

# political affairs



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*A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism*

Editor: HERBERT APTHEKER

## On Party Youth Work\*

By Hyman Lumer

IN THE MOMENTOUS struggle for peace, democracy and social progress taking place today, the youth of our country occupy a uniquely important position. Hence they are a vital element of the mass base of any working-class or socialist organization, not least of the Communist Party. The Party cannot wage successfully the fight for progress and socialism without striving to win a solid base among the youth, and without a continual influx of young people into its ranks.

The dissolution of the Labor Youth League and the subsequent abandonment of attention to youth work were among the worst consequences of the crisis through which the Party has just passed. For a considerable period of time, there has been a virtually complete void in this field of activity—a void which is only now beginning to be filled. For this serious lag, the Party leadership at all levels must accept full responsibility.

Today there are mounting indications of a revival of the mass youth movement, and with this of a growing interest of young people in progressive and Communist views, as well as in the lands of socialism. Accompanying these developments, there has been a growth of mass activity among Party youth, and a growing interest in and movement towards the re-establishment of a Marxist youth organization. Much of the discussion on youth organization, however, has been unrelated to current mass struggles and developments in the mass youth movement, and therefore has tended to be rather abstract. This is indicative of the continued isolation of the bulk of the youth in and around the Party from most of these experiences.

What is required at this point is an examination of the status of the youth movement and of youth work generally, and the working out of a Party policy and program in this field. The specific problems of youth organization need to be viewed in relation to this over-all picture. This report undertakes to deal with these

\* This article is based upon a Report presented to the National Committee, CPUSA, on April 26, 1959. The Report, and its proposals, were adopted unanimously.—Ed.

questions. It is, however, in no sense exhaustive or final; in particular, it makes no effort to present the kind of detailed study and analysis of attitudes, activities and trends among American youth which a full examination of youth work requires. This still remains to be done.

### PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

It is necessary, in the first place, to consider the specific nature of the problems of youth today. For, even though in a capitalist society these remain basically the same, they have undergone a number of significant changes since the thirties and the days of World War II. Here we can only touch on some of them.

For one thing, there has been a considerable rise in the proportion of youth attending school beyond the age of 16. From 1920 to 1950, the proportion of 16 year-old youth in school rose from 51% to 81%, of 17 year-olds from 35% to 68%, of 18 year-olds from 22% to 40%, and of 20 year-olds from 8% to 18%. Since 1950, there has been a further marked increase. This means that student youth today comprise a much larger part of the total youth population than they did 20 or 30 years ago, and that their problems assume correspondingly greater weight in the total picture.

At the same time, a large part of the teen-age youth, both in and out of school, are employed or seeking work, whether full-time or part-time. In October, 1956, for example,

some 2½ million in the 14-17 year age group had jobs—one-fourth of the total population in this age range. The main reason for their working is poverty. About 9½ million children in 1955 came from families whose cash income was less than \$40 a week, 2½ million of them from families with a cash income below \$10 a week. Some 700,000 were employed in agriculture, many along with their parents as migrant farm laborers.

This economic situation has not improved within the past few years. If there should be less teen-age youngsters employed today, it is not because their need is less but because there are less jobs. Indeed, it is the youth who have been hardest hit by the recent growth of unemployment. In the 14-17 year age group, the rate of joblessness in February, 1959 was 15% and that in the 18-24 year age group 14%, as against a national average of 7%. In the distressed areas—in cities like Detroit, Buffalo, Pittsburgh and many others, where chronic unemployment is rampant—the rate among young people is far higher than in the nation as a whole. For in these areas, because of seniority provisions in union contracts, it is only the older workers with many years of seniority who can count on having work.

In the under-20 age groups, the rate of joblessness remains much above average even in periods of peak employment. Here, among

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other things, there exist major problems of inadequate or perverted vocational guidance and job placement facilities, as well as the absence of suitable measures for helping to assure employment in decent jobs for young people entering the labor market.

Among Negro workers, the rate of unemployment as given by the official figures is more than double that among white workers. In many of the larger industrial centers, it ranges as high as 20-25%. Hence among Negro youth, if the age-group ratios characteristic of the nation as a whole are valid, unemployment ranges from about 30% to as much as 50%. This is truly a problem of alarming proportions—and a much neglected problem on our part.

Today, the problem of jobs is once more coming to the fore among American youth. Not only among Negro youth, but in the distressed areas among youth generally, the problem is already acute. And the effects of unemployment are more severe today than in periods like the thirties, for there has taken place a lowering of the average age of marriage, and in the present period many more young adults are married people with families and with economic problems approximately those of adults rather than of youth. In addition, large sections of the unemployed youth, entering the labor market for the first time, are totally ineligible for unemployment compensation.

Another serious problem is the deepening crisis in education. To be sure, a very critical situation developed during the depression of the thirties, but what is particularly noteworthy about the crisis today is its growth during a period of relative prosperity. In this respect, it offers a striking testimonial to the inability of modern American capitalism, which can "afford" not only some 40-odd billions for armaments but clamors for still more, to provide an educational system at all adequate for the needs of our youth.

There exists today, says Senator James E. Murray of Montana, a shortage of 140,000 classrooms and 135,000 teachers. The shortage is growing, not shrinking, while federal aid to education kicks around in Congress year after year and gets nowhere. And in our colleges and universities, tuition fees, already at astronomical levels, continue to go up amid anguished complaints of college administrators that even such fees fall far short of meeting their financial needs.

Nor does the existing system of scholarships meet the problem, for these go not to working-class youth but mainly to those of middle-class families. A recent survey covering 200 colleges shows that the average yearly income of families of scholarship recipients is \$7,500, as against a national average of \$5,000. One-third had incomes exceeding \$8,000 a year. According to Rexford G. Moon, Jr., director of the College

Scholarship Service, the nation is now being deprived of the talents of 150,000 able youth each year from the low-income groups.

The deterioration of our educational system has been proceeding over a period of many years. But since the advent of Sputnik and the opening of the eyes of many Americans to the remarkable accomplishments of the Soviet educational system, it stands out more glaringly than ever.

As for the segregated educational facilities available to Negro youth, so flagrant a national scandal have these become that it is scarcely necessary here to dwell on their gross inferiority not only in the South, but in the North as well. But what should be noted is that if a general process of deterioration is going on, this process is all the more pronounced in the facilities for Negro students. Such, in brief, are some of the main problems facing American youth today. There are, of course, other important problems, not least among them the persistent plague of juvenile delinquency. We shall not, however, attempt to deal with these here.

#### STATUS OF YOUTH MOVEMENT

The depression of the thirties witnessed a tremendous democratic upsurge of the youth and the development of a movement of great breadth and power—a movement

extending through the thirties and into the war years. It was during the thirties, a period when the working class was on the move and organized labor made great strides forward with the formation of the CIO, that there came into being the American Youth Congress, a federation whose component organizations in 1938 numbered no less than 11 million members.

It was during this period, too, that the Young Communist League blossomed forth, growing from 3,000 members in 1933 to 22,000 in 1939. The YCL was an influential force in the mass youth movement. Outstanding among its accomplishments was its leadership in the winning of the American Youth Congress from the control of the pro-fascist elements who initiated it for their own ends, and its conversion into a mass democratic organization. The upsurge of the thirties included the South, where it was reflected, among other things, in the emergence of the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

The postwar period—the years of cold war and McCarthyism, as well as of relative prosperity—saw a sharp decline in the youth movement. In 1953, according to a study by the National Social Welfare Agency, less than 1% of young adults (and these predominantly middle-class) were reached by the educational programs of the major youth organizations. The main reasons given for lack of interest were preoccupation

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with personal problems and the negative impact of the then prevailing atmosphere. Among teen agers, organized activities were very largely reduced to the "keep them out of trouble" level, although a minimal amount of struggle continued through such organizations as YMCA, YWCA and NAACP youth groups, and there were expressions of opposition to war and the draft.

But today a fresh upsurge is beginning to take place in the youth movement—an upsurge of which the evidences are rapidly multiplying. American youth is once more on the move, and not in the direction of the Beatniks but in that of social awareness and struggle.

Of this, the most conspicuous evidence is the movement which has developed around the Youth March on Washington. The outpouring of

more than 26,000 young people, both Negro and white, in Washington on April 18, together with the collection of some 400,000 signatures on petitions, constitutes an unmistakable demonstration of the tremendous interest of American youth in this momentous struggle. But what

is even more significant is the widespread interest in moving toward some permanent form of mass organization of youth in this field of activity. For what the enormous response to the March indicates above all is the extensive pressure for united, organized movement and activity of Negro and white youth against discrimination and segregation,

and in defense of the Constitution.

A second area of wide and growing youth activity is the peace movement. Throughout the country, large numbers of young people are today involved in such activities through a variety of religious and pacifist organizations—through the Friends, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, church groups, and such organizations as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. And on many college campuses, student or student-faculty committees have been formed to fight for an end to nuclear tests and the outlawing of nuclear weapons. These activities are as yet scattered and uncoordinated—a feature of the peace movement as a whole—and the Left generally is unfortunately still remote from them. But they are clearly indicative of the potentialities for the building of a powerful mass youth movement for peace.

A third area, of increasingly acute concern, is the rise in unemployment. This situation has not spontaneously produced an organized movement of unemployed youth, nor, if left to itself, is it likely to do so. On the contrary, such young people, unfamiliar with the role and history of the labor movement, all too easily fall prey to anti-labor propaganda and are led to blame their plight on the unions. To such an extent has anti-union propaganda been effective among these young people that the United Steelworkers recently

was impelled to issue a pamphlet addressed to high school youth, undertaking to explain the real nature of the union.

There is no doubt, however, that given a program to fight for, the growing numbers of youth finding themselves, with no prospects of secure employment, will respond. In the thirties, the fight for a National Youth Act, one of the main activities of the American Youth Congress, offered such a rallying point. Today, the fight for a new National Youth Act, providing aid in education, vocational training and securing employment, unemployed benefits for young people entering the labor market and unable to find work, as well as other forms of assistance, would similarly serve as a basis for rallying youth in a mass movement for jobs.

Still another indication of a new spirit among youth is the intense interest in the World Youth Festival to be held in Vienna this summer. From all indications, it appears that a far broader and more representative American delegation will go to this Festival than has gone to any previous one. And such a delegation, on its return, is bound to have a strong impact in this country.

All these developments are beginning to have an effect on some of the existing national youth organizations. These have functioned chiefly as service organizations, providing recreational, cultural and educational activities of various kinds. Today, however, there are signs of change. A

noteworthy instance is the endorsement and active support of the Youth March by such conservative organizations as the National Student Association and the American Christian Youth Movement.

We shall not attempt here to make a detailed analysis and estimate of these various movements and currents among youth. At this juncture, we wish only to point to the vital importance of the initiative and participation of the Left for their future development.

The resurgence of the youth movement now in process represents the beginnings of a new awakening of a mass of American youth poisoned for the past decade by cold-war propaganda, intimidated into silence and a deadening conformity by the onslaughts of McCarthyism and corrupted by a period of relative prosperity to the philosophy of "getting it while the getting's good." The mounting struggle for Negro freedom, the continued threat of war and the disruption of their lives by the draft (now continued for another four years), the increasingly acute problem of jobs, the crisis in education—all these are contributing to a growing awareness and concern about social issues among widening sections of young people.

But this spontaneous movement, left to itself, can develop only in a limited, halting way. Without doubt, the political and organizational initiative of the Left will contribute greatly toward giving life and

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direction to the underlying sentiments impelling youth to action and transforming them into organized struggle. It is such initiative, for example, which is needed to realize the development of a coordinated peace movement among youth, capable of mass action on a national scale. And it is such initiative which is essential to the emergence of an organized struggle for jobs.

#### PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

The Party in particular has an obligation to be active in all democratic movements. It must become thoroughly involved in them, helping to give them direction and vitality, and putting forth its own independent position. Unfortunately, however, we have with some exceptions remained largely isolated and apart from them. What is needed today is to plunge the Party's forces unstintingly into these mass activities and into tackling the problems entailed in their further development. It is in the mass movements and struggles of the youth that the basis lies for organized youth activity in our ranks and for the building of progressive youth organizations. Indeed, these broad activities which are now developing have already given new life to youth groups in and around the Party, groups which had previously been drifting and inactive.

Above all, the Party, as a party of the working class, representing the

interests of all working people, should be in the forefront of such struggles. It is necessary particularly to emphasize the fact that youth work is the responsibility not of the Party youth alone but of the Party as a whole. For it is not youth alone who are involved in the mass struggles for the demands and needs of youth. Rather, adult initiative and leadership are essential features of such struggles, and in certain areas—the fight for better schools, for example—the movements are primarily movements of adult groups and organizations.

We must therefore put an end to the erroneous tendency to equate youth work with the work of the youth alone, which has too often characterized our approach in the past. On the contrary, it must be regarded as the task of the entire Party, and the necessary program and organizational apparatus must be established for carrying it on.

On the other side of the coin is the winning of youth itself as an ally of labor and progressive forces. Here we come to the question of youth activity and organization as such, and to the problem of filling the void which today exists in this aspect of youth work.

The Party has taken some initial steps, though admittedly very inadequate ones as yet, toward dealing with these responsibilities. Nevertheless, it must be said that the Party as a whole is still lagging very seriously in tackling these questions.

## STATUS OF LEFT YOUTH ORGANIZATION

The dissolution of the LYL left a chaotic situation. The bulk of its membership was dispersed. Some sought an alternative in the Trotskyite Socialist Youth Alliance, but with few exceptions these soon discovered the impossibility of working with Trotskyites and left these groups. A number formed independent, unguided study groups, whose studies were a veritable hodge-podge, embracing such subjects as existentialism, Titoism and Freudianism.

Among the Party youth in the LYL, some found their way into various Party clubs and into other fields of Party activity. Others, fewer in number, were organized into Party youth clubs. Still others left the Party and political activity, though some of these have remained as study groups, in some cases hostile to the Party. In one state the LYL did not dissolve but continued to exist, though changing its name and organizational form.

Today there exists a variety of organizational forms, Party and non-Party, Marxist and non-Marxist. Some districts have functioning youth commissions, usually consisting of both youth and adults. In a number of areas there are Party clubs. In some of these the membership is chiefly teen-age, but for the most part the clubs consist of young adults, many married and with families, and oriented away

from youth work. Most Party youth, however, are not in youth clubs.

A number of non-Party Marxist youth groups have sprung up, chiefly on college campuses. These, usually loose-knit and informal in character, have been devoted principally to discussion and education. An outstanding instance is the Student Committee on Progressive Education (SCOPE) in New York, which has organized Marxist classes enrolling over 100 students at a time. In fact, there is generally a wide and growing interest in Marxist education among youth.

There exist also a great variety of teen-age groups in different parts of the country, generally non-Marxist in character but under Marxist guidance or leadership. Some of these are choral groups; one is built around a summer camp; others are organized around other cultural or social activities. In varying degrees, they participate in political struggles—today to a wide extent in the Youth March. In one area, there is a pre-teen group consisting of youngsters 11-12 years of age.

In all of this profusion of groups and organizations, there exists little or no coordination, and no over-all program of youth work as a guide to activity. There are, to be sure, the beginnings of a youth page in the *Worker*, but this is as yet highly inadequate in content and scope. And there is a great diversity of opinions as to the direction which the progressive youth movement should take.

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Other Left youth organizations remain, on the whole, comparatively small and uninfluential. The Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance, which has paraded itself as a "united" youth organization and still publishes a newspaper, has only a handful of followers and has succeeded in obtaining a footing only on a few college campuses. For the most part, those attracted by it were soon repelled, some to become completely disillusioned and to drop out of political activity.

The YPSL, following the entrance of a group of Schachtmanite youth after the merger of the Schachtman group with the Socialist Party last year, has become very active in a number of areas and has begun to issue a newspaper, the *Challenge*. But its total membership and influence is small.

#### THE QUESTION OF A YOUTH ORGANIZATION

During the past year, considerable debate and activity have developed in relation to the question of re-establishment of a national Marxist youth organization, a question on which there exists a considerable divergence of opinion among the youth.

One section, consisting of Party youth, opposes the setting up of such an organization, maintaining that the work of Party youth should be carried on within the Party through an organizational apparatus based on Party youth clubs and possibly a

youth division. If a national youth organization is to be formed at all, it should be of a broader, non-Marxist character. Such views are prevalent among young adults, who see their future work as lying within the Party, as well as among a section of the teen-agers who are actively involved in non-Marxist teenage organizations and do not see these becoming part of a Marxist organization.

At the other extreme is a group which advocates the immediate formation of what they term a Marxist-Leninist youth organization, whose membership would be limited to those professing adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles—in short, a vanguard organization patterned pretty much after the Communist Party. A third section supports the formation of a Marxist type of youth organization, but believes it should be much broader in character, embracing not only youth in and close to the Party but a wider body of socialist-minded, Marxist-oriented youth as well. It is worth noting that the main, though by no means the only pressure for the formation of a Marxist youth organization of one kind or another comes from student groups.

These questions are, of course, of no small interest to the Party as a whole as well as to Party youth. For the path which is chosen at this critical juncture can either serve greatly to advance the struggle for progress and socialism among the youth or



seriously to set it back. Efforts to form a youth organization of a kind for which there is actually no place or need would only create added obstacles to progress in this sphere.

In our opinion, there is a definite need for a socialist youth organization today. This need is underlined and made increasingly acute by the revival of a mass youth movement, which more and more makes painfully evident the absence of any national youth organization which fights unyieldingly and unequivocally against the corruption and debasement of the youth by the American ruling class. The youth have many burning problems — unemployment, the threat of war, the high cost and inadequacy of education, discrimination and others—which demand answers that only a socialist organization can give. What is needed particularly is a type of organization which is able to reach out to the growing numbers of youth who, in the course of their struggles, begin to look, in however confused a way, to socialism as the answer to their problems. What is needed is an organization which, in the course of participation in active struggles, educates such youth as to the nature of socialism and on developments in the socialist countries.

Hence we should do everything possible to encourage those who seek the formation of a nation-wide socialist youth organization, dedicated to mobilizing the working and student youth of America for struggle

for the immediate demands of youth and to educating young people in the spirit of socialism. And we should support those who, in seeking to form such an organization, are guided by the following principles:

1. The organization should be broad in its popular appeal and should seek to establish united front relations and activities with other youth organizations of a progressive character.

2. Its principles of organization should be broad, flexible and democratic. It should admit into its ranks both Communist youth and other Marxist-oriented and progressive young people who are interested and wish to participate in any of its activities and in learning about its program and teachings.

3. It should be based on solidarity and cooperation with a) all struggles of the American working class for its economic interests and its democratic and trade union rights, b) all struggles of the Negro people for full equality and the eradication of all forms of racism and discrimination. It should be devoted to militant struggle to safeguard and extend constitutional liberties and the progressive democratic traditions of our country.

4. It should maintain friendly, cooperative relations with organizations of the working class, including its Marxist vanguard.

5. It should have a positive attitude to the socialist countries, and should work for East-West friendship. It

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should also have a positive attitude to and seek the closest fraternal relations with the socialist and progressive youth organizations of other countries.

6. It should be based on solidarity and friendship with peoples throughout the world and support for all people's struggles for independence and liberation from imperialist domination.

These ideas, it should be noted, are not new. These are the kind of principles on which socialist youth organization has been based on past occasions. We believe they are valid for today. What is needed, of course, is a much fuller study of the history of past youth organizations, and the lessons to be learned from their experiences. Such a study will no doubt be made by those concerned with the problems of establishing a new organization.

We cannot accept the premises of the "Call to Youth" which appeared in *Political Affairs* for April, 1958, as the basis for forming a youth organization. To be sure, it represents an initiative at a time when there was considerable ideological controversy in our ranks and when the Party was almost totally inactive in this field. And no doubt its authors were on the whole motivated by a sincere desire to stimulate discussion and action on the youth question. Nevertheless, we cannot agree with its approach. For one thing, the "Call" displays a very negative approach to both the working class and youth

in this country, picturing both simply as being extremely backward and corrupted, and failing to make a realistic, balanced evaluation of their attitudes and ideological status. It likewise deals with the question of youth organization in abstraction from the mass developments among youth. It confines itself to presenting what its authors consider a summary of Marxist-Leninist principles, presumably addressed to those youth prepared to accept these principles, of whom, apparently, the proposed organization is to consist. Finally, the "Call" presents a negative, distrustful attitude to the Party and its leadership. The latter, it is implied, remains tinted with revisionism; hence a youth organization is needed whose role is evidently to be the defense of Marxist-Leninist principles.

To attempt to establish a narrowly-conceived, inwardly-oriented youth organization with conditions of membership virtually the same as those of the Communist Party would, we maintain, be a most serious mistake. Such an organization would be nothing more than a junior edition of the Party, and its membership would inevitably consist of little more than Party members. It would perpetuate and even increase the isolation of Party and Marxist youth from the main currents of movement and struggle.

Above all, there is no place for any youth organization, let alone one which professes to be Marxist-Lenin-

ist, which is based on mistrust and hostility to the Party—an organization whose purpose is to “correct” the Party, to make up for its “inadequacies.” Such an organization can only be factional and anti-Party in character, and can only do great harm. Those in our ranks who seek to embark on such a path must be firmly opposed and repudiated.

There is some thinking to the effect that the situation calls for a youth organization of a broader, non-socialist character—a mass democratic organization uniting youth in the fight for peace, jobs, equal rights and other vital goals. A socialist organization, it is argued, would be too narrow in scope and would limit the effective mobilization of the masses of youth in these decisive struggles.

We feel, however, that whatever else may emerge, there is a place and need for a socialist youth organization. This does not preclude the formation of other progressive youth organizations or of united front movements of very broad scope. On the contrary, the existence of a socialist youth organization is important to these developments.

Between the conception of an organization and its realization lies a considerable gap. It is not so difficult to work out ideas as to what sort of organization ought to exist. It is much more difficult, however, to bring it into existence; this requires a continuous struggle, particularly against tendencies toward inner ori-

entation and sectarian isolation as well as against tendencies to obscure or push into the background its socialist character—both inevitably engendered by the pressure of the attacks of reaction.

To begin with, the conditions for its formation must exist or be brought into being. Chief among them is the existence of a base consisting of both a core of Party youth and a substantial body of non-Party, militant, progressive and socialist-oriented youth, and both with firm roots in the mass movement. In this respect, present conditions in various parts of the country are highly heterogeneous. Generally, however, there appears to be no sufficient base for the immediate formation of a national youth organization, even though we believe it is correct to orientate toward such an organization. Undoubtedly, it will be necessary in working toward that goal to pass through a formative period, during which local committees and organizations of various kinds will appear, permanent or temporary, directed toward specific areas of mass work or individual campaigns.

Out of these developments there could emerge, before long, a socialist youth organization on a national scale, embracing both Party and non-Party socialist-oriented youth. It is possible, too, that other types of progressive youth organizations may develop. The exact nature of such organizations would become clearer in the course of youth activity; at this

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In conclusion, every effort should be made to increase and widen the Party's youth work and its participation, initiative and influence in mass youth movements and campaigns. Attention should be given in all districts to the setting up of youth-work commissions. A flexible policy should be developed toward the building of Party youth clubs and similar organizational forms. Every effort should be made to establish a national apparatus as soon as possible, and steps should be taken to prepare a Party program and per-

spectives for all aspects of youth work, as well as an educational program for youth.

Further, the Party should do all it can to help create conditions for and support efforts of youth groups toward the establishment of a nationwide socialist youth organization along the general lines indicated above. It should give full encouragement and support to the building of all kinds of local youth organizations and committees, among them various interim and provisional forms of organization directed toward the goal of a national youth organization.

This Report, we hope, will contribute to the fruitful revival and growth of the work of the Party among American youth.

# Everything for the Party

By Bob Thompson

*Having exhausted all legal avenues, and having had his appeal finally rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court, Comrade Thompson surrendered to the authorities on May 20, to begin serving an additional eighteen months in prison. This hero of the anti-Franco struggle in Spain and of World War II, seriously ill as a result of those experiences and because of the fascist attack upon him while in federal custody some time ago, nevertheless has been ordered back to jail. On May 10, a protest meeting was held in New York City against this vindictive and cruel persecution; on that occasion, Comrade Thompson made the remarks printed in the following pages.—The Editor.*

I WOULD LIKE first of all to thank our chairman, Comrade Elizabeth [Gurley Flynn] and all the others here this evening who spoke in both words and song. And I would even like to thank them for the feeling behind some of the exaggerations with regard to myself, which are almost inevitable on an occasion such as this. Most of all, I would like to thank every one of you who came here tonight to this protest rally. Thank you for the fighting spirit which your presence here displays, and for the warmth and comradeship that it shows.

You know, one of the vilest slanders against the working-class and Communist movements is the lie that these movements are indifferent toward individuals, that they are callous and approach people from the point of view only of how to use them. Of course, it is true that as active participants in the class struggle, Communists are very busy people, and do not always have time

for some of the amenities and outward demonstrations of friendship that others might have. But that is as nothing to the deepness of appreciation of people, of the friendship, the solidarity and the comradeship that one finds in the working-class movement and no place else—and within the working-class movement, in the Communist Party as no place else. This comradeship is a very fine quality in our Party, one that we should guard and cultivate because it will speed the process of our Party's becoming a decisive factor in the political life of our country.

There is one falsehood about our Party that has been fabricated out of the whole cloth by those who make a profession of slander of the working class and the Communists, and most recently by the revisionists. They say that our Party makes life hard for its members and supporters. To listen to them, it is almost as if life would be a bed of roses

to the members of the Communist Party, and for the working class of our country—if it were not for the existence of the Communist Party. The truth is, of course, that among those born and raised in working-class families, among those who work for a living in someone else's factory, mine or office, or on someone else's railroad, the numbers for whom life is a bed of roses are about as plentiful as the teeth in a chicken's mouth.

It is not the existence of our Communist Party that makes life difficult for its members and for the members of the working class in this country. It is the capitalist system, with its immense corporate wealth on the one hand and poverty and suffering on the other, that does it—a capitalist system which, in this country, carries with it also a semi-feudal jim-crow system of national oppression of the Negro people. Go to any mining town in Pennsylvania or West Virginia, or to any auto center. Or take a walk in that neighborhood in Brooklyn where just last week there was a fresh case of police brutality, where a Negro was shot by the police without provocation and later died in the hospital. Take a walk in Harlem or in any other working-class section of this city, and you walk with people who have problems, who know suffering, who know oppression. No, it is not our Party that creates these problems. It is this system that is re-

sponsible for them.

Now, of course, if one chooses to be a conscious participant in the working-class movement, he places himself voluntarily, since nobody can force one to make that decision, in a special relationship to the class enemy and its instruments of oppression. But I learned that long before I ever joined the Communist Party. I was taken off picket lines, beaten and thrown into jails long before joining the Party. I have learned that lesson many times over. What our Communist Party gives to its members and to those it reaches in the ranks of the working people is not problems, not difficulties. What it gives to them, within the inevitable hardship of their lives, is a life of meaning, of purpose.

We all know that there are a lot of injustices in this America of 1959. We know that there are different types of injustices. Walk through any of the federal prisons and you will see plenty of injustices—and we should be paying more attention to those things as a working-class party. But there are special types of injustices, affecting individuals, which have meaning going far beyond the individual or individuals affected. If you think of injustice as personal—well, how can there be an injustice more vile, more stark and brutal than the gang raping of that Negro college girl in Tallahassee? What personal injustice could be more brutal than

the lynching of Mack Charles Parker in Mississippi?

But the meaning of these goes far beyond violence against an individual or personal injustice. This is the answer of the White Citizens Councils, of the KKK, of the powerful corporate interests that support and shield them in the North. It is their answer to the bus boycotts in Tallahassee and Montgomery, to the movement in Tuskegee. It is their answer to the 26,000 young people who were in Washington demanding an end to school segregation and jim-crow. It is the answer of reaction to the growth of a powerful upsurge of people's movements for a democratic transformation of the South. That is why these personal outrages have to be met with an organized response, and why our Party and the Left have such a great obligation to help stimulate and arouse that kind of a response in the ranks of the working people of our country.

Or consider the sharpened persecution of our Party: the conviction of the Denver defendants for the second time under the conspiracy clause of the Smith Act; the pushing through to the higher courts of membership cases under the Smith Act; the continued pressing of Taft-Hartley indictments; the refusal to release, either by pardon or on parole, Comrades Winston and Green. These are all personal injustices. The attempt to send back to jail the executive secretary of the

Communist Party, that too is a personal injustice. But they have a meaning that goes far beyond that.

For one thing, they constitute a recognition by the ruling circles of this country that this Party is not going to destroy itself from within. They had high hopes that the revisionists would do the job for them and liquidate our Party, or at least would so decimate it that the handful of crackpots who think the Communist Party is some kind of a sect could take over and liquidate it. The stepped-up attacks are a recognition on their part that this is just not going to happen, and that this Party is a growing concern, that it is already beginning to play an increasingly important part in mass struggles affecting the course of development of the labor and people's movements of our country.

That, however, is only one part of the meaning. The ruling circles in this country do not like the changes that are taking place in our Party. But they don't like a lot of other things either. They don't like the fact that since the end of the Korean War the McCarthy reign of terror in this country has been rolled back to a very considerable degree. They don't like the fact that on a number of occasions in the past several years the hand of the preventive war advocates has been stayed by the combined sentiments of the people of this country and the rest of the world. They

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don't like the outcome of last November's elections, with the defeat of the best-identified arch reactionaries who were up for election at that time. They don't like the fact that one of the most decisive sections of the labor movement, the steel workers, are not meekly submitting to the pressures that are being exerted on them, but are shaping up their ranks for one of the really important struggles in this labor movement. They don't like the upsurge of the Negro people's movement and the powerful allies that it has gained in the ranks of the working class. Above all, they don't like the implications of the historic 21st Congress of the CPSU or the great leap forward in China—the continued shifting of the balance of world strength to the camp of Socialism and peace.

They want to change a lot of things. They want to reverse the trend—to bring back the atmosphere of the Korean War days and of the depths of the McCarthy period. In 1948 they launched their attack on the Party. They indicted its national leadership. By 1953, they were already in a position to strike at everything decent and honest and progressive in any walk of life in this country, no matter how remote from the Communist movement, even to the point of being able in the 1952 elections to encompass in their charge of "treason" many of the top leaders of the Democratic Party. They know this for-

mula, and they are trying to work it again. And that is the meaning of this sharpening attack against Communists, not just to Communists but to the entire labor and the Negro people's movements of our country.

But there have been a lot of changes since 1948. The American people have lived through much and have learned—as masses must, through their own experience—a great deal during this last decade. In 1948, when our Party said that the attacks being leveled against us were preparations for a broad onslaught against the working class and everything progressive in this country, there were many people who did not quite believe it. They had never experienced it. But now these people have themselves seen what follows such attacks on the Party. They have seen what happened in the universities, in the labor movement, in professional circles, and how these attacks on the Party, if allowed to develop, inevitably brought with them an ever-widening circle of political repression.

That is why there now exists every possibility of preventing a recurrence of such developments, of arousing the kind of mass support and struggle that not only can block this course of development but can reverse the trend and carry the fight forward to a new level.

I think it is a very good thing

that there is a rising consciousness in the ranks of the Left of the need to put on an organized basis the fight on cases of political persecution. And if, as has been said at this meeting, this does mark the beginning of a serious, planned struggle in this field that the Left and the Party can help spark and give form to, then it can indeed mean the opening of a period that will bring some very important victories in the fight for civil liberties in our country.

Now I would like to say just a few words, if I may, about the Communist Party—its present status and its perspective. The Party today stands at a special point in its life. It has won, and in my opinion decisively, the fight to insure that the working class of our country will not be without a Communist Party. It has won decisively, on the ideological as well as on the organizational fronts, against the ideology of the forces represented by Browder and Gates and Stein, and also against that of the forces represented by the adventurist ultra-Left grouping.

This is a tremendous victory, to which we are standing so close that we do not fully grasp its significance. It is a victory with great meaning for the future of the working class and the people of our country, as well as for the world movement for socialism—a victory whose full import we will be able to grasp

in a historic sense only as it begins to unfold itself in life.

We have made a beginning toward putting the Party back on the path of participation in mass struggles. Ahead of us lies a great, creative task of carving out for the Communist Party the role that it has to play in the struggles that are at hand and that lie ahead.

Fortunately, we face this great task at a time when we are about to enter a period of preparation for our next national convention. Unquestionably that process, the active enlistment of the membership, will contribute to arming our Party with policy and tactics and organizational measures in all the main fields of its work. It will be of the greatest assistance in enabling our Party to make a leap forward during this period of rebuilding and revitalizing itself. I have no doubt in my mind that this is what will happen. But it will take place only if every single comrade approaches these next months in the life of our Party with a great sense of responsibility. It will do so only if we eradicate any idea that the Communist Party is a little cult of people with a life of its own removed from the life and problems of the masses of working people in our country. It will do so only if we as a Party are able during this period to center the thinking and activity of our entire membership on the problems of the labor movement, the Negro peo-

ple's movement, the mass movement. This kind of role of the revolution there are say that the enemies of actual life way as conform enemies. We will only if in all cases. We will approach which the Communist meaning struggle standing of the people, a world-wide for social

ple's movement, the youth movement, the peace movement and the mass people's struggles generally.

This idea that our Party is some kind of a sect or cult is the offspring of the revisionists. But unfortunately there are some people about who say that they are the biggest enemies of the revisionists, while in actual life they operate in such a way as to try to make our Party conform to the lie of its ruling-class enemies that it is a cult or a sect. We will be able to forge ahead only if we get rid of that concept in all of our thinking and actions. We will move forward only if we approach this next period as one in which whatever is said and done by the Communist Party will have real meaning for the outcome of decisive struggles like that in steel, for the standing of the Party in the eyes of the nation and its working people, and for the outcome of the world-wide struggle for peace and for socialism.

To achieve this, we must have the deepest feeling for our Party as being not just some little grouping with special problems of its own but a Party of the American working class and the party of scientific socialism in our country.

Comrades, if it should happen that I go back to jail, I would like to assure you that I will be coming out in 18 months and I will be coming out full of enthusiasm for the struggles that you will be carrying on at that time, full of enthusiasm at the prospect of participation in them with you. And I will be spending that 18 months in full confidence that it will be a period full of big and meaningful struggles in the life of the working people of our country, and with full confidence that our Party will be participating in those struggles and that I will come out to an even healthier and far more influential Communist Party than we have today.

# Some Thoughts on Returning

By Gus Hall

*This article is based on a speech made at a meeting on April 26, of the National Committee of the Communist Party. This marked Comrade Hall's return to active political life following the completion of an eight-year Smith Act sentence, of which six years were spent in Leavenworth Penitentiary and two years on conditional release. He has been elected a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, and has been made one of the Party's national secretaries.—The Editor.*

I HOPE IT IS not too disappointing to you that in my first remarks after eight years, I don't have any world-shaking revelations—as a matter of fact I think we have had quite a few of them without me—or that I don't have world-shaking criticisms or thoughts to offer.

Comrade Jackson, in his report, mentioned that our brother parties feel good about the fact that we are here. I must say that I share those feelings. While following some of the events in the newspapers, I wasn't always sure that you would be here when I got out. The fact that the Party is here is first of all a very great tribute to all of you as individuals, and to the National Committee as a collective body. And secondly, it is a great tribute to the indestructableness of the science of Marxism-Leninism. In spite of the difficulties and the turmoil, the Party has come through in the best possible shape and above expectations, considering the situation which existed at the last convention and after the convention.

Like many others, I also spent some time in prison thinking over the past and evaluating the past and the present. But like most of the comrades who went to prison, I must say that I did not have any difficulty in *not* coming to the conclusions that Gates reached. I think one of the significant things that Gates said was that he started his thinking in prison. In this thinking—and there is a lot of time to do it—I always took precautions not to allow something else to enter into it. I kept this pretty well to myself. The something else was cowardice. That can have a very bad effect in evaluating or thinking about problems in prison. I think it made quite a contribution to the thinking of people like Gates. Of course, there are all kinds of cowardice; it does not necessarily have to be fear of physical harm.

My conclusions were, as I spent the years there, that the stakes I had in the fight for socialism became bigger and therefore there was more reason than ever to continue to fight for it

I think the Party has made some very good beginnings, and we are beginning to know in what direction we want to go and how to get there. But we face very big problems. In the center of these is one question that we must work on and ponder over daily: that we remain largely isolated from the main movements and currents of American life. We are isolated from the main currents of trade union life, from the struggles of the Negro people and, strange as it may seem, somewhat isolated from the peace movement. There are in American life today, though without any evident organized form, not only sentiments for peace but discussions and activities in broad circles of American life; however, as yet we are not fully a part of this situation. I don't even want to mention the question of farmers.

That is the problem to which we must address ourselves, and which we must solve if we are going to be a force of any real consequence.

A second question—a long-standing one—is the abstractness of our approach to tactical problems. All too often, instead of starting with a thorough investigation of the reality with which we are dealing, we proceed to paint a picture based on fragmentary knowledge and wishful thinking, and thus to work up a situation that has nothing necessarily to do with reality. We do this in our meetings, and once we have conjured up this vision of what we hope things are and what

we would like things to be, then we take that and begin to work out tactical solutions to our problems in the abstract. I think we are still doing it, and therefore we go amiss very often with our tactics and our leadership to the masses. Especially for a small party like ours is this a very important question. We can stir up emotions by agitation, and this is necessary in the right place, but it does not raise the necessary fighting spirit in the long run as far as the masses are concerned, and as far as the Party is concerned. I think the members of the Party want its leaders now really to know what they are talking about.

They are not going to listen to us if we just make general, abstract plans, if we do not show that we know what the masses are thinking about, and that our tactics and plans are based on that. The membership of the Party is skeptical, and the prestige of the leadership is going to grow only to the extent that we are able to show that our decisions are rooted in reality. The members want proof of this type of leadership in this period.

Now, judging the mood of the masses is not so easy, especially if the leadership and membership are not in close touch with non-Party people and organizations. We just can't say: "These are our forces—the forces we can mobilize. The others are the enemy's forces, and this is the type of situation that it is." We are not dealing with numbers in the first place.

Numbers are not the most important thing, although they are a factor. We are dealing with thoughts, with what the masses of people are thinking about. That is not so simple. That is a much more difficult thing, and we have to be close to people to be able to do that. We can't even take individual opinions—say those of one or two trade unionists—and work out a tactical program from them. That is not enough, because what we have to understand is *group* thinking—what a group of people think and in what direction their thinking is going. And the sum total of individual thought does not add up to group thought because a group of individuals, as such, radiates its own thinking and readiness for action. And it is that which leadership must be able to judge in order to lead the Party effectively.

One of the things Comrade Jackson spoke about was the approach toward cadre—cadre not only in the sense of leading comrades but in the sense of our membership, in the sense of what they are doing, where they are, and whether or not they are in a position to lead. I think it is a very important question, for in the past, speaking critically, we made monstrous mistakes in not looking at this problem with a longer-range perspective. The mistakes were mainly made, I think, in the sense that we were always willing to sacrifice cadre as long as it served the immediate problem that faced us. In a Party the size of ours, we can't do that; we must take

both aspects of the problem into account.

We must consider what will be the position of that cadre as a result of an immediate action. That's important, but just as important is what will be its position after the action is over. Will that cadre be in a position of greater authority? Will that cadre be in a position of leading more people when the immediate problem is solved or not? I say that if we can't answer that second question in the affirmative, then we should temporarily even withdraw from the immediate situation. There is nothing wrong in that.

In other words, we have to have a very careful and positive position on such a matter. It involves the question of fighting spirit within a party. This is a very important question, and there has to be a long-range outlook for the kind of spirit that will prevail, not only in what happens today, but over a much longer expanse of time. Take the "fighting spirit" of a punch-drunk fighter. There's *spirit* there. Every time he hears a bell he is ready to fight. But it doesn't really accomplish anything. That's not the type of fighting spirit that we need. I am not speaking here against agitation, propaganda and emotional mobilization, which is very necessary. But it is not enough.

In approaching the question of trying to reach the masses and releasing their energy into struggle, I often think of it in the sense of what I consider the latest scientific proof

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of the validity of the dialectical process namely, the release of atomic energy. In releasing such energy, the atom must be bombarded with another particle. Now, every subatomic particle has its own wave pattern or contour. If you bombard an atom with a particle whose wave contour doesn't match that of the particles in the atom, that particle will just bounce off. It will not be absorbed, and will do nothing to the atom. So, in order to be successful, particles have to be found whose wave patterns correspond with those of the particles of the atom. Such particles penetrate, become a part of the atom, and release the energy. I think we face a similar type of dialectical process in our relations to the American people. In other words, we have to find the correct wave contour so that our efforts will not bounce off but will penetrate, so that we can become a part of that mass and release its energy. That is the type of approach we must have.

We have had two upheavals in our Party in a very short period: the defeat of Browderism and the swing to the Right at that particular time; and now again the defeat of the revisionist attempts to destroy the Party. Of course, this time the swing to the Right was a world-wide phenomenon. In our Party the results were more severe than in most others because of our weaknesses. I would say that, especially in America, the cause of this Right-revisionist swing was two-fold.

First, it was the result of the economic period that we have gone through, the longest period of economic boom in American history. The effect of that was a certain amount of corruption. The ruling-class influence went much deeper because of this economic boom, and it penetrated our Party as nothing had before. Second, it was a reaction to some past very serious dogmatic approaches—and these were also worldwide—a reaction which took place especially after the revelations. With these two factors operating at one time, it is understandable that the results were as disastrous as they were.

These two upheavals have taken place in a very short period of time. Therefore, it is necessary to say to ourselves that we must not, because of this, let ourselves become gunshy. We must not permit this to straitjacket our thinking or our actions, which is all too easily done. After what the Party has just gone through, and especially you comrades, when you're called a Leftist and a revisionist from every side, you begin to try very carefully in your thinking to stick to a "safe" path. Now, such a Party will produce nothing. We have to foster in our Party a freshness, a boldness, a situation in which we are not afraid of probing new paths, new ideas, new angles, and of freely discussing them. If you are wrong, you withdraw them and there is no harm done. If you make a mistake, what of it? That is the



atmosphere we must foster in our Party.

We should learn from what happened to the intellectual atmosphere of our country—and continues to exist—because of the McCarthy attacks. At some time, we should examine thoroughly what has happened to intellectual life in our colleges and literary circles generally because of this onslaught of McCarthyism. It has dampened any fresh new thinking to such an extent that conformism has become the accepted thing. In the last two years, I have had an opportunity to talk to all types of teachers and students from many colleges, and that's the main impression one gets when he talks to them. They want to hold their jobs, they want to get their degrees, and that governs everything. There are, of course, many other elements, but this has become a very deep-seated thing in our country, and we must not allow that to happen in our Party.

Precisely *because* of the mistakes we have made, our Party must continue to prod, to look in all directions. Of course, we must do so under the guidance of Marxism-Len-

inism, but Marxism-Leninism isn't something narrow, it isn't something sectarian. It's a guide with which you can open up the whole world if you keep that in mind, and if you hold on to it as one holds on to a guide rope in exploring a cave where there is no light.

Finally, in thinking about this question of being firm in principle, of holding on to the Marxist-Leninist doctrines as a guide, we should consider the comparison which Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, used in describing Lincoln at the time of his death. What she said was that Lincoln was firm but not with the firmness of a brick wall; that Lincoln was flexible but not with the flexibility of a rope; rather, that Lincoln had the firmness and flexibility of a big steel cable. That steel cable is firm, as should be our Marxist-Leninist guide, but at the same time it will give when the wind flexes it on any big bridge, as should our tactical approach to problems.

That, I think, is the way in which we should look at our Party and its line and activity. If we can do that, we can go far.

By N.

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# A Program for Cuba

By N. C., Popular Socialist Party

*Monopoly capitalism in the United States, having enchained the Cuban people for sixty years, and having maintained in power there puppet dictators like Machado and Batista of unspeakable brutality and colossal corruption, fears that the success of the recent revolution will really free Cuba. As part of the monopolists' campaign to continue Cuba's enslavement, there has developed in all the propaganda media in the United States horror stories about the alleged "infiltration" of Communists into Cuban life and the terrible plans of these awful Communists. In the pages that follow, readers will find—for the first time in English—the full suggested program for Cuba recently put forth by the valiant Marxists-Leninists of that Republic; they will see from this why the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba is honored with the special hatred of Wall Street.—*  
The Editor.

## NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY

1. Absolute recovery of the national sovereignty and inviolable defense of the independence, integrity, and honor of our country. Eliminations of all intentions to submit to orders, pressure and influence of foreign imperialists. To confirm the aspirations and determination of Cuba to attain its economic independence by virtue of the administration of its own resources and the promotion of its own economy on a developed and progressive level. Liquidation of the control, intervention and interference in our internal affairs by the embassy, consulates and other missions that the U.S. keeps in Cuba.

2. Reintegration to Cuban sovereignty of the territory occupied by the U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo, as well as cancelling the leasing or con-

cession to any outside power of national territory for the construction of land, sea or air bases.

3. Denunciation and cancellation of all treaties, agreements and accords in as much as they deny, undermine or restrict the independence and sovereignty of the nation or are contrary to its best interests.

4. Annulment of the colonialist concessions (Canal Via-Cuba, King Ranch, Boa Bay Company, oil concerns, etc.) which undermine the national sovereignty and are counter to the free economic development of Cuba.

5. Immediate nationalization of Public Service enterprises (Compania Cubana de Electricidad, Cuban Telephone Company, railways, aviation, port facilities, etc.) and of foreign banks with the aims, among others, of cutting their exploitation through shares and also in order to

reduce their service charges for the sake of the national economic development.

Recovery, for the national patri-  
mony, of all lands, reservations and  
mine projects owned by foreign busi-  
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with the national democratic power  
in promotion of the national econ-  
omy. On the contrary, foreign busi-  
nesses and enterprises, even though  
not of a public service character, that  
attack or conspire against our sov-  
ereignty, protect or finance counter-  
revolutionaries, violate our social  
rules and sabotage the national econ-  
omy, shall be interfered with or na-  
tionalized.

7. A foreign policy based on the  
faithful observance of the following  
principles: defense of our national  
independence; defense of world  
peace and cooperating towards this  
fulfillment by means of solving inter-  
national conflicts through negotia-  
tions, the prohibition of nuclear  
weapons, halting of the armaments  
race and gradual disarmament; peace-  
ful coexistence; non-aggression and  
respect for the territorial integrity  
and sovereignty of all nations; non-  
interference in the affairs of other  
states; support of all peoples strug-  
gling for national liberation and for  
the rights of every nation to build  
freely its self-determination; and to

establish trade and friendly relations  
with all nations on the basis of mu-  
tual benefit and equality. With these  
principles and considerations as a  
starting point, Cuba must develop a  
double course of action:

A. Renegotiating its diplomatic  
and trade relations with the U.S.A.  
so as to alter the status quo not fa-  
vorable to the national interests; and  
B, Maintaining or establishing diplo-  
matic and commercial and cultural  
relations with all countries capable  
of treating Cuba as equal to equal,  
including the countries of the Social-  
ist camp, such as the USSR, the Peo-  
ple's Republic of China, and all popu-  
lar democracies in general. With  
particular interest Cuba should carry  
out a policy of solidarity, friendship  
and cooperation with the sister re-  
publics of Latin America.

8. Adoption of all means to pro-  
scribe and to punish war propaganda.

#### AGRARIAN REFORM

9. Solution of the agrarian reform  
problem, based on the expropriation  
of all lands belonging to big land-  
owners; elimination of "Latifund-  
ism" and farm rentals and other re-  
nants of Feudalism; also, the parti-  
tion and delivery of expropriated  
and government lands free of charge  
to the peasants and farm workers  
who own little or no land and who  
desire to cultivate the same. Each  
peasant or farm worker benefiting  
from the partition of land shall re-  
ceive a property deed covering the  
piece of land received. On the same

basis, all  
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basis, all lands heretofore occupied by other impoverished peasants shall receive the corresponding legal title. In like fashion, all members, temporarily in the armed forces and who are of peasant stock, shall have the right to participate in the land partition. As a transitory measure and as long as present sugar producing conditions prevail, those lands belonging to latifundists and other sugar companies actually planted with sugar cane so indispensable for milling, such lands shall not be expropriated or shared out, except those lands which had been handed, rented or given to peasants or sharecroppers—in which case they will come under the conditions of landsharing. All persons of foreign extraction who have resided and raised families within our national territory, will have the right to possession of land under the same conditions covering Cuban citizens.

10. The maximum amount of land possessed by a peasant will be fixed by law considering the location and quality of such land, but in no case will it be more than "thirty" (30) caballerias (33 $\frac{1}{3}$  acres). On this basis middle income and rich owners will have a legal guarantee—as will the poor landowners—of the property they shall possess.

11. Abolition of sharecropping (*aparceria*) and of all forms of semi-feudal exploitation of the peasantry.

12. Revision of all debts, particularly the onerous and unjust debts the peasantry have contracted with the

latifundists, sugar mills, speculators, stock merchants, and other imperialist enterprises. Cancellation of the debts the peasants owe the state because of taxation.

13. Rights to permanency as well as reduction of rentals to peasants who lease land while the renting system is in effect.

14. To afford all peasants, farm workers and all other peasants that may need them, with such facilities as farm animals, equipment for such animals, etc., as well as low-paying, long-term loans towards the purchase of machinery, seed, fertilizer, insecticides, dwelling construction, wells, etc. To make sure that cheap transportation is provided for these farm products. The National Government will organize ample technical help to the peasants, and will promote among them the necessary spirit to collectively exploit the land through the organization of voluntary cooperatives.

15. Construction of irrigation systems, country lanes, warehouses, cold storage stations, driers, coffee and rice peelers, etc., with the purpose of satisfying the needs of the peasants and to develop Cuban agriculture. Protection of forests plus ample reforestation. Steps against erosion and in favor of soil conservation, as well as filling of swampy regions. The creation of experimental stations so as to help the peasants to improve the quality of their seeds, their methods of cultivation, their assorted livestock, etc.

16. Organization of an official corporation whose aim shall be to receive and store the peasants' products and to assure them stable and remunerative prices so as to eliminate speculative warehouse grabbers and all sorts of exploiting middlemen and thus facilitating and assuring the peasants of prompt and satisfactory sale of their crops. This will, in the meantime, prevent middlemen from speculating so as to protect the large consuming masses.

#### INDEPENDENT PROTECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

17. Liberty of initiative for industry, agriculture and domestic trade based on the defense of the national economy and the sound interests of the people.

18. Control of banking credits to mobilize inactive capital and to concentrate all national resources so as to change the semi-colonial and semi-feudal structure of the Cuban economy thus protecting, developing and diversifying the industry and agriculture of the nation. Benefits and protection shall be guaranteed to private capital investments within the law.

19. Defense and promotion of industry and agriculture with a view towards the needs of the country and its complete independence, and towards the elimination of the single crop and of economic backwardness. Development of heavy industry in conformity with the possibilities and

resources of the nation.

All categories of tariff protection (import quotas, reduction or extension of imposts, subsidies, etc.) as regards the national production in the face of outside competition. Prohibition or restriction on the importation of such goods and products which mean an unnecessary drainage on the shares of our economy, which obstruct the development of our industry or agriculture or may jeopardize the creation of new national sources of production and employment.

20. Development, under the direction of the government, of sugar by-products such as: alcohol, cattle feed, several chemical products, paper matter, etc. In general, to get the most out of the sugar industry so as to extend to as large a degree as possible the work in the mills and farms and to reduce to the minimum any waste of time.

21. National development of oil wells, without intervention of imperialist monopolies, with the aim of guaranteeing to the nation, under safe conditions and low prices, the necessary fuel for its industrial and agricultural growth.

22. Revision and ruling of commercial relations with all countries on the basis of selling what we produce and purchasing what we need for our development and our consumption, from any part of the globe without undermining the economy and independence of our country. Annulment of sugar politics inspired

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by the onerous Chadbourne Plan of the past and by the London accord of the present, which forces unilateral restriction of the Cuban production, adopting instead a new line of action to disavow the said unilateral restriction, a line that is based primarily on the national interest and not on that of the large North American sugar monopolies.

23. Measures with the aim to protect small-time industrialists vis-a-vis the monopolists and grab-bags as well as the promotion of cooperatives of artisans and shopkeepers. Among these measures we point out the following: Government aid, credit concessions, facilities towards the acquisition of machinery, tools, raw materials, plus organizing a corporation with the purpose of storage, distribution and sales of the products.

24. Protection and development of the fishing industry with particular aid to small and petit-bourgeois fishermen by means of credits, delivery of equipment and boating, establishment of cold storage, fish-drying places, fisherman cooperatives, etc.

25. Promotion of the merchant marine, both coastal and overseas, employing for this purpose whatever resources might be necessary.

26. A tax reform to eliminate indirect imposts which burden our people, and to rely on progressive and direct taxing on revenue to facilitate and propel the national economy forward. Price control and measures to be taken against inflation and in favor of the national currency.

27. A planned national economy, which, with this program as a basis and without losing sight of the limitations within the existing economic system, will fix the general steps to be followed in the maximum development of industry and agriculture and the full economy of the nation.

28. The country, based upon the inescapable letter of the law and respect for our national interests, will be permitted to utilize the help of foreign capital assets or offers in good faith without strings attached made by countries and other international organizations in order to develop industrialization and the independent growth of the national economy.

#### ON IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORKING-CLASS CONDITIONS AND OF THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL

29. Fulfillment of the social benefits earned by the workers and crystallized in the 1940 Constitution. Development and extension of social security legislation favorable to the working class and to include farmers and civil employees within its benefits.

30. Fixing a livable minimum salary, that is, increasing the wages to a level that will guarantee minimum living conditions to all workers within the national territory. Increase of salaries and pensions. To effectively apply the principle of "equal wages for equal labor" regardless of sex, age, race or nationality.

31. Effective application of the

eight-hour day as concerns all workers and of the 44-hour week with 48-hour payments, plus the progressive establishment of the 40-hour week. A six-hour day for those who work in mines, places or trades that are unhealthy as well as for those who are under 18 years of age.

32. To forbid outright the discharge of workers or employees because of social or political reasons or because of unilateral decisions of management.

33. Effective guarantees of the right of workers to collective bargaining with management, and obligation of the state to acknowledge and to supervise the punctilious fulfillment of same.

34. Protection of all workers against rushing tactics employed by the exploiters within the productive process.

35. Enforcement and extension of assistance and social security benefits for which management and state are responsible, so that pensions and other benefits concerning sickness, old age, accidents, disability or death be improved substantially and may cover all workers and employees, both public and private as well as their relatives, without exception. Extension of maternity benefits to all workers, both industrial and farming and to all public and private employees.

36. Monthly subsidies to the unemployed in sufficient amounts to take care of their urgent needs of shelter, food and clothing.

37. Full recognition of syndical

democracy plus guarantees to the right of the workers to organize and to elect freely their officers without any interference on the part of the government or any other public or private organization, the right to hold meetings, organize the May First parade and to strike as many times as is deemed necessary, because of demands, solidarity matters and boycotts.

38. Participation of democratically elected labor leaders in the regulating organisms of the sugar, tobacco, coffee, livestock and other branches of industry. These representatives would be under obligation of regularly giving an account of their functions to their rank and file.

39. A law to organize and guarantee on-the-job training within the various branches of production and to assure jobs to our working youth.

40. Free medical assistance to all workers and employees in factories, shops, mills, plantations, offices and other working places, at the expense of management and the state (Government).

41. Reduction in prices of popular items and services such as: food, clothing, things for hire, medicinal goods, transportation, etc., in order to improve the standard of living of the working class and the general public.

42. Construction of healthy, low-income housing for workers, employees and for the people in general.

43. Creation of a bank for loans in order to facilitate low interest

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loans to workers, employees, etc., who may need them, with the aim of eliminating the limitless exploitation and outrages exercised by "speculators" and money lenders.

#### ON THE RIGHTS OF OUR CITIZENS AND OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

44. Complete resurrection, effective enforcement and consistent application of the 1940 Constitution, which resulted from the agreement among all the social forces and trends of the country. Only the peoples and their legitimate representatives have the right to amend it—within the norms established by its own text—when the popular and national interests dictate it, so as to improve same and to make it more efficient as an instrument of the national sovereignty, of the economic development and of the fullest guarantee of the rights of the people and of the working class.

45. Abolition of all laws, decrees, dispositions and measures that deny, adulterate or restrict the democratic rights and liberties stated within the Constitution, among which stand out the confiscations and raids of democratic and workers printing shops, the so-called dispositions against Communism, the outlawing of the P.S.P. and other political movements, brutal police persecutions and tortures, the existence of emergency tribunals, the so-called Certificate of Passport enforcement, the concentration of power in the hands of the

Government Ministry to deny and grant permits for meetings, public activities, etc.

As a result, full enforcement of the democratic rights and public liberties will be established for everyone. There will be special guarantees to provide the workers and the general public with material means to exercise freedom of speech, press, radio broadcasting, assembly, association, striking, public meetings, etc. Binding respect for freedom of education, for choosing a profession, for the inviolability of the home and the right to correspond through the mail. Guarantees for the free political organization of all citizens.

46. Abolition of SIM, BRAC, BIP, SIN, the SIR and other undemocratic organs of torture and repression. Cleaning out of all armed elements who beat, torture, kill, and agents of imperialism and enemies of the workers, peasants and of the general public. Abolition of the Military Act.

47. The armed forces shall be an exclusive instrument for the defense of the country, the liberty and integrity of the motherland, a citizens' guarantee, of the public will and of the observance of the Constitution and the Democratic Laws.

48. Effective establishment of the semi-parliamentary system as stated in the Constitution, with a President who fully represents the national solidarity, a Prime Minister who will direct political affairs and a Council of Ministers approved by

Congress and fully responsible to this body.

49. Constituting a National Liberation Democratic Government, integrated by the working class, the peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie, the one and only government that would be capable to apply consistently and to the very end the program of the Salvation, the Progress and the Liberty of Cuba, and of the Public Welfare.

The close-knit alliance of the workers and the peasants shall be the foundation of such a government.

The leadership of the working class is essential for its success.

50. Election of Senators through proportional representation or election by virtue of receiving the largest number of direct votes among all the candidates of the different parties.

Democratization and perfecting of the election system so that we can effectively bring about the cooperation of the parties in the fulfillment of the common program promised or agreed to.

Extension of the voting right to young peoples from the age of 18 (eighteen) and to members of the armed forces.

51. Rigidly observed administrative morality maintained from top to bottom, from the President of the Republic to the most modest employee and functionary.

Reduction in the cost of the maintenance of the nation by virtue of the sensible lowering of the incomes of the high functionaries and Con-

gressmen.

Elimination of imposts (exactions) which victimize small merchants, traders, shopkeepers, milkmen, small time peasant producers, etc., the culprits being inspectors, officers, police agents, functionaries and other agents of the public service.

52. Assurance of the lay Cuban tradition, which established separation of Clergy and State since the inception of the Republic. The fullest religious freedom shall be guaranteed, and the government shall defend the citizens' right to embrace the religion of his or her preference or the right not to follow any religion.

#### MEASURES TO INSURE RACIAL EQUALITY

53. An Educational and Sanctions Law against racial discrimination and practical application to eradicate this evil, both within the economic and social (employment, standard of living, wages, housing, culture and developing areas), as well as in the political: (the right to employment within the public service administration, within the armed forces, within the diplomatic corps, etc.).

54. Guarantee of full equality to women and of their participation among all political, social and economic fields on the same level as men. Protection of the home, of motherhood and of infants. Development of a system of child care and nurseries so as to insure attention for children whose mothers

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### NATIONAL AND POPULAR EDUCATION

55. A General Reform Law for learning based on the tradition of liberty, democracy, civics and progressiveness of our people. Assurance of free, compulsory primary education with the necessary increase of teachers and school buildings throughout the country. Development of technological and specialized learning with a popular character and aimed at meeting the needs of the industrial and agricultural progress of the country. The state shall assure school supplies in abundance to primary schools as well as books and tools for study work at reduced prices to students of secondary, technical, and university levels. Enrollment costs shall be substantially reduced, an ample fund for free enrollments shall be organized and housing and dining facilities shall also be created for needy students or those of modest resources. The state shall provide employment to those young graduates from secondary, technical and higher educational institutions. Protection and promotion of the national culture, defense and extension of its patriotic and progressive traditions while struggling against imperialist influence and penetration. Encouragement to the development of Arts and Sciences, by virtue of protecting scientists, intellectuals, artists; also aid to scientific research, libraries,

the theater, music, plastics, the cinema, television, radio and other media of scientific and artistic expression with the purpose of elevating their quality, to invigorate their national outlook, and in addition, to place them at the service of the people and on behalf of the advancement of the motherland.

### OTHER MEASURES TO BENEFIT THE POPULATION

56. Protection and encouragement of sports and the physical development of the people. Construction of stadiums, sports centers, gymnasias, etc., at the service of our young folks with the aim of providing sound sports rid of commercialism and discrimination, so as to contribute to their physical growth and to keep them away from vice and corruption.

57. To carry out the necessary services towards the construction of sewerage, aqueducts, etc., for the many towns that are in need of them. Development of an ample network of hospitals, health resorts, dispensaries and shelter homes, with adequate medical supplies, in order to serve the whole population of the country. Creation of mobile sanitary units for fight against parasitic and other diseases in the rural zones. The extension of state maternity benefits to assist and aid all women who are not covered by the labor maternity social security, and toward this objective the number of existing maternal hospitals shall be increased.

# IDEAS IN OUR TIME

BY HERBERT APTHEKER

## ASIA, CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

There are in the world about 2,800,000,000 people; of these approximately half live in Asia. And half the people of Asia live in governments where Communist Parties form the decisive leadership, and where the commitment to build socialism is being consciously and actively followed. These include the five Republics of the U.S.S.R. that are wholly Asian—the Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadjik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Republics—in which live about 25 million people; the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Vietnamese People's Democratic Republic, and the Mongolian People's Republic, in which live about 28 million people; and the Chinese People's Democratic Republic, in which live about 660 million people.

Elsewhere in Asia, Communist Parties have emerged as decisive forces; thus, in the latest general election in Indonesia, the results showed the Communist Party to be the first party, while in comparable elections in India the Communist Party became the second party. And in India, it is now twenty-six months that a government with a Communist majority (of two) has been in office in Kerala, one of the 14 states making up the Republic. In these two great lands, representing a combined population of over 450 millions, the system of capitalism has been more or less officially found wanting, although the persistence of the private ownership of (most of) the means of production makes of them—and especially, of India—"last hopes" for the Western bourgeoisie.

The remainder of Asia—with some exceptions, as Burma—is what is meant by "Free Asia," when this phrase is uttered in the Pentagon and the State Department. Here—in Japan, Taiwan, Pakistan, South Viet Nam, South Korea, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Malaya, the Philippines, and the Ryukyus (including Okinawa)—live perhaps 250 millions; and here American and British economic, political and military domination are freely displayed. Hence, this is "Free Asia."

Concerning the vast continent of Asia, we wish, in this article, to make three points, and then draw what appear to be logical conclusions. The points are: 1) "Free Asia" is an area where illiteracy is widespread and not decreasing; where impoverishment is characteristic and intensifying; where the incidence of disease and the death rate are very high and show little appreciable decline; where political reaction is dominant and mounting; where inflation is fierce and governmental bankruptcy general; where corruption permeates every pore of the social order; where in the midst of a general bondage of the mass of the people, women in particular are enslaved; and where—with the exception of Japan—the economy remains fearfully underdeveloped and industrialization is notable

by its absence. Throughout these areas, of course—and notably in Japan—heroic mass struggles against poverty and reaction occur; but the prevailing situation, maintained by local rulers with Anglo-American aid, is what has been described.

2) In that portion of Asia where socialism is being built consciously, the situation in regard to every particular noted above is markedly different. There the advances in medicine, education, standards of living, agriculture and industrial production, and in the release of the energies and creativeness of the masses, have been phenomenal—in certain important respects, without precedent in human history.

3) The rate of advance in those portions of Asia included in (2) above has been very much greater than has been the rate of advance (where advance has occurred) in those portions of Asia wherein national liberation, politically speaking, has been achieved, but where socialism is not being systematically and consciously built; in this connection a comparison of the recent trends in India with those in China is illuminating.

I

The evidence substantiating the first of the three points made above is embarrassingly abundant. Perhaps it will be sufficient, therefore, to use but one source; I have in mind an article, "Nightmare in the Far East," by Helen Mears, appearing in the March, 1959 *Progressive*. Miss Mears, who has lived in China and Japan, has written for leading journals in our country concerning Asia, and is the author of three books on the subject. She justifies the title of her article by examining area after area in "Free Asia" and finding such destitution "as disgraces all humanity in the sight of God." Financial arrangements are "scandalous" and she thinks it "profoundly shocking" that American propagandists present the situation as in any way consonant with ideals of decency and freedom.

Summarizing, Miss Mears sees "no hopeful future under prevailing conditions" for the people of "Free Asia."

The whole area [she writes] is a nightmare of economic and military insecurity. It consists of a group of nominally independent small nations, all dependent for survival on U.S. support, all competing against each other and all armed to the teeth, weighted down by military forces which their natural resources and state of development cannot afford. . . . They are cut off from each other economically but bound to the U.S. by military alliances which at any moment can involve them in a war that could result only in their destruction.

And she asks, rhetorically: "Is this a responsible demonstration of American leadership? Can such a policy possibly promote our national interests?"

## II

The transformations being brought about in the life of the peoples inhabiting socialist Asia are extraordinary; in the case of the five Asian republics of the U.S.S.R. there has been completed the leap from feudalism to socialism and these nations are co-partners in the breath-taking advance of the Soviet Union, despite World War II, into the first-rank of world powers.

As for the rest of socialist Asia, where the revolution was accomplished more recently, the advances have been quite as spectacular. To demonstrate this fact, we may examine in some detail latest developments in China, wherein live, after all, one-fourth of all mankind and about one-half of all Asia.

Not very long ago William Vogt, in his *Road to Survival* (N. Y., 1957, Sloan, p. 114), reported, "There is little hope that the world will escape the horror of extensive famines in China within the next few years"; but he drew comfort despite the horror, for, basing himself on Malthusianism, he thought that "From the world point of view these may not only be desirable but indispensable." Despite the expertness of Mr. Vogt, that for which he saw "little hope" has come to pass, and the "indispensable" famines that regularly took the lives of hundreds of thousands and millions of Chinese are a thing of the past.

Only last year, the former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, informed his readers that, "China is overpopulated, undernourished. . . . Her resources are meager. . . . Her industry is small, backward, despoiled in Manchuria, and destined to laborious struggle by lack of means to acquire the necessary materials and equipment for expansion" (*Power and Diplomacy*, Cambridge, 1958, Harvard University Press, p. 129). It was more than mere poor timing that saw this published in the very year of the "Great Leap Forward" in China; it was a class-conditioned blindness to the realities of the modern world and a class-derived arrogance in contemplating the endeavors of the masses of people when finally they have thrown off their "betters" and, taking power, proceed to fashion their own lives in their own way and for their own ends.

### *People's Health and the New China*

The ravages of disease in the China that existed through World War II were reminiscent of medieval Europe. These, together with the famines and the floods, were held to be not only the work of a vengeful God, but also of a merciful one; for did they not occur, it was maintained, and did not these millions die prematurely and suddenly, then so excessive would be the population that one overwhelming catastrophe would devour the entire Chinese people.

Today, under the unfeeling Communists, with their well-known contempt for humanity, all this has been reversed. Today, under the Communists in China the well-being of the masses of Chinese is the primary consideration, and this reflects itself in a "revolution in hygiene." I have placed these last three words in quotation marks because I am quoting from the summarization of

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fered by six eminent French physicians of their findings after a study of the health situation in China. A full account of those findings appears in *Scope Weekly* (December 10, 1958), a publication distributed by the big U.S. drug firm, Upjohn & Co. The six French professors were Jean Bernard, hematologist; Pierre Denoix, cancerologist; René Fauvert, gastroenterologist; Jean Hamburger, nephrologist; Henri-Pierre Klotz, endocrinologist; and Jean Mathey, thoracic surgeon.

Revolution was the word they chose to describe "the change in the Chinese health picture during the nine years of the People's Republic." While they thought Chinese medicine was still backward as compared to the best of Western practices, all "agreed that it had made enormous strides nevertheless, bridging a gap of 400 years in less than a decade."

Astonishing to the French experts "was the mass participation of the Chinese people in the sanitation drive." This "broad involvement" had "all but eradicated" such sources of disease as flies, mosquitoes, and rats. Thus:

A direct consequence has been the virtual elimination of a whole variety of infectious diseases that have been endemic in China for millenia. Cholera, which used to cause tens of thousands of deaths every year, has now disappeared, as have smallpox, plague, and other scourges.

As much remains to be done as has been done, of course; thus out of China's enormous population of well over 600 millions, there were only 80,000 physicians trained in accordance with latest medical requirements, and another 500,000 skilled in traditional Asian techniques. But then, in 1949, instead of 80,000 fully-qualified physicians there had been only 15,000—and an increase of over 500 per cent in nine years, it had to be admitted, was not bad!

In certain areas, medical practice and research is behind Western standards, stated these French experts; and they remarked, in this connection, that the Revolution had aggravated some of the research problems. For example, an anatomist might complain, because, "Before the Revolution, all you had to do to get a cadaver was to send two boys into the street, to wait until some beggar died. Today it is much more difficult." But, then, those were the exotic and really exciting times, now gone forever, in the drabness of Communist totalitarianism, when even the obtaining of cadavers, in China, of all places, presents problems!

On the other hand, in other areas—notably pulmonary and cardiac surgery—the Chinese already were "up to the most advanced Western standards." And in other fields, the Chinese Revolution had already made possible the contribution of "something new to modern medicine," particularly in parasitology. Here the method of massive campaigns and full-scale people's participation, by the millions, had resulted in unprecedented accomplishments.

Everything in the new China, said the visitors, was done by plan and by massive popular participation, backed by generous funds and by "the inexorable will to better the hygienic conditions of the country."



Not only had the scourges of infectious diseases been eliminated; the most fearful and most widespread disease of all in China's history had been overcome for the first time, said the French experts:

Hunger, too, has disappeared from the Chinese countryside—the result of a fantastic increase in agricultural output, especially marked in the past two or three years. The people they saw all along their route were healthy, well-nourished, muscular, in striking contrast to those seen in other Asian countries.

Lord Boyd Orr, formerly head of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, director of a number of Scottish banks and a director of one of Britain's largest farming enterprises, has visited China for extended periods twice during the past three years. Returning this past May, he was struck by the enormous increase in food production, of which more will be said later; at the same time, Boyd Orr also noted the conquest of hunger and the astonishing successes in the fields of public hygiene and preventative medicine. "To see a fly in China," he declared (*N. Y. Times*, May 14, 1959), "is a cause for amazement; all flies have been killed, so have rats and other pests." Epidemic disease in China "had been eliminated," he continued, "with mass inoculations and vaccination programs."

#### *People's Education and the New China*

In pre-revolutionary China, in the 1930's, as Y. Chu Wang, associate professor of Far Eastern History at Pennsylvania State Teachers College, has written recently (*Foreign Affairs*, January, 1958), "little free elementary education was provided and there was practically no scholarships available in middle schools and colleges." As a result, "farmers and laborers, the two largest occupational groups in China, were virtually barred" from an education and "study became limited to the well-to-do class." Hence, the illiteracy afflicting some 90 per cent of the Chinese population which had persisted for centuries, remained right up to the moment of the success of the Communists.

With that success, one of the first tasks undertaken with colossal energy and engaging once again really mass participation, was the conquest of illiteracy and the institution of a thoroughly modern and universal system of free education for the hundreds of millions of Chinese. Each year, since 1949, millions upon millions of Chinese, particularly now the workers and the peasants, have been brought the light of literacy and the inestimable glories of the culture, learning and skills of all mankind. In numbers involved, no event in the history of education—not even the transformations accomplished after the Bolshevik Revolution—is the equal of this accomplishment.

In 1952, the first year of China's First Five-Year Plan, there were already 51 million students in primary schools, in 1958, there were 86 millions; in 1952, there were 3 million secondary school students, in 1958, there were 12 millions;

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in 1952, there were 190,000 college and university students, in 1958, there were 660,000.\* In addition to these millions receiving full-time education, there were many more millions of workers and peasants enrolled in spare-time and correspondence courses in general, technical and scientific subjects. Qualitatively, too, of course, the educational system has been revolutionized from one which justified and bulwarked an elitist and parasitic order to one which services an egalitarian and socialist order.

*Production in the New China*

The conquest of hunger by the New China, for the first time in thousands of years of recorded history, and the revolutionary transformations achieved in the health and education of the Chinese people were made possible by agricultural and industrial advances that enlarge one's view of human capabilities.

The tabular form is the quickest for conveying the basic data demonstrating these advances. We will present relevant figures for the two fundamental industrial products, steel and coal, and for the two products most clearly associated, in a direct sense, with living standards, namely, the production of food crops and of cotton. The figures for the first three are in *millions of tons*; the figures for cotton are in *thousands of tons*; the years chosen—1949, 1952, 1957, 1958—represent the year of the success of the Revolution, of the start of the Five-Year Plan, of the conclusion of that first Plan, and the year of the "Great Leap Forward."

PRODUCTION IN PEOPLE'S CHINA

	1949	1952	1957	1958
Steel:	0.16	1.30	5.3	11.0
Coal:	31.0	63.5	130.5	270.0
Food Crops:	113.2	163.9	185.0	375.0
Cotton:	444.0	1,304.0	1,640.0	3,350.0

To this may be added the figures for 1959, according to the Plan, now in operation: Steel: 18 million tons; Coal: 380 million tons; Food Crops: 525 million tons; Cotton: 5 million tons.

Such spectacular advances basically change not only the whole nature of China; they also, since they are so enormous and since China contains one-fourth of humanity, fundamentally alter the whole picture of world resources and capacities. As just one illustration of what is meant, take the matter of rice, staple food that it has been and is for half of mankind. Before World War II, China was a major importer of rice, but since the 1949 Revolution this has been changed. China now leads the world in the production of rice (as she does, incidentally, of cotton); in fact, the December, 1958 *Bulletin of Agri-*

\* An AP dispatch from Tokyo, dated Nov. 1, 1958, gave figures considerably higher than these for 1958; but the figures above are those in the "Report on the Work of the Government," made by Premier Chou En-lai, to the Second National People's Congress, April 18, 1959.

*cultural Statistics*, published by the United Nations, reports it likely that in 1959 China will produce more rice than the rest of the world put together. She already is a significant exporter of rice, having shipped to the Soviet Union alone about 450,000 tons in 1958. The U.N. estimates that in 1959 China's exports to the rest of the world, exclusive of those to the USSR, will amount to about 850,000 tons, or one-fifth of world shipments of rice.

China's conquest of hunger is one of the decisive events in human history; its impact upon the rest of Asia, and upon the chronically starving millions in Africa, Latin America and the Mid-East, is already great and will accumulate in geometrical progression in the immediate future. And that, in conquering her own hunger, China simultaneously has made it possible for herself to contribute directly towards the elimination of hunger in other areas of the world, likewise will have an irresistibly attractive force, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial regions.

Lord Boyd Orr, a pre-eminent authority on food problems, in the source cited earlier, said that absolutely "astonishing results were being obtained in China" in the production of wheat, cotton, soybeans and other crops. The population of China, he reported, was now growing at the rate of about 20 millions every year, but he was confident that China had not only solved the problem of food for the present, as he had seen with his own eyes, but was fully capable now to assure a well-fed population despite this enormous yearly increment.

Very recently, another distinguished visitor to the new China, Professor Keith M. Buchanan, of the University of Wellington, New Zealand, also reported that it had been

demonstrated conclusively that, with the new techniques, it would be possible to meet the expanding food needs of China's population by intensified utilization of the area most suited to agriculture; that, far from having to look for new agricultural land, they could afford to allow marginal arable land to be diverted to other, more suitable, types of use. (*Monthly Review*, May, 1959).

What explains this unprecedented release of productive energies? Technical changes offer an explanation on one level: deep-plowing has been substituted for the old earth-scraping process; chemical insecticides and fertilizer are used in quality and in quantity as never before; in the last few years over 116,000 square miles of eroded land have been restored; as much land was irrigated from 1953 through 1957 in China as had been irrigated in the previous four thousand years—in 1958 an additional 64 million acres were irrigated; 30 million acres of water-logged soil were drained and put into production in 1958 alone; a vast forestation campaign is literally changing China's climate, and serving to fasten its soil—in the one year, 1958, over 51 million acres had been afforested, which was twice what had been done in the preceding eight years.\*

\* These data and more are in the essays by French and Indian scholars, collected under the title, *China Shakes the World Again*, published by Monthly Review Press, N. Y., 1959, 64 pp. \$1.

But this explanation is on a peripheral level, for all of these technical processes were well known long before the success of the Chinese Revolution in 1949. The fundamental explanation lies in that Revolution, which, turning the people of China towards Socialism, has eliminated the contradictions in the old order that inhibited the productive capabilities of the masses. Old China, landlord-ridden and semi-colonial, was based upon the most intense exploitation of the labor of her people; it was a thoroughly parasitic and anti-human system, with the owners of the means of production driving towards their own personal enrichment. It was a system of oppression wherein the mode of private appropriation inhibited and restrained the productive capacities of modern technique and organization.

The Chinese Revolution has fundamentally transformed all this: colonialism is finished; landlordism is finished; serfdom is finished; the enslavement of women is finished. Instead of inhibiting the capacities of the people, the new system releases those capacities; instead of a superfluous population, with half of it diseased and almost all of it illiterate, now there cannot be too many Chinese and their health is a matter of prime concern for all society; now the Chinese are catching up with and overtaking the rest of the world in literacy and skill; now the women have been liberated; now there is a new zest and vitality to living and working. Now western "Old China hands" stand astonished as the "lazy" and "backward" Chinese peasant cannot work fast enough to suit himself, and masters techniques and skills as a dry sponge absorbs water.

That which is true in agriculture, is true in industry. Some of the basic data, in terms of coal and steel production, were presented earlier. During the First Five Year Plan overall industrial production rose 68 per cent; simultaneously the economy of China was transformed so that—with the exception of a few national minority areas—the private ownership of the means of production was eliminated and replaced either by socialist collective ownership—particularly in agriculture—or socialist ownership by the whole people—particularly in industry.

On the basis of that transformation, and with the enhanced numbers and skills of its people, and with the fundamental technical base laid, there came the historic "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, as tremendous in industry as in agriculture. In fact, the increases in production of steel, coal, and machine tools in 1958 were greater than the increases in these items from 1952 through 1957. Overall, industrial production (including handicrafts) increased 65 per cent in 1958 compared with 1957.

The sources for the advances in industry as in agriculture lay in socialization. This means, in addition to what has already been said, the necessity and possibility of effective *planning* on all levels which itself pushes production forward enormously; it means also, mass initiative, collectively derived and collectively offered. This, culminating in the historic popular-inspired commune movement, is remaking China and making human history before our eyes—have we but eyes to look and to see.

And behind everything stands the organized will and knowledge of the

working people of China—and of the world—bound together in that outlook called Marxism-Leninism and epitomized in the magnificent Communist Party of China, inspirer and organizer of the People's Revolution and of the People's advances.

All these accomplishments have been forthcoming despite the hostility, boycott and blockade of the United States; they have been assisted by the fraternal contributions of the Soviet Union and of other European socialist lands. China has the inestimable advantage of building socialism in a world wherein the Soviet Union was the first; it learns from the pioneer's problems and accomplishments and it benefits from the bounty fraternally offered by that pioneer.

The dominant communications organs in our country seek to throw cold water on the figures demonstrating the inspiring advances made by the Chinese people; the methods vary from colossal falsehoods as in the columns of Joseph Alsop to mildly-worded minimizations and carefully spun distortions in which the editorial writers of the *New York Times* have specialized for at least two generations. The purpose is to hide the great truth about our revolutionary era; in the past this schizophrenic policy led the general staffs of the military machines of all capitalist powers to expect Hitler-Germany to conquer the Soviet Union in six weeks and then to stand aghast as the USSR not only was not conquered in six weeks but fought on for four years and then utterly defeated her foes. What a "service" such a policy and such conduct is to mankind; and what a splendid service it is to the national interests of the United States! True it is that certain scholars are trying to warn their employers—even though in tortured prose—that the picture craved by the rich is a construct of their desires and not a depiction of reality. For example, Richard Moorsteen, of the Rand Corporation—civilian intelligence arm of the U.S. Air Force—after thirty pages of hemming and hawing in an examination of the "Economic Prospects for Communist China" (*World Politics*, January, 1959) ends on this ingenious note of carefully-restrained enthusiasm:

Thus far in its brief tenure, the regime [he means the Chinese People's Republic], has displayed both tenacity and ingenuity in grappling with difficulties of great magnitude. It would hardly be wise, therefore, to assume too lightly that, one way or another, the problems of the future will not be overcome as well.

The people's will made the New China, and that will is making world history in the strides forward of that New China. To keep that will alive requires a conscious effort to arouse mass participation and creativeness; to encourage as never before in the history of Asia mass initiative and responsibility and to seek out originality. While the imperialists try to convey the idea of the New China as epitomizing a robot-like, dreary and beaten civilization, the truth is exactly the opposite. Professor Joseph Needham, of Cambridge University, probably the outstanding Western authority on the history and society of China, finds there that the masses of people "are given every opportunity for the expres-

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sion of criticism." Extreme care is taken," he writes, "to foster all kinds of new ideas arising among the mass of the people, and to encourage originality." The watchword that he saw proclaimed and acted upon everywhere in China was: "Dare to think, Dare to speak, Dare to act!" (*New Statesman*, London, January 3, 1959).

Ella Winter, in a most moving article in *The Nation* (March 7, 1959), begins her report of a recent visit to China by remarking: "We have been beaten over the head in our era, sometimes unexpected blows, and they have taught us caution." So, as she states, she went to China with "plenty of grains of salt" and sought out the worst aspects of life. She really was "from Missouri."

She knew the China of the past—landless poverty, hunger, illiteracy, prostitution, interminable labor with widespread unemployment—and despite her grains of salt, her deliberately adopted pose of "show me," she was shown and she saw; above all, she saw the new spirit of the people. They were infinitely better off; they were joyous; they were confident; they were moving forward; and they were proud, now; and they were free. Ella Winter concludes:

What they say is, "Now we can stand up." You literally see confidence and self-respect replacing servility and self-depreciation. And when I asked over and over, "Are you better off?" they laughed in my face.

### III

In the areas of Asia where national independence has been achieved but where Socialism is not being built consciously and where the private ownership of the means of production persists, the history of the past ten years is altogether different from that of China. This fact may be illustrated best by comparing developments in India with those in China. India, like China, is continental in expanse. Population-wise it is the nearest nation to China that exists—some 400 million people. And the resources of India are fully comparable to those of China. While certain factors present in India operate against her, as compared with China—for instance the monsoons in India are more destructive than in China, and the caste and religious problems of India are more onerous than anything comparable in China—there are other factors that operate the other way, notably the devastation wrought by Japanese imperialism in China, the added destruction brought upon China by the Civil War, the costs of the Korean conflict, and the blockade of China by the United States. Weighing all of these, and other matters, a comparison between the progress of China and of India in the recent past is fair. The results of such a comparison are all in favor, in every respect, of the Chinese People's Republic and against the Republic of India. And the decisive difference between the two states that alone can account for so striking a difference is that one has taken the path of socialism and the other has not.

Hunger, plague and illiteracy still devastate India. Unemployment is huge

and chronic. And despite her Five Year Plan the economy has moved forward very little—barely enough to keep abreast of the population increase. Using official figures, as provided by the UN, and using the years 1947—when India's independence was established, 1951—when her Five Year Plan began and 1956—when that Plan ended, and giving the figures in millions of tons, we find:

#### PRODUCTION IN INDIA

	1947	1951	1956
Steel:	1.2	1.4	1.7
Coal:	30.0	32.3	38.0
Food Crops:	52.3	54.0	65.3

The whole balance of forces in the world is shifting rapidly in the direction of gous developments in the New China. The difference is extraordinary and is evoking the greatest concern from the strategists of the "Free World." But those strategists—even the best-meaning of them—are locked in the dilemma of the realities of imperialism; the backwardness of an enormous area like India is due to the exploitation and parasitism of imperialism, whose advanced technology and standards are based, to a large degree, upon the retarded condition of the colonial and semi-colonial world.

The lesson of China—for the people to take their own fate and their own resources into their own hands and to consciously and collectively plan the use and the appropriation of their resources and to build a new life by themselves and for themselves; that this is the road to full national liberation and towards a really emancipated human existence—this lesson surely will be learned, indeed, is being learned every day, by the Indian people.

#### Conclusion

The whole balance of forces in the world is shifting rapidly in the direction of the greater and greater strength of the socialist sector. A vivid illustration of, and a major contributing source for this is the New China.

Within ten or fifteen years, all of us will be living in a world in which—if peace has been maintained—the leading industrial and agricultural countries will both be socialist; they will be the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. It requires no argument at all to see that this means a fundamentally new page will be turned in the history of mankind.

The policy of the United States Government, based on a complete distortion of reality, is devoted to the destruction of socialism in the world and, specifically as concerns China, is based on its destruction by boycott and blockade and via the "liberating" potential of the armies of Chiang backed up by the naval and air force of the United States. Such a policy induces the hatred of the peoples of the world, endangers world peace, and puts the people of the United States



in jeopardy of fighting a new war in the worst possible place, and against that power which, probably better than any other, would be able to sustain even nuclear assault. Hence, from every point of view—military, diplomatic, commercial, not to speak of moral—the present policy of our government vis-a-vis China is wrong and catastrophic.

It is a policy which must be changed and which can be changed. There are considerable economic and commercial pressures building up among elements of the bourgeoisie in our own country for a change in this aspect, at least, of our foreign policy; and public opinion generally, is demanding more and more—as witness recent policy declarations by powerful church organizations—the recognition by the U.S. of China, its seating in the United Nations, and the termination of the economically absurd blockade of the 660 million people in China.

We, who value the good name of our country and seek the welfare of our compatriots, must redouble our efforts to alarm the country as to the disaster implicit in the present State Department line towards China. Millions of our fellow citizens are ready for this message; they will join with us to bring about this needed change in governmental policy.

# Thomas Paine: Citizen of Two Worlds

By Christopher Brunel

*One hundred and fifty years ago—on June 8, 1809—Thomas Paine, one of the greatest revolutionaries in history, died in New York City. His impact, directly, upon the history of Great Britain, France and, especially, our own country, was enormous, while his ideas and writings are known everywhere in the world where love of freedom is cherished. On this anniversary, Christopher Brunel, an English authority on the life of Paine—and son of the late Adrian Brunel, probably the leading English authority on Paine's life—has written for this magazine, the essay that follows.—The Editor.*

CONSIDERING THE GREAT influence that Thomas Paine had on his times, it is remarkable that so little is known of him today. Yet scores of his sayings, like "The world is my country, and to do good my religion," deserve to be as often quoted for their wisdom as the best of Shakespeare. But the truth about Paine is that he did far more than coin quotable phrases that can be used by politicians and after-dinner speakers, for he was a revolutionary, whose deeds matched the inspirational quality of his words. That was why he was vilified and smeared by the privileged classes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and why a conspiracy of silence has been maintained about his life. The mud flung by his enemies has, unfortunately, often been recalled more than the love, respect, and admiration of great men and the millions of lowly followers who found inspiration in this remarkable Englishman, who was also honored with citizenship of both America and France.

Paine did not just dream of utopia in the way that have numerous geniuses, who can often be belittled as being "years before their time." Much that he proposed in his *Rights of Man* (1791), has not yet been achieved in wide sections of the globe today, yet what he then was putting forward was accurately geared to the needs of those times, too. That was one of his skills. Another was the clarity of his writings, which were always in great demand by the poor and the unprivileged, so making their author an ever greater danger to the oppressors of liberty. This theme constantly recurs in Paine's eventful life. The attempts at the time to suppress his writings often boomeranged. Paine's first faithful biographer, Thomas Clio Rickman, wrote:

It has happened happily for many years past, thanks to the art of printing and the means adopted to crush the circulation of knowledge, that the very modes employed to accomplish this end

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have not only proved abortive, but have given wings to truth, diffused it into every corner of the universe.

## EARLY LIFE

Born on January 29, 1737, in the English village of Thetford in Norfolk, Thomas Paine was educated at the local grammar school, and later worked in his father's business of stay-making. His father was a Quaker, but young Tom rebelled against religion as it was taught to him. Writing of his early days, he says, "I believe that any system of religion that has anything in it that shocks the mind of a child, cannot be a true system." His lively spirit made him rebel against the monotony of his apprenticeship, and he ran away to sea, signing on with the ominously named Captain Death of the privateer *Terrible*; his father overtook him on board and hauled him back, but the boy ran away again and this time saw enough service at sea to cure his romantic illusions. These early impressions on him probably gave him his strong hatred of war, while also giving him an understanding of the need to fight, when the cause was just.

He went next to London, where he continued corset-making in Long Acre, studying philosophy and astronomy in his spare time—further influences that were to leave their mark on his brain. He decided to change to a profession, through which he might earn more money, and which

would enable him to continue his studies. He joined the Excise Service, which had been the profession of his wife's father. He was stationed in Lewes in Sussex, and although the Customs man was not *persona grata* in a district where smuggling was an honored calling, he himself was popular, being prominent in the local debating society and spokesman of the grossly underpaid Excise Officers. Paine wrote a statement of their case, a moderate plea for a profession that through being so badly paid laid its employees open to abuse their trust, but, despite the humble reasonableness of this document, he immediately became a marked man. To have discharged him would have caused an uproar among his fellow Excisemen, as they were already becoming militant, openly accusing Mr. Pitt and other members of the Government of dealing in the smugglers' black market.

So the authorities issued a warrant for his arrest for debt, but his friends helped him to escape to London, where he cleared his debt. Jobs do not come easily to rebels, and apart from a pittance as a schoolmaster he was more or less destitute. He attended lectures on science, and made many interesting friends, one of whom altered the whole course of his life. This was the great Benjamin Franklin, then in London representing some of the American colonies, who regarded Paine as "an ingenious young man." Together they dis-

cussed electricity, literature—and democracy. Dr. Franklin uttered the very fine sentiment, "Where there is liberty, *there* is my country." But Tom Paine, the fighter, capped it with what deserves to be a far more memorable phrase, "Where there is *not* liberty, *there* is my country."

### IN AMERICA

Franklin persuaded Paine to seek a livelihood in the new world, and he gave him an introduction to his son-in-law; within a few weeks of Paine's arrival in Philadelphia in November 1774, he was editing the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, prolifically writing most of it himself. In his excellent biography of Paine, Moncure Daniel Conway wrote: "For eighteen months Paine edited this magazine, and probably there never was an equal amount of good literary work done on a salary of fifty pounds a year."

Conway recalls that the future author of *The Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason* warned correspondents that religion and politics were forbidden topics in the paper! One feature of Paine's was the description with illustrations of recent English inventions, not known in the new world—again one sees the scientific thread that constantly appears in Paine's life and which contributed so to his political and ethical thinking. At this time, too, Paine's love of his fellow men is revealed in an essay, published elsewhere, against

the slavery of Negroes in America; five weeks later the first American Anti-Slavery Society was established in Philadelphia. Paine has been claimed as the first American Abolitionist; this is an exaggeration, but certainly Paine was among the first to propose plans for immediate emancipation of the slaves.

Thomas Paine was also in the forefront of many other struggles; Conway describes the *Pennsylvania Magazine* during the period that Paine edited it as "a seed-bag from which this sower scattered the seeds of great reforms ripening with the progress of civilization." Paine was among the first to arraign monarchy, to advocate international arbitration, to attack duelling as being both criminal and absurd, to put forward more rational ideas of marriage and divorce, to protest against cruelty to animals, to demand justice for women and to suggest national and international copyright. What active spadework this soon proved to be for his better known political writings!

Paine realized that unless the colonists could achieve unity, their fight would fail, so he set out to explain in simple language what were the causes of the war being waged by England against them, and what should be America's aim; his work was called *Common Sense*, and although he published it anonymously, he soon became known affectionately as Mr. Common Sense. The effect was electrifying — something like

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500,000 copies being sold to a population of less than three millions. But Paine's policy was never to make any profit from his writings, and he gave all the proceeds to the fight for colonial freedom. He joined the Flying Camp, a force of tough shock troops, where he distinguished himself for bravery. But he was too valuable an asset to the Colonists' cause to be risked in this way. Things were going desperately, and General Washington needed more of such exhortations from Paine's pen as: "*O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare to oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot in the old world is overrun with aggression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. . . . O receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.*"

So, after the day's fighting, Paine would sit by the camp fire, and with a drum for a desk he would write his exhortation, *The American Crisis*, which opened with the inspiring words:

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of men and women. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph. . . .

George Washington was so impressed by Paine's persuasive inspira-

tion that he gave orders for this first of Paine's eloquent *Crisis Papers* to be read out to the hungry and despairing troops. In his *Life of Thomas Paine* Conway said, "Not a chord of faith, or love, or hope was left untouched." Not having an encyclopaedia with him in the field, there were the inevitable small errors, which the dilettanti have spotlighted. Conway illustrates one of Paine's mistakes, and dwarfs it with the spirit of Paine's writing:

He speaks of what Joan of Arc did in "the fourteenth century," and exclaims: "Would that heaven might inspire some Jersey maid to spirit up her countrymen, and save her fair fellow sufferers from ravage and ravishment!" Joan was born in 1410, but . . . the literary musket reaches its mark.

Once again one sees proof of the eloquent effectiveness of this "literary musketeer," whom his readers had no difficulty in identifying as one of themselves. The effect of the *Crisis Papers* was magical, and undoubtedly it helped change the fortunes of war for the Americans. Soon after his return from a very successful fund-raising mission to France, the war was won and the United States of America was declared free and independent. Paine had done so much to achieve this—he even coined the term, United States of America. Even the hostile James Cheetham in his biography of Paine admitted the powerful effects of *Common Sense*:

This pamphlet of forty octavo pages, holding out relief by proposing independence to an oppressed and despairing people, was published in January 1776; speaking a language which the colonists had felt, but not thought of. Its popularity, terrible in its consequences to the parent country, was unexampled in the history of the press.

*Common Sense* laid the foundations for the Declaration of Independence, which itself embodied so many of the principles that Paine had been propounding.

#### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Paine returned to Europe, and once again retired to his second love—science—working on his plans for a remarkable iron bridge, which he had hoped to erect in America. A foundry in Rotherham, England, built a large model, which was shown in London in 1790. Despite financial problems, the bridge eventually was built to Paine's design at Sunderland over the Wear in 1793-96, though his championing of the French Revolution caused the bigots of the day to deprive him of the credit.

Although the early phases of the French Revolution were comparatively sober and seemed to Paine and the Radicals of the period as if they would settle down to an unbloody upheaval, radically righting undoubted wrongs, most of the possessing and privileged classes in Britain were in a state of panic—and with good reason, for the French na-

tion had not only laid the axe to the foot of tyranny, but overthrown a Court that, like the British Court, was burdening the French people with heavy taxes. Authority in Britain reacted in a manner reflecting their panic. The American revolutionaries had won, and now these revolutionary ideas were spreading to France. The freedom-loving people of Britain, who had so enthusiastically supported the people in America, might take such ideas further in their own country. Subtlety was out. Instead of accommodating themselves to the change in France, extending a friendly hand to the new democracy, however insincere, and exercising a pacifying influence, the privileged classes organized a Court-Intern of Europe to oppose France, a campaign that was launched by Edmund Burke in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 30,000 elegantly bound copies of which were presented to "the right people" throughout Europe.

Paine had already been warned of the treachery of his one-time friend and had learned that Burke had become a secret pensioner of the Government. Burke's book was published on November 1, 1790, and Paine threw up everything else to write a reply to it. Paine sat down in his room at the Angel Inn in Islington, London, and began Part One of his world-famous *Rights of Man*, which was published on March 13, 1791. Its importance can not only be measured in the millions of copies

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that have been sold throughout the world since then, but in the fact that its success was instantaneous. The work begins with a refutation of Burke's extraordinary theory that the people of England "utterly disclaim" any right to choose their own Government and that they will resist this with their lives and fortunes. Paine wrote in reply:

That men should take up arms and spend their lives and fortunes, *not* to maintain their rights, but to maintain they have *not* rights, is an entirely new discovery and suited to the paradoxical genius of Mr. Burke . . . his arguments are, that the persons, or the generations of persons, in whom they did exist, are dead, and with them the right is dead also.

Paine next proceeds to lay down the first principles of government and this is perhaps one of the clearest expositions of the principles of democracy in its widest and most liberal sense. Although to refute the great Burke was part of Paine's purpose, this was not Paine's main aim, though it does impart a spice and liveliness to an otherwise serious and constructive work. So far as thinking people were concerned, Burke was demolished. He, indeed, had no answer, and declared that the only refutation Paine's work deserved was "that of criminal justice."

When Burke's and Paine's works are read today, one may wonder how Burke could have hoped to get away with his shallow arguments, based

on false sentiment. Paine knew Burke's character and tactics, and remarked:

It is genius at random, and not genius constituted. But he must say something. He has therefore mounted in the air like a balloon, to draw the eyes of the multitude from the ground they stand upon.

Paine goes on to analyze Burke's distortions of the Revolution in France, putting on record the true history of events up to 1791. He wrote with first-hand knowledge, having witnessed some of the events himself, having mingled with the crowds and having been in close contact with Lafayette, Danton, Brissot and many others. His exposition of the sequence of events before and after the fall of the Bastille is one of the most interesting and readable, enlivened as it is with Paine's ironic commentary, for example:

I know a place in America, called Point-No-Point, because as you proceed along the shore, gay and flowery as Mr. Burke's language, it continually recedes . . . but when you have got as far as you can go, there is no point at all. Just thus is it with Mr. Burke's 356 pages.

Cross-cutting with Paine's account of events leading up to the French Revolution are constant comparisons with recent history and with the forms of government of present-day America and Britain; one is con-



stantly reminded of current incidents, particularly in his references to civil rights, government expenditure, bureaucracy, war, foreign relations, rights and duties.

Burke had not bargained for such a devastating reply to his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. As Conway states:

He had not imagined the completeness with which the struggle in America had trained this man in every art of controversy. Grappling with Philadelphia Tories, Quakers, reactionists, with aristocrats on the one hand and anarchists on the other, Paine had been familiarized beyond all men with every deep and by-way of the subject on which Burke had ventured. Where Burke had dabbled Paine had dived.

In a short time 200,000 copies had been sold in England alone, though it was later banned, and Paine and those who printed and published it were prosecuted. Accounts of the trials of Paine, Richard Carlile, D. I. Eaton and many others were often printed and published as popular pamphlets. *The Rights of Man* was translated into many languages, the most remarkable being the Swedish, since it was translated by one of the King's secretaries. One of the most interesting features (in Part Two) is the blueprint he wrote of future social-welfare programs with recommendations for old age pensions, family grants for each child, maternity benefit and no means test amongst other proposals. All were

practical and carefully worked out in terms of financing them.

But the witchhunt engineered by Paine's opponents was so intense that William Blake and others of his friends begged him to accept the urgent request for his presence in the French Convention, to which he had been elected as the Deputy for Calais. His journey from Calais to Paris was a triumphal tour, but the triumph did not last long. Reasoning from the American Revolution, he went along with the Girondists, who opposed the stern measures taken to consolidate and extend the Revolution. Lafayette was in charge of the King, and it seemed to Paine as if things would settle down peacefully; but reaction within was actively intriguing with hostile foreign powers, and the fate of the Revolution was in the balance. Lafayette burst into Paine's bedroom and cried, "The birds have flown!" The Royal family had left the Palace, but the King was arrested—he had condemned himself by a secret document, denouncing all the liberal measures he had signed since October 1789, and a motion was proposed in the Convention to execute the King. Paine opposed this motion, arguing that to kill your prisoner was bad politics; it would make him a martyr, said Paine, and he proposed that he be banished. In this Paine had perhaps underestimated the strength of the counter-revolutionary forces, though there were other contributory reasons for his opposing execution, not

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least being humanitarian reasons. Paine was in the unique position of understanding the great importance to the American Revolution of the aid that the King had given America, when he and Colonel Laurens had gone to the King in 1781 for much-needed funds. But Paine's view did not prevail, and he was ostracized by the Convention.

### "THE AGE OF REASON"

For some time he lived on in Paris in seclusion in a community of distinguished rebels and intellectuals, which included Mary Wollstonecroft and Madame Roland; then one day, on the order of Robespierre, he was arrested and confined to the Luxembourg Palace, which had been converted into a prison. He had already started writing *The Age of Reason*, a deist's analysis of organized religion, and he continued hard at this in prison with the knowledge that the guillotine might at any moment end the physical agony a painful growth in his side was causing him. When Robespierre (who had signed his death warrant), fell, James Monroe, the new American Ambassador, got Paine released in 1794, and for eighteen months he and Mrs. Monroe nursed the now white-haired, aged and sick man back to health.

Paine was re-instated in the Convention, and the then still revolutionary Napoleon declared that "a statue of gold should be erected to him in

every city of the universe." Paine nearly succumbed to this flattery but realized in time that Napoleon was not the great liberator he claimed to be. Paine remained in Paris for some years, until his good friend Jefferson became President of the United States, and in 1802 he returned to America. But Jefferson was not all-powerful, the reign of the democrats did not last, and soon Paine found himself in a hostile land—he was even refused the right to vote. But he fought on until his death in New York City, on June 8, 1809; he had directed that his grave stone should bear just his name, age and the words, "Author of *Common Sense*." His remains were brought to England by William Cobbett, who in a generous restitution for his earlier bitter attacks on Paine planned to have a magnificent tomb erected to this first citizen of two worlds. (Unfortunately, Paine's bones were lost). Perhaps Andrew Jackson was right, however, when he declared: "Thomas Paine needs no monument made by hands; he has erected a monument in the hearts of all lovers of liberty. *The Rights of Man* will be more enduring than all the piles of marble and granite that man can erect."

### CONCLUSION

Even today, 150 years after his death, so much of what he wrote is as readable as when it was first composed. Perhaps it is his *Age of Reason* more than any other of

his writings, that caused reaction to weave a blanket of silence over Paine. Not everything, though, can be hidden, and so the old abuse and slander, reserved for modern Marxists, is repeated today; everything was flung at him—from allegations of treason to drunkenness. (Howard Fast swallowed the latter in his inaccurate portrait, *Citizen Tom Paine*, published in 1943). A reformer and a humanitarian, he was more than these alone, as is illustrated in his attitude to the slave trade; he went further than protests against the terrible cruelties inflicted on the Negro slaves in his proposals for their emancipation. He also realized that the Negro peoples had to take an active part in the leadership against slavery; in writing to a friend in Philadelphia from France in 1790 about his anxiety to see his "much loved America," he stated:

I despair of seeing an abolition of the infernal traffic in Negroes. We must push that matter further on your side of the water. I wish that a few well-

instructed could be sent among their brethren in bondage; for until they are able to take their own part nothing will be done.

In writing to Abraham Lincoln in 1865, Karl Marx referred to the impulse of the democratic republic of America ("whence the first *Declaration of the Rights of Man* was issued"), given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century. Such ideas were developed further by the Chartists in Britain, and still further extended, of course, in the ideas of Marxism. There is little trace in the works of Marx and Engels of any direct acquaintance with Paine's life and work. But in an article to the *New York Daily Tribune* (July 28, 1854), after references to the reactionary policy of Palmerston in Spain and elsewhere, Marx wrote, "It is not surprising that Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* was publicly burned in this free and blessed land"—an indication of Marx's estimation of the principles that this truly great man preached and practiced.

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## Book Reviews

### ON EARLY U.S. HISTORY

By William Z. Foster

A first class event in the cultural world is the beginning of the publication of Herbert Aptheker's monumental Marxist-Leninist *History of the American People*. The work, which will cover the entire scope of American history, will comprise a dozen volumes. The first of these, just published, is entitled *The Colonial Era*, (International Publishers, N. Y., 160 pp. \$2.) The other volumes, written around decisive events and periods in our nation's history, will appear from time to time in the near future. The books are designed for popular reading and wide circulation.

The American working class is badly in need of a good general Marxist history, one which will make clear the past of the country, explain the nation's relationship to the rest of the world, and point out definitely where it is heading in the present complex international situation. There are plenty of general American histories, but, for the most part, being capitalist-inspired, they are full of errors, prejudices, and shortcomings. Their authors are interested, mainly, in justifying the development of the prevailing social system and the capitalist class. This is the be-all and end-all of history for the "respectable" historians.

The life of the American people—the question of centuries of Negro chattel slavery, the ever-present butchery of the Indians, the long growth of the trade-crises, the devastating effects of wars and revolutions on

the life of the great masses in the factories and on the farms—these are but of subordinate importance to the orthodox historians in contrast to their prime interest in the financial welfare of the capitalist system. In this respect, the liberal historians, like Parrington and the Beards, differ but in degree from the more reactionary ones, like Fiske or Oberholtzer. In the predominant histories, the life and experience of the Negroes, the industrial workers, and the Indians, is left practically out of the picture. Symptomatically, the liberal historians, the Beards, were particularly short on all three of these mass aspects.

This one-sided history would be ample enough reason why there should be an authentic Marxist history written, but the need is rendered all the greater because monopoly capitalism has set its historians, economists, and other specialists, to work cleaning up its reputation, both at present and historically. How far they have progressed in this respect was made typically evident, among many other glaring facts, in the 1958 New York State elections. In these elections the two candidates for Governor, Averill Harriman and Nelson Rockefeller, are immediate descendants of the financial bandits of the same names who founded their gigantic fortunes. Innumerable broken strikes, slaughtered workers, and corrupted governments, were associated for many years with their industrial empires, but in this election the issue

of their enormous wealth and its noise-some history was hardly raised, except by the Left.

It is no longer "proper," even in liberal circles, to check back on the crimes by which the great monopolies established and maintained themselves. Indeed, it is quite within the range of possibility that Rockefeller, one of the richest men in the world, spouting demagogic platitudes, will be the Republican candidate for President in 1960. In the work of whitewashing the history of the monopolies and their robber-baron founders, those historians who call themselves liberals, like Schlesinger, are hardly to be distinguished from the more conservative brand of historians. The works of these soothsayers of monopoly capital clutter up the libraries of the schools and colleges all over the country. Their brand of history is being pumped into the minds of the American youth. As things now stand, they pretty much have the monopoly upon the writing and publication of American history.

In its hey-day, from 1901 to about 1919, the Socialist Party, although it had many competent writers in its ranks, did very little general history writing. Three of the most important works it produced were Gustavus Myers' *History of the Supreme Court*, and *History of the Great American Fortunes*, and Charles E. Russell's *Stories of the Great Railroads*. In general, for United States history, however, the Socialist Party depended upon the many "muckrakers" of the times, and upon the voluminous works of the popular McMaster.

The Communist Party, in its period from 1919 on, undoubtedly turned

out better historical writing than did the Socialist Party, but its writers did not undertake a general history until Aptheker's *A History of the American People*. Comrade Aptheker is splendidly equipped for doing this huge task. He has had a wealth of writing experience in this field; he is an extremely prolific worker; he is thoroughly grounded in Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology; and he has no peer among American historians. The twelve moderate-sized volumes (each will run about 200 pages) should be bought, read, and saved as they appear. At last, the working class and its allies will not have to depend upon alien class forces for their published versions of American history, but will have a history of their own, fully worthy of the extremely complicated past and present faced by the toiling masses of this country. Aptheker's historical book fulfills a long-felt need.

## II

In *The Colonial Era*, the first volume of his historical work, Aptheker handles the complex matters of American history with his usual skill. He takes us through the many involved movements and situations from the earliest days of colonization to the eve of the Revolution. He portrays the growth of the American people, and the laying of the foundations of the Republic, which brings us right into the beginning of the Revolutionary epoch, the general subject of the second volume in the series.

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present area of the United States gotten well under way, at the beginning of the 17th century, when a half dozen European powers—England, France, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Russia—fell into a scramble with each other for possession of the rich territory. They collided in four major wars and countless minor forays. This dog-eat-dog battle lasted until the third quarter of the 18th century, when England finally emerged the victor, in 1763, dealing a decisive defeat to France in America, by stripping that country of Canada.

Throughout the entire colonial period, the Indians, the original inhabitants of all the American territory, were brutally robbed and slaughtered by all the white invading nations. The various governors and generals considered them as having no valid claim to their homeland, and took the position that the whites should have no moral scruples about pillaging or destroying them with the most savage brutality. But the Indians fought back with magnificent skill and courage. One of the most inspiring aspects of our national history was the fight of the Indian peoples in defense of their homes—an heroic fight, but a losing one. They produced many celebrated warriors, and they fought resolutely until the latter part of the 19th century. The Indian resistance was all the more remarkable because of their small numbers and their primitive weapons, due to the lower stage of their civilization. How effectively they fought was illustrated by the Iroquois, who controlled the northwestern frontier all through the colonial period. Nevertheless, this historic federation of tribes,

as Aptheker points out, numbered only about 16,000 persons in all, which was only a fraction of the numerical strength of the colonists constantly arrayed against them. It is one of the characteristics of bourgeois histories that they invariably give the Indians much the worst of it. Aptheker, however, makes a full and free presentation of the struggle of the Indians a foundation part of his book.

As the English gradually pushed back the other powers, and confiscated afresh from them the land which had been stolen from the Indians, they built up their colonial economic system on a merchantile basis. That is, they erected only such trade and industry in the colonies, and they constructed their governments, churches, etc., to match, so that the whole social mechanism would give to England the greatest possible advantage. In his next volume, Aptheker will deal more fully with the development of industry in the colonies. The English rulers looked upon the colonists as being mere tools in their hands, as though created for their particular welfare. They were the forerunners of the later-day arrogant imperialists who overran whole sections of the world. Aptheker fully documents the colonial development, showing how, from the outset, the colonists necessarily collided with the avaricious English overlords. He points out that the consequent contradictions were of basic importance in leading irresistibly to the eventual revolutionary explosion.

The bourgeoisie in the colonies lived wealthy, indolent lives. The following picture from *The Colonial Era*, might well apply to a Southern planter, a

New England merchant, or a British landlord or bureaucrat: "The rich lived in colonial America as they lived everywhere. A town and country house; thousands of acres; dozens of servants and/or slaves; lavish meals; incessant parties; silks and satins, velvets and pearls; carriages and gold plate; fashionable plays, and music and books; affairs, alliances, intrigues, high and mighty offices; an intense preoccupation with holding on to all this and rationalizing it, and keeping the 'lower sort' in their proper place. These differences were the work and the will of God, else they would not exist."

"Among the free laboring masses of the American colonies," says Aptheker, "life was hard and militancy was widespread. . . . In the cities prostitution was rife, beggars abounded, poor-houses were crowded, slums were already present, and the hundreds who depended on public relief to keep alive had to wear a badge reflecting their degraded status. In the rural areas the plainest fare, the rudest shelter, the coarsest clothing, was the rule for almost all who labored with their hands. And in cities and in farms, the free poor worked as the poor have always worked—very hard and very long."

The bulk of the population were the poor farmers, but there was an incipient working class—laborers, mechanics, sailors, etc. These were paid, slightly better than in England, from 25 to 85 cents per day for 12 hours work or more. Land was cheap, relatively speaking, but the workers—those of them who were free—were paid so little that they had great difficulty in buying any.

The English rulers of America quickly developed various kinds of slavery—white, red, and black—to serve as burden bearers and profit creators. The colonial employers were not a bit slow in imposing these various forms of servitude upon the toilers, but of course, the English had the lead in all such activities. They allowed no scruples to stand in their way. It was difficult to enslave the whites beyond what was customary in England, but the employers—planters, merchants, etc.—nevertheless succeeded fairly well. One of their favorite devices was to force the workers (either "voluntarily" or by kidnapping) to sell themselves into servitude for a term of years, usually seven, in payment for the fare across the Atlantic. These indentured workers were only a degree or two above actual slaves, being sold as so many beasts, beaten at the master's whim, and generally treated as his property. The system lasted right down to, and beyond, the Revolution. For the first century or so in the colonies, the system was very important, not only in the North, but especially on the tobacco, rice, and indigo plantations of the South. In 1683, for example, there were 16,000 indentured workers in Virginia as against 3,000 Negro slaves. The Negro slave system was just getting well under way.

With the Indians, the greedy employers did not do so well in their plans of slavery. They tried hard enough to develop real Indian slaves, and there were numerous such throughout the colonies. But they were relatively few in number, and being on their home ground, it was easy for them to flee to their brethren in the forests and put up a fight. About the

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only way that the English and other colonial masters could exploit the body of the Indians, aside from robbing them of their lands, was in the fur trade. The Indians, in return for guns, powder, pots, pans, and other articles that they could not manufacture, virtually became the peons of the unscrupulous whites trading for fur.

It was with Negroes, however, that the employers, particularly the big planters, found it more feasible to enslave the masses, and they succeeded in gathering together a large body of slaves. Africa was not too far off, it had a large population, and the slavers were without mercy or moral compunction. Gathered up from various parts of Africa, speaking different languages, and with different social backgrounds, the slaves were helpless to unite. Aptheker thus portrays their plight: "Once enslaved and brought to America, the African, unlike the Indian, would be in a strange country, would not have his people and his social organization to succor him in flight or in resistance. No, once enslaved in Africa and brought to the New World, he would be literally in chains, in a foreign land, thousands of miles from home, and completely in the power of well-armed, ruthless masters, having behind them the full punitive powers of the state." (p. 16).

The English, who were the greatest of all slave-hunters, built up an enormous slave trade. This extended all over Europe, but especially it applied throughout the whole American hemisphere. By the beginning of the 18th century, chattel slavery was the predominant system in the planting economy throughout the entire American

continent. In the well on to four centuries that it lasted, no less than 65 to 75 million Negroes were seized in Africa, transported as life-long slaves to the Americas, or slaughtered in the course of the bloody traffic. As Aptheker says, "for ferocity it had no peer in the awful annals of human oppression."

There were many slave uprisings, but these were put down with the most implacable terror. The Negro slave traffic was so huge, that it not only provided a working force to the planters in the American colonies, but it also furnished a basic source of trade to the entire capitalist system. This slave trade created one of the bitterest internal disputes in American history, and the greatest war ever fought on American territory. The English overlords in the colonies were alert to force slavery upon the colonies, but the colonial planters, for the most part, did not need much urging. Comrade Aptheker, himself perhaps the leading American expert on Negro history, brings out the full significance of this great crime and all its relations with the other systems of exploitation in the colonies.

"Class struggles among the colonial free manifested themselves on many levels and in many different ways. Ideologically the challenges to the oppressive status quo ran the gamut from attacks upon particular privileges to anarchistic and levelling proposals. Politically, proposals ranged from modifications of certain tax policies to the severing of all connections with Great Britain and the establishment of an egalitarian republic. Organizationally, activities included the strike

of fishermen and the forcible ousting of a Royal governor."

One of the best phases of Aptheker's book, is the authoritative manner in which he handles the many struggles of the people against the exploiters. American colonial history is full of such class struggles, which generally are played down or misrepresented in the everyday run of history. Aptheker, however, deals with the slave revolts of the Negroes; the eternal battle of the Indians against the land thieves; the many strikes and other revolts of the white workers, both indentured and free; and the struggle of the poor farmers against the rack-renters, usurers, tax sharks, and the like. Throughout colonial life, and he well portrays it, there is an intense and rapidly developing struggle of the people against the foreign and domestic exploiters.

The colonists, particularly the lower classes, had to wage a fight on two fronts, against both the ruling English and the growing American bourgeoisie. This fight was at once economic, political, and religious. Aptheker traces it in all its ramifications. He points out that in all the provincial assemblies there were parties of the people, but he does a particularly thorough job in analyzing the political struggle of the churches of New England. This long and continuous fight was essentially political, although it was at all times heavily garbed in religious raiment. The witchhunt of Salem, at the end of the 17th century, was a murderous affair. "The Salem hunt was on, and in one year in that village and others of Essex county, 20 witches (men and women) were executed, 50 others had

confessed, 150 were in prison, and another 200 had been accused." Aptheker shows this whole affair to have been an act of desperation by a declining ruling elite. "Its failure served as a boomerang to its initiators, and helped advance the elimination of the theological tyranny in Massachusetts."

Aptheker outlines many class struggle fights that took place in the colonies. He gives a very good account of the important Bacon affair in Virginia, and especially the struggle for free speech by the printer, Peter Zenger in New York. In his account of all these popular upheavals, Aptheker makes the usually badly distorted pre-revolutionary heroes take on flesh and blood—Williams, Hutchinson, Hooker, Wise, Bacon, Coode, Leisler, Zenger, and many others. The masses had frequent recourse to direct action because there was only such a thinly developed democracy in the colonies.

Throughout the colonial period, Aptheker makes very clear, there was the growth of the American nation in spite of the English ruling class attempts to stunt and abort it. The development of the characteristic classes under colonial capitalism goes on gradually, all-sidedly, and irresistibly. The author does a good job in developing the English revolution as a decisive factor in the growth of the American people and the American Revolution, its ideological and political influences being constantly made clear. He portrays the persistent efforts of the dominant classes in England to stifle the ever-sprouting American forces—industrial, political, ideological, and national. He shows the irresistible

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press of all the social factors toward revolution, stripping colonial history of the customary distortions.

In one among many cogent paragraphs, Aptheker puts the matter thus: "In planting colonies, the rulers planted rebellion. The rebellion was organic to the contradictory interests of the colonizers and the colonists. Its seeds were nurtured in the distance between colonists and rulers; in the mixture of peoples that produced a new people as the decades passed; in the separate experiences of the colonists that united them among themselves and increasingly severed them from Home; in the distinct economies of

the colonies that, despite obstructions and restrictions, did develop; in the common feeling of dissatisfaction and exploitation and 'separateness' that, together with everything else, made of them another people."

The whole trend of Comrade Aptheker's book is to lay the basis for a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the American Revolution. This is one of the most written-up subjects in the world, but—from the evidence of this first volume—we can rest assured that Comrade Aptheker will lend it fresh content and meaning. The American Revolution is the subject matter of his second volume.

## Imperialism's Showcase

By Susan Warren

There exists among large numbers of Americans a carefully nurtured illusion concerning the U. S. government's attitude toward the independence of colonial peoples. The "care and feeding" of this illusion is an ancient national art fostered by tons of newsprint and all the mass media. Its most unctuous practitioner has been Mr. Dulles, with an exemplary bi-partisan assist from hosts of Democrats.

If there are still skeptics—then there is our "piece de resistance." Who has not heard of America's "showcase of democracy" in the Far East—the Philippines!

It is on the great wonders of American benevolence in that highly publicized "showcase," where American power and influence have been long entrenched and where the "new capitalism" so latterly discovered by liberals and sometime "Marxists" has had an unrivaled opportunity to prove itself, that an excellent study, *United States and the Philippines*, issued by Labor Research Association, throws a powerful light.\* It is a great merit of this study that the method employed is one of investigation and fact illuminated by a firm grasp of the historical movement and direction of the class forces involved. Imprecations, labels and undocumented assertions are avoided.

Instead there is the cumulative and stunning impact of organized, con-

\**U. S. and the Philippines*, by Labor Research Association (International Publishers, N. Y.), 64 pp., 50c.

temporary, factual data which show the new and current forms of United States domination of the economic and political life of the Philippines within the framework of formal independence. Methods change but not the basic policies, sometimes the means vary but never the ends. This is not to say—and the LRA study does not say it—that in the high tide of today's national independence movements, supported by the power and prestige of the socialist countries, the wings of the predatory eagle are not often clipped. In the context of existing world power relationships there is an ever widening gap between what imperialism aims to do and what it is capable of accomplishing. For any who have lately misconstrued the veering and tacking of the wounded imperialist beast for a change in its fundamental nature, the *United States and the Philippines* will be illuminating indeed.

In terms of today's facts, the study examines what remains fundamental and unchanging in U.S. relations with the Philippines and what is new and different. Fundamental and unchanging is the exploitation of the Philippines as a source of maximum colonial profits. This conclusion is bolstered by facts (among others) provided by the U.S. Bell Mission Report (Oct. 1950) on the tremendous increase in the annual profits drained by U.S. interests from the Philippines. Official and semi-official estimates which show

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the annual increase of direct investments by U.S. companies in Philippine mines, factories, plantations and other concerns are also examined. The rate of profit on the annual earnings of these investments is shown to average around 18% made by all U.S. private direct investment abroad in that year (1956) and well above the norm for U.S. domestic enterprise.

Equally fundamental and unchanging is U.S. obstruction of basic industrialization, reliance on comprador strata in the Philippines with its consequent preservation of the semi-feudal land system intact, and the ruthless repression of genuine national independence forces. Robert L. Pendleton, an American authority, is cited as reporting in his *Land Utilization in Southeast Asia* that "in spite of popular notions to the contrary, the U.S. has not done well by the common Filipino. . . . American efforts to improve the land laws for the benefit of the average Filipino have been woefully inadequate. Rather *we have strengthened the hands of the Filipino political leaders so that they have been able more effectively to exploit the peasantry.*" In other words it is demonstrated that those features which are imperialism not only persist but are intensified.

As for what is changing, new and different in U.S.-Philippine relations: Although in the Philippines the popular forces are not yet able to decisively challenge the status quo, in the words of Philippine Senator Recto ". . . more and more people are becoming assertive in their protests against dictation, intervention and subservience. . . . We are beginning to catch up with the nationalism that is raging all around us in Asia." Under such con-

ditions U.S. imperialism must and does proclaim itself "anti-imperialist." It operates in more subtle and concealed forms to preserve its privileges, protect its comprador allies and divide the nationalist movement. It is forced into minor concessions which in no way change the nature of its basic intervention in the Philippine economic structure and political life.

Of late there have been "rumblings in Paradise." America's "showcase of democracy" is, to coin a phrase, turning into its opposite. When the Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung once said of U.S. imperialism that it was "one doctor with many patients" he implied that in the long run there would not be enough sugar coated pills (\$\$) to endlessly sustain the mortally sick colonial economies. Today in the Philippines, the chosen partners of U.S. imperialism, bankrupted politically as well as financially, prodded by and at the same time fearful of the rising nationalist movement, and wily observers of the international scene are complaining that they have been "taken for granted." They are ostentatiously shopping around for new economic associations, notably with Japan, as well as raising the ante in their bargaining with Washington. After an inconclusive visit to the States in the summer of 1958 where he pressed for substantially increased loans and aid, President Carlos Garcia, with considerable Philippine congressional support, has advanced claims of \$800,000,000-\$900,000,000 against the United States. On Feb. 10, 1959, a new Philippine proposal for the imposition of a 25% foreign exchange tax to be levied in addition to the 17% special import tax was described in the *New*

*York Times* "as certain to create more controversy between the Philippines and the United States." The Chairman of the Philippine House Committee on Foreign Trade, Rep. Ramon Durano, remarked that "It took us many years to realize that our dependence on the United States for our economic survival was a wrong and dangerous policy, a legacy we inherited from our colonial thinking." He directed particularly strong criticism against an amendment to the Philippine Constitution under which Americans were granted the same privileges as Filipinos in the operation of Filipino public utilities and other endeavors. Mr. Durano strongly urged Filipinos to think in terms of complete independence and to become "strong and respectable" by relying on their own resources instead of "meager aid with so many strings attached."

This reviewer has largely emphasized those aspects of the LAR study which she considers to be a highly important contribution to progressive thinking and writing in the U.S. today. The Left has been justifiably self-critical of its failure in recent years to demonstrate the validity of basic Marxist principles in terms of painstaking investigation of contemporary, newly emerging facts and developments on both the internal U.S. scene as well as its relations with the world. This failure has tended to reduce a constant repetition of general truths about imperialism, to sterility and is moreover a seed bed of dogmatism. Worse, it has been an obstacle to convincing large numbers of Americans of the true nature of American policies toward colonial and undeveloped

countries because most people tend to think in a natural way—from the particular to the general rather than the other way round. *U.S. and the Philippines* is an invaluable aid in overcoming this gap in its particular field. However, within this broader context the reader will also find discussions of movements and personalities which have aroused particular interest among Americans—notably of Louis Taruc and the Hukalahop, and the role and "works" of the much-publicized late President of the Philippines, Ramon Magsaysay.

One of the fine features of *U.S. and the Philippines* is the emphasis given both historically and contemporaneously to that "other America" which has been the historical counterpoint to a burgeoning U.S. imperialism. The aggressive, colonial path taken by the U.S. in its conquest of the Philippines in 1898 did not go unchallenged by that "other America." The Anti-imperialist League of those days welded a movement of considerable proportions with wide popular support in every part of the country. Today it is clear that colonialism is a major cause not only of limited wars but World War. Those who oppose war, oppose colonialism. It is in the ranks of those who want and work for a peace within which the colonial peoples can achieve full, genuine independence that that "other America," representing a continuation of the anti-colonial tradition of 1898, is to be found. The world has changed. Today the movement for peace and against colonialism works *with* overwhelming odds.

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