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political affairs

A Theoretical-Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. JEROME

"Our Cause Is Invincible"

By Eugene Dennis

[We publish here in full for the first time the text of a speech prepared for delivery at a great "Fight Back" rally to protest the arrests of the seventeen Communists and other working-class leaders, held on June 26, 1951. The meeting, called by the Harlem Civil Rights Congress and the Committee to Reverse the Smith Act, was attended by 3,500 people. It was held at Rockland Palace in Harlem, but illness prevented the presence of Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party. On July 2, Eugene Dennis, together with six other members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, began serving his five-year sentence, as a victim of the infamous Smith Act—Ed.]

COMRADES,

Only about thirteen months ago you met to bid me "goodbye for a

while." It is just four months since you gathered to welcome me home.

Now the 6-2 Supreme Court decision, upholding the Smith Act, brings us to another enforced separation. This time we meet in a *new situation*, of which we must take stock.

Our National Committee's rounded-out political estimate of this new situation is set forth in the statement which William Z. Foster and I have issued and which you have all had an opportunity to read. Therefore I can limit myself to elaborating a few key points.

Friend and foe alike know that this is an important turning point in the life of the Communist Party.

Never before in the thirty stormy years of our Party's history have eleven of its national leaders faced long prison terms.

Never before have lawyers been

jailed for courageously defending Communists in court.

Never before has the organizing of the vanguard Party of the American working class been unconstitutionally declared an act of "criminal conspiracy."

Never before has our Party—or any other American political party—been deprived by judicial edict of its legal rights and constitutional liberties.

These facts are well known. Nobody has any doubt that we Communists find ourselves in a new situation. And there is much speculation about what we are going to do now.

But not everybody has grasped the cardinal truth that the American people are in a new situation. Many who are far from happy about the Vinson decision have not yet awakened to the fact that this turning point in the life of the Communist Party is also a critical turning point in the life of the nation.

Many who have been alarmed by the step-at-a-time advances of fascist-like reaction over the postwar years are still not aware that the process of fascization and advanced war preparations in the U.S.A. are now undergoing a *qualitative change*.

The Vinson decision nullifies the First Amendment and its guarantees of freedom of speech, press, and assembly. This is a drastic, pro-fascist encroachment upon the democratic gains and traditions of the people.

But the Vinson decision does more.

It signalizes the blotting out of constitutional guarantees and threatens the breakdown of all the institutions of bourgeois democracy.

The *Wall Street Journal* felt obliged to chide Felix Frankfurter for letting the cat out of the bag. The rule of expediency, Justice Frankfurter declared in his concurring opinion, is to become the supreme law; it is no longer necessary to conform to the Constitution. Six judges have changed the rules to meet the needs of the Sixty Families of Big Capital. Now Wall Street's government need no longer worry about constitutionality. It is free from all restraint, except that imposed on it by the people themselves.

The Vinson decision affects all Americans, because it is a major victory for pro-fascist reaction. It gives warning that the war-mad monopolists mean to lose no time in stepping up the tempo, expanding the scope, increasing the ferocity of repression.

This victory for the pro-fascist forces immeasurably increases the dangers of fascism and world war.

* * *

Let us look more concretely at this new situation, and particularly study its effect on labor, the Negro people, and the broad forces moving toward united action in defense of peace.

If the Vinson decision is not effectively challenged, we are going to have even more rigid thought control than that already plaguing Amer-

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icans in every walk of life. But we are also going to have far more rigid controls over wages, and over the economic and political activity of the trade unions. Hand in hand with this will go still greater license for the war profiteers, Big Business exploiters and big-time crime syndicates.

If the Justice Department is permitted to carry out its threat of mass frame-up arrests and prosecutions, many who are far from being Communist sympathizers will be taken as "prisoners of war"—along with the Eleven, the Seventeen, and other Communist leaders. But those who retain their liberty will not escape new hardships. The frame-up will become a device for imposing ever more brutal speedup, ever-rising living costs, and ever-declining real wages. Those responsible for mounting inflation will not be among those arrested, nor will the war profiteers. The tax burden will grow and grow.

Every casualty we Communists may suffer will be duplicated many times over by the people as Wall Street wreaks its vengeance on the working class and the camp of peace.

Our Party is the vanguard of the Negro people's struggles for equality and national liberation. If the Communist Party is driven underground, every lynch-minded white supremacist will come out in the open. If Henry Winston and Ben Davis as well as Eugene Dennis and Gus Hall go to jail, police brutality against Negroes and legal lynchings will mount. If judicial edict can outlaw

the Party of Negro-white unity, this same edict can be used to outlaw all united struggle against discrimination.

Tens of millions of Americans want to end the war in Korea through peaceful negotiations *now*. Tens of millions believe they have a right to oppose *all* programs for spreading the war, and to impose their will for peace on the Truman Administration and the bi-partisan warlords of Washington.

These tens of millions should ponder well the meaning of one sentence in Justice Jackson's concurring opinion. Justice Jackson says: "*There is no constitutional right to 'gang up' on the Government.*"

Spelled out, this means no freedom of assembly, no right to circulate petitions for a redress of grievances.

This means no right to organize effective opposition to the policies of a party in power.

This means no right to assert the majority will through united action.

This means, of course, to give the monopolists full license to gang up against the people. It means to put no obstacle in the way of Wall Street's two major parties, which conspire to gang up on world peace.

For it is plain that the monopolists are not ganging up against their own parties—the parties in power, the parties of Big Business. On the contrary, our economic royalists can paraphrase the French absolute monarch and truthfully say—"The Government—that's us."

In 1820 Thomas Jefferson wrote: "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves."

Some years later, Abraham Lincoln proudly asserted that "this country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it."

But Mr. Justice Jackson does not concur in the opinion of the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Moreover, Mr. Jackson dissents from the opinion of the man who led the American people in their victorious struggle to preserve the United States government from the only serious attempt in history to overthrow it by force and violence.

However shamefaced their utterance, Justices Jackson and Frankfurter concur in the opinion of the corporation lawyers, Vinson, Burton, Minton and Reed. They lament that "times have changed," and offer up their own "liberal" principles to the new gods of the American Century. Truth, says Justice Frankfurter, cannot be pursued "under dangers which are hazarded only by heroes."

These two Justices, having contributed to creating the dangers which make the pursuit of truth more difficult, sadly admit that they are no heroes. They bow to the Sixty Families, whose determination to fly the flag of "free enterprise" in every corner of the globe has made free speech a luxury no longer to be indulged in at home.

These Justices agree that the peo-

ple must be prevented from "ganging up" in defense of world peace. And they cynically admit that this can be accomplished only at the cost of scrapping the traditional forms of bourgeois-democratic rule, and replacing them with police-state repression, with the open war-time dictatorship of the giant corporations.

* * *

Many Americans, of varied political views, sense the far-reaching implications and sinister purpose of the Vinson decision.

But this general uneasiness does not yet express itself in forthright protest, in broad and effective mass action. Some people are still calculating the precise distance between their own heads and the chopping block. Some are just plain scared out of their wits.

We Communists declare to all men and women of good will that this is no time to be faint of heart.

The big bully in our midst has more fat than muscle. He can yet be put in his place by united working-class action, and resolute unity in action of all democrats, all peace advocates. It is because of their weakness that the monopolists put reliance in atom bombs and threats of prison, and seek to stifle all opposition to the war schemes.

The marked unpopularity of the war in Korea is driving the atomaniacs to desperate onslaughts on the Constitution, to thought control, in their efforts to stifle the people's will

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The Truman Administration resorts to fascistic methods of repression because its lieutenants among labor's top officials have not been able to keep the working class and the Negro people in line.

The twin parties of Big Business would not seek to outlaw the vanguard Party of the working class—if there were no sentiment for independent political action, for anti-war coalitions and peace tickets.

The American people are beginning to see that the "Great Debate" is only a forum for war-mongers. The *real* debate hasn't even begun.

But it is not easy to silence all those who advocate peace, who call for an end to the impasse in Korea by recognition of the Chinese People's Republic and peace negotiations—and who turn to a Five-Power Peace Pact as the only way to end international tension and lift the crushing armaments burden.

The overgrown Wall Street giant has met opposition, setback and defeat at every turn. He is punch-drunk and desperate.

After a year of war in Korea there is only a military impasse. There are scores of thousands of U.S. casualties, and the corpses of 3 million Koreans and Chinese, overwhelmingly civilian men, women and children.

The billions the war profiteers have filched from the pockets of American workers and consumers have bought Wall Street no reliable "allies" abroad. The restive satellites in the

Marshall Plan and Atlantic War Pact countries are caught between Washington's demand for greater sacrifice, and the mass pressure of the peoples, uniting to defend their living standards, national sovereignty, and peace.

The sick giant of American imperialism is slowly choking to death on the product of the people's labor. He is accumulating a vast inventory of the instruments of destruction, which can be consumed only in the fires of a third world war.

The Goliath of Wall Street is terrified at the prospect of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union. He is afraid to let the American people judge the results of peaceful competition between capitalism and Socialism, between monopoly domination and working-class rule.

This blustering bully finds it increasingly difficult to deceive and check the American people. And so Big Business turns to open forms of police-state repression, to fascism, while intensifying all kinds of deception.

The irony of history, Engels wrote in 1895, turns everything upside down. What Engels said of that period has new timeliness—despite the different historical circumstances which prevail today. In his introduction to Marx' great classic, *The Class Struggles in France*, Engels said:

The parties of order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly with Odilon

Barrot: legality is the death of us; whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like eternal life.

The self-styled "parties of order" which dictated the Vinson decision know very well that the Communist Party does not advocate the forcible overthrow of the United States Government. They know that Marxists have always taught that basic social change can only be the product of the will of a majority of the people, led by the working class.

In our country today, the majority of the people still do not desire fundamental social change. They want a change from staggering armament burdens and high taxes, from lynchers and rent gougers, from the fascist Smith and McCarran Acts! Above all, they want a fundamental change in foreign policy. They want peace.

Under conditions of legality, the growing people's peace movement has been getting firm muscles and rosy cheeks.

Under conditions of legality, we Communists have been working with some success to win millions to our immediate program and aim. That aim is the establishment of a broad peace front, opposed alike to the war policies of the bi-partisan Truman Administration, MacArthur's "loyal opposition" and the so-called "isolationists" like Hoover and Taft.

Our program for the building and strengthening of a people's peace

front looks toward the creation of conditions that will enable the people to impose their will for peace. It seeks to imbue the people with confidence in their ability to establish a government of peace—a democratic, an anti-Wall Street, government.

Such a government would not be a Socialist government. But it would be an anti-war government, without bloodthirsty and crooked machine politicians who now hold office in the United States.

Sentiment for the establishment of a government of peace already exists, particularly in the ranks of the working class, the Negro people, and sections of the women, and youth, and intellectuals. We Communists intend to do all in our power to foster this sentiment, and to contribute to its realization.

This program and aim are the core of the supposed "conspiracy" whose existence, Chief Justice Vinson says, creates the clear and present danger.

Challenged by the majority will for peace, the "parties of order"—which are also the parties of war and fascism—can no longer rule without breaking their own laws.

We must hammer home to our fellow-Americans the understanding that this is not proof of strength—but of weakness and desperation.

We must also convince the people that the law-breakers cannot decide the course of events merely by changing the rules of the game to suit their own convenience.

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—on orders from the State Department. But we have just seen that even rigged elections could not prevent the Italian and French peoples from registering their will to defend the sovereignty of their nations and world peace.

* * *

Everyone should take courage, not only from these obvious weaknesses in the camp of reaction and war, but also from the manifest strength of the camp of peace and progress.

The six judges who speak for the ruling Sixty Families point out that they place no restrictions on the speech of those who evoke no popular response. Chief Justice Vinson says we Communists are dangerous because we are "ideologically attuned" to the hundreds of millions who already accept the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, and to the vast peace sentiments of the American people.

A steadfast peace policy and the sure compass of working-class social science, of Marxism-Leninism—these are indeed the well-springs of the invincible strength of the world camp of peace and progress, of democracy and Socialism.

The six judges have decreed that the American people shall henceforth be forbidden to "gang up" on the war-mongers, and unite to impose their will for peace. These same six judges have also decreed that the American people shall be deprived

of all access to the sure compass of working-class social science that guides our Communist Party.

Let me read you a few words written by a man "ideologically attuned" to his colleagues on the Supreme Court. He is none other than Judge Learned Hand, whose career was crowned by the Court of Appeals opinion on which the Vinson decision is in large part based.

At the age of 71 Judge Hand wrote:

I cannot see much further into the tangle of life than I could fifty years ago. This has disappointed me less than I should have thought, indeed there is solace in a companionship where all are groping their way about equally in the same fog.

From this companionship of gropers in the fog—include us Communists out. For *we* are travelling with that great company of working-class leaders who know where they are going, and how to get there!

All of us are resolved to be worthy of the comradeship of Bill Foster, who at 70 produced a monumental work unravelling the tangle of life in our hemisphere. In the preface to *Outline Political History of the Americas* Foster wrote:

This book especially bears in mind the relationship of the peoples and nations of our hemisphere to the most fundamental process of our times; namely, the developing general crisis and decay of world capitalism, and the birth and growth of world socialism.

We Communists do not propose to let ourselves be tossed aimlessly about on the deep waters of this social process. On the contrary, we intend to steer a firm course—guided by the science which has charted the rocks and shoals ahead, and revealed the laws that govern the ebb and flow of social change.



The economic royalists have succeeded in depriving our Party of its constitutional rights, and now they are determined to imprison its leadership and drive the Communist Party underground.

We are going to fight for the liberty of our leaders. We are going to resist being driven underground. But wherever we are we are going to be with and among the masses.

In this struggle, our reliance is on the united action of the American people—whose liberty and rights are inseparable from our own. We rely, in the first place, on the working people, on those who want peace and are ready to unite against the forces of fascist reaction — regardless of their agreement or disagreement with the fundamental program of our Party. As Marxists, as social scientists, we know that the most stalwart defenders of peace and freedom are the working class and the Negro people.

But no matter what happens, our Communist Party is not doomed to burrow in the dark like a blind mole. To the extent that we may be

driven underground, we will carry the beacon light of Marxist science with us. Its study and mastery will guide us under all conditions, and constantly replenish our leadership.

Every Communist worthy of the name will be able to lead broad masses—under any and all circumstances. The more difficult the conditions imposed on us become, the more essential it is for every member of our Party to become a better Marxist, in order to guarantee that the working class and people may have their path of struggle illuminated by its light.

Marxism imbues us with working-class principles which are universal, general, and beyond compromise under any circumstances. Marxism enables us to have a clear perspective at all times, and to care for the future of our class while championing its present and immediate interests and those of all the people.

This working-class social science, whose greatest exponents in our epoch are Lenin and Stalin, also equips us with a wealth of generalized experience in struggle — with the ability to determine our strategic aim, and adopt and modify the tactics which are required by concrete conditions at a given time and in a given place.

The new situation in which we find ourselves gives new emphasis to the need for mastering the tactic of the united front, which our Party has made a key policy question at all times to prevent or defeat fascism.

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The "secret" of effective united front work is confidence in the working class and the people.

We Communists say even at this late hour that World War III is not inevitable, and that the United States of America need not repeat the tragedy of Hitler Germany. We say that world peace can be successfully defended, and the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom regained.

This is an affirmation of our faith in the tens of millions of Americans, who must move into united and militant struggle, if these difficult goals are to be achieved. But it is not enough merely to affirm this faith in words. We must demonstrate it in deeds, every day.

Some comrades still find it easier — and pleasanter — to polemicize against, than to work with, broad forces. Some are still too quick to write off a fellow-worker, a shop steward, a community leader. Some still have the mistaken notion that in politics it is true that "he travels fastest who travels alone."

These were always harmful tendencies, comrades. If persisted in today, they could prove fatal. And not so much fatal to our Party, as to our people and our country.

Marxism teaches us that struggle is the school in which millions learn from their own experience, and with the guidance of the advanced workers find the path to unity in action.

Big struggles are sweeping our country today — and much bigger struggles loom on the horizon. That

means that millions—yes, tens of millions—are entering upon new experiences. Every day more eyes are being opened, more people are ready to listen and to learn.

Obviously, at such a time we must be quick to recognize, seek out, and talk to those whom experience has made receptive to ideas they would have rejected last week or last month.

It is through struggle that the working class will come to recognize its true leaders, and repudiate those in labor's top officialdom who helped pave the way for pro-fascist reaction—for the Taft-Hartley Act and the wage freeze, as well as for the Smith Act. Nor is it excluded that some reformist labor leaders will themselves "reform" as the struggle sharpens. We should draw some conclusions from the action taken by certain leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to rally the organizations and members of that union behind the Sabbath bill to repeal the McCarran Act.

Trade-union struggle will go on, in spite of internal "purges," and F.B.I. "screening" of the workers in industry. It is going on right now in the maritime industry, and there will be other struggles, other strikes—no matter how many Communists go to jail.

The struggles of the Negro people did not end with the legal murder of the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee. Nor did the partial victory won in the case of the Trenton Six lull those struggles. No in-

timidation, no violence, legal or extra-legal, no barrage of deception can or will hold back the irrepressible struggle of the Negro millions battling for freedom and equality.

Certainly, the struggle for peace cannot be brought to a close by any court edict. Recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, peaceful negotiations to end the war in Korea, a halt to Anglo-American moves to complete the rearming of western Germany and Japan, a Five-Power Pact of Peace—these are slogans of action around which increasing millions of Americans are going to rally and organize — Smith Act or no Smith Act!

We Communists are going to fight to the last ditch for our constitutional and inalienable right to participate openly in these struggles.

But if we are driven underground—our enemies will not be able to prevent us from moving ever deeper into the thick of the people's mass movement.

The *forms* of struggle may change, to accord with new and more difficult conditions. But as Marxists we know that the struggle will go on. And now, even more than before, struggle will decide everything.

Our Party was born in struggle, steeled and educated in struggle. We thrive and grow in struggle, which brings to our leadership and ranks the best men and women that the working class, the Negro people, and all other sections of the population can produce.

But, as we face up to the manifold problems and difficulties of this new situation, we recognize the struggle will now bring new hardships to all of us—and to our families.

Under these circumstances, courage of course is indispensable. And I am confident that, individually and collectively, we Communists have plenty of courage. But personal courage in itself is not enough. We need the kind of courage that flows from steadfast conviction and fidelity to principle. We need the courage that is not to be confused with recklessness, that shows concern for people and care for the integrity and welfare of the Party as a whole. We need courage that is accompanied by flexibility in tactics, by skill in fighting the enemy.

I am confident that our Party, its leadership and its membership, will rise to meet this new challenge and give a good account of itself before the American working class to which it is responsible.

But I would remind you that our Marxist science warns us at all times to be on guard against both Right and "Left" dangers, to wage the struggle for our correct line and policy always on two fronts. Now more than ever we must struggle against *both* panic and complacency, against sectarianism and adventurism and against capitulation and liquidationism.

I think I have already made it clear that there is no ground now for complacency. We Communists, and

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all thoughtful Americans, recalling the catastrophe ushered in by Hitler's Nuremberg Decrees, sound the warning of the grave dangers which the Vinson decision holds for our working class and people.

But 1951 is not 1933 or 1939. The United States is not Germany. Fascism here can still be averted. We who leave you for a while — and much against our will—are not going to prison for a "lost cause." On the contrary, our cause is invincible.

It is invincible because the working class is the rising class, the new ruling class in states embracing a third of the world's population, and because its vanguard has wise and steadfast leaders in every land.

Our cause is invincible because the peoples of the world—and of the United States—not only *want* peace now, but for the first time in history, have it in their power to check and defeat the forces driving toward an atomic war.

Always let us remember and stress that war is not inevitable. The scales are weighted in favor of the people's peace forces, headed by the Soviet Union—and tipping ever more decisively against the forces of fascist reaction, imperialism and war, headed by the Wall Street monopolists.

There is no use pretending that it is not even more difficult to take a leave of absence at this time than it was last May. This time, it is not

only I who leave you—but also the comrades who filled my place so admirably while I was in the West Street jail.

Yet this time, too, I and the rest of the Eleven have full confidence that our Party is in good hands, and will meet with honor, courage and skill whatever challenge is still to come.

Heavy responsibilities now fall on all of you comrades. I know you will fulfill those responsibilities.

Guard well our Party—its leadership and members, its unity, its integrity, its principles.

Watch over and care for comrades Bill Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—those indomitable veterans whose wisdom and experience will prove invaluable.

Rally around and help strengthen the new leadership, which fully merits your confidence.

Champion with greater loyalty and resoluteness than ever the immediate and fundamental interest of the workers, the Negro people, and the mighty and growing forces of peace.

Uphold the honor of our Party, our class, and our people. Be worthy of and carry on the great traditions of Jefferson and Madison, Lincoln and Douglass, Sylvis, Debs and Ruthenberg.

Avert a third world war!

Rally the people to repeal the fascist Smith and McCarran Acts—to restore the Bill of Rights!

The Korean Cease-Fire Negotiations

By Joseph Rockman

THE KOREAN cease-fire negotiations constitute a victory for the peoples' peace camp.

From the moment that Wall Street's launching of aggressive war in Korea touched off the possibility of its development into a general Far Eastern conflagration and thus into a Third World War, the main demand of the peace camp has been for a cease-fire and negotiation of the issues in Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. This was dramatized by the promptness with which Stalin gave a positive reply to Nehru's proposal for mediation of the Korean issue, as well as by the development of a widespread popular movement in its support by the peace forces in the United States. It was further illustrated by the people's demand that MacArthur halt at the 38th parallel in order to make possible settlement of the war in Korea by mediation and negotiation. This demand was again emphasized following the military rout of MacArthur's forces by the Korean People's Army and Chinese volunteer troops south of the Yalu River last winter. The widespread movement of support to the Johnson resolution calling for a cease-fire and

withdrawal of troops from both sides of the 38th parallel leading ultimately to withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea was a further indication of the basic policy of the peace forces in relation to the Korean war.

In contrast to this, Wall Street has from the beginning rejected all proposals to mediate or negotiate the Korean war. It held tenaciously to the objective of military conquest in Korea, of expanding the war into Manchuria, thus producing a general Far Eastern conflagration. It contemptuously turned down the Nehru proposal and ignored the significance of Stalin's favorable reply to Nehru. It applied relentless pressure on its imperialist allies to send troops to Korea in order to widen the scope of the conflict. The reactionary press blanked out the Johnson resolution in a conspiracy of silence. The Pentagon sought to cover up the failure of its military campaigns by substituting for the aim of military victory—now clearly no longer possible—"Operation Killer" in order to brutalize the American people and condition them to an endless war of attrition as imperialism's alternative to negotiation for peace.

The response of the White House

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to Malik's broadcast of June 23 marked a weakening of Wall Street's previous resistance to the mass demand of the peace forces for a negotiated settlement of the issues in Korea. The negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea are thus clearly a victory for the camp of democracy and peace and a defeat for American imperialism.

This development emphasizes once again that World War III is not inevitable if the masses fight tenaciously for peace. And this must be emphasized; for it is a fact that some progressives adopted a fatalist attitude to the war in Korea, viewing it as an irreversible process which would automatically and inevitably lead to a widening of the conflagration until it embraced the whole Far East and thence spread to Europe, where it would burst with full fury into a Third World War. It must be emphasized in order to give new confidence to the peace forces that the people can influence the course of events, can halt the criminal rush to war.

NEW PEACE

OPPORTUNITIES

The significance of the cease-fire negotiations in Korea must be widely disseminated, because it opens up vast new possibilities for advancing the fight for peace. Increasingly the masses are beginning to grasp the fact that the issues of a war which is still in process have had to be negotiated after a year of

bloodshed in which millions of Korean men, women, and children have been brutally killed, with the United States itself suffering upward of 150,000 casualties of all types. This being the case, why should not all other outstanding issues be negotiated *before* they lead to war? If after a year of bloodshed in Korea, Wall Street's representatives are compelled to sit down and discuss the issues involved in the war, why cannot all other issues be peacefully settled around the conference table without the outbreak of a world war? Why not a meeting of the Big Five ministers to conclude a Pact of Peace? These thoughts are germinating in the minds of workers, farmers, middle-class people. They are taking root and can become a powerful stimulant to unleash a new and higher level of mass struggle for peace in the United States. The negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea can and must become the starting point for such a new advance of the peace movement in our country.

It must be said, however, that this is not yet the case. Very little evidence is at hand to suggest that there is yet the necessary appreciation of the new opportunities and possibilities which have been created for the peace camp by the cease-fire negotiations. Instead, there is observable a certain tendency to relax, to coast along.

This is a dangerous tendency, for many reasons.

In the first place, it imperils the

successful outcome of the cease-fire negotiations. A cease-fire will not come about automatically. Just as the imperialist camp as a whole is attempting to utilize the cease-fire negotiations for the kind of armistice which will further their general war plans, so there are powerful forces in the imperialist camp which would like to disrupt and torpedo the negotiations entirely in order to prevent an armistice of any kind.

But few are the voices that speak up from the ranks of labor and the people generally in protest against the cavalier toying with the prospect of peace in Korea by the Truman Administration and the Pentagon. The relative passivity of the peace forces demonstrated that the fact has not yet been universally grasped that the people—and in the first place the labor movement—must intervene in these negotiations and by their strength and influence help determine their successful outcome. Only disaster can result from any failure on the part of the working class and the people's forces to act for peace now, from any specious reasoning which inhibits them from raising their voices on every issue involved in the current, or future, negotiations.

In the second place, the only kind of cease-fire which is in the calculation of American imperialism is a cease-fire that will advance its general imperialist and war objectives. A cease-fire and a Korean settlement that will advance the cause of peace

in the Far East and the world is not the aim of its negotiations. Such a cease-fire is possible. But it will have to be fought for by labor and the people. And this fight must be waged throughout the negotiations.

In agreeing to open negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea, American imperialism did not retreat a single inch from its main, over-all objective which still remains—*completion of its economic, political and military preparations for unleashing World War III.*

What factors compelled the Truman Administration to agree to negotiate for a cease-fire?

1. The colossal strength of the world forces of peace, democracy, national freedom, and Socialism, representing the organized might of hundreds of millions of partisans of peace, headed by the Soviet Union.

2. The growing peace sentiment of the American people; the unpopularity of the war in Korea; the mounting resistance of the American people to a continuation of the bloodshed in Korea.

3. The military defeats sustained by American armed forces in Korea which—despite command of the air and sea and commitment of almost the entire available combat strength of the U.S. armed forces—have resulted in a military stalemate along the 38th parallel.

4. The prospect, growing out of this stalemate, of a long war of attrition diverting the main bulk of Wall Street's trained combat forces

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from Europe, which has been selected as the main theatre for the world slaughter now being planned by American imperialism.

5. Inability of American imperialism to drag its imperialist allies into support for spreading the war in the Far East and the growth of inter-imperialist contradictions stemming from this.

6. The resultant crisis in U.S. imperialist foreign policy which has found repeated expression in such dramatic forms as the so-called "great debate" last winter and the removal of General MacArthur.

WALL STREET AIMS

In entering the negotiations for a cease-fire, American imperialism is attempting to solve this crisis in its foreign policy in such fashion as will advance its general imperialist objectives and preparations for World War III.

It hopes to do this by negotiating a cease-fire and armistice which would: a) Put an end to the mounting U.S. casualties which are stirring the American people to ever greater struggles for peace; b) Partially overcome the effect which the Korean war has of diverting American imperialism from building up its military installations in Europe which it considers the main theatre of operations against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies; c) Enable a U.S. army of occupation to remain in South Korea and the U.S. fleet to remain

off Taiwan (Formosa), thus retaining a powerful military and naval base for future operations against North Korea and China.

These—and not any considerations of returning to a peaceful path—are the aims which American imperialism set for itself in agreeing to open negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea. This explains the insistence by Washington that the cease-fire negotiations be strictly confined to "military" matters. This explains the refusal of Washington to agree to an agenda for the actual cease-fire talks which would contain as one of its points discussion of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. This explains the bitter struggle over the issue of demarcating the 38th parallel as the cease-fire line.

The over-all objective which American imperialism set for itself in agreeing to negotiations for a cease-fire happens also to coincide with certain partisan considerations of the Truman Administration as it approaches the 1952 election campaign. If this over-all objective could be achieved, then Truman would be able to enter that campaign without the millstone of mounting casualty lists in an unpopular war. At the same time, he would be immune to Republican charges of "appeasement," for he would be able to point to the presence of the American army in South Korea, to the naval fleet off Taiwan, and to the refusal to conclude a peace treaty with

North Korea as proof of refusal to "appease."

THE PEOPLE MUST DECIDE!

But the American people have not been consulted about these delightful arrangements. That is the task of the Left and progressive forces. They must expose this imperialist scheme and rally the broadest section of labor and the people to speak up now and continuously demand that there be an immediate cease-fire, immediate withdrawal of armed forces from both sides of the 38th parallel and agreement on withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. The discussions on the cease-fire arrangements must not be allowed to take place only in Kaesong. These questions must be discussed and acted upon in every possible form in the shops and unions, the people's organizations and communities throughout the United States.

Furthermore, the impetus which the cease-fire negotiations have given to the peace sentiment of the American people should be accelerated still further by mounting the most powerful mass movements against every new measure of war incandiarism—Truman's latest demand for doubling war expenditures, the military alliance with Franco and Tito, the imperialist "peace" treaty with Japan, the rearming of Western Germany and the intervention in Iran.

Above all, the negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea must stimulate

the demand that there be an overall negotiation of all issues which threaten world peace and the conclusion of a Big Five Pact of Peace.

THE TASKS OF TODAY

The very prospect of an end to the war, though such an end is not at all certain, has given rise to new moods among the masses of workers, farmers, Negro people, and youth. It brings to the fore also the prospect of reversing the onerous and repressive policies set in motion by the Truman Administration under cover of the pretext that the war in Korea created a national emergency.

For one thing, the prospect of peace in Korea puts on the order of the day the struggle to return to a peace-time economy. This means revoking the national emergency decree issued by Truman, slashing the armaments budget, lowering taxes, abolishing the wage freeze, enacting real price and rent control, the withdrawal of C.I.O., A. F. of L. and R.R. Brotherhood from government war boards and increasing all social appropriations in the Federal budget.

That this mood has already begun to develop among the masses is to be seen in the frantic speed with which Wall Street trotted out its chief spokesmen to warn against "the danger of relaxation"—that is, the danger that the masses will demand simultaneously with peace in Korea a return to a peace-time economy.

Secondly, the prospect of an early

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peace in Korea cannot help but stimulate increased struggles to repeal and reverse the whole program of pro-fascist legislation and judicial rulings justified by the specious pretense of a "national emergency" created by the war in Korea. Thus, new possibilities have been opened in the struggle to demand a rehearing by the Supreme Court in the case of the 11 leaders of the Communist Party, to mount protests against the new arrests and indictments of leaders of the Communist Party, to repeal the Smith and McCarran Acts, to halt the unprecedented drive against the foreign born, to restore the Bill of Rights and stop the swift drive to fascism in the United States.

Thirdly, the proposal of peace in Korea presents new possibilities of struggle to defend the rights of the Negro people against the mounting wave of anti-Negro terror stimulated by the whole drive of reaction accompanying the war of aggression in Korea.

What is imperatively demanded in this new situation now developing is the building of the widest united front of struggle around the

key issues of negotiating for peace, a return to a peace-time economy, the restoration of the Bill of Rights and the halting of fascism, and the fight for the rights of the Negro people.

Given proper leadership, united-front struggles around these four key issues can be mounted that will exceed those that have already taken place. New possibilities are being created for the development of much wider unity of action around these issues. It is therefore imperative that we re-examine all relationships now existing within the shops and unions, among the Negro people and their organizations, in the lower levels of the various political parties and independent political action groups. If it has been incorrect up to now to regard these relationships as "frozen," it is doubly so today. Everywhere, bold new approaches are called for to draw new sections of the working class and Negro people, the youth, women's organizations, the farmers, and city middle classes into united-front movements and struggles around a minimum program, for peace and democracy.

The Smith Act Strikes Again

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

WITH THE arrest of seventeen additional Communist leaders, in an early morning raid on June 20, 1951, the second phase of the Foley Square Smith Act Inquisition began. The ink on the Supreme Court decision decreeing the constitutionality of this infamous thought-control legislation was hardly dry and the mandate ordering the first group of Communist leaders convicted under it to prison had not yet arrived in New York City, when the Department of Justice struck again with unseemly haste.*

This was demonstrated by the fact that we were arrested at 7:30 A.M. on a short warrant sworn out by an F.B.I. agent, alleging a violation of the Smith Act, and only after we were rounded up at the Federal Building, did the Grand Jury indict us that same morning, after a scant half hour's deliberation. Consideration could not possibly have been given to any evidence against each one of seventeen people thus accused by the F.B.I.; the Grand Jury merely

rubber-stamped an indictment already prepared.

The names of the seventeen arrested are well known to readers of *Political Affairs*, and to the American labor movement. They include V. J. Jerome, editor of this magazine; Alexander Trachtenberg, head of International Publishers; Alexander Bittelman, William Weinstone, Claudia Jones, Betty Gannett, and Pettis Perry, who regularly write for *Political Affairs*. They include also Marion Bachrach and Simon W. Gerson, who are active in the publicity and legislative work of the Party; Al Lannon and Louis Weinstock, who are leading trade unionists; and the two aged veterans, Jacob (Pop) Mindel and Israel Amter, both of whom are in dangerously bad health. In addition are included Isidore Begun, Arnold Johnson, George Blake Charney, and myself, who was for a lengthy period the only unindicted member of the National Committee.

The second indictment is an extension of the first one. We are accused of conspiracy with each other and with the twelve members of the

* Since this writing, the Department of Justice has arrested and indicted twelve leading Communists in California, including William Schneiderman, and five in the Maryland-District of Columbia area, including Phil Frankfeld.

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National Committee (eleven of whom were previously convicted) to violate the Smith Act. The second indictment is substantially identical with the first, up to paragraph six—with several important additions. Paragraph seven alleges as a part of the conspiracy "That said defendants and co-conspirators would write and cause to be written articles and directives in publications of the Communist Party of the United States of America, including but not limited to, *Political Affairs*, *Morning Freiheit*, *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, teaching and advocating the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence." Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in Article I of the Bill of Rights, is here openly challenged, most brazenly. Paragraph eight alleges that said defendants agreed upon and would carry into effect detailed plans "for the vital parts of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. to go underground in the event of emergency and from said underground position, to continue in all respects the conspiracy described in paragraph one." Paragraph nine alleges concealment of the existence and operations of said conspiracy.

Also new in this second indictment is a list of twenty-nine so-called "overt acts." These new trimmings are added because the lack of any overt acts was the source of universal criticism of the first trial. "What did they do?" was a general

question raised in editorials, articles, speeches, letters to public officials, and by voices abroad. The dissenting opinions of both Justices Black and Douglas commented on this. Even the assenting Justice Frankfurter was troubled about "attempts at strait-jacketing the human mind." The stark nakedness of the first indictment, which depended exclusively upon "teaching and advocating," is now dressed up with these twenty-nine "overt acts." It would be something to ridicule, were the threat not so serious to the liberties, not only of the immediate defendants, but of the labor movement and of the whole American people.

Specifically, eleven of the twenty-nine overt acts charged in the indictments are the writing of articles published during 1948 to 1951 in *Political Affairs*. Five deal with "attended a meeting"—in a lodge, at a hotel, in a civic center, etc. Three deal with teaching classes. One deals with writing a pamphlet. (This was by Marion Bachrach, on the Federal Grand Jury system). Two deal with participation in an expulsion proceeding. One deals with mailing 50 envelopes from the Party's headquarters. The prize "overt act," however, is that "on or about October 1st, 1949, Pettis Perry, a defendant herein, did leave 35 East 12 Street, New York City, New York." There are no "overt acts" even of this variety alleged against either Israel Amter or Jacob Mindel.

All these so-called overt acts comprise writing, speaking, teaching, and meeting. But the words of Justice Douglas, in his dissent, indicate what are generally and traditionally considered overt acts. "If this were a case where those who claimed protection under the First Amendment were teaching the techniques of sabotage, the assassination of the President, the filching of public documents from public files, the planting of bombs, the art of street warfare, and the like, I would have no doubts. . . . The case was argued as if those were the facts. . . . But the fact is no such evidence was introduced at the trial." The "overt acts" alleged in the second indictment rest on the flimsiest of bases and, indeed, expose the frame-up character of the indictments, the desperateness to which the war-mad reactionaries are driven in their efforts to silence the voices for peace.

* * *

Since our arrest on June 20, to the date of this writing—five weeks—the defendants have been engaged in a continuous struggle to secure permanent and reasonable bail. Fifteen of us have been in and out of jail three times, as a consequence of the unwarranted and vindictive revocation of the bail which was placed for us by the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress. At this writing, seven of the group are still in jail awaiting substitute bail. In the

case of the first group of defendants under the Smith Act (Eugene Dennis and the other ten members of the National Committee), a struggle for bail did not arise until the end of the trial. But with us it has been injected into the very first stages, to the exclusion of everything else.

At the very moment when underworld-king Costello, long protected by figures in high office, is released in the custody of his attorney until a bonding company posts \$5,000 bail, we, the Seventeen indicted for exercising our right to think and speak, are harassed by every conceivable punitive, sadistic device. Clearly, we face here a real conspiracy, a conspiracy to abolish the right to bail for political prisoners.

This is the only meaning of the citation for "contempt of court" of three trustees of the Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund — Frederick Field, Dashiell Hammett and Dr. Alpheus Hunton.* These three courageous, selfless, social-minded men are today imprisoned at the local Federal House of Detention and denied bail, although their families and friends have it available. They are trustees of the C.R.C. Bail Fund — a non-commercial, non-profit-making fund, to which they volunteer their services. Through this Bail Fund, in existence for nearly five years, political, labor, and Negro

* A fourth trustee, Abner Green, Executive Secretary of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, has since also been cited for "contempt of court" and imprisoned.

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victims, denied bail by regular bonding companies, were able to be at liberty, to support their families, prepare their defense and fight for their vindication. The three trustees in prison are being persecuted for not turning over the names of thousands of people who have lent money to the Bail Fund. Can any decent-minded American, under conditions of today, fail to appreciate the democratic essence of the action of those who consider it part of their trust to protect from harassment, loss of employment, and hounding by the F.B.I. or the Un-American Committee, workers and others who have helped the fund?

The government's pretext for demanding the names of the lenders to the Bail Fund is that this is necessary in order to determine whether any of them knows anything of the whereabouts of four missing men for whom bail was placed over three years ago. This is far-fetched and fantastic. The Bail Fund of the C.R.C. is over five years old. People lend and withdraw money continually and have no knowledge for whom their particular dollars are placed; nor are they apt to know any of these people personally. The whole business is a subterfuge to kill the Bail Fund which is deeply rooted in the tradition of the American labor and progressive movements, and to make bail impossible for future victims of the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Taft-Hartley law, and other fascist-like measures.

But this monstrous pretext for destroying the right to bail has not fooled the masses. It has alarmed and shocked a large number of progressive and liberal people, who feel they have suddenly been confronted in July 1951 with the ugly face of fascism.

Until the right of the C.R.C. Bail Fund to exist is re-established—a right under attack at present in both Federal and state courts—those who offer bail for our group are compelled to give their names and prove their ownership to cash, negotiable bonds, or real estate. To come forward in this manner requires courage and devotion to the principles of the Bill of Rights. The unflagging, whole-hearted co-operation of families, friends, and even strangers, who are rightly indignant over the high-handed proceedings and who strongly believe in the right to reasonable bail guaranteed by the Constitution, and have come forward to post bail, has been tremendously encouraging. These inspiring acts will guarantee the ultimate release of all. But many valuable weeks have been consumed. The defendants are deprived of their liberty so often that they are referred to in the jail as the "in again, out again" group. And even those who have been bailed out are devoting their energies to secure the release of their co-defendants still in prison.

In these preliminary five weeks of struggle, we have been upstairs and down, in and out of courtrooms, in

and out of jail, and detention pens, reminiscent of the experiences of many anti-fascists of Europe. Seven judges have been involved in proceedings, but all their decisions led us back to a cell. We estimate that in five weeks we had about four or five days to contact lawyers to defend us. This has been our second major struggle—the right to secure counsel of our own choosing. At this writing, we have eight court-appointed lawyers. We have rejected them on principle under the present conditions, without prejudice to their ability. Simon W. Gerson queried Judge McGohey. The question was, "If a judge can appoint counsel for us, over our protest, why can he not direct an approved surety company acceptable to the court, to put up bail for us for which we can give adequate collateral—so that we can get out of here and find our own lawyers?" But Judge McGohey (the prosecutor in the first Foley Square frame-up trial and subsequently promoted) dismissed this most pertinent question as "frivolous"!

Our position in no way reflects upon the ability of any of the lawyers appointed by the court. But we demand the right and the time necessary to select our own counsel. Refusal to accord us this right is a denial of due process guaranteed by the Constitution. If we should fail

to secure this right and be subjected to court-appointed lawyers, we will defend ourselves. We so stated to Judge Ryan.

It is evident that there is growing alarm voiced among progressives and in the labor movement, at the increasing onslaughts against the Bill of Rights. The struggle against the Smith Act is today the link to the broadest anti-fascist unity, around the dissenting opinions of Justices Black and Douglas. The demand for a rehearing by the Supreme Court on the appeal of the eleven Communist leaders and the defense of all others to be tried under the Smith Act are bound together as one struggle, and must be the basis for an immediate broad mass campaign to restore the Bill of Rights.

The American people's love of democracy and their will to peace cannot be destroyed by McCarran Acts and Smith Acts. The forces of democracy and peace in our country are possessed of strength—a strength of which they must be made fully conscious. The great alerting to the conscious action of these forces in the United States demands the vanguard role of the Communist Party. In that role the Communist Party will continue to function—and no Hitler-like legislation and Police-State hounding can halt it.

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The Trade Union Movement and the McGee Case

By George Blake

THE LYNCH MURDER of Willie McGee was a terrible tragedy. It was a tragedy that symbolizes the mounting savage oppression directed against the Negro people by the forces of reaction. It was a heavy blow against the working class and the Negro people's movement. At the same time it marked a heroic page in the history of the Negro people in its fight for freedom. It marked a new high point in the degree of unity achieved between the Negro people's movement and the working class.

New forces were recruited from the ranks of labor which in the course of the struggle came to understand that the case of the Martinsville Seven, the McGee case and countless others represent the counterpart at home of the Truman-MacArthur-Ridgeway "Operation Killer" in Korea, and that the whole reign of terror directed against the Negro people in the present period is directly associated with the growing attacks on all fronts against the working class and the whole people.

In the course of this struggle, these forces in the labor movement came to understand more clearly the need, as Comrade Ben Davis put it, to "take the initiative in the battle

against the divisive, anti-labor, lynch oppression of the Negro people" and to work more boldly and consistently to strengthen the fighting alliance of labor and the Negro people's movement as the foundation of the people's resistance to reaction, oppression and war.

This whole struggle for the life of McGee, particularly in the latter period, was marked by greater militancy and broader scope than any of the series of struggles in the period since the war. It embraced new sectors of the Negro people's and working-class movements and reached new high levels. The sustained and militant character of the campaign was, in fact, a reflection of the new depths that had been plumbed among the masses, of the great stirring of angry organized protest that took shape.

The whole upsurge of the struggle revealed certain new features that bear on the capacity of the people's movement to withstand and defeat the war-inspired lynch offensive against the Negro people.

The outstanding feature was the unprecedented role of the Negro workers in the fight to save the life of Willie McGee. The campaign cut

across class lines and involved the Negro people's movement as a whole; but the distinct contribution and *leadership* of the Negro workers was never more pronounced, and was evidenced more clearly as the struggle reached its climax. This did not assume any specific organizational form; it revealed itself in a variety of ways, in different phases of the struggle. But in the industrial communities in the North, and in large part in the South itself, and nationally, a pattern emerged of Negro labor assuming its position in the forefront of the struggle everywhere, stimulating activity, not only in the unions, but reaching into, merging with and leading the protest movement in the Negro communities.

This must be noted as an extremely important historical development. That is what is new in all phases of the liberation struggle. It is a reflection of new currents in the Negro people's movement and of new alignments in the making.

THE SIGNIFICANT ROLE OF THE UNIONS

A second important feature in the campaign was the response in the general working-class movement, especially in the unions. Here, too, the level of Negro-white unity achieved, was due in large part to the unity and fighting spirit of the Negro workers. Thus, the greatest degree of activity was generated in unions with a large Negro membership, such as in the Packinghouse Union,

Marine Cooks and Stewards, Fur, Distributive, and certain locals in the auto industry, etc. The impact of the activities in these and other unions was registered in the labor movement as a whole and influenced categories of white workers that had not been involved heretofore actively in the struggle for Negro rights.

The activity in these unions reached new proportions. This was true in the first place in the progressive unions. There activities went far beyond the customary routine adoption of resolutions in local union executive boards and the sporadic circulation of petitions. These forms were used, but in a much more effective and striking manner, in relation to the number of workers reached and the genuine mass support that it reflected and organized. Tens of thousands of workers in New York were actively involved in meetings and discussions directly in the shops where resolutions were adopted, telegrams sent, petitions circulated, and other actions taken.

As a result of this penetration in depth among the workers, even these traditional forms were invested with a new militant and demonstrative character. Thus, in one United Electrical Workers shop in New York, a noon-hour action was organized to circulate a petition, which turned into a splendid demonstration involving many workers from other shops in the same building. Everywhere, new initiatives were developed, as in the case of the demonstrative

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prayer-meeting of 1,000 Chevrolet workers in Flint which was addressed by a Negro and a white minister, both workers in the plant.

The most significant developments included the great demonstration of 8,000 packinghouse workers organized by the Chicago District of the union on April 29, and the stoppages that were organized in New York and elsewhere in a number of unions. These stoppages represented something new and were of great significance, even though they were limited to but a few unions of the Left and were organized belatedly. These stoppages took place in a whole number of shops in the New York area in the Fur, Furniture, and Shoeworkers' Unions, and in sections of the distributive industry. The Marine Cooks and Stewards convention voted a stoppage covering 300 ships under its jurisdiction. The stoppages in the fur industry which initiated this militant form of action, covered some 100 shops in New York. Over 15,000 signatures were secured in the course of these stoppages in the fur industry. These stoppages revealed that the struggle for Negro rights was no longer an issue introduced from the outside, so to speak, by its traditional, class-conscious champions, but was being woven into the entire fabric of the trade-union struggle.

It is also important to note that the movement reached considerably beyond the area of Left-wing unions. In New York, the Lithographers

Union, which has some 8,000 members with a Negro membership of about 200, adopted a fighting resolution after a lively discussion at a membership meeting attended by some 3,000 workers. The local also directed its delegates to the United Labor Policy Committee mass meeting at Manhattan Center of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions to introduce this resolution at that meeting. It is interesting that the discussion at this meeting of the Lithographers Union based itself on demonstrating to the masses of the white workers their economic and political stake in fighting to save the life of Willie McGee and in fighting against the whole reign of lynch-terror.

The campaign in the locals of the N. Y. Joint Council of the Shoe Workers Union was well organized and received considerable popular support among the workers, despite the position maintained by the leadership in the Council, excluding any political or so-called controversial issues. In fact, it was the campaign in this union that accounted in part for the public expression of support for the McGee fight from the National Office of the C.I.O. by way of the statement directed to this union by James B. Carey.

A campaign also was effectively developed in such unions as Furniture Locals 76 and 76-B, which are outside of the recognized grouping of progressive unions.

In the unions under Right-wing leadership, here and there some im-

portant struggles were organized which finally led, as in the National Maritime Workers Union and in the Newspaper Guild, to the adoption of resolutions of support; or as in the case of the Macy 1-S Local of the new Department Store Workers Union, C.I.O., where a program of activities was organized which embraced the shop stewards.

TRADE-UNION COMMITTEE

Another important feature of this struggle in the unions was, not only the militancy and breadth of the campaign, but the fact that, unlike the past where the activities in the labor movement were oftentimes a subordinate part of the general movement, in the McGee case, forces actively engaged in this struggle in the labor movement began to give over-all leadership to the general mass movement. This was manifested by the splendid activities organized by the Trade Union Committee to Save Willie McGee, to which some 50 unions were affiliated nationally and which was headed by William Hood, Recording Secretary of Ford Local 600, United Automobile Workers.

This committee represented a merging of the work initiated and conducted by such organizations as the Harlem Trade Union Council, the Civil Rights Congress and the United Labor Action Committee, in New York. It grew out of the intensive program of activity in the trade unions in general throughout the country, and the outstanding move-

ment that was organized in the automobile industry, sparked by Local 600. This Committee organized a fighting mass meeting at St. Nicholas Arena in New York on April 16, which was attended by some 3,000 trade unionists. It organized effective picket actions on March 29 in front of the national headquarters of the Democratic Party in New York City; it carried through the hard-hitting delegation to Washington on May 3, which was headed by Hood, and included such trade-union leaders as Arthur Osman and Cleveland Robinson from the Distributive, Professional and Office Workers Union, Abram Flaxer and Thomas Richardson from United Public Workers, Joseph Selly from the American Communications Association, Clifford McAvoy representing Albert Fitzgerald of the National U.E. (Ind.), as well as Cleophus Jacobs, Negro President of Local 968, International Longshoremen's Association.

The work of this committee, the tours conducted and meetings held, many of which featured Mrs. Rosalee McGee, not only helped to stir greater activity in the unions, but influenced the campaign everywhere.

The impress of trade-union participation in the fight was also evident in the number of trade unionists, Negro and white, who made up the 51 veterans who chained themselves to the pillars of the Lincoln Memorial on May 5; in the number of trade unionists who participated in

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the delegation of white women to Jackson, Miss. It was evident in the splendid action adopted by the General Executive Board of the U.E. which assigned its attorneys to join in the Supreme Court proceedings.

It was also evident in the activities that were organized generally by the working-class communities. An outstanding example was the broad united front movement organized on the Lower East Side in New York which registered in the McGee fight the Negro-Jewish solidarity that had been developed over a period of years. The response was such that it culminated in a day of demonstrations on the Friday prior to the execution when many of the local stores closed down in sympathy with the demonstrations. A week previously, a similar closing was carried through on the issue of Western Germany. Thus, the issue of fascist revival in Germany and the issue of growing fascism in the United States were dramatically joined.

It should be noted, too, that the American Labor Party in New York conducted a vigorous and consistent campaign throughout.

What stood out in the entire complex of this struggle was its far-flung scope, its militant character and the increasing trend toward working-class inspiration, leadership and direction of the mass movement.

What also stood out was the fighting spirit of the Negro women symbolized by the role of Mrs. McGee. She joins with the rising legion of

contemporary Harriet Tubmans who are contributing to the leadership of the Negro liberation movement, its most militant and influential cadre.

The fight for McGee was marked by a great movement of international working-class solidarity which articulated the protests of millions in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Peoples' Democracies and the people's movements in the capitalist and colonial countries. In the closing days the world movement in behalf of McGee was dramatized in the resolution that was cabled by the 600,000-strong London Trades Council which characterized the issue as a "condemnation of the American way of life," and by a resolution from the Caribbean Labor Congress.

STRENGTHENED

NEGRO-LABOR ALLIANCE

The positive aspects in the activities of the trade-union movement are due in the main to the heightened consciousness that has developed on the significance to the working class of the struggle for Negro rights. They are due to the increasing recognition that the present and future of the progressive trade-union movement and the fight for working-class unity are tied up with the need to expand considerably this struggle in every union and in every area of the mass movement. This greater consciousness has come about, not only as a result of the general experiences of the unions in the anti-fascist struggle and the concrete experiences of

the Left-wing movement on the question of the Negro allies of the working class; it is a reflection increasingly of the new, militant moods and demands of the Negro workers.

Thus, the evaluation of the crucial importance of the McGee case in the trade-union movement and the scope of the campaign that was developed were determined in large part by the organization in the past year of a growing number of Negro Labor Councils, north and south. The maturing of this movement on a nationwide scale as an independent medium of expression of the aspirations and demands of the Negro workers constituted one of the specific channels through which the entire movement around the McGee case was influenced.

The main effect of this struggle in helping to bring about a closer unity of the Negro liberation movement and the trade unions was vividly expressed in the *Dispatcher*, official paper of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union of San Francisco, in an editorial on May 11, entitled "The Meaning of Willie McGee":

Our union, and its officers and locals, are no longer going to be judged by 15 million American Negro people, 90 percent of whom are workers, solely upon a willingness to open ranks to Negro workers and merely defend their rights under a union contract. The crucial judgment will be made upon how well we recognize the force of their great movement, the depth of that

force, and the true reasons that lie behind the execution of Willie McGee and the attempted frameups of outstanding leaders of the Negro people such as the venerable and beloved scholar, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

WEAKNESSES IN THE FIGHT

What were some of the main weaknesses in the fight?

In the first place, there was a failure to seize hold of the new militant aspects of the struggle, particularly in relation to shop actions and stoppages, to develop them more widely throughout the trade-union movement. Possibilities existed in the latter part of April to spread this stoppage movement to the point where in New York it could have led to a simultaneous action of from 500 to 750 shops, culminating in a central demonstration of thousands of workers. In fact, such an appeal was made by Ben Gold at the St. Nicholas Arena meeting, but it was not pursued. It was a serious shortcoming of the entire campaign that the splendid activities organized by the labor movement in the months prior to May 8, did not lead to a climactic rally with labor demonstrating its strength and fighting on the issue up to the last moment.

This weakness reflected the lack of a proper estimate of the significance of the stoppages and other actions that were carried through and the possibilities of duplicating and extending these actions elsewhere. It also reflected an incorrect estimate that these actions were possible only

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in locals or shops embracing the most advanced and class-conscious workers. As a result, not even the full strength of the Left was mobilized along these lines. There was also a certain reluctance to tackle the issues in unions where the membership was predominantly white.

With all of the positive features of the struggle, these weaknesses signalize the continuing, deep-seated white chauvinist tendencies that continue to evidence themselves in the trade-union movement and that are reflected in a basic underestimation of the new and increased importance of this question in the fight for working-class unity.

In this connection, the limitations in this struggle were a reflection of the weaknesses in the day-to-day struggles for Negro rights in the shops, industries and unions. The level of the McGee struggle was in part determined by the level of the struggle against the forces of Jim-Crow oppression that plague the Negro workers day in and day out.

These weaknesses could not be overcome in the course of the McGee case. They acted as a serious brake on the whole movement. The capacity of the progressive forces in the trade unions to act on such crucial issues as the McGee case is inevitably influenced by the extent to which the struggle for Negro rights is sustained in all its phases. The fact is that in the past period there has been a deterioration in the struggle for Negro rights in a num-

ber of progressive unions, marked by renewed evidence of white chauvinism. The new powerful upsurge among the Negro people, instead of being welcomed as the most vital and dynamic anti-imperialist development of this period in the United States, is looked at with suspicion and criticism by some of the leaders of these unions. This attitude, which reeks with Social-Democratic, opportunist, and white chauvinist influences, has served to retard the struggle for Negro-white unity in general and the fight for McGee in particular. There is no question that had these weaknesses been combated effectively in the past and overcome, the scope of the fight for McGee would have been considerably enlarged.

Secondly, there was evident a reluctance to tackle the issue in the Right-led unions. The examples cited above in relation to the National Maritime Union and the Newspaper Guild, etc., represented exceptions. It is true that there was a greater effort to direct the struggle in this area of the labor movement in contrast to much more limited effort along these lines in the Martinsville Seven case. But the gap is still great between what was attempted and what could have been achieved.

Our comrades and the progressive forces in the Right-led unions conducted an active campaign in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and other unions.

In the main, however, these activities were conducted along routine rank-and-file lines, restricted to certain sections of the rank and file and organized outside of the official apparatus of the unions. No vigorous or consistent effort was made on the basis of these activities among the rank-and-file workers to press for official action on the McGee case by the local union itself. A report came from one Transport Workers Union shop of 800 workers of the resolution adopted in support of the McGee fight. This was excellent but no attempt was made by the progressive forces to follow this up and to introduce it into the union local itself. There were many experiences of this kind.

SECTARIAN ERRORS TO BE NOTED

To a great extent this failure must be ascribed to continued stubborn expressions of sectarianism. The resolutions that were adopted in the N.M.U. and the Newspaper Guild, and the statement issued by Carey for the national C.I.O. were not introduced or volunteered by the leadership. They came as a result of a struggle initiated from below by the rank and file. In some cases our comrades expressed the fear that if their union did take positive action, it would strengthen the Right-wing leadership of the union. They tended to view the struggle as another means of exposing the leadership and hence

conducted their activities along narrow, sometimes factional lines, instead of attempting to achieve the broadest unity around the issue and, as a result, compel positive action by the union.

This failure to develop the struggle more broadly in the Right-led unions reflected even more a combination of sectarianism with an underestimation of the Negro question, which was expressed in a tendency to equate the issue of McGee with other issues of the rank-and-file movement in these unions. It represented a failure to see that this issue could have won active organized support far beyond more limited rank-and-file forces associated with the Left among masses of Negro workers in the first place, and many groups of white workers as well. In some instances even the approach was narrow in that the issue was initiated and developed by the existing and well-known Left-wing groups without making a genuine and supreme effort to involve broader groups from the outset. Thus, here and there it was made to appear that support for McGee virtually required identification with, and support of, the Left-wing forces in these unions.

There is no question where the basic responsibility lies in the failure of the big majority of the Right-led unions to act. Had they acted, the life of Willie McGee might have been saved. The C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders did not act because they are in a reactionary alliance with

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Truman, and this fight demanded vigorous struggle against Truman. Whatever action was taken came as a result of pressure, and even then the action for the most part consisted of formal resolutions or telegrams to Governor Fielding Wright, so heavily interlarded with anti-Communism as to constitute more of an encouragement to the executioners than a genuine expression of protest. Their role in the McGee case is the latest and crassest example of the complete betrayal by the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders of the trade unions in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people. It also provides the most damaging evidence of the divisive role of these forces that, by their passivity and anti-Communism, prevented the fighting unification of the working class.

At the same time, we must self-critically note our weakness and our failure to defeat the sabotage of the misleaders of the trade-union movement. We must note that a bolder and more convincing application of the united front, based on a proper estimate of the potential that exists in relation to the struggle for Negro rights in the Right-led unions, would have resulted in a more effective break-through in this decisive area of the labor movement.

There were other weaknesses, varied in character, manifested in the activity of the unions in this struggle. Thus there were tendencies to divorce the McGee issue from the struggle against the bi-partisan drive

to war. These tendencies only served to obscure the genocidal character of the attack against the Negro people which is a product of the new wave of violent racism engendered by the war drive.

The inseparability of the fight for McGee from the fight for peace was not always adequately reflected in the activities organized in the labor movement, despite the clear orientation outlined by the Party. It is impossible to conduct an effective struggle for peace today unless it is accompanied by the most resolute and consistent struggle for Negro rights, far beyond the levels of this struggle in the past. The struggle for Negro rights cannot be viewed as a subordinate aspect of the peace movement; it is a major, component feature of it.

Another evident weakness along these lines was the failure to sharpen the edge of the struggle sufficiently against the Truman Administration and the bi-partisan alliance and to build up a movement of pressure within the Democratic and Republican parties. In New York, for example, three State Senators, Panken and Zaretski of the Democratic Party, and Bianchi of the Republican-A.L. parties voiced support for the freedom of McGee. Congressman Powell entered into the struggle. Had the big mass movement been organized in the unions and directed through these channels, it is quite possible that an influential number of elected officials at all levels could have been brought into action.

McGEE'S APPEAL:
"KEEP ON FIGHTING!"

These are some of the issues in relation to the role of the trade-union movement in the historic struggle to prevent the lynch-murder of Willie McGee. This struggle for the life of Willie McGee and his own valiant role will not be forgotten. In his last words, Willie McGee said: "Tell the people to keep on fighting." This appeal conveyed not only the urgency of the struggle; it also conveyed a conviction that the continuation and intensification of the struggle will help forge the invincible bonds of Negro and white unity, of the unity of labor and the Negro people's movement that can guarantee victory.

A letter by a Negro worker from Jackson, Mississippi, in the official organ of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of June 4, in simple and dramatic form, gives the response to this appeal:

They finally killed Willie McGee down here in Mississippi. But we members of the Mine-Mill Union in Jackson, Miss., want you all to know that we are going to keep on fighting for our rights and against this kind of injustice—even harder than ever.

The interest shown in Willie McGee from all over the country and all over the world encourages us to know that

we are not alone down here in the deep South, where we are being pushed aside on everything. We ask you brothers in our great union to keep on supporting our fight, because we have this kind of thing to face us every day.

We Negro workers in Mississippi read in the paper and hear on the radio how our country fights for Democracy and equal treatment and justice for all over the world. The only thing is we wish they would fight for it a little bit in Mississippi.

It's not easy to carry on a Union down here. The Negro down here in Mississippi has been pushed back so long I sometimes think we are like the children of Israel being held in Egypt as slaves. But by the help of God and of our great International Union, and knowing we are fighting for the right, we mean to keep on—stronger than ever.

Negro Worker, Local 867.

Our Party has a great deal to learn from the positive achievements in this struggle and from the weaknesses that were exposed. Above all, the lessons place their greatest stress on how we should enlarge the scope of the struggle for Negro rights in every area of the labor movement. The touchstone of the understanding of the Party of the Negro question is how it makes it the understanding of the masses.

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On the Glorious 30th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China*

ON JULY 1, the Chinese people and the international Communist movement widely mark a significant date—the thirtieth anniversary of the Communist Party of China.

Thirty years cover but a relatively brief period of time. But what a grand and heroic path has been traversed by this Party which devoted all its efforts, all the energy, experience and wisdom of its leaders, the selflessness of rank-and-file members, to the cause of awakening, educating and organizing the broad masses of the people of China, of defending their interests! For thousands of years the Chinese people, diligent and industrious, groaned under the yoke of oppressors; for more than a century the imperialist beasts of prey fed on the living body of the people. The Communist Party took the lead in the national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people and crowned it with complete victory: China became an independent state (a People's Republic), having thrown off the imperialist yoke and smashed the reactionary regime of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

Winning a world historic victory in the armed struggle against the enslavers of the homeland, the Communist Party of China opened up for the Chinese people the road to Socialism, and is successfully directing the building of new China. Unified people's power prevails throughout the entire country, including Tibet; the only exception is Taiwan Island, seized by the American imperialists; the remnants of the Kuomintang troops have been crushed and banditry is being completely eliminated. Agrarian reform has been carried out on a territory containing a rural population of 290 million. In the state-operated enterprises, emulation is gaining in scale and labor productivity is rising. The contours of new factories are taking shape. Practically all the railways have been restored and new lines are under construction. Vast irrigation work is in progress. Centralization of economic and financial administration in the hands of the People's Government stopped the inflation that had raged for years, stabilized and raised the living standards of the people. For the first time in 73 years, China had a favorable foreign trade

* Reprinted from *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, No. 26 (138), June 29, 1951.

balance due to the state monopoly of foreign trade. All these successes have been achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of China has set itself the task of bringing the country to Socialism. However, it is aware that it is impossible to by-pass the present phase of development when private-capitalist, state-capitalist and petty-commodity sectors exist side by side with the state sector. In these complex conditions of interlacing, all the conditions prevail in China for the state sector to maintain its leading position and determine the development of the country along the path of industrialization, along the road to Socialism.

State power in China is not the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the dictatorship of people's democracy based on the alliance of the working class, peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie, but mainly on the alliance of the working class and peasantry, for they, together, constitute from 80 to 90 per cent of the population. The transition from new democracy to Socialism depends on the alliance of these two classes. The dictatorship of people's democracy is directed by the working class which ensures the development of the country along the Socialist path.

The Communist Party of China, which traversed a difficult and thorny path marked not only with successes but also with setbacks and countless sacrifices, won victory because it was

guided constantly and unswervingly by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The victory of the Chinese revolution is the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, a new proof of the international character of this great teaching. The Chinese revolution triumphed because Marxism-Leninism secured an undivided victory in the Chinese working-class movement.

The invincible teachings of Marxism-Leninism reached China after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The great Russian experience showed "to all countries something that is very essential in their inevitable and near future." (Lenin.)

The Chinese Communists received, and are receiving, powerful support from Comrade Stalin. Stalin, with profound attention, always followed the struggle of the Chinese people for freedom and independence. He has made the greatest theoretical contribution to the elaboration of problems concerning the Chinese revolution. Comrade Stalin's analysis and forecasts were fully confirmed by the entire course of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that the Chinese revolution, following the October Socialist Revolution, would widen considerably the breach in the imperialist front in the East. And that is how things turned out. How prophetic sound the words pronounced by Comrade Stalin more than twenty-five years ago: "The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are immeasurable. They

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have not yet made themselves felt in due manner. But they will have their say in the future. The rulers in the East and in the West who fail to see these forces and do not pay due regard to them, will suffer from this."

In the struggle against Trotskyists and other enemies of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Stalin elucidated the character, prospects and driving forces of this revolution. He pointed to the impelling need to take into account the national peculiarities and specifically national features in every country; the impelling need for the Communist Party in every country to take advantage of the slightest possibility to "secure for the proletariat a mass ally, even temporary, wavering, unstable, unreliable"; the impelling need to use for the political education of the masses the political experience of these masses.

J. V. Stalin pointed out that the revolution in China would be a combination of two streams in the revolutionary movement — against feudal survivals and against imperialism; that, inevitably, the struggle against imperialism in China would assume a profoundly popular and distinctly national character; that it would deepen, step by step, to the extent of desperate struggles with imperialism, and shaking the very foundations of imperialism throughout the world. These teachings of J. V. Stalin were wholly and completely confirmed in the course of the

revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people.

Outstanding service in Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist Party of China and elaborating the questions of the Chinese revolution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was performed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the tested leader of the Communist Party of China. "We are grateful to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin," said Mao Tse-tung, "who provided us with the weapon. This weapon is not machine-guns but Marxism-Leninism." "The history of the C.P.S.U. (B)," Mao Tse-tung wrote, "is the highest synthesis, the highest generalization of the world Communist movement for the past hundred years, the most complete model in the world of the unity of theory and practice. On the example of how Lenin and Stalin linked the general theoretical truths of Marxism with the concrete practice of the October Revolution, and, on this basis, developed Marxism, we can learn how to carry on work here in China."

Marxism-Leninism enabled the Chinese Communist Party to orientate itself in the situation, to understand the inner connection of events and perceive not only how, and in what direction, events were developing but also how, and in what direction, they were bound to develop in the future.

The fundamental problem of the Chinese revolution—the agrarian question—was correctly raised and

solved by the Communist Party of China due to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. At all stages in the history of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung resolutely opposed all who underestimated the significance of the anti-feudal struggle; he showed that the landlord class was the pillar of imperialism in China, that it was interested in China remaining backward, retarded its development, and facilitated enslavement of the country by the imperialists. During the national-liberation war, the Chinese working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party—devoted special care to strengthening the alliance with the peasantry. Today, the wise Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the Party in carrying out the agrarian reform ensures the gradual but steady abolition, taking into account the specific features of given regions, of land ownership by landlords, accomplishing thereby the greatest reform in the history of China.

A specific feature of the Chinese revolution was that in the course of it, the armed people waged a struggle against armed counter-revolution. Mao Tse-tung led the armed struggle of the Chinese people for liberation on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. And this struggle led to victory. The Party gave its best cadres to the armed forces, and these cadres cemented the army. The Party created a powerful army in the process of uninterrupted battles.

The Communist Party consistently

pursued, and is still pursuing, the wise policy of close contact with the masses, a policy of national unity illumined by Marxist-Leninist theory. The vanguard role in the struggle of the Chinese people is played by the working class which is taking with it all other classes and relies on its loyal and natural ally—the peasantry. Therein lies the source of the victory of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Communists triumphed because they held aloft, and now hold aloft, the banner of proletarian internationalism; because they regarded, and now regard, the cause of liberation and the advance of China as an integral part of the common struggle of all peoples against imperialism—the deadly enemy of peace and freedom among the peoples.

The Communist Party of China smashed the opportunists of different hues, expelled the capitulators, frightened by the temporary setbacks of the revolution; unfolded a struggle both against the dogmatists who proceeded from abstract formulas and did not take into account the concrete situation, and against empiricism. Fighting against opportunism, against enemies of the Party and the people, the Communist Party steadfastly and perseveringly mastered the Bolshevik style of work, learned to coin slogans and directives on the basis of a careful analysis of concrete conditions, internal and international, learned to test its slogans in the crucible of struggle.

The Chinese Communist Party educates its cadres in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, in the spirit of iron proletarian discipline, stemming from the basis of ideological unity. Defining the tasks of the Chinese Communists, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The entire Party, in order to overcome bureaucratism and authoritarianism and to reinforce the links between the Party and the people, must, in the course of carrying out different tasks and not in isolation from them, engage in broad ideological re-education by studying a number of works, by reviewing its own work, analyzing the situation, by unfolding criticism and self-criticism, etc., in order to raise the ideological and political level of the Party *Active* and all Party members, to rectify mistakes in work, combat conceit and complacency among those who regard themselves as heroes."

The victory of the Chinese revolution with the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic is the greatest event in history, following the October Socialist Revolution. It tremendously changed the international situation: the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism acquired added strength, while the imperialist camp has been further weakened. The experience of the Chinese revolution

is of inestimable significance for the peoples of the colonial countries, fighting for freedom and independence.

The countries of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, the unity of which has been reinforced by the close friendship of two giant nations and is ensured by the ideologically welded family of fraternal Communist Parties, now have a population of more than 800,000,000. The strength of this camp is growing all the time, its peace policy meets with increasingly greater support among the working people in all countries. The struggle of the Chinese people for peace, their noble aid to the heroic Korean people, evoke the sympathy of all peace-loving peoples. The aggressive designs of the American imperialists—the latest pretenders to world domination—are doomed to ignominious failure.

Communists in all countries, celebrating the jubilee of the glorious Communist Party of China as their own great festival, send heartfelt, fraternal greetings to the Chinese Communists and wish them more and bigger successes in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, for the prosperity of the Chinese People's Republic.

On the Defeat of Chiang Kai-Shek, Wall Street Puppet

By Chu Teh

AT THIS MOMENT, as we celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese revolution has registered a nation-wide victory. The powerful enemy of the Chinese people, the combined reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, has finally been overthrown. A great new China of the people's democratic dictatorship has been firmly established and developed. This is a great victory; the whole of Chinese history is entering a new era. At the same time, this is a victory of great historic significance, changing the whole aspect of the East and of the world, following the victories of the October Revolution and the anti-fascist world war. This victory has enormously strengthened the world camp of peace and democracy; it has shaken the entire aggressive camp of imperialism.

It is significant to recall at this moment how the Chinese people defeated the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary Kuomintang clique which was armed by American imperialism, and finally won nation-wide victory.

THE STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE

Armed with Marxism-Leninism and led by the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China, after the failure of the 1924-27 revolution, on its own, led the Chinese people through ten years of civil war (1927-36), created a people's revolutionary force and elaborated political and military lines adapted to the practical conditions of the Chinese revolutionary struggle; and through eight years of the anti-Japanese war (1937-45), further developed and strengthened this people's revolutionary force and created the liberated areas with a population of approximately 100 million, as well as a people's liberation army of one million troops and a militia of 2,200,000. All these formed the solid foundation on which the Chinese people defeated the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary Kuomintang clique, which was armed by American imperialism.

Since the end of World War II, the peoples of the world have been urgently demanding the preservation of peace. After long years of war and threatened by a new civil

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war, the Chinese people, in particular, had a pressing desire to make peace a reality. However, since the end of the Second World War, American imperialism, which has taken the place of fascist Germany, Italy and Japan, has been fanatically pushing forward with its plans for enslaving the world, threatening the peoples of the world with war and directly fabricating war in China and other places.

At the conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Britain and the United States, held in Moscow in December 1945 American imperialism agreed on non-interference in China's internal affairs and expressed its hope for realization of peace and democracy in China. But, in reality, after the surrender of Japanese imperialism, American imperialism dispatched its army, navy and air force as well as military missions to China and occupied most of the vital strategic points throughout the country. It supplied the treacherous Chiang Kai-shek bloc with large quantities of military equipment and war materials. Through various means, it helped Chiang Kai-shek, who had lain far in the rear throughout the anti-Japanese war, to transport his troops to the major cities along the coast and to the civil war front against the people. In doing so, American imperialism intended, through Chiang Kai-shek, to seize the fruits of victory from the Chinese people and to turn China into an

American colony.

With the support and at the instigation of American imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek devoted all his efforts to pursuing his treacherous and dictatorial reactionary policies. At that time, the American imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary bloc regarded the Chinese People's Liberation Army as a basic obstacle to the realization of their reactionary plans, and believed that, without the elimination of the People's Liberation Army, the aggression of American imperialism and the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek could never be realized. At the same time, they regarded the action of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people in demanding peace in the country as a sign that they were weak and vulnerable. They thought that the People's Liberation Army, which was smaller in numbers and inferior in equipment, could not meet any attack, while the several million Kuomintang troops with their huge quantities of arms supplied by American imperialism would be able to do as they pleased in the country. They therefore decided to unleash civil war in China against the people. It was merely for the sake of gaining time to prepare this civil war that they temporarily pretended to agree to the desire of the people throughout China for peace.

In these circumstances, the Communist Party of China firmly held aloft its banner of peace, democracy

and unity and exerted very great efforts on behalf of the Chinese people to find a way of avoiding war and achieving peace; at the same time, it mobilized the entire Party, army and the people throughout the liberated areas, as well as the people of the whole of the country, to make adequate preparations, so that they would be ready to defeat Chiang Kai-shek's military attack against the people and the revolution whenever he decided to break the peace. Expressing the demand of the broad masses of the people, the Communist Party of China called repeatedly for peace, democracy and unity. Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally traveled to Chungking to conduct peace talks with Chiang Kai-shek. This compelled Chiang Kai-shek to issue a cease fire order and to convene a political consultative conference of all parties at which resolutions were formulated concerning the achievement of peace, democracy and unity—these being passed with the participation of the representatives of the Kuomintang Government who raised their hands in favor. All these steps were in complete conformity with the demand of the broad masses of the people who yearned for domestic peace, democracy and unity.

The broad masses of the people were able, from their own experience, to shed their illusions about American imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, because of the firm, consistent and

just stand taken by the Communist Party of China in this vigorous struggle, and because Chiang Kai-shek and his boss, American imperialism, time and again revealed their perfidy and their intrigues of "mediating" in the civil conflict, on the one hand, while actively preparing for civil war, on the other. For this reason, when the American imperialists and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang clique felt that they had completed their preparations for a large-scale, anti-popular, counter-revolutionary civil war, they found themselves isolated politically, having lost the sympathy of the people throughout the country.

At the beginning of July 1946 with the large-scale assistance of America, and disregarding the opposition of the Chinese people and democratic public opinion of the whole world, Chiang Kai-shek launched an all-out civil war against the People's Liberation Army, on a scale unprecedented in the history of China. During the initial stage, the situation in this civil war was serious for the Chinese people. The greatest imperialism of the world was giving its full support to the greatest group of traitors in the world—the treacherous Chiang Kai-shek bloc which at that time had a total armed force of 4,300,000, with airplanes, artillery, tanks and modern equipment and materials worth six billion U.S. dollars—all provided by American imperialism. It had under its rule areas embracing a

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population of over 300 million. It held the major cities, rich resources, modern industry and modern means of communication. The armed forces on the side of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were then less than one-third of the Kuomintang troops. In equipment and resources they were greatly inferior. In the liberated areas the population was less than one-third that in the areas under Chiang Kai-shek's rule. Comparing the military strength of the two sides, all the conditions on the People's Liberation Army's side were unfavorable, except that the People's Liberation Army was superior to Chiang Kai-shek's in political quality and its ties with the people; for this reason Chiang Kai-shek ventured to deploy 1,800,000 troops of his regular army at the very beginning of the war in an imposing manner, launching an all-out attack on the liberated areas in North-East, Central, East and North China in an attempt to wipe out the People's Liberation Army at one blow. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"On the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China soberly weighed up the international and internal situation and concluded that all the attacks of the reactionaries at home and abroad not only must, but can, be defeated"; and that "the enemy's superiority in military strength is only a temporary phenomenon, only a temporary operating factor; the aid from American imperialism is

also only a temporary operating factor.

"But the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek's war and the support or opposition of the people are factors that operate constantly. In these respects, the People's Liberation Army enjoys superiority. The patriotic, just and revolutionary nature of the war waged by the People's Liberation Army is bound to gain the support of the people all over the country. This is the political foundation for victory over Chiang Kai-shek."

The progress and outcome of the war fully proved the correctness of Mao Tse-tung's analysis.

In accordance with this scientific analysis and judgment of Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China and the People's Liberation Army, on the one hand, closely united with the broad masses of the people in the liberated areas and throughout the country, to give material and moral support to this large-scale people's revolutionary war; on the other hand, they firmly carried out the guiding military principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself, of concentrating overwhelmingly superior armed forces to annihilate the enemy forces separately, one by one. At the same time, such revolutionary political work as unity with the masses of the people, unity between officers and men, demoralizing the enemy troops and reforming the prisoners of war was fully carried out in the

army. We were able, therefore, to weaken the Kuomintang troops continuously, increase our own strength and equip ourselves with the arms captured from the Kuomintang troops in the course of the people's war of liberation. In the initial period of the war, when Chiang Kai-shek launched his all-out attack and penetrated into our liberated areas, although we lost many towns and vast rural areas, yet the People's Liberation Army annihilated every month an average of eight Kuomintang brigades. After eight months, because his forces were greatly weakened, Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to abandon his all-out attack; he could merely carry out the so-called "attacks on key points" in Shantung and Northern Shensi, the two wings of the war front. The forces used by Chiang Kai-shek against the liberated areas in Shantung were sixty brigades, about one-third of his total forces used in these attacks. The enemy troops attacking the liberated area in Northern Shensi were ten times the People's Liberation Army forces there. Nevertheless, because the People's Liberation Army carried out a correct strategic policy in every operation, concentrating overwhelmingly superior armed forces to annihilate the enemy forces separately, one by one, not taking the defense of a city or a locality as the main objective, the Chinese People's Liberation Army not only rapidly smashed Chiang Kai-shek's "attacks

on key points," but also launched partial counter-offensives during this period against Chiang Kai-shek on the North-East and North China battle fronts. By the end of the first year of the war, the People's Liberation Army had wiped out ninety-seven and a half enemy brigades, totalling 1,120,000 troops, and enabled its own regular armed forces of 1,200,000-1,300,000 to grow to two million. A fundamental change thus took place in the war situation; the treacherous Chiang Kai-shek's bloc, which had lost enormously in manpower, had to switch from the strategic offensive to the strategic defensive.

THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE

With the opening of the second year of the Chinese people's liberation war, the Chinese People's Liberation Army passed over from the strategic defensive to the strategic offensive. This was an overall change that affected the history of the Chinese people's revolution. At that time Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared: "It marks a turning point from the growth to extinction of Chiang Kai-shek's twenty-year counter-revolutionary rule. It marks also a turning point from the growth to extinction of more than one hundred years' rule of imperialism in China."

In launching their attacks against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, the powerful forces of the People's Liberation Army crossed the Yellow River into the South, smashing the

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defense system of the Kuomintang troops, thrusting into the areas under Kuomintang rule and advancing the front line down to the Yangtse River. This upset Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary plan to destroy the Chinese people's liberated areas by a civil war against the people. It also spread the flames of revolution to the base from which Chiang Kai-shek had started the civil war against the people, thus shaking the Kuomintang reactionary rule to its very foundations and stimulating the upsurge of the people's revolutionary struggle throughout the country. At the same time, with the steady annihilation of the Kuomintang troops, the People's Liberation Army on various sectors of the front recovered the greater part of the liberated areas such as the North-East, Shantung, North Shensi and North China, and began its successful attacks on the strongly fortified Kuomintang-held cities, ranging from 100,000 to several hundred thousand population, and wiped out from tens of thousands to over a hundred thousand Kuomintang troops in each campaign. In annihilating the Kuomintang troops, the People's Liberation Army again and again captured large quantities of modern weapons, strengthening its own armament and building up strong artillery and engineering units. This enabled the People's Liberation Army later, in attacking strong points and in great annihilation battles, to destroy the enemy defense system with overwhelming

fire power and swiftly to accomplish its combat tasks.

As regards replenishment of the troops, the People's Liberation Army depended mainly on prisoners of war and on the large number of Kuomintang soldiers who surrendered. They came from the laboring classes, and, after being educated and reformed, they could swiftly be transformed into loyal and brave fighters of the People's Liberation Army.

With these struggles and efforts, the People's Liberation Army, although engaged in non-stop heavy battles from the very beginning of the war, did not, as American imperialism and its jackals expected, lose strength and become weaker; on the contrary, it gained in strength and expanded rapidly.

THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY

In November 1948, nearly two and a half years after the Kuomintang reactionaries, backed by American imperialism, launched the war, another fundamental change took place in the military situation; the Chinese People's Liberation Army which had gone through nearly a hundred campaigns of annihilation against the Kuomintang troops, won a great victory in the campaign in the West of Liaoning Province in North-East China, sweeping away in a single campaign the troops of the Kuomintang reactionaries in North-East China and annihilating the majority of Chiang Kai-shek's

crack units which were directly equipped and trained by American imperialism. After this campaign, the Kuomintang army was reduced from the numerical superiority which it had held for a long time, to numerical inferiority, and the People's Liberation Army from numerical inferiority to superiority. By that time the total Kuomintang forces had been reduced to 2,900,000, while the People's Liberation Army had grown to over three million. After this, the tide of war turned very swiftly.

In January 1949 the Chinese People's Liberation Army again successfully fought a decisive battle in the area around Hsuechow against the main forces of the Kuomintang troops on the Southern front, annihilating seven army groups of the Chiang Kai-shek crack troops which were mainly American equipped; Nanking, the ruling center of the traitor Chiang Kai-shek, was thus directly exposed to our powerful attacking forces. At the same time, the People's Liberation Army also took Kalgan, Tientsin and other cities on the North China battle-front, successfully achieved the peaceful liberation of Peking and wiped out the Kuomintang troops in the North China area. Thus, after the West Liaoning-Mukden, Hwaihai (Hsuechow-Pengpu area) and Peking-Tientsin campaigns, the nation-wide victory of the Chinese people's revolution was already assured.

At this time, the remnant of the

Kuomintang counter-revolutionary bloc, South of the Yangtse River, attempted, at the instigation of American imperialism, to prevent the People's Liberation Army from crossing the Yangtse, in order to realize its hope of gaining a respite for staging a comeback. It used delaying tactics—Chiang Kai-shek temporarily retiring from the scene and Li Tsung-jen coming forward to conduct peace talks with the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China agreed to carry on peace talks with the Nanking Kuomintang Government. However, the draft peace agreement, drawn up by the Communist Party of China in negotiations jointly with Nanking delegates, was rejected by the Nanking Kuomintang Government. The phony "peace" scheme of American imperialism was thus exposed.

On April 21, 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army advanced to the South and to the North-West to liberate the whole of China. It took only three days' fighting to liberate Nanking, the center of the twenty-two year reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionaries against the Chinese people. Then, from the latter part of April to the end of December 1949, Hanchow, Wuhan, Sian, Shanghai, Lanchow, Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Kweiyang and other important key cities were successfully liberated. Hunan, Suiyan, Sinkiang, Sikang, Yunnan and other

places were liberated by peaceful means.

The reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek bloc of traitors completely perished. Its remnants scuttled like rats to Taiwan Island which was under American armed protection.

In 1950 the Chinese People's Liberation Army liberated Hainan Island and the Chusan archipelago and began its victorious advance to Tibet. In May 1951 the Central People's Government signed an agreement with the delegates of the local government of Tibet on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. By now, the whole of China has been liberated, except for Taiwan which is still occupied by the American imperialists.

DEFEAT IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

In nearly four years of war, the People's Liberation Army annihilated over 8,070,000 Kuomintang troops; won more than 1,770,000 Kuomintang troops to revolt, cross over and accept reorganization; killed or took prisoner 1,668 high ranking Kuomintang army officers; captured over 50,000 pieces of artillery, over 300,000 machine guns, over 1,000 tanks and armored cars, over 20,000 motor vehicles and all kinds of other weapons and equipment. It is clear that this result is no small matter for American imperialism.

It was not accidental that Chiang

Kai-shek, running dog of American imperialism, met such a swift and disastrous doom. This is the inevitable end of reactionaries who ignore the will and strength of the people. It is the inevitable end for adventurers who see only the temporary, superficial strength of their own armed forces, and cannot see their own political isolation and therefore act against the people. This is the long overdue verdict of history on the twenty-two years of the Chiang Kai-shek blood-thirsty reactionary rule and on a century and more of the bloody, reactionary rule of the imperialists in China.

But the liberation war of the Chinese peoples is not completely ended, because, as already mentioned, Taiwan Province, the territory of the People's Republic of China, has not yet been liberated. In June 1950, the American aggressors announced their armed control of our Taiwan, at the same time as they started their brutal armed intervention against Korea. This is the same barbarous, shameless aggression as the seizure of North-East China in 1931 by Japanese imperialism. But the heroic Chinese people will certainly liberate Taiwan from the hands of American imperialism and enable their 6,700,000 compatriots in Taiwan to return to the bosom of their great Motherland.

Actually, American imperialist aggression against Taiwan is only a part of the entire American plot

of armed aggression against our country. The real objective of the American aggression against Korea is to threaten our North-East through Korea, and, whenever possible, for the American aggressive army to invade our country from there as Japanese imperialism did before. In October 1950, the American aggressive army in Korea marched brazenly toward the borders of our country, to the banks of the Yalu River and the vicinity of the Tumen River. American airplanes bombed and strafed the North-eastern borders of our country, inflicting loss of life and property on our fellow countrymen. Under this grave menace, the people of our country, by means of volunteer forces, could not but resist the American aggression, aid Korea, protect our homes and our country and fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army against the American aggressors.

Our people's volunteer forces are displaying the greatest heroism and valor on the anti-aggression front in Korea. Despite the overwhelming superiority of the American aggressors in terms of airplanes, tanks and artillery, despite difficulties caused by atrocity bombings by the American airforce, the Chinese people's volunteers and the Korean People's Army have won great victories in five campaigns since they began to fight shoulder to shoulder on October 25, 1950. From that time until June 3, this year, the Korean Peo-

ple's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers have annihilated over 193,000 enemy troops, including over 98,000 American aggressor troops.

The initial frantic plan of the American aggressors to occupy North Korea and invade our North-East was smashed, and MacArthur, the notorious arch-criminal of American aggression in the East, was dismissed after this defeat. Apart from withdrawing from Korea, the American army of aggression can find no other solution. Without doubt, the heroic Chinese people will certainly assist the Korean people to repulse aggression so as to safeguard the security of the North-eastern borders of China, and we can certainly fulfil this glorious task.

Victory in the Chinese people's war of liberation has changed the fate of the Chinese people and has changed their international status. The Chinese people are exerting all their strength to consolidate their national defenses and will not allow imperialist aggressors to do as they please on Chinese territory as they did during the past century or more. The Chinese people will certainly make the foreign governments respect their territorial sovereignty and proper interests, and, most certainly, will not tolerate American imperialist invasion of Taiwan and Korea, schemes for signing a separate peace with Japan and military occupation and rearming of Japan. At this moment the American imperialists should especially review the

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history of how Chiang Kai-shek, whom they armed and commanded, was thoroughly defeated by the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Since the American imperialists have not yet

learned the lesson they should have learned, the Chinese people will certainly make any adventurer who follows the example of Chiang Kai-shek suffer the same ignominious end.

Czechoslovakia: Building Socialism and the New Man

By A. Krchmarek

GIANT STRIDES are being made in the transformation of Czechoslovakia. Each year the original plans for industrial development are sharply revised upward and ever more ambitious perspectives are raised. Thus, the original plans for increasing production to be achieved in the five-year plan, scheduled to end in December, 1953, will be realized in many important industries by the end of 1951, and the entire plan will be fulfilled far ahead of schedule.

In comparison with pre-war capitalist production, the overall industrial production at the end of 1950 was 80 per cent higher per capita of population. The greatest advances were made in basic industries, especially in the engineering and machine building sectors, and the final quotas for 1953 were sharply raised. Production of tractors, to cite one example, is today sixty times greater than pre-war.

At the same time, the production of consumer goods shows a remarkable growth. The increase in 1950

over 1937 is indicated in the following typical items: electricity 260 per cent, railroad passenger cars 465 per cent, motorcycles 554 per cent, textiles 333 per cent. In 1950 the consumption of meat was 128 per cent greater than that of 1936, 181 per cent greater in flour and 116 per cent greater in sugar. Such figures mirror the material progress that is taking place in the well-being of the entire people. This is the real reason for the deep antagonism of the reactionaries, foreign and domestic, to the People's Democracies.

Of decisive importance in the tremendous headway being made by the People's Democracies is the fact that they have drawn on the vast experience of the Soviet Union. And the completion of the Soviet five-year plan in four years and three months with the consequent raising of the level of production by 73 per cent over 1940, serves as a further inspiration and guide for their own efforts. It demonstrates that they are on the right road.

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become fully established and antagonistic classes, waging a sharp struggle against each other, have disappeared. The people of the U.S.S.R. are now engrossed in the mighty task of laying the foundations for achieving the highest form of social order—the Communist society. In our lifetime they are putting into effect Marx's prophetic words of the emergence of man out of the animal kingdom and beginning his history as man, the master of nature.

In the process of clearing the path through the jungle and gaining their own emancipation, the Soviet people and their Communist Party have accumulated knowledge and experience in concretely applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to the enormous tasks that history has placed upon the working class of this period. Out of their rich experience there has emerged the historic confirmation of the fundamental propositions of Marxist principles. There have emerged crystal clear the laws of social change for all who want to see, to learn and to understand.

All the problems encountered by the Soviet people in building Socialism in their country are also faced by those countries which have embarked on the same path. The experience of the People's Democracies in the recent period has fully confirmed this fact. This is true as regards the sharpening of the class struggle in the period of transformation, and the increased desper-

ate actions of the defeated classes; the efforts by the enemy to penetrate the Party, state and economic organizations; the struggle to overcome enemy ideology, and the setting in motion of the mass initiative of the working people, etc.

And if today the People's Democracies are making enormous strides forward in the rapid building of a solid base for Socialism with a minimum of hardships and mistakes, and rapidly overcoming all obstacles, it is precisely because they have drawn heavily and unhesitatingly on the rich storehouse of experience accumulated by the Soviet Union in meeting just these problems. Because the Chinese people built up their own powerful Communist Party as their vanguard, and under its leadership found the correct path of struggle, they have won such a magnificent victory in ridding themselves of the imperialists and their agents, a victory that has shaken the imperialist world to its very foundation.

So it is also that the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial world find not only the courage and the inspiration, but also the practical and theoretical know-how in waging a successful struggle for their national independence against the imperialist oppressors. And because the people of Korea have also learned these lessons well, they are emerging in their hour of agony as a hero nation fighting for its independence against the combined power of the

largest imperialist countries.

The capitalist world views with extreme antagonism the close and friendly association of the People's Democracies with the Soviet Union; it is fearful of their rapid progress in building Socialism following the example of the Soviet Union. But the People's Democracies have learned to block successfully the activities of the enemy and his agents, internal and external. They have learned to recognize unflinching the face of the enemy agents within their ranks. The capitalist spokesmen speak with hatred, venom and ridicule of the close alliance of the people's regimes with the U.S.S.R. They argue and plead, as Henry Wallace did in his letter to Mao Tse-tung, that they should "stand up" to the Soviet Union, they should assert their "independence," etc. Thus, Wallace held up his hero, the infamous Tito, as an example of such "independence."

But that is exactly the point. The people of the new democracies are fully conscious of the fact that they have real independence such as these countries had never known before, nor could ever have under capitalist domination. They rule their own countries without dictation from a foreign power. In gaining and in maintaining their freedom they have the most friendly and unselfish help and cooperation of the Soviet Union—moral, material and political. They know only too well that their independence would be short-lived in-

deed in this period of intense imperialist aggression without a firm alliance with the mighty Soviet state.

Today the working people of the new democracies are bending their energies, their material and spiritual resources for the historic task of building Socialism. Each year they are stepping out more boldly and confidently along this path; they are registering immense successes in the construction of their social and economic structure. The working people are thrilled with their growing strength, with the healthy ripple of the muscles of the young giant they are nurturing. But they need time and peace. They have no thought, no desire for war, now or ever. They hate war and everything it stands for; they have themselves experienced the horrors of war and of Nazi occupation. Here too, they find as the champion of world peace, as the unflinching leader and fighter for peace, the Soviet Union and its great leader Joseph Stalin. The consciousness of the common danger that threatens all mankind, the burning desire to get on with their own peaceful efforts in building a new and better life, all these things bind them in an unshakeable alliance of friendship with the Soviet Union. It cannot be otherwise.

THE PROBLEM OF IDEOLOGY

The states of People's Democracy which have arisen in Europe are a form of the dictatorship of the pro-

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letariat and perform its functions. State power is exercised by the working class in alliance with other classes. The People's Democracy wields its power to execute basic changes in the ownership of the means of production, in the nationalization of basic industries, banking, etc., in putting into effect economic and political measures aimed at creating the conditions for a rapid advance to Socialism in both the city and the countryside. It crushes the efforts of the old ruling classes at counter-revolution. In this sense the victory, by and large, of the working class over the internal class enemy has been assured in the People's Democracies.

But the achievement of this victory does not yet mean that the working people have already become fully imbued with a Socialist consciousness and understanding. The ideology of the old society still continues to exercise a strong hold on the minds of the people. The experience of both the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies has clearly demonstrated that the changes in the peoples' consciousness do not keep pace with the fundamental changes in their material conditions of social existence. A definite gap remains for an extended period of time between the one and the other. Marx recognized this fact when he stated that the habits and traditions of the dead past weigh like an Alp on the minds of the living.

The old traditions, bourgeois ideol-

ogy, bourgeois habits and attitudes continue to influence the minds of the people for a long time. This fact is true not only for the People's Democracies but also to a limited degree even for the Soviet Union, after more than 33 years of Soviet power. Thus, the Soviet writer, S. Kovalev, states:

The capitalist order, which gave birth to the bourgeois ideology, is in the relatively distant past for our people. In the U.S.S.R. capitalism has been liquidated in both the foundation and the superstructure; a new Socialist foundation and its accompanying superstructure has been created. On the basis of a Socialist order the consciousness of the masses is unfolding and is strengthening Socialist ideology.

Nevertheless, remnants of the old ideology still remain concealed in the consciousness of the people. They are expressed in a careless attitude to work, in survivals of private ownership psychology, in outmoded bourgeois morals; survivals of capitalism are nationalism, cosmopolitanism, bourgeois bureaucracy, a bureaucratic attitude to the interests of the people, idealistic views, religious superstitions and prejudices.

He further emphasizes:

It does not mean that with the victory of Socialist ideology we have finished with the survivals and vestiges of the old bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, with the old outlook, morals and habits. Remnants of bourgeois ideology still exist in the Soviet society. In this fact is disclosed the general law of the lagging of people's

consciousness behind their social manner of life.*

The problem of the influence of bourgeois ideology is of course vastly greater in those countries which have but recently freed themselves from capitalist rule and exploitation. The minds of masses of the people are still steeped in the prejudices and attitudes of capitalist ideology, which finds direct expression in their everyday life and activity and serves as a powerful brake on the building of the new society. This problem must be tackled without delay and a persistent day-to-day fight made for the minds of the masses as a part of the fight for Socialism. The building of the new society cannot become the task of, and be accomplished by a relatively small number of convinced Marxists. If it is to be done at all it must be the work of the masses of the working people of the country. The building of the material conditions of Socialist production must be accompanied by the building of the new man, the Socialist man—imbued with a Socialist ideology. The Soviet writer F. V. Konstantinov posed this question as follows:

“ . . . The building of Socialism calls for great, constantly increasing mighty activity on the part of the masses, for creative initiative, unwavering devotion to the cause of Socialism, self-sacrifice, enthusiasm, heroism, fortitude, discipline, perseverance and persistence in pursuit of

a great aim, in overcoming the difficulties that lie in the path of that aim, in short, it calls for high Socialist, Communist consciousness.” The job of building Socialism therefore cannot be the concern of only a small group of people but rather this task “requires that the wills of the millions be united into a single, conscious will directed toward the achievement of a single great aim—Communism.”

THE DECISIVE ROLE OF THE PARTY

Who can move the masses and inspire them, lead them, and instill this consciousness, determination and unity? Konstantinov also answers this question: “This singleness of will of millions can be and is being secured only under the authoritative and tried leadership of the Communist Party, which is strong by virtue of the discipline and unity of its ranks, of its inseverable connection with the masses of the working people, by virtue of its theory, of its knowledge of the laws governing the building of Communism. The Communist Party is the inspirer, organizer, leader and teacher of the Soviet people, and their educator in the spirit of Communist consciousness.”*

This role of the Communist Party is being tested now in the People's Democracies as the effec-

* *Bolshevik*, Moscow, U.S.S.R., January 1951.

* *The Role of Socialist Consciousness in the Development of Soviet Society*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, U.S.S.R., 1951, pp. 35-36.

tive leader of the masses in building Socialism. One of the immediate important tasks confronting the Communist Parties in the People's Democracies is not only the maintenance of the power in the hands of the working class and its allies, but also the rapid and extensive expansion of production in every field, but especially in the basic industries and in agriculture. This demands the mobilization of the broadest masses of the working people and unleashing the great reservoir of initiative, inventiveness and imagination lying dormant in the people. An entirely new attitude to labor must be cultivated on a mass scale, and a sharp struggle waged against passivity inherited from the old society.

For this it is necessary to break the hold of the capitalist ideology on the minds of the masses. The people must be won to an understanding and appreciation of their new role in society, their responsibility as the managers of production. Human labor now becomes a matter of honor and glory for every individual. Labor, which in former societies was looked down upon, despised by the ruling classes, now is raised as the highest duty of every citizen. Not the idler, but the worker is the hero of the people.

Man takes the raw materials provided by nature and with his labor he fashions and adapts them to satisfy his needs and desires. Labor has created the human being, it sets him

aside and raises him above the animal kingdom. It is the basis of his existence and development. The founders of Marxism have placed man in a clear focus in relation to this question.

Both Lenin and Stalin emphasized time and again that the workers will get rid of their old concepts, their old outworn ideas and acquire a new outlook and a new ideology, not simply by the passage of time, but rather in direct personal participation in the practical struggle for the realization of Socialism and Communism. It is precisely in the day-to-day practical struggle of building Socialism that there also must be waged the practical, systematic struggle for the mind of the masses, a struggle for the creation of the new man with a Socialist ideology.

It is not by accident, therefore, that in all the countries of the People's Democracy, the center of emphasis, the center of life and of the activities of the people is the shop, the mill, the mine, the workshop and the farm cooperative. In Czechoslovakia the medical and dental services are being steadily reorganized so that they are based upon a given shop or enterprise, and the medical staff has the workers and their families as their "practice." The dental and medical clinic is in the office of the shop itself, and service is organized so that there is a minimum waiting period for the patient.

The same trend applies in all directions. Since large numbers of

women are now entering industries, the largest and the best equipped nurseries and child services are organized directly in connection with the shops. The same principle is true for youth and sports activities. The Sokol organization, which was formerly a stronghold of bourgeois control, has now radically changed its character. All the sports and physical culture activities have been unified under its auspices. To broaden its base it now centers its efforts to organize sports and physical culture on the shops, workshops and farm cooperatives. Its membership has grown from 550,000 in 1947 to more than a million in 1951, and is still growing.

The vast increase in the field of cultural activities finds its best expression, and results are greatest when directed to the working-class centers of activity. Musical groups, choruses, ensembles, orchestras, etc., are sponsored and organized on a shop basis. The artists and the writers are finding inspiration for their creative work in the enthusiasm and the work of a people building a new life, building Socialism.

The working people take an active, direct part in the solution of every problem, big and little, local and national. This includes the problems of fulfilling the economic plan, the productivity of labor, the functioning of the wage fund, the problems of shop management, the establishment of nurseries, the problems of the Socialist construction of

the countryside, the fight for peace, etc. These problems are not relegated to some committee but are brought to the masses themselves. Weaknesses and shortcomings develop precisely where the problems are not brought to the masses and solved with their participation.

This is not an automatic process, however, and it is necessary to fight every inch of the way for the involvement of the masses. The passivity left over from bourgeois society is still a powerful factor and must be overcome in the course of daily activities. For a period of time there appears a reluctance to make decisions and hesitancy to shoulder responsibility. These are all earmarks of the continuing capitalist heritage and influence, and the Party wages a constant battle to overcome them. In this struggle compulsion is forbidden and all emphasis is placed on educational actions, to convince and to win the people for an understanding of their role as masters of their own society. It is here also that the sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism is skillfully utilized and proves its sharpness and effectiveness.

In the process of collective work, in the practical work of building Socialism, people learn to free themselves from the old capitalist ideology, from the crippling anti-social concepts, from the lone wolf individualism, from passivity. They begin to take on a new social conception, a Socialist ideology.

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PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR

The decisive importance of the new attitude to labor is revealed in another problem. One of the basic elements in the building of Socialism, in the victory of Socialism over capitalism, is the rapid development of the productivity of labor on a scale undreamed of under capitalism. Under the new society it is not enough to bring about a vast expansion of productive facilities, important as that is; of equal and even greater importance is the question of the rapid, consistent reduction in the costs of production, in the increased efficiency of labor—the increased productivity of labor. This must be achieved in order to guarantee the rising abundance of material wealth to fill the needs of the Socialist society.

To increase the productivity of labor it is necessary not only to develop new and better tools of production; it means the better utilization of the tools at hand, the mastery of the technique of the machine, the better organization of the labor process—the development of new and better methods of work. This cannot be simply the concern of a few "efficiency experts," as practiced under capitalism. It demands the unfolding on a truly mass scale of the initiative, the inventiveness and the creative imagination of the workers themselves. The worker must now become the master of the machine in the fullest sense of the word, and

not simply be a machine tender as in the old society.

Of utmost importance in the People's Democracies is the shock worker movement which has begun to assume mass proportions. It is patterned on the Stakhanovite movement which has produced such tremendous results in the Soviet Union. The shock worker is not only one who accepts a definite quota, or norm, and fulfills it; he is a worker who surpasses his norm consistently by a considerable margin over an extended period of time. For example, James Svoboda, a young machinist in Prague, fulfilled his production quota for the five-year plan in one year. He combined a series of operations performed by five men and five machines, now performs these operations himself, and increased production from 200 pieces a week by five men, to 490 pieces a week by himself alone. In the Soviet Union Pavel Bykov, also a machinist, not only fulfilled his quota in the five-year plan which ended in March 1951, but surpassed it so much ahead of time that he is now working on his 1952 quota. The Bykovs and the Svobodas are now legion. This is the type of people who are national heroes, leaders in a great historic movement to serve the nation and the people.

The number of shock workers are growing fast; tens and hundreds of thousands of new workers are being involved. The movement is gaining momentum like a tidal wave, sweep-

ing ever greater numbers of new, confident, enthusiastic builders of Socialism in its victorious advance. The shock workers are the highest paid people in the nation. The reward for labor is based on the Socialist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." This principle is strictly adhered to, and forms the basis of wage payments. In increasing their ability to produce, the workers are not only advancing the interests of society as a whole, but are benefitting directly by increasing their own income.

The Stakhanovite and the shock worker movements represent the growth of Socialist ideology among numbers of the workers. It calls for intellectual effort, the study of new techniques of production, new methods of work, new inventions. It presupposes a level of imagination and mass enthusiasm, such as are unthinkable under capitalism. It actually represents the evolution of a new kind of person, of a higher type of social being. This new man is being moulded and fashioned in the heat of the practical execution of the tasks in the building of Socialism and Communism. It marks a new page in the development of mankind.

The movement to increase the productivity of labor is an essential and permanent feature of Socialism. However, in the early stages there also develops another, more or less temporary, form of labor activity, the brigade or voluntary form of collective labor. This is a form of labor in

which people pledge to give a certain number of hours of their time, over and above their regular hours of employment, for needed tasks. Such voluntary labor was widely exercised to repair the damage caused by the war, and to eliminate bottlenecks that developed in various fields of production. At present it is still an important element in the activation of the entire people around the tasks of Socialist construction.

At harvest time, for example, brigades of urban workers go into the countryside to help the farmers complete the harvest speedily. Brigades of shop workers help the farmers also by repairing their tractors and farm machinery. The farm people in turn help out on industrial projects, especially where bottlenecks appear. Old antagonisms between the city and country disappear, and a new feeling of friendship and cooperation develops.

The youth have taken to brigade activities with particular enthusiasm; they have undertaken responsibility for the construction of a number of important projects in the People's Democracies. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, in two years time they built an entire railroad—laid the roadbed and the tracks, dug the tunnels, built bridges over rivers and valleys. They have built entire model villages in the farm areas. Now they are engaged in the construction of a great hydro-electric project on the Vague river in Slovakia that will generate power for the new indus-

tries now being constructed. Tens of thousands of farm and city youth thus take part in collective work as a part of fitting themselves into the new life.

Voluntary labor is also being widely used in the task of rebuilding and beautifying the cities and villages of the nation. For example, an overall plan has been designed for Prague; it includes the most careful preservation and reconstruction of historic structures, architecture, statuary, etc. Sections of the city bearing the landmarks of its thousand-year history will be preserved in toto. Ugly eyesores inherited from the capitalist order will be removed, and a Socialist Prague will arise. The short-term plan is projected for a period of fifteen years, and the long-term plan will be completed in forty years.

A dramatic example of this collective voluntary effort in the reconstruction of the city was given in this period in Czechoslovakia in the remaking of the Letenska Plain. This is a huge flat area on a bluff overlooking the city of Prague and was hardly more than a dump. Part of it was used for barracks for Nazi soldiers during the Occupation. A plan to remove this eyesore was drawn up and a call issued for volunteers. The remaking of this spot into a beautiful park and parade grounds took three months to accomplish, mostly in the wintertime. More than 175,000 people contributed more than 1,250,000 hours of voluntary labor. One housewife put in 400 hours

of work in the 3 months. On the edge of the park on the bluff overlooking the city, a giant statue of Stalin is being placed to be visible from every part of the city.

There are many similar projects throughout the city — parks, playgrounds, gardens in the courtyards of the old palaces now used for housing, etc. The people of Prague are participating in the task of building a more beautiful, a Socialist Prague with enormous enthusiasm. They are turning into a reality the legendary prophecy of Libuše "A city will arise here whose glory will touch the stars. . . ." Such a city is indeed in the process of realization. But in the building of their Socialist Prague, its citizens are accomplishing the equally important task—building the Socialist citizen.

The struggle to remove the dead hand of the past on the minds of the living penetrates into every field of practical and ideological activity. Thus, in all the countries of the People's Democracy there has taken place a profound revolution in the cultural field. In Czechoslovakia the school budget is ten times greater than in the pre-Munich days. It is reflected in the high working-class composition of the students in the higher institutions of learning. In 1950, there were 60,000,000 books published, a number ten times greater than before the war. These are books of high literary value; trash has no place on the shelves. A new

Socialist literature is developing; the attendance at the theatres and concerts has become a mass phenomena, a deep-going revitalization is taking place in the form and content of the cultural products and activities. They draw their strength and inspiration from the people.

The leading and decisive role in the guidance of these struggles and activities is exercised by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia under the leadership of Klement Gottwald. Whereas in the period of capitalism the Party concerned itself with agitation and leading the struggles against the capitalists, it now faces vastly different problems. Now it must give day to day practical guidance in the complex process of building the economic foundation of the new society. It must have detailed

command of the economic problems of the country. It is not enough to give general direction, issue general slogans. It is not enough to adopt a general policy, rather this policy must be worked out in its most concrete application, and practical guidance given in its execution in every phase of life.

This calls for a thorough ideological preparation of the entire mass of the Party membership. It necessitates a most intense and sustained campaign of ideological activity especially in the lower organizations of the Party. This task is being accomplished with a thoroughness and a success that is typical of the Party of the new, Leninist, type. This is the final guarantee in the victory of the working class and the people in their march to Socialism.

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Book Review

AN INSPIRING NOVEL OF NEGRO LIFE AND STRUGGLE

By Richard Walker

Iron City, by Lloyd L. Brown, *Masses and Mainstream*, New York, 1951, 255 pp., \$3.00, cloth; \$1.50 paper.

SINCE ITS publication in June, the novel *Iron City* by Lloyd L. Brown has received much favorable comment from readers. One reader, the great Paul Robeson, wrote to Mr. Brown: "This book gives one strength, hope, exaltation. It is grounded deep in the life of the Negro folk—with unforgettable, moving, heart-stirring people: Zach, Lonnie, Faulcon, Lucy Jackson, Rev. Buford. This is a book that moves to action in struggle for peace, liberation, and a decent America." And *Masses & Mainstream*, the magazine publishers who braved the risky field of book publishing to get off Mr. Brown's first novel, announce the appearance of a second printing.

Such a reception of a first novel by a Negro writer is unusual even under the most favorable conditions in the United States. There are few Negro authors whose works have been published by big established firms and circulated through their country-wide network of book dealers and other outlets. Needless to say, *Masses & Main-*

stream possesses no such connections. It is forced to rely mainly on direct mail orders, and on the few surviving and circumscribed distributors still available to Left-wing authors in this vaunted "free enterprise" system. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the widespread interest in Mr. Brown's novel.

Iron City is the story of a struggle to save the life of a young Negro victim of the system of Jim-Crow oppression and its weapon of legal lynching. It relates the experiences in this struggle of a number of people, mostly ordinary people, but a few—as we shall see—who are extraordinary. It offers a glimpse of the state of society and civilization in the United States on the eve of World War II. The central character is 23-year-old Lonnie James, who has been framed, convicted and sentenced to be hanged for the murder of a white businessman. Lonnie's efforts to establish his innocence and free himself, and the assistance he receives from his fellow "inmates," led by three Negro Communists, provide the action of the story. The main setting is the Monongahela County Jail, but through the experiences of Lonnie and his

friends in this prison, the reader is led on the outside into a number of Negro ghettos, and is introduced to many persons, representative of various strata of the Negro people. The time of the action is limited to a few months in 1941, but the reader is shown the entire life history of a number of the characters, including that of Lonnie and the three Communists — Paul Harper, Henry Faulcon, and Isaac L. Zachary.

The experiences in prison and the life stories of these four Negroes merge into the implicit theme of the novel: *the heroism, humanity and dignity of the ordinary Negro worker*. For each of these four is a worker: Paul, a steel worker; Zach, a railroad man; Faulcon, hotel waiter; and Lonnie, chipper in a steel mill. The strivings of these men, and of the heroic Negro women with whom they are associated, distill out into the deepest, most universal life experiences. Paul Harper's tender reverence for his bed-ridden but strong-willed father draws him, through an attempt to emulate the old man's courage and to be worthy of him, into an eviction struggle. This is the beginning of his conscious participation in the class struggles of the workers and the struggles of his people against Jim-Crow oppression. And this conscious participation leads him to the Communist Party, to the post of section organizer. Zach, the sharecropper lad, watches the trains and gradually nurtures an ambition which becomes the driving force of his life—a burning desire to drive a locomotive. Only white men drive locomotives in the United States of the first half of the 1900's. But Zach is not daunted, even by bullets fired into his back from ambush.

He is a man who never admits defeat. And he has a great love and a devoted mate—his wife, Annie Mae—beside whom he walks from railroad to railroad, from plant to plant and city to city, finding, at last, in a leaflet about a white railroad man running for President with a Negro man as his running mate, a new promise that someday Negroes, too, will drive locomotives. In this way Zach comes to the party of William Z. Foster and James W. Ford.

Henry Faulcon, the old waiter whose father before him had served the rich white folks for a lifetime, learned to discuss politics as a member of the Waiters Club. But it was while courting the sweet widow Lucy Jackson and helping her circulate petitions to free the Scottsboro Boys that Faulcon came to speak at a street meeting, and then to sign a Communist Party card. As for Lonnie, he was orphaned at the age of four. He had no relatives, no friends. He grew to manhood the hard way—each step a fight. Then, wanting so much to live, he was caught up in the police net which is stretched permanently around every Negro ghetto, and condemned to death.

It is in the prison that these four first meet and become acquainted. It is here that the real Lonnie shines through. Here in death row, with the impatient noose dangling before him, he refuses to accept the executioner's verdict. He lives and plays and thinks as if he would live forever. Again and again the fraudulent scales of Jim-Crow justice tip against him, but his will to live is indomitable. He is the most vibrant, life-loving person in the prison. As for the others, the towering Zach, steeled and disciplined against any and all adversities, maintains his imper-

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turbable dignity and the inviolateness of his person. Paul remains the resourceful and unbeatable organizer throughout. Imagine organizing from inside a prison a movement on the outside to free the condemned Lonnie! Yes, that was the task which the three Communists undertook. For "propaganda" purposes, as the scoffers declare? Would such men as Paul and Zach and Henry be moved to such exertions by such a motive? The very idea violates the logic of their lives and characters. It was to deprive the gallows of another innocent victim who was a member of their class and people. This was their motive. And they brought to their task the clearer consciousness and skill in struggle which they possessed as Communists.

Of course, there is an adversary against which these four protagonists struggle—many adversaries, in fact. But the chief adversary, for whom the hateful police, the stool-pigeons, the hard-eyed judges, the brutal prison guards, the lily-white misleaders of labor, the namby-pamby Negro opportunists, and even the executioner himself are but trained and paid retainers, this chief adversary is the arch oppressor, capitalism. It is capitalism, as typified by the big steel and coal company town, which sent twenty-six men and women to jail for "criminal syndicalism" because they tried to organize the workers; it is capitalism, typified by the big railroads that refused to let Negroes drive a locomotive, by the ritzy hotels which fete the rich with the underpaid labor of Negro servants, by the owners of ghetto slums, who will evict a hungry family at a snap of the finger; by the underworld of vice and dope and crime doing business with police protection

and a wink from the government; by the whole set-up of cops and judges and jails and gallows—the force and violence of the capitalist state. And above all, it is decaying capitalism in its brutal, anti-democratic essence—as a system of Jim-Crow oppression armed with the weapon of legal lynching. This is the adversary, the "arch villain" of the tale.

Out of the struggle between this adversary and the four protagonists emerges the world outlook, the basic philosophy of the novel. For in the course of this struggle, the four protagonists, especially the condemned Lonnie in whose behalf the others work so selflessly, point the way to victory, establish examples of individual behavior and collective struggle which not only promise success in freeing Lonnie, but also foreshadow the abolition of Jim-Crow oppression against all the Lonnies of the world. Yet, if the novel's conclusion leaves the reader in doubt concerning Lonnie's fate, if it fails to expel the fear that Lonnie was finally murdered by the state, it also carries the conviction that though Lonnie James might have been done to death, the multi-million other Lonnies can be saved. Moreover—a point of first-rate current importance—the reader understands that even Lonnie could have been saved if Lonnie's friends—the Communists—had not themselves been in prison, and unable to give their energies to Lonnie's defense. One point must be noted. Not sufficient attention is given by the author to the role which white Communists and workers play in mounting such a struggle, and this detracts from the presentation of a fully rounded picture of the process.

Such, in broad outline, are the main characters, the action and theme of *Iron City*. And in setting forth this content, the author has shown a mastery of his craft. It is a tale well told. Its credibility, or verisimilitude—as it is called by the teachers of writing—is heightened by the generous use of newspaper clippings, letters, and excerpts from prison regulations. The author is careful to locate the events in relation to world and national developments, which he does skillfully through the listing of items from the newspapers. The device of “flash-back” is used inconspicuously to relate the background of characters and events.

Iron City attains rare heights in craftsmanship particularly in two respects. The first of these is its sensitivity to the Negro people's idiom and to the sound of the language as Negroes speak it. This is a different thing altogether from the customary way of presenting the speech of Negroes as dialect, or as a kind of hodge-podge, distorted, ungrammatical English. The author of *Iron City* has caught the meaning of different tones and various inflections. And he uses them with all their connotations of humor, ridicule, bitterness and contempt. For this reason alone, *Iron City* will be infinitely richer in entertainment and significance for Negro readers than for the majority of whites, whose chauvinistic education has cut them off from many of the cultural treasures of other peoples. In this ability to represent faithfully the speech of the Negro people, the author of *Iron City* enjoys the company of only a handful of authors, the best known of whom is Langston Hughes.

In addition to this, Mr. Brown's craftsmanship is distinguished by a

prose that stems from the heart. It is a serious and careful prose, but at the same time a prose of passion. Chapter 12 of *Iron City*, relating the life of Zach, is as memorable and moving a piece of writing as can be found in the United States today.

II.

The publication of *Iron City* last June was a literary and political event of first-rate importance. The novel enters the ideological arena at a time when Wall Street capitalism and its government consciously pursue a policy of fascisizing the United States and organizing world war. On the battleground of ideas, the aim of this policy is to conceal and distort reality, to sow frustration and defeatism among the masses of the people, and to brutalize them in preparation for blood-baths of aggression against other peoples. It is also a desperately defensive policy, corresponding to the passing of imperialism from its position as the dominant force in world affairs and the sweeping advance of the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism. Hence, another aim of this policy is to delude the masses into believing in the permanence and beneficence of capitalism.

These aims are reflected in the current crop of chauvinist, obscurantist, and truth-defaming literature of the United States.

In all this heap of rubbish, capitalism employs a “big lie” as its central theme. This is the lie of anti-Communism, the lie that Communists are “foreign agents,” “traitors,” “spies,” and “enemies of the masses.” This fabrication, adopted as official government policy in the Truman Doctrine, has now been raised by the United States Su-

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preme Court to a status above that of the Constitution. It is basically a device aimed at the working class, at the fighters for peace and decency.

Iron City challenges this big lie head-on. It challenges the entire scheme of values which the war-bent, power-drunk billionaires of the United States are attempting to force upon the people. The heroes of *Iron City* are ordinary people, types familiar to all of us. They are workers. Some of them are Communists. By their example, we see ourselves more clearly. By their struggles, we learn the better how to conduct our own struggles. They re-affirm for us the essential validity of the human values of courage in the face of adversity, of respect and love for one's fellow, of devotion to an ideal, of kindness and modesty. They help us to appreciate the value of liberty, the better to fight for the preservation of the liberties we retain. They show us that no prison can hold the indomitable will of man to be free. "Son," said Zach, "we all can make it. All twenty-six of us, we can make fifty years if we has to. Just naturally wear this old place down. That's right, just naturally wear this old place down."

These heroes of *Iron City*, are they not in every Negro ghetto in the land? Think, reader, have you never known a Lonnie James, a Paul or Zach or Faulcon? Must a writer go begging for heroes? Are there not Willie McGees and Rosa Lee Ingrams in every jail, and workers and youth everywhere among us, who by their acts of selflessness and courage merit the writer's scrutiny? "We do not have to create the Promethean and Faustian types," said the Hungarian Cultural Minister Jozsef Revai at the recent first congress

of Hungarian writers. "Our heroes are neither Titans nor demi-gods. . . . Our heroes are actually the common working people. They are not faultless story-book heroes, but people who come from capitalism and are going to Socialism and in the process of transforming the world—transform also themselves." It is the special merit of the author of *Iron City* that he has given us heroes also engaged in transforming the world, and in the process transforming themselves. At a time when the literary output of the country is orientated to the tastes and viewpoints of the class and order which is dying, Mr. Brown has produced a work orientated on the needs and struggles of the class and order which is destined to achieve supremacy. While others write of death and the old, Mr. Brown writes of life and the new.

Another of the special reasons for a close study of *Iron City* is that it joins issue not only with the ideological weapons of the billionaires in general, but particularly with the weapon with which the billionaires strive to destroy the culture of the Negro people. This weapon manifests itself as a flight from the realities of Negro life, even from Negro themes, Negro speech and Negro characters, by a school of Negro writers and intellectuals. The spokesmen of this school include many teachers of writing as well as a number of successful writers, such as Hugh M. Gosler, a faculty member of Hampton Institute and author of the book, *Negro Voices in American Fiction*. These spokesmen represent such Negro writers as Frank Yerby, Ann Petry, Dorothy West and Willard Motley as models for the aspiring Negro writer, because these authors have consciously avoided

Negro themes and presented "non-Negro subjects."

In an examination of the ideas of this school of thought, Mr. Brown himself (*Masses & Mainstream*, March, 1951) has shown the inevitable tendency of such writers to formalism, and to effort inspired by no higher purpose than that of securing "cake and Cadillac money." But the most destructive consequences of such writing go far beyond those affecting the individual writers concerned. This kind of writing is actually a grovelling before the whims, tastes and prejudices of the white supremacist billionaires. It is acceptance of the white supremacists' estimate of cultural and human values. Richard Wright's Bigger Thomas and the swashbuckling "heroes" of Frank Yerby are ideological brothers: both conform to the billionaires' concept of protagonists. But are the fear-crazed Negro murderer and the women-chasing, trigger-happy adventurer to be the heroes of the Negro people? What have these "heroes" to teach about life, about reality as the masses of Negroes experience it? What deeds of genuine heroism and humanity do they inspire? And to persist in the creation of such characters, is this not to turn one's back on the struggle of one's people, to betray them and to betray one's own values? What is more, as for the exaggerated emphasis on form, is the best of the Yerby brand of writing truly sound craftsmanship? Or is it not merely a schooled facility which any hack can acquire with practice, but which can never hold or inspire by its beauty and power? And is not this because it is passionless writing, me-

chanical word-mongering, devoid of the deep feeling that alone can animate a style and transform phrases and sentences into truly stirring prose?

Iron City is a conclusive refutation of all the views of this theory of writing. It demonstrates that a Negro writer seriously concerned with his art can produce works of lasting literary value, not by consciously avoiding the realities of his people's lives, but by studying and exposing these realities. It has the courage to reject the white supremacist billionaires' version of what is good and what is not good about the Negro people and Negro culture. It projects the Negro people as they are, and not as the billionaires wish them to be represented.

From all this, it seems clear that *Iron City's* growing popularity is well-deserved. It comes as rich food to the starving, who have long been deprived of such material. It sets a high standard for all aspiring writers, and especially for Negro writers. It can be a useful and powerful instrument for the education of the working masses in the United States—for their education in the class struggle and in respect to the Negro people.

A word should here be said in praise of the book's publishers. It is to be hoped that the publication of *Iron City* has provided sufficient revenues to allow this monthly magazine to undertake other works of merit. But for their initiative, it is doubtful if *Iron City* would have reached the people at this time. Its readers will readily understand what a loss to the fight for peace and liberty that would have been.

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