquidation of the bourgeois nations does not signify the liquidation of nations in general, but merely the liquidation of the bourgeois nations. On the ruins of the old, bourgeois nations rise and develop new, Socialist nations which are much more solidified than any bourgeois nation, since they are free of the irreconcilable class contradictions which corrode the bourgeois nations and are much more expressive of the people as a whole than any bourgeois nation.

THE FUTURE OF NATIONS AND OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES

You permit a serious error in equating the period of the victory of Socialism in one country with the period

of the victory of Socialism on a world scale, in asserting that the disappearance of national differences and national languages, the fusion of nations and the formation of one common language, are possible and necessary, not only with the victory of Socialism on a world scale, but also with the victory of Socialism in one country. In this connection, you confound utterly different phenomena: the "abolition of national oppression" with "liquidation of national differences," the "abolition of national-state barriers" with the "dying out of nations," with the "fusion of nations."

It is necessary to remark that it is absolutely impermissible for Marxists to confound these diverse concepts. We in our country have long ago abolished national oppression; but it does not at all follow from this that national differences have disappeared and that the nations of our country have been liquidated. We in our country have long ago liquidated national-state barriers with frontier guards and customs houses, but it by no means follows from this that the nations have already fused and the national languages have disappeared, that these languages have been replaced by some one language common for all our nations.

You are dissatisfied with my speech at the Communist University of the

* Joseph Stalin, "The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East." *Leninism*, International Publishers, Vol. 1, pp. 181-196.—*Ed., Political Affairs.*

Peoples of the East (delivered in 1925)* in which I denied the correctness of the thesis that under Socialism victorious in one country, for instance, in our country, national languages would die out, nations would fuse and in place of the national languages one common language would appear.

You are of the opinion that such a statement on my part contradicts Lenin's well-known thesis that the goal of Socialism is not only the abolition of the fragmentation of mankind into small states and of national aloofness, not only the drawing together of the nations, but also their fusion.

You are, further, of the opinion that it contradicts also another Leninist thesis: that with Socialism victorious on a *world scale* national differences and national languages will begin to die out, that after such a victory the national languages will begin to give way to one common language.

That is absolutely untrue, comrades. It is a profound error.

I stated above that it is impermissible for Marxists to confound and lump together such diverse phenomena as the "victory of Socialism in one country" and the "victory of Socialism on a world scale." It should not be forgotten that these diverse phenomena reflect two completely different epochs that are distinct, not only as regards time (which is very important) but in their very essence.

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Of course, national mistrust, national aloofness, national hostility, national conflicts are stimulated and supported, not because of some "innate" sense of national wickedness, but due to the striving of imperialism to subject foreign nations and the fear of these nations in the face of the menace of national subjection. There can be no doubt that so long as world imperialism exists this striving and this fear will exist; hence, in the vast majority of countries there will exist national mistrust, national aloofness, national hostility, national conflicts. Can it be asserted that the victory of Socialism and the liquidation of imperialism in one country signify the liquidation of imperialism and of national oppression in the majority of countries? Clearly, it cannot. But from this it follows that the victory of Socialism in one country, notwithstanding the fact that it seriously weakens world imperialism, nevertheless does not and cannot create the necessary conditions for the fusion of the world's nations and national languages into a single, common whole.

The period of the victory of Socialism on a world scale differs from the period of the victory of Socialism in one country primarily in that it liquidates imperialism *in all countries*, that it destroys both the striving to subject foreign nations and the fear of the menace of national subjection, that it tears up by the roots national mistrust and national hostility, unites

the nations in a single system of world-wide Socialist economy, and thus creates the actual conditions necessary for the gradual fusion of all nations into a single whole.

Such is the basic difference between these two periods.

But from this it follows that to confound these two different periods and to lump them together is to permit an inexcusable error. Let us take my speech at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. It contains the following statement:

Certain persons (Kautsky for instance) talk of the creation of a universal language and of all other languages dying out during the period of Socialism. I am rather skeptical about this theory of an all-embracing language. At any rate, experience speaks against, rather than for, such a theory. Up till now, the situation has been that the Socialist revolution has not diminished but has increased the number of languages; for, by stirring the profound depths of the masses of humanity, by pushing them into the political arena, the Socialist revolution has awakened to new life a number of hitherto unknown or little known nationalities. Whoever imagined that tsarist Russia consisted of no less than fifty nationalities and ethnic groups? However, by breaking the old chains of a number of forgotten peoples and nationalities and bringing them on to the scene, the October Revolution gave them new life and a new development.*

From this quotation it is evident

* *Ibid.*, p. 187.—*Ed.*, *Political Affairs*.

that I took issue with people of the type of Kautsky, who has always been and remains a dilettante as regards the national question, who does not grasp the mechanics of the development of nations and has no conception of the colossal force of the endurance of nations, who deems the fusion of nations possible long before the victory of Socialism, while bourgeois-democratic systems are still in existence, who servilely lauds the assimilationist "work" of the Germans in Czechia and frivolously asserts that the Czechs have almost been Germanized, that the Czechs have no future as a nation.

From this quotation it is further evident that in my speech I had in mind, not the period of the victory of Socialism *on a world scale*, but exclusively the period of the victory of Socialism *in one country*. And I asserted (and I continue to assert) that the period of the victory of Socialism in one country does not provide the conditions necessary for the fusion of nations and national languages; that, on the contrary, this period produces a favorable environment for the regeneration and flowering of the nations formerly oppressed by tsarist imperialism and now liberated from national oppression by the Soviet revolution.

Lately, from this quotation it is evident that you have overlooked the colossal difference between the two diverse historical periods, that in view of this you have not grasped the sense

of Stalin's speech, and that as a result of all this you have become entangled in the debris of your own errors.

Let us turn to Lenin's theses on the dying out and fusion of nations after the victory of Socialism on a world scale.

Here is one of Lenin's theses, cited from his article "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," which was published in 1916 and which for some reason is not quoted in full in your letters:

The aim of Socialism is not only to abolish the present division of mankind into small states, and all-national isolation, not only to bring the nations closer to each other, but also to merge them. . . . Just as mankind can achieve the abolition of classes only by passing through the transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations, *i.e.* their freedom to secede.*

And here is another thesis of Lenin, which is also not cited in full in your letters:

As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries—and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale—the

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, Vol. V, pp. 270-271.—*Ed., Political Affairs.*

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unity of international tactics of the Communist, working-class movement of all countries demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (this is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an application of the *fundamental* principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will *correctly modify* these principles in *certain particulars*, will properly adapt, apply them to the national and national-state differences.*

It should be noted that this quotation is taken from Lenin's pamphlet "*Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*", which was published in 1920, that is, *after* the victory of the Socialist revolution in one country, *after* the victory of Socialism in our country.

It can be seen from these quotations that Lenin relates the process of the dying out of national differences and of the fusion of nations, not to the period of the victory of Socialism in one country, but exclusively to the period *after* the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale, that is, to the period of the victory of Socialism in all countries, when the foundations will have been laid for a world Socialist economy.

From these quotations it is further clear that Lenin characterizes as an "absurd dream" the attempt to relate the dying out of national differences

to the period of the victory of Socialism in one country, in our country.

From these quotations it is evident, besides, that Stalin was absolutely right in denying in the course of his speech at the University for the Toilers of the East the possibility of the dying out of national differences and national languages in the period of the victory of Socialism in one country, in our country, and that you were absolutely wrong in defending something that was in direct opposition to Stalin's thesis.

Lastly, it is evident from these quotations that, in confounding the two different periods of the victory of Socialism, you did not comprehend Lenin, you distorted Lenin's line on the national question and, as a result, unintentionally, took the path away from Leninism.

It would be wrong to assume that the abolition of national differences and the dying out of national languages will occur right after the defeat of world imperialism, at one blow, by way, as it were, of a decree from above. Nothing could be more erroneous than such a view. To attempt to achieve the fusion of nations by a fiat from on top, by means of coercion, would be to play into the hands of the imperialists, to frustrate the cause of the liberation of nations, to bury the cause of organizing the collaboration and fraternity of the nations. Such a policy would be tantamount to an assimilationist policy.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 135.—Ed., *Political Affairs*.

You are, of course, aware that the assimilationist policy is absolutely excluded from the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism as a policy that is directed against the people, a pernicious, counter-revolutionary policy.

Furthermore, it is well known that nations and national languages are distinguished for their extraordinary tenacity and their colossal force of resistance to the policy of assimilation. The Turkish assimilators—the most brutal of all assimilators—tormented and mutilated the Balkan nations for centuries, but they not only failed to achieve their assimilation but were forced to capitulate. The Czarist-Russian Russifiers and the German-Prussian Germanizers, who were scarcely less brutal than the Turkish assimilators, for more than a century mauled and tortured the Polish nation, just as the Persian and Turkish assimilators for centuries mauled, tortured and murdered the Armenian and Georgian nations; but they not only failed to achieve the destruction of these nations, but, on the contrary, they, too, were forced to capitulate.

It is necessary to take all these circumstances into account in order to foresee correctly the likely course of events from the viewpoint of the development of the nations immediately after the defeat of world imperialism.

It would be erroneous to assume that the first stage of the period of the world dictatorship of the proleta-

riat would mark the beginning of the dying out of nations and national languages, the beginning of the formation of a single common language. On the contrary, the first stage, in the course of which national oppression will be finally liquidated, will be one of the growth and efflorescence of previously oppressed nations and national languages, the stage of the affirmation of the equality of nations, the stage of the liquidation of mutual national mistrust, the stage of the establishment and strengthening of international bonds between the nations.

Only in the second stage, the period of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, as a unitary world Socialist economy, will be crystallized in place of the world capitalist economy, only during this stage will there begin to be formed something in the nature of a common language, for only in this stage will the nations feel the need of having, alongside with their national languages, one common international language, to facilitate communication and to facilitate economic, cultural and political collaboration. Hence, in this stage the national languages and the common international language will have a parallel existence. It is possible that at first there will arise, not one common world economic center with one common language for all nations, but several zonal economic centers for separate groups of nations with a separate common language for

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age for each group of nations, and only subsequently these centers will combine into one common world center of the Socialist economy with one common language for all nations.

During the ensuing stage of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, when the world Socialist system of economy will have become sufficiently strong and Socialism will have permeated the peoples' mode of living, when the nations will have be-

come convinced in practice of the advantages of the common language as against the national languages, then the national differences and languages will begin to die out and give way to the common, universal language.

This, in my opinion, is an approximate semblance of the future of the nations, of the development of the nations on the path toward their fusion in the future.

How People Live in the Soviet Union

By A. S. Fulbright

INTRODUCTION

THROUGHOUT the capitalist world the share in the national income of the working people, representing the overwhelming majority of the people in any country, remains steadily low and continues to fall. At the same time the share of the capitalists, representing but an insignificant part, in numbers, of the population of any country, remains steadily high and continues to rise higher.

The struggle of the workers against the bosses in the capitalist world, for a slightly more equitable share of the national incomes, actually just a race between falling real wages and rising prices, is marked by wave after wave of strikes. In the first year after World War II, over four million American workers participated in strikes. And despite the over two hundred anti-labor laws passed by Congress, especially the reactionary Taft-Hartley Law of 1947, the postwar strike movement has continued. In 1947, 2,170,000 workers struck; in 1948—2,280,000; in 1949—over 3 million.

At the same time American workers daily have to face and to fight against unemployment, the capital-

ist way of life, against discrimination in the employment and remuneration of Negroes and of women, against discrimination in the hiring of older workers, against a rising cost of living.

Before the Korean adventure, there were 45 million unemployed and partially employed in the capitalist world—18 million in the U.S.A. Everywhere workers have to face the fact that the age of 36-40 marks the limits of their working-life span. Signs in employment offices inform applicants that those over 40 need not apply. Negroes are paid considerably less than white workers for the same work; the average wage of women is 16-20% lower than that of men in the United States.

The U.S. rearmament program which, it seems, after Wall Street's aggressive war in Korea will intensify rather than decrease, has been bringing us higher taxes, higher prices, lower production of consumers' goods. We are now promised steady increases in what we have to pay out to help defray rearmament expenditures, expected to rise from 14 billion dollars this year to 30 billion next year, and 40-50 billions the year following.

During this period of a rising cost of living and falling real wages, our outward standard of living has been deceptively kept up through a most vicious element of the "American way of life,"—installment buying. This "way" has put half the country in debt (to installment houses). This indebtedness, euphemistically called installment buying, has reached 21 billion dollars.

This same postwar period has had quite a different meaning to the Socialist world. Unemployment had been wiped out in the Soviet Union by 1930, thus eliminating an item which in 1929 represented 11% of the social insurance budget—136.4 million rubles—money which from then on could be spent on the construction of rest homes, sanatoria, clubs, schools, etc.

By 1939-40 the Soviet population had begun to attain the high standard of living envisaged in their 5-year Plans. Promises fulfilled had become a way of life. The war intervened, and not only checked the progressive rise in the living standards of the people, but set them back. While in the land of Socialism no one made profits from the war, losses were extremely great. But immediately after the war the Soviet Union undertook the rapid rehabilitation from the war devastation and resumed its steady advance. A new Five-Year Plan was charted by the great Bolshevik Party led by Stalin.

In living attestation of the superiority of the Socialist system, the Plan was launched to fulfill the task of completing the structure of the classless Socialist society and of effecting the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. The systematic advance in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people must be viewed as an integral part of this historic task.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE SOVIET CITIZEN

The month of March has taken on special meaning of late for the Soviet consumer. Each March in the past two years the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has decreed sweeping price reductions in food, clothes, automobiles, bicycles. This past March saw the third reduction in prices since the end of war-time rationing in 1947. And Soviet people have now set themselves into the habit of expecting to see each March a further rise in their steadily improving living standards through lowered prices on food, clothing and other goods.

This regularity may remove the element of surprise from this aspect of Soviet living, but, on the other hand, it strengthens the feeling of security of the Soviet citizen.

They have seen their country rise out of the ruins of civil war and foreign intervention and the heritage

of a backward czarist economy, to a high point of industrialization, to a collectivized, mechanized agriculture, to full Socialism and the laying of the foundations for the Communism that is the next stage of development of Soviet society.

Conditions of peace in the world have helped accelerate the progress of the Soviet citizen toward the attainment of his aim for a good, full Socialist life; whereas the threat of war or the fact of war have worked only as a brake on this program, causing switches in the economy from production of goods for consumers' needs to goods for war needs, as was the case in the late war. In the midst of the third 5-Year Plan, which had as one of its main aims the widening of the production of consumers' goods, the ripening war situation made necessary increased steel production and lowered consumers' goods production. This was in 1939, at a time when the living standard of the average man in the street (city and village) had risen to a very high point, as we have already pointed out.

By 1939 the annual national income had increased sixfold, as compared to 1913, that is from 21 billion rubles to 128 billion rubles (based on the 1926-27 price index). The average base pay had risen from 708 rubles per year in 1928—the first year of the first 5-Year Plan—to 4,100 rubles per year.

For the same period the number of industrial and white collar workers had risen from 11.2 million to 30.4 million men and women.

In the countryside the changes were no less sharp. Before 1917 the poor and middle farmers had a total of 137 million hectares of land portioned out among them. By 1939 the collective farmers had 3½ times as much, or 488 million hectares of land under tillage. Before 1917 the poor and middle farmers had produced 2.5 billion poods* of grain a year. By 1939 socialized agriculture was producing 7.2 billion poods of grain a year.

The indivisible** funds of the collective farm had risen, by 1939, to 21 billion rubles, of which only 1/10 constituted previous peasant property (brought into the collective) and the remaining 9/10 the Socialist property accumulated by the collective farms.

Before 1917 the poor and middle farmers had produced annually 140 poods of grain to a family, of which part had to be turned over to the landlords as land rent. By 1939 each collective farm-family was annually producing an average of 360 poods of grain.

For just the years 1936-1939 the money income of each farmer rose 1½ times.

* 1 pood—36 lbs.

** That part of the collective farm income which is not distributed but is set aside to be used for the farm as a whole.

Indication of the rising living standards of the working people of both city and countryside was the rise in production of consumers' goods. From 10.8 billion rubles (1926-1927 prices) in 1913 it rose to 53.7 billion rubles by 1940, or five-fold. For this same period the population increased 40% (inclusive of Western Byelorussia, the Western Ukraine, Bessarabia and the Baltic republics). For just the years 1933-39 the sale of products of consumption to the people rose 2.9 times (food products—3.2 times and other products 2.5 times): meat—5.7 times, butter—8.4 times, clothing—2.4 times, shoes—2.4 times.

Savings accounts rose from 261 million rubles in 1929 in the cities to over 5 billion rubles by 1939, and from 55 million rubles in 1929 in the countryside to 976 million rubles by 1939—an average of a sixfold rise.

In 1913 there were only 8 million children in elementary and middle schools. For the school year 1938-39 there were 31½ million children in Soviet schools. Literacy which in 1913 had been 24% had risen by 1939 to 81.2%.

WAR DAMAGE AND POSTWAR PLAN

The war inflicted on the Soviet people by the German fascists (1941-1945) could not but reflect itself on the standard of living of the coun-

try. The national economy suffered destruction to the value of 679 billion rubles. The country lost 7 million men and women in dead. Destroyed were 32 thousand industrial enterprises, 65 thousand kilometers* of railroad lines, 98 thousand collective farms, almost 2,000 state farms, about 3,000 Machine and Tractor Stations, 1,710 cities, over 70,000 villages, 66.2 million square meters** of living quarter space (depriving 25 million people of shelter), 82,000 schools, 6,000 hospitals, 976 sanatoria, 656 rest homes, 902 bath houses.

During the war years the country's economy and its national income had to serve the needs of the war, of the front. As Stalin put it during the war: "The Soviet people gave up many necessities, consciously accepted serious deprivation so as to give more to the front."

But by February 9, 1946, Stalin in discussing the new 5-Year Plan (adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., March 18, 1946) in his pre-election speech could promise the Soviet people that:

The principal aims of the new Five-Year Plan are to rehabilitate the ravaged areas of the country, to restore the pre-war level in industry and agriculture, and then to surpass the level in more or less substantial measure. To say nothing of the fact that the ration-

* 1 kilometer = .621 miles

** 1 meter = 1 yard, 3.37 inches

1 square meter = 10.764 square feet

ing system will shortly be abolished, special attention will be directed to extending the production of consumers' goods, to raising the living standard of the working people by steadily lowering the price of all goods, and to the widespread construction of all manner of scientific research institutions that can give science the opportunity to develop its potentialities.

The Plan called for the completion of the transition from the rationing system to unrestricted Soviet trade by 1946-1947. The 1946 drought caused a postponement from the earliest possible date. But by September of 1947 General Malenkov, a member of the Politburo of the C.P.S.U.(B), could state, in an address to the Conference in Poland which formed the Information Bureau of Communist Parties, that by the end of the year rationing would be abolished in the U.S.S.R. and that prices would be reduced. This report was made public through the pages of *Pravda*, December 9, 1947.

And on December 14, 1947, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. jointly issued a decision on the abolition of rationing simultaneously with a wide monetary reform, to take effect as of December 16 of that year. Reductions in the retail prices of foodstuffs and clothing were also concurrently introduced. This was followed by further reductions in 1948 (this time in the prices

of automobiles, bicycles, radios, Watches, cigarettes, caviar, vodka, wine, but not of basic foodstuffs), then again in 1949 and 1950. The first food price cut (1947) made for a yearly saving by the people of 86 billion rubles. The second cut (March 1949) allowed for a saving of 71 billion rubles that year. The third and latest food price reduction will ensure the population a saving of 110 billion rubles.

Between the second and third cuts and as a direct result of these cuts the purchasing power of the ruble increased twofold and, further, real wages increased twofold.

Overall per capita incomes of industrial and white collar workers have risen 24% over their 1940 incomes, and of farmers—more than 30% over their 1940 incomes.

The total national income had risen (in comparative prices) from 21 billion rubles in 1913 to 128.3 billion rubles in 1940 and is climbing to 177 billion rubles this year. In 1913 but a small fraction of the national income fell to the share of the workers and the toiling peasantry, the bulk of it going to the ruling classes. In Soviet times the entire national income is at the disposition of the working people. Twenty-five to 27% of the national income is used up in the expansion of the national economy and the formation of reserves (whereas in capitalist countries under the best of conditions only 8-12% is

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thus expended). And 73-75% of the national income is consumed by the workers, the farmers and the intellectuals.

CRITERIA FOR LIVING STANDARDS

A full evaluation of the standard of living of a people requires an analysis of the following elements: 1) the ownership of the means of production; 2) the size of the national income and the working people's share in it; 3) the rate of employment and of unemployment (full and partial); and, connected with this, the number of dependents supported by each person working; 4) working conditions (length of working day, vacations, intensity of labor and conditions of labor safeguards, injury rate, sickness rate, sanitary and hygienic conditions, work disabilities, protection of the labor of women and minors, etc.); 5) living conditions (housing, public services, public health, education, social insurance, social security, etc.); 6) size of savings accounts; 7) actual volume of consumption. But the most important consideration is the question of security of employment.

Also to be considered in characterizing the standard of living are data on death and birth rates, the life span, the age until which men and women are capable of working, the physical development of the youth, etc.

SHARING THE NATIONAL INCOME

The basic law of the Soviet Union states:

The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. (Art. 4 of the Constitution of U.S.S.R.)

The distribution of the national income is based on the Socialist ownership of the means of production. Before the October Socialist Revolution, 15.9 percent of the population controlled the entire country's means of production.

Before 1917 three-fourths of the entire national income went to only one-tenth of the population. National income in the U.S.S.R. is shared in its entirety by the working people of the U.S.S.R. There is no exploiting class in the U.S.S.R., 25-27 percent of the national income is used in the expansion of the country's economy, for social insurance, for education and physical education, culture, defense, etc., in the interests of the working people, and 73-75 percent of the national income reverts directly to the workers, farmers and intellectuals of the U.S.S.R.

What portion of the national in-

come goes to each Soviet individual is more difficult to determine. The principle applied in the U.S.S.R. in remuneration for work done is the principle of Socialism expressed in the motto: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Salaries, collective farm workday remuneration, fees and honoraria for actors, artists, writers, thus naturally vary widely. A system of payment has been worked out in the U.S.S.R. which takes into account the difference between skilled and unskilled labor, between heavy and light work. (At the same time every opportunity for full training and education in all fields is ensured through free vocational, technical and agricultural training both at one's place of work and in the classes and schools conducted throughout the country, through free education through the seventh grade, through a system of state stipends for all students in institutes and universities who have good marks.)

In industry the piece-work system prevails with progressively higher wages as individual quotas are overfulfilled as well as bonuses to Stakhanovites when the plant as a whole exceeds its planned output. Workers, technicians and engineers directly involved in production are paid higher than those working in offices. Those employed in remote regions (e.g., the Far North) receive higher wages.

That applies also to workers, technicians and engineers employed in centers of new basic industrial construction—in the Urals, in Siberia, in the Far East, etc., where wages are higher by 20 percent). In harmful or dangerous trades, such as mining, workers get additional bonuses of from 10 to 30 percent, depending on their years of service.

In 1928 the average wage for the entire Soviet economy was 708 rubles a year, or 59 rubles a month. In 1940 it was 4,100 rubles a year, or 341 rubles 66 kopeks a month. Last year it was 5,084 rubles a year (24 percent higher than in 1940), or 423 rubles and 66 kopeks per month. This year, it is expected, the statistical average individual annual income will reach 6,000 rubles (or 500 rubles a month). Actual average factory earnings, however, are between 900 and 1,000 rubles a month, since the average output is 180 percent of the set quota and many produce 200 percent and more of the quota.

In addition, bonuses are paid workers by a plant when the monthly plan as a whole has been overfulfilled. These bonuses are divided among the workers in the plant's offices, as well as among the production staff, and usually amount to about 500 rubles a month.

Average wages were 12 percent higher in 1949 than in 1948 (24 percent higher than in 1940), but it may be of interest to note some basic wage

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rates for 1948 that we have at hand for the Stalin Auto Plant and the Kaganovich Ball-Bearing Plant, both in Moscow.

Stalin Auto Plant

<i>Job Category</i>	<i>Basic Monthly Wage (in Rubles)</i>
Molder	900-1600
Shaft Maker	650-1700
Smelter	1200-1600
Pourer	1400-1600
Punch Operator	800-1400
Sand Blaster	750-1000
Universal Fitter	700-1400
Plumber	500-1100
Gas Welder	600-1200
Electric Welder	700-1200
Electrician	500-1200
Carpenter	450-700
Painter	450-700
Loader	600-750
Tinner	600-800
Crane Mechanic	900-1000
Driver	600-900
Locomotive Mechanic	1100-1600
Train Assembler	1000-1100
Maintenance Man (part time)	500-650

1st Moscow Kaganovich Ball-Bearing Plant

<i>Job Category</i>	<i>Basic Monthly Wage (in Rubles)</i>
Punch Operator	700-1200
Roller	700-1000
Trimmer	500-900
Rigger	500-800
Molder	700-2000
Steel Worker	1000-2000
Model Maker	800-1500

Shaft Maker	800-1200
Repair Man	800-1500
Machine Tool Worker	400-1000
Inspector	450-600
Lathe Hand	600-1500
Milling Machine Operator	500-1000
Planer	500-900
Polisher	700-1600
Grinder	600-1100
Electrician	600-900
Plumber	500-800
Automobile Mechanic	600-1000
Driver	850-1000
Welder	600-1000
Machine Operator	500-900
Annealer	700-1000
Carpenter	600-900
Mason	600-900
Plasterer	500-1000
Concrete Worker	500-900
Furnace Tender	500-700
Cleaning Woman	300-350
Loader	800-1000

BRITISH DELEGATION FINDINGS

A few months ago a British workers' delegation of twenty spent two weeks in the U.S.S.R. collecting data on the Soviet standard of living. At the Caliber Precision Instrument Plant in Moscow, for instance, they found the average wage to be 876 rubles a month (ranging from 500-3000 rubles a month). They found young workers of 17 making 800-900 rubles a month.

Members of the delegation visited building sites and questioned con-

struction workers about their wages. They found a girl of 22 operating all the machinery from the mixer platform and receiving an average wage of 1,000 rubles a month. Bricklayers were making 1200-2000 rubles a month, carpenters, 900-1200 rubles, laborers, 600-780 rubles.

In the metal industry they found smelters whose base pay was 980 rubles a month reaching 2700-7500 rubles a month with bonuses included; base pay of rollers was found to be 980 rubles a month, of shearers, 750 rubles.

Average wages at the Stalingrad Tractor Works were found to be 1500 rubles a month. Stakhanovites during the period around the delegation's visit were averaging 3000 rubles a month. Workers in maintenance were averaging 1200-1500 rubles a month, tool makers 2000-2500 rubles.

At a candy factory in Kiev, average wages were found to be 660 rubles a month, with the highest wage 1300 rubles for the month.

People, however, are not mean or average, but real individuals, and to get a true picture of the Soviet citizen's income it will be helpful to examine the incomes of specific individuals.

TYPICAL INDUSTRIAL FAMILY INCOMES

Let us take railway engineer Alek-

sei Zharenov, of the Moscow-Rybnoe line, for instance. His basic monthly wage is 1,300 rubles. In an average month he makes an additional 1600 rubles for exceeding his norm (or quota), a 1200 ruble bonus a month for saving fuel, another 100 rubles if he repairs his engine on the run. In addition, he receives regularly 222 rubles a month for his high qualification and a 260-ruble seniority bonus for having worked on the line over 10 years. In all, his total earnings for a month will amount to 4,582-4,682 rubles.

Beyond this in the month of May last year, for example, he received 3,500 rubles as a premium for his faultless work for the year 1948.

Or let us take the Kuzminsky family of Kharkov, consisting of mother, father, two sons, and a daughter. All but the mother work at the Kharkov Tractor plant. Afanasi Kuzminsky, the father, instructs young workers; Vitali, the elder son, is a junior equipment servicing engineer; Evgeni, the younger son, is a lathe operator; Lidia, the daughter, is a draftsman. Together they bring in 4000 rubles a month.

On the other hand, Ivan Griaznoi, a miner in the Moscow Region, alone makes 3800-4000 rubles a month.

In another mining family, that of Georgi Vasinov in the Donbas, there are two earners: Georgi, a mining technician with a working status of forty-four years, and his wife,

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Evdokia, an elementary school teacher.

They have two daughters and a son. Viktoria, the eldest, is a doctor in Chernigov, married and with a baby son. The younger children, Antonia and Evgeni are both mining students in Stalino and receive monthly state stipends.

Together Georgi and his wife earn 3850 rubles a month. He earns an average of 2200 rubles a month, plus a state pension of 550 rubles. His wife's salary is 1100 rubles a month (including a long service monthly bonus of 300 rubles).

K. Smirnov, who operates cigarette-casing machines at the Dukat Tobacco Factory, makes 2,500 rubles a month on an average.

FARM FAMILY INCOMES

On the collective farms the farmers receive returns for their labor in kind and in money on the basis of the number of workdays put in in a year per individual farmer. A workday represents an average quota of work accomplished within one day. Farmers accomplish the equivalent of one and one-half, two, three and more workdays within one calendar day, so that the possible number of workdays does not depend on calendar days but on one's work capacity. Much farm work is done in brigades, the members of the brigades receiving returns based on the

collective work of the brigade. Additional remuneration is made for raising harvest yields and for raising the productivity of live stock.

A typical farm family of six last year would have made about 16,500 rubles for the year, or 1375 rubles a month. Ninety-four percent of this income would represent the family's share of the collective harvest (21 percent in payment for workdays put in and 73 percent from the sale of their share of the crops) and 6 percent, the return on the produce raised on its own plot. In the case of the Vasili Afanasevich Bezin family of the "Stakhanovite" Collective Farm of the Novo-Pokrovsky District in the Saratov Region of the R.S.F.S.R. (taken as a typical collective farm family), the income from the collective harvest represented 1,000 workdays put in by Collective Farmer Bezin and those members of his family who helped in the collective farm work. For the year the family's share of grain was 330 poods; of potatoes, 111 poods; of milk, 4200 liters;* of meat, 12 poods.

The family of Prokop Safsai, a collective farmer in the Kharkov Region in the Ukrainian S.S.R., consists of Prokop, a brigade leader, and his wife, Hanna, both of whom are working members of their collective farm in the village of Rogan, and two daughters, Aleksandra, who is

* 1 liter = 1 qt., 1/2 gill

a doctor in a rural hospital, and Irina, who is a student at a teacher's Training Institute in Kharkov.

In 1949 this family received as their share of their farm's income, for their workdays—11,542 rubles in cash, 3 tons 750 lbs. of grain, 450 lbs. of apples, 3 tons of vegetables, 137 lbs. of vegetable oil, the necessary fodder for their own two cows, for their four sheep and for their pigs.

It is important in this connection to note that the income of the average farmer is now over 14 percent higher than it was last year and 30 percent higher than it was in 1940.

However, the income of the Soviet population does not consist solely of direct remuneration, in money or in kind. To this must be added up to another 38 percent, representative of social and cultural benefits provided free by the Socialist government of the U.S.S.R., if we are to get a true picture of the real income of the Soviet population. Included in these benefits are: social insurance, sick benefits, pensions — administered through trade unions for industrial and office workers from funds to which they do not contribute. In the case of members of collective farms and co-operatives such benefits are disbursed from mutual benefit funds accumulated from their collective incomes and deducted from these incomes before they are distributed among the members of the collective. It is required that 2 percent of the

gross income of collective farms or co-operatives be set aside for this fund.

The social benefits include, further: state pensions; free or reduced rate passes (the worker paying 30 percent of the cost for 80 percent of the passes, the remaining 20 percent being issued free) to sanatoria, rest homes and children's rest homes; benefits to mothers with many children (beginning with the birth of the third) and to all unmarried mothers; free medical services; free elementary education and free vocational training, as well as free training for the raising of skills; payment of stipends to all institute and university students with good marks.

In 1949 the State spent 110 billion rubles on social and cultural payments and benefits, almost three times as much as in 1940 when 41,400 million rubles were spent, which in turn was five times as much as the 8.3 billion spent in 1932.

This year 22 billion rubles are being spent on health services alone, 19 billion rubles on social insurance, 59.5 billion rubles for education. In all, 120.7 billion rubles (28.2 percent of all expenditures) have been assigned from this year's budget for social and cultural needs (over 10 billions more than last year).

JOB SECURITY

Perhaps of the most outstanding significance among the elements en-

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tering into a total evaluation of the well-being of a country's citizens, is the employment status of that people.

The Soviet Constitution (Article 118) guarantees Soviet citizens the right to work, that is, the right to employment. The basis for this guarantee, as the Constitution states, is "... the Socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment."

Twenty years ago, in 1930, Soviet social insurance offices made payment for unemployment benefits for the last time. After that year, this item of expenditure was completely eliminated from the budget of the State social insurance of the U.S.S.R. Unemployment had been wiped out in the first two years of the 1st Five-Year Plan.

Soviet citizens do not have to worry about dark, rainy days. In the capitalist world it is not only the unemployed who suffer from unemployment, but the employed as well, since the existence of this large unemployed reserve of labor makes them insecure and unsure of the morrow. The worker employed today never knows but what tomorrow will bring him a discharge slip.

In 1928, the first year of the first Five-Year Plan, there were 10,800,000 people employed in all branches of

the national economy, exclusive of agriculture. In 1913, there had been an employment figure of 11,200,000. Before World War II, in 1940, there were 31,200,000 employed, exclusive of the collective farmers, and now there are 33,500,000 men and women employed full-time in all branches of Soviet economy, again exclusive of the collective farmers.

The economy of the Soviet state is industrial-agricultural, but the larger part of the population, perhaps 60 percent, is still engaged in agriculture, over 90 percent of which has been collectivized.

Other sections of the population, in very small part, are made up of members of co-operative, individual artisans and individual peasantry, the private sector making up only 2.6 percent (as of the last Soviet census in 1939).

The average family now has more than one earner, usually at least two. On the basis of the Socialist economy the number of dependents each earner supports has been reduced by a third.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Of no less importance to an understanding of a people's welfare is a measurement of its working conditions.

The Soviet citizen's working day is now limited by law to eight hours for factory and office; to seven, six,

or, in some cases, five hours for dangerous and arduous trades, as for example, in the mines, in X-ray industrial laboratories, etc.; and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are especially dangerous, as for example, in the production of mercury.

Various categories of intellectual workers and professionals, whose work is an especial strain on the nervous system, also have a shortened working day. Educational and scientific workers in higher schools of learning work a six-hour day, of which only 2.25-3.5 hours are devoted to educational work, the rest to research. Elementary and secondary school teachers work three to four hours per day.

Certain medical workers work from five and one-half to seven hours a day; pharmacists—seven hours, hospital workers—six and one-half hours, polyclinic doctors—five and one-half hours.

The Soviet citizen works a six-day week, with the seventh day (Sunday) off and is guaranteed a yearly paid vacation of from a minimum of 12 working days to 48 working days (depending on work category).

Minors (boys and girls under 16) may only work a six-hour day and are guaranteed a yearly vacation of 24 working days. This affects graduates of some Labor Reserves vocational training schools who are not quite 16 on graduation, as well as

student-apprentices who may alternately work one day and study one day during the latter period of their vocational training. Minors between 14 and 16 (but none younger than 14 under any conditions) are permitted to work by trade unions only under extraordinary circumstances. Anyone under 18 is accepted for work only after a thorough medical examination and is required to pass a yearly medical examination thereafter until he has reached 18. Certain trades and categories of work will accept no one under 18.

Nursing mothers are given time off regularly to nurse their babies—two half-hour breaks. This time off shortens the working time without any reduction in their pay.

During the years of the first Five-Year Plan and up to 1940 Soviet workers worked a seven-hour working day, six-day week. But in 1940 the threat of war required this to be raised to an eight-hour day and a seven-day week. The serious work of reconstruction of the country's economy after the ravages of World War II has required the maintenance of the wartime work week. But overtime permitted by the unions during the war (with time and a half for the first two hours of overtime and double time for working beyond that) is now no longer permitted.

In addition to vacations with full pay, Soviet workers receive free or reduced-rate passes to sanatoria and

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rest homes run by the government and the trade unions, as indicated earlier in this article. There are now 1,195 such institutions functioning under the trade unions. Twenty per cent of the passes are issued free of charge, and 80 per cent at charges representing but 30 per cent of the actual cost of the pass. Last year 2,100,000 men and women rested and received medical treatment at these various resorts. During the years of this first postwar Five-Year Plan, over 11,500,000 industrial workers and office workers will have been cared for in these institutions.

Of the 5,000,000 children who spent their summer holidays in camps in the U.S.S.R. in 1949—2,406,000 children of factory and office workers were accommodated in trade-union Pioneer camps. This year 2,500,000 children of factory and office workers were accommodated in the 6,000 trade-union Pioneer camps and a total of 6,000,000 Soviet children spent their holidays at all children's camps. Parents pay only 30 per cent of the costs. The main part of the expenses is defrayed out of the social insurance funds administered by the Soviet trade unions.

Women factory and office workers receive maternity leaves of 77 calendar days (35 calendar days before birth and 42 after birth). During this period they receive benefits paid out of social insurance funds and equalling from a minimum of

two-thirds of their regular pay up to full pay.

Collective farm women are granted maternity leaves of one month before birth and one month after birth. For this two-month period they receive payment equalling the remuneration for half of their average number of standard workdays for such a period. This is paid out of funds especially set aside for mutual benefit.

Directly related to working conditions, naturally, is the question of labor protection. Over 15 years ago control over the observance of labor legislation, over the rules and standards of safety techniques and industrial hygiene was entrusted to the trade unions. To fulfill these functions, the trade unions have established a system of technical inspection. Inspectors have wide authority. They have the right to close down a shop or even an entire enterprise if these constitute a danger to the life or health of the workers. Some 940,000 active trade unionists are engaged in labor protection work, supervising the observance of labor laws and the conditions of safety devices in their enterprises.

Over the years the Soviet trade unions have founded 20 research institutes and laboratories for the scientific study of the problems of labor protection and safety techniques. Safety measures, based on findings of these institutes, have been widely

introduced into industry.

During the period of the first Five-Year Plan, 460 million rubles were expended by the Soviet government on safety measures; during the second Five-Year Plan, over 500 million rubles; during the third Five-Year Plan up to and through World War II—over 2,551 million rubles. During the first year of the current Five-Year Plan (the 4th) alone 732 million rubles were assigned for such

measures. The Plan stresses the taking of measures for the further improvement of safety devices, ventilation, illumination, sanitation.

The 10th Congress of the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., which met last year, set as one of the main tasks of the trade unions the elimination of the causes of accidents and occupational diseases completely.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

By Edw

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A Generation of Soviet Youth

By Edward Frisch

THROUGHOUT the thirty-two years of the existence of the Soviet Union the role of the young people in Soviet life has been one of the best measures of what living Socialism means. The history of the activity of the youth of the Soviet Union, both in pre-revolutionary days and in the winning of working-class power and the building of the Socialist system, is of the greatest importance as a guide and lesson to Communists, and to class-conscious young people in particular. Knowing and appreciating the experiences and accomplishments of the Soviet youth give our Party the key to understanding the leading role which Soviet youth in general, and the Communist Youth League (Komsomol) in particular, is playing among the young people of the world in the struggle for peace and democracy. One of the keys to international solidarity in defense of peace is the friendship of the youth of the Soviet Union and of the United States. For it is American youth who are being called upon by American imperialism to prepare for war against the Soviet Union. It is the young people who are being used as cannon-fodder in the military ad-

ventures of Wall Street, and who are being drafted into an army dedicated to aggression. "Here," say the Trumans and Dulleses, pointing to the Soviet Union, "is your enemy. The Soviet Union and the Socialist system are the enemies of the youth. Therefore, be ready to fight and hate this enemy." But American youth will not be taken in by this talk. They know their enemy is unemployment and war; they know their enemy is poverty and atomic death. The bonds of international solidarity that were formed in the struggle against fascism will not be easily broken. Nor will the lesson of the heroic struggle of the young people of the Soviet Union in the fight for peace be lost upon American youth. However, the frantic attempts of the American imperialists to break these bonds and undo this lesson present a great danger to the youth of the United States. Therefore, it is urgent that our Party in its guidance to Marxist youth, and in its leadership to the young people of our country, cement the solidarity of Soviet and American youth. This friendship will stand as a bulwark against the atom-happy destroyers of youth, and will

frustrate their plans for still another world war. The knowledge of the history and the accomplishments of a Socialist generation of youth should serve to arm us in the struggle against the attempt of the imperialists to use American young people as sacrifices to a new anti-Soviet crusade.

REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF THE YOUTH

Young people have ever been a vital factor in the revolutionary movement in all countries. In answer to the question as to why there were so many young people in the Party, Lenin once declared:

Is it not natural for young people to predominate in our party, the party of revolution? We are the party of the future and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators and innovators are always followed most eagerly by the youth. We are a party of self-sacrificing struggle against the rotten old system, and the youth are always the first in self-sacrificing struggles.

Under czarism, young people participated actively in revolutionary struggles. In the early period of the rise of capitalism in Russia, before the development of class-conscious proletarian activity, young people of the lower-middle classes gave forth many fighters for a better system, spokesmen of the revolutionary peasant sentiment of the times, such as the young critics Belinsky, Cherny-

shevsky, and Dobrolyubov. Many study circles sprang up, and young Socialist intellectuals contributed much to the development of class-consciousness among the workers. The most significant developments came after the rise of an industrial proletariat in Russia. The change in the social composition of the study circles reflected the developing class-consciousness of the Russian workers. More and more, workers from the mills and shops formed their own study circles or joined those already in existence. The study circles became centers of working-class activity and struggle. The predominance of young workers in such groups is noted by M. I. Kalinin in a vivid description of their organization and activity:

Workers groups and circles, consisting almost entirely of young people, were formed in the mills and factories, and even in small shops. In most cases, these groups and circles were organized at the initiative of the party organization, and under its leadership, but often they were started by the workers themselves, who were eager to learn more, establish libraries, and the like. These spontaneously organized groups and circles, however, also looked to the workers' party, and sought connections with it. And this was quite natural: once the first step on the road to organization had been taken, and a circle had been organized, the workers could no longer continue to stew in their own juice. They felt their isolation just as keenly now as before the

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organization of the circle, and therefore tried to establish connections with other factories, so as to broaden the scope of their activities. The inevitable result of this was that they found ways and means of getting into contact with the underground organization of the party.

When Lenin organized the *St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, he was a young man of twenty-five. Stalin was a youth of nineteen when he started a revolutionary organization in Transcaucasia, and at twenty-three led the Batum demonstration of some 6,000 workers. The core of the newly rising Party consisted of young workers, and the leadership to a great extent was also youthful. During this early period of activity when the Party was forced to rely on illegal organization, many young people were attracted by the very nature of this activity. Far from decrying this "revolutionary romanticism," Kalinin, in his analysis of the period, speaks very highly of this characteristic of the youth:

Of no little importance to the young people was the fact that the underground party organization had a halo of romance, that it demanded extraordinary will-power, courage, stamina, and self-sacrifice. Although some of the older people in particular, even from the ranks of the working class, were scared away from the underground organization by the danger it involved, the risk of falling into the hands of

the gendarmes, and landing up in prison or at hard labor, others, especially the youth—and not only the working-class youth—were attracted to the underground organization, were fascinated and aroused by this very danger and risk.

The main thing, of course, was not revolutionary romanticism; the main thing was exploitation and class oppression, which were felt keenly and most painfully by the working class youth . . . "the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a world to win." . . . It is this that has ever inspired the working-class youth, it is this that creates the soil for revolutionary romanticism.

The fact was, at this time, that the attempts to find legal means of struggle were unsuccessful; for under the conditions of czarist terror, every form of struggle was defined by the authorities as anti-state activity. This did not mean that the struggle for legality was given up. On the contrary, the fight of the rising Party, particularly the effect it had in the field of mass activity, in the demand for reforms and for better conditions for the workers, resulted in forcing the authorities to grant, in time, legal means of struggle which were of the greatest importance in the early history of the Bolshevik Party.

Throughout this period, the young people gave a great deal of their energy to dogged and persistent study of Marxism, in illegal study circles led by Party educators. The condi-

tions under which this study took place were very difficult; nevertheless, some of the best theoretical and organizational leaders of the revolution got their profoundest and earliest training in Marxist theory in this way. Books were read and discussed, and according to Kalinin, "much attention was devoted to philosophy, political economy, to the history of the revolutionary movement, to the controversy between the materialists and the idealists."

LENIN STRESSED THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH FOR THE PARTY

The rise of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party as the leader of the Russian working class had the greatest significance for the youth. The Party, from its inception, gave leadership and attention to the young people, showed it the path of struggle, and guided it along this path unceasingly. At all times the Party was aware of the *special* qualities of the young people, the special nature of their oppression under capitalism and czarist autocracy. In a 1905 letter, Lenin wrote:

The youth will decide the issue of the whole struggle, the student youth, and still more the working-class youth. . . . Do not fear their lack of training, do not tremble at their inexperience and lack of development. If you are unable to organize and stimulate them

to action, they will turn to the Mensheviks and the Gapon, and this inexperience of theirs will cause five times more damage. . . . Only you must unflinchingly organize, organize and organize *hundreds* of circles. . . . Either you create new, young, fresh, energetic, militant organizations everywhere by revolutionary Social-Democratic means of all sorts and kinds, and among all strata, or you will perish, enveloped in the glory of "committee" bureaucracies. (My emphasis.—E.F.)

Lenin's admonition to the Party organization that it develop youth work under all conditions, and with a bold and variegated mass approach, gave the line for the Party's attitude toward youth work throughout its whole existence. Under the Party's guidance, hundreds of such youth circles were established, and in the 1905 Revolution the young workers and the revolutionary students participated in and led many of the struggles, developing ever greater initiative, and confidence in, the Party. In 1917, at the semi-legal meeting of the Sixth Congress of the Party in Petrograd, the question of the "youth-leagues" was discussed, and a resolution of the greatest importance for the future development of youth work was passed, which read in part:

. . . Our Party must strive to set up independent organizations, bound to the party in spirit only, and organizationally not subordinate. But at the same time, the party must see to it that these

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organizations bear a Socialist nature from the very day of their foundation; that the future Young Workers' Socialist League of Russia become a section of the Youth International from its very foundation; and that the main aim of its local organizations be to develop the class-consciousness of the proletarian youth by propagating the ideas of Socialism, fighting energetically against Chauvinism and militarism, and at the same time defending the economic and political rights and interests of the young workers. (My emphasis.—E.F.)

This Sixth Congress made it obligatory upon all Party organizations to assist in setting up such youth leagues. These Leagues, set up throughout Russia, participated actively in all struggles, in mass gatherings, in the distribution of literature and leaflets, and at all times were the militant assistants of the Party. But more than this, in their independent mass character, they brought Marxist education and training to new thousands of young workers, developing the class-consciousness of the youth and bringing them closer to the Party.

The great trust reposed in the youth during the actual Revolution itself is shown by Lenin's placing of the young workers from the youth leagues among the shock troops, and with the best detachments, in the most strategic positions. From the data on the Red Guards of Petrograd, it is estimated that about forty per cent of the Red Guards were young people.

In the period when the internal and international counter-revolutionary forces launched the attempt to crush the Revolution through civil war, and intervention, the many Socialist youth groups began to press for a consolidation and a centralization of their activities. An all-Russian organizational bureau was set up, on the initiative of the youth leagues of Moscow, Petrograd, and the Urals; and at a conference held in Moscow, October 29-November 4, 1918, the Komsomol was founded.

LESSONS OF THE EARLY PERIOD

What are the main lessons of this early period with respect to Marxist training and activity among the youth? First it is clear that at all times, the youth, and particularly the young workers, constituted an area of special concern for the Party, during all periods of legal, semi-legal, and illegal activity. This is natural; for the very nature of the special oppression of young people, and the revolutionary readiness and spirit of the youth made this inevitable. The Party, in realizing this, was therefore able to draw upon the youth as a militant reserve, and was able to grow and become stronger. Had the Party failed to do this in Russia, it would have failed in one of its prime tasks in organizing the working class.

Secondly, the masses of youth were organized in their own independent

organizations, of the most varied, mass character. The key task of these organizations was the development of class-consciousness and Marxist education among the young workers on the basis of special youth activities. The attempts to force the youth organizations into a narrow pattern of activity, a kind of replica of the Party, were fought by Lenin and the leadership of the Party. However, the youth were brought into close connection with the Party and were taught devotion to it, through the guidance which it gave them, and the leadership it offered in their struggles. The independent character of the Komsomol based on special activities best suited for the youth, and the constant guidance of the Party, assured its success in organizing the masses of working youth and developing their class consciousness.

Thirdly, the basis of organization among the youth was in the mills and factories, where the many study circles sprang up and developed contact with one another and with the Party. The working-class youth stimulated the student and peasant youth to greater activity.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN THE PERIOD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

After the consolidation of Soviet power, the role and function of the youth organizations and of the Komsomol became greatly enhanced. The

very young people who had been brought into the struggle for Socialism by the rottenness of the old system, were now given the opportunity for achieving a richer, more abundant life, in a country ruled by the working class. Now it was the youth who were given great responsibilities in rebuilding the shattered economy. The Komsomol was given a great part of the responsibility for developing the education and training of the children and youth. It was given the responsibility of work with the Young Pioneers, the boys' and girls' organization that took in most of the children in the lower schools. It was given patronage over the Red Navy and Air Force; it had responsibility for the political work in these areas and contributed many of the leaders of these armed services. But basic to all these responsibilities and opportunities, the young people threw themselves into the task of building a Socialist economy.

Throughout the period of Socialist construction, it was the Communist Party under Stalin's leadership that gave guidance to the young people and to their organization, the Communist Youth League. All of the Party leadership, whatever its specific assignments were, was concerned with rearing the Socialist generation. At every milestone in the march to Socialism in the Soviet Union, the young people looked to Stalin and to the Party for leadership, guidance, and warm comradeship. It helped to play a role against this attempted prepared role in the struggle. The equality of the contributions was more than in the carrying of Socialist people, of heavy tasks of labor, the most and agriculture been what the spread of the Soviet honor of worker, first re were de Day, and omol s Mine. T in text member Tasya G Krivon the Kor records driving ber of

ship. It was this relationship which helped steel the youth for its valorous role in the Great Patriotic War against the fascist aggressors. It is this attention and guidance which prepared the Soviet youth for its leading role among the world youth in the struggle for peace.

The extent of the political maturity of the younger generation and of its contribution to Socialist construction was nowhere more clearly shown than in the achievements of the youth in carrying through and popularizing Socialist emulation. The Soviet people, having laid the foundations of heavy industry, threw itself into the task of raising the productivity of labor, and the Socialist miracle of the most rapid growth of industry and agriculture the world had ever seen was achieved. It is noteworthy that the Stakhanov movement, which spread the length and breadth of the Soviet Union, was named in honor of the achievements of a young worker, Alexei Stakhanov, whose first records of high productivity were dedicated to International Youth Day, and were attained in the Komsomol section of the Central Irmine Mine. The first Stakhanovite records in textile were set by Komsomol members Dusya Vinogradova and Tasya Odintseva, and similarly, Peter Krivonoss and Pasha Angelina of the Komsomol set the first Stakhanov records in transport and in tractor-driving, respectively. The large number of young workers in Soviet in-

dustry was a notable factor throughout the Five-Year Plans, and the percentage of young workers in industry is steadily increasing, particularly in the skilled fields.

SOVIET YOUTH FACE A SECURE FUTURE

The difference in the prospect of young workers under Socialism and that of young workers under capitalism, as in the United States, makes clear the real meaning of Socialism for young people. The great fear and threat of unemployment to young workers in this country does not exist for Soviet youth. At the present time, young workers in the United States face a perspective of depression and unemployment, or imperialist war; these are the two threats that hang over the young workers of the United States. When unemployment hits, it is the young workers, and particularly the Negro youth and young women, who are hit hardest.

Soviet youth, on the other hand, are guaranteed the right to work by the Stalin Constitution. And this is no mere paper guarantee. For under Socialist planned economy there can be no economic crises, and thus unemployment, and the tremendous waste of the energies and abilities of young people that are inevitable under capitalism have been banished. Furthermore, Soviet youth are guaranteed the opportunity of job-training, in the field which they choose

and in which they show the greatest capability. The lack of job-training among the working youth in the United States handicaps the young people who are looking for jobs in a market that demands experienced or trained labor. This serves to maintain a reserve army of unemployed and unskilled young workers, who constitute a source of cheap labor. In the Soviet Union, the rule is equal pay for equal quantity and quality of work, regardless of the worker's age. Special attention is given to training and integrating young workers in industry and agriculture. Where United States capitalism cannot utilize a constantly growing skilled labor force, the constantly expanding economy of the U.S.S.R. has no fear of "flooding" this or that field with "too many" technicians and skilled workers. The great scourge of the decaying capitalist system, so-called technological unemployment, which throws thousands of workers on the labor market with each technological improvement, is non-existent in the Soviet Union, where there is constant demand for better organization of production. Whereas in this country, rationalization means layoffs, particularly for young people, and greater exploitation of the employed workers, in the U.S.S.R. it means increased welfare for the whole Soviet people. This is sharply brought out by the fact that in a recent year, *one out of every three* Soviet workers in the automotive

and shipbuilding industries introduced some rationalization in his field! In this country, such a worker would be hated by his fellow-workers, because they would be thrown out of work by the innovation. In the Soviet Union, the people respect and are grateful to such a worker for increasing the amount of wealth for the entire populace.

Offered the opportunities of job-training, the assurance of constant employment, and the absence of discrimination in earnings because of age, sex, color, or national origin, Soviet youth have dedicated their energies to building the Socialist economy, and are ready to defend it with their lives.

A basic factor conditions the attitude of Soviet youth to their work. They are the first generation in history to fulfill the Socialist ideal of collective labor, labor for the whole of one's people. The young worker under capitalism knows well enough that the profits of his labor are the property of a boss, who lords it over him with the power to hire and fire him. At his work, the young American worker is not producing for himself, but is forced to produce for a boss, with whom he has to wage a relentless struggle through his union in order to get paid enough in exchange for his labor power to meet the costs of keeping alive and well in the face of profiteering and high prices. The relation between the worker and his boss is one of con-

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stant struggle, of class struggle. Creative labor, pride in one's work, the feeling that one is working for one's country and people is ruled out under these conditions.

On the other hand, the Socialist industry in the Soviet Union functions, not for the enrichment of a few monopolists, but for the benefit of all the people. Hence, for the Soviet youth, labor is a matter of honor and creative initiative. The practice of Socialist labor brings about an entirely different relation between the worker and his work, and between fellow-workers. In this labor for the collective, the morale of Socialist labor is born. The love, respect and reverence of one's fellow-worker and fellow-citizen becomes the characteristic of the new Socialist man. The Soviet worker, and the youth in particular, glories in constructive, creative work.

In sharp contrast are the attitudes toward one's fellow-man fostered by United States imperialism and by Soviet Socialism. Here, the cult of brute force, brutalization and militarization, is inculcated by every possible means; by a film industry which features as its special menu, murder, the invincibility of the "gat" and the strong arm; by a press and radio which serve up the same poison; and by the glorification of imperialist generals and statesmen who pose as the new supermen rarin' to hurl the atom bomb at humanity. Glorification of war is being constantly

dinned into the ears of the youth, in a frenzied attempt to rally support for Wall Street's aggression. The "morality" of imperialist war, mass destruction of civilian population of North Korean population centers—such is the poison-propaganda fed to the American youth.

Not only the right to work is guaranteed Soviet youth. With this most fundamental of all Soviet rights, there are also assured to the young people, as to all Soviet workers, the right to leisure. Soviet youth have been given the facilities for, and have created, a recreation, rest and sports program that has no equal anywhere. In every phase of this program, the adult organizations and the Party work with the youth, making available to them ever-increasing facilities. The Central Council of Trade Unions, for example, has a tourist-excursionist office, which has developed many vacation-travel itineraries for the youth, visiting sites of historic interest, where the battles against the invaders took place, where great industries have been built. One itinerary covers all the places of Stalin's revolutionary activity in the Caucasus. Together with travel, skiing and mountain climbing circles have developed widely among the youth, and hostels and Alpine stations have sprung up everywhere. Camps and sea and lake resorts where workers may rest are provided equally for the youth, with special attention given

to the children in this regard, as in every other. And characteristic of the breadth of the recreation program among Soviet youth, is the mass character of sports in the U.S.S.R. Literally millions engage in every sport, with teams based in the factories and farms competing for championships, and taking the tests for the various badges which mark the degree of skill in each sport: It is no wonder that at the recent Brussels "Little Olympics," Soviet young athletes won a majority of the points.

The vast expansion of educational and cultural facilities under Soviet power is universally acknowledged. The working-class and peasant youth have been the prime beneficiaries of the entire system of educational institutions, from elementary schools to universities, as well as vocational and technical schools. It was thus that the Soviet youth was enabled to replace the bourgeois specialists and to fill vastly grown ranks of the qualified professions, as well as of the skilled trades. This is one of the factors that has enabled it to play a leading and decisive role in all spheres of Soviet life.

Thus have Soviet youth benefited from Socialism. In every field, they are given the love and devotion of the Party and the Soviet government.

In defense of this life, the Soviet youth showed the greatest courage and heroism in the war against the fascist invaders. The term Patriotic

War was no idle name. Soviet youth, and in particular the members of the Komsomol showed the greatest courage in all the armed forces and in the partisans. They became an heroic example honored by the anti-fascist youth the world over, with the names of such heroes as Zoya Komodovskaya and the Young Guard of Krasnodar becoming international bywords of the anti-fascist youth movement. It is as a result of this Communist education that Soviet youth were able to fight so heroically. It was in defense of the new life that the Socialist Revolution had ushered in, that Soviet youth showed such valor. It was their devotion to the Communist Party and the Soviet government that had given them this life, and their sense of personal achievement in Socialist construction that made them heroes. They were defending what they themselves had built, and what had been built for them and the coming generations of youth. That is the lesson of Socialism's meaning for the youth.

The Soviet youth, like all youth, hate war. In their struggle for peace they are inspired by a firm knowledge that theirs is the land of Socialism, where human exploitation has been uprooted; where anarchic production and economic crises which drive capitalist states to war have been eliminated; where there is no capitalist class avid for ever-greater profits and seeking, as does American imperialism, to bring the entire

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world under its domination. The Soviet Union, by its Socialist essence, is in no way impelled to seek the subjugation of other countries; on the contrary, its way is founded on the principle of peace and respect for the integrity, sovereignty, and freedom of nations. The Soviet youth, as the whole Soviet people, know that war can only interfere with, and set back, their steady progress along the historic road of gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. They are the builders of Communism, the youth of Lenin and Stalin. They are the youth of the land which heads the world's peace camp. It is this which brings them the love and admiration of the democratic youth the world over and recognition of their leading role in the world youth's struggle for peace and democracy.

Solidarity with the land of So-

cialism, and appreciation of its leading role in the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism, thus becomes the touchstone of true internationalism among the young people of all countries; for it is this international bond between the youth who have already established Socialism, those youth who are building it now, and those youth, as in our own country, who still have the task of bringing Socialism about, that is the guarantee of a Socialist world in the future. Without this international bond there is a weak link in the chain of resistance against imperialist aggression. It is particularly important here, in the center of world imperialism to bring this understanding to the young people who are studying Marxism-Leninism, to our Party which helps to guide these youth, and to the masses of American youth.

Books and Pamphlets Received

- Ideas They Cannot Jail.* Eugene Dennis (International Publishers). New York, 1950. 192 pp. 50 cents.
- Twenty-One Questions About War and Peace.* Eugene Dennis (New Century Publishers). New York, 1950. 48 pp. 10 cents.
- Hands Off Korea and Formosa.* Gus Hall (New Century Publishers). New York, 1950. 16 pp. 2 cents.
- Which Way for Young Americans?* Gus Hall (Challenge). New York, 1950. 32 pp. 3 cents.
- Debs and Dennis—Fighters for Peace.* Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (New Century Publishers). New York, 1950. 24 pp. 5 cents.
- Nazis Preferred.* Moses Miller (New Century Publishers). New York, 1950. 32 pp. 10 cents.
- The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man.* Friedrich Engels (International Publishers). New York, 1950. 22 pp. 15 cents.
- On People's Democratic Rule.* Mao Tse-tung (New Century Publishers). New York, 1950. 24 pp. 10 cents.
- Forge Negro-Labor Unity for Peace and Jobs.* Paul Robeson (Harlem Trade Union Council). New York, 1950. 16 pages. 3 cents.
- Essays on Literature, Philosophy and Music.* A. A. Zhdanov (International Publishers). New York, 1950. 96 pp. 60 cents.
- George Bernard Shaw.* Alick West (International Publishers). New York, 1950. 172 pp. \$2.00.
- The Atom Bomb and You.* Joseph Clark & William Weinstone (New Century Publishers). New York, 1950. 16 pp. 3 cents.
- What's Happening in Korea?* Richard Morris (New Century Publishers). New York, 1950. 24 pp. 5 cents.
- The Jerry Newson Story.* Buddy Green and Steve Murdock (East Bay Civil Rights Congress). Berkeley, 1950. 48 pp. 25 cents.
- Who Owns Chicago? A Study of the Chicago Group and the Chicago Economy.* Research Committee of the Chicago Workers' School (The Modern Book Store). Chicago, 1950. 48 pages. \$1.00.
- Catalogue, 1950.* (New Century Publishers). New York, 1950. 32 pp. No charge.

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