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Truman's "Perspective" and America's Reality

By Robert Thompson

ON JANUARY 4TH the second session of the 81st Congress opened with the delivery by President Truman of messages on the State of the Union, the economic outlook and the budget. These messages are charged with meaning for American labor and all anti-war and anti-fascist forces. Unquestionably, developments throughout the trade-union and people's movement in the year 1950 will be greatly influenced by the extent of popular understanding of the true content and character of these messages. The fight against the Murray-Carey, Green-Dubinsky lieutenants of American imperialism, the Social-Democrats and A.D.A. "liberals" to establish and spread such an understanding is therefore a key task of our Party in all fields of its activity.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

Despite strenuous efforts to create

an aura of confidence in American capitalism and its future world role, the Truman messages could not conceal the growing desperation of Wall Street imperialism in the face of the rising strength of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

Truman's messages were delivered in a political setting characterized by a growing bankruptcy of U.S. imperialist policy on a world scale and by a maturing economic crisis in the U.S. and the Marshall Plan countries.

The messages came on the heels of a number of setbacks and defeats of major proportions for the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. In the Far East, American imperialism suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Chinese people, led by the great Chinese Communist Party. The reluctant confirmation by Truman of Soviet possession of the atomic weapon shat-

tered the major premise of Washington's military policy which was the illusion of a U.S. atomic monopoly. The timely exposure of the counter-revolutionary, pro-fascist character of the Tito regime in Yugoslavia and the blocking of successful intervention by Anglo-American imperialism, via Belgrade, into the Eastern European People's Democracies constituted another important setback for Washington diplomacy. U.S. finance capital suffered another significant defeat with the establishment, last October, of the German Democratic Republic in the Eastern Zone of Germany.

All these events are historic in their significance. Together with the unfolding of a cyclical economic crisis in the U.S. and the Marshall Plan countries, they represent a profound deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism. This, coupled with the remarkable economic, cultural and diplomatic successes of the Soviet Union and the surging forward of Socialist construction in the People's Democracies, confronts American imperialism with the specter of a rapid growth of the Socialist sector of the world and a rapid decline in strength and stability of the imperialist-dominated sector. It signalizes the growing world preponderance of strength and reserves in favor of the camp of peace and democracy as against the forces of imperialism and war.

This specter haunted Truman's messages to Congress and was the

chief factor determining their content and character. These messages had a three-fold objective.

"AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE"!

First, by unrestrained lies and demagoguery, Truman sought to obscure from the masses in the United States and throughout the world the growing bankruptcy of American foreign policy and the development of the economic crisis that is beginning to engulf American and world capitalism. All three messages were marked by a frantic effort to paint an altogether false picture of the immediate and long-range prospects of capitalism. In this connection, it is quite significant that Truman found it necessary to extend flowery assurances to his listeners that the monopoly capital "American Way of Life" would still exist fifty years from now.

It is urgently necessary that the false picture of the present state and future role of American capitalism contained in Truman's messages be boldly raised and sharply exposed in the course of debate and discussion in the trade unions and people's organizations and movements. The exposure of the false picture painted by Truman of the "American Way of Life" is an indispensable part of the struggle against the policies of Murray, Carey, Green and Dubinsky and for unity of action of labor and its allies in defense of their economic interests

and against war and fascism. It is one of the fundamental conditions for the development of sound programs, policies and tactics by the labor movement and the democratic, pro-peace forces.

* * *

Even a cursory examination of the facts reveals that the fifty-year perspective of a four-fold increase in national production and a trebling of the real income of the average family, which Truman laid down for American capitalism, is a pipe dream.

Truman's vision of the state of the U.S. capitalist economy in the year 2000 is based, not only on the highly questionable assumption that U.S. capitalism can last another 50 years, but on the allegedly glorious achievements of American capitalism during the past 50 years. As to the former assumption, history, of course, will determine whether the working class and common people will be able or willing to continue to live under a "way of life" that spells out recurrent imperialist wars and economic crises, chronic mass unemployment, brutal oppression of 15,000,000 Negro people, declining standards of living, political reaction, and a host of other monstrous social evils and abuses *inherent* in the U.S. monopoly capitalist "way of life."

Now as to the latter point. It is true, as Truman stated, that "if our productive power continues to in-

crease at the same rate as it has increased for the past 50 years, our total national production 50 years from now will be nearly four times as much as it is today." But how mighty is that "if"—and, judging by history, on what catastrophes to the American people and to the peoples of the world is it based!

In 1900, considerable parts of the United States were hardly settled, and they represented an enormous potential market for capitalist production. Today, those areas are not only settled but are as fully developed as the limitations of capitalist production relations will permit. In 1900, the imperialist orbit was still growing as ever new areas of the world were brought under the sway of Western imperialist domination. Today, over 800 million people and the bulk of two continents have been lost to the capitalist sector of the world and new areas have the prospect of soon wrenching themselves loose from imperialist oppression.

Since 1900 the basic contradiction of capitalist economy, that between the social character of production and the private ownership of the means of production, has reached extreme limits as expressed in terms of labor productivity. Truman himself states in "free enterprise" terminology that since 1900, "the hourly production of the average worker has tripled." This great increase in the productivity of labor is due in no little measure to the inhuman speed-up system that scraps workers

of 40 as being "too old" and consigns them to unemployment and starvation.

Further, since 1900, with capitalism having evolved into full-fledged imperialism, there have been *two world wars*, which have been a *major* factor in boosting the productive capacity of American capitalism, just as they have been a factor in slashing productive capacity in the war-ravaged capitalist countries and converting them into dependencies of U.S. imperialism.

Thus, Truman's 50-year perspective of quadrupled production can only be, and is, based on the perspective of the unleashing of new world wars, on greatly intensified imperialist exploitation and oppression of Western Europe and the colonial countries, on back-breaking speed-up of American workers. *It can only be based on the realization of the insane dream of Wall Street for a third world war, calculated to destroy the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, subordinate the economic and political life of the entire world to the needs and dictates of American imperialism, and convert the American working class and common people into a corrupted, enslaved gendarmerie for the maintenance of Wall Street's profits and rule.*

The 800 million people who have taken the path of Lenin and Stalin and who are building Communism and Socialism in their countries, the working people of our country and

of the world, will have the final word to say about this insane dream of the men of Wall Street, Washington and the Pentagon.

* * *

When we turn from Truman's grandiose phrases about the future to the actualities of the present, it becomes even more clear why Truman was so chary with his words about the present state of the Union. Let us examine some of the facts. These facts give the direct lie to his assertions about the "prosperity" of the American people; for they point up that an economic crisis of unprecedented proportions is maturing in the country.

According to the Federal Reserve Board Index, industrial production dropped 10.6 per cent from the highest point in 1948 (October) to the highest point in 1949 (September) and dropped a further two per cent by December 1949. Official statistics of the Census Bureau, which generally underestimate the extent of unemployment by about 1,500,000, show a total increase of unemployment in the country from November 1948 to December 1949 of 91 per cent (from 1,831,000 to 3,489,000); thus, close to 5 million workers were actually unemployed at the turn of the year.

A comparison of capital investments in new plant and equipment during the last quarter of 1948 (\$5,410,000,000) with official estimates of capital investment during the

first quarter of this year (\$3,900,000,000) indicate a sharp contraction in production of capital goods and a growing accumulation of capital which cannot be profitably invested in the United States. Simultaneously, inventories remain extremely high (about \$54½ billion in October 1949), and outstanding consumer credit is growing steadily (almost \$18 billion in November 1949, a 13.2 per cent increase for the year).

(At the same time, mass purchasing power, always at a level much lower than the glowing claims of the apologists of U.S. capitalism, continues to drop seriously. Farm income fell in 1949 by 17 per cent from 1948, and by 22.4 per cent from 1947. Moreover, *The New York Times* stated on January 3 this year that experts forecast a further catastrophic decline in farmers' net income for the coming year of 15 to 16 per cent. Labor Research Association's *Economic Notes* (January 1950) shows a drop in real wages in manufacturing industries of 12 per cent from 1944 to the first nine months of 1949 (\$36.72 per week to \$32.32).)

Furthermore, this overall picture has to be seen in terms of a growing decline in world trade and growing crisis symptoms throughout the capitalist world. (*The New York Times* reported on January 2: "Many well informed quarters in Europe are apprehensive that currency and other developments, including the technological recovery of Germany, point to a severe international trade

war in the next year and a half, according to Jackson Martindell, president of the American Institute of Management." Bourgeois economists estimate that U.S. exports dropped about 16.6 per cent from 1947 (over \$15 billion) to 1949 (about \$12.5 billion); (at present, about two-thirds of U.S. exports to Western Europe are financed by the Marshall Plan, and apprehension is growing among the ruling circles of the U.S. and Western Europe about the maturing "dollar crisis.")

These facts mark the rapid maturing of a cyclical economic crisis of vast proportions in the U.S. and throughout the capitalist world.

(There is ample evidence also of the growing relative and absolute impoverishment of American workers and farmers—an impoverishment which is most sharply and devastatingly expressed in the worsening living standards of the Negro people. Thirty-one percent of the heads of Negro families in the United States earn less than \$500 a year. An additional 44 percent earn between \$500 and \$1000 a year. Thus, 75 per cent of the Negro people earn less than one-third of what is necessary to support a family of four. This is further driven home by the government's recent revelation that one-third of all "buying units" earned less than \$1,000 last year, and two-third of all, less than \$2,000.)

The facts and figures already cited—and the list could easily be extended—expose the hollowness of

Truman's rosy picture of the "prosperity" of the masses under "The American (*i.e.*, the monopoly capitalist) Way of Life"; they expose the myth about the "stability" of capitalism in its parasitic, dying stage. Not Truman's false picture of "The American Way of Life" but the actual conditions of life of the working and common people under capitalism and the real perspectives confronting American and world capitalism must be the basis upon which the labor movement and the democratic, pro-peace forces develop their programs, policies and tactics.

THE ESSENTIAL ORIENTATION —A WAR ORIENTATION

Secondly, Truman set forth, within the limits necessary in the outlining of proposals to Congress, monopoly capital's program of preparations for a third world war, elimination of resistance to that program within the country and of measures to bolster capitalist economy and monopoly profits. The messages give no support to the fanciful conclusions of many liberals that the Truman Doctrine has been abandoned. On the contrary, the messages clearly set forth the fact that, despite its many serious setbacks, (the Truman Doctrine in the form of the North Atlantic Military Alliance and the militarization and military "aid" programs is being continued and further developed as the basic orientation of U.S. imperialist policy.)

The basic program set forth in the Truman messages is the program of the dominant sections of American finance capital. Truman's program represents the full-fledged ultra-reactionary, warmongering program of Big Business; it represents the basic approach of Big Business to the problem created by the developing cyclical economic crisis and the deepening general crisis of capitalism. The preparations for unleashing a new world war and for developing reaction along fascist lines constitute the basic orientation of monopoly capital in this period. What is involved here is not a "selection of policy" from various alternatives, but the inherent, basic orientation of U.S. imperialism in the present stage of deepening general crisis of capitalism, an orientation whose guiding line is the imposition of Wall Street domination on the whole world.

To be sure, the successful realization of this line is not only not inevitable—it is impossible. To achieve the unleashing of a third world war and a new wave of fascist terror, U.S. imperialism must defeat the working-class and the people's movement in the United States and in large parts of Western Europe and the colonial countries. This is daily becoming a more difficult proposition. To win a third world war, American imperialism would have to defeat the entire world camp of peace and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union. This is quite beyond

its capacities, and the result of any such attempt would be the end of world capitalism. The danger is not at all that American imperialism would win a third world war. The danger is simply that if it succeeds in launching such a war, it may cause the slaughter of tens and perhaps hundreds of millions of people before its defeat.

The consequences of the program set forth in the Truman messages are clearly seen in Western Germany, which, under U.S. occupation, continues to be remilitarized and re-nazified as a potential major war base against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, as well as a gendarme against the militant and growing peace and working-class movements of Western Europe; in the plans to step up the rearming of the U.S. satellite governments in Western Europe under the North Atlantic Pact; in the new loans to Franco-Spain and U.S. preparations to resume full diplomatic relations with the Franco-butcher regime; in the maneuvers of U.S. imperialism on the issue of Formosa and the continued export of war materials to Chiang Kai-shek; in the continued and stepped-up intrigues of Wall Street and the State Department with the Tito-Rankovich regime in Yugoslavia; in the growing anti-Soviet and pro-war hysteria in our own country; in the refusal to outlaw the atomic bomb and establish genuine international control; and the new preparations to build

an even more powerful hydrogen bomb, etc., etc.

In his State of the Union message, Truman declared: "More than seventy per cent of the Government's expenditures are required to meet the costs of past wars and to work for world peace." This is the sheerest demagoguery. By "expenditures . . . to work for world peace," it is clear, Truman means greatly expanded expenditures for a new world war. Outright military appropriations proposed in the budget total \$13.5 billion (about \$400 million more than in the current fiscal year); "foreign aid" is marked for \$4.7 billion; and close to \$2 billion more are allotted for atomic development, civilian functions of the Army and Navy, etc. That makes about \$20 billion, or about 48 per cent of the total budget, clearly earmarked for the cold war and preparations to heat up the cold war into a third world war.

Accompanying this line of intensified war preparations is the line of further stimulation of reaction within the country. This is to be seen in the current government-Big Business attack on the coal miners and on labor generally by increasing all-out use of the Taft-Hartley Law, increasing use of injunctions against unions, the continued efforts to achieve the outlawing of the Communist Party, the frame-up trial of Harry Bridges, the Hiss trial. It is reflected also in events in Congress since Truman's message: the clear indications that Congress will not

act on civil rights legislation unless mass pressure becomes overpowering; the plans to jam through the Hobbs concentration camp bill and to enact the Mundt-Ferguson thought-control bills; the continued stall on repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, etc., etc.

* * *

While keeping in mind the fact that the Truman Administration is attempting to carry out the will of Wall Street imperialism, the democratic, anti-imperialist camp in the United States cannot afford to overlook rifts developing between the Democratic and Republican parties on certain issues. These differences between the two parties of finance capital reflect the spreading crisis in the field of policy and the sharpening of certain differences between sections of big capital, differences that inevitably are generated in situations of growing crisis.

These sharpening differences, which must never be ignored and must always be utilized by the anti-war, anti-fascist forces, have broken out into the open on such questions as the formulation of policy on China, the controversy between the branches of the U.S. armed services, the tactics to be adopted in intensifying the offensive against labor and democratic rights, etc.

The successful use of these differences by the democratic, anti-imperialist camp requires a clear understanding that (1) the Truman

program *is* basically the program of Big Business reaction, *on a bipartisan level*, regardless of differences on secondary matters and tactics, and in no way constitutes a barrier to war and fascism; and (2) the differences do not touch on the fundamental orientation of Wall Street, but, rather, on questions of partisan advantage, methods and tactics in the attempted realization of that orientation.

The approach of the class-conscious forces, and above all of the Communists, must be to utilize the developing anger of the working class and the peace forces generally with regard to the Taft-Hoover-Dewey forces and the growing moods of impatience with the Truman Administration for its failure to live up to its promises, in order to press more strongly for greater independent political action by the working class and its allies and for more united action by the anti-war and anti-fascist forces. In this connection full use should be made of the demagoguery of Truman to set in motion movements of struggle on civil rights, repeal of Taft-Hartley, unemployment measures, etc.

THE "FAIR DEAL" AND THE "NEW DEAL"

Thirdly, in these messages Truman attempted to perpetuate and strengthen the illusion that the Truman program is something other than a program of Big Business re-

action—that it represents a “third force” approach to questions of economic security, defense of democratic rights and the maintenance of peace. By vague references to the Administration-scuttled Civil Rights Program and Taft-Hartley repeal drive, through “Aesopian” platitudes on peace, Keynesian approaches to business regulation and demagoguery on social welfare, the messages were designed to foster the illusion that the Truman Administration and program is “an obstacle” (*i.e.*, a “lesser evil”—“a barrier”) to the aggressive war forces in the United States and to developing pro-fascist trends in the country.

The labor movement and the democratic, pro-peace forces must more clearly understand the Keynesian character of the Truman Administration’s approach to the problem faced by Big Business in this period of the general crisis of capitalism. The Truman Administration is, of course, not adopting Keynesism “in general”; it has adopted and is following a *reactionary variant* of the Keynesian approach, which by laying main emphasis on the development of a war economy has many elements in common with the fascist utilization of Keynesian economics. As Comrade Foster has pointed out, it is not only bourgeois democratic governments in the United States, Great Britain, France, Canada, etc., that have based their economic policies on Keynesian thinking: “The fascist governments of Germany,

Japan and Italy were also Keynesian in their economic outlook.” (“Two Major Variants of Keynesism,” *Political Affairs*, Jan. 1949, p. 48.)

The essence of the Keynesian approach followed by the Truman Administration is to attempt to manipulate the laws of capitalist economic development through building up a vast war economy and by increased government and state intervention aimed at achieving a semblance of “managed economy.” This is borne out by the enormous growth of government spending during the post-war years. These vast expenditures are directed primarily to stimulate heavy industry by war orders, stockpiling, etc. and to tighten Wall Street control over the whole capitalist world by Marshall Plan financing of U.S. exports and by “Point Four” capital investments in the colonies. There is a compelling economic motivation behind the Keynesian economics of the Truman Administration expressed in the big budgets, inflated with military expenditures, which have been continued and even expanded since the end of the war by the U.S. A comparison between the highest point of the wartime rise of U.S. production and the lowest point of the sharp drop in wartime and postwar production reached in 1946 shows the following: “. . . the level of production in manufacturing in the U.S.A. declined in February, 1946, by 38 per cent from the highest peak of its wartime rise in November

1943; the production of durable goods for the same dates fell by 63 per cent; the production of the branches manufacturing means of transportation for the same period fell by 74 per cent" (I. Kuzminov, "The Crisis Character of the Economic Development of the U.S. in the Postwar Period," *Political Affairs*, May 1949, pp. 57-58). Without the injection of enormous government expenditures benefiting in particular heavy industry, the bottom would long since have fallen from under the capitalist economy of the U.S. In the face of this incontrovertible fact Big Business has no quarrel with the Keynesian "managed" war economy approach of the Truman Administration. In fact, its Keynesian economic policies are one of the strongest *bipartisan* features of the Truman program.

Of course, all the war orders and Marshall Plan subsidies, all the attempts at "managed" economy, while they have served until now to check somewhat the tempo of development of the cyclical economic crisis, do not at all "solve" the economic problems of U.S. capitalism or "prevent" the crisis. On the contrary, they have intensified the distorted war economy character of American industry and accentuated the growing gap between the productive power of American industry and agriculture on the one hand and the declining world market and purchasing power of the masses at home on the other.

The Truman program has in common with the Roosevelt "New Deal" the fact that it is based on Keynesian economics. Here the similarity very largely ends. "New Deal" economics were preponderantly influenced by the "liberal" wing of Keynesism—the Truman program is increasingly influenced by the conservative, essentially pro-fascist trend in Keynesian economics. The Roosevelt "New Deal," with its stress on mass purchasing power, facilitated the enactment of limited social security legislation, public works programs and, under pressure of the militant moods and struggles of the workers and unemployed, lent itself to an atmosphere which was generally favorable for the organization of the mass production industries and the expansion of the trade-union movement. The Truman program, with its emphasis centered on the development of a war economy, maneuvers the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and other repressive anti-labor legislation, intervenes in a strike-breaking capacity in major national strikes, promotes inflation in the cost of living and wage freezing, and creates through witch-hunts, persecution of the Communist Party, application of the Taft-Hartley Act, and war hysteria an atmosphere which favors the unleashing of open shop, union-busting offensives by employers. The Roosevelt "New Deal" in its totality constituted an obstacle to the growth of fascism in the United States. The Truman program in its totality is

stimulating and smoothing the road for the growth of fascism in the United States. Despite strong reactionary tendencies and many inconsistencies, the edge of the Roosevelt Administration foreign policies were directed against the expanding fascist rivals of American imperialism, Germany, Italy and Japan. The Truman program in its entirety is based on the central objective of preparing a Third World War in the futile hope of destroying the Soviet Union, stemming the tide of Socialist revolution and achieving Wall Street domination of the world.

WALL STREET'S "WELFARE STATE"

There are, of course, a certain number of social security and welfare items in the Truman program and budget. In terms of the total budget these amount to the following: social welfare, security and health (6.4 per cent); housing, most of which goes to support the private mortgage market (3 per cent); education and general research (1 per cent); and labor (.6 per cent). This contrasts with the \$20 billion, or 48 per cent of the total budget clearly earmarked for war preparations.

The shameless demagoguery of the Social-Democratic and labor reformist leaders of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. and of the A.D.A.-type "liberals" in selecting these picayune "social security" items in Truman's budget as a pretext for trying to sell

the Truman program as a "welfare-state" program, must be challenged head-on by all workers and progressives.

There is, of course, no such thing as a "welfare state" standing above classes and administering to the needs of society in general. States are organs of class power. In general, the concept of a welfare state is completely incompatible with the exploitative class character of capitalist society. Only under Socialism is the welfare of the people a primary concern of the state. In particular, the attempt to pin a "welfare state" label on the Truman Administration's program of preparing a war aimed at world domination by American imperialism, and of stimulating fascist reaction in the U.S., is carrying the Big Lie technique to the extreme.

Furthermore, the kind of social security and welfare items contained in the Truman program and budget are not, in and of themselves, in any way inconsistent with the growth of fascist reaction and the advance of war preparations. The capitalists of America have learned a thing or two since the days of the Hoover Administration. They no longer gasp with horror at such items. From their own experience with mass unemployment in the '30's, they have learned the necessity of utilizing state intervention in this field. Moreover, they have seen the demagogic utilization by fascism in Germany and Italy of "social welfare" propaganda and programs.

Any attempt to separate the Truman Administration's domestic program from its foreign policies is fundamentally unsound. It can only result in aiding the Social-Democrats and A.D.A. "liberals" in their efforts to mislead the masses into support of the entire reactionary and warmongering program of Big Business. This is true of efforts to appropriate the "welfare state" slogan in an attempt to utilize it against the foreign policy aspects of the Truman program.

The issue before the American people is not that of a choice between a "welfare state" and a "warfare state." The issue confronting the American people is that of being sacrificed on the altar of Wall Street's futile and insane drive for world domination through a Third World War, or the undertaking of a struggle for political influence and power against bipartisan reaction on the basis of a program that places the burden of the developing economic crisis on Big Business, defends and expands the democratic rights and living standards of the people, calls a halt to the war drive and establishes peaceful and friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. and the People's

Democracies of Europe and Asia.

With a recklessness born of desperation, the men of Wall Street and their representatives on Capitol Hill and in the White House push ahead with their preparations for a third world war. From such a war the great mass of the American people have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Furthermore, it is within their power, if they choose the path of alignment with the world camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union, to prevent such a war. The program of our Party — the Communist Party of the U.S.A. — with its central emphasis on the development of the United Front from below, and in action, of the working class and its allies, affords the key to unleashing the latent powers of the democratic, pro-peace forces of our country.

Great and unprecedentedly sharp struggles lie ahead. Our Party approaches those struggles supremely confident of their outcome. The enemies of the American people, the men of Wall Street, are not in the driver's seat of world history. Truman notwithstanding, the 20th century will be the century of Socialism triumphant on a world scale.

Aspects of Negro History and the Struggle Against White Chauvinism

By Howard Johnson

THE CELEBRATION of Negro History Week, February 10-17 (so selected because of the birthdays of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln, which occur in February), takes on greater significance than ever at this half-way point of the 20th century.

Two main opposing views dominate the celebration this year. On one side are the views of the camp of imperialism, fascism and war—its tools, the Social-Democrats and reformists of the labor and Negro people's movements; and on the other, the camp of democracy, peace and Socialism: the Communists and all other democratic-minded people — Negro and white.

The imperialists and their agents utilize Negro History Week to distort the past history of the Negro in the U.S.A. in order to confuse the present. Their main effort is to present the history of the Negro as one to inspire gratitude, knee-bending and hosannahs to the free enterprise (capitalist) system as the benefactor and gradual (emphasis on "gradual") liberator of the Negro people. This is done in order to win support among Negroes for the cold-war policy of the merchants of death in Wall Street and the White House,

to whip up anti-Sovietism and to dissipate the mass struggle for Negro rights.

The Communists, progressives and all other democrats celebrate Negro History Week in order to reveal lessons of the past that throw inspiring light on the problems of the present—the problems of mobilizing the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism in the U.S.A. in the struggle against the Wall Street imperialist drive to war and world domination, and for working-class and Negro liberation.

ROLE OF NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF U.S. CAPITALISM

Nothing in the history of the U.S.A. so exposes the pretentious claims of the lie-mongers of Wall Street to "peaceful" aspirations and "democratic" intentions as does the history, past and present, of the Negro people.

What about the claims of the American monopolists that capitalism is the benefactor of the Negro people? The history of the Negro people is a shattering answer to this pompous lie, which in turn is part

of the flimsy fabrication that American capitalism is a capitalism of a peculiar type, "exceptional" in its "democratic" character, etc.

A generally neglected but exceptionally potent factor in the peculiarly rapid development of American capitalism and the American nation was slavery and the slave trade based on Negro Africa (coupled with the extermination of the indigenous Indian population).

The great genius of the working class, Karl Marx, revealed the factor of the slave trade in the period of primitive accumulation of capitalism. In *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 823, we read:

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, *the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of blackskins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production.* These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation (my emphasis—H.J.).

Marx further revealed the significance of the institution of slavery for the U.S. in its later development. In *The Poverty of Philosophy* (p. 94), he wrote:

Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is

the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance.

Without slavery North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe out North America from the map of the world, and you will have anarchy—the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations.

To understand the full meaning of this statement, we need to turn to the note by Frederick Engels to this passage in the German, 1885, edition of the *Poverty of Philosophy*, in which Engels wrote (pp. 94-95, edition of International Publishers):

This was perfectly correct for the year 1847. At that time the world trade of the United States was limited mainly to import of immigrants and industrial products, and export of cotton and tobacco, *i.e.*, of the products of Southern slave labor. The Northern states produced mainly corn and meat for the slave states. It was only when the North produced corn and meat for export and also became an industrial country, and when the American cotton monopoly had to face powerful competition, in India, Egypt, Brazil, etc., that the abolition of slavery became possible. . . .

Thus, the development of capitalism in the U.S.A. picked up its momentum on the running start of the enslavement, loot and conquest of

colored peoples, particularly the Negro.

Behind the hollow speeches of the Trumans, Churchills, Lindberghs and Tom Connallys calling for the victory of "Western Christian Civilization" over Socialism on a world scale, you can hear history's penetrating indictment of the rise of the wealth of the Anglo-American imperialists.

How timely is the comment of William Howitt, identified by Marx as "a man who makes a specialty of Christianity": "The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth."*

The extent of the slave trade has been hidden in the school and university textbooks of our country. The American chauvinist claims to "white supremacy" fade away in the light of the facts of history, amassed by the outstanding Negro scholar and Progressive Party leader, W. E. B. DuBois, who states:

The natural desire to avoid a painful subject has led historians to gloss over the details of the slave trade and leave the impression it was a local west coast

phenomenon and confined to a few years. It was on the contrary, continent-wide and centuries-long and an economic, social and political catastrophe probably unrivalled in human history.

The exact proportions of the slave trade can be estimated only approximately. . . .

Dunbar estimates that nearly 900,000 came to America in the 16th Century, 2,750,000 in the 17th, 7,000,000 in the 18th, and over 4,000,000 in the nineteenth, perhaps 15,000,000 in all. Certainly it seems that at least 10,000,000 Negroes were expatriated. Probably every slave imported represented on the average five corpses in Africa or on the high seas. The American slave trade, therefore, meant the elimination of at least 60,000,000 Negroes from their Fatherland. The Mohammedan slave trade meant the expatriation or forcible migration in Africa of nearly as many more. It would be conservative, then, to say that the slave-trade cost Negro Africa 100,000,000 souls. And yet people ask today the cause of the stagnation of culture in that land since 1600!*

Thus, more than any other nation, the United States was born and propelled forward on the back of a depredated and depopulated continent, Africa.

Thus, the slave trade was one of the chief economic factors in the birth of capitalism in the U.S.A.

Little wonder, therefore, that the revolutionary bourgeois Constitution of the U.S.A. could be characterized as follows by Engels:

* W. E. B. DuBois, *The Negro*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, pp. 154-155.

* William Howitt, *Colonization and Christianity: A Popular History of the Treatment of the Natives by the Europeans in all their Colonies*, London, 1838, p. 9—cited by Marx in *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 824.

... It is significant of the specifically bourgeois character of these human rights that the American Constitution, the first to recognize the rights of man, in the same breath confirmed the slavery of the colored races in America. . . .*

Thus, the economic power of the slave traders stamped its inscription on the first revolutionary document of the American national state.

Further investigation would reveal the extent to which the early American fortunes were amassed, not by "thrift," "ingenuity," or "abstinence," but out of the slave trade and its by-products: rum, molasses, sugar, cotton and textiles.

Interestingly enough, the first setback to the development of American capitalism after 1776 took place with the cutting-off of trade with the British West Indies, a trade largely based on slavery.

THE ROOTS AND IMPACT OF WHITE CHAUVINISM

The historic impact of slavery on the economic development of capitalism also had its influence on the politics and ideology of the American ruling class, in which the racist propaganda of "white supremacy" occupied a major place.

In order to justify the economics of slavery, the whole myth of "white supremacy" was erected in the ideological sphere. The "white suprem-

acy" myth pervaded American life. Chattel slavery was destroyed. In its place a new slavery, based on the plantation system, was developed, utilizing and extending the racist ideology of the slaveholders in order to maintain the Negro people in subjection. The aims of the Civil War betrayed by an alliance of the Northern industrialists and the Southern landholders, the "white supremacy" code became one of the main ideological pillars of the white ruling class.

This racist ideology was used as an instrument to corrupt the developing working class, to beat down the liberation struggle of the Negroes and to prevent the historic labor-Negro alliance. Thus, the white chauvinism prevalent in the trade-union movement today has a long history and represents one of the central obstacles to the development of Socialist consciousness among the workers.

However, the major conclusions that must be drawn from the history of slavery in the U.S. in connection with the celebration of Negro History Week concern the vitality and strength of the Negro liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism and its great contribution to the American democratic forces. This is the precise opposite of the bourgeois celebration, which poses Negro History Week as a period in which Negroes should celebrate the "contributions" U.S. capitalism has made to them.

Secondly, the historical develop-

* Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, International Publishers, p. 117.

ment of the United States places the Negro question as a decisive question in every major struggle between progress and reaction. This is seen from the fight over the slavery issue in the Declaration of Independence, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the Populist movement, the rise of the Socialist and Communist movements—to the organization of the C.I.O. and the present struggle for peace and democracy. In regard to the last-mentioned point, if Marx could say in 1867 that the American Civil War sounded the tocsin for the European working class, it is true today that the struggle for Negro rights can be the torch that fires the working-class movement in the struggle against American imperialism and for peace.

Thirdly, the fact that the American nation rose on the economic foundation of Negro slavery reveals the deep historic roots of the virulent ideology of white chauvinism. This ideology outlasted the economic institution of slavery and today is used by the Wall Street imperialists as one of the main ideological buttresses of its national chauvinist drive to world domination. The permeation of the American working class with white chauvinism has been one of the most potent factors holding back the development of Socialist consciousness for 75 years. Therefore, the struggle against white chauvinism must be one of the central features of the anti-war, anti-imperialist struggle of the alliance between the Negro peo-

ple and Labor, and the fight for Socialist consciousness of the American working class.

The struggle of the Negro people for liberation has deep historic ties with the world movement of colored peoples for liberation from white imperialism. The Negro liberation struggle merges with the fight of Free China, Africa, Latin America, and is part of the world anti-imperialist struggle headed by the bulwark of national liberation, the Socialist Soviet Union. Hence, the celebration of Negro History Week has world significance and cannot be viewed as an ordinary event.

LESSONS OF THE PARTY'S STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM AND FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

It is on this broad background that the Communist Party plays its special vanguard role. During the last year the struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights was elevated to its highest level since the reconstitution of the Party. What are some of the main lessons of this period?

These lessons are:

1. The vanguard role of the Party and the building of the united front of struggle for Negro rights have been enhanced considerably by the sharpening of the struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights. The improved work of the Party, reflected in New York in

the struggles around Stuyvesant Town, the Negro longshoremen, the Ingram case, police brutality, the campaign to re-elect Ben Davis, and the most significant of all struggles in the U.S.A. in 1949, the victory of the democratic forces at Peekskill—all of this has strengthened the camp of peace and democracy in the U.S.A. immeasurably.

2. The initiative of the Party set other forces into motion, strengthening the unity movement and counter-acting the influence of the Social-Democratic and reformist forces in the Negro people's movement.

Because of the initiative of the Party and its principled fight for unity in the struggle for Negro rights, the unprecedented gang-up of Social-Democrats, labor reformists, Truman demagogues, F.B.I. agents and Trotskyites at the N.A.A.C.P. Civil Rights Mobilization was defeated in the brazen attempts to use the civil rights issue as a political football to win support for Truman's cold-war policy. On the contrary, the highlight of the Mobilization was the unity and discipline, in spite of monstrous provocations, for civil rights.

3. The fight for Negro rights and the unity of the Negro liberation movement can and must be a key factor in the fight for unity of the working class against the Murray-Reuther pro-war splitting policies. That is why the C.I.O. leadership intervened in the Civil Rights Mobilization, attempting to extend the disruptive, anti-Communist policy of

the labor reformists into the Negro movement with the connivance of the Negro reformists and Trotskyites in the top leadership of the N.A.A.C.P.

4. The struggle against white chauvinism has proved to be an indispensable feature of the struggle on all fronts to strengthen the Communist Party, the party of proletarian internationalism, for its vanguard role in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

These advances in the struggle for Negro rights have laid the basis for a sharper battle against the grave weaknesses that still remain. The most serious of these is the resistance of some Communist trade-union leaders to a self-critical examination of their work, thus hampering the development of effective struggle for Negro rights in their industries, and in the nationwide struggle. Other serious weaknesses are: incorrect evaluation of and attention to, Negro cadres; insufficient development of struggles on a united-front basis against the universal job discrimination that places the burden of the developing economic crisis on the Negro workers; lack of involvement of Negro women in all levels of Party leadership and responsibility; a shallow approach to the rich theoretical and ideological lessons of the Negro Question in the U.S.A.; and persisting tendencies to equate the struggle against white chauvinism with the fight against bourgeois Negro nationalism.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM AND NEGRO BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

What is the relationship between the fight against white chauvinism and the fight against bourgeois nationalism?

Comrade Pettis Perry wrote in the June 1949 issue of *Political Affairs* (page 9):

Recognizing that white chauvinism is the main danger, we must at the same time wage a struggle against Negro bourgeois nationalism which is almost always a reflection of, a reaction to, the influence or existence of white chauvinism.

Have there been such basic changes in the relationship of class forces, the economic and political situation in the U.S.A., that white chauvinism has ceased to be the main danger, in regard to the struggle against alien influences both within the Party and among the masses? No, there have been no such basic changes. Therefore, white chauvinism remains the main danger.

Does this mean that a struggle against bourgeois nationalism should not be waged? No, but the main feeder of bourgeois nationalist tendencies is the continued existence of white chauvinist influences.

In the Soviet Union, as late as 1923, where the working class had state power, Stalin stated:*

This force [Great Russian chauvinism] constitutes the chief danger tending to undermine the confidence of the formerly oppressed peoples in the Russian proletariat. This is our most dangerous enemy, which we must overcome; *for once we overcome it, we shall have overcome nine-tenths of the nationalism which has survived and is developing in certain republics* (my emphasis—H.J.)

It was precisely because the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin fought against and defeated chauvinist survivals in that period that a solid bulwark of nations living in fraternity and complete equality under Socialism was welded into the powerful force that liberated mankind from fascist enslavement.

If, even after the working class had come to power in the U.S.S.R., survivals of chauvinism fed nationalism, how much more true is it in the monopoly capitalist U.S.A., where the working class is still permeated with reformist-spread white-chauvinist ideology!

The nationalist tendencies within an oppressed nation, which underestimate the role of the working class and the vanguard role of the Party, must be combatted.

But, overwhelmingly, these nationalist tendencies are aroused by the influence of white chauvinism. Therefore, these tendencies can only be eliminated as the struggle against white chauvinism is advanced.

In some places Negro comrades leveling correct criticism of white-

* Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, International Publishers, p. 156.

chauvinist errors in Party or trade-union work, have been answered, not by correction of the error, but by countercharges of "Negro nationalism." Such an approach can only weaken the struggle against white chauvinism; it can only create a stifling atmosphere that would weaken the Party's work in all fields.

What remains after that, then, is the nationalist influences that emanate from the Negro bourgeoisie expressed in anti-white, anti-working class, pro-imperialist views. Such forms of nationalism must be driven out of our ranks. But such views are not to be confused with the anti-imperialist, anti-white-chauvinist approach of the bulk of our Negro membership.

Thus, white chauvinism and Negro bourgeois nationalism are interacting factors in maintaining the national oppression of the Negro people. While white chauvinism feeds and strengthens the influence of bourgeois nationalism, bourgeois nationalism, on the other hand, reinforces the imperialist ruling-class strategy of divide and rule, for which white chauvinism is the chief ideological weapon. Today, clearly, white chauvinism constitutes the major danger to the cause of the liberation of the Negro people as well as to the cause of working-class emancipation.

THE "THEORY" OF "INTEGRATION"

Moreover, the nationalist danger has another side in the Negro peo-

ple's movement. This other side is expressed most widely among Negro pro-imperialist forces in the U.S., as the theory of "integration." Lester Granger, Negro cohort of the chauvinist Henry Luce, expressed it in a speech at Hampton Institute. He stated, "Segregation is no longer a problem. It has been broken. The problem confronting Negro youth is integration."

This theory is expressed by the Negro reformists and Social-Democrats, who oppose the raising of the Negro question in the trade unions on the grounds that the Negro workers are "integrated" in their unions; by the widespread campaign against the use of the word "Negro"; by the opposition to the teaching of Negro history in the schools; by the conscious opponents of the Marxist position for national self-determination; and by the blanket of apologies thrown over American imperialism's crimes against the Negro people.

We remember this theory well, as it was espoused in part by the renegades Browder and Franklin.

What do these theories express? They wish to deny the national heritage of the Negro people, to deny the existence of a Negro culture, to deny the existence of a Negro nation—for the purpose of blunting and dissipating the national-liberation struggle of the Negro people and shackling the Negro masses to the war aims and Jim-Crow exploitation of Wall Street imperialism. All this is done under the slogan, "We are Ameri-

cans, too." This slogan reflects the healthy desire of the Negro people for full citizenship and equality; but it is distorted by the reformists into a denial of the special oppression of the Negro people and the fight against that oppression.

The most absurd expression of the denial of Negro national consciousness and struggle against imperialism was the proposal of Walter White to solve the Negro Question by a chemical decoloration process. The Negro masses rejected this contemptible fawning upon white American imperialism as they will the other "integrationists."

AGAINST CAPITULATION TO COSMOPOLITANISM

This theory of "integration" is the bourgeois-reformist Negro adaptation and capitulation to the Wall Street-inspired propaganda of cosmopolitanism.

Of this cosmopolitanism, A. Leontyev, in *New Times*, No. 15, p. 12, said:

Present-day cosmopolitanism reflects the tendency inherent in imperialism to strive for world hegemony, to seek the forcible establishment of the domination of a group of the strongest capitalist powers or of one power over the world. The carrier of this tendency today is Anglo-American imperialism. Hence present-day cosmopolitanism is the reverse side of the ideology of race superiority cultivated by the Anglo-Saxon imperialists.

In the U.S.A., the national oppression of the Negro people results in the emergence within the Negro bourgeoisie of two main tendencies: (1) vacillating support to the Negro people's struggle against imperialism; and (2) capitulation to the bourgeois cosmopolitan ideology of American imperialism. At the present time, the main sections of the Negro bourgeoisie are capitulating. The Negro apologists for cosmopolitanism, reflecting the class interests of a section of the Negro bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, most closely tied to white finance capital, play the game of sacrificing the national interests of the Negro people, attempting to undermine the resistance of the national-liberation movement against American imperialism.

At the top of the list of these cosmopolitan apologists, sneering at the achievements and the struggles of the Negro people and fawning upon and licking the boots of the arrogant white imperialists, are Granger, White, Townsend and Co. The great Russian revolutionary-democrat Belinsky gave a description that fits each of them like a glove: "An immoral and soulless being unworthy of bearing the sacred name of man."

They sacrifice every interest of the Negro people in the futile hope of sharing in the anti-Soviet and world-domination schemes of the white-chauvinist imperialism that rules the U.S.A. today.

This cosmopolitan ideology at-

tempts to deaden the militant struggle of the Negro people. It is a major task of the Communists, and especially the Negro Communists, to expose, isolate and rout these "kithless and kinless" agents of imperialism among the Negro people. This task can only be accomplished in the process of intensified struggle for Negro rights.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK AND PRESENT TASKS OF THE PARTY

In the Negro movement, our policy must be one of isolating the pro-imperialist Negro bourgeoisie, forging a broad Negro people's liberation front against imperialism embracing all anti-imperialist sections of the Negro bourgeoisie and middle classes under the leadership of the Negro workers.

The struggle for Negro unity for peace and civil rights cannot be successful without the greater strengthening of the alliance of labor and the Negro people.

In conclusion, the celebration of the long tradition of militant strug-

gle of the Negro people against American imperialism, second-class citizenship and slavery, the study of the lives of such Negro figures as Nat Turner, Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, Douglass, Truth, Tubman, DuBois, Robeson, Davis and Winston—all of these enrich our understanding of the meaning of Negro History Week.

Let Negro History Week be a period when the trade unions, especially the white workers, will hasten their break with the white-chauvinist policies of the monopolists and labor reformists! Let Negro History Week be a period of fulfillment of their historic responsibility of battling for the national liberation of the Negro people, a struggle that is a precondition for their own freedom!

Let Negro History Week be a period for strengthening and raising to higher levels the main struggles of our Party in the fight against job discrimination, for an F.E.P.C., against lynching, police brutality, poll-tax law, Jim-Crow housing, for the freedom of the Eleven, for democracy and peace.

On the 40th Anniversary of the N. A. A. C. P.

By Edward E. Strong

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the Advancement of Colored People, the largest civil rights organization among Negroes in the United States has just celebrated its 40th anniversary. Because of its size and composition, and the influence which this organization commands in Negro life, it is essential that progressives become more familiar with the N.A.A.C.P. and the trends that are developing within the organization.

GROWTH AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The organization of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1909 under the inspiration of such Negro spokesmen as W. E. B. DuBois and Monroe Trotter was a highly important step forward. It was founded as an alliance of progressive whites and Negroes to fight the recently passed poll tax laws disfranchising Negro voters in the South, to fight the revival of the Black Codes, and to fight the wave of lynchings and race riots with which the century opened. Since that time until 1947, the Association has had a consistent growth, reaching in that year an all-time high of half a million members. According to the N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report issued in 1949, it embraces today 1,575 branches, youth councils, and college

chapters in 45 states, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii. In 1948, 223 new units, including 140 adult branches, 66 youth councils, and 18 college chapters were established.

Significantly, more than one hundred of the new branches were set up in the small towns, rural communities, and Black-Belt counties of the South. Branches were established, for instance, in Demopolis, Fairfield, Luverne, and Covington County, Alabama; in Ashley County, Clarendon County, Crittendon County, DeQueen, Jonesboro, Marvell, McGhee and Russellville, Arkansas; Carroll County, Fitzgerald, Hazelhurst, Irwin County, Oconee County, Pulaski County, and Telfair County, Georgia; in Abbeville Brookland-Cayce, Dale, Eutawville, Frogmore, Hartsville No. 1, Hartsville No. 2, Jack Primus, Laurens, Lake City, Lynchburg, Manning-Clarendon, McClenanville, Meyers Hill, Mt. Holly, North Augusta, Remleys-Point, Ruffin, Saluda, and Wanda, South Carolina.

In 1948 the N.A.A.C.P. held 27 state and six regional conferences. Among the states having conferences were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. Two of the regional conferences

were in the South: a Southwest conference which convened in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and the Southeast conference which met at Tuskegee, Alabama.

From the above facts and a number of other recent developments, there are several conclusions which can be drawn in regard to certain features of the Association.

1. During the war and the postwar period the membership became largely working class. This means that in such key industrial centers as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis and Pittsburgh, thousands of Negro workers in the steel, auto, packing and railroad industries were recruited into the organization. In addition to these, masses of domestics, porters, red caps and workers in light industry also joined. It is accurate to say that between 90 and 95 percent of this membership has been from the Negro workers. Only a relatively small proportion of Association membership is from the business and professional sections of the Negro people.

2. Important beginnings have been made in establishing the organization among tenant farmers, sharecroppers, agricultural laborers and small independent farmers in the South. An example of this is the building of the Nachitoches, Louisiana, branch during 1948 from a membership of 31 to 756. Nachitoches is a community in southern Louisiana composed principally of Negro agricultural workers. The successful

building of N.A.A.C.P. branches in the rural South marks the first time in many years that significant numbers in the rural areas have been reached by an established organization of the Negro people.

3. Whereas formerly the bulk of the N.A.A.C.P. branches was in the North, during the decade of the '40's an increasing percentage of membership and chapters are now in the South. Branches of the Association exist today in most important Southern cities, such as Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, and New Orleans, with the largest single branch in the country in Baltimore. This trend is being reflected increasingly in the annual conventions, where delegates from the South have been bringing up issues confronting them and demanding greater attention to their problems from the national leadership.

4. To a greater extent than ever before, the Association contains within its membership representatives of all sections of Negro life—both organized and unorganized. This membership is recruited from churches, unions, the Federations of Women's Clubs, sororities and fraternities, from teachers' and other professional associations, with the active assistance of the leaders of these groups. From this it can be seen that there is a close link between the N.A.A.C.P. and other established organizations of the Negro people. The policy and program of the Association, therefore, have widespread re-

percussions in all phases of Negro life.

5. The 40-year history of the Association reveals a record of many positive achievements. Among these are:

a. the nationwide campaign, carried on for years, for the adoption of Federal anti-lynching and civil rights laws;

b. the fight against discrimination in education, beginning with the important Lloyd Gaines case in Missouri, through the most recent victories of winning equal salaries for Negro teachers in a number of the Southern states;

c. the recent defense, especially in Alabama and Texas, of progressives in the N.M.U. who were under attack by goons and police for militant union activity;

d. the outstanding mass struggle carried on in 1949 by the Brooklyn chapter against police terror, a campaign which has received nationwide attention; and

e. the adoption by the 40th Annual Convention in 1949 of a militant program of political action for civil rights. Though militant programs have been adopted previously, this convention insisted upon implementing the program with a plan of mass struggle to carry it out.

REFORMIST LEADERS AND LEFT TREND OF MEMBERS

In the face of these significant achievements, how are we to explain the fact that the Association, from

1947 up to the 1949 convention, lost approximately 250,000 members, or about one-half of its membership?

It may be argued that the increase in annual dues from one to two dollars is the cause of the serious drop in membership. But this is not key to the situation. Undoubtedly, the increase in dues has been a factor; but who can deny that if the membership were fully satisfied with the program, policies and leadership of the organization, the increase in dues would have been borne by the membership? Who can doubt that if the membership considered the dues increase a measure necessary to enhance the scope of the struggles of the Negro people, the increase in dues would have contributed toward *building* the organization enormously in the last two years?

It is clear, therefore, that the key factor in the loss of membership has been the failure of the national leadership to conduct mass struggles, involving the whole membership, around the burning issues confronting the Negro people.

Despite the basic transformation in the character of the membership, the dominant leadership in the national office and in the majority of branches remains petty bourgeois, failing to reflect adequately the new militant trends among the Negro people. In a number of branches, however, changes toward electing working-class leadership are taking place.

The majority of N.A.A.C.P. members, like the Negro people generally,

are today faced with new and more difficult problems arising out of the drive by American imperialism, in a developing economic crisis, toward war and a police state. Statistics show that from 30 to 50 percent of all unemployed in the major centers of unemployment are Negro. Accompanying the growing unemployment is the increased eviction of Negroes from their homes, reaching mass proportions in some cities like Philadelphia, where there are about 1,000 evictions a month.

The mounting police terror against Negroes in all parts of the country, the widespread use of the "loyalty" oath against Negro postal workers, and the failure of the Truman Administration to carry out its civil rights pledges, are forcing the Negro people to re-examine their tactics, organizations and program in their fight for freedom. A growing section is moving toward the Left, agreeing more and more with the clear-cut anti-fascist, anti-imperialist position of Paul Robeson and Left-wing Negro trade unionists. Thousands are coming to accept the program represented by Ben Davis. This trend reveals that many are coming to see that the policy of tying the fight for Negro freedom to the tail of the imperialists' aims can only lead to the intensification of the Negro people's problems. The emergence of a powerful Left, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist current among the Negro people is unmistakable and is clearly discernible in the N.A.A.C.P.

This Left, anti-imperialist trend in the Association insists upon much greater attention by the organization to the pressing economic and political problems facing the Negro masses. The struggle for jobs cannot wait upon future passage of F.E.P.C. legislation, but must simultaneously be waged through mass struggle of the Negro people in alliance with the progressive white workers. Of immediate need in this connection is the launching of a determined battle to call a halt to the systematic firing of Negro workers from the positions in industry won by them during the war. Of special importance in this connection is the need for the organization to tackle the job of fighting for and assisting in the large-scale unionization of Negro workers in the South on a non-Jim-Crow basis and to give greater attention to the economic problems and demands of the Negro share-croppers and tenant farmers, who are held in virtual peonage by the Southern Bourbons in alliance with Wall Street.

And as regards the struggle for civil rights, the anti-imperialist trend in the Association stresses the need for the Association to adopt more dramatic, mass forms involving the whole membership and the Negro people generally in alliance with progressive white workers, other oppressed minority groups and all supporting organizations regardless of their politics. This approach can and will result in winning immediate victories in day-to-day struggles

against police murders and brutality, against judicial frame-ups of Negroes, etc., at the same time that the struggle for Federal, state and local civil rights legislation and for the enforcement of present legislation is advanced on a national scale. Tied in with this is the struggle against evictions and flagrant housing-law violations, for more adequate relief appropriations, etc.; the N.A.A.C.P. cannot stand aside from these struggles, but must involve the whole membership in activities on these issues—both on its own initiative, and in cooperation with other organizations working in these fields.

Politically, therefore, the orientation of the Left and progressive forces in the N.A.A.C.P. is that the Negro people cannot rely on the Truman Administration or on the bipartisans for satisfaction of their demands. Only the path of mass struggle, in close cooperation with all democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist sections of the American people can secure victory in the fight for the political, economic and social equality of the Negro people.

The dominant sections of the N.A.A.C.P. leadership in the national office, on the national board, and in a majority of the branches, however, do not accept this trend. This leadership sees its future as being inseparable from the fate of the imperialists. Its policy is one of reformism, of tying the Negro people's struggle to the Truman Administration, to the two-party system, to a policy of

pseudo-liberalism. Maintaining close ties with the reformist and Social-Democratic top bureaucratic leaders of the labor movement, particularly of the C.I.O.—whose collaboration with Big Business and the Truman Administration has led to abandonment of struggle for higher wages and improved conditions for all workers, especially the Negro workers—the reformist and Social-Democratic leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. persist in ignoring the urgent economic and political problems of the N.A.A.C.P. membership and of the Negro people as a whole. Support of the Truman Administration's reactionary, warmaking foreign policy advanced under the slogan of "containing Communism" inevitably means avoiding taking any measures that would "embarrass" the Administration in its demagogic posturing.

The social roots of the present Roy Wilkins (acting National Secretary of the Association), Glouster Current (Director of Branches) and Walter White leadership are to be found in the Negro petty bourgeoisie.

Since the birth of the N.A.A.C.P. forty years ago, there has been an important growth in such major Negro-owned business institutions as insurance companies (Atlanta Life, North Carolina Mutual), weekly and monthly publications (*The Pittsburgh Courier*, *Afro-American*, *Ebony*, *Our World*), and undertaking establishments (the Smith and Gaston organization, working from Birmingham into all parts of Alabama).

The economic strivings and aspirations of Negro business and professional leaders result in large sections of this group slavishly following the line of the big monopolists, and capitulating to pressures and bribes from them. The *Courier* and the *Afro-American*, for instance, no longer accept Communist Party advertisements. This yielding to imperialist-manufactured Red-baiting is due to certain advertisements given these papers by such big corporations as Ford, R. J. Reynolds, Liggett and Myers, etc. Dr. Channing Tobias, the director of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation and assistant treasurer of the Association and a member of the National Board, and Claude Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, were among the first to be brought into the Liberia exploiting combine organized by the late Secretary of State, Stettinius. Dr. Tobias was recently elected to the board of the Modern Industrial Bank of New York, thus becoming the first Negro member on the board of a major banking house.

Increasingly the National Urban League and educational institutions such as Tuskegee, Fisk and Atlanta University are being forced to rely upon imperialist sources for financial survival. In 1949, more than a million dollars was raised and contributed to forty Negro colleges by the Rockefeller-*Herald Tribune*-*New York Times*-supported Negro College Fund.

In all parts of the country the ap-

pointment of Negro physicians to positions in private hospitals and state and city health institutions is subject to the Jim-Crow policies of the National Medical Association and the political representatives of Big Business who manage the Republican and Democratic parties. A similar problem faces Negro attorneys, whose success in court cases and illusory hopes for judgeship appointments are determined in large measure by whether they "stay in their place" and "play it safe."

Negro businessmen, educators, physicians, lawyers and social workers, though depending primarily upon a Negro market for their economic survival, are increasingly subjected to the ideological, political, and economic offensive of Wall Street. It is from this strata of the Negro population that the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. has been historically drawn; it is primarily the interest of this group that the Wilkins-Current forces endeavor to represent and speak for. This wavering, petty-bourgeois type of leadership has set as its objective the subordination of the Negro people's liberation struggle to the over-all strategic and tactical aims of American imperialism. The Wilkins-Current leadership, with their reformist and Social-Democratic allies in all parts of the country, seek to police the Negro people's movement, to water it down and to misdirect the mass anti-imperialist upsurge among the Negro people.

This over-all policy which the reformist and Social-Democratic forces in the Association are pursuing is being currently conducted along two main tactical lines.

1. They are waging a skillful campaign to consolidate Truman support and sentiment among the Negro masses. One aspect of this campaign is the continuous propagation of the notion that Truman is really fighting for Negro rights in opposition to the Republican-poll tax Democratic alliance. Although this line is not usually openly proclaimed, and is even sometimes vehemently denied, it is nevertheless being vigorously pursued by the Wilkins and Currents and Alfred Baker Lewises behind a smokescreen of non-partisanship.

Some indications of this are: the support of the Marshall Plan by White and Current; the failure of the national leadership to organize a struggle against the Truman Administration for supporting Italy's efforts to seize once more huge sections of Africa; support by Dr. Raymond W. Logan, Professor of History at Howard University and adviser on international affairs to the national office for Truman's imperialist proposal to extend "credits and assistance" to undeveloped countries, meaning the colonial countries; Walter White's mobilization of support among prominent Negro leaders for the oppressive Nehru government; the firing of Dr. DuBois by the Association because he fought to secure

support by the American delegation to the United Nations for the N.A.A.C.P.'s petition to the U.N. on the oppression of the Negro in America and courageously exposed the machinations of Mrs. Roosevelt regarding the petition.

The Wilkins-Current leadership is working to build an all-embracing reformist movement around the issue of civil rights legislation, inclusive of all Right-led unions, Social-Democratic, Trotskyite, and reactionary hierarchy-controlled Catholic organizations.

THE 1948 CONVENTION AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOBILIZATION

The growing sentiments of the N.A.A.C.P. membership for the launching of really mass struggle for civil rights broke through, however, at the 40th Annual Convention, and for the first time a convention of the Association officially stressed mass action, repudiated the Republican-Democratic betrayal, and expressed no reliance in the Truman Administration on this issue. The resolution adopted by the convention states:

Realizing that a strong civil rights program can only be achieved through the broadest form of mass action and *that it cannot rely on President Truman, the Congress, on so-called friends in high places, to mobilize nation-wide sentiment to pass the above legislation, the N.A.A.C.P. in convention assembled*

shall elect an emergency civil liberties committee to produce the greatest outpouring of Negroes and their allies in the labor movement, among the church, civic, fraternal organizations, fraternities, sororities, national groups and citizens from every walk of life to the end that both the President and Congress shall feel the wrath and demand of the people for the speedy enactment of a comprehensive civil rights program.

On the instructions of the convention, the national office undertook to organize a national mobilization, to convene in Washington, January 15, 16 and 17, to demand immediate action by Congress on civil rights legislation.

The clear intention of the convention was that *all* forces sincerely interested in civil rights were to be invited to participate in this struggle. Imagine the consternation of the Negro people upon learning that Roy Wilkins had issued an edict excluding from the mobilization ten progressive-led unions, which possess the best record among American trade unions in the struggle for Negro rights.

Upon realizing that among the more than forty national sponsoring organizations were such reactionary anti-Negro groups as the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the aim of those forces for whom Wilkins had acted became clear. They were proposing to take the mighty struggle for civil rights unfolding among the Negro masses and place it under the exclusive jurisdiction of

Right-wing and Social-Democratic forces; they propose to eliminate organizations and individuals who would demand real action by the Truman Administration; they propose to isolate the Communists and all Left and progressive forces from this movement; they propose to establish a "loyalty" oath for Americans, Negro and white, who wish to fight for civil rights legislation. By this step they propose to split the movement for Negro rights at a time when the prime necessity for victory is united action, to misdirect and liquidate on a scale unparalleled in the history of the Negro people's movement this epochal struggle for civil liberties.

In addition to the two main lines of support for Truman and organization of a Right-led united front around civil rights legislation, the national leadership advances the idea of gradual and automatic integration of the Negro people into American life through step after step of social reform. With the passage and enforcement of appropriate civil rights laws by the Federal government and the states and cities, they hold, the complete liberation of the Negro people is only a matter of time.

It is this false theory of gradualism that gave rise to Walter White's *Look* magazine article, with its ludicrous proposition that the problems of the Negroes in America could be solved by the universal use of a new drug to turn the skin white.

SOME INCORRECT TENDENCIES

This article has gone into some detail on the background of the N.A.A.C.P., the political orientation of its leadership, its policy and program, because understanding of these facts is essential in determining the tasks that face the Left-progressive forces within that body.

During the last few years, the Left and progressive forces in the Association have at times exhibited a number of incorrect tendencies in their work which, if persisted in, would impede their efforts to build the organization into a powerful force in the Negro liberation movement.

Some of the Left and progressive forces have occasionally fallen into sectarian tendencies, maintaining that it is "impossible" for them to bring about any changes in the Association due to the domination of the reformist and Social-Democratic leadership. They insist that the organization is purely reformist in character and that nothing important can be achieved by remaining in it; and they claim that the decline in membership during the last two years is proof that the Association has never basically won the allegiance of the Negro people. This attitude has at times been expressed in a withdrawal from active participation in the life and work of the organization and in a search for other channels through which to develop mili-

tant action.

It is clear that underlying this sectarian tendency is a serious underestimation of the central role played by the Association in Negro life. Such an approach misses the whole point that by withdrawing from active participation in the work of the organization and by leaving its struggle for national civil rights legislation to the present reformist and Social-Democratic leadership, the Left forces would merely strengthen the control and domination of this leadership and serve to isolate the Left-progressives from broad sections of Negro life. This sectarian approach confuses the reformist and Social-Democratic leadership with the membership; it fails to see the currents that are developing among the Negro people as a whole and among the membership itself, as well as the growing difficulties facing the present leadership as a result of the betrayal of election promises by the Truman Administration; and it does not recognize the fact that the Negro people have not accepted and will not accept the line of capitulation advanced by Wilkins and White. These facts are illustrated, not only by the events at the 40th convention, but by the subsequent refusal of many sections of the organization to accept the Wilkins edict excluding Left-progressive unions from the civil rights mobilization.

Another incorrect tendency exhibited by many Left and progressive forces in the Association is that

of accepting fully and without question the *interpretation* given to N.A.A.C.P. policy by Right-wing elements and by certain national staff members. The assumption here is that, because the Negro people are an oppressed people, there is *only one* current developing among them, and that this current is necessarily progressive. The reformist, Social-Democratic, Right current flowing from the Negro petty bourgeoisie is overlooked. Consequently, the need for a policy that seeks to unite the vast majority of the Negro people in struggle against the line of reformism and capitulation to American imperialism is obscured.

The progressive forces in the Association that fall into this tendency work without a correct understanding of united front policy, fail to ally themselves with the advancing currents in the broad membership of the organization that are seeking a line of struggle, and consequently end up by becoming technical workers only. The struggle against reformism and Social-Democracy and against the white-chauvinist policies and practices brought into the organization by white Social-Democrats and Trotskyites (who constitute the bulk of the white forces in the Association) is thus abandoned.

The emergence of these tendencies on the part of certain forces in the Left trend within the Association is further stimulated by the failure of the progressive movement generally to participate sufficiently in the ac-

tivities undertaken by the N.A.A.C.P. In some instances, as a result of the influence of white chauvinism, Left and progressive forces regard the Association as "unimportant" because it is mainly a Negro body and therefore "not worth" the attention paid to the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., or other national organizations. The effect of these attitudes is to facilitate the infiltration of Social-Democrats and Trotskyites into the Negro people's movement and the betrayal of the struggle for Negro rights by these elements.

Progressives must recognize the important role of the organization as a key force in the struggle for a united Negro people's movement. They should work for a policy of uniting the rank and file of the Association with sections of the leadership, wherever possible, in fighting for a militant program to advance the movement of the Negro people against their national oppressors—Wall Street and the proponents of the Truman-bipartisan doctrines.

This united front should be extended and developed into a conscious part of the progressive movement, recognizing its role as part of the progressive trend generally. Inevitably, such a movement would expose the Social-Democratic and reformist misleadership. The Negro people must come to see clearly the basic difference between Social-Democratic and reformist policies on the one hand and a clear-cut anti-imperialist policy on the other.

The Struggle For Jobs and For Negro Rights in the Trade Unions*

By Hal Simon

WHITE CHAUVINISM today is fascist ideology, the fascist ideology of the ruling class, spawned by it in its attempt to divide and disrupt the struggle for peace and democracy. The bourgeoisie is using every weapon at its command to break the back of the growing unity against war and fascism. It is attempting to create an atmosphere of demoralization and disunity by driving the Negro workers out of industry, and by pitting the white workers against the Negro workers. Simultaneously, it is hoping to use the Negro workers who came into industry in the period since the formation of the C.I.O., and particularly during the war and who are now being expelled from industry, as a reserve to beat down the struggles of the working class as a whole. White chauvinism is the traditional weapon of divide and rule.

The postwar years have witnessed the sharpest decline in the employment of Negro workers. With the weapons of white chauvinism and

intimidation, attempts are being made by the reformist leadership of the National Maritime Union to drive the Negro workers out of the maritime industry. So-called labor-saving devices are banishing the Negro workers from the steel industry. On every front, in industry after industry, Negro workers are being expelled from the jobs they acquired in recent years. In a number of industries, conditions of employment today are below that level achieved even prior to World War II. The expulsion of Negro workers from industry is accompanied by downgrading to lesser, menial job categories, denying the Negro workers the opportunity to practice skills they have mastered.

BETRAYAL OF NEGRO WORKERS BY RIGHT-WING TRADE-UNION LEADERS

These main blows are being directed against the Negro workers today as part of the whole drive toward war and fascism, for two main reasons: First, because the Negro workers represent the most militant section of the trade-union movement, and because the Negro people are the

* The main body of a report delivered by the Trade Union Secretary of the Communist Party in New York State at the New York Trade Union Conference on the Struggle for Negro Rights and Against White Chauvinism, held in New York City on October 7 and 8, 1949.

most militant ally of the working class; and, secondly, because of the growing resistance of the Negro people to the attacks that are developing against them. This resistance flows, in the first place, from the developing national aspirations of the Negro people as a whole.

In the face of these developments, what is the attitude of the top trade-union leadership toward this powerful ally of the workers, the Negro people? The Right-wing leadership of the C.I.O. has completely abandoned the struggle for Negro rights, and thereby abandoned the alliance with the Negro people which was one of the requisites for the very birth of the C.I.O. itself. The Negro workers in the basic industries played an outstanding role in the organization of the C.I.O. Today, these same Negro workers have been abandoned by the leadership of C.I.O. Today, the bourgeoisie is utilizing the Weavers and the Townsends, Negro reformists and Social-Democrats of the Reuther stripe, in an attempt to mislead the Negro workers to draw them away from the path of struggle that gave rise to the C.I.O., down the path which can only lead to the inevitable destruction of the C.I.O.—the path of war and fascism.

Why has the reformist and Social-Democratic leadership of the C.I.O. destroyed the traditional alliance between the trade-union movement and the Negro people? There is one central reason: the Right-wing top lead-

ership of the C.I.O. and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., have gone over to full and unqualified support for the imperialist policies of the Administration, for the policies of Big Business. They have completely subordinated themselves to the interests of American imperialism, and are taking up the cudgels against the interests of the workers as a whole and in the first place against the Negro workers. That is why the Right wing has not only abandoned the policy of alliance with the Negro workers, but has gone over to complicity in the attacks against them.

This and only this can explain the use of the Ku Klux Klan by the steelworkers' union leadership against the Negro workers in the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers' Union in Bessemer, Alabama. This and only this can explain the support for Jim Crow and discrimination in the C.I.O. Southern organizing drive. The continued refusal to challenge the enemies of the Negro workers can in the long run only help to divide and weaken the C.I.O. as a whole.

What, therefore, is the main task of the progressive forces in the trade-union movement? Clearly, it is to wage an unrelenting struggle for the unity of the Negro people's national-liberation movement with the progressive trade-union forces in their fight to defend and improve the conditions of the working class.

What is necessary for the execution

of this task today is a full and complete recognition of the Negro question as a national question and an unending struggle against white chauvinism.

Our Party, during the last 20 years, has been pressing for a full understanding and recognition of the fundamental character of the Negro question, and has been the inspirer of organization and action in support of the justified aspirations of the Negro people. In the T.U.E.L., in the Left wing of the A. F. of L. and finally in the C.I.O., our Party fought for and won recognition of the special problems facing the Negro workers. At our Emergency Convention in 1945, we rejected the Browderite liquidation of the special character of the struggle for Negro rights; at its Special Plenum of December 1946, the National Committee of our Party adopted a highly important resolution re-affirming the national character of the Negro people's struggle; and at its 1948 Convention, our Party renewed its determination that our Marxist-Leninist understanding of the Negro question shall become the understanding of the working class as a whole.

Particularly in the last six months, our Party nationally and in New York State has renewed and strengthened the struggle for Negro rights and against white chauvinism. The comrades are familiar with the character of the struggle launched and carried through by our leadership

throughout the Party. This struggle for a basic understanding of the Negro question has made an important contribution to our work in every field. This is true because opportunism and deviations from Party policy on this front cannot be confined; they spill over and affect the work of the Party in every area of struggle.

Our Party in industry has participated in the general struggle for a deepening of our understanding on this most important question. At this conference we propose to examine what progress we have made in tackling this question, where we stand, and what major questions still remain before us.

THE FIGHT FOR JOBS

The key aspect of the struggle for Negro rights and against white chauvinism in the ranks of the trade-union movement is the fight for jobs. There can be no real struggle against white chauvinism unless, in the first place, the denial of the job rights of the Negro people, their exclusion from industry, their lack of opportunity for upgrading and training, receive our primary attention. Yet it is here that we find one of the weakest aspects of our work.

In the last six months the American working class has been confronted with a developing economic crisis. Regardless of any ballyhoo of a "turn" in employment, the facts of the situation are that there has been

a steady and consistent decline in employment since December of 1948. This has not been stopped and is continuing, in spite of momentary, seasonal upturns that have taken place in *some industries*, but not in *all*, during the month of August. The fear of growing and permanent unemployment has now taken root in the minds of the American workers.

The hardest impact of the rise in unemployment is felt by the Negro workers, who have almost completely been excluded from former positions of skill and opportunity which were won through struggles in recent years. With the close of the war, thousands of Negro workers were laid off in shipyards and in ordnance and aircraft plants. In New York, for example, unemployment among Negro workers is 15 to 20 percent higher than unemployment generally. Negro women, hired in most instances only as a last resort during the war, were the first to be laid off in the period of reconversion. Now they are being forced back, in increasing numbers, into domestic work. Unemployment is the key problem that has to be tackled.

When this problem is posed, the question is usually thrown at us: Well, how can the special struggle for jobs for Negro workers be conducted in a period of general declining employment for the workers as a whole?

The first, obvious reaction to this question is that it represents a com-

plete lack of understanding of the special character of the problems facing the Negro workers. It represents a lack of understanding of the national aspects of the Negro question. It is not a question of "how" can the special struggle for jobs for Negro workers be conducted—but rather that *the fight must be conducted*. As far as the Negro workers are concerned, there is a growing, rising militancy and resistance to this situation. They are just not going to take this mass expulsion from industry lying down. On every front and in many forms, Negro workers are fighting back.

In some industries, such as steel and auto, Negro workers are organizing their own caucuses to handle their own grievances and to take up their problems, which are being ignored by the Right-wing leadership of the union. On the Southern railroads, a thousand Negro firemen, who are indigenous to the industry, having held their jobs since before the Civil War, are fighting with everything at their command to prevent their banishment by a coalition of the white railroad union leaders and the Government. The most dramatic and outstanding example of this determination to resist is the fight of the Negro longshoremen of Local 968 of the International Longshoremen's Union to preserve their job rights on the Brooklyn docks.

This is what characterizes the attitude of the Negro workers toward

the attempts to drive them out of industry. This militancy can be a decisive contribution to the general struggle of the working class against the employers, against the imperialists, and against the agents of imperialism in the ranks of the trade-union movement. To the degree that the white trade-union progressives unite with the Negro workers in a joint struggle against their common enemy, the unions as a whole will strengthen their ranks and advance their daily struggles. For the Negro workers have proven with their very lives that they represent the most militant sector of the trade-union movement.

It is precisely because the employers are well aware of this militancy that they are trying to deprive the trade-union movement of its most significant ally. The progressive forces in the trade-union movement must frustrate this strategy of the employers by fighting for the re-establishment of the Negro-labor alliance. A united fight against the employers and their agents requires special concern with the fight for job opportunities for Negro workers within the framework of the general struggle of the working class as a whole.

When we are prepared to confront this problem of a united fight for the job rights of the Negro workers, the central problem that we must tackle is the question of seniority.

With the exception of the transportation and printing industries, the

concept of seniority is not a very old one in the trade-union movement. It is only in the last 13 years that union contracts, including seniority clauses, were brought into being, covering millions of workers. It was the experiences of the economic crisis of the '30's, with its tremendous layoffs, and of the traditional policy of favoritism in the basic industries, that brought about the demand on the part of the workers, once the unions were organized in the basic industries, that some minimum guarantees be provided for job security. Seniority clauses were introduced to preserve the job rights of the most militant workers and to permit the older workers, usually the first targets of the bosses, to have some semblance of guarantee that they would be able to retain their jobs in periods of layoffs and unemployment.

However, as far as the Negro workers are concerned, it was primarily during the Second World War that they began to enter industry on a large scale. Therefore, seniority today, in its effects upon the Negro people in a period of generally declining employment, acts in the interests of the employers, who are striving to expel the militant Negro workers from industry and to restore to American industry its predominantly lily-white, anti-Negro, discriminatory character.

The Right-wing leadership of the C.I.O. tells us that seniority is a sacred thing, that it is one of the

foundations of the trade-union movement, not to be touched or tampered with.

But the record will show that the principle of seniority is modified and doctored by these very same trade-union leaders so as almost to destroy the very concept itself. The examination of hundreds of contracts shows that seniority is modified by ability, physical fitness and age. Seniority is modified to provide special seniority for shop stewards and veterans, and to deny seniority to women. Seniority is adjusted on a plant, departmental or classification basis, in some instances to the point where small groups of workers on the same jobs come under different seniority lists.

So it is clear on the record we can show these gentlemen that the sacred institution of seniority has been modified in many instances.

It is also true that there are a whole host of industries where seniority just does not exist—the needle trades, longshore, the building trades. Industries of this type, which require a full force when they operate and work on a seasonal or casual basis, do not employ the seniority principle at all.

Many progressive forces in the trade-union movement, including some of our Party comrades, are also convinced that seniority cannot be modified to safeguard the jobs of Negro workers. This acceptance of the line of the reformist and Social-

Democratic trade-union leaders must be challenged decisively.

Seniority has been tampered with, seniority has been adjusted, seniority has been modified, and in a few instances, as we will show, seniority has been modified in order to take into consideration the special problems facing the Negro workers.

Sometimes, when we talk of the question of modification of seniority in order to permit special concern for the job rights of the Negro workers, the position of the Party is characterized as being in favor of "super-seniority." This is a cynical rejection of the position of our Party on the Negro question. We are not asking for something "super," or above the normal, as far as the Negro workers are concerned. What we are asking for is to make those adjustments necessary to guarantee the Negro workers *equal* job opportunities with the white workers in the shops and in industry.

SENIORITY IN HIRING

There are three main aspects to the application of seniority: hiring, upgrading and layoffs.

The importance of adjusting seniority where the union has a voice in the hiring policies of the shop or the industry cannot be overestimated. The majority of the Negro workers are outside the key industries, and unless the unions which have a voice in the hiring policies

are prepared to work out a special approach for the hiring of Negro workers, no basic change will be made in the relationship of the Negro workers to these key industries.

In Local 65, where hiring takes place through the rotary hiring system in the hiring hall, it is reported, provisions have consciously been made by the union leadership that at least one out of every four job applications shall be filled by a Negro worker, regardless of his position on the seniority lists. And where job openings arise in shops owned by employers who have been guilty in the past of discriminatory practices, meetings of the workers have been held in the hiring hall to permit a Negro worker to skip over his place in the hiring list and to apply for that job. This is one form of modification of seniority in relation to hiring. A second example is the U.O.P.W.A., whose Regional Office, reportedly, maintains a Placement Bureau. Union members who are without jobs apply to the Placement Bureau for employment. In the case of Negro workers, the U.O.P.W.A. has made a provision that Negro workers do not have to be members of the union in order to apply for jobs through this Placement Bureau. This is another form of modification of the seniority principle. In both these instances, the policy of the hiring hall and the Placement Bureau is to send Negro workers out for jobs in shops

that have been lily-white and to attempt to break the past discriminatory practices of employers.

The hiring aspect of the whole job fight must include a specific approach to break into industries that have traditionally been lily-white in character. An approach to this has been made in New York City in the campaign that is being carried on at the present time around the A. & P. chain. We have had other examples of a campaign for the hiring of Negro workers in stores, such as the White Tower shops, and others. However, what is characteristic of the steps that have been taken is that they have been directed in the first place toward winning jobs for Negroes in retail stores. We have not yet begun to direct the campaign toward breaking into some of the important industries in the state and city of New York.

There are a whole score of industries that still do not hire Negro workers, such as many sections of the building trades, Coca Cola Bottling Company, and others. One of the important firms discriminating against Negro workers is Western Union. As a gesture to appease the Negro community, Western Union does employ 24 Negro workers in its branch offices in the Negro community and among the messengers. However, in the basic section of the industry, in traffic, in the main central building at 60 Hudson Street,

out of the thousands of workers employed, there are fewer than 20 Negro workers. All told, in Western Union in New York, there are no more than about 100 Negro workers of some 5,000 employed. This can only be characterized as a lily-white industry that discriminates against the employment of Negro workers. The hiring of Negro workers in Western Union should be one of the first objectives of the progressive movement.

SENIORITY AND UPGRADING

Seniority clauses in existing contracts, if not modified, affect the Negro workers adversely when it comes to the problem of upgrading and reclassification to higher-paid jobs. An example of how such contract clauses work against the Negro workers is the Sperry plant, where seniority is by job classification. The Negro workers in Sperry are in the most menial job categories. If they were to be upgraded to the more skilled categories, they would lose the seniority accumulated on their previous jobs. Therefore, the Negro workers themselves do not press for upgrading in the shop because it would place them at the end of the seniority list in the new job classification, thereby endangering their job rights accumulated over a number of years. In Sperry, special concern for the problem of upgrading Negro workers and guaranteeing a

full integration of Negro workers into the most important production processes in the shop requires the fight to guarantee that the Negro workers shall be permitted to carry their total plant seniority when they are upgraded.

In the fur industry, with the organization of the processing and dyeing shops, the union found many Negro workers employed. However, these workers were in the most menial categories. Today, as a result of a deliberate and conscious policy on the part of the leadership of the Furriers Joint Board, 1,700 Negro workers in the Joint Board are found in all the job classifications, including such jobs as chemists, strippers, and others which are among the most skilled categories in the industry. In the Furriers Joint Council, in spite of the fact that the fur manufacturing end of the industry is today still almost a lily-white industry, attempts have been recently and are still being made to train Negro workers as cutters. In pointing up these positive experiences in the fur industry, we in no way want to deny many weaknesses that still exist. But on the question of upgrading Negro workers, the fur workers' union has rung up an important positive achievement.

An outstanding example of how normal seniority practices were set aside by a union in order to advance Negro workers was the employment

of Negro bus drivers a number of years ago as a result of the campaign developed in Harlem, supported by the progressive forces at that time in the Transport Workers' Union.

At the present time, a number of unions are involved in one or another aspect of the campaign to upgrade Negro workers. Generally, the campaign revolves around an attempt to break into lily-white categories that still exist in some of the shops. In Local 65, the progressive forces are making an attempt to guarantee the employment of Negro retail clerks and salesmen. Some victories have already been achieved in the Vim Stores. But a major obstacle still has to be overcome in the wholesale and drygoods trades in relation to the outside salesmen. The U.O.P.W.A. is putting on a special campaign for the employment of Negro cashiers, a campaign that involves the white workers in this union as one of the decisive forces in carrying through this objective. Some months back, a campaign was developed in Lackawanna to break down the lily-white character of the strip mill in Bethlehem Steel. This campaign has been sporadic and has tapered off in this last period.

In all these examples, the central question is that of waging a fight for the upgrading of Negro workers to guarantee their full integration in industry, regardless of what modifications may have to be made in the

normal seniority practices in the given industry or shop.

SENIORITY AND LAYOFFS

The third aspect of the seniority question is in relation to layoffs. This is a key question precisely because the economic conditions with which the Negro workers are faced threaten, not only their existent jobs, but also their pre-war job standards.

It is on this question that we find the greatest reluctance on the part of trade-union leaders and some of our comrades.

What are some of the arguments that progressive forces use against a modification of seniority in relation to layoffs? They say that any modification of seniority will divide the Negro workers from the white workers. They argue, further, that instead of directing our fire against the employers, such a proposal will only add to competition between the Negro and white workers for a given job. And, finally, they tell us that the white workers will never agree to a modification of seniority in relation to layoffs.

Practically none of the comrades who raise these questions can speak with authority, because very few if any of them have ever tried to raise this question with the white workers. Is it true that the fight for Negro-white unity in defense of the job rights of Negro workers will degenerate into a competition for ex-

istent jobs? I think that we must say, on the contrary, that the greatest competition would exist if we permitted the Negro workers to be outside the industry and the white workers to be inside. Yes, we must direct our main fire against the employers—by frustrating their strategy of depriving the trade-union movement of its most militant section, the Negro workers, and thereby weakening the united defense of and fight for jobs on the part of the whole of the trade-union movement.

The defense of the job rights of the Negro workers must be carried out within the framework of a general fight for jobs for the working class as a whole. We cannot pose the maintenance of jobs for Negro workers in opposition to the concern which the workers generally are feeling today as a result of growing unemployment. Therefore, the tackling of this question must include a stepped-up campaign by the unions on such questions as the shorter work week without reduction in pay, share-the-work plans wherever they can be worked out within the shops, and a major campaign for public works. In posing this question of public works projects, however, we do not mean to imply that what we are fighting for is jobs in industry for the white workers and "W.P.A. jobs" for Negro workers. What we are fighting for is the full integration of Negro workers in the basic industries.

At the same time, the general struggle for jobs for the workers as a whole should not be permitted to submerge the special struggle for jobs that must be conducted in relation to the Negro workers. The achievement of the 30-hour week will not end discrimination. Sharing the work alone will not solve the special problem of the Negro workers. Witness, for example, the experience in I.L.A. where the Negro workers in Local 968, in a union where there are no seniority provisions at all, still are faced with the most vicious discriminatory policy.

There is no one form in which the special fight for jobs for Negro workers will be conducted. The progressive forces will have to adopt a flexible, differentiated approach, specific to each industry and each shop. What is fundamental, however, is that the guiding thought in each place, regardless of what method or approach is utilized, shall be a basic fight for the maintenance of the job rights of the Negro workers.

Recently we had one example where a business agent in a U.E. local, convinced that a special fight for Negro workers had to be put up, went to a shop of a hundred workers, and after a series of detailed discussions, convinced the shop committee to agree to add two years to the seniority rights of the Negro workers in that shop. This proposal, while it has not yet been taken up with the shop as a whole, represents

an important advance, and shows that the workers, particularly in this shop committee, composed principally of white workers, could be and were convinced that a special concern had to be developed for the Negro workers regarding layoffs, and that in this instance it would help unite the shop.

In some places, modification of seniority in the form of a shift from departmental to plant-wide seniority will help protect many of the job rights of the Negro workers. Forms can be worked out, if we agree on the fundamental question that a modification of seniority in order to protect the jobs of Negro workers is correct, and if we have confidence that the workers can be convinced and will conduct a struggle for these job rights.

WHITE CHAUVINISM AND THE JOBS FIGHT

What is the main obstacle to the conduct of a real fight for jobs for Negro workers? I believe that the main obstacle is a basic lack of understanding of the Negro question as a national question, and an underestimation of the need for the resolute conduct of an unending struggle against white chauvinism, both in the ranks of the Party and within the unions. An insufficient appreciation of the national aspect of the Negro question and failure to develop the struggle against white

chauvinism lead to a host of serious problems within the unions.

First of all, they lead to a simple, equalitarian approach to the problems of the Negro workers, within which is reflected the increased influence of Social-Democratic thinking in the trade unions, and even in our own ranks. It is the Social-Democrats who, to rationalize their abandonment of the struggle in behalf of the *doubly* oppressed Negro worker, demagogically indulge in phrases about Negro workers being "just like" all other workers. They even try to tell us that to carry on a special campaign for the rights of Negro workers is Jim Crow in reverse. This denial of the special character of the Negro question, and this influence of Social-Democratic thinking, represents one of the major barriers that has to be overcome in the trade unions. It is the influence of this thinking that makes it possible for even a progressive union leadership to conduct struggles for jobs and for the improvement of economic conditions of the Negro workers, and yet have persons in that same leadership commit serious white-chauvinist acts and display white-chauvinist tendencies.

This lack of understanding of the many-sided national aspect of the problems facing the Negro workers results also in a failure to bring Negro workers into union leadership. That is why, for example, we can find a good approach toward the up-

grading and training of Negro workers in the fur workers' union, and at the same time find practically no Negro workers in the union leadership, with but one notable exception. The same is true of most of the progressive-led unions.

This lack of basic understanding of the Negro question also results in a failure to develop really integrated social relationships between the Negro and the white workers in the industry. It does not permit full appreciation of the fact that the Negro worker, when he leaves his job, is subjected to all the national oppression which the imperialists can throw at him.

A lack of full appreciation of this question is further revealed in the failure to give sufficient attention to the establishment of anti-discrimination committees in the unions. Very few of these committees have been established, and where they have, they are mainly left to the Negro workers in the unions. One of the consequences of the failure to build these committees is the failure to develop the fight for Negro rights among the white workers in the unions. Too often, on such campaigns as the case of the Trenton Six, the Ingram Case and other major struggles involving the Negro people that come before the union, the major action taken is to go to the Negro workers with these problems. The first approach of a progressive leadership must be to carry on the

campaign for Negro rights among the white workers.

LESSONS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

What have we learned in the struggle against white chauvinism in our Party? We have learned that we have a serious problem of tendencies and practices of a white-chauvinist nature that are widespread in the industrial and shop branches and among comrades in leading positions in the trade-union movement. Moreover, where we find tendencies of a white-chauvinist nature, we also find tendencies toward Right opportunism and bureaucracy.

On the whole, our Party in industry has welcomed the opening up of this campaign against white chauvinism. While we have found here and there complaints that we are indulging in "witch hunts" or "hysteria," the overwhelmingly predominant attitude of our comrades has been a healthy desire to learn and to understand—and to wipe out all thinking and practices of white chauvinism. Here, comrades, we must take note of the outstanding role of our Negro comrades in industry, who have been extremely helpful in the course of unfolding this campaign.

At this point, however, we must say that whatever headway we have made—and headway has been made—it has been primarily on the ideo-

logical front. It has resulted in deeper thinking on the part of our comrades on the Negro question. It has resulted in further examination of their own role, of their own responsibilities. However, the degree of practical struggle against white chauvinism, and in the first place, the struggle for jobs, does not as yet fully reflect the progress that we have made.

The big problem now is to guarantee that the struggle against white chauvinism is opened in a mass way in the unions themselves as part of a mobilization for struggle against war and fascism, for jobs for Negro workers and, yes, for the unity of the unions themselves.

The Food and Tobacco Workers' Union has made an important contribution to the whole trade-union movement on this question. At a recent two-day Executive Board meeting, the F.T.A. leadership held a serious discussion on white chauvinism and "white-supremacist" attitudes in the union, which is organized predominantly in the South, and came to the conclusion that white chauvinism and "white-supremacist" attitudes are eating at the very vitals of the unity of the union. The Board therefore decided to launch a campaign, led by the white leadership of the union and directed in the first place toward the white membership, to challenge and to eradicate, to the fullest extent possible, all white-chauvinist attitudes. The

Executive Board then drew up a program of action, and embodied this program, which included responsibilities for all the leaders of the union, in a resolution that was reprinted in full in the F.T.A. newspaper.

To develop the struggle in this way, to show the relationship between the struggle against white chauvinism and the fight for unity of the union, will help to develop a new militancy in the ranks of the trade-union movement. The unfolding of this campaign against white chauvinism on a mass scale in the unions will also permit the trade-union movement to come forward in a new way in relation to the struggles of the Negro people's movement.

What has characterized the role of the trade unions on such questions as police brutality, discrimination in housing, the Ingram Case, the Trenton Six? With some few exceptions, there has been generally a routine approach to these questions. The role of the progressive-led unions, with some notable exceptions, has been confined mainly to resolutions and perfunctory actions. There is very little attempt to involve the mass of the rank and file, in one form or another, to bring their weight to bear in the fight on these problems facing the Negro people, which in turn have such a direct effect on their own civil liberties and security.

As I say, there have been some

exceptions. I think that the trade unions did a better job, relatively speaking, on the Trenton Six than on many other questions. Local 65 and U.O.P.W.A. are doing a good job on Stuyvesant Town. But with the intensified attacks that are taking place against the Negro people today, with the deliberately calculated attempt to instill chauvinist hysteria among the white workers, the participation of the trade unions up to this point is far from satisfactory.

A recent event of outstanding significance was the establishment of the Harlem Trade Union Council. When the Council was founded some six months ago, 45 locals were represented. For the first time in many years, a body has been established which unites Negro and white trade unionists around one central objective: the determination to take up and to fight through on the special problems facing the Negro workers. The Council is playing an important role in bringing trade-union support to the Harlem community and in counteracting the reformist role of the Crosswaiths and the Randolphins, who today are attempting to mislead the Negro workers. In the fight for the special needs of the Negro workers and in the role that this Council is playing in the Negro community, it is being built as a firm bridge between the Negro people and the trade-union movement. The Council is a symbol of the new possibilities

of re-creating and rebuilding the alliance between the Negro people and the progressive trade-union movement.

The Harlem Trade Union Council has carried on some very important and significant activities, outstanding of which has been the support for the Negro longshoremen in Local 968 of I.L.A. The tremendous demonstrations in front of Joe Ryan's office, carried through under the leadership of the Harlem Trade Union Council, received world-wide attention. The Council has also mobilized support for the Larkin strike. It has given its aid to the organization of the hospital workers, and has played its part on many other fronts.

The time and devotion which the leadership of this Council has given to building this organization have been a real contribution to the unions. There is not, however, sufficient understanding and support from the trade-union movement itself.

ROLE AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

Daily, in the shops and in industry, we come in contact with hundreds of Negro workers. We work side by side with them. Experience shows that where our Party comrades in the shops have helped to develop struggles in the interests of the workers as a whole, and particularly in the interests of the Negro workers, it is not too difficult to convince

Negro workers to join our Party.

However, in the Party registration in New York State during December 1948, we found a serious drop in Negro membership in our shop and industrial branches. Why was this so? The first reason is that a whole group of our Negro comrades have been forced out of industry as a result of layoffs and contraction in the shops. This took place while there was no general approach to preventing the mass layoff of Negro workers. Secondly, the Negro workers did not fully find in the Party the kind of organization they had a right to expect. They found many weaknesses on our part in relation to white chauvinism and a lack of sufficient concern for their integration into the Party organization, for the special problems that they faced.

If we were to re-examine the 1948 registration today, club by club, we would find, I am sure, that as a result of the unfolding of the struggle against white chauvinism, it is these conclusions we would come to, and not some of the more superficial reasons that were given at that time. Now we can explain the drop in such industrial sections as the fur, longshore, electrical sections, and many others.

We find today that in many industrial sections the Negro membership of our Party branches does not even equal the proportion of the Negro workers in the industry as a whole. Certainly this demonstrates

that a great deal still has to be done in building our Party among the Negro workers.

We find also in our Party branches that there is not present a serious approach toward bringing forward Negro comrades into leadership in the Party, which is very similar to the situation that we find in many of the local unions. We must say, comrades, that in order for us to develop the overall campaign in the unions—the struggle for Negro rights and against white chauvinism—our Party clubs must be models in every respect.

What are the main tasks that lie before us, comrades?

1. The further unfolding of an all-out, unending ideological struggle to win our Party membership for an understanding of the Negro question as a national question and to do battle against white-chauvinist, fascist ideology. This struggle must be further opened up in the Party, and opened up in a mass way in the ranks of the union.

2. The fight for jobs must be extended and deepened. This includes special concern for the hiring of Negro workers and breaking into lily-white industries. It means special attention to upgrading, breaking down lily-white job categories, and to the development of skills among the Negro workers. It means an approach to the question of layoffs, in which we work out all possible methods, including the modification

of seniority, to protect the job rights of the Negro workers.

3. Promotion of Negro workers to leadership on all levels in the trade-union movement. The degree to which Negro leadership is brought forward in the unions will, at the same time, help determine the extent to which new, proletarian spokesmen and leaders come forward in the Negro liberation movement.

4. Industry by industry, and local by local, we must work out the fullest, unqualified support for the Harlem Trade Union Council.

5. Full support to the organizing drive of the Domestic Workers' Union. As a result of the sharp increase in the number of Negro women domestic workers, the union, with the help of the progressive women's movement, is taking steps to open up an organizing campaign. This can be a real contribution to the whole Negro people's movement.

6. The building and strengthening

of our Party among the Negro workers in industry.

Comrades, we come here with confidence—confidence in our Party and confidence in the working class. We know the contribution that the trade unions have made to the struggle for Negro rights in past years under the stimulation of our Party forces. We are determined that a handful of Right-wing and reformist trade-union leaders who have sold themselves to the imperialists shall not destroy these advances.

This is a working conference. We want to come out of this conference with a fighting program to help cement the Negro-labor alliance in the struggle against war and fascism in the face of the coming crisis. We propose to come out of this conference with a program to advance the fight for peace and democracy and the unity of the trade-union movement, Negro and white.

The Peron Government Follows in the Footsteps of the Oligarchy

By Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez

General Secretary, Communist Party of Argentina

[This important article by Comrade Alvarez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, tells a graphic story of the persecutions now being experienced by his fighting Party at the hands of the reactionary government of that country. Since the article was written, the Party's official daily paper, La Hora, has been suppressed by the authorities. Various other repressive measures are constantly being taken in an effort to hinder the working class in its valiant struggle. Peron is one of the slickest demagogues in this Hemisphere; he is also one of the most dangerous. Our Party and the workers generally in the United States should protest against the growing terror in Argentina and in other countries of Latin America. This is a time when the workers of all countries need to display a strong spirit of internationalism, so that by their common action they can put a halt to such reactionaries and warmongers as the notorious Peron.]

—William Z. Foster]

ON THE FIFTH of last November, a meeting in Buenos Aires commemorating the thirty-second anniversary of the glorious Russian Revolution was the subject of a barbarous police assault—another added to the long series of attacks on the democratic liberties of the Argentine people. In an exhibition of force, power and brutality worthy of Hitler's assault troops, those attending the meeting organized by the Communist Party—men and women, old and young, and children—were taken away en masse in waiting police vans.

NEW GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGN OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC REPRESSION

More than seven hundred persons were seized and thrown into cells of the police stations, many of them undergoing barbarous tortures, blows, beatings and humiliations at the hands of the underlings of "the Special Section for the Repression of Communism."

Without regard for their age or state of health, more than 180 women, many of them old and many

carrying babies in their arms, were herded into the San Miguel Asylum, a prison for prostitutes, whose inmates were set free in order to make room for these honest women. The only crime of these patriotic women was that they had answered the call of the Communist Party, the vanguard party of the working class and of the Argentine people, and had gathered to commemorate one more anniversary of the greatest revolution ever recorded in the history of humanity; the triumph of the working masses guided by the Bolshevik Party and its natural leaders Lenin and Stalin, and the establishment of the first working-class state in the world.

At this meeting the leading comrades of our Party were also arrested, members of the Executive Committee, Victorio Codovilla, Juan José Real, Alcira de la Peña, and Victor Larralde. In fact, the arrival of these comrades at the meeting place was apparently the signal for the unleashing of the vile aggression, which reveals the police action as a coldly calculated trap, since the meeting had the necessary permit.

The behavior of the men and women—Communist and non-Communist—in the face of the police myrmidons was simply admirable. What firm, calm fortitude they showed their torturers, who completely failed to break their determination, particularly that of the patriotic Communists! The police were so de-

feated—thanks to the fighting spirit of the arrested patriots, to the wave of support surging from all the democratic sectors of the Argentine people, deeply stirred by the barbarous attack, and to continental and international solidarity—that four days after the arrest the police-government reaction had to retreat and set all of them free. But comrades Codovilla, Real and Larralde were sentenced to fifteen days in prison, and our loyal and militant comrade Angel Gherzi, who was terribly tortured, to thirty days.

Now the police-state reaction, irritated by the defeat and exasperated by the daily increasing militancy of the struggles of the working class and the people for their economic, political and social demands, intends to apply to Comrade Codovilla, Chairman of our Party, the infamous, oligarchic Law 4144 on deportation.

Why does reaction threaten Comrade Codovilla with deportation? Because no one more than Comrade Codovilla has opened fire on and fought the large landed oligarchy, big reactionary national capital and the imperialist monopolies, and because no one more than he has shown the Argentine people more clearly and consistently the path to national and social liberation. But, more than this, the threat of deportation of Comrade Codovilla, as well as the policy of repression and violence against the working class and the democratic forces, should be con-

sidered mainly as a serious threat, as a very grave danger, to the national independence of Argentina. It is the beginning of the unconditional surrender of the national sovereignty to Yankee imperialism by the ruling class.

This is the appraisal of all honest people, all sincere patriots, all lovers of liberty and independence in Argentina, who have arisen with indignation and justly feel alarmed at this reactionary attack on the Communist Party and its most outstanding leader.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN ARGENTINA

The root of this abominable attempt to deport Comrade Codovilla—an attempt that constitutes the culmination of a reactionary process having its starting point in the military-fascist coup d'état of June 4, 1943—is to be found, certainly, in the economic and political situation of Argentina.

How should the present political situation in our country be characterized? It is characterized by the fact that the reactionary circles of the Peron government consider as finished the alleged "revolutionary period" started in 1943; that is, they consider as ended the era of more or less easy concessions to the working class and the people.

How is this apparent "change" by the leading Peronist clique to be ex-

plained? Already in 1946, at its Eleventh Congress, our Party pointed out to the working class and to the Argentine people the direction that the chiefs of the Peronist movement would try to impose on our national politics. Our Party pointed out that the reactionary path travelled and to be travelled by the government circles was not accidental, but followed a preconceived plan.

How did our Party appraise the military insurrection of 1943? Our Party characterized it as a military-fascist coup d'état having two objectives: First, to prevent the victory of the democratic forces united for the elections that were approaching; and second, to prevent our country from joining the group of nations, headed by the U.S.S.R., that defended the democratic cause, the liberty and independence of all peoples, against the Nazi-fascist Axis. The "change" later made in the Peronist foreign policy took place when there was no longer any doubt about the final victory of the Soviet Union and her allies over the forces of Hitler, Mussolini and Japan.

The economic-social concessions granted by Peron and the Peronist leaders were mainly aimed at wresting the workers from the influence of the democratic parties in general and of our Party in particular, and thereby to be able to utilize the workers to support Peron's future foreign and domestic policies.

This was confirmed by the Minis-

ter of Foreign Affairs of Argentina himself in a speech delivered on October 12 last, in which he evidently polemizes against those sections of the oligarchy that were displaced from power:

Here, as has been said, by tragic paradox, the working classes [read: the conservative classes—G.A.A.] lost the instinct of self-preservation. Their vehement desire to keep everything they had, their eagerness not to yield a single advantage they had accumulated, did not let them see what was clearly evident—that the desire to keep everything would lead them to lose everything. They did not understand that to learn to adapt themselves to the tremendous transformation that the world was undergoing was a problem of life or death: to be conservative meant, precisely, to be revolutionary.

As may be seen, “the revolutionary thing” according to the Peronist conception consisted in making some apparent “changes” in the domestic and the foreign policies and in granting certain economic-social concessions to the masses. Otherwise, “the desire to keep everything would lead them [the conservative classes] to lose everything.”

How was this possible? It was possible because the Peronist government clique took advantage of the favorable conditions created during the war and the early postwar, consisting in the existence of European and Latin American markets for the

agricultural and cattle products and manufactured goods that were in increasing demand.

Hence, what characterized this period—as pointed out by Comrade Codovilla—was that the capitalists, having secured markets and in many cases not being able to meet all the demand, were interested in not having production interrupted. Because of this they “yielded”—through the forced and interested intervention of the state—to the demands of the workers for increased wages in order to avoid any long stoppage or strikes that could have decreased their profits.

This set of circumstantially favorable events together with an unbridled anti-oligarchical, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist demagoguery on the part of the Peronist government, contributed to the idea among the less enlightened sectors of the working class and of the people that their economic-social demands could be obtained more easily in this country than in others; that prosperity in Argentina would last “a long time”; and that all of it was due to Peron, because Argentina had a “workers’ government.”

But now we discover that the period of supposed “prosperity for a long time” already has reached its end.

In 1946, the Eleventh Party Congress *warned* the people—through the brilliant and profound report of Comrade Codovilla—that in our

country *there were accumulating the elements of a sharp crisis* which, together with the crisis that the economic structure of Argentina has been undergoing for many decades, would produce catastrophic effects on the national economic development; and that this crisis, which would preserve and reinforce the chains of imperialist dependency, would transform our country virtually into a Yankee colony. If that Congress *warned*, the last meeting of the Central Committee of our Party in 1949 *verified* that our country *already has entered the period of crisis* and that the whole economic policy of the government, based on that erroneous idea of Argentine "prosperity" for "a long time" *has failed*.

That the crisis has already descended in Argentina is shown, by the following facts, among others: the stagnation of the cattle industry; the decreasing production of agriculture; the vertical drop in the sown area; the migration and increasing impoverishment of the farmers; the paralysis of industrial development; the increasing commercial bankruptcies; the big and growing difficulties of placing exportable surpluses in the foreign markets and of obtaining machinery and industrial equipment—those existing in the country are already almost completely worn out; the rise of the inflationary spiral; the disturbing and increasing cost of living; and the beginnings of un-

employment, which will rise to enormous proportions in a short time.

Consequently, the Peronist chatter about supposed and non-existent "third positions" in matters of domestic, foreign, economic and social policies cannot conceal the existence of the crisis. The reason is simple: the effects of the crisis are beginning to make themselves felt with violence on the shoulders of the working people. Events are telling us that the Peronist leading circles, together with the landed oligarchy, big national capitalists and the imperialist monopolies, protected as they are more and more by the government's policy, are doing everything possible in order to make the poor masses carry the burden of the crisis.

This has its explanation. It is evident today that the interests of the "judicialist state" have intertwined with the interests of the big landholders, capitalists and imperialist monopolies, becoming in this way the open tool of their anti-labor, anti-people and anti-democratic policies. For this reason it represses the struggles of the working class and the people, who resist the reactionary measures of the government and increase daily the defense of their economic and political interests.

On the other hand, Peron's anti-oligarchic, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist demagoguery has served to conceal his true policy, which is pro-imperialist, pro-capitalist and pro-oligarchic.

The masses, and above all the working class, are profiting by their own experiences. Their best education in and study of the class content and character of this government will doubtless be through the very struggles that the working masses are waging at present while facing the reactionary policy followed by the government and the trade-union chieftains of the central labor body, the C.G.T.

THE GOVERNMENT'S PRO-OLIGARCHIC, PRO- IMPERIALIST ORIENTATION

To have a clearer picture of this situation one need only raise the following questions:

What would be a genuine anti-oligarchical policy? The liquidation of the large, landed estates and the distribution of the land to the peasants and the agricultural workers. However, despite all of Peron's demagogical declarations that "land should not be a source of profit but a source of employment" and despite his frequent statements on the need to subdivide the large landed estates, not only have the interests of the landed oligarchy not been touched in the least, but Peron has made a new statement. In his recent speech before the agricultural cooperatives, he declared that it is not necessary to make haste in the distribution of the land, that it would be dangerous at this moment, and that although

it is true that the large landed estates are a serious evil, the small landed estates would be a worse one.

What would be a real policy to curb the big capitalists? The building of workers' and people's committees for the control of production and the sale of its products, and to insure the constant rise of wages so that the increase in production should benefit the working population, reducing the margin of profit of the big capitalists in favor of the nation and the people.

What is the attitude of the Peron government instead? Far from permitting the workers and the people to control, it tries to prevent by all means the building of any organization of a trade union or of a popular independent character. In clashes between the workers and the employers, as events demonstrate, it throws the whole state and police apparatus against the former and in support of the latter. When the masses get some increase in wages through bloody struggles, the government, by decree, as was done in the case of sugar, wine, transportation and bread, grants price increases and permits the big industrialists and merchants other considerable raises in the prices of products, particularly those consumed by the people. This is what the government's policy of "social justice" is confined to.

On the other hand, the masses themselves are demanding a real

nationalization of the foreign monopoly enterprises for the benefit of the nation and the people. They are for furthering our independent national development and for maintaining close commercial and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, democratic Germany and People's China, as well as with all countries willing to establish relations aimed at mutual benefits and based on complete equality.

What is the attitude of Peron's government instead? Not only does it maintain intact and untouchable the big imperialist concerns and the economic power of the oligarchy, but the "workers' government" gives them fat subsidies which are paid with the sweat of the Argentine people. Thus, the packing houses—the majority of them North American and British—the big cattle raisers and imperialist companies have received subsidies amounting to more than 300 million pesos, which according to the Minister of Finances himself have been given as an aid. The flour-mill trusts have likewise received more than 400 million pesos. The sugar-mill owners of Northern Argentina, who pay starvation wages to 130 thousand workers on their manors, have received 600 million pesos, too, as an aid on the part of the government of "social justice."

The contrast between the policy followed by the government with respect to the oligarchy and the impe-

rialist trusts and the one it follows in regard to the working masses, whom it is increasingly persecuting with all the repressive apparatus built for that purpose, is clearly evident, and the Argentine people and the Peronist masses themselves are beginning to understand this.

In regard to commercial foreign policy, the government is taking the path of the oligarchy, the difference being only the change of imperialist purchaser. The government does not step out of this circle despite the tremendous "disappointments" that even the President of the Republic himself has been forced to confess. The country has received many blows against its commercial policy from the Anglo-American imperialists which have resulted in serious upsets for the business of the country and the national economy. Yet the government keeps orienting itself toward Yankee imperialism and yielding gradually to it; now as in the past, the economic policy followed is that of the open door to imperialism.

Therefore, the policy of alleged "return to the land" now cultivated by official circles means, in reality, giving up every intent of independent development of the economy of the country and their capitulation to imperialism, particularly to Yankee imperialism. Since the only way "to reach an understanding" with Yankee and British imperialists is to give up the alleged industrialization,

whose true characteristics we have pointed out, this policy of "return to the land" is ruining the national industry, particularly small and medium industry.

To this end, in the recent parliamentary debate over monetary reforms, the Minister of Finances openly asked for the investment of Yankee capital. For this purpose, too, an Argentine Commission headed by Ambassador Remorino is in Washington—in the past it was the Roco Mission to London—"discussing" the conditions of the surrender of the country to the Yankee imperialists.

As may be seen from this summary exposition of the route of the Peronist government from 1943 to 1949, it has been emphasizing more and more the reactionary character of its contradictory policy, resulting at last in the present situation. This situation is one in which the Peronist government tries by every means to unload the effects of the crisis upon the shoulders of the toiling masses through a combined offensive of the employers, the sold trade-union leaders and the State—the "holy trinity," according to Comrade Codovilla's fitting expression—against the living and working conditions of the toilers in the cities and in the countryside.

This heightening offensive is manifested in the obstinate employers-State refusal to grant any increase of wages; by the unbridled increase

of urban transportation fares by 100, 200 and even 300 per cent; by the illegalization of strikes by the Ministry of Labor (the corrupt trade-union bosses of the C.G.T. compete with that official department in the outlawing of strikes, resorting to the lowest and most infamous maneuvers in order to sabotage the just struggles of the workers); by the expulsion from trade unions and from their jobs of the most militant workers, particularly the Communist workers, with subsequent arrests and beatings in the police dungeons. In this offensive the special repressive apparatus of the police cooperate readily and willingly. They deserved the warm praise of the President of the nation, who, in a recent speech which can be characterized as typical of a President of a police state, said that "the police are the basic institution of national defense," and that their role is "to make every politician toe the line, whatever his political tendency or creed." Yet, despite all this, the will to struggle of the workers increases in order to prevent their being robbed of their gains and to win new ones.

GROWTH OF THE STRIKE MOVEMENT

The strike movement not only spreads every day to wider sections of the working class, but grows in strength daily. This fact can be observed especially in the present strike

of more than 130,000 sugar workers and employees in the provinces of Tucuman, Salta and Jujuy. A month ago, as of the time of this writing, they left their work in the sugar mills (which are the most typical example of the rule of the oligarchy, just as the meat packinghouses are of the rule of the imperialists) and are remaining in their fighting positions, together with their wives and children, displaying exemplary firmness and combativeness. This, despite the fact that they are suffering untold privations and lack reserves; that the solidarity movement is not yet sufficiently developed to meet their needs; that they face police attacks, the closing of their trade-union halls, persecutions, imprisonments and tortures; and that they are opposed head-on by the treacherous "bosses" of the General Confederation of Labor, who are trying by every possible means to break the strike and legalize the trade-union organizations that are in the front ranks of the struggle against the oligarchy.

As we said before, the strike movement is growing. It is estimated that from January 1948 to May 1949 more than one million workers of all trade unions have participated in strikes.

Some of these struggles have been of huge proportions and have stirred the country: the sugar-mills strike of March, against lay-offs; the general strike of the workers of the city of Salta—who were furiously assaulted

by the police, but despite that are back again on their feet fighting — against the high cost of living in April; the strike during February-March of 30,000 engravers for an increase in wages, a strike which left the Federal capital without newspapers for one month; the successive railroad stoppages; the strike of 100,000 packinghouse workers for an increase in wages and in defense of their gains, during the month of August; the strike of the municipal workers and white-collar employees of the Federal capital which halted the cleaning of city streets and services in hospitals, civil registries, etc., and in which they succeeded in ousting the trade-union "boss" heading the trade union that for six years had government approval; the general strike called by all the trade unions in the city of Tucuman in November in support of the strike of the municipal workers for better salaries, a strike that lasted 20 days and is at present ending with a victory for the workers; the general strike of the workers of the entire flour-mill industry for better salaries in the month of November, etc., etc.

The great number of struggles that the Argentine people and working class are carrying on is the best proof that the "social justicialism" of this "workers' government" does not exist for the masses of the people. It is necessary to point out also that these increasing struggles of the Argentine people, particularly of the

working class, are taking place in face of a violent persecution by the police. More than 90 percent of these strikes are declared illegal by the Department of Labor. These trade-union workers, we must point out, are composed of great masses of Peronist workers and they conduct their struggles over the heads of the leaders of the central labor body, which is repudiated by the working class as totally dependent on the government. These masses of Peronist workers, as proved to us by our own experience, more and more seek out the Communist workers. They elect them to the shop committees and to strike committees, and defend them against the trade-union bosses, who attempt to expel them from the trade unions, and against the management and the police. The fighting line of our Party in the struggle for the defense of the demands of the workers and of the people goes deeper and deeper into the midst of these masses and builds confidence in and influence for the Party among the toilers.

The government of Peron believed that it could trap the workers' movement with a mountain of easy promises and take advantage of their sincere anti-oligarchical and anti-imperialist sentiments; but the working masses, who have taken the demagogic promises of Peron seriously, fight for their effective fulfillment, demand a truly anti-oligarchical and anti-imperialist policy and resist

with their actions the reactionary policy of the government. The working class, and especially the Peronist masses, are at present profiting by their own experience, and when they meet in their struggles the reactionary policy of the government, so different from its promises, they understand more and more the reactionary class character of Peron's government.

This is in general, the climate in which are developing the Argentine democratic forces and the struggles of the working class, forces that see their work of enlightenment and organization of the working and popular masses ever more restrained by the most varied forms of police-state repression. The reaction unleashed by the Peron government with greater force recently is due precisely to its fear of the development of the great mass movement in Argentina, to the strength and combativeness of the people's struggles, to the great awakening of the anti-imperialist conscience and for the national and social independence of the country. It is to stop this great movement of the Argentine people, to prevent the unity of the democratic forces and the growing opposition of the masses to the pro-oligarchical, pro-imperialist, reactionary policy of the government that the government is trying to reinforce more and more its repressive apparatus.

The government realizes that it is beginning to lose control of the

masses, especially of the working people. The economic crisis that is beginning to shake the country is breaking the relative harmony that existed earlier and is worsening the internal contradictions; and because of this, there is beginning to take place a series of measures of mass expulsions in the Peronist party itself, measures that reach certain leaders, workers and masses at the base of the party. Scores of Peronist workers are being arrested, beaten and held under the State Security Law because of their active participation in the latest strikes that are developing in the nation. In face of this situation the government is starting to reinforce its repressive apparatus, and that accounts, too, for the latest reform of the Penal Code, a reform that expresses an actual persecution of ideas, of written or spoken words. The law regulating the political parties, which tends to neutralize the activities of the opposition parties, persecutes them in accordance with this regulation, destroys them and prohibits any alliances of the forces of the democratic parties, an alliance of progressive forces that Peron fears deeply and tries to prevent by all means.

In this way, too, the decree on crimes against the security of the state (establishing, among other things, penalties of long prison terms for strikers, for those distributing leaflets inciting to strike and for workers struggling to improve their

living conditions) operates against the working class and the democratic forces in the same way that the oligarchy's Law 4144 of deportation operates against foreigners. In this way a long list of reactionary measures of all kinds could be enumerated, indicative of the tendency toward the corporative and police state. All these measures are, no doubt, signs of fear of the masses, of the unity of the working class and of the people and also a sign of the desperation and weaknesses of a government that trusts above all its repressive apparatus.

But events show that the fighting spirit growing among the masses is not stopped by the violence and the repression practiced by the police and the government and that the struggles grow from day to day.

That is why, faced with the awakening and growing fighting spirit of the working class and the toiling masses generally and with the growing national sentiments of the Argentine people, in which our Party has played and plays an important role, the leading circles in national politics are unleashing a furious campaign of repression against all the democratic forces in order to prevent the people from fighting successfully for a democratic, progressive, and national way out of the present crisis situation into which our country is plunging headlong. The reactionary forces of the government, capitulating more and more

to the pressure of Yankee imperialism, are trying to place all kinds of obstacles in the way of the anti-imperialist and peace movements that are developing in our country, movements striving to prevent the tying of the Argentine nation to the war chariot of Yankee imperialism and to its policy of colonization. That is why our people is determined to defeat the pro-imperialist forces in our country, to organize a great peace movement of all the peace-loving forces, in order to break the attempts of Yankee imperialism to drag all the countries of the world into a war against the Soviet Union, against the peoples of the New Democracies, and against the countries that fight for their freedom and national independence.

The reactionary circles of the government view with desperation the increasing combativeness of the masses and the outstanding role that the organized working class especially is starting to play among them, and for that reason the reactionary attacks are aimed against the working class in order to dismember its organizations and to break its fighting spirit. The government of Peron would like the people to swallow without struggle its policy of gradual surrender to Yankee imperialism and its pro-oligarchical reactionary orientation, and would like to throw the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the working people without resistance from them; but it is evident, as

events are indicating, that reaction will be defeated and that the working class and the progressive forces will in the end triumph over the enemies of the nation.

VANGUARD ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

The Communist Party, which is placing itself more and more at the head of these struggles, at the same time fights to unite in a great democratic and anti-imperialist national front all the progressive forces in the country for its national and social liberation.

That explains why the reactionary forces have thrust themselves with so much viciousness against our Party and why they are trying to utilize the oligarchical Law 4144 on deportation against our dear Comrade Victorio Codovilla. For the same reason, all our propaganda is hampered, our press has to overcome all kinds of obstacles, our various Party offices are raided and our comrades are persecuted by the police and arrested and tortured by the Special Section of the police.

But the Communist Party, the faithful expression of the working class and the devoted defender of the interests of the Argentine nation and of the progressive people of the country, struggles side by side with all Argentine patriots to unite all forces without distinction, Peronists,

Radicals, Socialists, Democratic Progressives, etc.—and to achieve a great mobilization of the working-class masses and of the Argentine people, in order to defeat this reactionary attempt to deport Comrade Codovilla.

Events have shown us up to now that the working class and the Argentine democrats have been shaken by this barbarous attempt of reaction and increasingly are making indignant protests against the unjust threat of deportation hanging over Comrade Codovilla and also over members of the Slav minority, who have been held for a long time.

The Argentine masses are seeing ever more clearly the reactionary character of the government and the aims of the leading government circles, allied to the landed oligarchy, the big national capitalists and the imperialist monopolies: the tying of the nation to the war plans of the Yankee imperialists, who are preparing their criminal war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. For, as Comrade Codovilla expressed it, "the struggle against war and for peace is inseparably united with the struggles for the economic-social demands, for democracy, for progress, for liberty and the independence of the country, since the forces that stand against the economic-social gains of the toiling masses and the new demands for which they struggle are the same forces that in the national and the

international arenas are striving to provoke a third war."

The struggle for the freedom of Codovilla, Real, Larralde and the other patriots—at present there are sugar workers of the North of Argentina who are being tried under the State Security Law—and for the defeat of the reactionary attempt to deport Comrade Codovilla, counts on international and continental solidarity of great scope, a solidarity which aids and stirs the Argentine patriots and strengthens them in their fight. We get daily expressions of solidarity from the working class, from the democratic and people's forces in the country, from outstanding personalities without any regard to ideology or political opinion, including wide sectors of Peronists workers. This repression by the police and the State, and the growing solidarity and struggle of the people against reaction, show that the basis of the camp of the allies is broadening for the building of a movement of national scope in defense of democratic liberties and constitutional rights, and in defense of the economic, political and social demands of the Argentine people, against imperialism and for national sovereignty, against war and for peace. Among the progressive forces the sentiment for unity is growing and the conditions are being built right now for developing the committees of struggle for the economic, political, and social demands of the

people, committees which already are beginning to be built in factories, in centers of study, in the boroughs, etc.

FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE DRIVE TO DEPORT COMRADE CODOVILLA

The freeing of the 700 workers and women arrested at the meeting to commemorate the Great Russian Revolution, as well as the freeing of our leaders, Victorio Codovilla, Real, Larralde, Alcira de la Peña, are due to the great mobilization of the masses to broad, national, continental solidarity. These and many other events prove that reaction retreats when it is faced with the organized movement of the progressive masses. Despite the freeing of Comrade Codovilla, wrested from jail by the actions of a great mobilization of the masses, he is still under the threat of deportation because the government can apply Law 4144; and because of the attempts of reaction to banish him from our country, the danger has not disappeared. For that very reason, our Party and the progressive forces in the country shall watch closely to prevent the realization of the barbarous designs of reaction. The working people's forces that struggled for the freedom of the Communist patriots in prison by linking this struggle with their strug-

gle for their economic, political and social demands, will not demobilize, but rather redouble their efforts to unite now more than ever the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the country to defeat domestic and foreign reaction.

Thus, in the heat of these and other struggles, the best conditions are being created for the unity of the democratic and progressive forces in both camps—the one of Peronism and the one of opposition—for the building of a powerful democratic, anti-imperialist and pro-peace front of national-social liberation, and for the establishment of a democratic and progressive government which will respect the liberties and rights of citizens and “which will save our nation from the catastrophe into which she is being pushed by the large landholders, the big capitalists and the foreign monopolies through the present clique leading the economy, the finances and national politics.”

There is no doubt that this is also how the issue is seen by the democratic and advanced forces of the Latin-American continent, who are mobilizing themselves more and more in solidarity with the great Argentine Communist patriot, our Comrade Victorio Codovilla, as part of the struggle of the Latin-American peoples against the large landed oligarchies, for national sovereignty, for progress, against imperialism and for peace.

The Struggle For a New Germany

By Joseph Clark

MANY THINGS have changed since the war, but in many ways the most startling alterations have taken place in the status of Germany. If the fight for peace today truly becomes the pivot of all our political activity, we have to understand these changes, or events will leave us far behind. There have been steady and continuing developments, such as the growing division of Germany by the U.S. occupation authority and the renazification and budding remilitarization of its Western part. At the same time, the uprooting of Junkers and monopolists in Eastern Germany and the slow, difficult, heroic fight for a new, free and democratic Germany has been going steadily forward. All these changes reached a climax in the formation of the separate Bonn government of Western Germany and a turning point in the proclamation of the German Democratic Republic in Berlin last fall.

How important these developments are can be measured by the fact that a militarized, reactionary Germany launched two world wars; but, on the other hand, a united, democratic Germany existing alongside the Soviet Union would, in Stalin's words, exclude "the possibility of new wars in Europe."

Under the polite designation of "containing Communism," the planning division of the State Department has thrown a vast network of military bases and dependencies around the world. But the most vital arenas for potential aggression against the Soviet Union and the New Democracies were China and Western Germany. That long, loud and discordant wail we've been hearing these past months has been the reaction in Washington to the defeat of its plans to use China as a base for war. Those other noises you hear from the Pentagon and the new State Department building are the sounds of preparation of Germany for a new military role in Operation Infamy—war against 800,000,000 emancipated people.

Western Germany is not another Greece, Iceland or Greenland as military bases go. It is the kind of base from which a modern war can be launched; it is indispensable to the planners of war against the Soviet Union.

It has become well nigh impossible these days to hatch wars in secrecy. And yet the would-be war-makers are afraid of the light of day. They are especially sensitive to an exposure of their machinations in

Germany. The wounds inflicted by Hitler-Germany's aggression are not yet healed, and the memory of 300,000 Americans who died as a result of that aggression has not yet been erased from the national consciousness. Nothing has been more embarrassing to the satellite governments maintained in Paris and London than the disclosure that the Pentagon program calls, not only for integration of a reactionary Western Germany in the so-called "Western community," but for the arming of German divisions for war against the victors of Stalingrad.

At a news conference in Paris last December, Defense Secretary Louis Johnson was pressed for an answer to these reports about plans for a German army. "I am not going to be dragged into that," the Secretary replied. "Whatever I would say would be misquoted by the *Daily Worker*."

Such surprising sensitivity to being quoted (not misquoted!) in the *Daily Worker* can be explained only by the fact that the exposure of the plans to build a West German army had greatly embarrassed Johnson in the course of his European mission. His trip was made at the time that the *Daily Worker* revealed who the high U.S. military official was who had made the statement that the building of a West German army was "advisable from a military point of view"—none other than the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General

Omar Bradley. That *Daily Worker* exposé was bannered in the conservative French paper *Monde*. Maybe this explains why Johnson was not going to take any more chances discussing a new Nazi army in Paris; he knew that the *Worker* would quote him accurately.

HOW ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM SPLIT GERMANY

The splitting of Germany and the establishment of the Bonn regime was the end of a road whose construction started back in 1946. After preparations had been made all through that year, the U.S. and British governments joined their two occupation zones. At that time the State Department was vehement in its disclaimers that this was a step toward splitting Germany and establishing a separate West German regime. Inasmuch as the Potsdam agreement, then little more than a year old, specifically forbade the division of Germany, U.S. officials said again and again that Bizonia was nothing more than "some kind of economic arrangement." "A move toward a separate government? Perish the thought; that's just Communist propaganda."

But the following year there were even more ominous moves. In 1947, the Ruhr was detached from Germany and placed under U.S.-British control, again in direct violation of the Potsdam decision, which specified

that the four occupation authorities, Britain, the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and France, would supervise the Ruhr. This huge, potential arsenal of German aggression was not only removed from effective influence by any democratic forces in Germany, but its management was delegated to Nazi industrialists.

In 1948, the U.S. government and its satellites decided to introduce a separate currency in what was now Trizonia after France had been whipped into line.

By September 1949, Potsdam was deprived even of its shadow existence, when the Bonn government was set up under U.S. State Department control.

During the most difficult days of the Soviet Union's fight against Hitler Germany, the Soviet government opposed the idea of dismembering Germany. Even then it made it clear that the solution of the German problem called for the establishment of a democratic, peaceable German state. Stalin reminded the world in 1942: "The experience of history shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state live on."

Whereas the U.S. and British governments began to bury the Potsdam agreement soon after it was signed, the Soviet Union made that solemn accord the cornerstone of its German policy. Consequently the Soviet Union never swerved in its fight for the denazification and de-

militarization of Germany and opposed all efforts to divide the German nation.

While insisting that Germany make good, through reparations, a small part of what it had destroyed during the war, the Soviet Union recognized that Germany would have to rebuild its shattered economy. As a result, reconstruction has been proceeding steadily in the Eastern part of Germany, which, though largely deprived of its economic unity with Western Germany as a result of U.S. imperialist dictation to the Bonn regime, has made great strides toward achieving full economic rehabilitation. In this it has been greatly aided by the mutually beneficial trade relations established with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European People's Democracies. This picture is in sharp contrast to the growing domination of Western Germany's economic life by the Anglo-American imperialists, a domination resulting in growing unemployment and impoverishment of the masses in Trizonia.

THE RENAZIFICATION OF WESTERN GERMANY

Theodor Heuss, who voted for the enabling act which made Hitler a dictator in 1933, became the president of the Bonn government. Konrad Adenauer, whose mouth shoots off about formation of a German army to the embarrassment of his

mentors, became the Chancellor. The German Right wing was enthroned in the puppet seats of power and the rats were out of their holes from Hamburg to Stuttgart, from Essen to Heidelberg.

On Christmas Eve, the U.S. occupation authorities gave the German people a present. Dr. Emil Puhl, Reichsbank director under Hitler who directly profited from the sale of gold teeth and jewelry taken from gas chamber victims, was freed in a general amnesty of war criminals. Now he could take his collection of gold teeth and jewels and join them with Ilse Koch's lampshades.

Two other names in the news help tell the story of the remilitarization and renazification of Western Germany. One is Herman Abs, director of the Deutsche Bank under Hitler who was officially welcomed to America by the U.S. State Department. He conducted negotiations here with the Federal Reserve Bank and with American business investors in Germany. The other is Paul H. Nitze who has been named to succeed George Kennan as chief of the State Department's planning division. Kennan was the man who actually put the State Department policy of "containing Communism" all over the world down on paper. Nitze's background shows that he will be a more than faithful follower of the intellectual author of the cold war. Nitze was vice-president of Dillon Read, investment bankers, from

1929 to 1938 and in 1939-40. It was under Nitze that Dillon Read floated most of the loans made to the Hitler Axis. Dillon Read was also instrumental, together with John Foster Dulles' (and Hitler's) Schroeder bank, in launching the German steel trust, Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

In 1949, about one billion dollars were poured into Western Germany: \$477 million by the Army and \$519 million by the E.C.A. (Marshall Plan). Officially, American taxpayers paid that bill so that "Western Germany can . . . play an important role as a responsible member of a revived Western European community." That is the way the official report of the E.C.A. puts it (February 1949). The real purposes of that expenditure are to colonize Western Germany for American finance capital, to maintain one of the Army's largest overseas establishments at the frontier of liberated Europe and to prepare Western Germany as a war base.

Penetration of American capital into Western Germany proceeds through three major avenues: (a) the Marshall Plan; (b) the Joint Export-Import Agency (J.E.I.A.); and (c) American government domination of the puppet regime at Bonn. Large-scale investment of American capital has not taken place openly as yet; but the Marshall Plan report on Germany makes it very plain that E.C.A. is preparing the way for direct investment. The February 1949 report states:

German recovery can be speeded, and the Balance of Payments deficit narrowed, by private foreign investment. Despite existing uncertainties, there has been interest on the part of foreign capital in the possibility of investment in Western Germany. . . . Plans are now in progress to relax these restrictions under appropriate safeguards.

What that statement conceals, however, is that American banking capital has already been given its part in E.C.A. and in the penetration of Western Germany as a result of E.C.A. operation. In its annual report on profitable 1949 operations, the Chase National Bank reports, for example, that it has received the lion's share—one-sixth—of banking participation in the Marshall Plan. Under the Marshall Plan, American government and business authorities dictate the development of German industry and agriculture, its internal and foreign trade, its investment of capital, conditions of labor, distribution of the labor force, commodity prices and development of natural resources and power. All this is set down in detail in *European Recovery Program, Western Germany Country Study*, issued by the E.C.A. in Washington.

A big role in directing German trade into channels useful to American monopoly control is the Joint Export-Import Agency. American and British business men openly control this agency, which is headed

by the American banker William J. Logan. The agency controls all of Western Germany's exports and imports. British business men are relegated to an inferior role, with 80 percent of the agency's board controlled by American businessmen.

The J.E.I.A. makes certain that German exports do not compete with American goods. Thus, the price of German typewriters was set at nearly double the cost of a Remington. Similar price arrangements were made with regard to bicycles, cutting tools, iron and steel and other German goods produced for export. Then the Agency arranges a handsome profit for American business out of those exports that are promoted from Western Germany. Thus, Western Germany's trade deficit is covered by American and British credits, which are to be repaid by future German exports. Imports into Western Germany belong to J.E.I.A. and it profits from their sale within the country. Furthermore, German exporters are paid at fixed prices which are below the German cost of production. The German capitalists are not made to pay for this loss, but the price difference is made up in subsidies by the West German taxpayer and consumer. Similarly, the Agency arranges for high prices on imports of American tobacco, meat, army surplus canvas shoes, coffee, rubber, oil, etc. (See I. Romontsov, "Machinations of American Monopolies in

Bizonia," *New Times*, No. 9, February 23, 1949.)

Another means American monopolists have used to penetrate and exploit West German industry is through the appropriation of German patents. While the U.S. authorities have halted the payment of reparations to the Soviet Union from Western Germany, an estimated \$5,000,000,000 has been taken out of Western Germany in the form of patents for American firms. German chemical trust patents have proved very profitable to the Winthrop Chemical Co., for example, which produces German morphia substitutes; to Stearns and Co. which makes adrenalin derivatives, etc. As the *Wall Street Journal* comments, American business intends to hold on to the empire it inherited in Germany's I. G. Farbenindustrie. (See N. Kharmalov, "German Patents in the United States and Britain," *New Times*, No. 7, February 7, 1949.)

The establishment of the Bonn government provided a marked stimulus to the further growth of German cartels and monopolies—all existing by sufferance and mainly under the thumb of American finance capital. The *Nation* on January 14 this year published an article by its German correspondent Carolus, entitled "Cartels Uber Alles." Carolus tells how Chancellor Adenauer told an American correspondent that Vereinigte Stahlwerke

was seeking foreign investment for 40 percent of Ruhr industry. Vereinigte Stahlwerke is the "coal, iron and steel trust which controls the industry of the Ruhr and Rhine region" and influences the economic life of the whole West German state. Chancellor Adenauer presented a memorandum to the Allied High Commissioners in behalf of the steel trust "as expressing the wishes of the West German government. On the basis of this memorandum American capital investment in the Ruhr will be increased and the German-French-Belgian-Luxembourg coal and steel cartel will be built up. . . ."

But the basic fact remains that U.S. domination in all the Marshall Plan and Atlantic Pact countries, especially in Western Germany, signifies Wall Street control of Western Germany with its allies in a completely subordinated position, with the German monopolists as junior partners, with the German people and German democracy deprived of any voice at all, and with the whole world, including the American people, the losers as a result of the inevitable renazification and remilitarization.

Thus, when someone like Gen. Walter Bedell Smith talks about the "integration of Western Germany into the West European community," it is an integration of Wall Street financiers and Nazi businessmen. But the top dogs in the combi-

nation are the Wall Street financiers, which is no consolation to the German people or to the "West European community" or to the American people who lost 300,000 boys in the war launched by an equally sinister financial oligarchy.

TOWARD A PEACEFUL, UNITED, DEMOCRATIC GERMANY

The formation of the separate government of Western Germany under U.S. financial, political and military control created a new situation in Germany and confronted the democratic, anti-war forces everywhere with new tasks. Within Germany itself, it meant that the struggle for denazifying, demilitarizing and uniting Germany on democratic, peaceful foundations would have to take new forms. The formation of the German Democratic Republic in October last year was a dramatic move in this struggle. A firm foundation for this development had been laid by the elimination of the Junkers and the Nazi industrialists in the Soviet occupation zone of Germany. Thus were the class roots of fascism torn out.

But an even greater task faces the progressive forces within Germany. That task is to unify Germany on a basis which would forever remove the danger of German aggression and would prevent the utilization of German soil for war. The formation of the German Democratic Republic

is a step toward the realization of that goal, which will be successfully climaxed when Germany is united and democratic. Then Stalin's message to the new democratic government of Germany will be realized:

. . . that the existence of a peace-loving democratic Germany side by side with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to bloodshed in Europe, and makes impossible the enslaving of European countries by the world imperialists.

For the first time in history, a German state has arisen which is no danger to the other peoples of Europe and the world. On the contrary, the German Democratic Republic is part of the world camp of peace. The government headed by President Wilhelm Pieck and Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl is working to unify Germany as a democratic and peace-loving state in conformity with the Potsdam decisions.

This new German government is not a People's Democracy building Socialism, but a democratic, anti-fascist government whose main task is the unification and democratization of Germany. The successful completion of that task is the prerequisite for the further advance, to Socialism.

To carry out its part of the fight for a peaceful, democratic Germany, the Socialist Unity Party (S.E.D.) has launched a bold crusade for "The National Front of Democratic

Germany." It takes as its starting point the historic fact that a divided Germany is a monstrosity from every conceivable viewpoint except that of colonizing Germany and utilizing it as a war base. Western Germany is now a colony of Wall Street; Bonn is its puppet. In this sense, the fight for a united Germany today has profound meaning for the international peace front. Consequently, the fight for peace here and abroad has as one of its major aspects the struggle to prevent Wall Street imperialism from perpetuating the division of Germany and from utilizing the Western Zone as an arena of militarism and aggression. But it is also necessary to know how this struggle shapes up within Germany itself and to understand the present policies of the Marxist parties in that country—the Communist Party in the Western Zone and the Socialist Unity Party in the Eastern.

Using the familiar "Stop Thief" routine, the capitalist press here is filled with charges that a "new nationalism" is being revived in Eastern Germany. Social-Democrats such as the editors of the *N. Y. Post* profess to see German "Right-wing industrialists" merged with the Communists. Correspondent Drew Middleton of *The New York Times* reports extensively about the revival of Nazism in Western Germany; but he too would have his readers believe that things move in the same direction in the East.

The truth is that the very forces who would and do use the slogan of aggressive nationalism in Germany today as an instrument of fascism are being nurtured in the Bonn regime. Adenauer's propaganda for a German army, for Hessian troops to fight with the Atlantic Pact bloc against the Soviet Union, proves where the real menace of reactionary German nationalism lies. But the slogan of national unity and a national front is an absolute necessity for the progressive camp in Germany, if it is to defeat the reviving Nazi menace. It is a slogan that flows from a real situation, the imposition of Wall Street control over the Ruhr and over the economic and political life of Western Germany.

Therefore the Socialist Unity Party, in the resolution adopted by its leadership on October 4, 1949, appeals to every German citizen to fight "as a patriot of his fatherland for a peaceful, united and independent Germany. . . ." In this struggle it calls for unity of all, whether they are "socialists or not, whether democrats or not, every worker, employee, peasant, intellectual, handicraftsman, every professional and every business man."

There is nothing new in the Marxist position of support of national liberation. However it is characteristic of the period since the rise of fascism that the struggle for national liberation encompassed not only the colonial and semi-colonial countries

but also the more advanced and nominally sovereign nations whose national existence was threatened by imperialist aspirants to world domination. In the postwar period, the struggle of the French, Italian and other West European workers is a struggle for both social and national liberation. Wall Street and its State Department, through the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact, have brought about a merger of the social and national struggle.

The scuttling by U.S. imperialism of the Potsdam decisions, and the substitution of its present policy, have confronted the German nation with exactly that issue. If it is asked where the Marxist program for the national freedom of Germany differs from bourgeois nationalism, the resolution of the S.E.D. provides an adequate answer. In sharp contrast to the bourgeois and the Social-Democratic parties in Germany, the Marxist party nails the responsibility of German imperialism for aggression in two world wars. It defines fascism as the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary finance capital. It courageously acknowledges that the German people have a share in the guilt for the crimes of German fascism.

"The German people," the resolution of the S.E.D. states, "cannot absolve itself of co-responsibility for these crimes of Hitler fascism, because it tolerated the Nazi regime, did not fight against the terrible

crimes, and also in its overwhelming majority supported the Nazi war policies. This guilt must find and has found its historical expiation."

In their struggle for national freedom, the Marxists take an unalterable stand in behalf of international working-class solidarity. They reject any idea of national superiority and chauvinism; they take their stand with Karl Marx, that "no nation that oppresses another nation can itself be free."

The S.E.D. resolution states:

The Nazi and war criminals . . . have not received their merited punishment all over Germany. The evil spirit of Nazism-chauvinism and militarism has not yet been eradicated and destroyed. The true German patriots will not and cannot be satisfied with this situation; they have learned that the German nation can be saved only if it categorically leaves the foul path of imperialist war politics.

Therefore the German patriots greeted with all their hearts the historic decisions of the Potsdam conference of the summer of 1945. In these decisions the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain jointly, in the interests of all democratic and peace-loving states and of the German people, called for the reestablishment of a united Germany for its further development along democratic and peaceful lines.

The U.S.-and British-sponsored parties in Western Germany reject the Potsdam decision. They alternately support the division and split-

ting of Germany and call for a "greater Germany," at the expense of Poland for example, in the traditional Hitler manner.

Formation of a national front in Germany confronts Marxists and all progressives in that country with an extremely complicated and difficult job. The S.E.D. foresees two major obstacles within its own ranks to the most successful prosecution of this national front policy. The first and main danger it names is that of narrow sectarianism, which expresses itself mainly in the tendency to neglect the national interests of the German people. Such sectarianism would limit the scope of the united front and the broader national front, fearing to bring within its scope those who are not working people or those who have not taken their position in the democratic camp. The second danger it notes is that of chauvinism—tendencies to forget the international responsibilities of the German working class.

There was another period in history when Germany was divided and was faced with the urgent necessity of achieving national unity. That was during the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism. The development of the modern nation through the bourgeois revolution against feudal decentralization lagged behind in Germany because until the latter part of the 19th century that nation was economically

backward, as compared with countries like France and England. In 1848, the German working class participated in a bourgeois-democratic revolution which sought to overthrow the feudal landowners and unite all of Germany. The failure of that revolution was a tragedy, not only for Germany, but for the whole world.

When Germany was finally united it was from on top, under Bismarck, under Prussia, through an alliance of the big capitalists and Junkers. It was that class combination which brought reactionary war to the other peoples, culminating in the terrible crimes of Hitler. If the working class had been successful in leading the struggle for the democratic revolution against feudalism and in uniting Germany, the ultra-reactionary path of German imperialism might have been avoided. Today, history poses a similar need. The consequences can be tragic again if the working class of Germany flinches in its responsibility to lead the struggle for national as well as social liberation.

Those who seek to identify the struggle for a united democratic Germany, through this developing national front, with the nationalism of Hitler and Rightist reaction are perpetuating a dangerous hoax. They are concealing the real dangers of the reactionary revival and the remilitarization of Western Germany. They would fasten the chains

of Wall Street control over Germany. They greet the incorporation of Western Germany in the Marshall Plan and in the military bloc headed by Wall Street imperialism. They confront mankind with a new Nazism in Germany which will furnish the mercenaries, the Hessians, for a terrible war against the Soviet Union and the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, a new world war whose ravages Americans will not escape.

THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKING-CLASS UNITY

Just as the united front of the working class is a vital part of the broader people's unity which must be established wherever reaction is being fought, so in the building of the National Front of a democratic Germany, working-class unity has great priority. In the words of the S.E.D. resolution: ". . . the establishment of the fighting unity between the Communist and Social-Democratic and organized trade-union workers is an urgent task of the hour."

The Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders in the Western Zones have been the primary agents for dividing the working class and ultimately, therefore, they bear a heavy responsibility for the division of Germany. Immediately after the defeat of Hitler, Social-Democratic and Communist workers spontaneously moved

toward repairing the split in their ranks which had played such a disastrous role in enabling Hitler to come to power. This movement found fruition in the Soviet occupation zone in the merger of both parties to form the S.E.D. Likewise in the Western Zone, Social-Democratic and Communist workers met together, and in town after town expressed desires for unification. But the British and American occupation authorities soon set the old-line Social-Democratic leaders to work. In the Western Zone they barred the way not only to organic unity, but to united-front action.

In this respect, some well-meaning persons misread the history of the most recent past. Max Werner, writing in the November issue of the magazine *Monthly Review*, argues:

The German Social-Democrats cannot be compared to the French Socialists or the Saragat Socialists in Italy. Social-Democracy in Germany is a mass party which represents the overwhelming majority of workers in Western Germany, and moreover it is not a government party but an opposition party.

True, the German Social-Democrats are more numerous than their French and Italian comrades. But the role of their leaders is essentially the same—to provide a counterweight to the growing unity of the working class and the development of a struggle against foreign (Wall Street) domination. The German

Social-Democrats were a mass party when they acted under Noske and Scheidemann to drown the German Revolution of 1919 in blood.

They were also a mass party in 1933 when Hindenburg appointed Hitler Reichskanzler and those same Social-Democratic leaders turned down the Communist unity offer for a general strike and for joint action against Hitler.

As to the Social-Democratic "opposition" role, a recent incident in Germany reveals it for what it is. Sensing the growing opposition to Chancellor Adenauer as a stooge for the occupation authorities, Dr. Schumacher, leader of the Social-Democratic Party, hurled the charge, "Chancellor of the Allied powers," at him. But on December 2 last year Adenauer and Schumacher both announced that an agreement had been reached between them. Schumacher said he had withdrawn the charge made against Adenauer and each "conceded" that the other was acting out of honorable motives and for the best interests of Germany. It was like His Majesty's *loyal* opposition!

DEFEAT WALL STREET'S MACHINATIONS IN GERMANY

No one who has learned anything at all from history can imagine that the division of Germany will become permanent. The struggle for uniting Germany can become a

powerful force all over the world against those who are systematically building up Western Germany and its Bonn regime as a base for aggressive war. The scandal of Nazi revival and plans for a Germany army in Western Germany have renewed tremendous interest in the German issue. That issue is vital to our struggle for peace—and its appeal is of the broadest nature. In its recent publication, *The United States and the Soviet Union*, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) warns:

The continued division of Germany will almost certainly lead in West Germany to an acceleration of efforts to create an economically and militarily viable state related to the defense of Western Europe. Such a policy can be expected to heighten East-West tensions. It provides no assurance that the unification of Germany may not come, eventually, as a result of an East-West military conflict.

The Quakers urge "the conclusion of a general peace treaty with a unified Germany. . . ." To that end, they recommend that the Council of Foreign Ministers (U.S., Britain, U.S.S.R. and France) reopen discussions on a peace treaty. They suggest the progressive withdrawal of all occupation forces following the establishment of a unified regime. They ask that "all countries should be assured nondiscriminatory commercial access to the industrial out-

put of German production." They propose that the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, in which the Soviet Union participates, have a measure of control over the Ruhr.

There is much in the Quaker proposal that can be accepted by progressives. If nothing else, the Quaker proposal shows how widespread is the concern over the dangers inherent in the present policies pursued by our government in Germany.

As so often in the past, Germany today has incalculable potentialities for bringing either harm or benefit to mankind. The German people alone can bring about the democratic regeneration of their country along peaceful lines. They have begun to do so with the formation of the German Democratic Republic and the fight for a national front of a democratic Germany. But it would be folly to think that the German people alone can lift the danger facing us as Americans in the renazification and militarization of Western Germany. Those reactionary policies in Western Germany have fertile soil there; but they are planted by Wall Street and the State Department.

Today it is not merely a matter of Wall Street's aid to German monopolists, as was the case between World War I and II. The formation of the reactionary Bonn regime and

the building of a vast military base in Western Germany proceeds entirely as a result of Wall Street's will. The fight is therefore an American struggle. It can be a struggle uniting organizations and persons of varying political persuasions and religious affiliations. In the very center of our fight for peace must be a nationwide protest movement against the revival of Nazism in Western Germany.

The colonization of Germany by Wall Street menaces America as much as it does the social regeneration and national existence of Germany. The struggle is one for ending the demagogic "containment of Communism" policy, which acquires concrete expression in the sponsorship of German fascism. Just as Soviet-American agreement and friendship must be the cornerstone of world peace, such cooperation would bring us back to the path laid out at Potsdam. It would help the German people establish the kind of Germany that would free them from fascism and foreign rule and the kind of Germany that would never again menace its neighbors and the world. Therefore the struggle against Wall Street's policies in Germany today is a struggle in behalf of the deepest interests and needs of the American people and of the peoples of the whole world—democracy, security and lasting peace.

The Task of the Polish United Workers' Party in the Struggle For Revolutionary Vigilance*

By Boleslaw Bierut

Chairman, Central Committee, P.U.W.P.

THE ISSUES which the Political Bureau desires to submit today for the consideration of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee relate to the growth of the Party and the raising of its role in the building of the foundations of a Socialist society in our country. On the path of its growth, the Party, which has so many achievements to its credit, meets also with a series of difficulties and dangers which have to be seen in order to overcome and eliminate them effectively. The Party is carrying out its tasks under conditions of a sharpening struggle between two counterposed class fronts. Today, this struggle permeates with special force international relations as well as our entire internal life. The struggle makes it imperative that the whole Party, its every segment and every member, shows special vigilance and keenness.

The question of strengthening vigilance becomes under these conditions one of the prime and ardent

tasks. This is why the main attention, today, of the present Plenary Session and of the whole Party should be concentrated on this question. . . .

* * *

The political apparatus of imperialism must feverishly seek new forms of pressure, must reach for ever more deceitful means of swindle, apply ever more perfidious ways of disrupting and weakening the liberation movement of the working masses. The ideological bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic parties is the natural consequence of the exposure of their traitorous, already not only capitulatory but purely servile, stand in relation to the financial oligarchy. The corruption and betrayal of the old opportunist Social-Democratic leaders placed by the bourgeoisie in the chairs of premiers and ministers are no longer a sufficient means for deflating the resistance spirit of the working masses. Opportunism, as a political trend that corresponds to the outlook of the so-called "workers' aristocracy" bribed and pampered by imperialism, loses its social base as a result of the ever-heavier con-

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sequences of the general crisis of capitalism. This is shown by the permanent crisis of the S.F.I.O.* in France and the Saragat group in Italy. This is shown by the progress of the united-front idea in the Italian Socialist Party.

The deceptive maneuvers of the Labor Party leaders, who are despairingly seeking a way out from the contradictions in which they have involved themselves and who are pushing England still further into the fetters of American slavery, do not change this picture in any way.

Under these conditions, the political and ideological means of action must become increasingly linked with the activities of the police diversion apparatus in its methods of exerting pressure on the working-class movement, with the exploitation of all political vacillation and with the perverting of various trends through the use of agents.

Especially in the moments of the sharpening of class struggles, the police apparatus of the capitalist state have for a long time attempted to infiltrate into workers' organizations and revolutionary parties with their well concealed agents. The method of disrupting revolutionary organizations from within with the aid of provocateurs sent into these organizations is well known in the history of the international labor movement. The Pilsudskiites and

the Sanacja in Poland attempted to perfect this system of police penetration into the Communist Party of Poland and into the radical democratic and peasant organizations through an intensive mobilization of agents and provocateurs whose tasks did not only include espionage. The Sanacja "Second Section" (the intelligence service of the Army General Staff) along with the "Defensywa" (political police) trained their police agents in political diversion and provocation, *i.e.*, in methods of bringing about actions by the most experienced agents who penetrated into leading positions and so weakened the revolutionary movement. In the history of the Communist Party of Poland we meet with cases of provocateurs that are shocking in their criminal and Machiavellian perfidy, provocateurs who during a period of more than ten years caused irreparable harm to the revolutionary movement. Recently we have been able to uncover new threads of these provocations.

The history of the revolutionary movement has shown that an especially advantageous atmosphere and favorable ground for the penetration into the movement of agencies of police-espionage diversion and political provocation has been fractional activity on the basis of deviation from the Marxist-Leninist party line. The schism of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites in the years 1935-37 created a fertile ground for the penetration of

* Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière—the Socialist Party of France.—Ed.

diversion-espionage agents into the individual segments of the state and party apparatus in the U.S.S.R. The Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc, which commenced its action under the banner of political and ideological opposition, rapidly became the base for the activity of all the elements hostile to the Party, and, itself penetrated with agents, became in turn transformed into an agency of foreign intelligence services, into a conspiratorial network of political diversion directed by imperialist police-espionage centers. The revolutionary vigilance and Bolshevik keenness of the C.P.S.U.(B.) thoroughly smashed this hostile diversion and cleansed the Party and state apparatus with an iron broom of the pack of traitors and agents of foreign intelligence services attempting to act under the mask of a political and ideological opposition.

* * *

At present, we are witnessing a new political diversion in the anti-imperialist camp planned on a grand scale. The support for this diversion lies in the Tito agents, a pack of provocateurs and police agents mobilized during the period of sharpening class struggles before the war and during the growing wave of the developing national-liberation struggle in the war. The trial of Rajk revealed the dismal background of this action. The Titoite diversionist agency operating in Yugoslavia was formed under special conditions. It took control of the helm

of state power and comes forth today under the mask of pseudo-Socialist construction, attempting to deceive still further the heroic Yugoslav nation, employing a treacherous phraseology and superficial symbols. In order to achieve its aim the Tito-Rankovich clique has for years been destroying the Communist Party in a planned, though unnoticed fashion, until it has made of it an involuntary instrument in the hands of Rankovich's police apparatus. Without a proletarian party based on Leninist principles there is no fundamental force to guarantee the hegemony of the working class. Without a revolutionary party the working class is defenseless. Not only can it not build Socialism, but it cannot even realize the basic conditions which makes possible a start on this road, it cannot begin the struggle for the conquest of power. The rule of the Tito clique is an anti-democratic rule because at its helm stand traitors and provocateurs mobilized long ago by the imperialists. This rule betrays the interests of the working people, the nations of Yugoslavia and their independence. In addition, it attempts to undermine from within, the people's rule in other countries, and to bring about a split in the anti-imperialist camp. No one should be misled by certain reforms carried out in Yugoslavia, such as the nationalization of industry; for what is essential is not simply the fact that nationalization takes place, but who carries it out and for whom

it is being accomplished. What is essential is what class is the actual master and leader of the nationalized economy; what is essential, then, is the problem of power.

Power in the hands of a clique and, in addition, of a clique led by provocateurs mobilized by the imperialists and ready to carry out their recommendations, negates the positive content of all social transformations, which are then turned against the people. The nationalized economy becomes, then, an advantageous terrain for imperialist pillage. There is no doubt that today the imperialist agency of provocation and diversion in Yugoslavia is doing and will do everything to surrender that country as a prey to Anglo-American imperialism.

The revolutionary vigilance and perspicacity of the C.P.S.U.(B.) unmasked the Tito clique in time as a hostile ideological creation. The Budapest trial revealed its police-espionage connections and unmasked it as a pack of imperialist provocateurs and agents preparing a criminal conspiracy with the aim of overthrowing the people's power in Hungary. Undoubtedly, sooner or later the working class of Yugoslavia will be able to rebuild its Communist Party in spite of the terror of the Tito clique and will tear out political power from the hands of the band of traitors, spies and diversionists through revolutionary struggle. Foreseeing this danger, the Tito pack is attempting to attack the ideology of

the working class, to undermine in the consciousness of the masses the principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings, to inculcate in the working masses of Yugoslavia nationalist and fascist sentiments and views and to set the most backward elements against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. In this way the Tito imperialist agents, attempting to act under a political and ideological mask, are repeating the old method of the Trotskyite agents.

The smashing or destruction of a proletarian party through provocation and diversionist-espionage agencies and the attempts at undermining Marxist-Leninist ideology: these are the aims which imperialism sets forth for itself in the struggle against the labor movement when it has reached the conclusion that it cannot destroy the working-class movement in open battle. The role of bourgeois agents in the labor movement was performed by the Social-Democratic parties, which split the unity of the working class and counterposed, to the revolutionary Marxist ideology, opportunism, conciliation and the abnegation of the class struggle.

Today the Social-Democratic parties are no longer an adequate ideological transmission belt in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, even in the capitalist countries. This explains, among other reasons, the support given by imperialism to Titoism as a political diversion in the international field and its activation as a new attempt at ideological deceit in

the struggle against Marxism and the Communist parties on an anti-Soviet platform. However, in light of the facts revealed by the Rajk trial and the advancing political consolidation in the People's Democracies, the Tito agents will not be able to play this role. The alleged ideological basis of the activities of common police provocateurs, diversionists and murderers in Yugoslavia who employ nationalist phraseology was publicly unmasked during the trial of the Hungarian agents of the Tito clique. It was unmasked also in the international arena by the mulish moves of the imperialists themselves, who, by introducing the Yugoslav agents into the Security Council as their tools, have exposed their true nature also in the United Nations forum—their nature as agents of the Anglo-American warmongers in the struggle against the anti-imperialist camp.

* * *

From the Yugoslav example the necessity is derived of increasing vigilance in regard to the provocatory moves and diversionist actions of imperialism both in the international field and in the internal policy of the People's Democracies. There is no doubt that provocation and well-concealed conspiracies of imperialist agencies have today become one of the enemy's main means in his striving to overthrow the people's power. This is why two-faced and perfidious masking before the Party has so often become the enemy's method. Are the leaders of our Party organization,

our State institutions and our economic apparatus sufficiently aware of this? Can we state that we are adequately vigilant in regard to the attempts of penetration by imperialist agencies into our State and economic apparatus and, especially, into our Party?

We must admit that the moods of self-assurance and lighthearted carefreeness, if they are not reflected in direct utterances, undoubtedly are found in the practical attitude of an important number of comrades whom the Party has entrusted with responsible tasks. During the past few months, still quite a while before the Hungarian trial, the Party leadership was checking up on some of the most important sectors of our state apparatus. It was shown that the lack of vigilance and resistance to the not always desirable influences of the surrounding environment are often even frightening. In other places the situation in this regard, if not worse, is certainly not better. Self-seeking, haughty manners, a callous attitude for the cares and troubles of the average man: all these manifestations which can be observed in some of the comrades contribute to make up these attitudes of carelessness.

What vigilance can be expected from them with such an attitude and stand? Self-intoxication with past successes, either their own or general ones, arrogance, buffoonery, the failure to perceive unavoidable difficulties, the closing of one's eyes to hos-

tile activities—these traits, arising unfortunately even among a part of our leading activists, do not aid, in the least, in the sharpening of vigilance, vigilance that is imperative in view of the especially intensified activity of the enemy. Quite to the contrary, such attitudes create an opportunist political negligence resulting in the situation that when one is unable to see the deeply concealed enemies face to face, one holds the illusion that the enemy simply does not exist. This is a source of political demobilization which is linked with ideological demobilization, *i.e.*, with the losing of resistance in the class struggle.

Therefore, our Party must seriously occupy itself with this problem, so that it should not develop into the grave danger which could, as a result, hamper our further march forward—for today this is already noticeable.

The facts of criminal diversion by imperialist agents exposed in the Rajk trial have a general international character and even for this reason alone they should not be lightly discounted. However, it is sufficient to analyze somewhat more keenly our specific Polish conditions in order to reach the conclusion that the danger of spying, sabotage, conspiracy, terrorism and any other types of diversions have here in Poland both objectively and subjectively a more profound base than anywhere else. The objective ground is the absorption by our state apparatus of a numerically large collection of old, even

leading, cadres of officialdom. There is no doubt also that the political agencies abroad of the remnants of the Polish propertied classes which have been removed from power are incomparably more numerous, active and more closely bound to the diversion-espionage systems of Anglo-American imperialism.

The old cadres of experienced Sanacja "Second Section" men, informers, agents and stoolpigeons of the infamous "Defensywa," not only were not swept out beyond the framework of our social life, but have spread widely over the country and have even quite eagerly supplied themselves with Party cards of democratic organizations, not excluding, unfortunately, our Party. During the last period our security authorities have netted a considerable number of these characters; but how many more of them still remain under changed names and well masked disguises, ardently serving foreign intelligence services with their ingenious qualifications?

Finally, there are to hand today irrefutable proofs that the leading and middle cadres of the underground reactionary organizations cooperated on a wide scale during the Nazi occupation with the invader in the struggle against the national-liberation movement organized by the Polish Workers' Party and the People's Guard. In this struggle against the underground people's movement they formed a broad organizational network whose main

aim was diversion, intelligence work and terror in relation to the workers of the P.W.P. and the People's Army and the destruction, jointly with the invader, of these organizations. This whole underground cadre army, specialized in diversion-espionage action, later transformed itself into centers which directed the armed action of the bands against the people's power.

In this traitorous and criminal, Cain-like diversion, the reactionary elements were supported by both the occupant and the Anglo-Saxon "Al-lies," who, during the whole period of the war, organized special schools for diversionists, intelligence agents and leaders for actions which were to form a safeguard against the victory of people's power in Poland. It is precisely on the basis of these still numerous reactionary remnants in the country and abroad that the intensive organization of an imperialist diversion-espionage and conspiratorial action is taking place to this very day with the aid of a network of agents in the individual sections of our economic and state apparatus. Not only the comrades in charge of the security authorities must be aware of this, but the whole Party as well; for, without vigilance, keenness and the cooperation of the whole Party, the security authorities will not be able to fulfill their tasks.

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I believe it will be useful to cite a number of examples which show the methods and forms of diversion-

espionage and terroristic action aimed at paralyzing or disrupting the liberation struggle of the working masses in Poland through the infliction of appropriate blows on the Party that directed this struggle.

It is worth while recalling that, still a long time before the Second World War, there existed a far-reaching understanding between the Sanacja apparatus conducting anti-Communist action and similar institutions of the fascist states.

In the struggle against the working-class movement, the statehood divergences of the fascist governments disappeared and the international co-operation of the police organizations had an outstandingly cosmopolitan character. The Polish "Second Section" men trained Nazis in their masterly profession and vice versa. The Police International shared its experiences and inventiveness in the field of political provocation and was free from any patent limitations. The Rajk trial in Hungary most clearly revealed the methods of action of these connections of the international police-espionage and diversion network calculated over a wide sphere. Our own Polish experiences are no less expressive in this respect.

We know today what a vile role was played by the P.O.W.-Pilsudskite agents [P.O.W.—Polish Military Organization, a Pilsudskite group—trans.]. In the Polish labor movement they undertook the most despicable provocateur work at the behest of the landlord and capitalist

governments, serving the moneybags of the financial oligarchy.

But did they serve only the native bourgeoisie and its interests?

We have at our disposal, today, plentiful evidence which proves irrefutably that the top Sanacja leaders began their career as the paid agents of the Austrian Intelligence Service and were executors of its recommendations. They never departed from this role, they only changed their masters.

There is nothing strange, therefore, that their posthumous offspring of the Second Section served the Nazi intelligence and today are licking the boots of their American masters; there is nothing strange in the fact that they turn their whole impotent hatred against People's Poland, against the liberated nation.

When the sharpening class struggle grew into the form of mass revolutionary encounters, the fascist police-espionage organs exerted increased efforts to infiltrate their agents into the fighting organizations. They exploited every weakening of the vigilance of the leadership that was directing the revolutionary struggle, especially during the moments of the mass mobilization of new forces for the strengthening of the struggle.

Provocations in the Communist Party of Poland, in the International Organization of Aid to Revolutionists, in the Communist Union of Youth of Poland and in the radical peasant movement prospered during

the periods of an increasing wave of mass struggle. The known provocateur, former deputy of the Independent Peasant Party, Sylwester Wojewodzki, infiltrated into the C.P.P. on the wave of a mass revolutionary peasant movement. Similarly, during the period of the Civil War in Spain, when numbers of the most devoted fighters of all the countries of Europe sped to aid the democratic republic fighting against fascist aggression at that time, numerous agents of the imperialist police centers infiltrated into the International Volunteer Brigades in order to spy or in order to penetrate more easily in the future as heroes into the Communist organizations of the countries which had aided the Spanish Republic. This was also the case in Yugoslavia.

The Polish "Second Section," on the basis of an understanding with the "Defensywa," sent out, at that time, a group of more than ten of its agents with the task of infiltrating into the Dabrowski Battalion.

It is a fact that the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party, Comrade Nowotko, was murdered by a provocateur sent into the Party by the "Second Section."

Before the outbreak of the Polish-German War the Sanacja "Second Section" was preparing a broader organization together with Nazi Germany and a network of anti-Soviet intelligence agents under German command. The subordination of the "Second Section" to the Nazi intelli-

gence advanced considerably in the years 1935-1939. The connections broken in 1939 were swiftly renewed, and once more the base for relations became the common action against the revolutionary Left wing in Poland and against the Soviet Union. The "Second Section" men, together with the Abwehr and the Gestapo, undertook an action, in accord with their tradition, of organizing a network of agents in the developing underground Left-wing organizations in order to destroy them or gain control over them.

Blindness and unforgivable opportunist political carelessness are extremely vivid in the relation of our comrades who held responsible positions in the Party with regard to the group of old "Second Section" men headed by Jaroszewicz and Lechowicz. This group, active for a number of years and infiltrating also into the C.P.P., set for itself the aim of penetrating for diversion-espionage purposes into Marxist organizations and, therefore, into the Polish Workers' Party and into the People's Guard. For this purpose they formed in 1940 a group called K.I.S. [Club of Social Intelligentsia] and were trying to become linked with a few underground groups which, having united, formed in 1941 the Z.W.W. [The Union of Liberation Struggle]. The latter was a component of the P.W.P. when it was formed. The K.I.S. group at first attempted in a fairly outright fashion to impose its leadership on the military action

planned by the Z.W.W. When, however, the over-aggressive action of its representative, Jaroszewicz, did not make a good impression, the group changed its tactics and began to infiltrate more carefully.

The man who sponsored the group at the beginning was one of the members of the Z.W.W. who is not alive today. He was trusted by our comrades at that time. Thus, through the above-mentioned Z.W.W. member and then on the basis of mutual recommendations, the whole group of "Second Section" men got into either the People's Guard, or the P.W.P., or finally into responsible positions in the Information Section of the People's Guard. No one thought of checking up on these people or of controlling their connections, contacts and relations. It was known that before the war they had been very much trusted by the Sanacja authorities and had held responsible positions in the armament industry, positions held, as a rule, by people approved by the "Second Section"; it was known that they were on both sides of the class barricade, much trusted by the Delegatura [Representatives of the London "Government"] which put into their hands the leadership of the underground organization of the security authorities.

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The thesis put forth by the provocateurs themselves as to the purity of their intentions and the scraps of

information tossed out by them were accepted as an irrefutable proof of their political integrity and no one afterwards, either during the occupation or after liberation, thought it necessary to check up on the past of these people and their activity. This neglect of the elementary dictates of political vigilance cannot be explained away by the objective difficulties of the conditions during the occupation, for these people were introduced into the most confidential and sensitive links of the conspiratorial organization, where the checking of people should have been especially keen. However, this duty was neglected not only then but also under conditions when all the difficulties of checking were absent, *i.e.*, after liberation. There were simply unavoidable and imperative opportunities for such a control when an appraisal of the work of these people during the occupation was being made, when military grades were granted them in recognition of their allegedly exceptional services and when responsible positions were entrusted to them. Even this elementary duty was neglected.

This is what political carelessness or, what is worse, a conciliatory, rotten liberal attitude to former "Second Section" men led to here. And we had the machinery for verifying the identity of people, we had personnel departments in the Central Committee, in the Army, in the Ministries, and at the head of these departments stood responsible people,

members of the Central Committee, old Party workers who had some experience. But these departments allocated posts in such a way that the chiefs did not demand or simply did not read the biographies and personnel data relating to candidates. A peculiar style of work prevailed in our personnel apparatus, and this style of work was derived from a political stand, a stand which was opportunist to the core. Herein lie the roots of our political carelessness, our blindness and often limitless naiveté.

Who was responsible, in the first place, for this state of affairs?

Comrade Spychalski, as the chief of the Information Section of the People's Guard and later of the People's Army.

Comrade Gomulka, as the Secretary of the Party with whom Comrade Spychalski coordinated his moves and who, himself, placed many people of this type in the Ministry for the Regained Territories.

Comrade Kliszko, who directed the personnel policy of the Party from liberation until September 1948.

Opportunism, the dulling of class instincts, the loss of an ideological perspective: these are the sources of the style of work which made it easy for masked enemies, provocateurs, diversionists and traitors to pose as heroes, to flaunt Party cards and high titles in People's Poland, which had been achieved by the common sacrifice of blood of the Soviet soldier and Polish partisan and so-

dier. I am aware of the fact that I am using heavy and painful words. But what other words can be used to define the style of work which makes possible such situations as those of which I shall give examples:

1. The positive appraisal of work during the occupation was made and on this basis military rank was granted to masked "Second Section" men, diversionists, provocateurs and spies on one person's authority and without coordination with the Party; this refers to Lechowicz, Jaroszewicz and a group of other "Second Section" men unmasked recently.

2. A high official of the Sanacja police for many years received a responsible position in the Citizen's Militia on the basis of courtesy references which sufficed for Comrade Kliszko, at that time chief of the Personnel Department of the Central Committee, to issue a directive of the Personnel Department sending the man to this position.

3. A certain Dubiel got into the position of Vice-Minister for the Regained Territories. For a long time signals had been coming in which showed that Dubiel had been a traitor during the occupation. This fact was confirmed by the confessions of the former Gestapo chief Heinemeir made after his confinement in prison in Poland. These signals were ignored by Comrade Gomulka and he questioned the confessions of the Gestapo chief on trivial details. Dubiel has admitted the horrible treachery which had cost the lives of many

of our most valuable comrades.

How can one define a style of work which made it possible for a traitor of this type to hold a responsible position and this even at a time when evidence had been received of his treachery; a style of work which made it possible to neglect the whole matter when a doubt had been created as to whether some detail in this evidence was correct or not and nothing was done to check up as to whether the doubt itself was well-founded?

How can one explain facts of this type? A big enough role was played here by a narrow practical attitude—why be particular in the selection of people, why delve into the past of a man, why analyze his stand toward the Party and toward the enemy for a number of years when so and so many positions have to be filled and the lack of tolerance toward human sins may render this task difficult.

But does the explanation of these facts by a narrow practical attitude exhaust the matter?

Decidedly not. Something more is involved here. Such a stand was an expression of a rotten liberal, opportunist relation toward the class enemy, a reflection of the petty theories about the dying out of the class struggle, about a peaceful transition to Socialism. From this was derived the confidence thus far advanced toward people coming from hostile political camps; from this, the mystical ability of "Second Section" men to "regenerate themselves politically";

from this, the fantastic tendency to fill responsible positions precisely with people of this type. The source of this frailty is, undoubtedly, the losing of political perspective, the dulling of class instincts, the drifting away from revolutionary positions, from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and the weakening of ties with the working class.

As a result of this it was possible to fill certain responsible state positions with people who were known not long ago to be embittered enemies, or with accidental unverified personnel, to hoist them into various positions and to advance old "Second Section" men, former leaders of the anti-Communist intelligence service, careerists and hypocrites. With all this, the necessity for vigilance was forgotten, the necessity for the continuous examining of people, not only professionally, but, above all, from the point of view of their political stand, their ideological value and their moral value. It was forgotten that the task of the Party and the government is not only to fill posts and positions in the state apparatus, but, above all, to safeguard the rise of its ideological and political level; to make it resistant against the inevitable attempt of enemy penetration; to make it most competent to fight against wrecking, diversion, sabotage and espionage; to make it militant, creating out of it an infallible weapon of people's power in the class struggle, in the struggle for Socialism.

The signals regarding Dubiel's provocatory role were already in the hands of Comrade Kliszko, as head of the Personnel Department of the Central Committee, in 1945. The nominations of Lechowicz, Jaroszewicz and others similar to them were decided already in the spring of 1945. Unfortunately, one could cite a long list of examples of this ideological demobilization.

* * *

Perhaps some people will be found who will start to explain that distortions of this kind are a typical manifestation of the dangers which accompany the processes of a tumultuous development of a new state apparatus, that the same is the case in the other People's Democracies and that the C.P.S.U.(B.) also had to wage a sharp struggle in its time with a similar type of danger. But it is precisely the experiences of the determined Bolshevik struggle against such ideological degenerations that should constitute a lesson and a warning for us.

Comrade Stalin, in his speech during the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in March 1937 pointed out what a great danger for a country building Socialism can lie in disregarding the fact that the capitalist environment attempts to exert its influence on the scattered remnants of the old reactionary classes, that it changes the forms of struggle, that it takes advantage of all vacillations and devia-

tions from the Marxist-Leninist Party line to penetrate the Party bodies which are subject to these vacillations.

It was precisely under the influence of the pressure of the imperialists that the bloc of the Trotskyites and Right-wing elements became gradually transformed from a former political opposition into an espionage-diversion agency serving foreign intelligence services, into a band of conspirators, wreckers and terrorists deprived of all traits of a political trend and working under the command of imperialist espionage and diversions centers. A similar degenerated clique with an even greater infiltration of spying elements can be seen in the example of the Tito clique. Comrade Stalin warned that a wrecker and saboteur is a hundred times more dangerous than a common declassed individual openly hating the people's power; how much more dangerous is the two-faced wrecker and saboteur using a Party card and often disguising himself with a perfidious, fawning, apparent fervor, inflated phraseology and flattery, all with the aim of dispelling the vigilance of higher authorities!

The tremendous tasks and difficulties which faced the Polish working class in the first period of the struggle for the consolidation of people's power enforced upon us the necessity for a rapid, broad and mass mobilization of all forces for strengthening the state and economic apparatus. In the heat of the sharp battle against

the underground armed bands and the attempts at disrupting the nascent people's state by the united forces of reaction led by Mikolajczyk, our Party cadres, security authorities and the reborn army, the armed support of the people's power, were hastily formed. The Party, which was a compact vanguard of the working class during the occupation, had to grow in a short time into a great, powerful force corresponding to the needs of the new turning point in the struggle, into an organization directing the movement of millions of working people, into the supreme force of the great front of struggle for the victory of the working people, for the consolidation of its political power.

The conditions of this period have the character of great, front-line class battles, and thanks to the mighty mobilization of the people's forces, thanks to the sacrifices, zeal and iron determination of the best part of the working class, a series of magnificent political victories and economic achievements was attained. Under such conditions the decisive factors were: mass strength, devotion and faith in the victory of the people's cause. The enemy was attacked directly on a broad front and he was visible and tangible to the masses.

Today, the conditions of struggle, as well as its tasks and forms, have changed. Today, the task is to draw out from their hiding places the concealed remnants of the enemy with his cleverly concealed tentacles spread

over all the crevices of the social machine. It is on these that the foreign hostile imperialist centers are attempting to base their spying, wrecking, conspiratorial, terroristic and diversionist activities. Today, still more vehemently, in connection with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and its disaster, the imperialists are trying to do everything in order to hamper the development of Socialist construction in the countries where the people's power has emerged victorious. The forms of their struggle changed when it was evident that the people's power could not be overthrown either by the direct armed action of the underground bands, by Mikolajczyk's deceptions, or by hopes placed in the bourgeois parties. But this does not in the least mean that the struggle of the classes removed from power and the imperialists hastening to support them against us has weakened.

Lenin stated:

... today we are not being attacked with arms in hand, but in spite of this the struggle with capitalist society has become a hundred times more vehement and dangerous because we cannot always clearly see where the enemy stands against us and who is our friend. . . .

Under these conditions the loss of militant vigilance, political blindness, self-intoxication with gained achievements, class demobilization or a bureaucratic engulfment in a narrow superficial circle of current affairs

and relations—these are the greatest dangers threatening us.

In a letter of January 18, 1935, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) warned:

We must put an end to the opportunist complacency engendered by the enormous assumption that as we grow stronger the enemy will become tamer and more inoffensive. This assumption is an utter fallacy. It is a recrudescence of the Right deviation, which assured all and sundry that our enemies would little by little creep into Socialism and in the end become real Socialists. The Bolsheviks have no business to rest on their laurels; they have no business to sleep at their posts. What we need is not complacency, but vigilance, real Bolshevik revolutionary vigilance. It should be remembered that the more hopeless the position of the enemies, the more eagerly will they clutch at "extreme measures" as the only recourse of the doomed in their struggle against the Soviet power. We must remember this, and be vigilant.*

The warnings and recommendations of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.(B.) of 15 years ago are most completely applicable for our Party today.

In another letter of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.(B.), of July 1936, we read: "The irrevocable trait of every Bolshevik in the present conditions should be the ability to recognize the enemy of the Party, regardless how well he is disguised."

It is an equally important and real

* From a circular letter to Party organizations on the subject of the foul murder of S.M. Kirov; see *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, International Publishers, New York, p. 327.—Ed.

task also for us to learn to recognize the enemy who is attempting to disguise himself cleverly, to place himself in comfortable concealment, often to cover himself up with a Party card, and, unnoticed, undertake his wrecking activity.

What is the way to acquire this ability?

The only way is to raise our whole Party work in all its segments from top to bottom to a higher political level, to carry out a decisive turning point in the former methods of this work, which were weighed down with the heritage of opportunist habits. The only way is to hasten the tempo of educating and training our Party administrative and economic cadres through raising their political knowledge and their ideological integrity. Political and ideological education must become the most militant task of the whole Party and of every member.

It is necessary to conduct a more energetic struggle against the influx of petty-bourgeois psychology, which weakens the vigilance and militancy of our Party. It is necessary to break away from rotten liberalism and to put forth greater demands in relation to the moral, political and ideological stand of Party members, in relation to their connections and ties with foreign environments. The Party should know their past and what their life consists of at present.

It is necessary that the activity of the Party organization assure an overall aid and control of the work, life,

ideological integrity, and an increase of the political education and professional qualifications, of each comrade to whom the Party entrusts one or another sector of work.

One must rid responsible Party cadres of careerist, accidental, ideologically foreign elements, which are most easily influenced by the pressure of foreign environment. It is necessary to put an end to Social-Democratic liberalism in relation to high-and-mighty, bureaucratic, egotistic and anti-social habits on the part of responsible comrades who separate themselves from the Party and show a tendency to break away from Party control.

These are the elementary conditions for raising militant vigilance in the Party organization as a whole and in its individual links. Neglect of the basic principles of revolutionary vigilance is a great shortcoming which weighs on the work of many Party organs and many comrades. It weakens the Party and facilitates the enemy's penetration into the individual fields of our state and economic activities. It facilitates the formation of attitudes of self-assurance and smugness, ideological and political demobilization, of the least developed Party members, and makes for their alienation.

The struggle against these shortcomings must become the greatest care of the Party and the most important immediate militant task of the whole Party and of every member. . . .

FROM THE CLOSING SPEECH

Comrades,

The Plenary Session has shown with complete clarity that the Right-wing, nationalist deviation and political blindness and lack of vigilance are two aspects of the same phenomenon. One is derived from the other and they mutually complement each other. Basically, Right-wing and nationalist deviation must always be linked with the lack of vigilance and political blindness because it actually is political blindness.

Let us take, for instance, the question that was not touched upon in the discussion or was taken up in an unclear fashion—the problem of the so-called national front. During the occupation, the Polish Workers' Party put forth the slogan of a national front in the struggle against the Nazi invader. Was this slogan correct?

Comrade Gomulka stated that up to this moment he does not clearly know whether this slogan was correct or incorrect.

Of course, there is no doubt that the slogan of the national front in the struggle with the Nazi invader was both correct and necessary. But the issue of the national front is very closely connected with the class stand in this national front. It was not the slogan that was incorrect; what was wrong was the slipping away by some of the comrades from a class, proletarian position in the putting forth of this slogan. The basis of the

national front during the occupation was the struggle against the invader, in which the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and middle class could march together in united ranks. Of course, the top layers of capitalists and landowners and the financial oligarchy cannot be taken into consideration here, because they were linked by a number of connections and interests with the occupant.

We never put forth the slogan of the national front in any other way than one which united, bound and linked together in the struggle against the big capitalists and the occupant the proletarian and non-proletarian masses, the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and petty bourgeois, with the exclusion only of the large capitalists. The slogan of the national front in this sort of situation is correct and necessary. Today as well, we put forth, and correctly so, the national front slogan in certain issues. In the issue of struggle for peace, of struggle against war, both workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie are interested, and it is our task to involve all these sections in the struggle, in the common struggle under the hegemony of the working class, the class that is most determined to struggle and able to realize a clear revolutionary program. What is essential, then, is under whose leadership, under whose hegemony, the national front is to take place.

What does opportunism in the national front problem consist of?

Opportunism consists of losing sight of the hegemony of the working class. Herein lay the fault, herein lay the real position, of opportunism. We and revolutionary parties of the whole world never did put forth the national front slogan to mean anything else than a front in which the working class and the working-class party is the leader, guide and chief. Any other way of understanding the national front must be opportunist. This opportunism was to be found in the position of a certain section of the comrades who afterwards also sinned with a Right-wing, opportunist and nationalist deviation in connection with a number of other spheres of work. In their position the false approach to the national front was the trait which led them to errors.

I must set straight what was stated here by Comrade Gomulka and what is not true, to the effect that the People's Guard was an independent organization in the sense that the Party supposedly had no possibility of leading it and controlling its activity.

The Party defined the guiding lines and the whole direction of the activities of the People's Guard. The People's Guard and afterwards the People's Army were forms of the national front, but the leadership of this national front in the struggle conducted by the People's Guard was in the hands of the Party. The Party

leadership was personally linked with the command of the People's Guard. The People's Guard Chief of Staff, Comrade Witold, was simultaneously a member of the Central Committee Secretariat. How can one say in this case that the Party had no possibility of directing and controlling? What was it controlling and doing in that case? For the struggle with the Nazi invader was the main task and main direction of our struggle during the whole occupation period.

After all, old Communists, P.P.R. members, were in the ranks of the People's Guard, its leadership and command, in the first and most important sectors of struggle. How then can one say that the Party did not have the possibilities of directing and controlling the activity of the People's Guard?

Why is this being said? In order to extricate oneself. If there were estranged persons, enemies there, says Comrade Gomulka, then I have nothing to do with this. Can one explain oneself in this fashion? The Party devoted the major share of its attention to the activity of the People's Guard. As far as the matter of agents in the People's Guard and in the Party is concerned, what is essential is not only the fact of who actually led the agents into the People's Guard and the Party. This is essential, in so far as we must discover and expose those links which facilitated the introduction of agents. But from the political side, what is essential above all is the system that

made it possible for hostile agents to penetrate into particular fields of work. Into what fields did enemy agents enter? Into those fields of work that were in the hands of the comrades who sinned precisely with political blindness, lack of vigilance, opportunism and Right-wing attitudes.

* * *

A method of work in which no one feels responsible for checking up on people, a method of work in which the most vulnerable positions are given to strange and unknown people and the character of these people is not controlled or examined—this is an opportunist and harmful method, which leads to heavy losses. There is no leadership without a constant, continuous and over-all control of people.

It is precisely this method, where there is no examining of people, where there is no control even of the past and class character of the people participating in the work—such a method is opportunist, and is a source of errors and losses.

Comrade Spychalski spoke to us about this method; his speech here was an example of the method. This whole method was characterized by an opportunist spontaneity—everything went on, things got done, people somehow got into positions, people offered their services, and the agents especially insistently offered their service in a very clever fashion.

From the whole hazy self-criticism of Comrade Spychalski there vividly

emerges precisely this spontaneity, this automatism, when it is not known who is responsible for what, and how people enter the apparatus, the most vulnerable apparatus, which the Party should safeguard and which it should treat with special vigilance.

Or the explanation of Comrade Gomulka: well—I found such people, I was not interested in who or what they were, I heard somewhere about their contacts with the Home Army. And after the liberation Comrade Gomulka says: I did not read the personnel data of Lechowicz, Jaroszewicz and others. I did not read the personnel data on Dubiel when he was made Vice-Minister.

It turns out that somebody else gave warnings—no, this is not the way: one must examine, one must call for explanations.

It turns out that the Secretary of the Party, who at the same time is Minister for the Regained Territories, makes a provocateur his deputy and states: I had not heard of this, nobody had told me about this, I did not ask about this and I did not read personnel data. Here you have a method of work, an opportunist method of work. An opportunist method of work is the expression of an opportunist world outlook. One is linked with the other, one is derived from the other. They mutually complement each other. And thus, precisely in this way, thanks to such a method, Lechowicz, Jaroszewicz, Dubiel and others crawled into responsible positions.

The method was opportunist. And the opportunist method corresponded to an opportunist understanding of the national front, to an opportunist world outlook, which ran like a thread through a series of instances in the entire work of Comrades Gomulka, Spychalski and Kliszko.

The lack of collective work, the lack of a feeling of collective responsibility: this is what characterized this method of work. The most vivid example of this style of work was the fact that the speech of Comrade Gomulka during the Central Committee Plenum of June last year was delivered in spite of the Political Bureau, prepared in secrecy from the Political Bureau and the next day Comrade Gomulka stated: "I by-passed the Political Bureau because I knew that the Political Bureau would not agree with me."

It was precisely this method that suited Comrade Gomulka, that corresponded to opportunism in action, in work and in world outlook. There is, of course, comrades, no absolute blindness, *i.e.*, blindness for this and also the other side of the front. The blindness we are talking about, opportunist blindness, was directed to only one side of the front. It was a blindness in relation to definite social classes, to definite groups and environments, to definite phenomena; and thus, it was a blindness, also, in relation to "Second Section" men, in regard to whom—let us state this clearly—these comrades expressed such views as: "Well, so what, this

'Second Section' man can also become converted and become a good worker. Some time ago they were scoundrels but why should one look at the past." . . .

* * *

It is necessary that all the Party organs from top to bottom, guiding themselves on the indications of the present Plenum, elaborate and fix concrete tasks and methods for their sector in improving organizational work in order to safeguard the Party from dangers of diversion and the penetration into it of hostile agents.

What tasks and what methods should be pointed out in this field?

The strengthening of the mobilization and vigilance of Party cadres and ranks.

a) Against all ideological deviation and attempts to weaken the militant cohesion of Party cadres and ranks through the sowing of confusion in consciousness, through the arousing, sometimes intangible, of doubt as to the correctness of the Party line;

b) Against the penetration of disguised enemy agents into the most vulnerable links of the Party, state, administrative and economic apparatus;

c) Against the evil petty-bourgeois habits of bureaucracy, philistinism, smugness, cliquishness and high-and-mightiness as dangerous diseases weakening the militant vigilance and ideological integrity of that section of responsible comrades showing an inclination to suffer from these habits.

What has to be done to strengthen the revolutionary vigilance of Party cadres and ranks? To put an end to the harmful attitudes of complacency, self-intoxication and self-satisfaction into which some of our comrades placed in responsible positions in political, state, economic and cultural work have so blissfully sunk themselves.

It is necessary to place the question of the ideological and political education of Party cadres on the proper level, remembering that the best safeguard of the revolutionary vigilance of Party activists is:

a) Its high ideological and political level and the steady rising of this level;

b) The closest, liveliest, day-to-day link with the working class, with the working masses, through active work in Party professional and social organizations, through personal contacts with rank-and-file members, through observing these every day.

It is necessary to extend to the utmost, making the fullest use of the existing possibilities, the central and local network of Party training and the network of courses and speeches dealing with political science, the history of the working-class movement and the particular fields of Marxist-Leninist theory. One should use to the greatest extent in this connection radio lectures and correspondence school lectures.

All the Party committees from top to bottom should see to it that all

Party activists, and especially the comrades carrying out various responsible functions, become actively involved in a way accessible to them in the action of deepening their knowledge of Marxism.

One should facilitate in an organized fashion, under the guidance of the Party Training Section of the Central Committee, more intensive study of the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and the international labor movement, remembering the words from the letter of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.(B.) that "a knowledge and understanding of the history of our Party is a most important and essential means of fully ensuring the revolutionary vigilance of the Party members."* . . .

It is necessary to strengthen the responsibility of personnel departments for the putting into order and improvement of the personnel records of people holding responsible positions and to obligate the heads of these departments to communicate immediately to the Party leadership all the obscurities contained in these records. . . .

It is necessary to introduce into all sectors of work a well thought-out and organized control of the execution of the decisions and recommendations of the leading organs of the Party and the government not only after the completion of the task but also in the process of its realization.

In this aim one should systematically hold a hearing of the reports of

* *Ibid.*, p. 328.—Ed.

the comrades responsible for the carrying out of the tasks and keenly evaluate their work.

It is necessary to see to it that criticism and self-criticism from the top as well as from the bottom be not stifled by those circles and people whom it involves, unless, of course, it clearly possesses the character of a hostile or disguised diversion. For this purpose one should also give the necessary aid and protection to the correspondents of the working-class and peasant press against the attack of a hostile environment, to assure that the observations made by them be keenly looked into and taken care of in accord with the interests of the state and the working class and, finally, that they be rewarded for their services in this work. . . .

Our struggle, our construction and our task will be crippled if the Party does not watch continuously, in a planned way and with full energy and keenness, the political education of Party cadres, the constant raising of their ideological and moral level and of their Marxist-Leninist knowledge. A proper, intelligent and solicitous policy of cadres—this is the best weapon in the Party's struggle for revolutionary vigilance. . . .

* * *

We spoke of the lack of vigilance, of the faults and shortcomings, precisely because we want to raise the banner of our Party still higher, because we are proud of its achievements, of its past, because we are proud of the fact that, overcoming its faults and shortcomings, gathering ever greater experience, it is able to draw from its ranks unlimited devotion and shining heroism, is able to draw from the working class an unparalleled integrity and enthusiasm, is able to inspire the whole nation to creative labor. For in what does the great invincible force of our Party lie? In faithfulness to the idea of Marxism-Leninism and in the indissoluble tie with the masses.

Our Party draws and will draw with still greater energy its strength from an infallible source: the ties with the working class, the working masses and the Polish nation. Let us learn, comrades, to draw strength more fully, vigorously and with greater care from this powerful source of talents, devotion and sacrifice, by binding ourselves still more closely with the working class and the working masses.

Faithful to this principle, comrades, we shall conquer and build Socialism in Poland!

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