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

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The Domination of the Capitalist World by the United States

by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WITHIN the general scope of the present insane and ill-fated drive of American imperialism for world mastery there stands forth the important fact that during the post-World War II years the United States has succeeded in achieving a high degree of domination, or hegemony, over the capitalist world. This country has now reached a position where, arrogantly infringing upon the national independence of many other capitalist countries, it is able largely to dictate to them regarding major domestic and foreign policies. This is a situation unique in the history of world capitalism. During the past there have been predominant single countries—thus, England was the outstanding capitalist country all through the 18th and 19th centuries—and, from time to time, there have also been powerful alliances of capitalist states; but never before has any one country, or group of countries, achieved a position of

such decisive control over the capitalist world as that now being exercised by the United States. To a certain extent, the United States shares this domination with Great Britain, as its junior partner.

American capitalist world hegemony is vastly intensifying the most basic problems at present being faced by humanity—the menacing dangers of another world war and a re-growth of fascism. The very existence of this hegemony, an expression of growing capitalist decay, deepens the contradictions within the capitalist system; it sharpens the antagonisms between the capitalist and Socialist worlds; it thereby sharpens the general crisis of capitalism and hastens the disappearance of that system.

American capitalist hegemony is also, incidentally, placing before the Communist Party a complex of theoretical questions which urgently demand Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Our Party since 1945 has been pointing out the drive of the Wall Street monopolists for world mastery, but, for the first time, in its present convention resolution, it is taking up concretely the vital problem of an established American hegemony over the shaky capitalist world, and what this implies.

THE BASIS OF AMERICAN CAPITALIST HEGEMONY

Capitalist world domination by the United States is now being ever more boldly proclaimed by the spokesmen of Wall Street and their Social-Democratic stooges and other hangers-on. At the outset of their postwar drive for world conquest, warned by the evil effects upon Hitler of his raucous assertions of German imperialism's "right" and determination to rule the world, American imperialists contented themselves with vague, cunning, and hypocritical expressions about "our moral leadership of the world," "our responsibilities to mankind," and the like; but now, as United States control over the wobbly, ramshackle structure of capitalism has become more definite, they are making the eagle scream by expressing their imperialist ambitions more clearly. They are now letting the capitalists in all countries know unmistakably just who is their boss.

The hegemony of the United States over the rest of the capitalist world is based upon this country's

vastly superior strength, in comparison with that of any other single capitalist nation or of any hostile grouping of capitalist powers now in sight. In this rise of the United States to capitalist supremacy, we have a clear-cut example of the working of Lenin's law of the uneven development of capitalism. The United States, controlled by finance capital, having become so preponderantly the most powerful capitalist country economically, therefore inevitably proceeds to set up its imperialist domination, politically and militarily, over the world capitalist system.

The main reasons for the present dominance of the United States over the rest of capitalism may be stated under three heads: (a) The United States turns out about two-thirds of the industrial production of the capitalist world—that is, twice as much as all the other capitalist nations combined, and its highly developed industries give it an immense advantage in the trade markets of the capitalist world. (b) The United States likewise possesses overwhelmingly the largest sums of capital available for investment. In its vaults it holds about three-fourths of the gold reserves of the capitalist world. Since the end of the war (according to a recent report of the Senate-House Committee on Federal Expenditures) the United States has exported capital, for all purposes, to various foreign countries to the immense

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amount of \$42.5 billions. It has on its financial dole all the leading capitalist nations. (c) The United States, on the basis of its economic preponderance, also possesses armed forces far stronger than those of any other capitalist power. Its air force and navy are much greater than those of all the capitalists combined, and so are its munitions industries. It has, too, an atom-bomb monopoly (so far as capitalism is concerned), and its military bases all over the world not only constitute a threat against the U.S.S.R., but they also serve conveniently to intimidate the capitalist world. Controlling this over-weight of production and military strength, and in line with the inherent and fundamental imperialist drive of monopoly capitalism, the moguls of Wall Street are now undertaking to boss the capitalist nations of the world.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF U.S. WORLD CAPITALIST HEGEMONY

The march of the United States to world capitalist hegemony, which began to get under way two generations ago, came to realization only during the aftermath of World War II. Lenin, in his great work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, shows that the dog-eat-dog struggle, going on among the imperialist powers for the division of the world among themselves, is one of the basic aspects of imperialism. This struggle raged especially sav-

agely during the past thirty years. The United States has emerged as the outstanding victor, at least for the time being, in this murderous inter-imperialist struggle. It is now cock of the capitalist walk, all of its principal imperialist rivals having either been wholly or partly ruined in warfare against one another, or having been destroyed outright at the hands of their revolutionary peoples.

Already by 1890, the United States had become the leading industrial nation in the world. In 1894 its total production amounted to \$9,498,000,000, as against \$4,262,000,000 for Great Britain, \$3,357,000,000 for Germany, and \$2,900,000,000 for France. There was no possibility for American hegemony at that time, however, since the United States confronted a world of strong and growing imperialist rivals. Capitalist hegemony for any one capitalist power was still far off in the future.

The First World War gave a big stimulus to eventual world capitalist domination by the United States, in that while this country, far from the scene of hostilities, fattened on the conflict, the Russian bourgeois state was overthrown by revolution, Austria was disintegrated, and Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy were deeply injured by the war. The Second World War gave another, even greater push to American imperialist world ambitions. This war, by military devasta-

tion and revolution in Europe and Asia, shattered Germany, Italy, and Japan, and gravely weakened Great Britain and France; whereas the United States, again safe from war damage, even more enormously expanded its industries and improved its relative imperialist position. In the post-World War II situation, consequently, the United States, with itself grown strong in war and its capitalist rivals weakened or destroyed, has been able to achieve the position of world capitalist boss.

THE EXERCISE OF AMERICAN CAPITALIST DOMINATION

The United States is employing in many ruthless ways its imperialist hegemony over the capitalist world. For want of space, only a few examples of these American pressures upon other capitalist countries can be given here, as follows: (a) In applying the Marshall Plan, the United States has arbitrarily interfered with, and damaged the economies of the West European countries. (b) In Latin America (Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Central America, etc.) the United States is systematically organizing a regime of brutal reaction all along the line and is reducing the heads of these states to the status of virtual puppets of Wall Street. (c) In the Mediterranean, the United States has largely cut the ground from beneath Great Britain and has become chief boss in that vital area. (d) The United States is also winning Canada and Australia

away from the British orbit. (e) France and Italy, upon a threat of receiving no financial aid otherwise, were brusquely ordered by our State Department to expel the Communists from their Government cabinets, instructions which they dutifully obeyed. (f) The United States is now attempting to force unwilling France to agree to the re-arming of Germany. (g) By dominating the European imperialist powers, the United States is getting its hooks into Africa. (h) China is being arbitrarily barred from United Nations membership by the American opposition, in spite of the demand of the great majority of mankind, including many capitalist nations, for its admission. (i) The recent shameless railroading through of Trygve Lie, Wall Street Social-Democratic stooge, by the United States as General Secretary of the United Nations. (j) United States labor tools (A. F. of L. and C.I.O.), under State Department direction, are splitting the labor movement in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and on a world scale. Various other individual examples of United States domineering policies could be cited from its relations with numerous capitalist countries.

The general organizational expression of American hegemony over world capitalism is this country's grip upon, and systematic manipulation of, the majority of delegates in the United Nations. The United Nations started out as an or-

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ganization, supposedly, of independent states and dedicated to the establishment of world peace; but it has long since lost this character. It has now become largely an agency of the American State Department. Most of the capitalist countries represented in the U.N. are either now on the American dole or are trying eagerly to get on it. So they do pretty much what the arrogant American monopolists tell them to. The United States especially cinched its hold on the United Nations in connection with the Korean war, during which it has virtually transformed the U.N. majority of states into a full-fledged anti-Soviet alliance, with the United States in decisive command. No single power, or group of powers, ever dominated the old League of Nations so completely as the United States is now dominating the United Nations.

The American militarists have been especially active to grab control as much as possible, of the armed forces of the United Nations. General MacArthur is commanding the U.N. forces in the Far East; General Eisenhower is primed to head those in Europe, and General Marshall is organizing to run the whole business from Washington, as United States Secretary of Defense.

The basic policy and action of the United States in its domination over world capitalism is summed up by the ruthless manner with which the American government is now

crowding and compelling the other capitalist powers, through the United Nations and otherwise, to fall in line with its militant orientation of an early war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia. Vigorous American capitalism is literally rushing sick European capitalism into an all-out war for which it is quite unfit. While it is true that capitalist reactionaries everywhere want an anti-Soviet war (example, Churchill), nevertheless, many of them, facing strong mass anti-war sentiment and grave economic difficulties in their home countries, would proceed more slowly. They are alarmed at the speed with which the United States is shoving them toward war.

An example of this reluctance has been seen in the Korean war, when the United States practically had to slug many of the reluctant capitalist governments before they would agree to send even token armed forces to support the American aggression against the Korean people. Their present even greater reluctance to join in the MacArthur attack upon China further illustrates this tension between militant United States imperialism and its sick allies.

THE UNITED STATES AIMS AT FULL WORLD DOMINION

The aim of American imperialism, of course, is not limited simply to exercising world hegemony over capitalism—which it has already, in

considerable measure, achieved. It drives for domination over the entire world; not only the capitalist segment of it, but the Socialist segment as well. Wall Street, in its grandiose plans and preparations for world conquest, far surpasses even the wildest dreams of Hitler and other would-be world conquerors of the past.

The imperialist United States, completely dominated by monopoly capital, is propelled upon its warlike course for domination over international capitalism and the whole world by four major, inter-woven forces. These are: (a) This country is far and away the strongest capitalist nation in the world; hence, in line with the aggressive expansionism inseparable from monopoly capitalism, it seeks inevitably to establish its imperialist mastery over all other countries. (b) The capitalists of the United States, haunted by the fear of another, even greater economic crisis than that of 1929-33, are convinced that the only way this crisis can be averted, even temporarily, is through a gigantic (Keynesian) program of munitions production, including the waging of war itself. (c) The American monopolists, sensing the reality of the general crisis of capitalism, believe that the sole means by which the capitalist system can be saved from disintegration is for Wall Street to take over the whole system and to reorganize it essentially on a fascist basis. And, (d) these monopolists,

mortally alarmed at the rising tide of Socialism in many parts of the world, are resolved at all costs to destroy the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia by military action. These are the main pressures that are driving American imperialism along upon its desperate course of fascism, war, and boundless imperialist expansion.

NEW METHODS OF AGGRESSIVE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The Wall Street monopolists, learning from the general decline of the decadent British empire and from the recent crushing defeat of militant German imperialism, have developed distinctive political techniques and tactics of their own for achieving world imperialist domination. To further the program of foreign aggression, some of the more important of these specifically American imperialist policies are as follows: (a) An elaborate pretense that the United States is opposed to colonialism and favors the national independence of the present colonial and semi-colonial lands; whereas, in actuality, however, the American drive is toward reducing all governments, especially those in the weaker countries, to the status of mere puppets under its imperial sway, permitting them to exercise hardly a shadow of independence. (b) The United States, while using the fascist slogan of an anti-Communist crusade, largely avoids the

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Hitler-Mussolini glorification of aggressive war and energetically cultivates an intensive propaganda to the effect that it is the great apostle of world peace and is standing on the defensive against a supposedly militant Soviet imperialism. Under slippery slogans of defense, it is building up a huge military force for aggressive war. (c) Avoiding the crassly anti-industrialization attitudes of Great Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Japan, and other colonial powers, the United States, with its "Point 4" and otherwise, boasts that it is going to industrialize all the backward areas of the world. In reality, this country, on the contrary, follows far more drastically even than Great Britain, Germany, and other powers ever did, the imperialist policy of making itself into the great industrial center of the world, at the expense of the economies of all other countries. (d) The aggressive American imperialists also skillfully steer clear of Hitler's blatant propaganda of the inherent superiority of the so-called Aryan peoples, and are proclaiming themselves to be the champions of the equality of all peoples; although, in reality, they themselves are definitely white supremacists and are seeking to establish Anglo-Saxon cultural, as well as political, dominion over the darker peoples of all the world.

In the sphere of domestic policy, also, American monopoly capital has its own distinctive policies of ag-

gression against this nation's democracy and well-being. As an indispensable part of its general war program for world conquest, Wall Street is definitely driving toward the establishment of fascism in this country, (as many reactionary laws eloquently prove); but it is doing this under very different slogans than those used by Hitler's Nazis. Among these reactionary trends are: (a) There is none of the open glorification of autocratic rule by a chosen social élite, the rejection of parliamentary government as such, or the flagrant propagation of anti-Semitism as a political principle; but, on the contrary, the Wall Street magnates and their Truman government are trying to pose as the great champions of democracy. These fascist-minded reactionaries—persecutors of the Negro people, union smashers, anti-Semites, and fascists at heart—like nothing better than hypocritically to assail the evils of what they call "totalitarianism." In the name of democracy, they are systematically stripping the American people of their traditional liberties. (b) Instead of building up a new, independent fascist party, as Hitler and Mussolini did, the American reactionaries, for their drive of war and conquest, find it quite convenient to utilize their traditional two-party system, although with many creakings, on a bipartisan basis. (c) Instead of wiping out the trade unions and establishing a fascist "labor front" at

one blow, à la Hitler, they are erecting rigid state controls over the unions (Taft-Hartley Act, McCarran Act, etc.), and they have, by unparalleled corruption, brought about a thorough domestication of the Social-Democratic (American brand) leadership of the trade unions. (d) In the name of free speech, they have also established an unprecedentedly reactionary control over the school system, the press, the radio, television, the movies, and all other means of public information and education.

This elaborate demagoguery of American imperialism, in its drive for world domination, is doubly menacing. Its cunning pretenses that Wall Street is the defender of world peace, the enemy of imperialism, and the champion of democracy, are very deceptive to great masses of the people, both here and abroad. It is a tragically dangerous political fact that today the great bulk of the American people, including huge masses of workers, are unaware that the United States is an imperialist power, in fact the strongest and most aggressive of all imperialist states, and, especially, that it is definitely driving toward world mastery and fascism on the basis of a war of conquest.

SOME QUESTIONS OF MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS

The aggression of American imperialism, with its specific and pe-

cularly insidious slogans, as we have seen, creates numerous illusions among the masses. This means that we have many new questions to answer with clarifying Marxist-Leninist analysis. One of these questions relates to the traditional ideological disease of "American exceptionalism." This has now become more malignant than ever. Stated briefly, this question presents itself as: Does the fact of the relatively greater strength of the United States and its rise to world capitalist eminence—while all the other capitalist states are either very sick or altogether collapsed—signify, as the capitalists and Social-Democrats constantly tell us, that capitalism in this country is fundamentally superior to the capitalism of other countries?

The answer to this question is, of course, a categorical negative. Capitalism in the United States is fundamentally the same as capitalism in other countries, and is subject to the same laws of growth and decay that shape the capitalist system everywhere. It has all the basic internal contradictions characteristic of capitalism everywhere. If capitalism in the United States has grown relatively stronger during the past generation—while other capitalist countries have become weaker—and if it has finally been able to establish its hegemony (such as it is) over the rest of the capitalist world all this is not because American capitalism, as such, is in any basic sense ex-

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ceptional or superior to the rest of the capitalist system. It simply means that capitalism in this country has been able to expand primarily because of its strategic location in remaining free of the ravages of the two world wars. American capitalism has actually been able to profit and grow fat from the very decline of the world capitalist system. It is a sort of pawn-broker or cannibalistic capitalism, which has benefitted greatly as a result of the very wars which have just about wrecked world capitalism. Capitalism in this country, therefore, has also been able to utilize for its own imperialist purposes the postwar difficulties of the many crisis-stricken capitalist countries.

But these parasitic advantages are only temporary. American capitalism, for all its present economic development, has also been decaying at the heart. This was proved conclusively by the devastating economic crisis of 1929-33, which originated in this country and which could only be liquidated by the outbreak of World War II. It was demonstrated again during the past two years, when American industry was slipping into a deep crisis, which was only relieved by the beginning of the Korean war. The fascist trends and rampant imperialist expansionism of American capitalism are fundamental indications of its basic weakness. The rottenness of American capitalism will be further dramatically demonstrated in the course of

the continued development of the general crisis of world capitalism and the irresistible advance of world Socialism and democracy. Capitalism in the United States, as capitalism in other countries, is doomed, and for the same general reasons.

The second question that we need to answer clearly is whether or not the advance of the United States to world capitalist hegemony signifies a strengthening and a renaissance in general of world capitalism. That it means just this is the contention of the Wallaces and Browders, and other advocates of "progressive capitalism." The essence of such arguments is that American capitalism can, and actually is, saving the world capitalist system from disintegration.

But this is nonsense. The rise to world capitalist hegemony by the United States is not a sign of an increasing strength, but of the growing breakdown of the world capitalist system. The other capitalist powers would never submit to the arrogant domination of the United States, even to the qualified extent that they are now doing, were it not that they find themselves caught in a morass of ever-deepening, insoluble economic and political difficulties. American capitalist hegemony is a result of the deepening general crisis of world capitalism. It cannot possibly cure that crisis. It has developed on the basis of the decline of world capitalism. The very

existence of American capitalist hegemony is a dramatic demonstration of the growing weakness and desperation of the world bourgeoisie in the face of its ever increasing difficulties. American capitalist hegemony does not signify capitalist recovery, nor can it stop the decay of capitalism. It can only increase that decay and make it more destructive.

Even at the very time of the achievement of American world capitalist hegemony— particularly in the aftermath of World War II— world capitalism has suffered tremendous losses. Ten European countries have taken the road to Socialism, the great revolution in China is victorious, the colonial system of world imperialism has just about been wrecked, and many capitalist countries remain in a state of chronic crisis.

THE QUESTION OF ULTRA-IMPERIALISM

Does the achievement of world capitalist hegemony by the United States imply that world capitalism is overcoming its internal and external contradictions and is now arriving at the state of ultra-imperialism as envisaged a generation ago by Karl Kautsky, the renegade ideological leader of the Second International? This question, closely related to the previous one, must also be given an emphatic negative answer. Far from curing the capitalist contradictions, the advent of American capitalist domination signifies a great sharp-

ening of all these internal and external contradictions and a further intensification of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

Kautsky (and later, Bukharin with his theories of "organized capitalism," and still later, the Wallaces and Browders, with their conceptions of "progressive capitalism") foresaw a steady growth and consolidation of the capitalist system into an ever-advancing, frictionless, social order. This meant, in final analysis, so these theories implied, the voluntary liquidation of the class struggle, the automatic self-elimination of imperialism and war, and the general elimination of Socialism as a social perspective.

Lenin, in polemizing against this general conception of Kautsky, pointed out that in capitalist society there is a double-phased development taking place. That is, whereas, on the one hand, there are consolidating tendencies within capitalism, on the other hand, there are even more powerful revolutionary tendencies, and the general working out of this process leads to the establishment of Socialism. Lenin said (in his introduction to Bukharin's book, *Imperialism and World Economy*), "There is no doubt that the development is going in the direction of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and states, without exception. But the development in this direction is proceeding under such stress, with such a tempo, with such conflicts and

convulsions but also before it has reached a final stage formed by imperialism, probably existing into its

The which the ist hegemony takes place, the analysis of tendencies is noted— and contradictions to replace have no political necessity, which the camp of war, led the capitalist Socialism stands to

The increasing economic rivalry between the West and the Atlantic Americas, Nations of democracy, growing themselves. The advance

convulsions—not only economical but also political, national, etc.—that before a single world trust will be reached, before the respective national finance capitals will have formed a world union of 'ultra-imperialism,' imperialism will inevitably explode, capitalism will turn into its opposite."

The present world situation, in which the conquest of world capitalist hegemony by the United States takes place, gives a graphic demonstration of the correctness of this analysis by Lenin. The two tendencies within capitalism which he noted—the tendency to organize and consolidate capitalism, and the tendency of the revolutionary forces to replace capitalism by Socialism—have now reached the point of political maturity where they are expressed by the two great camps into which the world is now divided—the camp of imperialism, fascism, and war, led by the United States, and the camp of democracy, peace, and Socialism, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union.

The imperialist world camp is going ahead organizing its forces economically, politically, and militarily through such means as the West European Union, the North Atlantic Pact, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations. At the same time, the forces of democracy and Socialism are growing and consolidating themselves. The latter's recent huge advance has been marked by an

enormous increase in the strength of the Soviet Union, the foundation of the People's Democracies in Europe, the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the maturing of the national liberation revolution in Asia and its beginning in Africa, the growth of powerful Communist Parties in France, Italy, and various other countries, the vast postwar expansion of the world trade-union movement, etc. The center of world political strength has now passed to the side of the forces of democracy and Socialism.

The establishing of hegemony by the United States over world capitalism does not signify a consolidation and integration of that system. On the contrary, it is fundamentally the development of a destructive military capitalist alliance, formed for the reactionary and hopeless purpose of destroying ever-growing world democracy and Socialism which are increasingly eroding the very foundations from beneath ramshackle world capitalism. World capitalist hegemony in the United States occurs in a capitalist system that is incurably a prey to vast economic crises, wars, and revolutions—in short, in a capitalist world that is rapidly exploding into its opposite, Socialism, as Lenin said it would.

AMERICAN HEGEMONY INTENSIFIES CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS

Like the growth of world fascism—under the aegis of German-

Japanese-Italian imperialism—the development of American capitalist hegemony is both an expression of the weakness of capitalism and also a factor in the further undermining of the capitalist system. Fascism, at the outset, despite Communist contentions to the contrary, was hailed by Social-Democrats and other capitalist agents as essentially a strengthening of the capitalist system in the fascist countries. But in the end fascism proved to be highly destructive to national and world capitalism. Fascist imperialism, with its tyranny and war, stimulated vast millions of toilers into people's front struggle in defense of their most vital immediate interests and finally against capitalism itself. It arrayed two great alliances of capitalist powers against each other, and it finally provoked the great people's war, World War II, that resulted in the permanent loss of many countries to the capitalist world.

American capitalist world hegemony, which is created and propelled by similar forces to those behind German fascist imperialism, is producing similar negative, destructive effects upon world capitalism. Wall Street's imperialist arrogance and cupidity are antagonizing big sections of the bourgeoisie in other capitalist countries and thus is sharpening up the contradictions among the various imperialist powers. It is also especially arousing new scores of millions of workers and other toilers to go into united action in fight-

ing defense of their living standards, their democratic freedom, their national independence, and world peace, in the face of American aggression. Already mass anti-American imperialist sentiment is developing swiftly all over the world. And unless the mad war course of American imperialism is halted by mass pressure at home and abroad, it will bring about a war that will be even more fatal to the world capitalist system than were the two great world wars. Such an anti-Soviet war would be the final explosion in the double-phased social process which is transforming capitalism into its opposite, Socialism.

Among the international capitalist antagonisms, initiated or sharpened by the dominant position of American imperialism, may be mentioned: (a) the intensified struggle among the capitalist powers over world markets; (b) the battle between the dollar bloc and the sterling bloc for financial supremacy; (c) the hostility of Great Britain toward the Schuman (steel) plan of France and Germany; (d) the struggle between Great Britain and the United States for oil in the Near East and Venezuela; (e) French resistance to the rearmament of Germany; (f) the dispute among the capitalist powers over the recognition of China and its admittance to the United Nations; (g) the struggle of Great Britain to prevent American penetration of its various colonies, semi-colonies, and dominions; (h)

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the resistance of the European capitalist states to the excessive armaments demands being made upon them by the United States; (i) wide-spread opposition to the efforts of the United States to bring Franco Spain into the United Nations, etc., etc. Such antagonisms bear within themselves, especially under conditions of strong mass peace pressure, the potentialities of slowing up, paralyzing, or breaking up altogether the capitalist military alliance under American hegemony. American domination is a bitter pill for the other imperialist powers to swallow.

At the present writing such capitalist antagonisms, intensified by the very fact of American capitalist domination, have become most acute in connection with the attempt of the American warmongers to organize an all-out imperialist war against China. So sharp are the antagonisms among the capitalist powers that the whole shaky war alliance under Wall Street's leadership may explode.

American capitalist world domination is especially developing resistance far and wide among the workers and other toiling masses throughout the capitalist world. The United States, with its aggressive economic, political, and military policies, is rapidly coming to be looked upon by the masses of the peoples as a great world menace. In Europe, huge numbers of workers are outraged by American attempts to slash their living standards, wreck their trade unions, break up their political parties, and dominate their national

elections. In every capitalist country the defense of national independence and democracy against the ultra-aggressiveness of reactionary American imperialism has become a living issue. And all over Europe, Asia, and Latin America newly aroused millions of workers have become aware of the danger of another world war through the farflung military activities of the United States. In the United States, too, there is a great undercurrent of peace sentiment among the masses, which still has to be reckoned with. Thus, American capitalist hegemony, by its very existence, is contributing to the strength of the democratic-peace-Socialist forces of the world. It is unwittingly broadening the whole mass base of the struggle for peace.

The disintegrating effects of American capitalist world hegemony upon world capitalism are greatly intensified by the rapid growth in strength and prestige of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies in Eastern and Central Europe, of the People's Democratic Republic of China and of the growing strength of the Communist Parties and the broad forces of peace and democracy throughout the capitalist world.

The two most loyal allies of American imperialism in its bid for complete domination of capitalism and the whole world are the Vatican and the Right-wing Social-Democracy. The Vatican, facing the most serious crisis in its whole history, is aiming at the establishment of clerical fascism of the Hitler, Dolfuss,

Peron, Petain, Franco type, and it believes that a victory by the United States would open the door to such a system. The Right Social-Democrats, who never did believe in Socialism, are convinced that the capitalist system, to which they are devoted, can be saved only by virtue of a triumph of American imperialism, which they hypocritically label "progressive capitalism."

The capitalists in Hitler's time tried to organize an all-out anti-Soviet war. This was the essence of the actions taken by Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier at Munich. But they failed. Their mutual hostilities were too strong, and as a result they came to the mutual clash that began World War II. The big question now is whether or not American imperialism, in spite of sharpening capitalist contradictions and the developing world peace movement, can succeed in holding together its ramshackle capitalist alliance in support of its policies of aggression and a third world war. Even if it should prove able to lead the capitalist beast to the water, which is not at all certain, it would never be able to make it drink. There can be no doubt but that if things came to war, the many inner capitalist contradictions, now being sharpened and multiplied by the very existence of American world capitalist hegemony, would come to a climax, shattering in its effects on capitalism. This hegemony is already proving to be a short-lived but deeply disastrous experience for world capitalism.

The reluctance of the capitalist powers to enter militarily into the Korean war is a forecast of what would happen, but on a much larger scale, in the event of a general capitalist war against the U.S.S.R. In case of such a war, countries like Germany, France, and Italy, far from being effective allies of the United States, would almost certainly go into revolution. Great Britain, which played only a secondary role in World War II, would play even less of a role in a third world war. And certainly, the United States, in its military aggression, would get very little help from Asia, save possibly, to a limited degree, from sick Japan. The United States would have to do the bulk of the fighting itself (as in Korea), which would be a fatal perspective.

American capitalist world hegemony, which is now vastly sharpening the inner contradictions of capitalism and also the contradiction between the capitalist and Socialist sectors of the world—if it could succeed in precipitating the war, for which it is organizing and consolidating its hegemony, would not bring about the world supremacy of Wall Street nor the salvation of capitalism, but the ruin of American imperialism and the destruction of world capitalism. Thus, American hegemony over world capitalism, if unchecked by mass pressure for peace, would sharpen the contradictions of capitalism up to the point of the very destruction of that system in a new world war.

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ON THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY

Our Convention resolution clearly outlines the policies of our Party in the general conditions in which we find ourselves—of the capitalist hegemony of United States imperialism, of Wall Street's reckless war drive for world domination, and of the ever-increasing strength of the world forces of democracy and Socialism. There is no need, therefore, to recapitulate here these policies. Suffice it to say that in this period of sharpening national and international struggle, we must fight, with our united-front allies, to make the people understand the warlike, imperialist character of American policy, to protect the living standards of the workers, to defend the democratic rights of the Negro people and the toilers generally, and to crush the rising wave of fascism in our country.

The very center of all our struggles is the fight for peace; to prevent the monopolists and their Social-Democratic labor lieutenants from plunging the world into another, still more terrible, war conflagration, in their desperate and ill-fated attempt to destroy Socialism, to save the capitalist system, and to make the Wall Street monopolists the masters of the whole world. Neither fascism nor war is inevitable—it all depends upon the degree of opposition that the working class is able to develop against these murderous trends of American monopoly capital. In

building this people's anti-fascist, anti-war opposition, our Party faces its supreme task. It must operate in the realization that the forces of peace are growing, largely because of the very fact of the hegemony of American imperialism over the capitalist world.

The Communist Party, situated in the heart stronghold of world capitalism, is a veritable symbol of the revolt of the world's peoples against capitalist exploitation and oppression. It has a highly strategic role to play in the developing world struggle. Nor will it fail in its opportunities and responsibilities. The capitalists realize this fact—this is why they attack us with such ferocity. The present acute situation is a testing time for our Party but it will emerge from this test stronger than ever. Armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, infused with unbounded confidence in the revolutionary potentialities of the American working class, and inspired by the knowledge that the forces of democracy and Socialism are irresistibly advancing upon the world scale, our Party will prove invincible under the persecution of the panicky, fear-driven capitalist class. The very blows that the capitalists are now raining upon us will serve to steel us, to give us those firm Leninist qualities so markedly possessed by all the Communist Parties that are now leading their peoples on to the establishment of Socialism.

China, Korea and the Struggle for Peace

by FREDERICK V. FIELD

THE WOLVES ARE ON the rampage. They have tasted blood. They have ravaged a whole nation. Scores upon scores of thousands of Korean children, women and men have been killed. Hundreds upon hundreds of towns and villages have been wiped out, burned to the ground by jellied gasoline. The industry and agriculture of Korea, built by the sweat of an energetic, freedom-loving people, have been utterly destroyed.

The invasion of the Korean nation by American imperialists, which began last June, has now, five months later, brought the American people and the whole world dangerously close to the edge of disaster. We are face to face with the grave peril that the American imperialists will, from the devastation of Korea, start World War III. We face the horror of the use of the atomic bomb, callously threatened by President Truman. The Hearst press early in November demanded that MacArthur "destroy" Manchuria; the foreign editor of the Scripps-Howard newspapers went a step further by suggesting that the showdown should be called not with China ("Under no circumstances should the United

States let itself be sucked into an all-out war with Communist China") but directly with the Soviet Union.

In the September issue of this magazine I wrote that:

"In its war on Korea, American imperialism set out to regain, through military invasion, a land base upon the East Asian continent from which it might reverse the clock of history that had so recently been set in forward motion by the victory of the Chinese people. Just the other side of Korea lay the rich Chinese provinces of Manchuria, and beyond that the Soviet Union. American imperialism had embarked on a dangerously reckless adventure."

United States forces have already on many occasions violated the Chinese border. In searching for a pretext for an American-controlled U.N. commission to enter Manchuria for "information," a handful of these violations have been admitted by the State Department and by the United States delegation at the United Nations. United States forces have been attempting to pulverize the Yalu border itself under the cynical claim

* "Wall Street's Aggression in Korea and the Struggle for Peace," *Political Affairs*, September 1950.

that wrecking the Korean half of a bridge which links the two countries is entirely proper and constitutes no violation of Chinese sovereignty whatsoever. As Dr. Harry Ward put it at the recent Emergency Conference on China: What would be the attitude of Americans were the Canadian half of the Detroit-Windsor bridge wrecked by bombs?*

This is not the first time that the land of Korea has been used as a base for aggression in East Asia. It was by the consolidation of its position in Korea between 1910 and 1930 that Japan was able to launch its treacherous attack upon China's Manchuria provinces in 1931, and it was from these combined areas that it began full-scale war upon the whole of China in 1937. Nor is this the first time that Wall Street imperialism has been concerned with Korea. For Japan's ability to enslave the Korean people was in no small measure made possible by the United States government in the notorious 1905 Agreement between Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, and Count Katsura, the Japanese premier, which recognized a privileged position for Japan in return for non-interference in American exploitation of the Philippines.

Aggression against Korea and China today takes place under new

world conditions and under new guises. Forty years ago American imperialism was a relative new-comer among the aggressor nations in the Pacific and it could, at best, negotiate stand-off arrangements whereby it was given access to certain areas in return for a free hand in others. Since the end of World War I, Wall Street's rival imperialist powers in the Pacific have one after another either been knocked out or so seriously weakened as to have become appendages, though in certain instances needed ones, to the plans of American finance capital. The collective imperialist attacks of the early twentieth century took place, moreover, against peoples whose revolutionary movements had not yet been sufficiently formed or matured to offer successful resistance. The struggles for independence and national freedom had been strong enough to develop the great Taiping uprising in China in the mid-nineteenth century, to bring about the Boxer Rebellion at the turn of the century and to prevent consolidation of the American conquest of the Philippines for some six years. But none of the upsurges of that period had the strength or clarity to oust the imperialist invader or permanently to overthrow internal feudal obstructions. Today, the American imperialists and their allies face an entirely new situation. In the forefront of this new situation is the weakening of the camp of imperial-

* Emergency Conference on China and Saving the Peace, held in New York City, November 11, and attended by delegates from 26 states.

ism and the advance and strengthening of the world peace camp. The Chinese revolution has created a tremendous change in the world balance of forces in favor of the camp of peace and national independence. The victory of the Chinese people over their internal and external enemies signalizes a new stage in the great struggles for liberation maturing throughout the other enslaved areas of Eastern Asia.

The original decisive event which historically changed the whole configuration of the people's struggle against imperialism in the western Pacific as well as throughout the world was, of course, the establishment of the Soviet Union as the first land of Socialism and its unprecedentedly rapid consolidation and strengthening. From 1917 on, and in direct consequence of the October Socialist Revolution, the struggle for emancipation throughout the world took on a new orientation. The triumph of Socialism which brought complete national equality and freedom to the land formerly notorious as "the prison of nations," opened a new epoch in the development of the anti-imperialist colonial liberation movements. Inspired and strengthened by the victorious advance of the land of Socialism, the colonial and semi-colonial slaves of imperialism ever more consciously take their place as allies of the world proletariat. The struggle for Social-

ism became inextricably linked with the struggle for national liberation.

ASSURANCES BELIED BY FACTS

The camouflage under which Wall Street's aggression is today conducted has accordingly had to become far more elaborate and concealing. Korea is ravaged under the slogan of freedom and liberation. American troops, tanks, ships, guns, warships and jellied gasoline bombs are employed in the name of the United Nations. Land is taken from the peasants and given to the landlords under the banner of "land reform." Formosa is taken over "to protect it." And, to cap the whole rotten edifice of lies, the Truman Administration spends billions on armaments, plunges the country into war and prepares for greater wars *under the slogan of peace!*

The American people should not be deceived by such crass mendacity. The same shabby demagoguery is so extensively employed with respect to domestic issues that it should fool no one when applied to foreign affairs. Are not Negroes lynched under the slogan of equal rights? Are not strikes broken in the name of the Fair Deal? Are not fine, patriotic residents of this country arrested and denied bail in the name of the American ideal of liberty? Do we not today witness the systematic illegalization of the Communist Party, a legiti-

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imate and established political party sprung from the native soil in response to the vital needs and interests of the American working class—and all in the name of the traditions of political democracy!

Can the assurances of peaceful intentions on the part of the American rulers be given any credence whatsoever? Can we ignore Wall Street's current Far Eastern record?

We remember President Truman's solemn declaration of last January 5 when he said: "The United States government will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa," and Secretary of State Acheson's echo of these words: "We are not going to get involved militarily in any way on the island of Formosa."

We remember Acheson's declaration on January 12 which defined the American "defense perimeter" as running from the Aleutians around Japan, the Ryukyus and the Philippines, but excluding Korea and Formosa.

We remember during the early stages of the invasion of Korea the order prohibiting American bombers from crossing the 38th Parallel.

We remember the assurance from both General MacArthur and the Pentagon that the United States military operations were in all respects to be confined to the areas south of the 38th Parallel.

We will also remember Truman's statement on October 25 that U.S.

forces would not occupy the Korean-Manchurian border and the announcement on that same day by the U.S. First Corps headquarters in Korea that American and British forces would halt their advance northward 40 miles short of the border.

It is in this context that the world received on November 16 another solemn declaration from President Truman. This time he said: "We have never at any time entertained any intention to carry hostilities into China," and, further, "we will take every honorable step to prevent any extension of hostilities in the Far East." Few people will be deceived by these words. Least of all the Chinese. For has not the American government, without even bothering to call into play its automatons in the United Nations, already carried the hostilities into China by military intervention in Taiwan (Formosa) and by innumerable violations of the Manchurian frontier? And was it not the Truman Administration which intervened with billions, with armaments, and with military advisers in the Chinese civil war on the side of the hated Chiang Kai-shek with all the power and force it could spare from its other areas of aggression from 1945 until defeated and thrown out by the Chinese people? What possible reason could the Chinese have for placing the slightest reliance on Wall Street's new assurances? Have they not, on the contrary, every reason to believe that,

as usual, the American imperialists intend to do just the opposite from what they say?

There is no question of the Chinese appreciation of what is happening. It was expressed at the end of October by the influential international affairs journal, *World Culture*, which is published in Peking, as follows:

It is very clear now that American imperialism is following the beaten path of the Japanese imperialists, wistfully thinking of annexing Korea and then from there invading our Northeast, then North China, East China and finally the whole of Asia and adjacent seas. Despite all kinds of lies and fabrications, American imperialism cannot hide its dark ambitions and sinister plots of aggression. They are as clear as daylight now, and no decent person can overlook them.

On the day following Truman's new "assurances" the Peking radio broadcast: "It is not convincing anyone here." And to Acheson's echo of Truman's remarks in which he expressed the hope that America's designs would not be misunderstood by the Chinese, the Peking radio added:

Acheson can be assured. There is no misunderstanding. America has lied and smashed her way across the world to Chinese territory and into it, has seized Taiwan and is threatening another neighbor, Viet-Nam. The Chinese people are not deceived by what they see

through this curtain of lies and belligerence.

It is important to understand that the American crossing of the 38th Parallel was made with the full knowledge that this would be taken as a direct threat to China's vital interests and that consequences of the utmost seriousness would follow. The position of the Chinese government since the beginning of the Korean war is well known. As the fighting approached the 38th Parallel and the invasion of its North Korean neighbor became imminent the Chinese leaders, in the light of the new situation, spoke out in the clearest possible terms. On October 1 Premier Chou En-lai, speaking at the first anniversary of the People's Republic, emphasized the Chinese people's overwhelming desire for peace to build up industry, agriculture and education. But he added significantly that they would not be afraid to fight aggression in defense of peace, that they would not stand idly by.

A week later the United Nations General Assembly adopted, under Pentagon pressure, a resolution calling for steps "to ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea." MacArthur's forces had by then already crossed the 38th Parallel, but, as is becoming habitual in the State Department's manipulation of the United Nations, this resolution was the umbrella of respectability under which crossing in full strength pro-

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ceeded. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs thereupon issued another warning:

The American war of invasion in Korea has been a serious menace to the security of China from its very start. The American invading forces in Korea have on several occasions violated the territorial air of China and strafed and bombed Chinese people and have violated the rights of a Chinese merchantman to sail the high seas and conducted a forced search. Its attempts to enlarge the war in the East are known to everybody.

Now the American forces are attempting to cross the 38th Parallel on a large scale. The Chinese people cannot stand idly by with regard to such a serious situation created by the invasion of Korea by the United States and its accomplice countries and with regard to the dangerous trend toward extending the war.

Meanwhile the Chinese government was taking another, very special measure to be certain its position reached the highest persons in the aggressor camp. Premier Chou En-lai emphatically informed the Indian Ambassador, E. D. Panikkar, that the crossing of the 38th Parallel would necessitate Chinese intervention. This message was immediately conveyed to the Indian government, which in turn promptly passed it on to Washington and London. Commenting on this and the other warnings, the *Washington Post* on November 8, said:

After all, the U.N. forces were approaching the 275-mile Korean-Manchurian frontier, along which are dams which supply Manchuria with light and power. A similar situation on our border would have incited the whole of our population.

And so, by the latter part of November, the warmongers had brought the people of Asia, of the United States and of the whole world to the very edge of a large and spreading war. Once again the horror of the atom bomb preyed upon the mind of mankind. Once again the calamity of a third world war seemed close at hand.

Addressing the U.N. Security Council on November 28, General Wu Hsiu-chuan, head of the delegation of the Chinese People's Republic, said:

The creation of civil war in Korea by the United States Government was designed solely to furnish a pretext for launching armed aggression against Korea and against our territory, Taiwan, and for tightening its control in Viet-Nam and in the Philippines.

Far from localizing it, this is on the contrary extending the Korean war. The Chinese people have consistently supported all proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for genuinely localizing the Korean war. The Chinese people also fervently hope for security in the Pacific area. But the Korean war has been extended and security in the Pacific has been shattered.

The Soviet Union had already taken the lead in the United Nations and before world opinion to secure a peaceful solution of the Korean war. On November 19, Jacob Malik, permanent Soviet delegate to the Security Council, reiterated to a delegation of American trade unionists the demands his country made repeatedly at the U.N. for an immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea, and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. He made clear on that occasion that these two steps would create the conditions necessary for the Koreans themselves to settle their own affairs. Malik further proposed that a U.N. delegation on which China and the U.S.S.R. would be represented should supervise democratic elections in Korea.

That this position corresponds to the ardent desires of lovers of peace the world over was expressed at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw, where delegates from people's movements and organizations in imperialist and Socialist nations alike were raising high the banners of peace, friendship and security.

The Nehru government, while supporting the illegal and unjustified U.N. intervention against the Korean people, also called for a peaceful settlement and supported the proposal to invite both sides to be heard, as well as to admit China to the U.N. Nehru has, however, throughout the Korean war, shown signs of aban-

doning this policy under the pressure of Anglo-American imperialism. For instance, he seized upon the Chinese "invasion" of Chinese Tibet, to blame China for the action of the United States in slamming the door to a peaceful settlement. By the end of November Nehru likewise believed that with the defensive action of Chinese volunteers at the gates of Manchuria he has a plausible pretext for reversing his stand on China's admission to the U.N. But that can fool none but the gullible and faint-hearted. For it is abundantly clear, as we have shown, that the very fact of MacArthur's aggressive intentions against China and all Asia makes indispensable China's participation in any peace negotiations. Furthermore, the violation of China's sovereignty by the seizure of Formosa makes the seating of China in the U.N. essential to peace. Yet, more recently the initiative taken by Sir Benegal Rau, the chief delegate of India to the U.N., in conferring with General Wu of the Chinese delegation, indicates the compulsion under which Nehru's government must respond, in part at least, to the anti-imperialist militancy of the peoples of Asia, including India. But even Nehru's vacillations cannot in any way be compared with the despicable sycophant role of the Tito clique, who cynically announced to the world before the issue was even raised by their Wall Street masters that they would support United

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States imperialism against the Chinese people on the Korean issue.

LABOR'S GREAT RESPONSIBILITY

The peace-loving people of the United States face a heavy responsibility. For it is within the United States, the main center of aggression, that peace must finally be won. It is here that the designs of the war-makers must be checked by the organized might of the vast majority, who hate war and want the security that can come only with a lasting peace. But the crystallization and effective direction of the peace sentiments of every section of the American people require the leadership of labor, the base of any consistent people's democratic movement. American organized labor, however, the potentially most articulate spokesman for the entire working class, has not yet assumed its proper role in the peace movement. The American trade-union movement has so far made an alarmingly inadequate contribution to the struggle for peace.

And this is so, despite the incontrovertible fact that the war in Korea, which United States imperialism threatens to extend into world war, is the most unpopular war in our history. The monopoly-controlled press repeatedly complains that labor has lent a deaf ear to the pressures of the war-makers and their labor agents for "tightening the belt," for sacri-

ficing wages and union conditions, and, instead, has pressed its nationwide demands and broadened its strike movements. But the opposition to the war, however, has in large part been limited to resentment against the draft, against growing taxation and falling of real wages, against high prices and intensified speed-up. While the mass struggles on these issues are of fundamental importance, and represent the fighting mood of the workers, there has not been sufficient realization of the connection between these issues and the war drive of the monopolies. Betrayed, confused and divided by the labor bosses of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O., who have sold themselves body and soul to imperialism, the working masses have resisted only the immediate day-to-day effects of the war in Korea and of Wall Street's feverish plans to extend it into a new world war. They have not yet taken their proper place in the camp of the partisans of peace. They have not thrown their colossal weight into the life-and-death struggle to outlaw atomic weapons, to force a peaceful democratic solution to the Korean war, to end the cold war and imperialist aggression, and avert a new world war.

The urgency to organize peace-loving Americans into a broad and powerful movement is desperate. The nucleus of such a movement exists. It exists in the groups around the Emergency Conference on China

and Saving the Peace, in Women for Peace, in the Labor Peace Conference, and in other groups which have become organized and which have called upon their fellow-Americans to join with them in a common effort.

Americans! Organize for peace! Stop the spread of aggression in the East!

Stop the Korean war and withdraw all American armed forces! Recall MacArthur and repudiate his adventurist policies! Hands off Taiwan (Formosa)!

Press for the recognition of China and its rightful place in the U.N. and in all negotiations for peace in

Asia! Demand immediate 5-power negotiations, to include the People's Republic of China, for a peaceful solution of the Korean conflict.

Demand the outlawing of the atomic bomb! Let the United States join in rapid and drastic world-wide disarmament! No further billions for war!

Stop the warmakers! Insist upon a democratic foreign policy!

Stop the muzzling of all who speak out for peace! Halt the fascization of America! Repeal the McCarran Act and all other pro-fascist measures!

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On the Perspectives of the Revolution in China

(Speech delivered in the Chinese Commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on November 30, 1926)

by JOSEPH STALIN

On the occasion of the seventy-first birthday of J. V. Stalin, we publish his historic speech "On the Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" in an original translation prepared by Political Affairs.*

In its Foreword, the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute comments that this notable speech, delivered twenty-four years ago, brilliantly "reveals the characteristic features of the Chinese Revolution, its nature and direction." This document, as well as Stalin's other writings on China, has been, since then, a powerful aid to the leaders of the Communist vanguard of the Chinese people in developing the strategy and tactics that assured the victory of the Chinese Revolution. This has been repeatedly attested by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. Thus, Chen Po-ta, Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, declared in 1949:

"Stalin's predictions have encouraged the Chinese people in their struggle over these twenty-odd years. They have clearly shown that revolutionary science is an irresistible force. . . . Stalin's teachings, methods and theories, after they had been introduced and applied by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, greatly broadened the political vision of Chinese Communists. They elevated the Marxist-Leninist consciousness of Chinese Communists and helped our Party acquire sufficient ideological strength to defeat all counter-revolutionary enemies and other enemies impeding the revolutionary advance."

Hence, Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese Communist Party and of the new, People's China, was able to say:

"It is really a fortunate event that now there exists in the world the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, and Stalin. Thus, the affairs of the world can go well."

Stalin's speech, here published, will greatly contribute to a deeper understanding of the anti-imperialist character and inner class content of the colonial liberation struggles today, and to a greater appreciation of the world historical significance of the Chinese Revolution.

EDITOR

* From the Russian text in Vol. VIII of J. V. Stalin's *Collected Works*, issued by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow.

COMRADES, before I enter into the question, I deem it necessary to state that I do not have at hand exhaustive material on the Chinese question, such as would be necessary to unfold a complete picture of the revolution in China. I am therefore compelled to confine myself to some general remarks involving principle which are directly related to the question of the basic direction of the Chinese revolution.

The theses of Comrade Petrov, the theses of Comrade Mif, two reports of Comrade Tang Ping-shan and the remarks of Comrade Rafes on the Chinese question are in my possession. In spite of their merits, all these documents have, in my opinion, the great defect that they avoid a number of basic questions of the revolution in China. I think that, first of all, attention should be directed to these defects; for this reason my remarks will at the same time have the character of criticism.

I. THE CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Lenin said that the Chinese would soon have their 1905. Some comrades interpreted this as meaning that what took place in Russia in 1905 would necessarily repeat itself in every detail in China. This is wrong. Lenin certainly did not say that the Chinese revolution would be a replica of the Russian revolution of 1905. He merely said that

the Chinese would have their 1905. This means, that the Chinese revolution, besides the features which it will have in common with the revolution of 1905, will also have its own specific peculiarities which must place their imprint on the Chinese revolution.

What are these peculiarities?

The first peculiarity is that while the Chinese revolution is a bourgeois-democratic revolution, it is simultaneously a revolution for national liberation, directing its sharp edge against the domination of foreign imperialism in China. This is the chief feature which distinguishes it from the 1905 revolution in Russia. The point is that the domination of imperialism in China is manifested not only in its military power but primarily in the fact that the main threads of industry in China, the railways, the factories, the mines, banks, etc., are owned or controlled by foreign imperialists. Consequently, the questions of struggle against foreign imperialism and its Chinese agents necessarily play a major role in the Chinese revolution. Thereby the Chinese revolution is directly linked with the revolutions of the proletarians of all countries against imperialism.

The second peculiarity of the Chinese revolution arises from the fact that the national big bourgeoisie in China is extremely weak, much weaker than was the Russian bourgeoisie in the period of 1905

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This is understandable. If the basic lines of industry are concentrated in the hands of foreign imperialists, the national big bourgeoisie of China cannot but be weak and backward. In this respect Comrade Mif is quite right when he remarks that the weakness of the national bourgeoisie in China is one of the characteristic facts of the Chinese revolution. But from this we must conclude that the role of initiator and guide of the Chinese revolution, the role of leader of the Chinese peasantry, must inevitably fall into the hands of the Chinese proletariat.

Nor should the third peculiarity of the Chinese revolution be overlooked, namely, that alongside of China, there exists and is developing the Soviet Union, the revolutionary experience and help of which cannot but facilitate the struggle of the Chinese proletariat against imperialism and against the feudal-mediaeval survivals in China.

These are the basic peculiarities of the Chinese revolution which determine its character and its direction.

II. IMPERIALISM AND IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION IN CHINA

The first defect of the proposed theses is that they avoid or underestimate the question of imperialist intervention in China. A close reading of the theses could lead one to

assume that there is at present, properly speaking, no imperialist intervention in China, that there is only a struggle of the North against the South, or of one group of generals against another group of generals. Moreover, there is a tendency to interpret intervention as a condition existing only when there is an actual incursion of foreign troops into Chinese territory, and if there is no such fact, then there is no intervention.

This is a serious error, comrades. Intervention is by no means exhausted by an incursion of troops, and an incursion of troops is not at all an essential characteristic of intervention. In the present condition of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, when an outright incursion of foreign troops might rouse a number of protests and conflicts, intervention assumes a more flexible character and a more disguised form. In present-day circumstances, imperialism prefers to intervene by organizing civil war within the dependent country, by financing the counter-revolutionary forces against the revolution, by moral and financial support for its Chinese agents against the revolution. The imperialists tried to represent the struggle of Denikin and Kolchak, Yudenich and Wrangel, against the revolution in Russia as an exclusively internal struggle. But we all knew, and not we alone but the whole world knew, that these counter-revolution-

ary generals were backed by the imperialists of England and America, France, and Japan, without whose support a serious civil war would have been quite impossible in Russia. This is true also for China. The struggle of Wu Pei-fu and Sun Chuan-fang, Chang Hsueh-liang and Chang Tsun-chen against the revolution in China would be simply impossible if the imperialists of all countries did not instigate these counter-revolutionary generals, if they did not supply them with money, arms, instructors, "advisers," etc.

What constitutes the strength of the Canton troops? The fact that they have an ideal, élan, which inspire them in the struggle for liberation from imperialism; the fact that they bring freedom for China. Wherein is the strength of the counter-revolutionary generals in China? In the fact that they are backed by the imperialists of all countries, by the owners of the railroads, concessions, factories and workshops, banks and commercial houses in China.

Hence, it is not solely nor even so much a question of the incursion of foreign troops, as of the support which the imperialists of all countries extend to the counter-revolution in China. Intervention through cats' paws—this is the nub of imperialist intervention at the present time.

Thus, imperialist intervention in

China is an indubitable fact, and it is against this that the sharp edge of the Chinese revolution is directed.

Hence, whoever evades or underestimates the fact of imperialist intervention in China, evades or underestimates the most important and most basic element in the Chinese situation.

Some say that the Japanese imperialists give some indications of "favoring" the Cantonese and the Chinese revolution in general. It is said that in this respect the American imperialists do not lag behind the Japanese. This is self-deception, comrades. We must know how to distinguish the essence of the policy of the imperialists, including that of Japanese and American imperialists, from its disguise. Lenin used to say that it was difficult to intimidate revolutionaries with a club, with fists, but that sometimes they were easily taken in with kind words. This truth, spoken by Lenin, should never be forgotten, comrades. In any case, it is clear that the Japanese and American imperialists have pretty well assimilated the significance of this truth. For this reason we must strictly distinguish between cajolery and flattery to the Cantonese, and the fact that the imperialists who are most generous with flattery cling most resolutely to "their" concessions and railways in China, which they are not willing to renounce under any conditions.

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III. THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY IN CHINA

My second observation in connection with the proposed theses concerns the question of the revolutionary army in China. The point is that the question of the army is either evaded or underestimated in the theses. This is their second defect. The advance of the Cantonese northward is generally regarded, not as the unfolding of the Chinese revolution, but as a struggle of the Canton generals against Wu Pei-fu and Sun Chuan-fang, as a fight for the supremacy of one group of generals as against another group of generals. This is a great mistake, comrades. The revolutionary armies in China are the most important factor in the fight of the Chinese workers and peasants for their liberation. Is it a mere coincidence that until May or June of this year the situation in China was regarded as showing the supremacy of reaction which had set in after the defeat of Fen Yu-hsiang's army, but later, in the summer of this year, it sufficed for the victorious Canton troops to advance northwards and occupy Hupei to bring about a radical change in the picture in favor of the revolution? No, it was not a coincidence; for the advance of the Canton troops is a blow at imperialism, a blow at its agents in China, and signifies freedom of assembly, freedom to strike, freedom of the press, freedom to organize for all

the revolutionary elements in China in general, and for the workers in particular. In this lies the peculiarity and the great importance of the revolutionary army in China.

In former times, in the 18th and 19th century, revolutions began in such a way that usually the people rose, for the greater part unarmed or badly armed, and clashed with the army of the old regime. They made every effort to disintegrate this army or at least to win over part of it. This is the typical form of the revolutionary explosions of the past. The same thing occurred in Russia in 1905. In China things developed in a different way. In China we see, not an unarmed people facing the troops of the old government, but an armed people in the form of its revolutionary army. In China, armed revolution is fighting against armed counter-revolution. This is one of the peculiarities and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution. In this, too, lies the special significance of the revolutionary army in China.

For this reason the underestimation of the revolutionary army in the proposed theses is an inadmissible shortcoming.

But from this it flows that the Chinese Communists must pay special attention to work in the army.

First, the Chinese Communists must by all means intensify political work in the army and must con-

vert the army into a real and exemplary protagonist of the idea of the Chinese revolution. This is particularly necessary because all kinds of generals who have nothing in common with the Kuomintang are now flocking to the Cantonese, they join them as the force which is crushing the enemies of the Chinese people, and in joining the Cantonese they carry disintegration into the army. The only way to neutralize such "allies" or convert them into genuine adherents of the Kuomintang is by intensifying the political work and by organizing revolutionary control over them. Unless this is done, the army may get into a most difficult situation.

Secondly, the Chinese revolutionaries, including the Communists, must seriously undertake the study of military science. They must not regard military affairs as of secondary importance, for military affairs in China are at present the most important factor in the Chinese revolution. The Chinese revolutionaries, of course, including the Communists, must learn military science in order gradually to advance and win promotion to leading posts in the revolutionary army. In this lies the guarantee that the revolutionary army of China will take the right path, directly toward the goal. Unless this is carried out, waverings and vacillations in the army may become inevitable.

IV. THE CHARACTER OF THE FUTURE POWER IN CHINA

My third observation concerns the fact that, in the theses, the question of the character of the future revolutionary power in China is dealt with inadequately or altogether disregarded. Comrade Mif has closely approached this question in his theses, and that is to his credit. But after approaching it closely, he seems to have become frightened and hesitated to proceed to the end. Comrade Mif believes that the future revolutionary power in China will be a power of the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat. What does this mean? At the time of the February revolution in 1917, the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries were also petty-bourgeois parties and were to a certain extent revolutionary. Does this mean that the future revolutionary power in China will be a Social-Revolutionary-Menshevik power? No, it does not mean this. Why? Because the Social-Revolutionary-Menshevik power was an imperialist power, whereas the future revolutionary power in China must be an anti-imperialist power. This is a basic difference.

The MacDonald Government was even a "Labor" power but it was at the same time imperialist, for it was based on the maintenance of British imperialist power, for in-

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stance, in India and Egypt. As compared with the MacDonald Government, the future revolutionary power in China will have the advantage that it will be an anti-imperialist power.

The crux of the matter is not only in the bourgeois-democratic character of the Canton Government, which is the nucleus of the future all-China revolutionary power; it is, primarily, in the fact that this power is and must necessarily be anti-imperialist, that every advance of this power is a blow at world imperialism and therefore a blow in favor of the world revolutionary movement.

Lenin was right when he said that, while formerly, before the beginning of the epoch of the world revolution, the national-liberation movement was part of the general democratic movement; now, after the victory of the Soviet revolution in Russia and since the beginning of the epoch of world revolution, the national-liberation movement is part of the proletarian world revolution.

This peculiarity was not taken into consideration by Comrade Mif.

I believe that the future revolutionary power in China will, in its character, resemble the power of which we spoke in our country in 1905, *i.e.*, a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, but with this difference, that it will be predominantly an anti-imperialist pow-

er. It will be a power of transition to a non-capitalist, or, to be more exact, to a Socialist development of China.

This is the direction which the revolution in China must take.

This path for the development of the revolution is facilitated by three circumstances: first, by the fact that the sharp edge of the revolution in China, as a revolution of national liberation, will be directed against imperialism and its agents in China; secondly, by the fact that the national big bourgeoisie in China is weak, weaker than the national bourgeoisie was in Russia in 1905, and this facilitates the task of the hegemony of the proletariat, of leadership by the proletarian party for the Chinese peasantry; thirdly, by the fact that the revolution in China will develop in circumstances which will make it possible to utilize the experience and the aid of the victorious revolution in the Soviet Union.

Whether this path will win a sure and unqualified victory depends on many circumstances. At any rate, one thing is clear, that it is the basic task of the Chinese Communists to fight precisely for this path for the development of the Chinese revolution.

This determines the task of the Chinese Communists in relation to the Kuomintang and to the future revolutionary power in China. Some say that the Chinese Communists

should leave the Kuomintang. This is incorrect, comrades. It would be the greatest mistake for the Chinese Communists to leave the Kuomintang at the present time. The whole course of the Chinese revolution, its character, its perspectives, definitely indicate that the Chinese Communists should remain in the Kuomintang and intensify their work in it.

But may the Chinese Communist Party take part in the future revolutionary government? It not only may, it must participate in it. The course of the revolution in China, its character, its perspectives speak eloquently in favor of the Chinese Communist Party taking part in the future revolutionary government of China. This is one of the essential guarantees that the hegemony of the Chinese proletariat would be actually realized.

V. THE PEASANT QUESTION IN CHINA

My fourth observation concerns the question of the peasantry in China. Mif thinks that we should immediately issue the slogan of the formation of soviets, namely, of peasant soviets in the Chinese countryside. I believe that this is a mistake. Comrade Mif anticipates events. It would be wrong to build soviets in the countryside while leaving out the industrial centers in China. But the question of organizing soviets in the Chinese industrial centers

is not presently on the order of the day. Furthermore, we must not forget that soviets cannot be considered apart from the existing situation. Soviets, in this case peasant soviets, could be organized only if China were passing through a period of maximal upsurge of the peasant movement, smashing the old order and creating a new power,—when we could assume that the industrial centers of China had already broken the dam and have entered the phase of the formation of soviet power. Can it be said that the Chinese peasantry or the Chinese revolution generally has already entered this phase? No, no one can say that. Hence, to speak of soviets at the present time is to anticipate events. Therefore, at present we must pose the question, not of soviets, but of the formation of peasant committees. I mean committees elected by the peasants, committees capable of formulating the fundamental demands of the peasantry and which would take all measures to realize these demands by revolutionary methods. These peasant committees should serve as the axis around which the revolution in the countryside will unfold.

I know that there are people in the Kuomintang and even among the Chinese Communists who do do consider it possible to let loose the revolution in the countryside lest the enlistment of the peasantry in the revolution should disrupt the

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united front against imperialism. This is a serious error, comrades. The anti-imperialist front in China will be the stronger and more powerful the more quickly and thoroughly the Chinese peasantry is drawn into the revolution. The authors of the theses, especially Comrades Tan Ping-shan and Rafes, are perfectly right when they maintain that the immediate satisfaction of a number of the most urgent demands of the peasantry is an essential prerequisite for the victory of the Chinese revolution. In my opinion, it is time to break down the indifference and "neutrality" toward the peasantry which is noticeable in the actions of certain elements of the Kuomintang. I think that both the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang, and this means also the Canton Government, should, without delay, pass from words to deeds and immediately raise the question of satisfying right now the most vital demands of the peasantry.

What the prospects may be in this respect and up to what limits an advance can and should be made—that depends on the course of the revolution. I think that ultimately it should be led to nationalization of the land. In any case, we cannot pledge ourselves against such a slogan as that of nationalization of the land.

What are the paths which the Chinese revolutionaries should take

in order to rouse the multi-millioned peasantry of China to revolution?

I think that in the present circumstances we can speak only of three paths.

The first path is that of forming peasant committees, with the Chinese revolutionaries entering into these committees in order to influence the peasantry. (Interjection from the floor: "And what about the peasant leagues?") I believe that the peasant leagues will group themselves around the peasant committees, or that the peasant leagues will turn into peasant committees endowed with certain powers which may be necessary in order to realize the demands of the peasants. In the foregoing I have already discussed this path. But this path alone is not enough. It would be ridiculous to suppose that there are enough revolutionaries in China for this task. The population of China is roughly 400 millions. Of these, 350 millions are Chinese and more than nine-tenths of them are peasants. It would be a great mistake to assume that several tens of thousands of Chinese revolutionaries are enough to permeate this ocean of peasantry. Therefore we must have additional paths.

The second path is that of influencing the peasantry through the apparatus of the new people's revolutionary power. Undoubtedly, in the newly liberated provinces a new power will arise after the pattern of

the Canton Government. It cannot be doubted that this power and the apparatus of this power will have to satisfy the most urgent demands of the peasantry if it wishes to advance the revolution. Thus, it is the task of the Communists and of all revolutionaries in China to penetrate into the apparatus of this new power, to bring this apparatus closer to the masses of peasants and to help the peasant masses to satisfy their most urgent demands by means of this apparatus, whether it be by expropriating the land from the landowners, or by reducing taxation and rents—whatever the circumstances demand.

The third path is that of influencing the peasantry through the revolutionary army. I have already spoken of the great importance of the revolutionary army in the Chinese revolution. The revolutionary army of China is the force which is first in penetrating into the new provinces, which is first to come into contact with the bulk of the peasantry, and by which the peasant first of all judges the new power, its good and bad qualities. The attitude of the peasantry toward the new power, toward the Kuomintang and in general toward the revolution in China, depends in the first place on the behavior of the the revolutionary army, on its attitude toward the peasantry and toward the landowners, on its readiness to help the peasants. If we bear in mind

that quite a few doubtful elements have joined the Chinese revolutionary army, that these elements may change the character of the army to the worse, we can understand the great importance that the army's political physiognomy and its, so to speak, peasant policy have in the eyes of the peasants. For this reason the Communists and the Chinese revolutionaries in general must take all possible measures to neutralize those elements in the army which are hostile to the peasants, to preserve the revolutionary spirit in the army and to direct things in such a way that the army would help the peasants and would rouse them to revolution.

It is said that the revolutionary army in China is welcomed with open arms, but that later, after it has established itself, there is a certain disillusionment. The same thing happened here, in the Soviet Union during the Civil War. This is due to the fact that the army, after it has liberated new provinces and established itself in them, is compelled to maintain itself in some way or other at the expense of the local population. We Soviet revolutionaries usually succeeded in cancelling these disadvantages by endeavoring to help the peasants against the landowners by means of the army. It is essential that the Chinese revolutionaries should also learn to make up for these disadvantages by carrying out a correct

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peasant policy with the help of the army.

VI. THE PROLETARIAT AND THE HEGEMONY OF THE PROLETARIAT IN CHINA

My fifth observation concerns the question of the Chinese proletariat. It seems to me that the theses do not stress adequately the role and importance of the Chinese working class. Rafes asks: Toward whom should the Chinese Communists orientate—toward the Left or the Center of the Kuomintang? What a strange question. I believe that the Chinese Communists should orientate themselves primarily on the proletariat and should orientate those who are active in the liberation movement in China toward the revolution. Only thus will the question be posed correctly. I know that there are comrades among the Chinese Communists who do not approve of workers striking to improve their material and political position, and who dissuade the workers from striking. (Interjection from the floor: "That happened in Canton and Shanghai.") This is a big mistake, comrades. It shows a serious underestimation of the role and the specific gravity of the proletariat in China. It should be taken note of in the theses as a definitely negative phenomenon. It would be a great mistake for the Chinese Communists not to take advantage of the present favorable situation to

help the workers to improve their material and political position, even through strikes. Why, indeed, have a revolution in China? The proletariat cannot be a leading force if its sons are flogged and tortured by the agents of imperialism during strikes. This mediaeval abuse must at all costs be done away with, in order to rouse among the Chinese proletarians the sense of power and the sense of their own dignity and to make them capable of giving leadership to the revolutionary movement. Without this the victory of the revolution in China is inconceivable. Therefore, due place must be given in the theses to the demands of the Chinese working class for economic and political rights, aiming at a serious enhancement of its status. (Comrade Mif: "The theses speak of this.") Yes, this is spoken of in the theses, but unfortunately, these demands are not projected in adequate relief.

VII. THE QUESTION OF THE YOUTH IN CHINA

My sixth observation concern the question of the youth in China. It is strange that this question is not considered in the theses. Yet the question of the youth is presently of extreme importance in China. Comrade Tang Ping-shan's reports deal with this question but, unfortunately, they do not emphasize it sufficiently. The question of the young people is at present of primary im-

portance in China. The young people in the schools (revolutionary students), the working class youth, the peasant youth—all this youth is a force which could drive the revolution forward with giant strides, if it were brought under the ideological and political influence of the Kuomintang.* It must be borne in mind that no one feels the oppression of imperialism so deeply and so vividly, no one feels so keenly and so intensely the necessity of fighting against this oppression, as the young people in China. This circumstance should be fully taken advantage of by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese revolutionaries in the sense of intensifying in every possible way their work among the young people. The youth must be given its due place in the theses on the Chinese question.

VIII. SOME CONCLUSIONS

I should like to note some conclusions—with regard to the fight against imperialism in China and

* *Note:* Under the conditions of that time such a policy was correct, since the Kuomintang was then a bloc of the Communists and the more or less left members of the Kuomintang, a bloc which carried on a revolutionary anti-imperialist policy. Subsequently, this policy was cancelled, as no longer in accord with the interests of the Chinese Revolution, since the Kuomintang deserted the revolution and became the center of struggle against the revolution, while the Communists left the Kuomintang and broke all contact with it.

with regard to the peasant question.

There can be no doubt that the Chinese Communist Party cannot at present confine itself to the demand of the abolition of the unequal treaties. Even a counter-revolutionary like Chang Hsue-liang now supports this demand. It is obvious that the Chinese Communist Party must go further.

It should also pose, as a perspective, the question of the nationalization of the railways. This is necessary, and matters should be directed toward that end.

It should, further, have in view, as a perspective, the nationalization of the most important factories and workshops. In this connection, priority should be given to the question of the nationalization of those enterprises whose owners have distinguished themselves by special hostility and aggressiveness toward the Chinese people. It is necessary, further, to advance the peasant question, linking it with the perspective of the revolution in China. In my opinion, the struggle should ultimately be led to the confiscation of the landlords' land for the benefit of the peasantry and to nationalization of the land.

Everything else is self-understood. This concludes the observations which I wanted to make, comrades

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On the Colonial Liberation Movements

(On the Occasion of the 71st Birthday, on December 21, 1950, of Joseph Stalin, Leader and Teacher of the World Working Class and all Toiling Humanity.)

by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

"THE era of undisturbed exploitation and oppression of the colonies and dependent countries *is over.*"

The truth of this momentous statement made by Joseph Stalin in November, 1927, has been fully confirmed by history.

But, it appears, the colonial powers, dominated by American imperialism, must still learn the truth of this statement the bitter, hard way, dragging—if they can—all of humanity into an atomic, third world war to pay for imperialism's crimes against the colonial peoples. For one of the most significant developments in world history is the fact that the whole colonial world on the vast continent of Asia—containing more than half the human race—is a whirling sea of revolution.

It was the great October Socialist Revolution, whose 33rd Anniversary took place last November 7, that ended "the era of undisturbed exploitation and oppression" of the colonial and semi-colonial world. Further, in the words of Stalin

spoken in November, 1918, the October revolution "widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combatting national oppression into the general question of emancipating the oppressed nations, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism."

Today, thirty-three years after the October Revolution, it is the Socialist Soviet Union which is the guiding inspiration of the colonial peoples as they burst the shackles of imperialist slavery.

THE WORLD SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOVEMENT

The colonial-liberation movement is of world significance and scope. This irresistible upsurge can no more be confined to the Asian continent than the tide could be stopped by Canute. Its effects are already felt in Japan, American satrapy, in the Philippines, in Puerto Rico. The persecution of the Negro people and other colored populations in South Africa by the can-

nibalistic, fascist government of Malan is, by its very fiendishness, a sign of the rising activities of the Africans against imperialist oppression. It is inevitable that the colonial revolution in Asia will have its repercussions in South and Central America and in the Carribean.

These various peoples, although their liberation movements are in uneven stages of development, are all seeking their national independence and freedom from the so-called "free world of the West"—that is, Western imperialist capitalism which has held these countries in a vise. Their armies are fighting the imperialist bandits of Great Britain, Holland, France, and the United States. This is the same imperialist slavemaster camp of the Wall Street monopolies, its allies and satellites, which is responsible for the dangerous war tension in the world today.

The colonial peoples can no longer endure the destitution, despair, enslavement and animal-like wretchedness imposed upon them ever more ruthlessly by their Western imperialist oppressors. The mortally-wounded imperialist beast, in the stage of its last agonizing throes, is today even more dangerous. Its murderous exploitation and oppression of these peoples have become outright genocidal. In their own self-defense, the colonial peoples are now moving from the stage of combatting their oppression to that of securing their national in-

dependence and freedom with arms in hand. The armed attack by Wall Street's Syngman Rhee quisling government upon the North Korean Democratic Republic made the military resistance of the latter essential to the national independence, freedom and unification of the Korean people. The revolutionary colonial movement of Asia is fighting for peace, industrialization, liberty, and, ultimately, for Socialism.

Any claim that the military struggles of these peoples in the Far East for their freedom constitutes aggression—as American imperialism and its U.N. puppets have charged against the North Korean liberation forces—is a lie and slander on its face. It is made to cover and "justify" the criminal aggression of Wall Street imperialism and its satellites against Korean and other colonial peoples in the Far East. For the colonial peoples and their struggles are a basic part of the whole camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, which camp, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, is the mainstay of mankind against a third world war and bestial enslavement.

The volcanic eruption of the colonial liberation movements in the Far East and in other areas of the globe is of major importance to the struggle for peace, and against the reactionary war program of the Wall Street monopolies for world conquest. Any tendency to belittle the

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question and its historic importance can only imperil the fight for peace and freedom and objectively aid the plans of the American monopoly capitalists for war and fascism.

WEAKNESSES IN THE U.S. LABOR MOVEMENT

One of the gravest weaknesses of the American labor movement is its failure to take the initiative in giving the strongest support to the national and colonial liberation movements throughout the world. This has resulted in its virtual abandonment of one of its most powerful and conscious allies in its own struggle against the pro-fascist Taft-Hartley, McCarran law offensive against the trade unions and against the living standards and liberties of the American working class. Responsibility for this historic failure must be laid at the door of the Social-Democrats and other labor lieutenants of imperialism—led by Murray, Green, Dubinsky, Quill, Reuther, and their unprincipled bureaucratic cliques. The treachery of these reactionary Social-Democrats against the American working class, against the peace, security and democracy of the American people—demonstrated shamefully in the recent elections—was consummated when they surrendered to the Wall Street bipartisan war program and became key outposts of American imperialism. This surrender was at the same time a colossal betrayal of the national and colonial libera-

tion movements in the Far East, in the Western hemisphere, and wherever the oppressed peoples and dependent countries are battling for their national independence from imperialist slavery.

It has remained for the Left-progressive and Communist-led sections of the labor movement to uphold the honor of the American working class by flying the banner of the anti-imperialist colonial revolutions that are taking place today. In taking this positive and heroic stand—in the face of the ruling class terror and intimidation — these Left-progressive unions are expressing the sentiment of a growing section of the rank and file in the Right-wing, reformist and Social-Democratic-led unions.

The sound policy and vanguard role of our Party on this question is established. At the same time, there is a serious and general weakness of our Party's work on the whole front of the colonial-liberation movement, reflected in insufficient practical activities around the current colonial revolutions and developments. The direction of our Party's main weaknesses on this question is of a Right-opportunist character, although there are manifestations of incorrect, sectarian and Leftist approaches. Both must be fought.

These weaknesses are undoubtedly due to underestimation and general neglect of this work. Much of our work in this field is characterized by routinism, although the revolution-

ary intensity, level, and scope of the colonial developments in the Far East are unprecedented in world history. The cause of this unsatisfactory situation in our Party is due in no small part to the inadequate grappling with many new theoretical and political problems presented by the present colonial struggles.

It must be noted also that the national and colonial questions are difficult and complex and that many new and complicated problems face the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, including our own, as a result of life itself requiring constant elaborations of the basic, scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The posing of the vital questions of the revolutionary colonial developments in the Draft Resolution of the 15th National Convention of our Party should be made the occasion of a drastic improvement of and attention to our work in this field. This article is not exhaustive in scope or nature, and consequently does not deal with the colonial-liberation movement on a world scale, although such an unlimited treatment of this subject by American Marxists is badly needed. This article addresses itself to certain aspects of the revolutionary colonial developments in the Far East, where the peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, and other oppressed countries are today the spearhead of the entire colonial and semi-colonial world in the fight

for its independence and freedom from imperialist slavery.

WORLD POLITICAL SETTING

The colonial revolutions in the Far East are taking place in the context of the constantly increasing danger of a third world war. These revolutionary struggles, which are all in the military stage, are objectively against the world war plans of American imperialism, its allies and satellites. The success of these struggles strengthens the world peace forces.

Moreover, these revolutionary struggles give a concrete demonstration of the fact that the struggle for peace is not a struggle for the perpetuation of the colonial and dependent countries as preserves of plunder for the Western imperialists, for Wall Street in particular. On the contrary, continued subjection and intensified exploitation of the colonial peoples by the European imperialists and their Wall Street bosses, is one of the greatest sources of the war danger, as can be seen from the Wall Street-Truman attempt to subdue the Korean people.

The struggle of the colonial peoples of the Far East for their freedom, national independence and democratic existence is a major obstacle to the fascist threat which American imperialism, in its drive for world domination, brings to all peoples. The bipartisan Truman Administration, obedient tool of the billion-

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aire monopolists, is not finding it so easy to foist its puppet governments a la Syngman Rhee, upon these militant, democratic-minded, and peace-loving peoples.

These revolutionary colonial developments come in the period of the deepening general crisis of world capitalism, when world imperialism is in such a ramshackle state that American finance capital has had to step in as receiver in a vain attempt to save it. Western imperialism has been almost pushed out of the Far East; while American imperialism, together with its satellites, received a crushing blow when the Chinese people, under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of China, established the great Chinese People's Republic. It should be borne in mind, however, that although the Western imperialists have suffered major defeats in the Far East, these war-minded maniacs have not yet been driven from this field and are still dangerous.

These colonial developments of the Far East occur simultaneously with, and are a part of, the rising preponderance of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism led by the Soviet Union, to whom all colonial peoples and oppressed peoples—irrespective of race, creed, color or nationality—look for inspiration and fortitude. The economic, scientific, political and cultural successes of the Soviet Union since World War II, the achievements to-

ward Socialist construction of the People's Democracies, the establishment of the Eastern German Democratic Republic—are all developments which provide factors unfavorable for the bloodthirsty but futile attempts of American imperialism and its satellites to thwart the indomitable will of the colonial peoples for their national independence, freedom and for the exercise of their right of self-determination.

RACIST ESSENCE OF WALL STREET'S WAR ROLE

These arrogant attempts to continue the enslavement of the peoples in the Far East are meeting with unpopularity and with the beginnings of outright condemnation and resistance among masses of the American people. Wall Street and Truman are experiencing tremendous difficulty in whipping up a jingoist hysteria among the people for the bloody war of brigandage against the Korean people, notwithstanding the continued mass confusion and the tail-ending after the Administration's foreign policy. The uneasiness of the American people at Wall Street's invasion of Korea, is even more marked following the clearly deliberate provocations against the sovereignty of the Chinese People's Republic and against the territory of the Soviet Union. The growing lists of criminally needless American casualties and the deep-going dread of a third world war on

the part of the American people, arising from the Wall Street-Truman war against Korea, enhances objectively the possibility of widening the understanding among the American workers and the people generally that the cause of world peace is inseparable from support of the liberation struggles of the colonial peoples.

It is a fact of profound importance that not only is U. S. imperialism conducting a savage colonial war in the Far East, but a war against darker peoples, who constitute the majority of the world's population. The insolent white chauvinist imperialists are paying with streams of American blood in their desperate persistence to maintain the illusion of "racial supremacy." But as Stalin pointed out in November, 1927, "the October Revolution dealt a mortal blow" to the "legend" of "inferior and superior races." No matter how many Jim-Crowed Negro troops Wall Street uses, it cannot hide its monstrous crimes against the darker peoples of America and the world.

One of the most widespread expressions of the myth of "American exceptionalism" among the American workers is the belief that this country is not a colonial power. This misconception is due in part to the characteristic hypocrisy with which American imperialism has shrouded its brutal rule and dominating influence in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Philippines,

Puerto Rico, and Latin America. It is due above all to certain basic factors which were lucidly and soundly discussed in the article by Comrade Foster, "Cannon, Lovestone and Browder," *Political Affairs*, September, 1949.

Its aggressive role in Korea and its intervention against the other colonial struggles for national freedom in the Far East exposes American imperialism as the dominant imperialist power. Simultaneously, the Wall Street ruling class has turned the United States into an arsenal and a till for its reactionary capitalist allies who are attempting to throttle the colonial peoples in their tottering empires. It is attempting to turn the U.N. charter of freedom into a scrap of paper. The British, French and Dutch imperialists are slaughtering the Malaysians, the Viet-Namense and the Indonesians with American bullets, and for the profit of fascist-minded American munition manufacturers and industrialists. The dream of the so-called "American century"—which is in reality Wall Street's mirage—encompasses the dominance of the American monopolies over the whole colonial world and the perpetuation of colonialism under American hegemony. This dream, as events are projecting ahead, will become a nightmare.

Another feature of the role of American imperialism on the Far Eastern colonial scene is that it has invested its barbarous adventure of

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outright aggression with all the most heinous features of chauvinist nationalism and Anglo-Saxon white supremacy, while at the same time masquerading under the so-called "racial brotherhood" banner of the United Nations. McArthur's cynical and contemptuous reference to the so-called "oriental mentality" of the Korean and other colored peoples of the Far East is but the ideological counterpart of American imperialism's fiendish B-29 bombings of the Korean people—a theory and practice every whit as iniquitous as Hitler's "Aryan" barbarism. It is clear that the Yankee imperialists consider themselves the natural lords and masters of the colored peoples of the world, the latter being fit only for the "beneficent" exploitation and oppression which United States imperialism and its Western capitalist toadies would bestow upon them.

In keeping with its war designs to enslave those lands and peoples economically and politically, American imperialism seeks to rob these colonial areas of their rich natural resources and to prevent, at all costs, their industrialization. Deliberate aim was taken by the American military to destroy all the industrial machinery of the North Korean liberation forces, to open the way for rebuilding on the terms and at the rate of super-profits of the Wall Street owners of America's basic industries. The failure of the Marshall

Plan, and, above all, the withdrawal of the Eastern European democracies and China from the area of Western imperialist exploitation increased the desperate drive of Big Business in the United States for the Far Eastern colonial markets.

Obedient to the dictates of Big Business, the State Department manipulates the Marshallized puppet majority in the U.N. above all, to exclude the representatives of the 475 million Chinese people, while in backstage U.N. cloakrooms it is taking over the Asian and African colonial empires of its broken-down European satellites. All of these reactionary lines of policy are being carried out under the most extreme demagoguery, even to the point of President Truman's fantastic big lie that American imperialism is now the "champion of the darker peoples" against the so-called "tyranny of Communist imperialism."

The main purpose of the much-vaunted Point 4 is to guarantee the economic penetration and the subjugation of the undeveloped colonial areas of the world—Asia and Africa, in particular—by the American monopolies and trusts. The fact that the newly appointed Administrator of the Point-4 program, Henry G. Bennett, comes from the Jim-Crow white supremacy state of Oklahoma but adds to the conviction that this program has nothing whatsoever in common with achiev-

ing the equality of the colonial and darker peoples.

SETBACKS TO WALL STREET'S POLICY

In this period of the rising preponderance of the camp of peace, democracy, national independence and Socialism led by the Soviet Union, the American-led camp of reaction, war, and pro-fascism cannot possibly succeed in re-instituting the enslavement of the colonial peoples. Its plans are doomed to failure. The relentless march of the billion Asian people toward their freedom and national independence cannot be halted, no matter how many quillions, how many dollars, and how many troops the Wall Street monopolies sink into the bloody Korean undertaking. In this endeavor, American imperialism, together with its allies and satellites, is headed for a colossal defeat.

Wall Street has already sustained a number of serious setbacks. In the first place, it has not been successful in subduing and crushing the Korean people, who, after suffering some major reverses in the second stage of the war, have bounced back with the indomitable will of an heroic people tenaciously fighting for their freedom. Secondly, the peace-loving desires of humanity expressed through more than 500 million signatures to the Stockholm Peace Pledge helped materially to stay the hand of the gangster

American billionaires and the Pentagon incendiaries who fairly itched to drop the atom bomb on the colonial people of Korea as they once did upon the colored Japanese people. Thirdly, their provocations and acts of aggression against the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union, designed to spread the Korean venture into a third world war, have been thwarted thanks to the firmness of the peace camp, led by the Soviet Union. Fourthly, a political and diplomatic defeat was experienced by the State Department when the so-called "third force" Indian government, compelled to take note of the deep anti-imperialist currents among the 300 million people of India, failed to go along whole-heartedly with the drive of the American monopolies to subjugate the Korean and other Asian peoples. The reservoir of good will for the United States, which the late Wendell Willkie warned the American rulers was shrinking, is, insofar as the peoples are concerned, just about dry, despite the still tremendous power of American imperialism, and its satellites, to bring bloody disaster to Asia and the peoples of the world.

The application of political and economic pressure, and now military force, by American imperialism against the Asian peoples is above all to bring their economic future under Wall Street's sway and to abort and stifle their industrializa-

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tion. The political and economic perspectives of revolutionary colonial liberation movements in the Far East are most probably in the direction of the Chinese People's Republic. Here the dominant industrialized sectors of the economy is state-owned under a People's Democracy which, unlike the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe, does not perform the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but which is moving along that course. Other variations of state power may yet be added to the two now well established but different forms of People's Democracies in the Eastern Democracies and in China.

Noteworthy and basic is the fact that it is not the native bourgeoisie which leads the colonial revolutions in the Asian countries, since as a class it has compromised with imperialism and betrayed the interests of its own peoples, allying itself, as did the Chiang Kai-shek clique of usurers and landowners, with the native feudalists and foreign despoilers. The broad colonial-liberation forces, often drawing in sections of the native bourgeoisie, are consolidated under the hegemony of the working class led by the Communist Party, which bases itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism. This is the historic guarantee of the free and independent future of the Asian peoples.

The Asian countries have historically not been burdened by tradi-

tional mass Social-Democratic parties as effective instruments to imperialism. What contributes to that decisive fact is, on the one hand, the lack in colonial countries of material bases such as obtain in the "mother" countries which drain the colonies and "spheres of influence" for the super-profits out of which imperialism maintains corrupted top layers of the working class, and, on the other hand, the imperialist chauvinism, and the total subservience of the Right Social-Democrats of Europe and America to Western imperialism.

"In the era of the Second International" wrote Stalin in May, 1921, "it was usual to confine the national question to a narrow circle of questions relating exclusively to the 'civilized nations.'... The tens and hundreds of millions of the Asian and African peoples suffering from national oppression in its crudest and most brutal form did not as a rule enter the field of vision of the 'Socialists'. The latter did not venture to place the white peoples and colored peoples, the 'uncultured' Negroes and the 'civilized' Irish, the 'backward' Indians and the 'enlightened' Poles on one and the same footing."*

The American legatees of the Second International—the Right-wing Social-Democratic labor lieutenants

* Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*. International Publishers, New York, p. 111.

of American imperialism—are today revealed as the white chauvinist national betrayers of the colored, colonial peoples of the Far East and Africa.

TASKS OF OUR WORKING CLASS

At this moment of world history, the supreme task before the American working class is to discharge its responsibility in the struggle for peace and the prevention of a third world war. This necessitates, at all times, connecting with, and making an inseparable part of the struggle for peace, the struggle for the freedom, emancipation and national independence of the colonial and dependent countries from the yoke of the common enemy—American imperialism and its satellites. This conception is not basically grasped and acted upon sufficiently by the peace forces. This necessity is posed sharply by Wall Street-Truman aggression in Korea, China and the Far East generally. Working-class internationalism must be demonstrated by concrete support and solidarity of the American working class with the proletarian-led Asian colonial revolutions. It requires a new and deeper consciousness of the significance of the colonial liberation struggle on the part of the American labor movement—beginning with its Left-progressive, advanced sector, in order effectively to mobilize the peace-loving Ameri-

can people for the seating of the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic—embracing 475 million people—and to defeat the disgraceful Mississippi-like disfranchisement which President Truman has imposed upon the Chinese people in the U.N. This is the immediate key to peace and liberation of the Far East and accounts for the insane, gangster-like opposition of Wall Street's State Department to the recognition of China.

A special duty devolves upon the American working class in respect to colonial liberation movements. This duty flows not only from the role of United States imperialism as the last bulwark of colonial oppression everywhere in the world today; nor only from Wall Street's growing colonization of Marshallized Western Europe and Latin America. The special duty of the American working class derives also from the fact that the Negro people in the Black Belt of the South constitute an oppressed nation within the territorial borders of the United States.

Stalin wrote in April, 1924: "... Hence, the necessity for the proletariat supporting, vigorously and actively supporting, the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples. This does not mean that the proletariat must support *every* national movement, everywhere and always, in every single concrete instance. The point is that support must be given

to those national movements which tend to weaken imperialism. . . ."

There can be no doubt that the Asian colonial revolutions are not only weakening Western imperialism, but they are directed against the fascist-minded common foe of the American working class—the billionaire Wall Street monopolies and corporations—and are strengthening the peace and democratic forces of the world, including those of the United States.

In this period the national and colonial movements of the Far East are a fundamental part of the world people's movement for peace, democracy, and Socialism. At the same time, they have a distinct existence all their own, based upon their striving for political, state power and national independence from imperialist domination, even though their immediate goal may not be to establish a Socialist state. Objectively, the national and colonial movements of Asia and elsewhere are directed against American imperialism and weaken its drive to world war and ambitions of world conquest. Communist leadership of the Asian movements is the absolute guarantee that these movements are and will remain a conscious part of the whole world camp of peace, democracy, and Socialism.

In connection with the need for grasping the world significance of the Asian colonial developments, it

is especially necessary widely to popularize the policies and role of the Soviet Union, as the leader of the world camp of peace and freedom. It is inevitable that the oppressed peoples and colonies under imperialist rule should be drawn to the Socialist solution of the national question by the Soviet Union—in which all nations and peoples enjoy complete democratic equality and true fraternity.

Major attention should be given to the ever greater role which the Negro people of the United States will play as a fundamental pillar of the fight for freedom and peace, against American imperialism and its war plans. As Comrade Foster pointed out, the Negro question in the United States is no longer just a domestic question, which is becoming sharper; it is now an international question. The new stage of the Negro liberation movement merges with the struggle of the colonial and darker peoples of the Far East—as well as of Africa—against the common enemy—Wall Street imperialism. It is the Achilles heel of the Wall Street-Truman foreign policy, exposing its pretensions of "democracy" before the peoples of the Far East, Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa, and causing the white ruling class to enshroud its sharpening lynch oppression of the Negro people with extra layers of demagoguery, grandiloquent

hypocrisy, superficial maneuvers and cheap concessions.

Paul Robeson, the great Negro people's leader and the great American, made a brilliant contribution to the cause of peace and freedom with his historic challenge to the Wall Street warmongers who would plunge the American people, Negro and white, into a war against the land of Socialism, which has elevated the oppressed nations of yesterday into free and equal brother nations of the great U.S.S.R. In that challenge, Robeson eloquently affirmed the vital interconnection of the Negro people's liberation struggle in the United States and the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples with the struggle for peace. The continued panicky response to Robeson's challenge, and the maneuvers of white supremacy imperialists of this country, and their Truman government, expose the clay feet of the Wall Street colossus. The central lesson for the Negro liberation movement from the Asian colonial upsurge is that this movement will rise to new heights of action and achievement. It is inconceivable that the movement of the darker, colonial peoples of the East will fail to inspire the sharpest struggles and activities of the Negro people for their first-class citizenship. Above all, a new initiative is required on the part of the white workers and progressives—in the first place, the Left-progressive sec-

tors of the trade-union movements in support of the Negro liberation movement as such, which is the cardinal prerequisite for Negro-white unity in the present period. At the same time, in the Negro liberation movement itself, a struggle is necessary on the part of the Communist and progressive workers for orienting this movement toward becoming a conscious sector of the people's coalition against American imperialism and its war program. A proper realization is required that such an orientation is indispensable for achieving big victories for Negro rights and for the defense of the Negro people. The treacherous attempts of the Right-wing Negro reformists, Social-Democrats and other lackeys of imperialism to establish a base for Wall Street's war program among the Negro people must be energetically combated.

The June Negro Labor Conference in Chicago, the Council on African Affairs headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Paul Robeson, the appearance of the new journal *Freedom*, must secure the fullest trade-union and progressive support, not only in themselves, but as showing the developing trend of the Negro liberation movement toward a badly-needed and concrete anti-imperialist center.

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duller, in the midst of imperialist war against the colonial peoples—as is shown by the Jim-Crow framework of Lieut. Gilbert and other Negro troops in the Korean war. Also many rich theoretical, political and practical lessons can be learned from the colonial liberation movements in the Far East. Such a study will be of inestimable value in connection with the application, in the framework of the special American conditions, of the slogan of the right of the Negro people in the Black Belt to self-determination.

Our Party has a correct line on the national and colonial questions which is manifested in the Draft Resolution for the 15th National Convention. It is our duty to deepen, elaborate and apply that line—in the light of the basic principles laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin—in such a way that our activities in this field are radically improved, theoretically, politically and practically. The role of our Party in helping to bring about a broad, powerful and effective peace movement—capable, as part of the world peace camp, of halting the war plans of Wall Street—cannot be carried out unless it helps to bring about, on the basis of the united front from below, a broad movement of support of colonial and national liberation struggles. This means that the strug-

gle against white chauvinism, the main danger, as well as against Right-wing Negro reformism, Social-Democracy and bourgeois nationalism, must be pursued in the first place on the basis of support to this movement, and of simultaneously broadening and crystallizing its anti-imperialist as well as its peace character. This struggle must be spurred by the clear recognition of the intensified racist and white chauvinist currents let loose by Wall Street's anti-colonial war and the drive to fascism at home. Far more attention needs to be given to the role of American imperialism in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, the West Indies, and in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Latin America and the Caribbean—with special attention to Africa and the new role that American imperialism has carved out for it in its plan for a third world war and for futilely attempting to give colonialism a new lease on life.

This article is only a beginning in the exploration of this vast, complex, and crucially important subject. There is no doubt that in the big struggles ahead our Party, armed with our correct line, and with the treasure-trove of Marxism-Leninism, will fulfill its historic responsibilities in support of the national and colonial movements of the world.

Further Strengthening of the Fight Against White Chauvinism*

by PETTIS PERRY

AT OUR LAST PLENUM, in March, we noted that our Party had moved forward in many respects in its fight against white chauvinism. We noted also at that time that the intensification of the imperialist drive toward war was heightening the atmosphere of intense nationalism and chauvinism.

It is impossible in the context of the present war situation to see anything but greater oppression of the Negro people as the outcome. It is inconceivable that the imperialist bourgeoisie can engage in an intensive drive toward war and carry through a general attack upon the rights of the American people and at the same time advance the cause of Negro rights. This is especially true if we consider the fact that since our last Plenum the reactionaries have succeeded in passing the McCarran fascist police state bill and have enacted similar legislation in many localities.

During this period, we have witnessed the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in a whole number of areas. In area after area police brutalities con-

tinued against the Negroes. This is so North as well as South, East as well as West, and it must be emphasized that this vicious violence was called forth by all of the pro-fascist propaganda in the halls of Congress, through the radio and in the press.

The offensive of the bourgeoisie is affecting the ideology of the masses in the country and raises before us the need to sharpen more than ever before the struggle against white chauvinism.

It must be said, however, that in the recent period the struggle against white chauvinism has dangerously slackened. More and more we witness a situation where the work of the Party on the Negro question is more or less sporadic. This is true despite the fact that Communists have taken an active part in some significant battles, such as the victorious struggle against the Stuyvesant Town Project in New York owned by Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. The battle lasted for over two years. It was a militant united front of tenants and community organizations, which succeeded in forcing the management to concede at least a token admission

* Report to the Plenary Session of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held on September 19-20, 1950. Abridged text.

of Negroes as tenants; or the impressive fight carried on by the Marine Cooks and Stewards on the West Coast, compelling one of the steamship companies to employ a Negro stewardess.

One of the most outstanding victories was won by the Civil Rights Congress in the fight that resulted in staying the execution of Willie McGee for the fourth time. There can be no doubt that the wide struggle resulting in the Willie McGee victory was an important factor in bringing about the stay of execution for the Martinsville Seven.

THE TRADE-UNION CONFERENCE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

One of the most significant events in the fight for Negro rights was the Trade-Union Conference for Negro Rights, held in Chicago on June 10 and 11. Time does not permit a full analysis of this conference—neither of its composition nor its decisions. It must be emphasized, however, that never in the history of the United States has there taken place such an important gathering for the promotion of the fight for Negro rights, with such a broad representation of Negro workers, together with their white brothers and sisters. This conference, in addition to taking a correct position on the struggle for peace, adopted some important decisions, which must be made the property of the entire labor movement. Among them is the decision

to render every possible assistance to the efforts to organize the unorganized, with particular emphasis on organizing the agricultural workers, share-croppers, and tenant farmers of the South. Such a development would have a powerful effect upon the Negro national liberation movement of the South. It would help to link that movement in the South with the progressive labor movement in the North—an objective that is most important for the cause of Negro freedom.

The conference further resolved that it would give special attention to help organize the domestic workers. This would in a realistic sense advance the cause of hundreds of thousands of Negro women. It would raise the dignity and status of this neglected section of the population. It would strike a mighty blow at the master-slave relationship to which thousands of Negro women are subjected. It would also bring an additional militant force into the struggle for peace and social progress. The conference, in addition, outlined important steps on the question of fighting for jobs for Negroes in unison with the white workers. It adopted a model contract clause, to be incorporated in trade-union agreements with employers. All of this creates a broad framework in which the fight for jobs for Negroes and equality can and should be conducted. A significant feature of this conference was the fact that it was conducted by Negro workers and that

Negro women played an outstanding role in it. Here it should be noted that some of the white trade unionists played important roles. Unfortunately this conference was not followed up, as it should have been, by the holding of local conferences and the formation of local Negro Labor Councils.

There are many such examples of good work which time does not permit going into. Despite the important contributions that Communists, Negro and white, made in these instances, we must take note of the fact, however, that re-emerging chauvinist tendencies remain within the Party.

Let us take a few examples. In one district, the District Committee sent the whole secretariat into one club to help carry through the expulsion of one of its members for white chauvinism. To the District's surprise, the majority of the people at the meeting were Negroes, and they voted down the proposal of the District Committee with a statement that "you should expel the real white chauvinists." And where was this "real" white chauvinism?

Months later, the district discovered that a member of the District Committee had had a group of Negroes at his house one Saturday for a social evening. In the course of the evening this member began the old business of "eenie, meenie, mini, mo," and he ran the full course with that chauvinist "joke." When a couple of white comrades objected, he re-

plied that "you comrades are too sensitive because the Negroes know that I don't mean it." As soon as the District Committee discovered this fact, this white chauvinist was forthwith expelled.

In another district, a non-Party white fellow kicked a five-year old Negro child, with the result that it had to be sent to a hospital with a serious rupture. This case was handled by a lawyer who held membership in our Party. This lawyer contacted a certain progressive who was interested in the case of this Negro family. He told this progressive, "These people," referring to the man who kicked the child, "have no money. These Negroes will want a fortune." When he was informed that the Negro family wanted only \$200 to take care of the hospital expenses, his reply was that that was a fortune. "Why, I must charge my client \$200 to defend him." When the progressive insisted this family be taken care of, the lawyer threatened, "Okay, if you want to push this case, take it to court. I will have my defense made up. I will simply tell the court that it is true that this man kicked this Negro child, but it was impossible for him to have hurt the child because my client had on houseshoes."

When this matter was brought up in a Progressive Party club, the wife of the brute who had kicked the child, together with a woman member of our Party, became so incensed that they got up and stormed out of

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the meeting. And there were comrades in this area who could not see this as having any relationship to white chauvinism. But thanks to the prompt action of the Party District leadership, the white chauvinist lawyer was immediately expelled, as was also the woman Party member who had stormed out of the Progressive Party club meeting.

Or, another example: Last summer a couple of trade-union comrades decided to take a Negro child with them on their vacation. Although they took him to a place that is frequented by Communists and progressives, this little child was made so miserable that he had to be sent home. Comrades came to these trade unionists with arguments such as: "You will not solve the Negro problem like this. What if the child gets sick? Wouldn't it be better to give him \$50 and let him go to a camp like Wo Chi Ca? Why do you want to assume this kind of burden?" So vicious was this type of conduct by some people in this camp that the little six-year old child became very conscious of it—so much so, that when his mother was invited to visit them one Sunday, he told his mother which people to invite and which not to invite.

Many times, even when individual comrades challenge people who are guilty of the most vicious type of white chauvinism, this remains a private, personal discussion rather than a Party matter, on the grounds that "we must save" the individual.

"We don't want to hurt them."

THERE MUST BE NO LAXITY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

There can be no situation in which our Party may depart from or relax from the sharpest type of struggle for the rights of the Negro people. The struggle for Negro rights is a struggle against imperialism; it is the basis for the alliance of labor and the progressive movement with the Negro people. And this demands a relentless struggle against all manifestations of white chauvinism.

To fail to understand this is to fail to understand that white chauvinism is imperialist ideology, that it can and indeed does poison many workers, and that we must meet it with a constant struggle against it. This is especially true today when the white ruling class, as part of its drive to war and fascism, has intensified its chauvinist and racist ideological agitation.

We must remember, too, that white chauvinism stimulates and feeds its counterpart in bourgeois Negro nationalism, and that failure to fight expressions of white chauvinism within the ranks of the Party will strengthen the influence of bourgeois-nationalist tendencies even on some of our Negro comrades.

Not so long ago I was invited into a district by the District Secretariat to discuss some problems involving our Negro cadres. I found that as a result of the accumulation of weak-

nesses in this district in regard to the struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights, an attitude of impatience and lack of confidence in the leadership of the Party had developed among the key Negro forces. This had reached beyond the ideological stage of bourgeois-nationalist tendencies and had begun to take organizational form in a sort of a center, although it started out as a very legitimate attempt to attain some satisfaction in the struggle against white chauvinism.

In discussing this question, there was wholesale denial by these comrades that they were in any way affected by bourgeois-nationalist tendencies. But when the question was put to them, "Do you have full confidence in the white comrades, including those in the district leadership?" from each and all of them came a categoric "no." They pointed to a whole number of justified complaints and cited numerous examples of failure to develop struggles for Negro rights. But in further discussions they were forced to admit that their attitude to the leadership was a bourgeois-nationalist reaction. It was clear, however, that this reaction was engendered by white chauvinism of which those comrades had been victims. The leadership of this district was properly castigated by the National Committee for failing in the task of relentlessly fighting white chauvinism.

While the Negro comrades were justified in their resentment of white

chauvinism, there can never be justification for any organized blocs within the Party. We must fight white chauvinism, and its expressions within the ranks of the Party, with everything we have, but we must fight it as Communists, Negro and white comrades together, and within the confines of the established Party organizations. Blocs or factions of any sort, which undermine the unity of the Party, cannot and will not be tolerated by the Party. The Party structure and organizational principles are based on proletarian internationalism and the monolithic unity of its membership. Negro comrades are an integral part of the Party organization, its membership and its leadership. They must strive to put into life the policy of the Party on the struggle against white chauvinism, not as a separate bloc or group, but as an integral part of the Party, without slipping into separatist, bourgeois-nationalist tendencies.

The whole Party membership should constantly bear in mind the injunction in the Resolution adopted by the National Committee in December, 1946: ". . . It is the overriding responsibility of white Communists to fight white chauvinism relentlessly. Negro Communists should systematically combat separatist tendencies and distrust of white workers among the Negro people."

Bourgeois-nationalist tendencies,

* "Resolution on the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination," *Political Affairs*, February 1947, p. 158.

bourgeois in their class essence, are fed by, and are a reaction to, white chauvinist ideologies, acts or tendencies. It is a bourgeois reaction to imperialist bourgeois ideology and practice.

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

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

Some comrades in approaching the whole question say: Well, the struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights, that is nothing new. If it is argued that this is not the first time we raised the question or that we are not developing a new line, in that sense it is nothing new. True, we are only further develop-

ing the line of the Party formulated in December 1946 advancing it to a higher level. It is also true that in the 30's we conducted a struggle against white chauvinism. But having said all this, it cannot be argued that there is nothing new in this struggle. In the 30's our country was not the main center of reaction. Today it is. And this is something new. In the 30's the United States was not moving toward fascism. Today it is. It was not being dragged on the path to aggressive war. Today it is. And that is something new. In the 30's we did not have a situation where a significant sector of the labor movement which had once engaged in the struggle for Negro rights, had since departed from that struggle. That is true today. It is known that the C.I.O. for a long period carried on a struggle against some aspects of white chauvinism and for Negro rights. Today the leadership of the C.I.O. and its affiliates have joined hands with the American imperialists and deserted the struggle for Negro rights. Today we have a situation where leaders of the C.I.O., like Potofsky and others, go to the Negro people and try to inveigle them into supporting the imperialist war drive. An occasional passing of a resolution on F.E.P.C., etc., this is the sum and substance of their present "struggle" for the rights of the Negro people. Not to see these new factors is to brush aside the real significance and importance of the fight

against white chauvinism in the present situation.

More than ever before, responsibility for fighting white chauvinism and developing the struggle for equal rights for the Negro people, and thus cementing the alliance of labor and the progressive movement with the Negro people, falls upon our Party and the Left-progressive forces. To advance this struggle is to weaken American imperialism and unmask the brutal face of imperialist monopoly capital and its allies, the Bourbon slavocrats. If we relax in this task, we play into the hands of the labor lieutenants of imperialism and aid the Negro nationalists and reformists, who are trying to mislead the Negro masses into supporting the Truman Administration with its demagogic promises and no action. As the resolution of the National Committee of December 1946 states:

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

STRUGGLE FOR JOBS— A MAJOR TASK

In the struggle for Negro rights,

* *Ibid.*

the fight for jobs, for the rightful place of Negroes in industry, continues to be a major, central task.

Comrade Gus Hall has again and again emphasized that we must develop a broad and most aggressive fight for jobs for Negroes. The fight for jobs must be conducted in the broadest possible way. Every single union, every trade unionist should be mobilized in this fight. We must overcome a situation in which we make up our minds that people who have disagreed with us in the past on this or that question will not agree with us on such a campaign. Many examples could be cited to prove that such an attitude is wrong. There are millions of Americans who, on the simple question of jobs and job equality would go along with us, though they might disagree with us on many other issues. The hub of this fight, I want to re-emphasize, is in the shops, industries and unions, whether we have strong Party forces there or not. Such simple steps as publishing the model contract clause for mass distribution in the shops and plants, starting broad discussions among workers, and asking locals to adopt the clause, are very important. In this fight, under the leadership of the trade unions, we must seek to involve all of the community organizations. This is very important.

We must realize, however, that the slogans used during the Second World War of fighting for jobs for

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Negroes as a means of helping the war effort must be reversed today. We must recognize that a reactionary, imperialist war, a war for world conquest and domination, cannot and will not serve to advance the rights of the Negro people. Without a continuing fight, whatever gains the Negroes would make now could be wiped out overnight in the event of a third world war. What, indeed, would be the lot of the Negro people in industry, assuming that they were in industry, under conditions of world war and fascism at home? It would be like the life of the Jewish people or the Polish people under Hitler.

As far back as 1917, Stalin noted that the extent of national oppression in a given country is directly related to the degree of democracy or reaction prevailing within it. He said: "When in former years the old landed aristocracy controlled the state power in Russia, national oppression could assume, and actually did assume, the monstrous form of massacres and pogroms. In Great Britain, where there is a degree of democracy and political freedom, national oppression bears a less brutal character. Switzerland, for her part, approximates to a democratic society, and in that country the small nations have more or less complete freedom. In a word, the more democratic a country, the less the national oppression, and vice versa. And since by democracy we mean that definite classes are in

control of state power, it may be said from this point of view that the closer the old landed aristocracy stands to power, as was the case in old tsarist Russia, the more severe is the oppression and the more monstrous the form it assumes."*

We must see the fight to enter industry now as a sharp fight against imperialism and imperialist oppression. We must carry through the most widespread campaign in every shop and industry for the adoption of the model contract clause formulated at the Chicago Conference for Negro Rights in June 1950. (This program of action was printed in the July 16 issue of *The Worker*). The program calls for the unifying of the fight on a shop and community level with that of the legislative fight for F.E.P.C. In the past the fight for F.E.P.C. was purely a legislative fight, but in the last few weeks even this has declined. We must see now that this fight be resumed and that the main weight of it be transferred to the shops and industries.

We must once and for all end a situation where decisions arrived at, and plans worked out in conjunction with some of our white trade unionists, are changed all of a sudden and the whole business of the fight for Negro rights seems to be called off. Too often when this happens, many leading comrades in districts will start sympathizing with the "difficulties" that this or

* Joseph Stalin, "Report on National Question," *Marxism and the National Question*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, pp. 69-70.

that trade unionist is having in trying to fight on the question. Or, what fine records they have in past performances. We must insist that everywhere, our Communists, both trade unionists and non-proletarian, fight unyieldingly against white chauvinism and for Negro rights. Only when the Party and especially the leading white comrades carry on an unyielding struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights, can confidence on the part of the Negro masses in the white progressives be instilled. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that as the party of the working class, as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we Communists are opposed to all forms of bourgeois ideology; we adhere strictly to the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is for this reason that in connection with the fight for the rights of the Negro people, we must ever wage a struggle on two fronts—against every vestige of white chauvinism in practice or ideology, and against Negro bourgeois nationalism. This struggle must be carried on jointly by the Negro and white comrades in the Party. This and only this will insure complete unity of Negro and white within the Party, and will be a powerful influence on the non-Party masses of the working class and its allies.

This was correctly emphasized by Comrade Ben Davis in his report to the March Plenum, this year, when he declared:

Our Party has a cardinal task in aiding in the forging of the unity of the Negro people's movement and in bringing it into co-operation with the most advanced sections of the labor and progressive movements around a militant, anti-imperialist, anti-war, anti-fascist program of struggle. . . . In the achievement of these prime tasks in respect to the Negro liberation movement, the Communist Party must raise the banner of the fight on two fronts: first, against ruling class white-chauvinist ideology and practices, as the main danger; and secondly, against bourgeois Negro nationalism and against Right-wing reformism and Social-Democracy, which are key dangers within the ranks of the Negro people's movement. Both these dangers, from different approaches, meet in the common service of the bipartisan war program of the Wall Street monopolies, and must be ruthlessly combatted simultaneously.*

In connection with the struggle for jobs for Negroes, it is necessary to raise again sharply before the Party the question of extending everywhere the greatest amount of assistance and encouragement to the development of the Labor Councils, which are the best instrument at the present time to create unity between the Negro workers themselves and between Negro and white, irrespective of craft or industry. In every community, the most widespread campaign for jobs in industry should take place. Labor councils should be encouraged to re-

* *Ibid.*, May 1950, pp. 111-112.

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print, in the thousands, copies of this program of action adopted in Chicago as a means of developing the broadest type of discussion and actions in a whole number of shops and industries. Broad conferences of all types of trade unionists from all possible crafts and locals should be stimulated as a means of pushing forward this program.

The labor movement should understand that the fight for Negro rights in its many-sided ways is a key question for the labor movement. The fight in shops and industries for the rights of the Negro people is of course basic. At the same time, the labor movement should concern itself with such so-called non-trade union issues as that of police violence. What would have happened, for example, had the labor movement in the United States begun to express mass indignation to Congress and the President when the Southern bourbon Lanham insulted William Patterson on the floor of Congress. What would happen if every time a lynching takes place a whole number of unions would have work stoppages of 15 to 30 minutes in protest against such violence? Is it not clear that such action would rally the millions of Negroes to the side of the progressive labor movement? Or take such a fight as the campaign against restrictive covenants, such as went on in Stuyvesant Town. Suppose the whole labor movement in New York had step-

ped forward as militant fighters on this issue. Is it not clear that this would have struck the very heart of reaction in this country and would have exposed the reactionary Social-Democratic elements in the labor movement.

In line with Comrade Gus Hall's excellent report on the need to develop coalition activity it is necessary to stress that the developing labor councils must be considered as the mass organized expression of united action and of rank-and-file Negro-white unity — unity that is based on progress, unity that will cut across all crafts, irrespective of what union, whether A.F. of L., C.I.O. or Railroad Brotherhoods. This would provide, for the first time in history, for the role of Negro labor to be effectively felt in the Negro liberation movement.

These labor councils, however, should everywhere develop the broadest type of unity on various issues with all organizations in Negro life, whether N.A.A.C.P., church or fraternal organizations. Despite the reactionary role that some of the top leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. have played, of disrupting unity, of trying to isolate the Left forces from the Negro masses, we should strive for united action with the N.A.A.C.P. in this struggle, we should keep in mind the basic interests and needs of the masses, and we should develop our activities with them on a level that they can understand. If we do this, we can mount a real

movement for the protection of the lives and welfare of the Negro masses.

What is needed in the country today is a mass nation-wide fight, first, on the economic front, to promote the economic and social welfare of the Negro masses, which is at the same time in the interests of the white workers; and, secondly, to achieve civil rights for the Negro people and other oppressed minorities on these shores.

In this respect the McGee case and the Trenton Six assume new and greater importance. The whole labor and progressive movement must do everything to strengthen and broaden the splendid fight that is being undertaken by the Civil Rights Congress. The Civil Rights Congress needs the support of all forces in American life who want to prevent the stamping out of every vestige of democracy in this country.

In the coming period our country faces very serious problems. The Negro people can help solve these problems. We face the problem of uniting the workers to defeat the monopolist drive toward war and fascism, to throw back the imper-

alist forces in their attempts to dominate the world. These problems cannot be met without the fullest consideration and concern for the development of the Negro liberation movement in America.

Today, the American working class must more and more rally the anti-imperialist forces in the United States in the struggle for peace. It must more and more assume leadership in fighting for the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Here again, the Negro people, who form a common bond with the enslaved peoples of Africa and Asia and throughout the world, can and indeed must play an important role. And one of the paths that must be taken is the development of international solidarity between the Negro people, together with the white workers, and the colonial peoples. This necessitates an aggressive struggle for the rights of the Negro people in the United States. This would be an important step in the direction of unifying and strengthening the anti-imperialist forces everywhere in the struggles for peace and social progress.

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Psychoanalysis: Ideological Instrument of Imperialism

(An Article for Discussion)

by GEORGE SISKIND and HARRY MARTEL

AMERICAN imperialism, in order to achieve the Hitlerian ambition of world conquest, has unleashed an ideological campaign to crush the will to peace, freedom and national independence of all peoples and nations. To prevent the people from acquiring a true understanding of nature, society and human thought has become an indispensable ideological aim of the Wall Street monopolies in their drive to world supremacy. To achieve this aim they export everywhere ideologies that lower the value of life itself, that establish the cult of violence, and glorify the Goebbel's credo of creating a generation of conscienceless "killers" for the glory and profit of Big Capital. For that nefarious purpose United States imperialism brands with the mark of brutality, unreason, violence and destruction everything that can ennoble life. Science and art feel the lash as imperialism demands the exaltation of cynicism, morbidity, lust and cannibalism. Loyalty oaths, blacklists, thought control, witch hunts and threats of starvation and imprisonment — these and other McCar-

ranite police-state measures are employed on the home front in order to stifle opposition to atomic war preparations, in order to still the voice of peace.

Capitalism in its imperialist stage offers no ideal except destruction, no perspective except endless misery, and no future except that of material and spiritual servitude.

The general crisis of capitalism, manifested in the First World War and the establishment of the Socialist Soviet Union, has affected every aspect of bourgeois science and ideology. Because reason, science and art move freely and develop only when they serve the people, bourgeois ideologists, particularly in the epoch of imperialism and political reaction, turn reason into unreason, science into pseudo-science, and art into a mere display of neurasthenic forms. To do this they invent theories which are calculated to conceal the naked brutality of imperialism's aims by giving them a "scientific" facade. While perverting the natural sciences into means of wholesale destruction, capitalism in the period of its intensified crisis and decay, degrades every social science into an ideological instrument justifying mass impoverish-

ment, imperialist war and fascist cannibalism. And the deeper capitalism sinks into its general crisis, the more irrational and mystical become its ideological defenses, the more frenziedly does it seek to ward off its inevitable doom by dehumanizing man and brutalizing culture.

CAPITALISM DEGRADES PSYCHOLOGY

An insidious ideological instrument at the disposal of the monopolist ruling class is bourgeois psychology and all of its offshoots. Never able, because of its very nature as a monstrous system of human exploitation, to develop a science of psychology, capitalism, in senility, drags psychology ever deeper into the morass of animal-biologism, degrading anti-social morbidity, mysticism, cynicism and pessimism.

Bourgeois psychology is actually a weapon against a rational science of the mind. Issuing out of reactionary idealism, it seeks to block the human mind from the cognition of objective reality, and thus to disorganize the personality. As one of its major tasks, it seeks to halt the development of mass class-consciousness among the exploited.

A Soviet authority has thus summarized the theoretical and political essence of bourgeois psychology:

Bourgeois psychology proceeds from an idealist understanding of the mind, separates the mind and the consciousness of people from social existence,

and derives the psychological character of man from supposedly eternal, inherent, and unchangeable laws of mind, from his endowment of instincts, and from his unconscious drives. Bourgeois psychology professes to be a classless science, a science of the mind of "man in general," but in fact is subservient, like other sciences, to the political interests of contemporary imperialism.*

The most widespread and dangerous form of this shoddy bourgeois psychology is Freudian psychoanalysis. It is not accidental that the Wall Street dominated United States, the world center of reaction, war and obscurantism, has become the center for the dissemination of Freudism. Nor is it at all strange that Freudism, born in decadent Vienna, is today a Marshall Plan article of export from Washington back to Europe.

FREUDISM IS SUBJECTIVE IDEALIST AT CORE

Freudism emerged in the period of history when capitalism was entering its monopoly stage, the stage characterized by parasitism, decay and "reaction all along the line." In the sphere of theory this period was marked by the burgeoning of irrational tendencies in philosophy, in psychology, in all the social sciences and in the arts. Lenin analyzed these tendencies in his epochal work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. He showed that they expressed a crisis in all the sciences and that this crisis

* M. N. Maslina, in *Soviet Psychiatry*, by Joseph Wortis, Baltimore, 1950. Appendix, p. 27.

was a reflection of the class struggle in the period when the capitalist class began to feel uncertain and anxious for its future. Specifically, Lenin established the fundamental thesis that the very development of science depended on its resistance to the various forms of bourgeois philosophical idealism. But Freudism, far from resisting, completely based itself on the most reactionary forms of idealism, and thereby adapted itself to the ideological needs of the bourgeoisie. Since then it has been assiduously fostered by the bourgeoisie because it offered a seductive "explanation" of such integral contradictions of capitalism, as wars, crises and unemployment, in terms of "immutable instincts" which are independent of capitalism, or any other social conditions. To Freud and his followers the source of both social and individual disorders is not capitalism, but so-called antagonisms between man's "instinctual drives" and the repressions brought about by the "super ego." These "instinctual drives," according to Freudians, are fully developed in the earliest life of primitive man. Rooted in man's biological makeup, the two main drives, the sex or life drive and the death drive, are deemed to be determinants of all man's actions.

Freudian psychoanalysis, together with its derivative schools (including self-styled non-Freudian schools) is at its core subjective idealist, notwith-

standing its frequent claims to a materialist foundation.

Contrary to Marxism, which begins not with "ideological reflexes and echoes" of man's life process, but with "real individuals, their activity, and the material conditions determining their lives," Freud begins and ends with psychological factors. He attributes to these the decisive influence both in the shaping of the human being and of society. To Freudians, man's so called unchanging psychological makeup is the foundation for all the intricate changes in the world. History, the class struggle, changes in man's psychology determined by, and reflecting changes in the external world—in a word, the laws of motion of the forms of social and individual consciousness, are not only absent; they are denied and negated by the Freudian scheme. But these are the very conditions for a science of psychology. Consequently, despite its boastful claims and pretensions, psychoanalysis has no more to do with science than has theology.

The non-existent "unconscious" which, according to Freud, is rooted in man's biological structure, is to him the overwhelming dominant part of man's mind, and in the final analysis, the source of all forms of human activity. The movements of the mind may, according to Freud, be felt, but can never be known. In this conception one sees the resurrection of the long buried "unconscious

will" invented by Schopenhauer. Freud indeed very proudly proclaimed his indebtedness to this spokesman for the irrational and occult.

THE "UNCONSCIOUS"— FREUDIAN FOUNDATION CONCEPT

What is the "unconscious," this foundation concept of the whole Freudian system? Freud himself defines it for us as follows:

The unconscious is the larger circle which includes the smaller circle of the conscious, everything conscious has a preliminary unconscious stage, whereas the unconscious can stop at this stage and yet claim to be considered a full psychic function. The unconscious is the true psychic reality.*

Here it is clear that while Freud allows for "consciousness," it is but a "smaller circle" which cannot claim to be a "full psychic function" and is not "the true psychic reality." For Freudianism the "unconscious" is *primary and supersedes the conscious*. Since the "unconscious" processes manifest themselves, according to Freud, as immutable "instinctual drives" imbedded in the biological organism, *the biological is dominant over the ideological*; the animal is primary and supersedes man.

Freud's "unconscious" represents a retreat from, and in essence, a denial of, reality.

* Sigmund Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, New York, 1933, p. 36.

Fleeing from the objective reality of the outside world, Freudianism concocts a pseudo-reality of the self-contained individual being, in whose "unconscious" rages the war of his primordial instincts.

Inescapably there follows from Freudian psychoanalysis a Freudian sociology, which sees the driving force of the history of class societies, not in class antagonisms and class struggle, but in the instinctual drives and conflicts of the individual.

A MODERN MYTHOLOGY OF UNREASON

Here Freud expresses the same anti-rational and mystical approach to the phenomena of life characteristic of such philosophers of decay as Bergson, Spengler, Hartman, James, Dewey, and the existentialist crew led by Sartre. Together with them he has created a modern mythology of unreason as an ideological weapon for the imperialist bourgeoisie in its ruthless war against human progress and Socialism.

Freudian preaching of the unknowability of the world, of the deep mysterious drives of man, of an "unconscious" as the dominant factor in life, is cut from the same cloth as the fascist assertion of the irrationality of life.

Instead of seeing the real world reflected in the consciousness of man, psychoanalysis sees eternal, blind instincts. The decisive role of the prevailing mode of production and con-

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responding production relations, of class struggle, of evolutionary development and revolutionary leaps, and the role of class ideologies in the formation of the consciousness of man are ignored as of no importance in shaping personality. History itself does not exist in the Freudian scheme any more than it did for Schopenhauer, for whom there was no historic process, only aimless movement. Freud falls back to the most outworn conceptions of the abstract, atomized, individual man, unconditioned by society, and driven without purpose by primordial instincts.

In psychoanalysis there is a studied escape from the realities of life into a fanciful nether-world of so-called fixations and complexes, such as the "Oedipus complex." The innocent king of Greek mythology is converted by Freud into the inevitable, fateful and inescapable original sin, destined eternally to torment mortal man. According to this wild phantasy, in a male's early childhood, the father becomes the object of hatred, the mother of love. Consequently deep-rooted desires must arise in the son to get rid of the father in order to possess the mother completely. Only the fear that the father, who embodies authority, will hack off his penis prevents the son from satisfying his "natural" (sic!) desires. This fear, Freudians maintain, creates the "castration complex," and every male is endowed with this complex at one time or another.

It is with such and related farrago of nonsense that patients, who may be otherwise intelligent beings, are bemused to delving into their interiors for an explanation of the problems that beset them. Perhaps workers hate bosses because the latter exploit, drive and rob them? "How absurd an explanation, how utterly simple," Freudians exclaim. To Freud there simply can be no basis for such hatred in the realities of capitalist exploitation. He has a "deep" "scientific" explanation, valid for all times! — Workers hate their exploiters because they see in them the "father image," and they are merely transferring to capitalists the hatred for their father which began in early childhood. From this it follows that hatred for the capitalist class is irrational and unreal.

Such and similar rubbish is seriously and pompously offered by Freud and his followers as new and deep scientific insights into almost every form of human activity — science, politics, art, etc. In reality, all Freudian concepts conveniently serve to conceal the class character, contradictions and evils of capitalist society and the real causes of war and fascism. Thus, fascists, spawned by capitalism, in the period of its advanced decay, are viewed by psychoanalysis in terms of the "infantile sexuality," the "father-image," and similar fatalistic, outrageous, obscurantist myths. The horrors of fascism, the appearance of the monsters of

Maidaneks, Buchenwalds, and Hiroshimas are explained by Freudian "doctors of the mind" as responses to deep-seated instinctual drives which are natural and unfathomable.

This theory (sic!) of human behavior, serves to rationalize violence, sadism, inhumanity and social pessimism. It serves to dull the sense of shock against the worse-than-medieval barbarities of modern imperialism, and with its "theories" of guilt, atonement, and release it induces resignation to the suicidal war drive of imperialism as somehow inevitably rooted in man's fate.

PROVIDES JUSTIFICATION FOR FASCISM AND WAR

It would be a serious mistake to believe that the effects of bourgeois psychiatry are limited to those who undergo treatment. The influence of Freudism has permeated every sphere of life in the United States. Bourgeois sociology, history, political economy, pedagogy, literature, the drama, films, the radio and press literally reek with Freudian mysticism. As a leading psychiatrist himself attests: "It is not what is being done by a few thousand psychoanalysts in their office that is important. It is what psychoanalysis is doing out in the world, to the lives of people everywhere." * Psychoanalysis is thus not an academic question relative to the nature of neuroses and their therapy. It is a sinister ideological ruling-class instrument.

The full extent of the retrograde role of Freudian psychology is made glaringly clear by its explanations of the source and nature of fascism, and the causes of war and revolution. The struggle, for instance, to defend the living standards and rights of the people under capitalism, and for the revolutionary, Socialist transformation of society, has to Freudian witch-doctors nothing to do with the nature and contradictions of capitalism and the irrepressible class struggle it engenders; nor with the historical process, and with the perception of the laws of social development. Of course not; all that is only "Hegelian metaphysics" and Marxist "dogma." Class-conscious workers, revolutionary fighters for the abolition of classes and of the exploitation of man by man are psychoanalyzed as bundles of "instinctual drives" and "sexual urges" frustrated in their futile desire to "overcome the father image." Fascism has nothing to do with the intensified general crisis of capitalism; it has no relation to the inability of reactionary monopoly capital to maintain its rule by means of bourgeois democracy. Fascism to the Freudians is again an expression of the "sexual drives," "father-images," or of the Adlerian "aggressive instincts." In other words, fascism is ingrained in the biological nature of sinful and evil man; and of course there is nothing to be done about it.

* Marie Beynon Ray, *Doctors of the Mind*, Boston, 1947, p. 318.

(except perhaps convincing the most reactionary, most imperialistic and chauvinist monopolists and their storm troopers to undergo psychoanalytic treatment). Likewise, the phenomenon of imperialist war to the boastful Freudian "scientists of the human soul" has nothing to do with markets, colonies, raw material resources, spheres for capital export and colonial super-profits; it has no relation to the law of the uneven development of capitalism and the armed struggle for the redivision of the world. No, the source and roots of imperialist war, to Freudian psychology, are imbedded in the unconscious drives and instinctual urges of biological man. It is an undeniable fact that Freudian psychiatry is an insidious weapon of imperialist reaction directed against peace and democracy, against social progress and Socialism, against human life itself. One can make no concessions to Freudianism, therefore, without serving reaction, without betraying the people.

Freud, it should be noted, went back to the biological standpoint at a time when science demanded that man go forward from that standpoint. For he first appeared with his theory of biologically formed unchangeable instincts at the very time when a revolution in human thought had been accomplished by Marx and Engels. This revolution involved for the first time in history a materialism which was consistent throughout,

because it was dialectical, and a dialectic which was for the first time transformed into a rational, scientific method. Such a method was possible because its foundation was the materialist approach to the phenomena of life and society and human thought.

With this new scientific approach to the phenomena of nature and society, every aspect of life could be approached boldly and with full confidence that nothing is beyond the power of man to fathom. This philosophy affirmed the mighty potentialities of mankind and the real dignity of man about which the bourgeoisie chatter so much while in practice they plan (the only thing they can plan!) the destruction of man's dignity and man himself. Marxism proclaims that consciousness is "the light of existence," the highest product of matter. It therefore strives to develop that consciousness as the most worthy task of those who hold that people are the most important capital. It therefore ennobles and raises to new heights the human personality.

THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF PERSONALITY

All bourgeois psychology in the final instance concerns itself with a theory of personality. The Freudian psychology has constructed the most ingenious of reactionary, anti-human, unrealistic theories of personality; and this is one of the reasons why the more astute ideologists of Amer-

ican imperialism have given their blessings to Freudism.

A real theory of personality is possible only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory of reflection. Marxism-Leninism has abundantly demonstrated that consciousness reflects the activity of individuals, activity which is determined by their socio-economic relationships. Hence the personality of men and women under Socialism differs in a host of fundamental respects from that under capitalism. As M. N. Maslina stated in the cited article:

In a socialist society, there appears a qualitatively new stage in the psychological development of man. The Soviet order creates a new Soviet people freed from the slavery and from the distortions of human consciousness connected with private property.

In this respect, it would be incorrect to fail to bring out the special role that consciousness in its highest form, in the form of theory, plays in the formation of the new Soviet personality. Here we refer to the guiding role played by the Bolshevik Party on the basis of the most advanced world outlook, Marxism-Leninism. By effecting a qualitative, revolutionary change in the material conditions of life, the Bolshevik Party at the head of the Russian proletariat, laid the basis for the emergence of the new *Socialist* personality; and has finally exploded the misanthropic view of Freud that an "unconscious" or unconscious motiva-

tions were the foundation of personality. Co-operative Socialist relations and the morality of Soviet man, based on the principle that the greatest welfare of all is the condition for the fullest development of each, decisively refutes in life the Freudian rubbish that instincts, conceived as immutable entities, dominate the development of personality. The new Socialist personality likewise provides a full verification of the classical Marxist formulation of the relation of activity to consciousness.

Marx and Engels, in the opening remarks of *The German Ideology*, accused the radical-sounding Left-Hegelians of being the worst conservatives, because they merely called for a change of consciousness, of ideology as the condition for transforming society and individuals, instead of fighting for a change of the material conditions that gave rise to such a society and a consciousness corresponding to it. Marx and Engels thus formulated the question with the incisiveness of genius in one of their early works:

In direct contrast to German [idealist] philosophy which descends from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to heaven. That is to say, we do not set out from what men say, imagine, conceive, nor from men as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life-process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of the

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life-process. . . . The phantoms formed in the human brain are also, necessarily, sublimates of their material life-process, which is empirically verifiable and bound to material premises. Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life.*

And in *Capital, Vol. I*, we have the further elaboration of Marx's thinking in his famous statement that man in acting upon nature outside himself and changing it thereby changes his own nature. This of course involves changing the very form and content of his consciousness as such, the very form and nature of his personality. It is this historical approach to the problems of activity, consciousness, and personality that the Freudians, bounded as they are by the narrow horizons of bourgeois thought, can never comprehend.

Under the growing weight of dialectical-materialist criticism of Freudian psychoanalysis, many psychiatrists and psychoanalysts have sought, step by step, to concede the more obvious criticisms, and to separate psychoanalysis from Freudian phil-

osophy and sociology. Others have tried to make the world believe that they rely only on the "later Freud" in contrast to the "earlier Freud." Certain psychiatrists claim that they have fundamentally revised Freudism by shifting emphasis from instincts to "environment," by de-emphasizing sex, by lessening concentration on the individual's remote past; by discarding all but "some of the basic theories," all but the "useful techniques." One group even lays claim to a materialist basis for psychoanalysis in its efforts to wed psychoanalysis to Marxism. These and similar patchwork eclectics, cannot however accomplish the impossible, cannot unite idealism and materialism. They cannot satisfy the basic criterion of science—the criterion of the unity of theory and practice.

To make the slightest concessions to Freudism means to depart from scientific materialism and to approach the metaphysical swamp of subjective idealism. There can be no scientific psychiatry that does not break completely with Freudian mysticism, that does not consistently renounce in theory and practice every vestige of the Freudian unconscious.

Psychiatrists and psychologists will be able to enter the path of science only when they recognize that the psyche is a product of the motion of the most highly organized matter, the brain, and that the psyche in all its aspects: sensations, perceptions, thoughts, strivings, feelings, is a re-

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, International Publishers, N. Y., 1947, pp. 14-15.

flexion of the material world which exists prior to and independent of the psyche. Any scientific psychiatry must first of all base itself on the Marxist-Leninist proposition that consciousness cannot be treated as a self-contained, independent entity but as a product of man's historical and social development; that therefore consciousness itself has movement and is undergoing change constantly, that the relationship of social consciousness to individual consciousness must be specially studied and that class ideology plays a most significant role in the formation of the individual consciousness. On these materialist-dialectical foundations alone is it possible to erect a scientific psychiatry and psychology.

FREUDIAN TECHNIQUES CONSISTENT WITH ITS THEORY

The claim of some politically advanced and progressive circles that it is possible to accept what is "progressive and rational" in Freudianism, and reject what is irrational and reactionary is unprincipled and eclectic. To assert that it is possible to reject the underlying philosophy of psychoanalysis as subjective idealism, and to accept its clinical techniques as materialist and scientific is to do violence to the unity of theory and practice, is to hold that a subjective idealist theory can be the foundation for a dialectical-materialist practice. Let us briefly examine

now the psychoanalytical techniques, the practice of Freudian psychiatry. To do this it is not possible or necessary here to deal with every refinement and every new twist in psychoanalytical techniques. It is sufficient for our purpose to establish, as we shall, that all analytical techniques, without exception, are adapted to uncover the so-called irrational drives, suppressed desires, instinctual urges, etc., within the individual, and that they are therefore inseparable from the subjective idealist, metaphysical theory of the unconscious.

All schools of analysis, with but minor variations, accept dream interpretation, free association, and the so-called phenomenon of transference as their basic techniques. No matter whether the claimed emphasis is upon the so-called day-to-day environmental problems of the individual or upon the unravelling of his past, the above are the fundamental tools of the analyst. Freud says, "The interpretation of dreams is the royal road to a knowledge of the unconscious element in psychic life." Like Freud, all analysts regard dreams as "wish fulfillments" of repressed desires that ultimately derive from infantile drives. But what are these "infantile drives" if not the naked and unadorned Freudian unconscious? Who, but a Freudian magician, will vest infants with patterns of wishes and desires, obviously crystallized—since they are infants—

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not by consciousness and experience, but by "infantile drives" which are prevented from fulfillment by the realities of their environment! Clearly, the so-called wishes, desires and strivings of the infant are to all analysts biologically ingrained and derived from "unconscious motivations." And it is precisely these Freudian "unconscious drives" that the analyst probes for with the "technique" of dream analysis.

Free association is the technique of psychoanalysis which aims to bring out the random, unconscious, spontaneous ideas of the patient, which to Freudians are deterministically connected. An authority describes the technique as follows: "Freud persuaded [his patients] to give up all conscious reflection, abandon themselves to calm concentration, follow their spontaneous mental occurrences, and impart everything to him."* The theory of analysis is that this spontaneous association of thoughts and recall of dreams will reveal the true personality, the real essence of the individual. Obviously, the "true" individual is to be found in his "unconscious," while the conscious individual has lesser reality in the affairs of life.

The concept of transference is the key to the entire analytical relationship, the relationship of the patient to the analyst. Essentially, by transference the analyst refers to the

patient's reaction to himself as a "stereotyped, repetitive" reaction. The patient is supposedly reacting to the analyst as though the analyst were a different person from what he really is, as though the analyst were the patient's parents, or some other person, floating out of his dim past, as the real and original source of the patient's "complexes," "fixations," "frustrations," etc., etc. By thus rooting out the original significant personalities responsible for determining the patient's behavior pattern, from his "unconscious," the analyst proceeds to cast out the spell, to drive out the devil and the spirits. And he does this with the simple expedient of convincing the "neurotic" that he, the analyst, who has "transferred" himself into the devil, is in reality a nice fellow and incapable of being what the patient was conditioned (by this same analyst) into believing him to be.

Few psychoanalysts deny their use of the "transference" hocus pocus. But no matter how some may try to "objectivize" it as "merely an instrument of analysis," here also we have the irrational, the fantastic probing into the "unconscious." Psychiatrists of a progressive political persuasion can make no claims to a materialist, scientific approach unless they break fully and consistently, not only with Freudian theory but also with Freudian practice in their therapeutic techniques. Rejection of the subjective idealist, mythical and mys-

* *Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*. Introduction by A. A. Brill, New York, 1938, p. 9.

tical "unconscious" leaves nothing to psychoanalytic theory or practice but a "primordial" void.

THE PRAGMATIST "BUT IT WORKS" ARGUMENT

Driven to the wall by irrefutable, Marxist, materialist critique, certain politically progressive exponents of psychoanalysis can only fall back upon their last argument—the pragmatist argument—"But it works." Even granting that some people may perhaps obtain a certain measure of illusory relief, or what bourgeois psychologists like to call "peace of mind," through analysis, we must still ask, what have they acquired in place of the confusions, anxieties and feelings of helplessness they were supposed to have brought to the psychiatrist's office? People undergoing treatment have learned to look upon themselves and upon all human beings—as the containers of blind necessity, of irrational impulses and so-called drives. They have now a rationale for explaining away the effects of, and for attempting to insulate themselves from, decaying capitalist society, and are thus released from the responsibility of social struggle against the rot that poisons the well-springs of the people's culture and life. In the analyst the patient has actually bought a "friend" and in analysis he bought an "experience" that mystifies and therefore may temporarily relieve his sense of

worthlessness and self-debasement which is inherent in the acceptance of bourgeois ideology and standards where human dignity is weighed only in money-property relations.

Frequently more open reactionary spokesmen of psychoanalysis come much closer to the truth than avowed progressives. One such leading theoretician of psychoanalysis, Fenichel, in a moment of candor, did not find it necessary to hide the stark mystical, deeply reactionary and fraudulent character of psychoanalysis with progressive and scientific-sounding camouflage. He says of psychoanalytic technique

... if the patient is a "good boy" and does not behave neurotically, he gets love, protection and "participation" from the omnipotent doctor; if he does not obey he has to fear his revenge. In this respect the psychotherapist is in good company; he uses the same means of influencing as God uses.

And the psychotherapist is actually near to God. Medicine in general, and psychotherapy in particular, has long been the realm of the priests. And frequently it is today... Neurotics, who have failed in actively mastering their surroundings, always are more or less looking out for passive dependent protection. The more a psychotherapist succeeds in giving the impression of having magical powers, of still being the representative of God as the priest doctors once were, the more he meets the longing of his patients for magical help. . . .

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the psychotherapist will be more successful the more he uses visible magical instruments and behaves like a sorcerer; for more modern patients, magic is not necessarily represented by large apparatuses; but rather by a certain unapproachability on the part of the person in authority. However, the importance of all the age-long instruments of impressive magic and the ancient magical power of faith should not be underestimated either.*

PSYCHOSES AND DYING CAPITALISM

Even a superficial investigation will show that the alarming increase in actual mental illness has its roots deep in the dying capitalist system. The recurring economic crises, unemployment, and insecurity; the criminal policy today of keeping the American public "artificially alarmed"; the furious preparations for atom war; the McCarran police state law and persecution of those who take a militant stand for peace and progress; the growing cult of brutality—especially as propagated in the crime news, the films and the radio—have undoubtedly had their effects in the alarming prevalence of psychoses. Substantial numbers, especially in the middle strata of the population, become appalled at the perspectives, lose confidence in themselves and in their ability to change conditions,

and seek refuge in escape into a mythical, chloroformed, fantasy existence.

The growth of mental illness is therefore, in essence, a phenomenon of moribund, crisis-ridden capitalist society. Mental illness can be finally eliminated only through the replacement of the dog-eat-dog system of capitalism by the human comradeship system of Socialist society. But in the meantime, the people cannot close their eyes to the horrible conditions prevailing in mental sanitariums and asylums throughout the country. Recent exposures have revealed the miserly appropriations provided for these institutions by the State and Federal governments, the callous absence of any treatment whatever, or the therapy of the "snake pit"; the miserly appropriations for research.

NEED FOR IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

The progressive forces, in combating reaction's war drive and its psychological disorientation of many people, must carry on an ideological struggle of enlightenment to stop the flight from reality on the part of those appalled by the horrors they see and anticipate. They can be transformed into people who will participate in mass struggle to change the reality of threatening war and fascism into the reality of peace, democracy, and Socialism.

In the Socialist Soviet Union, where

* Otto Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*, New York, 1945, p. 562.

exploitation of human beings has been abolished and social planning has replaced the anarchy of production in capitalist society, where economic crises and the very basis for the drive to imperialist aggression and war have been eliminated, the source of the insecurities, the conflicts, and the mental anguish chargeable to capitalism has likewise been eliminated. The new, Socialist man, engaged in socially purposive labor that is considered an honor, collectively building the society of Communism, and proudly knowing himself to be a citizen of the land that is the leader of the world camp of peace—he is not turned inward into the “nether” hell-hole of an “unconscious.”

Dialectical materialism, the philosophic foundation of Marxism-Leninism, upon which alone psychology can expand and develop on scientific

foundations, irreconcilably combats Freudianism and all schools of psychoanalysis. There can be no “harmonization” of the monistic materialism of Marxism and the metaphysical dualism of Freudianism, between the scientific world outlook of the working class and the irrationalist, bourgeois-idealist pseudo-science of psychoanalysis.

For dialectical materialism asserts the objectivity of knowledge in which man, in social practice, not only reacts upon and transforms the object of his cognition, but thereby also changes his own nature.*

* The authors regard the initiative displayed by Milton Howard in the columns of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* and the efforts of the editors of *Masses & Mainstream* as important contributions to the ideological-political struggle against the menace of psychoanalysis. This article is a modest attempt at deepening the Marxist critique of Freudism and all its variants. The authors hope that the discussion will be carried further, directed toward the ideological isolation and uprooting of the pernicious influences of its theory and practice of Freudianism in all spheres of life.

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How People Live in the Soviet Union*

by A. S. FULBRIGHT

AS NOTED previously, the standard of living of a people is not determined by individual income alone. Other important factors are housing and rent, health protection, in particular mother and child care, educational and other cultural services, and provisions for old age, sickness, and other emergencies. How do the Soviet people fare in these respects?

HOUSING AND RENT

The Five-Year Plans have all included housing as a most important element in promoting the welfare of the Soviet population. During the first Five-Year Plan, four billion rubles were spent on housing by the Soviet government; during the second Five-year Plan—9.6 billion rubles; during the third Five-Year Plan—11.3 billion rubles; and during the current (the fourth Five-Year Plan) 42.3 billion rubles are being spent on housing. This last figure, of course, does not include money expended on construction of privately owned housing.

The war left 25 million Soviet citizens homeless. It has not been

possible for the rate of housing construction fully to cope with the Soviet housing shortage, caused by the barbarous destruction on the part of the invading fascists, in addition to what would have been a normal rise in housing needs. Moreover, there have been lags in housing construction, which have been seriously criticized in the Soviet press.

Nevertheless, a great deal has been achieved in the short postwar span; by the end of last year 72 million square meters, or 775 million square feet,* of living space have been built or restored by Soviet enterprises. (The size of an average Soviet room is fifteen feet square). Over 10 million square meters of living space have been created by private home dwellers during this same period. And in rural areas, 2,300,000 homes have been restored or newly built.

Housing is admittedly still short of the needs in urban areas, but the rate of construction described above indicates a rapid solving of this situation. The postwar spurt in the construction of privately owned

* The first part of this article appeared in the November issue.—Ed.

* One square meter equals 10.76 square feet.

dwelling in urban as well as rural areas, a drive aided by easy state credits and by the rapidly developing pre-fabricated housing industry, will facilitate a quick solution of the housing shortage. It is expected that by the end of this year Soviet citizens, with the aid of state loans, will have built tens of thousands of homes with a total dwelling space of 12,000,000 sq. meters. Farmers will have built 3,400,000 individual cottages.

The overwhelming bulk of residential buildings in the cities and industrial localities in the U.S.S.R. belong to the state; they are the property of the whole Soviet people, although, as indicated above, some houses belong to individual Soviet citizens.

Rents are fixed by the local Soviets; they depend on the size and quality of a given dwelling, as well as on the earnings of the lessee or other members of his family. Rent, including light and heat, is no more than four to five percent of a worker's earnings, and often less, sometimes as low as two percent. It is based on the highest salary earned by any one member of the family inhabiting the apartment.

Thus, a family consisting of three persons—of whom two work and earn respectively 800 and 1,200 rubles, or a total of 2,000 rubles—and occupying 30 square meters, would pay 39 rubles and 60 kopeks (charged on the basis of the highest earnings in the family, 1,200 rubles,

at the maximum rate of one ruble 32 kopeks a square meter), i.e. 3.37 percent of the highest earnings in the family, or 1.98 percent of the total family income.

For an apartment with modern improvements the rent varies from 44 kopeks to one ruble and 30 kopeks a square meter, depending on the earnings of the member of the family which determine the rate of rent.

Apartments may also be rented from private owners of residential buildings. In such cases the owners may charge higher rents, but these rents must not exceed the ordinary rates for state dwellings by more than 20 percent. Charging of excessive rent is a criminal offense.

HEALTH SERVICES

Soviet expenditure on health services is a steadily increasing budgetary item. In 1940 these expenditures amounted to 9.6 billion rubles; in 1947 they rose to 18.9 billion rubles; in 1948, to 20.6 billion rubles; in 1949, to 21.6 billion rubles; while this year they amount to 22 billion rubles.

In 1913, in pre-revolutionary Russia, there were only 142,000 hospital beds in Russia, while in 1949 the hospitals in the Soviet Union had 661,400 beds, nearly a five-fold increase. Despite the interruption in growth of medical services caused by the war, by 1946 there were 694,000 hospital beds in the U.S.S.R.

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(508,600 in urban and 185,400 in rural areas). By the end of this year there will be 985,000 hospital beds within the systems of the Ministries of Public Health alone.

Another index of the adequacy of the health services is the number of physicians. Before 1917 there were 19,875 doctors. By 1940 there were 130,300, while this year the number is expected to reach 200,000, augmented by a junior medical staff numbering 700,000.

The contrast between pre-revolutionary and present-day standards in health services stands out even more sharply if we compare the figures for the formerly backward national republics of the U.S.S.R. In Kazakhstan, for instance, there were only 1,800 hospital beds in 1913, while now there are 28,000. In Georgia there were 11 polyclinics and neighborhood clinical stations in 1913, while now there are 400.

In the same way, if we compare statistics of these republics with their neighbors in Asia, we get an amazing picture of contrasts. In Soviet Azerbaidzhan, for example, there are now 5,902 physicians, or one physician for every 525 of the population; whereas in neighboring Iran there are only 1,500 physicians, or one for every 11,333 of the population. In Azerbaidzhan there is one hospital bed for every 183 inhabitants. In Iran there is one hospital bed for every 3,400 inhabitants. In Soviet Uzbekistan there are 6,612 doctors, one for every 958 residents;

whereas in Turkey there are 2,181 doctors, or one for every 8,941 of the population. Whereas there is one hospital bed for every 186 inhabitants in Uzbekistan, there are 1,466 men and women for every hospital bed in Turkey.

MOTHER AND CHILD CARE

Similarly, increasing attention has been given in the Soviet Union to mother and child care. In 1913 there were only 515 beds in permanent nurseries; in 1949 there were 849,000 places in permanent nurseries and about two million in seasonal nurseries. To be sure, in 1940, before the war, there were 854,000 places in permanent nurseries and 4,300,000 places in seasonal, summer nurseries. Obviously, the war damage had not yet been fully repaired in this field. But the current Plan calls for 1,251,000 permanent places and 4,677,500 places in seasonal nurseries by the end of 1950, and this goal will no doubt be reached. There were no kindergartens in 1913; in 1949 kindergartens cared for 1,270,000 children. And the Plan calls for 2,260,000 places in kindergartens in 1950.

Whereas in 1913 there were only 6,824 beds in hospitals and maternity homes for expectant mothers, there were 124,400 beds in 1949. (In 1940 there were 141,873 beds). And 209,874 beds are called for by the end of 1950.

Children's milk kitchens, which issue prepared foods for infants,

now number 3,571 and are spread all over the country. Before the revolution there was not one such institution in all of Russia.

Mother-and-child clinics, which numbered only nine in 1913, rose to a total of 6,416 in 1949 and should reach 9,575 under the Plan in 1950.

Medical, dental and maternity care are accorded to Soviet citizens free of charge. There is a nominal fee charged by the nurseries and the kindergartens, which is graduated to the parents' incomes. The state adds about 4,000 rubles a year for the maintenance of each child in a kindergarten.

Soviet women are guaranteed equal rights with men to work, rest and education, as well as equal pay for equal work. To make these rights fully realizable, all manner of measures have been introduced in the U.S.S.R. in recognition of the fact that the woman is the bearer of the nation's children.

Such measures include maternity leaves with pay (usually full pay, but never less than two-thirds for factory and office workers and one-half for farm women), certain work privileges for pregnant women (such as transfer to lighter work without reducing their pay), free feeding-periods for nursing mothers at work, wide medical and health services. In addition to these, the state makes the following monetary grants, as well as monthly allowances, to aid in the care of children:

On the birth of a child, parents

receive a single grant of 120 rubles for the mother's needs, plus the rubles for the needs of the child. Apart from this, mothers with large families receive special state grants, ranging from a single grant of 200 rubles on the birth of a third child to one of 2,500 rubles on the birth of an eleventh child and each succeeding one. Besides these grants, the state pays monthly allowances upon the birth of a fourth child and for each subsequent child until it reaches the age of five. These allowances range from 40 rubles a month for a fourth child up to 150 rubles a month for an eleventh child.

Unmarried mothers get all of these grants and allowances, but in addition they receive also monthly allowances for the first three children, as follows: 50 rubles for one child, 75 rubles for two, and 100 rubles for three children. These allowances are paid until the child reaches the age of twelve.

Four billion rubles were assigned in the 1950 budget for such payments. In the last five years 14 billion rubles were paid out to the mothers of large families, and to unmarried mothers, in state grants.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

In the U.S.S.R. every third person studies in some school or takes some special cycle of courses. Of the total state budget of the Soviet Union for 1950 (427,937,525,000 rubles), 59,500,000,000 rubles were allocated for education. Seven years

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of elementary education is compulsory and free throughout the country.

There are 197,000 elementary and secondary schools in the U.S.S.R., with 1,250,000 teachers. Instruction is carried on in over 100 languages of the peoples of the Union. This year there will be 37,900,000 boys and girls studying in these schools and in the over 3,000 technical high schools and other vocational schools. Last year there were over 36,000,000 pupils. In pre-revolutionary Russia, in 1914, there were 63,425 elementary schools, with only 5,155,586 pupils in attendance. In all types of middle schools there was a total of 764,000 students.

It costs the Soviet state 700 rubles a year for each elementary and secondary school pupil.

In the over 860 Soviet schools of higher learning there is now enrolled (including correspondence students) a total of 1,194,000 students, as compared to last year's 1,128,000.

Although in 1940 payment of tuition fees was introduced in Soviet institutes, universities, and technical schools, there are now so many exemptions from payment (ex-service-men and women, ex-partisans, students of certain republics studying in other republics, etc.) that relatively few actually pay tuition. Moreover, most students (over 90 percent) receive monthly state stipends of 250 to 500 rubles. In addition, special scholarships are offered

for outstanding students. The state itself spends about 2,000 rubles a year for each student in a higher school of learning.

In such of the Soviet Republics as Azerbaidzhan and Uzbekistan 90 percent of the population were illiterate before the Revolution. The people of these republics are now almost 100 percent literate. In neighboring Iran 85 percent of the population is illiterate, and in Turkey 66 percent.

In Soviet Azerbaidzhan's 19 schools of higher learning—one for every 163,000 inhabitants—there are now 26,000 students. In Iran there are only five institutions of higher learning—one school for every 3,400,000 inhabitants, with a total of 4,500 students.

In 1940, there were 95,400 public libraries in the U.S.S.R., eight times more than in 1913, and they contained 20 times as many books. There are now 250,000 libraries, stationary and mobile, containing 500 million volumes. On an average, there is one library for every 2,197 inhabitants in the U.S.S.R. (In the United States there is only one library for every 20,000 inhabitants). Library service is, of course, free.

In other cultural fields, in the arts, drama, opera, cinema, and sports, we see no less a steady climb, indicating the rising standard of living of the Soviet citizen.

In pre-revolutionary Russia there were only some 150 theaters. Now the Soviet Union has over 900 professional dramatic theaters and opera houses, performing in 50

Soviet languages, and 150 children's theaters. In Moscow alone, there are almost 40 theaters in operation. Especially marked has been the growth of the theater of the formerly oppressed nations. Armenia, which had two or three theaters before the Revolution, now has 27 stationary and mobile theaters. In Georgia, there has been an increase from three to 49, in Azerbaidzhan from two to 27, in the Ukraine from 35 to 126.

These republics, as well as all other Soviet Republics, now produce films in their own national studios. In neighboring Iran and Turkey there are but a few, private, theaters and no national film industry.

By the end of this year there will be over 46,000 moving picture exhibition installations (in clubs as well as in theaters) in the U.S.S.R. There are special children's movie houses as well as dramatic and puppet theaters.

Tickets to movies are often free for exhibitions in clubs. In moving picture theaters the price of tickets ranges from 2-6 rubles at first-run houses, and from 50 kopeks to one ruble 50 kopeks in neighborhood houses and clubs. School children get free movie tickets during their spring and winter vacations.

Tickets for the legitimate theater, for the opera, and for symphony concerts are more expensive, ranging in price from three rubles to 30

rubles at the academic theaters (the Moscow Art, the Bolshoi or Grand Opera, the Maly or Little Theater) and from three to 20 rubles at the other theaters. Factories often buy up whole blocks of tickets for holiday performances, which they distribute to their workers free of charge.

Institute and university students buy theater tickets at a 50 percent reduction through their cultural organizations. During the time of their spring and winter holidays school-children are given free tickets to matinees at all the theaters. During these weeks the theaters run matinees daily, whereas in ordinary weeks there are matinees only on Sundays.

The circus, which has permanent quarters in all Soviet cities, rather than seasonal quarters, is often free to school children during their holidays. Normally tickets are one to five rubles.

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Article 120 of the Soviet Constitution provides the guarantee to citizens of the U.S.S.R. to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or disability, a guarantee "ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for the working people and the provision of a wide network

of health resorts for the use of the working people."

In pre-revolutionary Russia only 10 percent of all factory and office workers were covered by social insurance (introduced in 1912 for sickness and disability). The funds came from contributions by both employee and employer. The employee's contribution, a minimum of two percent of his wages, was $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the employer's share. Payments in case of sickness and disability constituted only 25 to 50 percent of the worker's wage.

In the U.S.S.R., all wage-earners are covered by social insurance, the administration of which has been in the hands of the trade unions since 1933. There is no tax on the workers' wages for social insurance. Contributions to the social insurance funds are made only by the employing organization and are based on the payroll of the enterprise and the character of its production.

Collective farmers are given this type of assistance from special mutual benefit funds accumulated from contributions of up to two percent of each collective farm's gross income.

The social insurance budget, too, has been steadily rising. During the first Five-Year Plan, it amounted to 10.4 billion rubles, during the second it rose to 32.5 billion rubles, and during the third to 34.9 billion rubles; in the current Plan it reached

62.8 billion rubles. For 1950 alone, it is 19 billion rubles, almost twice the amount spent for the whole period of the first Five-Year Plan.

Social insurance covers: payment of benefits in cases of temporary disability; of grants at the birth of a child, for burial, and for special assistance to large families; pensions for disabled and aged workers; maintenance of sanatoria and rest homes, special diets for workers and for their children, maintenance of Pioneer camps, children's sanatoria and extra-curricular activities; measures for the development of physical culture, tourism, mountain climbing.

Sickness and disability benefits are paid from the first day of its occurrence. Benefits vary from 50 percent of their wage for trade-union members who have been employed continuously in one enterprise for two years, up to 100 percent for those employed six years and over. Miners in the coal industry are paid 100 percent of their wage if they have two-year work records and 60 percent in cases of lower records. Non-trade-union members are paid half of the above rates.

Disability and sickness benefits are paid from the social insurance funds for a maximum of two consecutive months and an annual maximum of three months. Beyond these periods, aid is extended through the government social security organs.

Wage earners are paid pensions through the trade unions (from the social insurance funds), non-wage earners through the social security organs.

In pre-revolutionary Russia, only a limited group was covered by social security—principally high-ranking army officers and top government officials. But soon after the October Revolution, the Soviet government issued decrees bringing social security to all working people.

Social security in the U.S.S.R. is administered through Ministries of Social Security and their local organs. Each constituent and autonomous Soviet Republic has its own independent budget for social security.

These organs have the task, not only of granting aid when needed, but of eliminating wherever possible the basis of such need. Thus, they conduct scientific and practical work in reclassification of disabled workers, an especially important task most recently in connection with the rehabilitation of disabled veterans.

Social security pensions cover: permanently disabled workers and their dependents; individuals who have lost their breadwinners (children, aged parents and other members of the family incapable of work); aged persons (these pensions, equalling one-half to two-thirds of previous wages, are given all men over 60 after 25 years of ser-

vice and all women over 55 after 20 years of service); disabled war veterans, army officers and non-commissioned officers and their families in the event of the loss of the breadwinner; individuals who have made unusual contributions in art, science or technique, or in revolutionary, military, professional or public activity—at the age of 55 for men and 50 for women, or when disabled; Heroes of Labor, scientific workers, writers and composers when disabled or when they reach the age of 60; educational workers with work records of at least 25 years; medical and veterinary workers and rural agronomists after 25 years of work; civil aviation fliers; mothers having two or more dependent children; and needy families of Soviet soldiers and sailors.

Members of collective farms and co-operatives are paid pensions out of the special mutual benefit funds accumulated from contributions of up to two percent of the collective gross income.

* * *

The following additional data are indicative of the rising standard of living in the U.S.S.R.

The industrial production of consumption goods increased five-fold by 1940 as compared to 1913. During the same period the population increased 40 percent. A comparison of these figures gives one a picture

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of the country's real rise in consumption. Sales of food products and clothes rose from twice to over six times during the years of the second Five-Year Plan alone.

In the postwar period, real wages doubled between 1947, when the first price reduction was instituted, and following the price cuts in 1948, and have since risen with each succeeding reduction. In 1949 the population of the U.S.S.R. bought (in comparable prices) 20 percent more goods than in 1948.

In 1949 bread was reduced by 10 percent as compared to prices instituted in the first sweeping reductions of 1947 and 1948; beef by 10 percent, butter by 10 percent, dresses and suits by 12 percent. In 1950, bread was still further reduced by 25-30 percent, beef by another 24-30 percent, butter by 30 percent, milk by 10 percent, eggs by 15 percent, sugar by another 15 percent, suits and dresses by 10-22 percent, shoes by 15 percent.

The following significant data, indicating the rising standard of living in the Soviet Union, are contained in the report issued at the end of October by the Central Statistical Bureau of the U.S.S.R.

Total retail sales of consumer goods in the State and co-operative stores in the third quarter of 1950 increased 33 percent (in comparable prices) as compared to the corresponding period in 1949. We cite the increases for some individual items during the same period.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Percent of increase</i>
All food products	30
Meat products	33
Fish	17
Butter	52
Sugar	32
All industrial goods	37
Cotton fabrics	33
Woolen fabrics	36
Hosiery	48
Leather footwear	50
Bicycles	40
Motorcycles	50
Sewing machines	40
Radio receivers	27

The report also shows that as of October 1, 1950, the collective farms had 19 percent more cows than a year earlier, 41 percent more pigs, 15 percent more sheep and goats, 63 percent more poultry; during the same period the state farms increased the number of cows by 17 percent, of pigs by 39 percent, of sheep and goats by 13 percent.

The rising standard of living of the Soviet people, the security they have gained for themselves, and the extensive system of health protection have had the effect of greatly reducing the occurrence of sickness and the mortality rate. It is lower now than it was before the war. Even before the war the death rate had decreased by 46 percent, as compared to 1914; the life span of men had risen by 10 and one-half years, of women by 13 and one-half. Infant mortality had decreased by half.

All of the foregoing gives a fairly full picture of the rising standard of living of the Soviet people, and the complete eradication of poverty in the first Socialist land in the world. At the same time, poverty and unemployment has remained, as Marx has shown, the law peculiar to the capitalist mode of production. The accumulation of wealth at one pole, he pointed out, means the accumulation of poverty at the other. In the United States unemployment increased sevenfold between 1944, when war production was at its peak, and the beginning of this year. Only the newly intensified war drive of Wall Street and the gearing of the national economy toward all-out war production increased employment in the United States to the high point of 63 million, bringing with it a false prosperity.

In the United States the working-class share of the national income constantly decreases as the monopoly millionaires grow richer and richer. In the Soviet Union, as was pointed out earlier in this article, the national income goes entirely to the toiling people, either in the form of direct income constituting three-fourths of the total, or through the one-fourth devoted to the expansion of the people's economy.

It is only with all the foregoing in mind that one can correctly evaluate the Soviet standard of living. We must compare its levels to

former levels in the country both before and since the October Socialist Revolution, we must evaluate every item that enters into day-to-day living and affects the welfare of the Soviet citizen.

Imperialist economists and propagandists, trying to obscure the achievements of the Socialist economy in the Soviet Union and the fact of the rising standard of living of the Soviet workers, resort to spurious comparisons. They take only the base wage of a Soviet worker and equate it in dollar terms* to what an American worker earns (when he works) in an equal work period. Then, on the basis of these seemingly "equivalent" earnings, they calculate how many hours or days the Soviet and American worker has to work to earn the price of equivalent consumer goods. Such comparisons produce, as they are intended to, a very false picture of the Soviet standard of living.

It is this false picture that is presented in the reports of the Office of Foreign Labor Conditions of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and in recent *New York Times* articles.

These reports will tell you that a Soviet worker has to work five days for a kilogram of beef to an American's hour and a half, or one-half a day for a kilo of bread and two days for a kilo of sugar to an American's

* One dollar equals four rubles at the present rate of exchange.

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nine to twelve minutes. They will "prove" to you that a Russian has to work 376 hours for a suit and an American only 24 hours and 24 minutes.

These lying imperialist propagandists do not tell you that the Soviet worker, on top of his base wage, gets a considerable additional income in payments for exceeding the production standard or quota, and in bonuses, as related earlier in this article. They do not tell you that their figures of the earnings of an American worker are based on the assumption that he works full time all year round and year after year, while actually no American worker is assured of steady work, and when he works only part time or is unemployed he has to get along with much less than his assumed earnings, whereas the Soviet worker is guaranteed a full year's work every year by the Socialist economy of his country.

They do not list for you the health protection and all the cultural services which the Soviet worker gets free or for merely a nominal charge, but which cut deep into one's income in the United States. An item that stands out most sharply is that of rent, which in the U.S.S.R. is only two to five percent of the family income, but in the U. S. swallows up from 25 percent to 40 percent of the family income.

They do not take into account the

devastation the war brought to Soviet soil, the food stocks that must be replenished, the seven million horses, 17 million head of cattle, 20 million hogs, 27 million sheep and goats, 10 million poultry, destroyed or carried off by the invader.

Above all, they do not tell you that, save for the check caused by the fascist invasion, the standard of living of the Soviet citizen has been and is constantly rising. They do not mention that while the cost of living in the United States rose steeply after World War II, and with the intensified war drive since the invasion of Korea has resumed its upward climb, the cost of living has been steadily going down in the Soviet Union since 1947.

THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE SOVIET WORKER

It is not the intention here, however, to negate the role of the buying power of a worker's earnings. Certainly what a worker can buy in food and clothes is a graphic indication of what his earnings are worth, what his standard of living is, and whether or not it is rising. But this should be taken in conjunction with all the benefits a worker gets, for which he does not pay from his cash earnings.

The British Workers Delegation, which visited the U.S.S.R. in May 1950, presented in their report what they considered was a reasonably accurate picture of what the worker's

ruble could buy. They took as an average wage a worker's take-home pay of 900-1,000 rubles a month, or 237 rubles for a 42-hour week (as based on their own observations). From this amount they deducted what the average worker pays for rent, heat, electricity, gas, as well as his union dues. They found that this would leave him 220 rubles a week, or 93 percent of his wages.

For purposes of comparison they took British Ministry of Labor figures for the average wage of a British worker, 121 s. 9 d.* for a 45.4 hour week. From this they deducted 12 s. 6 d. as the average weekly rent of a British worker, 7 s. 6 d. for heating, cooking and lighting and 5 s. 9 d. for insurance payments, union dues, etc. This leaves the British

worker with 96 s. a week (or 79 percent of his wages). (It would leave the American worker with an even smaller percentage of his wages.)

The average Soviet worker's hourly income—after the deductions for rent, etc.—was thus found to be 52 rubles, and the average British worker's hourly income—2 s. 2 d.

The comparative table they were thus able to work out showing the working time necessary to earn goods of approximately equal value is much different from the fraudulent comparisons referred to above. Some items they discovered to be cheaper for the Soviet worker; some were cheaper for the British worker. We list here only some of the key articles:

<i>Article</i>	<i>British Worker</i>	<i>Soviet Worker</i>
FOOD		
1 lb. bread	7½ minutes	10 minutes
1 lb. best beef	60 min.	70 min.
1 lb. chicken	84 min.	78 min.
1 lb. cream cheese	168 min.	50 min.
1 lb. coffee	106 min.	60 min.
1 lb. fish	46 min.	30 min.
10 eggs	70 min.	66 min.
1 lb. sugar	11½ min.	60 min.
1 lb. butter	55 min.	216 min.
1 pt. milk	11½ min.	15½ min.
1 lb. potatoes	4½ min.	3 min.
1 lb. chocolate	207 min.	310 min.
1 qt. vegetable oil	276 min.	200 min.
1 portion ice cream	14 min.	11 min.

* s. = shillings; d. = pence.

HOW PEOPLE LIVE IN THE SOVIET UNION

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<i>Article</i>	<i>British Worker</i>	<i>Soviet Worker</i>
DRINKS AND TOBACCO		
1 pt. draught beer	32 min.	19 min.
1 bottle whiskey	700 min.	340 min. (vodka)
20 cigarettes	96 min.	20 min.
CLOTHING—MEN'S		
1 pair of socks	114 min.	55 min.
1 shirt	7 hrs. 7 min.	4 hours 37 min.
1 suit (cheap)	73½ hours	76 hours
1 winter coat	92 hours	66½ hours
CLOTHING—WOMEN'S		
1 cotton dress	16 hours	13 hours
1 silk dress	230 hours	190 hours
1 suit	60-120 hours	30-100 hours
1 pair shoes	21 hours	36 hours
1 pair nylon stockings	4 hours	5 hours
MISCELLANEOUS		
Toilet soap	30 minutes	22 minutes
Cup and saucer	57 minutes	67 minutes
Radio	156½-230 hours	48½-165 hours
Camera	368 hours	87½ hours
Camera—Leica type	828 hours	171 hours
Automobile	103-204 weeks	36-60 weeks
Newspaper	2 minutes	2½ minutes

It is worth noting in connection with this comparative table that prior to the First World War the standard of living of the British worker was among the highest in Europe, while that of the Russian worker was among the lowest.

CONCLUSION

While Wall Street gets the shivers every time some news report seems to suggest that "peace might break

out"; while the monopolists are ever in fear lest the armaments-inflated "boom" with its prosperity and colossal profits for monopoly capital collapse into a "bust," while the workers in the United States, as in other capitalist countries, live in constant apprehension of a devastating economic crisis and consequent mass unemployment and misery—the Soviet people face the future confidently and with the as-

surance of a steadily rising material and cultural level.

The first postwar Five-Year Plan is nearing completion and over-fulfillment; this is evident in the fact that industrial production in the third quarter of 1950 was more than twenty-four percent above the output in the corresponding quarter of 1949. The succeeding Plans—now that the war damage has been repaired and industry and agriculture have advanced beyond the pre-war level—will bring more rapid progress in the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R.

The further rapid development of the industries, the further mechanization and scientific improvement of agriculture, the 15-year plan begun in 1948 for extensive afforestation to end the constant threat of drought, the great new plans for the irrigation and electrification of wide new areas which will convert large wastelands into fertile fields, the ever greater gearing of science to promote the welfare of the people, in particular the harnessing of atomic energy to peaceful, constructive purposes—all of these ensure an ever higher and higher standard of living to the population of the U.S.S.R. They assure progress toward abundance and the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. A significant beginning has already been made toward the elimination of the contradiction between physical and mental labor (a process greatly

accelerated by the Stakhanov movement) and the contradiction between city and countryside (as witness the recently inaugurated agrogorods, *i.e.*, agricultural cities). Communism—the higher stage of Socialism—is no longer a dream to the Soviet worker, it is envisaged as a reality to be attained in the near future.

It is with these magnificent plans that the Soviet people are pre-occupied. It is these plans, and the day-to-day progress toward their realization, that fill the pages of the Soviet press and that Soviet citizens discuss at their places of work and in their homes. Only another world war could halt this progress of the Soviet Union.

That is why the Soviet people, from the worker at the bench and farmer in the field to the highest leaders in the government, fight for peace. They are well aware of the threat of war and the war plans hatched by the greedy imperialists of Wall Street in their drive for world domination. But they are confident that the powerful world peace camp, headed by the Soviet Union, will succeed in checking and frustrating the mad plans of the imperialists. They are confident that under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the great Stalin, they will continue their onward march to a life of abundance and happiness, to the highest ideal of mankind—Communism.

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