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

Editorial Board: V. J. JEROME, Editor, ABNER W. BERRY, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN,  
JACK STACHEL, MAX WEISS

## **The Present Situation and the Tasks of Our Party\***

By Gus Hall

ALTHOUGH THE political climate is stormy and unsettled, and our time schedules are rather indefinite, between a postponement of some prison sentences and thirty days' grace on others, and between Congressional action and Presidential action on new laws outlawing the Party, we decided to call this Plenum.

We, in the National Committee, have felt the need for as much collective discussion and consultation as possible in meeting the many problems arising out of the swiftly moving developments and events. We have especially been anxious to get the thinking of the comrades in the districts and sections, and to obtain through you the thoughts of our members. In this last period it has been difficult to check fully on the correctness of our policies and decisions and of our tactics in their application, because so many of us can-

not travel to meet with our Party. But it is of the utmost importance at all times that we get the reaction of the American people and of our own Party members to developments and events, and to the answers and the directions given by our leadership. There is no other way to check on the correctness or incorrectness of our decisions and resolutions.

We are now moving into the fourth month of death-dealing, plundering military aggression by U.S. imperialism. American boys are giving their lives by the thousands and are killing thousands of the liberty-loving civil population of Korea, in order further to stuff the already over-stuffed coffers of the belly-robbing, filthy-rich American Sixty Families. We are going into the fourth month of unjust war, of criminal, imperialist aggression which is being waged in the interests of Wall Street's monopolies and trusts, in the interest of the robber oil and tin magnates.

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

The heroic people of Korea are fighting and shedding their blood in the common cause of all peoples of Asia struggling for their national liberation. They are fighting in the interest of world peace; and what the American people must begin to understand is that the best interests of the great majority of our own people lie in a liberated, unified and democratic Korea, which will be an additional force for world peace. Therefore, one cannot render a greater service to our own people and to world peace than to demand the withdrawal of all American forces from the soil of Korea as well as from other foreign lands.

We cannot evade the responsibility that in the name of our nation and people, under MacArthur's command, American soldiers, American airmen, are murdering, are wiping out towns and villages, are massacring unarmed people—the young and the aged—are committing crimes that for violence and vileness compare only with those of the madmen of Hitler.

World humanity is today filled with indignation and holds the American nation responsible for these crimes. While it is true that the financiers and industrialists are responsible for the aggression in Korea and for the whole imperialist war policy, it is also a fact that the American people, including the working class, has the power and the duty to stop the warmakers, to save the honor of America. This is the great

and solemn task, the historic test confronting our class and our people. This is the summons in this fateful hour of the Communist Party—to our labor movement, to our people, to all Americans who prize peace and democracy and hold life dear. It is not yet too late to avert the terrible price paid by the German people, to avert the judgment of humanity which the German people, including the working class, brought down upon themselves for failing to heed the call of their Communist Party for united resistance to Hitler, and for accommodating themselves to fascism and its policy of aggression, conquest and genocide.

#### WE CAN STILL HALT WORLD WAR III

Since the First World War and even prior to it, American capitalism worked for, and dreamt of, empire, colonial markets, cheap slave labor and endless raw materials. But since 1945 the drive for world domination has become the cynically open, central and over-riding goal of Wall Street's foreign policy. This has been the central theme, the main consideration of the Truman Administration in its relations with all other countries, and the basic underlying reason for its behavior at peace conferences and for its activities in the United Nations. This policy of Wall Street divides the world into two camps—the camp of war and ag-

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gression, led by American imperialism, and the camp of peace led by the Soviet Union. It was this policy that resulted in the fascization, ravaging and pillaging of Greece. It was to implement the same expansionist policy that the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact came into being. It was for the same reasons that the representatives of Wall Street scrapped the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. It is for the same reason that the Seventh Fleet is in the waters of the Republic of China. And it is in support of this same policy that Acheson is fighting for the "unified" army of aggression in Europe, controlled and directed by U.S. imperialism, with re-armed fascist hordes of Germany as its most reliable divisions.

This policy rests on three main foundations:

1. The perspective of the inevitability of World War III and of war against the Soviet Union;

2. The consideration of the atomic bomb as the major and decisive weapon of conquest in achieving victory over the peace forces of the world;

3. Military aggression and large-scale military campaigns everywhere against the people's fight for freedom and national liberation. (This policy came to full expression with the imperialist invasion of Korea.)

The above have been and remain the fundamental bases of the foreign policy of American monopoly capitalism. On that program there is full

unanimity in the ranks of the ruling class.

After five years of this policy of aggressive imperialism and after three months of the armed aggression phase of this policy, it is necessary for us to ask where we stand now and what are the perspectives for the future. In spite of what has happened in the last few days in Korea, it does not seem to me that the end of the war is in sight. Despite the very high losses, and until this week, major defeats, suffered by the forces of U.S. imperialism, and despite the apparent lack of enthusiasm for this dirty war by the people of the United States, there are no indications that Wall Street and its bipartisan Administration think of retreating from this path of slaughter in Korea.

On the contrary, manpower and every type of weapon, airpower and naval forces are pumped into Korea on a scale not seen since the invasion of Europe during World War II. The invaders at first made up with B-29's, tanks, bazookas and artillery for the shortage of manpower and lack of fighting morale. Now, however, it is clear that there is no shortage of manpower and the War Department is scraping the bottom and shipping in as much as space permits on the small territory of Korea. Despite this greatly increased array of force, unless the unforeseen happens, the imperialist forces are in for a long, protracted and costly war. Such a protracted war is

no longer unusual in the national liberation struggles of Asia and the Far East. In their dirty war against the people of Viet Nam, the French have been checked for over five years. And after five years of heavy casualties and cost in materiel, the French forces are in control of only ten percent of the territory. Likewise protracted is the fighting in Malaya, with the British efforts to strangle that country. The British have over 100,000 troops in Malaya, but they are not able to subdue the people. Over half of Burma is in the hands of the national liberation movement. And we in the United States should especially be proud of the heroic fighters for national liberation in the Philippine Islands. All this represents a new quality of the national liberation struggles. And it is to be expected that the forces of U.S. imperialism will meet similar prolonged, stubborn resistance wherever they seek to enslave the people by armed force.

The great danger of the war in Korea is that the U.S. imperialists will spread it to China and other parts of Asia. This danger has greatly increased of late. As the idea and the talk of passing the 38th Parallel spreads, the danger of the war in Korea flaming into a world war increases. For it is clear that any attempt to pass the 38th Parallel would involve a threat to more than the people of Korea.

Under these conditions, what is the situation with regard to the danger of a third world war? It is not diffi-

cult to see that this danger has greatly increased. As U.S. imperialism suffers setbacks, as the resistance of the peace camp builds up and stiffens, and as the difficulties of the imperialist war camp at home and abroad pile up, the moods of desperation increase in the ranks of the ruling class. As long as these moods exist, the danger of an "incident" igniting the fires of world war, of atomic warfare, is clear and present.

The dominant sections of monopoly capital follow the policy of sharply intensified war preparations, while conducting military campaigns of aggression in one country after another. These dominant sections are driving toward—1) total war mobilization of industry and manpower; 2) stockpiling of A-bombs and actual production of the H-bomb; 3) destruction of the American people's civil rights and the closing of all avenues of opposition to Wall Street's plans.

They are exerting ever greater pressure on England, France and Italy for stepped-up militarization and for more rapid fascization of the state power in Marshallized Western Europe and in Japan. They are feverishly attempting to isolate the Soviet Union and to destroy the United Nations by driving out the representatives of the Soviet Union and its allies.

These objectives of the dominant monopolies in no way exclude the danger of immediate war acts on their part. It would be fatal to assume that U.S. imperialism will go

to war *only* when it is completely prepared. We must also be aware that the bipartisan war camp does not exclude the possibility of world war resulting from resistance to its aggressive military campaigns. Wall Street takes a calculated risk that some of its aggressive acts may provoke a world war.

In the ranks of Wall Street's bipartisan war camp there are some tactical differences. These differences are, however, all within the frame-work of common agreement on full support to the war drive. They are not differences between a war policy and a peace policy. Therefore, whatever weight we give them must be limited by this understanding.

What are some of these differences? There are those who speak for the so-called "preventive war" advocated by Stassen, Johnson, Matthews, Anderson and others. These include the most desperate fomentors of war, and also those who feel that the American mind must be oriented and accustomed to total war now. There are some differences on what section of the world should be the Number One Spot—Asia or Europe. In spite of the present concentration on the Pacific, dominant sections of the ruling class still feel that Europe must be enslaved first and is therefore the most important front in the drive to enslave the whole world. This section includes elements who see Europe as the main base of Wall Street world operations, as well as

those who have their imperialist and cartel interests in Europe. So, as you can see, these are differences that by themselves have no great significance and do not express a weakening of the war danger.

While the danger of war has grown more intense, our central outlook continues to be based on the conviction that we can still stop the war from spreading. Although we face more difficult problems in fulfilling this task, we can still halt World War III. I want to spend a few minutes on this, because since the attack on Korea there have developed some dangerously fatalistic ideas about the inevitability of World War III.

Complacency is not the main problem now in our ranks. The danger of world war is indeed great, but it is still not inevitable. Nothing that has developed in the world relationship of forces warrants these fatalistic conclusions. The world camp of peace and Socialism has grown stronger, not weaker. With each day the power of the great bastion of peace, the Soviet Union, increases. Each day finds all past production records surpassed in the countries of the New Democracies. In a few short months the Republic of China has become a world power, a power that every nation must respect and take into consideration. The national liberation movements continue to grow and spread. We must not overstate, nor should we underestimate, the peace potential

indicated by the American people's lack of enthusiasm for the military aggression in Korea. The working classes of Western Europe are far from showing any signs of becoming pawns of U.S. imperialism. The camp of war has not become stronger. If anything, it has been further weakened. There is nothing on the record to warrant pessimistic, fatalistic conclusions. *The danger of war has increased because of the heightened moods of desperation in the war camp, but this does not warrant moods of fatalism in the peace camp. The main aim of Wall Street remains world conquest by means of a third world war, and the bipartisans are continuing full preparations and mobilization for such a war.* But this does not mean that we cannot stop them before their objective is achieved.

A great danger arises also from widespread acceptance of the idea that the people cannot make themselves heard or felt in opposition to another world war without calling down upon themselves brutal reprisals. This is reflected in the sullen general silence in the shops and unions on questions of the war. The workers are sullen and resentful, but they do not as yet speak up, because they are looking for leadership—for leadership that will show them how they can make their desire for peace felt.

Its mood of desperation grows as American capitalism begins to realize the impasse it is in. Some capital-

ists sense the truth that the road of launching a third world war may be the path of suicide for capitalism. Others sense the cost of many years of one-at-a-time military campaigns and the impending disaster resulting from the drain. And they all agree that to be forced to turn back now in retreat or even to make any reduction in military and government expenditures would result in an economic crash and tremendous political upheavals. It is not often that we can do so, but this is one time we can agree with all these frightened gentlemen. When the American people begin to realize the dead-end street of suffering and sacrifice to which the bipartisan coalition of war is leading our country, that moment will be the beginning of the rise of a people's coalition that will change the course of our nation to the only road possible, the road of curtailment of the powers of big capital, of the expansion and broadening of democratic rights for all, the road which the majority of mankind today is traveling—the road of peace and Socialism.

#### FASCISM CAN STILL BE STOPPED

As our country is being pushed to the precipice of world war it is being pushed at great speed toward fascism. Till now the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were at least road-blocks for imperialism and put some restraint on the fascist-minded Big

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Business moguls and their representatives in Congress, in the courts and in the state and city offices. Now large sections of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are already being scrapped. The hysterical scenes in Congress this past week and the complete and cynical disregard for even the limited safeguards of the Constitution is an indication of how grave the danger of fascism is. The McCarran, Kilgore bills, sponsored by Big Business and backed by such forces as the high command of the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan and especially by the ever more openly fascist hierarchy of the Catholic Church, are the "legal" framework for the advent of fascism. The outlawing of our Party, which is now an imminent threat, will have deep-going effects on the political life of our country. It will be the biggest step toward fascism—the open, terroristic, brutal rule of the most reactionary sections of American Big Business.

Does the outlawing of our Party mean that we already have a full-blown fascist regime? It does not. The reactionaries of course will have jumped a big hurdle in the process of step-by-step fascization that is taking place; but fascism will not yet fully have come to power. Does the outlawing of our Party mean that fascism is inevitable in the United States? Again, the answer is no. *The fact is that fascism can still be stopped. This is so, first of all, because we, the Communists, are going*

*to organize and lead the masses in a struggle against fascist reaction. If reaction thinks it is going to eliminate us from the struggle against fascism by outlawing our Party, it will get the surprise of its life. Secondly, it will not be so easy to saddle the American people with fascist rule as some may think. We must not sell short the readiness and the willingness of the American people to fight for their democratic rights. Our criterion must not be the successes or limited successes we have so far had in mobilizing the masses for the fight against the outlawing of our Party, but the great freedom-traditions of our working class and its allies among all strata of the working people. However, while fascism is not inevitable, the first prerequisite for victory over fascism is for the masses to learn to identify it.*

We have often correctly said that fascism will not ride into Washington on a white horse or come to power with a large parade of new figures, of new fascist fuehrers. The American people must learn to identify fascism, not with some unknown conspirators, but rather with the personages of the present bipartisan Administration and their bosses, the dominant monopolies and other public figures.

We must make clear to the American people that fascism everywhere is compelled demagogically to adapt itself to the prevailing mass political consciousness. If in Germany that demagogy took the guise of National

"Socialism," in our country fascism, if victorious, will of necessity camouflage itself with "Constitutionalism," and will assume power while retaining Congress, a President and a Supreme Court. This is especially likely to be true in the initial stage of fascist rule. Indeed, what more police-state authority does a fascism need than is now given under the war emergency powers to the President, to the F.B.I., to the courts? Those dictatorial powers are at least enough to start with.

The people must especially learn to identify the fascist ideology that the monopolies cause to seep like poison into the minds of the masses preparatory to fascist rule. The process of getting used to brutal killings by Americans overseas is counted on to condition the people for accepting such killings here. And this entire process is carried out in the name of anti-Communism. The idea that anything goes as long as you say it is against Communism is the fascist technique. The growth of imperialist chauvinism, of the lying ideas of America's destiny to "civilize" and "industrialize" the rest of the world are fascist ideological instruments. White chauvinism in this political context is a basic part of fascist ideology.

The close link between the developing war economy and the firm ties between the state, the large monopolies and the military brass, as expressed for example in the development of atomic weapons, is laying the

basis for a fascist setup. In the present atmosphere everything, from wage freezes to civilian defense preparations, is fitted into the preparations for fascist rule. In other words, the people must learn to identify each step of the process of fascistization of American life.

The main responsibility for the failure to check the continued process of fascism lies at the doorstep of the trade-union bureaucracy, of the Social-Democrats and the liberals and all who have joined in the reactionary crusade against Communism and have refused to unite in a common effort to stop this development.

Fascism in the United States as elsewhere is a sign, not of the strength but of the weakness of the capitalist class. But its success is at the same time a sign of the weakness of the working class, of the lack of unity within the working class and between it and the progressive movement. The growth of fascism and reaction is a sign that the ruling class already senses its doom and knows from which direction the leadership comes that will hurry its downfall. The weakness of the working class in the struggle against fascism shows that the working class, submerged in pure-and-simple trade-union ideology and lacking a Socialist consciousness, does not yet recognize its historic role as the most consistent defender of democracy, as champion of all oppressed strata, and as the best representative of the national interest.

We will never give up our efforts to organize the broadest possible coalition against fascism and for democratic rights. There must be a new initiative on every level and on every front in these efforts. This must be so whether we are legal or outlawed. We Communists strive to realize the ultimate goal of the true, consistent and higher democracy, Socialist democracy. While pointing to the formal character, the limitations, and the class nature of bourgeois democracy, we are, at the same time, consistent defenders of democracy against fascism. It is our firm conviction that the struggle for democracy cannot be separated from the struggle for Socialism. The two-sided relationship of this question is made crystal clear in these passages from Lenin:

Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, nevertheless remains and under capitalism cannot but remain restricted, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited, for the poor.\*

It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc. *On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy.\*\**

We must under all conditions or-

ganize and lead the struggle in defense of the Bill of Rights, for the legal right of the Communist Party to function.

We must never tire of explaining to the working class the simple fact that the question of democratic rights is not some abstract subject for a debate or a sermon, but that it is rather a bread and butter question. Democratic rights and the standard of living are inseparable twins. When democratic rights go down, living standards are sure to follow; when they go up, the basis is immediately created for raising the living standards.

#### THE PEOPLE DESIRE PEACE

Such is the general economic and political picture in our country. How do the great mass of American people react to these developments? The most obvious criterion is the reaction to the war against the Korean people. *In spite of the all-out propaganda campaign, there is no mass enthusiasm or hysteria for the war. The people sense that this is not their war, that it isn't a war in the interests of the American people. But it is also a fact that while there is no enthusiasm for the war, there is as yet no real mass protest movement against it.* What the masses still have to learn is that while they have nothing to gain from this war, they stand to lose much; that they will pay dearly, if the war is permitted to continue. Only then shall we have a mass movement against this war and

\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VII, p. 130.

\*\* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 268.

against the war policies of the monopolists. This consideration should be a very important element in our propaganda and education.

There is a continued, growing fear of World War III, and the even greater fear of atomic warfare which engulfs the great majority of Americans. We have not yet even begun to tap the possibilities for mass movements which arise from this condition.

There is evident among the masses a great concern with, and anger against, all kinds of so-called "preventive war." The great majority of Americans strongly resent the provocative, blood-thirsty speeches of Stassen, Matthews and other such atomic gangsters. This resentment will continue and become one of the great levers for moving masses into the peace movement.

There is great concern in broad circles about the refusal of the Truman Administration to admit the Chinese People's Republic into the United Nations. The issues of China and of Wall Street's seizure of Formosa have aroused great interest among broad sections of Americans, who if given the opportunity will express their thoughts on these questions.

The American people have great difficulty in accepting the conclusions and believing what they see, namely, that it is our country which has replaced Hitler-Germany as the center of world reaction and as the imperialist aggressor. This is one

great obstacle to developing a militant, mass, anti-war crusade. This is especially true of the youth, who have only experienced one war—a just war—the Second World War, and who are still full of the illusions implanted by lectures and at school about the United States being a non-colony - holding, non - imperialist, "good neighbor" to all lands and nations. This should only indicate to us the need for the most persistent, simple and concrete exposure of the imperialist character of U.S. policy; an exposure not only in general, but specifically around each of the moves of U.S. imperialism.

The policy of discrimination, of segregation, of lynching the Negro people has come home to roost. The special oppression of the Negro people is the most vulnerable spot in the armor of American imperialism. The ruling circles are fully aware of this. This explains the concentrated all-out campaign to convince the Negro people that everything will be all right, and to convince the world that what the Communists say about this question in the United States isn't true. Every possible type of demagoguery is brought into play in this campaign. The line of the campaign to the Negro people is: "You are Americans. It is true everything is not perfect, but this is your country. It is here that we are going to straighten out matters. Therefore when you defend America you are defending the possibility of eventually eliminating inequalities and pol-

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We must find more effective ways of exposing this demagogic line. This we shall be able to do, if we raise in the boldest fashion the struggle against all expressions of segregation and discrimination to new heights; if we involve large numbers of Negro and white people in this struggle. We must hammer away at the fact that promises mean nothing. Despite glowing promises, Negro veterans were lynched after both the first and second world wars. If things are going to be straightened out, it must be done now. If the imperialists are busy here, they are also very busy in every corner of the world, using every trick to cover up the slave-market policies and practices in the United States. We must do more to bring to the attention of the world all of the brutal ruling-class practices, policies and acts against the Negro people. We must not think that concentrated lying State Department propaganda has no effect. On the contrary, we must face the fact that it does influence sections of the people and therefore requires on our part the kind of leadership that will expose this demagoguery, this fraud.

The propaganda for the theory of the inevitability of World War III has also made some headway. This is especially true in the ranks of the youth. The fatalism about the inevitability of war is mixed up in their minds with the very healthy yearning for peace. This yearning for

peace is especially strong in the ranks of youth, because they have a strong desire to get started in life as early as possible. Their peace sentiments become distorted when they are convinced that world war is inevitable. As a result there tends to grow the idea that as long as it is going to happen anyway, let's get it over with as quickly as possible. This is why we must especially explain to the young people why war is not inevitable, and how the only way they can get an early start in life is to defeat the war-makers.

The most sustained, most active force in the broad peace movement comes from the women. There is need for much greater effort and attention to the development of this movement among the women. There is need for much greater contact of our women Communists with the masses of American women. We can get the quickest and greatest return for our efforts in behalf of peace in this field.

The reactions of the American people to the war situation open up much greater possibilities for mass movements and mass action for peace and democratic rights. There must be constantly new initiative and a fresh approach to movements and actions of the broadest possible character, in defense of peace, defense of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. We must especially guard against any let-down in the peace movement or in the campaign to outlaw atomic weapons. Now that

the world peace pledge campaign is being concluded, we must work toward an all-inclusive American Congress for peace with other peace forces as soon as it is possible.

#### WAR ECONOMY BREEDS CRISIS

It is necessary for us to give some thought to the effects of the imperialist war policy on the economic developments in our country as well as in the rest of the capitalist world.

But before doing so, the temptation is great, because of the contrast, to say a few words about the economic developments of the countries in the peace camp and in the growing Socialist sector of the world.

In the early 30's, the world was amazed and startled, and often did not believe the speed of growth of industrial and agricultural production during the prewar Five-Year Plans in the Soviet Union. During World War II, the Soviet system again accomplished "miracles" in the eyes of the world when the Soviet people stopped and largely alone annihilated the army and air forces of Hitler-Germany. In this postwar period, in spite of the unheard of devastation to her cities and industries, the Soviet Union has surpassed all these "unbelievable miracles" many times over. Already in 1949 the industrial output of the Soviet Union was 41 percent above its highest prewar peak of 1940. In other words, it not only rebuilt and made up for the great devastation,

but has surpassed the pre-war peak by 41 percent. By now, of course, it has exceeded this figure. By 1950 the Soviet Union was already a great industrial power, but since then it has more than doubled its industrial output.

In the new People's Democracies a similar picture is unfolding. Industrial output in the People's Democracies is more than 44 per cent above that of 1937, while in the Marshall Plan countries of Western Europe production is still five per cent below that of 1937. Eastern Germany is likewise making giant strides forward.

The people of the new China have not yet fully completed their task of liberation. Besides liquidating the remnants of the enemy on the mainland, they still have the task of liberating Formosa and Tibet. But while in the process of completing their liberation, they have, under the leadership of their great Communist Party, already cleared away the wreckage left by generations of foreign imperialist domination. They have clamped down on and defeated inflationary developments. They have largely stabilized their economy and ended famine conditions and are moving with unheard-of speed to industrialize their vast land.

In estimating the relationship of world forces, not even the blindest could ignore these world-shaking historic facts. These achievements are all based on construction for a happy, prosperous and peaceful

These are not supernatural miracles. These are the natural results achieved by a people who are freed from the yoke of imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation, the results of the growing new system, of Socialism.

The Dollar Curtain, the press and radio are in a great conspiracy to keep from the American people these historic developments. It is of the first importance that the American people get these simple but powerful facts. We must find more effective mass forms and methods to break through this wall of silence built by the propaganda machine of American imperialism.

The United States came out of the Second World War with its economy largely intact. There was no devastation of industry, agriculture or natural resources, and it had no war indemnities to pay. The American ruling class was the only group in the world that came out of the Second World War richer than before. Because of its position of producing and selling not only to the defeated government, but in large measure to most of the Allies, the capacity of industrial production was greatly increased. Because of this and other factors, American economy did not have to go through the long period of rebuilding, retooling and re-equipping required by the economies of most of the other countries. Thus, while the industrial production fell by 30 percent during the period of reconversion, by 1947 the production

index began to climb and employment increased. A high rate of production which, however, remained below the 1943 peak, lasted until October 1948. If one looked deeper than the headlines, it was clear already then that an economic crisis was developing, that it was on its way. On numerous occasions our Party correctly signaled this development. While doing so, we also, preceding the slump of 1948, incorrectly and mechanically set dates for its outbreak. But in October 1948, the production index started on a sharp downward spiral and unemployment began to increase. In less than one year beginning October 1948 total production fell by 18 percent and in many industries even at a faster rate. For example, steel production fell by 30.3 percent. Unemployment figures reached the proportion of six million totally and 12 million partially unemployed. Side by side with the industrial slump, a crisis in agriculture was maturing. Prices of farm products dropped drastically, while prices of industrial products stayed at all-time high levels. Then in the third quarter of 1949, the downward slide of production came to a halt. After a very short period of marking time, the rate of production started an upward climb, and this process is still continuing today. The production figures in some cases have reached and surpassed those of the high peaks of 1948, and are still climbing. Many industries, like steel, auto, machine building, are at boom levels, while

other industries tend to lag behind. Such has been the course of the post-war economic development in the United States.

The specific course of the 1948-49 economic crisis has to be seen against the following background:

1. American economy has not been without a strong element of war economy since the pre-war days of 1938. During the World War II years the war-economy sector reached the level of more than 50 percent of the total economy of the United States.

2. Although beset with contradictions, U.S. capitalism came out of the war economically stronger, but only at the expense of other capitalist nations. World capitalism issued from the war greatly weakened, while the Socialist world grew stronger.

3. The capacity of the United States to produce was greatly increased as a result of the build-up of war production during the war years.

4. A progressively rising sector of the nation's productive capacity has been diverted to war production since 1947. In other words, the crisis developed during a period when there was a growth of war preparations, a growth of elements of war economy.

5. The ability of American capitalism to manipulate with such inflationary factors as credit buying, government spending, not only on military but non-military items, and such gimmicks as government sub-

sidies, loans, etc., continued to retard the outbreak of the crisis.

6. The position of the U.S. as the creditor nation—by and large controlling even such empires as the British, Belgian, Dutch, and such industrial countries as France, Western Germany and Italy, gave it a chance to "export" some of its economic difficulties.

These are some of the factors that retarded the development of the crisis and distorted the course of the cycle. For what length of time such developments can continue to obstruct the course of development of the cyclical crisis is not fully clear at this time.

How and to what extent has the growing role of war economy affected the economic picture, especially since July 1949, when the upward swing of production started? It is clear, first of all, that if the increase of war expenditures had been accompanied by a corresponding increase in taxes or in forced loans from the masses, then the effect of these war expenditures on the total economic picture would have been quite insignificant, because everything "primed" into the economy of the country would have been taken out of it by taxes and loans from the buying power of the people. However, to a large extent, this has not been the case during the last two or three years. The war economy and war expenditures were largely financed by idle capital accumulated in the coffers of the large finance and

such gimmicks as government sub-insurance corporations. These cor-

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porations are willing to do this as long as a high rate of profit and interest is guaranteed. This idle capital was shifted into war expenditures by government loans and sales of bonds. The source of war expenditures was in large part the capital piled up from the skyrocketing profits of the bankers and manufacturers during World War II, when they so glibly talked about "equality of sacrifice" for the war effort. While making speeches about "everyone giving until it hurts," they doubled and tripled their previous peacetime profits. When millions the world over gave their lives, Wall Street made billions. This idle capital came from profits as a result of speed-up, piece work and other incentive plans. It came from the profits from what is called an ordinary day's work of workers in the shops, mines and mills. In short, it came from the hides of the American working class.

The effect of this kind of financing of war production was to raise purchasing power to an extent by increasing employment, thereby expanding to a degree the internal market. The method of financing the war preparations from accumulated capital was possible because war economy was only a small sector of the total economy. We would make a real mistake in thinking that the ruling class *will continue*, or that it *could continue*, this kind of financial policy for war preparations. In fact, we are *already witnessing a shift in this*

*policy. More and more the war economy will be financed by robbing the working class, the farmers and the middle classes directly.*

As the economy is put on a war footing to an ever greater extent, we shall see a two-sided economic development that must join together in generating new elements of crisis latent in the war economy. The national debt, which has climbed to the all-time high level of 260 billion dollars, will reach a point where it must begin to deplete the capital reserves needed for replacements and expansion, especially the capital set aside for expansion in subjugated countries. From that point on this source of financing of the war economy will become more and more restricted.

As is already the case, side by side with this development there will be an increase in the rate of taxation, as well as many new types of compulsory deductions for bonds, etc., from the working class, the farmers and other sections of the middle class. This will further reduce the standard of living and restrict the home market. Thus, the war economy must take the road of crisis.

War economy, together with all of the steps taken by the ruling class and the Administration, cannot overcome the development of the cyclical economic crisis. It can only have the effect of temporarily halting the development of the crisis, obstructing its course and distorting and modifying its line of development. But in

the long run war economy and the other measures taken by the government must bring on new contradictions which, with an accumulation of the old contradictions, will cause the crisis to break out with greater force. Here is how Comrade Foster puts it in his forthcoming book, *An Outline Political History of the Americas*:

The general consequence was that the U.S. industrial system was sinking into an economic crisis of over-production and involving with it the economies of most of the capitalist world. The plunge of the United States into a deep economic crisis has been temporarily checked by the Korean War with its resultant huge government outlays for war purposes. The drunken orgy of war production is on again. Although 2,500,000 workers are still unemployed, the number of gainfully employed (September, 1950) has shot up to 62,367,000, an all-time record figure. But this war-induced production spurt cannot possibly cure the basic weakness of capitalism. On the contrary, in the long run it is bound to deepen the eventual economic collapse and also to worsen in every respect the general crisis of capitalism.

There will be an accumulation and a backlogging of the crisis-making factors and developments. The economy will continue to develop in a more lopsided fashion than ever. There will be the continued conversion of industry to war production. There will be a curtailment of the consumer-goods producing indus-

tries, and a cutting down of the standard of living. At this point it is not clear how long these steps will obstruct the development of the crisis. What is clear, however, is that with or without crisis the capitalist class is going to follow a policy of making the working class, the farmers and other strata of the middle class pay for war preparations and war by a systematic and brutal reduction of their standard of living. This process has already started, and additional moves are being made now to set the stage for further cutting down the standard of living later. Still other measures to achieve this end are being held up, but only till after election day. The prices of food and clothing have already jumped over 15 percent. An increase of 20 percent in the withholding tax goes into effect in October. Rents are slowly climbing and will continue to mount, and the workers are paying for the war through inhuman speed-up, longer hours and through dozens of other schemes which raise the rate of exploitation. There are some groups of Americans who today already carry a heavy load, such as the Negro people, and some fixed-income groups like the veterans, servicemen's families, those on old-age pensions, etc.

But some may ask: Is not this in contradiction with the pattern of the ten cents an hour wage increase the workers are receiving in many of the industries? The answer, of course, is that it is not. These meager wage

increases are compelled by the rising mood of struggle in the ranks of the working class, and they are also the stage-setting for clamping down the wage freeze as well as for sidetracking the rising strike wave. The wage-freeze scheme is nothing but the ax and block on which the standard of living will be chopped. The capitalist class will collect a hundred-fold the ten cents an hour wage increase after the wage freeze, through speed-up, higher prices and rents, longer hours and dozens of different squeeze schemes.

It was not long after V-J Day when the signs of agrarian crisis began to show themselves. By 1947 some farmers, especially poultry and milk farmers, were in a crisis condition. Big Business had only one answer to the farmers. Cut down the acreage of farm production and accomplish this by forcing out the small and poor farmers. Truman, of course, in his usual demagogic fashion put forward the Brannan Plan, which made some promises the Truman Administration never fought for except in campaign speeches; but the process of cutting acreage has been carried into life. In 1950 alone, over 30 million acres of productive land were taken out of production. Big Business is conducting a campaign for the elimination of one-half to two-thirds of the nation's farm families from the land. The present system of drafting young farmers into the armed services is considered a convenient vehicle for carrying out

this elimination plan.

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Since the upswing in industrial production, the prices of farm products have gone up very slightly; they do not keep up in any sense with the prices of goods the farmer has to buy.

It is obvious that under a war economy the chronic crisis condition of agriculture will continue to sharpen. There is no perspective for an export market for agricultural products, while the home market declines with the decline of the purchasing power of the working class. But during this period the farmer will be taxed as heavily as the working class. For example, the farmer will have to pay the new 20 percent tax on small incomes as his market shrinks, because the same 20 percent tax is levied against the working class and reduces its purchasing power.

The effect of war economy on farmers as well as on the standard of living of the working class is clear from the following. From 1946 to 1949, during the period when the war economy was already growing, the per capita civilian food consumption dropped from 119 in 1946 to 111 in 1949-50. (This is using 1935-1939 as equalling 100.) Thus, when we speak about economic struggles we must begin to pay attention to the poorest section of our population—the agricultural workers and poor farmers. These millions of our people live in the midst of a chronic crisis condition. We must now dis-

card all helplessness, stop pleading weaknesses and take this problem in hand. Nationally, as well as in the districts, we must draw up concrete plans, so that once and for all we put an end to the past ignoring of this task.

In the coming period, under the impact of war economy, the standard of living of the working class, the farmers and other sections of the middle class will be on the downgrade. During the same period there will be no leadership or resistance to this policy from the trade-union bureaucracy. Because of this fact, there will be a growth of spontaneous rank-and-file actions. This demands the closest attention and leadership from our Party.

The economic effects of maintaining a colonial system on an imperialist nation are different today from those in the earlier days of imperialism. Today the cost of empire-building is tremendous, in lives and in material. It has always been so; but today the difficulties of empire are multiplied many times over. The powerful national liberation movements threaten to abolish quick and easy super-profits in many sectors, and make it uncertain in others. At the same time, the organized working class, anti-imperialist struggles, under the leadership of the Communist parties in the Marshall Plan countries make super-profits more difficult to extract. But it is clear that somebody must pay for the costs of imperialist, military aggression. And

as we know, it is not Wall Street that pays for them. That somebody is the American people. It is they who will be saddled with these costs. The main essence of Truman's Point Four Program is to underwrite all capital investments and to pay for the cost of subjugating the peoples of Asia with funds extracted through higher taxes, higher prices, longer hours and intensified speed-up, from the American working class, the farmers and all middle-class strata. The Marshall Plan funds are used for the same purpose and come from the same source. That is what is new for the working class and people of an empire-building imperialist country.

The economy of the capitalist world never fully recovered from the war economies and destruction of the Second World War. Even during the last 12 or 14 months, when production figures in the U.S. were rising, a similar rise did not take place in the Marshall Plan countries. France is a typical example of the Marshall Plan slavery. France receives less in the form of Marshall Plan aid than she has to spend for her war alliance with Wall Street. In 1949, France received 280 billion francs while her war budget was 387 billion. In 1950, aid to France totaled 250 billion francs, while she spent on war 420 billion. Now the government of the United States is demanding greater sacrifices and greater military expenditures by the Marshall Plan countries. This is one of the

great stumbling blocks in the Atlantic Pact conference now going on. Wall Street demands more, while the Marshall Plan countries in desperation beg for relief. This crisis of the Marshall Plan countries and the large-scale victorious armed struggles of the colonial peoples are the new signs of the continuing and growing general crisis of world capitalism.

Such are some of the economic effects and economic prospects that go hand in hand with a policy of imperialist aggression and empire-building.

#### OUR TASKS

It is against this background that we must now consider our tasks and duties as Communists—as Americans. Without any intention of full elaboration, let me indicate some of the approaches in certain fields of work. First among these is the 1950 elections. We must at this Plenum very sharply bring to the attention of the Party the need for correcting some erroneous conceptions that have developed about parliamentary activities at the present time as well as in relation to the period ahead. As a result of a correct warning at the last Plenum against over-emphasis on work in the electoral field, there seems to have developed some strange notions that work in election campaigns is not important now. Also because it was mentioned then that candidates are not the only, nor even the most important, factor in an elec-

tion campaign, some comrades have concluded therefore that candidates are not necessary at all. If you add to these wrong ideas the fact that there are some very real legal and technical difficulties in conducting election campaigns, it spells the danger of poor attention or no attention at all to the 1950 elections. Let me state very emphatically that we see the electoral field as an important medium of work now, and we will continue to consider it so in the future.

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During the next two months the election campaign will be one of the most, and possibly the most, important avenue of mass struggle, of mass expression. It will be one of the most important mediums for drawing masses into action around specific issues. Millions are going to be set in motion in this election campaign; millions will consider issues, debate issues and express their thoughts through this campaign. We must be in the swing of this campaign to mold the thinking, to guide the campaign on the central issues. We must lead the masses into struggle on the issues, in order to expose candidates and parties in which they have the greatest illusions. We must not desert this arena, with millions of people involved. We must not leave them to the mercy of the Trumans, Social-Democrats, and reformist trade-union bureaucrats.

How does the general election picture look? It is our opinion that

there has been no basic shift in the support of the parties and in party line-ups. Through demagogy, Truman and the Democrats are still able to maintain a following in the ranks of the working class, sections of the Negro people, of the middle classes in city and countryside. In this campaign, more than ever, the Truman, A.D.A., trade-union bureaucrat crowd will try to picture the Democratic Party as the party of "peace." They will especially make hay out of the "preventive war" talk of the Republicans. As long as these illusions continue to exist, there will be no basic swing away from support of the two old parties of Wall Street. There are a number of places, however, where the Republicans will possibly make gains.

In the 1950 elections and generally in the drive toward war and fascism, there is a very special and vicious role that the ruling class has assigned to the camp of the A.D.A. and other Social-Democrats, trade-union bureaucrats and the liberals—supporters all of the Truman Administration. In a broad historic sense, their role is similar to that of the liberals and Social-Democrats in Germany, who paved the way for Hitler. They act as the goats that lead the sheep to slaughter. Their task is to bring the reluctant masses into the war camp. They disarm the people and the working class by demagogic promises. They misguide the actions of the people into avenues of ineffectiveness. They are at the same time the

main source of enemy ideology, of fatalism, of hopelessness and of false security and complacency. Without these misleaders and demagogues, the monopolists would be in an extremely difficult position. We must give greater attention to mastering the art of exposing these agents of Wall Street. The key to this is to move the masses into action on the very issues around which these demagogues make their big promises. Only then will the masses learn to see them in their true colors. Only while the masses are in action can we effectively expose the demagogues. We need here the most skillful application of our united-front policy from below. There must be a more systematic score kept of the promises and actions of these misleaders, because they move from one period to the next, making ever new promises while forgetting the old. This group of unscrupulous and shameless demagogues is the greatest obstacle to working-class unity, to the building of a broad coalition for peace and democracy. Our efforts to remove this obstacle must be much greater and more skillful. From this specialized approach to the Democratic Party and especially to some of the groups around it, no one should draw any conclusions that the Republicans are any less dangerous. I emphasize the Democratic Party only because it is easier to expose the Republicans.

These new conditions in the United States place much greater re-

sponsibility on the shoulders of the small Progressive Party. More than ever this party will have to carry the fight for peace and democratic rights. And it has the additional responsibility of building the movement for the broad anti-monopoly, anti-fascist, anti-war party required by the situation. The Progressive Party must be given all the assistance possible, so that it may fulfill its historic responsibilities.

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Many have asked us, some for purposes of slander, others out of confusion, whether the Progressive Party is going to "take the place" of the Communist Party, if we are outlawed. The very asking of this question, of course, itself betrays ignorance of both the Progressive Party and the Communist Party. The Progressive Party has not been and is not a party of Socialism. Therefore, it cannot replace the Communist Party. Secondly, no party is going to replace the Communist Party. We have no intention of going out of business. We will face the difficulties, but we will continue to function as the Party we are—the vanguard party of the working class, the party of Socialism. It is as simple as all that. We will work with any group or party that works for peace, for democratic rights, for defense of the living standards of the working masses. On this basis we will work with the Progressive Party.

What should be the main goals

that we must try to achieve in the 1950 elections? They are the following:

First, to influence the masses into motion, into struggle, and to help them understand the issues not only in so far as they affect the elections, but as they affect life in the United States generally;

Second, to raise the struggle for peace, for democratic rights, for Negro rights, and for economic improvements, to new heights;

Third, to expose the two old parties, with a specialized approach to the Truman demagoguery and to the Social-Democratic, trade-union bureaucracy-wing of the old bourgeois parties;

Fourth, to work toward building a broad people's coalition and the Third Party movement;

Fifth, to work for the largest possible peace vote and elect wherever possible, anti-war, people's, independent, progressive, and Communist candidates; and

Sixth, to build movements of action around specific issues that arise in the election campaign.

Besides conducting the campaign on the local issues in each city and state, we should direct the attention of the people in this campaign to four main groups of issues. These are:

1. peace, and specifically the banning of the atomic bombs, recognition by the U.S. government and admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations, media-

tion in Korea, saving the United Nations and preventing World War III;

2. democratic rights, concretely preserving the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, rights of minority parties and specifically those of the Communist Party, developing movements against the unconstitutional state and city laws banning the Communist Party and other progressive organizations;

3. equal rights to the Negro people, specifically around F.E.P.C., jobs, and the ending of all discriminatory policies, including discrimination in the armed forces;

4. economic demands, specifically reducing prices and rents; not increasing, but decreasing taxes on the low-income brackets, while sharply increasing taxes on the millionaires and on billion-dollar corporations, and against the wage freeze.

If we work correctly, the 1950 elections can be a big factor in organizing and mobilizing the American people for struggle to defeat the forces of war and fascism.

I urge that all State organizations give their immediate attention to this problem.

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Now, a few general words about our approach to the economic struggles. It would seem that this is such an elementary question and that there is such a long-standing, basic, Marxist understanding of this question, that it would not be necessary

to deal with it. That, however, is not the case. During this past period two wrong concepts on this question crept into the thinking of some comrades.

Some are beginning to say that economic struggles are not so very important, if they are not from the outset connected with the struggles for peace and against fascism. Certain others are beginning to theorize that in this period economic struggles are directed against the same corporations who constitute the war makers, therefore we should not worry our little heads about making the connection between these struggles and the issues of peace and democracy, because obviously they "automatically" have that effect.

Now, of course, no one would present these ideas as crassly as I have, for the sake of emphasis, placed them here; but these thoughts did creep into our work in one form or another. Now, the fact is that there is an element of truth in both these ideas, which does not however save them from being basically erroneous.

Both of these dangers should be guarded against. Let me repeat. One, is to consider economic struggles of little or no importance unless they are from the very outset combined with anti-war and anti-fascist demands and slogans. It is the tendency either to ignore such struggles or seek *mechanically and prematurely* to achieve a combination and connection of economic and peace struggles. This Leftist-sectarian danger



would isolate the vanguard from the masses, would weaken the developing economic struggles, and would thus also weaken the fight for peace and democracy.

The other danger is the tendency to consider the economic issues and struggles *in themselves* as being sufficient to bring the masses *at some future date* to an understanding of the need of fighting for peace. From this follows a tactic of trying to keep the war and peace issues *out of the economic struggles*, of trying to confine the economic fight narrowly and exclusively to the *immediate* economic issue. This is a Right-opportunist danger. It would weaken the economic struggles themselves, because only the understanding and feeling of the masses that *their living standards are in danger* because of imperialist aggression and war preparations will impart to their daily fight for wages, etc., the necessary endurance, militancy and readiness to make sacrifices and to withstand the intimidation of the monopolies, the Administration and their labor lieutenants. This, however, means bringing in the war and peace issues in a propaganda and agitational way.

I will not go into the economic struggles further, because Comrade Williamson will speak on these questions in his report on the struggle for wages. But I do want to say a few words on an economic question that I consider of first rate importance. This is the struggle to end Jim Crow and discrimination in industry. This

is an issue where we need a new initiative, a bold approach, a fresh start, because there is something new here that needs to be seen by our Party and the trade-union movement. The demagogues give lip service to this question. We must organize a campaign of struggle around it. Our approach must be based on the outlook of winning this struggle. One of the central questions of approach must be that we should not raise this question as a war-time emergency measure which would mean that when lay-offs start, the Negro workers would be the first to be laid off again, as in the past. The details can be worked out, whether it is through the model contract or otherwise. It seems to me that now is the time to raise the issue on special provisions in contracts on seniority and lay-offs, instead of raising it when the lay-offs are already in progress.

We should also take the initiative to end discrimination and to end both Jim Crow and "lily-white" departments and trades. The Party organizations of every city and state should organize a concrete plan to launch and conduct this fight. To start, we should discard all ideas that the fight for these economic gains will further strengthen the illusions about the economic advantages of war. These are ideological questions that we must hammer home during, and in the process of, the struggle, and not allow these concepts to paralyze us into inactivity until we have thought

through all of the answers to these ideological questions.

### THE PARTY

Finally, comrades, I want to speak a little more concretely on some specific phases of our Party's work, keeping in mind the new conditions and tasks we face. We, of course, are not meeting the new conditions completely untested. We can all be very proud of our Party and its work during this last period. And we already have behind us a very difficult period, with some very valuable experiences to draw on. We have by and large charted a correct course. Our ranks have remained almost without defections. Yes, it is true there were some tendencies to swing to extremes and to develop some one-sidedness in our work, but these were halted and corrected in time.

But to meet severer tests and to prepare for even sharper struggles, we need further to Bolshevize our ranks. But before going into some of the concrete problems, let me emphasize again that we must and will fight for every legal possibility that exists. We are going to do so now, and if the bills go through Congress, we are going to fight to make as difficult as possible the application of these new laws, which violate even the limited bourgeois legality and outlaw the Constitution.

While preparing to work under the worst conditions, we must guard against moving into such conditions prematurely; this would harm the

fight for legality. Even if the bills are passed in Congress, it does not necessarily mean that this completely ends the legal existence of our Party. We are not going to close shop. We are not going to close our offices; we will do everything to prevent the enemy from doing so. This realistic approach should not be confused with legalistic illusions that exist in our ranks. At a certain point the fight for legality becomes a rearguard action, while the Party and the working class prepare for new positions to resist and defend the Bill of Rights, the gains and organizations of the labor movement, the living standards of the people and of peace. Some of the difficulties we face now are due to a long-time weakness of reliance on bourgeois legality. If we had always kept in mind that, under the best conditions, legality of a Communist Party under capitalism means in reality only semi-legality, we would not be facing some of the problems that we face today. In many states and cities the Party is outlawed, and everywhere we must work with the perspective that there is a great danger that this will become a national phenomenon very shortly. With this in mind I want to say a few words on some specific questions:

1. First, a word about Party structure. There are some ideas creeping in at this time that the Party, under the new conditions, will not have a definite system of organization, that instead there will be groups and individuals in a loosely-put-together

apparatus, without any system of organization. These are dangerous liquidationist ideas. The Party must have a system of organization at all times. The system will change but must not be liquidated. Because we have not seriously enough fought for the Leninist concept of membership, for the need of a member being active in a Party organization, in a club, such liquidationist ideas have become especially dangerous now.

In this respect, two weaknesses in our work become evident. First, our influence is not wide or broad enough. In other words, we do not influence enough people in a way that we can organize and lead them in action. Secondly, we are not organized in a fashion to enable us to move into action even all of those we already influence. In other words, we at no time have been able to move into action the full influence of the Party.

The very good work our Party has been conducting on the world peace petition clearly indicated to us both of these weaknesses. We are not so organized as to be able to draw into the work of collecting signatures all those whom we influence. The peace petition signature activity has also indicated very clearly that our influence is not wide enough in terms of the possibilities in this period. Our Party organizations, clubs and sections must be so organized that they will be able to exert mass influence in such a way as to be able to organize and lead masses in action.

2. We must reorganize our work so that we put an end to a certain division in our Party between those who do so-called Party work, and those who carry on mass work. In today's conditions especially such a division may have disastrous consequences. There must be only a very minimum, nationally, or in the districts, of comrades whose main time is spent within the Party apparatus. The bulk of our membership and leadership must function in a combination of both elements of Party work. Our connections and influence with the masses must be many-sided. Our women comrades, for example, whether shop workers, office workers or housewives, must be tied to and influence masses of women, whether in the neighborhoods or in women's organizations.

Our young comrades must be in contact with and influence youth whether in the social club, or sports organization. Our Negro comrades, besides generally having influence in a shop or union, must be in contact with and influence Negro masses, whether in the neighborhood organizations or churches. The same applies to our national group comrades, and to everybody in our Party. This rooting the Party in the masses is a very important factor in making the Party indestructible.

3. Like other Communist parties in the past, I am sure we are going to learn and benefit from our new difficulties. It may well be that we will learn many things the hard way,

which we have failed to learn the easy way. Amongst these will be the need to make the working class and the trade unions in general and the workers in basic industries in particular, our main base of work. In spite of everything we have said or resolved, industrial concentration has not become the central feature of our work; and if anyone has any idea that under the new conditions we will not have to fight for a policy of consolidating a working-class base for a working-class Party, he is very much mistaken.

In this connection, let me say a word about the work of our shop clubs and trade-union cadres, generally. The single greatest weakness that has been with us for a long time can be characterized as lingering opportunism in the content of our trade-union work. This work largely still remains on a trade-union level. We do not give political answers to developments. Let me give you an example of this. One of the facts that spurred the rank-and-file workers in the struggles for immediate wage increases was fear of the wage freeze. Our comrades were very active in the development of this movement, and very vigorously championed the need for a wage increase. But there is not one example where we took advantage of this concern with the wage freeze by the workers to explain how it is connected with the war drive; how the wage freeze is planned for a time when the working class is in the best

position to bargain for higher wages, when there is a labor shortage; how this is connected with the struggle for the future of the trade-union movement. These are questions the workers would have very readily wanted to hear about and discuss because they were concerned with the wage freeze, but we merrily went along with the usual, economist, trade-union approach to this problem.

4. Our shop clubs have a very difficult task of safeguarding their members from company stoolpigeons, government agents and the reactionary trade-union officialdom. Even if this does not seem to be an immediate problem in some shops, I strongly urge that our comrades work on the basis that it is an immediate problem; otherwise there will be no assurances about the future. Our comrades must learn to surround themselves with the most advanced elements in their shops and trade unions. "Going-out-on-the-limb," without support and in isolation from the workers, is not giving leadership, and in present conditions can be very damaging.

I hope that no comrade draws the conclusions from this that I am hinting that our comrades should remain silent and not give leadership. What I am saying is that our comrades in the shops must learn to function differently and accomplish greater results than in the past.

5. One of the objectives the war-bent bourgeoisie aided by the labor bureaucracy, is concentrating upon—with considerable success—is the ob-

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scuring of class lines and the whipping up of a false front of "national unity" as the supposed answer to the crisis which it itself is bringing upon the country. Part of this campaign is the effort to isolate our Party by falsely painting it as an "agency with foreign loyalties" which supplants concern for domestic welfare. This of course includes the chauvinist libel of "un-American" leveled against those who express their kinship with the world advance of the working class and toiling people toward peace, national liberation and Socialism.

We need to do a great deal more to put the spotlight on the *class* character of the questions at issue everywhere today and to bind ourselves more closely with masses of American workers who need leadership to make effective, in their own interests, their pent-up resentment and opposition to the dark prospects Wall Street holds out for them. This does not mean abandoning the middle classes or any other anti-fascist or peace-seeking sections of the population; but it does mean winning them to act for peace and democracy under working-class leadership by showing that they have no future in the program of the dominant bourgeoisie.

6. A word about criticism and self-criticism. I think we have to say self-critically that we have never fully understood or mastered this concept of Communist work and leadership. Because of this there are indications in the thinking on the part of some

comrades that we shall not be able to continue the method of criticism and self-criticism in our work in this difficult period. All such ideas are wrong. The fact that it is more difficult only means that the leadership must fight more stubbornly to achieve this indispensable Leninist method of work. We must make doubly sure that we have an atmosphere of the free exchange of ideas. And because of the difficulties we must make even greater efforts to get the thinking of our comrades in the clubs.

Even under the most adverse conditions we must work out systems whereby the membership can record their views and take part in formulating policies. Comrades must feel that their ideas count. Today the membership is too much on the receiving end of directives. We cannot build confidence in our leadership and develop Party cadres this way. Criticism and self-criticism make for good team work. In this period we need it more than ever. We will hit at factionalists and rumor-mongers who try to take advantage of the difficulties, but we must guard against any tendencies toward bureaucratic methods of work.

As we are moving to work in a more difficult period it is very necessary for us to pay special attention to our cadres and cadre development. We must be ready boldly but with mature consideration to promote comrades that show promise in these new conditions. And we must be ready to demote and release those

that show weakness. Good qualities as well as bad ones that could go unnoticed for years come rapidly to the surface in times such as these. Above all, we must not permit cadres to float, not knowing what the Party wants of them, where they are going, what they are going to do. The Party must work out a perspective and outlook with each cadre. This should be done immediately. If we do not, we are going to demoralize and lose many good forces.

As some tendencies have developed to draw into a shell, so also some ideas have cropped up about the united-front tactic being a tactic for peaceful periods. While expressions of this type have been very few, the fact remains that there is a decline in united-front actions or movements. This decline has resulted mainly from a decline in efforts by our Party to initiate and develop united-front actions.

If in any period we must master this Leninist tactic, this method of leadership, it is now. Our very life as a Party, as the vanguard, depends on this. The enemy's plan does not call for outlawing of the Communist Party as an end in itself but for the purpose of isolating our Party from the working class and the people.

Let me give you by way of an example one of the more difficult issues we must learn to handle in leading masses, in building united-front actions. I want to use this example because it indicates the type of issues we shall have to deal with

in this period.

In the struggle for peace our comrades work with women who are worried about atomic warfare. But these women are concerned with two aspects of the question. They will join to demand that atomic bombs be outlawed; but they also want to see that bomb shelters are built. They want to know the attitude of our women comrades to this. Should our comrades say build schools — not bomb shelters, or that the Soviet Union will not drop bombs unless they are attacked, and let it go at that? Both answers make sense—but they do not fully satisfy the women who also want bomb shelters. It is clear our comrades have to go along with the bomb shelter projects and in the process raise the level of struggle against imperialist war to new heights. We are going to face many similar problems. And, of course, it would be just as fatal a mistake to work only for bomb shelters, without using the movement to drive home a more basic understanding of the struggle for peace, or the character of the war.

A number of weaknesses have made their appearance in this last period under the guise and pretext that these are new conditions, weaknesses that by no stretch of the imagination can be explained by that excuse.

In this category, I want to place the struggle against white chauvinism. There can be no such conditions of work where we will accept the

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influence of a vicious enemy ideology in our ranks, without a systematic and sustained struggle against it. There must be no letup in the struggle against white chauvinism.

Party building is another of these questions. Somehow or other the idea has crept in that the question of building the Party is of no importance in this period. Yes, the standards of membership in the Party have changed and will change. But we will, and we must, permit the best our class produces, in the period of sharpening struggle, to join our Party. Outside of the stool-pigeons who may sneak in, the workers who join our ranks in this period are invaluable additions to our Party.

There are also some very serious and dangerous tendencies to do away with youth work, with youth organizations. We need to give greater attention and leadership to mobilizing the youth of our nation in the struggle for peace, for democratic rights on the basis of the concrete problems of the youth. We must categorically end all ideas of liquidating youth forms and youth organizations.

The difficulties of this period must under no circumstances become an obstacle to the unremitting effort on the part of all of us to improve our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, to

further our mastery of the indestructible and triumphant science of the emancipation of the working class. In this period it is necessary to place particular emphasis on individual study as the decisive method and task for sharpening and raising to new heights the political understanding of all our cadres. Sea-going men do not neglect or throw away their compasses when they enter uncharted stormy waters. We must not neglect *our* unfailing compass, our tried and tested instrument, Marxism-Leninism, which enables us to find our bearings, to hew to the course of inevitable victory, to overcome every obstacle and master every difficulty.

We have been given a big assignment by history—the responsibility to lead the working class and its allies in the struggle to change the war-like and fascism-breeding course, and ultimately to defeat the most powerful capitalist class in the world. But because of the historic moment, because of the world-shaking victories already won by our class, because of the confidence we have in the working class and the people of the United States, our Communist Party, though today still small, can confidently face the future with a perspective of victory in our time.

# ... The Sovereignty of the American People Cannot Be Revoked by Any Act of Congress

Statement of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.\*

IN DEFIANCE of the people's democratic will and over the President's veto, Congress has passed the McCarran-Kilgore legislative blueprint for fascism and given its sanction to the destruction of the Bill of Rights.

Many Americans are asking if all is now lost and if this means that fascism has come to power in the United States.

No, all is not lost. No, fascism has not come to power.

On the contrary, the struggle to defend the Bill of Rights has entered a new stage. It will go on. And it can be won.

The dramatic last hours of Senate debate showed that popular opposition to pro-fascist repression has grown with the people's understanding of what is at stake. It showed that the bill could have been defeated, if Truman and his A.F.L. and C.I.O supporters had made a real effort to rally the people. And if Truman's majority leaders had been

forced by the President to vote against what even he admits is thought-control and a mockery of his claim to, moral leadership of the "free nations."

The people's resistance to this bill will continue to grow, for any effort to put this vicious law into effect will inevitably raise up an ever more resolute and united resistance against it.

The immediate danger is that the American people will temporarily fall victim to the moods of fatalism and hysterical fear which the sponsors of the McCarran-Kilgore bill seek to create. The law provides a host of methods for restricting all political activity for the advancement of peace, the economic welfare of the workers, the rights of the Negro people, etc. These methods involve lengthy processes, which can be contested every step of the way. But the danger is that individuals and organizations, through fear and confusion, will curtail their own activities and yield ground which can and must be defended.

To be stampeded, or to make a stand in defense of the Bill of Rights,

\* Text of the statement by William Z. Foster, Gus Hall, John Williamson and Henry Winston, in behalf of the Communist Party of the United States, made on September 23, immediately following passage by the Senate of the McCarran Bill.



that is the question which all people's leaders and organizations must now answer.

We Communists are not going to be stampeded. We are not going to dig a hole for the Bill of Rights, and crawl into it. We urge all our fellow Americans to come out fighting, and to fight together.

This is a time to build and strengthen all democratic organizations of labor and the people. This is the time to stand up for all our cherished democratic rights, and to bulwark them by courageous united action. This is the time for all who hate fascism to act together, regardless of their political differences.

The trade unions should continue and intensify their economic struggles, and redouble their efforts to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. The Negro people should fortify their growing unity, press their demands for a real civil rights program, and cement their bonds with labor and all their allies. There should be no yielding to this new attempt to intimidate all who seek peaceful alternatives to atomic world war. On the contrary, the struggle for peace should rally new supporters as this fascist war measure makes clear the hypocrisy of the bipartisan claim to leadership of the "free nations" and the real aims of the Wall Street imperialists.

The Congress of the United States has violated the basic law of our land. Let the people of the United States uphold the Constitution and the Bill of Rights!

Congress has given the forces of fascism license to impose a rule of terror. Let the people revoke this license, and check the drive to fascism!

Congress has decreed the outlawing of the Communist Party and all so-called "front" organizations. Let the people unite in action to bar the further advance of pro-fascist reaction!

The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, and the Fugitive Slave law of the 1850's were rendered null and altogether without force by the popular will. The sovereignty of the American people cannot be revoked by any act of Congress. Let the people unite to nullify the McCarran-Kilgore police state bill and call a halt to its enforcement.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,  
National Chairman  
GUS HALL,  
National Secretary  
JOHN WILLIAMSON,  
Labor Secretary  
HENRY WINSTON,  
Organization Secretary

# The Fight to Repeal the Legislative Blueprint for Fascism

By William Weinstone

## I

SEPTEMBER 13, 1950, will be long remembered as a day of infamy and treachery when the Constitution and Bill of Rights received mortal blows at the hands of the war-mad Senate in a session described even by the Red-baiting *New York Post* as a "chamber of horrors." It was a day when the ghost of Hitler stalked through the "Millionaires' Club" and the hydra-headed McCarran-Mundt-Kilgore Bill was passed, effacing democratic rights for large sections of our people and clamping down police-state rule more tightly than ever upon the United States. This fascist-like onslaught on the Bill of Rights was executed by a conspiracy of rabid democracy-hating Big Business Republicans in alliance with pro-Franco, lynch-law Dixiecrats cunningly aided and abetted by the treacherous, double-dealing, Truman-Wall Street Administration.

This gestapo legislation which comes on the crest of a new tidal wave of repression, unleashed since the Truman-MacArthur aggression in Korea, sharply points up the in-

creasing danger of world war. The warning of Gus Hall, National Secretary of the Communist Party, in his report to the March, 1950, National Committee meeting, has been fully confirmed. He said then:

Each additional step toward war is prepared by a step toward fascism at home. . . . How else can the people be forced to pay, suffer, sacrifice and die for a cause that is unjust? . . . It is because of this that the fascist danger has increased in our country during the last six months, a fact that is most dramatically brought to us in the rush to pass the Mundt Bill.\*

The omnibus McCarran law has been adequately described in the *Daily Worker* and in *The Worker*. We need to give here only a *top outline* of the measure as modified and worsened by the joint House and Senate conference.

1. The law includes the fascist Mundt-Nixon registration bill, fought and defeated by mass pressure in several sessions of Congress. This section of the law calls for the registration of the Communist Party and its members and of so-called

\* *Political Affairs*, May 1950, pp. 18-19.

"Communist-front" organizations, who by registering would declare, in flat violation of all truth, that they are foreign agents aiming forcibly to overthrow the government of the United States and to set up a "totalitarian dictatorship."

Other parts of the Mundt-Nixon sections of the law would make it a crime to conspire "to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship." This and similar clauses in the law by their deliberately loose and general wording aroused even in many bourgeois newspapers throughout the land the charge of "dragnet" and "blunderbuss" legislation. Typical of the many statements from such sources is the following from the *San Francisco Journal* of September 3: ". . . the new Mundt Bill is a pattern for a noose that could be fitted to the neck of any individual belonging to any group, not because that individual was guilty of a provable act of subversion but because he was capable of being singled out for the mere act of belonging to a minority group."

A board of five appointed by the President would have power to determine finally which organization is a "Communist front." Provision for appeal to a court against the decision of the Board and trial by jury—intimidated juries—be it said, would remain in force.

2. The Act would deny employment to Communists not only in

government but also in private industry engaged on a so-called "defense facility" which is defined to include the transportation system and other plants and institutions so designated by the Secretary of Defense. Since a considerable number of plants are already working on defense jobs, if enforced, this would throw onto the streets large numbers of people, Communists and progressive working people generally who can be accused of Communist sympathies. It authorizes the screening of officials and workers in defense plants and thereby aims to step up and let loose a reign of terror in the shops, and thus further undermine free unionism.

3. The law embodies the Hobbs Concentration Camp bill which the arch-reactionaries had for ten years fought in vain to enact. This provision would imprison non-citizens who are Communists or identified with so-called Communist-front organizations, who have already been ordered deported but whose countries of birth or other countries will not give them haven.

4. The McCarran Law includes the Kilgore Concentration Camp measure which empowers the Attorney General to round up and intern all Communists or others "of whom there is reasonable ground to believe [that they] probably [!] will engage or probably will conspire to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage." This section would go into force whenever a national emergency is

declared, such as "declaration of war by Congress" or "invasion of the territory of the United States or its possessions," or in case of "insurrection within the United States in aid of a foreign enemy." Trial by jury for persons so detained is abolished.

#### PARLIAMENTARY FARCE

The cynical trampling on the Constitution and the fascist character of the Act was acknowledged and voiced by the Senators themselves in the turbulent debate of the last few days preceding the vote. To conceal the blatant police-state character of their own measure which was the heart of the McCarran Bill, the fascist-minded gang behind Mundt put on the mantle of Constitutionalism and strutted in the Chamber as true Democrats. Mundt indignantly charged the Kilgore measure (with the truth that is bared when thieves fall out) as a startling program for the "establishment of concentration camps into which people might be put without benefit of trial," . . . which "creates a swarm of Gestapo agents" and which is "worse than thought control." The arch-reactionary Ferguson called the same proposal "a grievous departure from those basic guarantees of liberty which are in the Constitution" and as abolishing "due process of law, trial by jury, right to face witnesses."

On the other hand, Senator Lehman, who supported the Kilgore measure, warned the Senate that the

Mundt-McCarran proposals would outlaw thoughts and beliefs and were of a police-state nature. He pleaded that "those nations and peoples abroad who call themselves free and the peoples who aspire to freedom will be disheartened if we in this country *move in the direction of a police state*" (emphasis mine—W. W.).

Other Truman Administration spokesmen, such as Senator Lucas, attacked the Mundt provisions, branding the McCarran Bill "as clearly subject to the gravest and most dangerous misuse." Senator Humphreys dubbed it "a catch-all . . . spray gun, spraying the entire American scene and hoping to hit something." Senator Douglas criticized it as "having vague provisions . . . [which] would permit individuals to be unjustly singled out for punishment."

The Senators began the debate with violent differences on every major point, and with thunderous mutual accusations of unconstitutionality, and ended with perfect concurrence in each other's propositions. When the shouting was over, the speeches made, with the third act drawing to a close and the curtain about to fall, what seemed a dramatic conflict turned into a parliamentary farce; the opponents embraced, joined forces, accepted each other's "unconstitutional provisions" with reassurances that some little changes here and there would "conform the bill to the constitution." As if poison ceases

to be poison when a little sugar is added to the deadly mess. Such was the manner in which the gestapo legislation was passed; of course, in the name of the sacred defense of democratic institutions!

The Big Business moguls and their politicians who shout so much about "democracy," who sent the "freedom train" over the land with precious documents of two hundred years of battle for liberty and who claim that they are the world's guardians of democracy, have revealed themselves in their true colors. They have shown what reactionary humbugs they are, what small regard they have for our democratic heritage, for the American Constitution, for liberty, for human rights and human dignity. They have revealed themselves as police-state men.

This is a salutary lesson which will not soon be lost on the people. It is bound to teach them that the capitalists and their politicians, who never granted real democracy for the people (least of all for the Negro people) reduces, restricts, nullifies and discards even the limited bourgeois rights of capitalist society when such rights can be used by the people as a weapon of defense against the encroachments of the big capitalists, the war schemers.

Never was it so clear as today that upon the working class, leading its allies the Negro people, small farmers and toiling city folk depends the fate of democracy.

### WHAT ARE THE AIMS OF REACTION?

The passage of the McCarran Bill confirms what the Communist Party has declared all along, namely, that the anti-Communist drive cannot and will not be limited to Communists.

The Communists are especially singled out for attack first of all because they are staunch fighters for peace against a ruling class gone war mad; because they are unyielding battlers for democracy against a bourgeoisie which is turning to fascism and hates and fears every vestige of democracy. The Communists are the chief target of reaction because they are the most advanced forces of the working class; because they strive to unify the people in struggle for their pressing immediate political and economic needs against a monopolist class whose greed for profits knows no bounds. The monopolists fear and hate the Communists most, because they will not sell out their principles, because they are courageous and self-sacrificing in championing the cause of Socialism which will be victorious throughout the world.

But while the main edge of the onslaught is directed against the Communists, it is clearer than ever that reaction in the McCarran Act and in the anti-Communist crusade is seeking to speed the destruction of all working-class, militant, progressive organizations, and to gag all decent people.

Out of this entire struggle, ad-

missions of this truth have been forced even from conservative, capitalist journals.

### DANGER TO LABOR UNIONS

What has not been stressed with sufficient force is the menace of these laws to the labor unions. The formulation of the Act, as well as experience, already shows that the McCarrans, Mundts and Nixons want to intimidate, repress, silence and *destroy all working-class and people's organizations, including the labor unions*. In fact the unions are one of the main targets of this legislation. The leaders of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. have pointed this out in talking of the "buckshot" character of the legislation, and Philip Murray has declared specifically that the Mundt Bill constitutes a "definite threat to bona fide labor organizations" (*C.I.O. News*, August 21, 1950).

The McCarran Law is the law of the trusts; the Mundt provisions embodied principles long advocated and campaigned for by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, the most bitter enemies of organized labor.

The big bourgeoisie never reconciled itself to unions, especially in mass production industries. The Taft-Hartley Law was the first postwar step seriously weakening labor unions. The McCarran Law is the second long step taken for their destruction.

True, the unions are not directly

attacked in this measure—that would be too dangerous in arousing the workers. The McCarran elements, aided by the Trumanites, will try by means of it, however, to make the unions accommodate themselves and surrender completely to the dictates of Big Business.

The reactionaries will seek to intimidate and arrest local union leaders, stewards and even rank-and-file workers of progressive-led unions (if they do not declare such unions outright subversive) as well as those of reformist-led unions. They will use the fake testimony and stoolpigeon frame-ups that such militant workers are "secret" Communists or are contributing "substantially to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship," whenever workers press their demands militantly. In that way they will try to push forward reactionary, careerist, company elements into leadership and reduce the unions to a labor front of Big Business. Never has the century-old heritage of America's labor movement been so jeopardized as it is today.

### POLICE-STATE REACTION

The McCarran Act will greatly increase the size and activities of the F.B.I., the number of whose agents is already five times what it was in 1937.

This measure will further stimulate the terrorist activity of the Ku Klux Klan and would-be storm troop elements in the communities, and it will embolden the Dixiecrats and

ultra-reactionary, fascist elements of the McCarthy, Wood, Rankin variety in Congress who are already playing a sinister and enormous role in the government.

The sum total effect of the catch-all McCarran Act therefore means a monstrous increase in the suppression of democratic rights and worsened police-state reaction. It is a tremendous and alarming step toward fascism, which is "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most imperialist, most chauvinist elements." As the French Communist leader, Maurice Thorez, stated in 1935:

Fascism means sanguinary terror against the working class, the destruction of workers' organizations, the dissolution of the trade unions, the suppression of the Communist parties, the mass arrest of workers and revolutionaries, the torturing and assassination of the best sons of the working class.

While it does not yet constitute fascism, the passage of the McCarran Bill increases enormously the danger of fascist dictatorship on these shores.

## II

The responsibility for the passage of the bill and for the mounting assault on democratic liberties falls squarely on the two parties of Wall Street; both on the reactionary Republicans and on the Dixiecrats and Truman Democrats. Nor can the reactionary labor bureaucrats, Social Democrats and pro-war liberals es-

cape their responsibilities. Of course, the role played by the "labor lieutenants of capital" in helping along reaction and fascism cannot be the same as that of their imperialist masters. If they acted in the same way, they would be too easily exposed and would be of no use to the monopolists. The labor bureaucrats several times declared their opposition to the Mundt-Ferguson bills in resolutions and by delegations at hearings. But they *did not mobilize the masses against them*, did not hold mass meetings, demonstrations or parades as they did under Left-wing and rank-and-file pressure against the Taft-Hartley Bill. They, of course, never thought of protest strikes, God forbid! Had the labor leaders resorted to militant mass protests, the story of the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarran Act would be entirely different.

But aside from failing to mobilize the masses, the labor barons helped along the attacks on democratic rights by their support to the Truman anti-Communist measures, thereby justifying the drive of reaction. Philip Murray, in his statement urging the President to veto the McCarran bill, spoke the language of the McCarranites and referred to the Communists as "traitors to both America and the American labor movement," affirming at the same time that "it [the C.I.O.] supports any measures necessary to guarantee the security of our democratic system against these totalitarians" (*New*

*York Times*, September 22).

On the surface, in opposing the McCarran Bill and supporting the Truman proposals, Murray seemed to be favoring less reactionary (hardly less!) as against more reactionary measures, an expression of the policy of the "lesser evil." But what came of it was the usual result of this treacherous policy—the people got both the "lesser" and the greater evil—in this case both the Truman-Kilgore and the McCarran-Mundt measures. Inevitably so. For, how can reaction and fascism be stopped by a craven policy which spreads the fascist slander that Communists are "traitors" and gives blank-check support to the Administration "for any measures" which it finds essential to take "against these totalitarians"? Moreover, how seriously can Congress take the "opposition" of labor leaders who have chained and riveted themselves to the Truman-Hoover-Dulles war chariot and can be counted upon "loyally" to go along at all costs with the war makers? How serious, indeed, can the opposition be of labor leaders who, through expulsions and splits, on the false grounds of "Communism" have weakened the unions whose unity and strength are indispensable for effective action against fascist legislation?

#### TRUMANITES ARE RESPONSIBLE

The crime of the Trumanites is full and complete. The bills were spearheaded by the tory Republicans and Dixiecrats. But the Trumanites,

led, stimulated or aided directly and indirectly the whole vicious onslaught on civil rights.

The Administration, which initiated the anti-Communist drive with the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, has been chiefly responsible for the anti-Communist crusade that reached a fever pitch of hysteria with its launching of aggressive war against the Korean people.

The Administration established the "loyalty" oaths, voted for and backed up the witch-hunting un-American committee, helped pass the Taft-Hartley Law and then reneged on its promise of repeal, tried and convicted the framed-up leaders of the Communist Party and imprisoned its General Secretary, Eugene Dennis.

It was the Truman Supreme Court which issued the outrageous decision on May 8 of this year, upholding the anti-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law, and gave the green light to fresh attacks on labor. It carried through the reign of terror on the foreign-born. It has betrayed its promises to the Negro people to enact a civil rights program, to curb lynching and discrimination while the Dixiecrats and Ku Klux Klan forces with whom it works have carried out increasing violence against the Negro people.

Local Democrats, as well as Republicans, have raided Communist headquarters, as in Pennsylvania, and banned the Communist Party in a number of cities. The Democrat O'Dwyer prohibited the use of Union



Square for a public meeting for the first time in 100 years. Truman's Attorney General withdrew bail for Harry Bridges and initiated similar action against the Communist eleven. And Truman-appointed judges have clapped "contempt" citations upon attorneys courageously exercising their professional and democratic rights in defending their clients.

Is there any doubt then of the responsibility with the Republican Party on the part of the Democrats for the McCarran Act? Two-hundred-eleven Democratic Party Congressmen, including many Trumanites, supported the Wood Bill—the House equivalent of the Senate Mundt-Nixon measure. In the Senate 38 Democrats voted for the McCarran measure, including such Trumanite leaders as Lucas and Myers, as well as Senators Magnuson, McMahon, O'Mahoney, Thomas, Chavez, Humphreys and Douglas.

The opposition votes by no means reflected the vast and growing opposition among the people. The mass of labor and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie were against the bill. This led the Administration to declare in the last weeks of the campaign their opposition to its registration provision. Truman, in fact, issued a statement demagogically warning against hysteria and the danger of creating "a country where everyone lives in fear."

However, after these brave words, Truman proceeded to introduce his own registration bill, which among

other things, would require aliens subject to deportation to report regularly, and would demand that "persons who have received instruction from a foreign government or political party in espionage or subversive tactics to register" (*N. Y. Times*, Aug. 9, 1950). These registration and control measures, although not as sweeping as the Mundt and Hobbs bills, were severe blows at civil rights and right up the alley of the McCarranites. On top of that, the Trumanite Kilgore introduced his internment measure favoring "preventive arrest" of Nazi memory.

These Truman proposals were intended to quiet the well-founded fears expressed by some capitalist papers that the McCarran bill was too crass in its unconstitutionality and would too openly accelerate the pace of fascization. In view of the breadth of opposition to this bill, that section of the bourgeois press feared a weakening of the mass base of support at home and the exposure abroad of the fakery of the Truman Administration's claim to be the champion of "democracy" against "totalitarianism."

These proposals also were intended to put at rest the fear that sections of the Democrats would be hit by the buckshot clauses of the Mundt Bill, as they undoubtedly will. The aim of the Trumanites, therefore, was the same as that of the Mundts—to repress and outlaw the Communist Party, but to regulate the speed of fascization, and above all to fool the

people by trying to retain a *façade of democracy*. Lehman reminded his colleagues in the Senate that there was no need openly to repress ideas. The McCarran proposals were unnecessary according to him because the Smith Act, under which the Communist Party was framed "makes membership in the Communist Party *prima facie* evidence of criminal intent."

That was a clear and broad hint that the way to outlaw the Communists was through the application of the Smith Act and by means of further indictments and arrests, as well as by the series of bans, curbs and repressions on local and state scales now spreading through the country. This dependence on the Smith Act did not, however, deter Lehman *et al.* from pressing for the concentration camp measure of Senator Kilgore.

Thus, the difference between the Trumanites and the more open reactionaries like Mundt and Nixon was not one of substance but of tactics, of form, of pace—in realizing the policies of Big Business. Yes, despite these differences and the announcement of Truman on September 8 that he would veto the McCarran Bill, the Trumanites voted for it on September 13, completely and abjectly joining up with the McCarran-Mundt forces. They joined again in voting to override the veto, which the President issued only for the record and to "appease" and deceive the masses.

The President did not wish to de-

feat the measure. This is evident from his whole policy and from the fact that he made no real effort to rally Congress, his party, or the people to sustain the veto.

Thus, as on the Taft-Hartley issue, the Administration, despite wide opposition among the masses, helped carry that measure. Indeed, it has become *the* formula to feint at vetoes while abetting the bills.

#### WHY THE DOUBLE DEAL?

Why this double-dealing? Why this running with the hares and hunting with the hounds?

Election politics, fear of the Republican cry that the Democrats were making concessions to the Communists in the coming elections, were, of course, a factor.

But the principal reason for the wholesale adoption of the McCarran measure was that the Trumanites are reactionaries, have made anti-Communism the banner of their imperialist foreign policy; because the Democratic Party belongs body and soul to Big Business; it is one of the two arms of imperialist, parasitic Wall Street, carrying out its orders. Of course, it stands to reason that in this two-party system, the two component parties have a division of labor. In political essence and basic class control identical, the two parties vary, however, in the social strata that make up their base of support as well as in formal aspects of program, tactics and party methodology. Thus the

Democratic Party draws its main voting strength from labor, the Negro people, city middle classes and national groups; yet it is not these social strata which control and determine its policies.

Not labor, not the liberals, not the A.D.A.-ers, (whose policy supports Wall Street) but the big bourgeoisie controls Truman's policies. The big vote in the House and Senate for the McCarran bill in the face of the vast opposition of the people shows how powerfully Big Business is entrenched in Congress, in the Republican and Democratic parties.

Never was it clearer that labor and progressive-minded Negro and white masses who support the Democratic Party cannot express their desires through this party. They need a united independent mass labor and people's party, if they are to save democracy, peace and prevent fascism.

Wall Street, despite the opposition of vast numbers of Americans, has decided to speed up fascism in the interests of its war program. Wall Street calculates that by the maneuvers and stage thunder of the Democrats in the debates and other Truman trickery, Big Business through the Democratic Party will be able to retain mass support. Moreover, it figures it can count on the activities of its lackeys, the labor barons, to hoodwink the workers. And where this is insufficient, as it will be, they count on repression and war intimidation to keep the masses in line.

Such are the calculations of Big Business which spring from desperate aims and growing difficulties of its position.

As Stalin teaches, the bourgeoisie resorts to fascist methods of rule not because of mere desire but because of necessity. In the period of the general crisis of capitalism, Big Business is driven to desperate means in order to ensure for itself a mass base for the exercise of its class rule. It resorts to fascist methods solely because of the extreme aggravation of all the contradictions of the capitalist system. Stalin teaches that fascism is not only a sign of weakness of the proletariat but a sign of weakness of the bourgeoisie also.

The passage of the bill foreshadows new adventures, new provocations and new efforts to spread the Korean war into a world war. The stepped-up fascist attacks reflect the growing difficulties and desperation of the war-minded ruling class. Back of these bills is fear and hatred of the strengthening peace camp at home and abroad.

### III

Reaction has won a big victory, but the battle against repression and the danger of fascism goes on. The unconstitutionality and the police-state nature of the measure passed by Congress have aroused broad and increasing opposition. The sentiment for resistance to the onslaughts on civil rights is widespread. The movement for nullification and repeal is strong.

What is essential is the setting up of a united fighting front for the nullification and repeal of the gestapo legislation, for vetoing them by the will and strength of the people.

What is needed is the widest people's coalition to defend the Bill of Rights, to halt the advance of fascism, to defeat the accumulating attacks on civil rights, to defend the unions and people's organizations, to defend and aid every victim of the increasing repression.

The front of struggle must and can be broad—for the opposition to the bill has come from the mass of the workers, the Negro people, middle class strata as well as some conservatives.

The list of organizations nationally and locally which opposed the measure is too numerous to mention. A partial list of the national organizations which expressed their opposition directly or through their officers includes the A. F. of L., C.I.O., the progressive-led and many other independent unions, the N.A.A.C.P., National Association of Colored Women, American Civil Liberties Union, Civil Rights Congress, Americans for Democratic Action, Liberal Party of New York, Jewish Labor Committee, Progressive Party, Communist Party, National Farmers Union, Methodist Federation for Social Action, Baptist Ministers Conference, Union of Hebrew Congregations, International Workers Order, National Lawyers' Guild, Jewish War Veterans, American Jewish Congress, National Coun-

cil of Jewish Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, Methodist Episcopal Church Youth Group, Junior Hadassah, Young Progressives of America, Baptist Youth Conference and Labor Youth League. The list is far from complete.

On the basis of issues, general and local, single and varied, the united-front movement for democracy will develop. It can and will develop as a grass-roots movement from below, in the neighborhoods, trade unions and people's organizations everywhere.

Irrespective of differences on other issues—war, politics, religion, etc., the defense movement can enlist the support of people of all walks of life—Republican, Democrat, liberal, Socialist, Communist, Catholic, Protestant, Jew, women and youth, Negro and white and members of diverse organizations and opinions.

To achieve such a wide fighting front, the Communists must counteract two dangers that affect the labor and progressive movements and even the ranks of the Party.

One is the underestimation of the drive to fascism and the extent of the mounting repression. This expresses itself in parliamentary or constitutional illusions, in the failure to see that the drive is directed not only at Communists but at the unions and at the democratic forces of the people generally. This attitude underestimates the viciousness of American

Big Business and Southern plantation owners, notorious for their savagery in strike struggles, against the foreign born, and especially against the Negro people. It underestimates the brutality of a parasitic imperialist bourgeoisie which has become the center of world reaction and is growing more and more frenzied as its war drive presses on. This attitude leads to insufficient mass mobilization and struggle, and underestimates the need to take timely measures to defend the Party and to ensure its continuation and activities under all difficulties.

The second danger, which at this moment is the greater, is fatalism and passivity in the face of the attack. This danger springs in part from the unprecedented benumbing character of the onslaught and from inexperience with such a difficult period. Chiefly it arises from an overestimation of the strength of Big Business and from an underestimation of the strength of the world camp of peace, and of the strength, willingness and ability of the masses in our country to fight for democratic rights, for peace and their living standards.

This weakness considers that fascism is already here, that war is inevitable, that nothing can be done about it. It can only lead to paralysis in action, to waiting about and even to feelings of hopelessness, and to attempts at liquidationism of the Party in practice.

Palmiro Togliatti signaled this

danger in his remarks at the meeting of the Communist Information Bureau in November 1949:

A most serious danger now threatening Communist Parties is that of being passive in face of current events, of surrendering before difficulties, of overestimating the forces of the enemies of peace and democracy, of failing to realize that the struggle of the vanguard of the proletariat is of decisive significance for achieving working-class unity and saving peace, and that success in this struggle depends above all on the persistent work of Communists.

#### WORKING CLASS MUST LEAD

The fight for democracy can be successful only if the working class, especially its organized section in the trade unions, is in the very forefront of the struggle. It was because the working class, the local unions and rank and file did not *militantly, unitedly* and with mass strength protest these bills, that they were forced through.

The progressive-led unions can and should play a powerful role, not only because they have already been attacked by Big Business and their lieutenants and will suffer further attacks, but also because they represent hundreds of thousands of the most advanced and most active workers. By mobilizing their membership, clarifying the issues, acting together with other Left-progressive-led unions, working for united action with the reformist-led unions, boldly applying the policy of united front

from below, they can serve as a tremendous pace-maker and unifier in the fight.

It must be clear that the unions and unionists which today are dominated by the reformist leaders can and will be drawn into the struggle. The unionists under reactionary, reformist leadership, who make up the majority of union members in the country, will not give up their rights without the sharpest struggle, despite their leaders. But this will occur only through the activity, guidance and leadership of the more advanced elements. What is important is to convince the rank-and-file unionists of the reformist-led unions not to stand aside when other forces are attacked first. The trade unions will be helpless if they are taken in by this one-at-a-time tactic of reaction, if they wait until they are themselves attacked before they act in defense of the democratic rights of others. They will not be able to stop the blows leveled at them if they are craft-conscious and refuse to take up the battle for the rights of *all* victims of the mounting repressions, the Communists, the Negro people, the foreign born, progressives, intellectuals, etc.; if they are "neutral," if they are frightened by the anti-Communist cry intended to intimidate all, if they follow the course of their opportunistic leaders. "Opportunism," said Rosa Luxemburg, "is a political game in which you lose twice, not only in matters of principle but also in practical success."

*An injury to one is an injury to all*—that time-honored slogan of the labor movement must be revived.

What Wallace wrote in 1948 remains as true as ever, despite his shameful capitulation to reaction:

Defense of the civil rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people. The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco Spain should teach us that the suppression of the Communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, national, racial and political minorities and all those who oppose the policies of the government in power."

Of course, related to the fight for democracy and peace are the economic issues to increase wages, lower prices, make the rich pay for the war, etc., etc. These issues are of the utmost importance, because war and war-economy mean worsened conditions. Moreover, the economic issues are organically related to the struggle for democracy and peace and are the basis for the broadest struggle.

But the economic struggle and the fight for civil rights cannot be separated from the question of peace. While it is necessary for the working class and the people to unite on all possible issues, the question of peace affects everything. It is the war in Korea and the drive to world war that worsen conditions economically, socially and politically. That is why the fight to withdraw the troops from Korea, to block the outbreak of a world war is a fight for the immedi-

ate interests of the people. Only if the people realize that the McCarran Act and the entire anti-Communist drive are measures for war, not for peace as the warmakers claim, can we have a powerful movement against fascism. That is why the struggle to clarify the masses ideologically is a question of the highest importance. It is necessary particularly to explain to the masses that the war in Korea is an unjust, imperialist war, that world war threatens but is not inevitable and that the Soviet Union fights for peace.

It is imperative to point out that peace with the Soviet Union is not only desirable and necessary, but entirely possible because the Soviet Union is a Socialist country which wants and works for peace, that the Soviet Union is the leading force in the fight for peace, that the slander about Soviet "aggression," "imperialism," and other fakery is without the slightest foundation. We must make clear to the masses that the Soviet Union is the foremost fighter for national independence and sovereignty, the friend of all oppressed; and that the Soviet people live under the most advanced democratic and progressive conditions in the world.

Finally, it is necessary to convince the workers that the Truman Administration is a war administration, to expose its false peace mask, to show it as a Big Business administration and to urge the workers and the people generally along the path of

independent political action.

Especially is it necessary to expose the labor bureaucrats and Social-Democrats as labor imperialists, labor lieutenants of Big Business, who sacrifice the interests of labor. This can be done effectively by agitation and *particularly on the basis of the united-front struggle on the issues of wages, taxes, prices, right to strike, pensions, civil rights and peace.*

\* \* \*

The Communist Party has declared that it will fight every inch of the way all attempts to outlaw it. As Gus Hall stated in his report to the September Plenum, published in this issue:

We must and will fight for every legal possibility that exists. We are going to do so now and if the bills go through Congress we are going to fight to make as difficult as possible the application of these new laws which violate even the limited bourgeois legality and outlaw the Constitution.

The danger of the outlawing of the Party through those measures and by all-sided attacks is of course great. But the outlawing of the Party is not a foregone conclusion. All depends on struggle, militant, united struggle. If reaction drives the Party underground, it will not however succeed in destroying it. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism can't be killed. The Communist Party is as native to America as the air we breathe. It is the indestructible core of the American working class, which it

has worked self-sacrificingly to build up, and is rooted in its great traditions, in its fight to organize unions, improve conditions, and elevate its position to that of a leading force in the people's struggles.

The reactionary, fascist-minded men did not succeed in wiping out the Communist Party in other countries and it will not succeed in our land either.

The Communists have already demonstrated that they will stand firm. They will defeat the attempts to liquidate the Party in substance or in practice.

Early in our own Party history, soon after its formation in 1919, the Wilson Big Business administration, fearful of the Socialist upsurge throughout the world, and wanting to undermine the gains in trade-union organization and economic improvement, struck out blindly, through mass raids, deportations and arrests, and drove the Communist Party underground. It caused a loss of many members and for a time the Party was isolated, due chiefly to its weak ties with the unions and the native-born masses. But the Party functioned and re-emerged into open political life—stronger than ever.

We face a period of storm calling for the firmer application of the policies of a Party of the new type, for policies of greater leadership of the masses of people, above all of the working class. But we will weather the storm and come out of it stronger and more tempered than before.

Firmness will bring its rewards.

In times like this, Stalin's words serve as a bulwark:

Have you ever seen fishermen before the storm on a large river like the Yenisei, for example? I have often seen them. In the face of the storm that has broken out, a group of fishermen mobilize all their energies, spur on their people and boldly steer the boat into the storm: "Hold the rudder tighter lads, cut the waves, we'll make it!"

But there are also other kinds of fishermen who, sensing the approaching storm, lost their courage, begin to whine, and demoralize their own ranks: "What a misfortune. The storm is breaking loose, get down on the bottom of the boat, lads, close your eyes, maybe somehow we'll be driven to the shore."

The Communists of the United States will "hold the rudder tighter and cut the waves."



# On the Use of Negro Troops in Wall Street's Aggression Against the Korean People

By Benjamin J. Davis

ONE OF THE new, most cynical aspects of U.S. imperialism's barbarous aggression against the heroic, freedom-loving people of Korea is the exceptionally prominent use it is making of American Negro troops. This is a fact of far-reaching significance. Hardly, if ever, has the ruling class, in any previous modern war, made such dramatic use of Negro soldiers. When the monopoly press and radio turn on their propaganda machine to trumpet to the American people and to the world that American Negro soldiers are in the thick of the front-line fighting in Korea, United States imperialism must indeed be hard pressed.

The wide publicity given to the use of Negro troops in Korea has been accompanied by dulcet tones of praise, especially from the capitalist press and radio, both of which have played a major role in ridiculing and slandering the Negro people and in serving as a pillar of the white supremacy system. Negro troops have been credited with "winning the first United States victory in Korea at

Yechon." President Truman recently lauded the 24th (Jim-Crow, Negro) regiment for its work in Korea. Many Right-wing Negro reformist and Social-Democratic misleaders and newspapers have been hailing the use of Negro troops to "spearhead" the foul war against the Koreans, shamefully claiming that such shocktroop use of Negroes as cannon-fodder opens up "new opportunities and recognition" for the Negro. Some of these leaders are jubilant over the number of Koreans killed by Negroes, but they are silent over the number of Negroes dying needlessly in Korea.

## HAS THE LEOPARD CHANGED ITS SPOTS?

Through their use of Negro troops, the Wall Street monopolists and their faithful bi-partisan tool, the Truman Administration, are seeking to create the impression that the fascist-like invasion of Korea by American imperialism—as well as Wall Street's whole evil plan of world domination

and of unleashing World War III—will open new opportunities for improving the condition of the Negro people. The reactionary capitalists and war-mongers would have the world, and particularly the Negro people and their allies, believe that the leopard of American imperialism has changed its spots, and that although there are admittedly a few “minor imperfections” in American “democracy,” these will all be ironed out in the course of the “lovey-doveyness” between the ruling class and the Negro people in Wall Street’s bandit war to enslave the Korean people.

All of this is, of course, a monstrous lie. American imperialism, together with its more sophisticated imperialist junior partner, Great Britain, despises all colored peoples, reserving its most inhuman tortures for the Negro people, whom it has relegated to the bottom of the “racial hierarchy” set up by Anglo-Saxon imperialism. Its aggression against the Korean people—its murderous B-29 mass bombings of thousands of innocent women and children, exceeding even the uncivilized warfare of Hitler—all show the monstrous contempt in which the U.S. white supremacists hold colored peoples. The very war against the Korean people is an expression of hatred for the Negro people, for all colonial and semi-colonial colored or white peoples who seek freedom, equality and self-determination. It is well known that Koreans cannot become

citizens or own land in the United States, although the Truman Administration pretends it is fighting for “democracy and freedom” for Koreans in Korea.

The truth is that even while American imperialism pretends that Wall Street’s aggression in Korea means a new deal for the Negro people—at least, for Negro troops—the system of lynch terror, oppression, Klan violence and Jim Crow assumes sharper fascist-like proportions against the Negro people every day. As the Korean people are victims of United States imperialist aggression in Asia, so are the Negro people at home. This is a fact that looms so large that even the Truman Administration’s most faithful lieutenants must from time to time pay lip-service to the Negro question, lest they lose complete face among the Negro workers and masses generally. One of the clearest and most fundamental signs of the rapid steps taken by the American ruling class toward fascism and World War III is the mounting repression, legalized lynching, Jim Crow and starvation burdens imposed upon the Negro people. At the same time, the Taft-Hartley-izing of the trade unions, the passage of the McCarran-Mundt-Kilgore police state bills, the enormous growth of anti-Semitism and persecution of the foreign-born (of whom West Indian-born Negroes form an increasing target) intensify the national oppression of the Negro people and aim to

weaken their staunch anti-fascist resistance.

All of Truman's grandiloquent claims to a new deal for the Negro people are unconvincing and even absurd to large sections of democratic-minded Americans. To a growing section of the Negro workers and people generally, these hollow pretensions are laughable. The slobbering over the Negro G.I.'s in Korea by the American imperialists, their agents and flunkys, is dishonest, as demonstrated not only by the fact that the blood relatives of these G.I.'s are being lynched back home, but also by the vicious mistreatment of the Negro troops themselves, even as Korean soil runs red with the blood of Negro as well as white G.I.'s

If the Wall Street monopolists impose the lynch system of segregation and Jim Crow upon the Negro soldiers in Korea on whom they shower their fulsome, though white chauvinist praise, then what indeed is the depth of their contempt and hatred for the Negro people back home, for whom they have only brickbats such as concentration camps, Klan blood baths, job Jim Crow and more tubercular ghettos! Perhaps the answer is that when the brothers of the Negro soldiers in Korea ask in Washington for their full citizenship, they are called "black sons of b—s" by Ku Klux mobsters, whose very seats in Congress are a violation not only of the Constitution but of the United Nations Charter.

### JIM CROW IN UNIFORM

The specific question of the use of Negro troops in Korea involves the comprehensive over-all consideration of the colonial question, of the relation of the Negro people and of the struggle for Negro rights to American imperialism, which is prosecuting the unjust war in Korea.

The monopoly newspapers of this country have been guilty of one of the worst examples of flouting the principle of freedom of the press with their suppression of the truth about the brutal mistreatment of Negro soldiers, especially in Korea. Although these same capitalist propaganda agencies have been lush in their demagogic praise for the Negro troops in Korea, they have with the connivance of the white supremacy dictator, General MacArthur, the Truman Administration and the millionaire owners of the "free press"—virtually censored all news of the white supremacist injustices against the Negro soldiers. They have sought to paint a false picture of the Negro soldiers in Korea as having received equality of citizenship to the point of perfection, with even the faintest traces of discrimination and Jim Crow eliminated. Nothing could be further from the truth, as even the trickle of news that has reached home proves.

In the first place, although President Truman is supposed to have abolished discrimination in the armed

forces, the Negro troops are largely confined to the Jim Crow 24th infantry regiment. This has enabled them to be singled out for the hardest, dirtiest and most murderous tasks. Once when they suffered heavy casualties as a result of strafing by United States planes, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, tub-thumping anti-Communist lackey of the white ruling class, editorialized, with chagrin, that Negro units ought to be abolished so that no one would think that such a "combat error" of U.S. planes killing Negro troops was made intentionally. Southern white Ku Klux-minded officers insult and slander Negro troops under their command. A story in the *Pittsburgh Courier* of Sept 9, 1950, related the following.

"The ranking chaplain of the Twenty-fifth Infantry Division, of which the twenty-fourth infantry regiment is a part, made it clear this week that he is prejudiced and 'always will be.'

"The chaplain, Lieut. Colonel Phillips . . . said, 'Yes, I'm prejudiced against Negroes even though I am a minister and preach a different theory'."

Revealing how the white supremacy brass of the Army seeks to make a scapegoat of the Negro troops in Korea, the story continued:

". . . The chaplain remarked . . . that we would lose the war if the Twenty-fourth Regiment lost any more machine guns to the enemy.

"The colonel . . . then . . . said he

was definitely prejudiced being from Houston, Tex."

Since this is the white supremacy attitude of a minister, it requires no special insight to imagine what the less "holy" white Klan-minded officers practice against Negro soldiers. Those Right-wing Negro weeklies, which slavishly follow the Truman-Wall Street line for an occasional miserable hand-out, have been compelled to label the treatment of Negro troops in Korea as "an insult." So strong has been the resentment of these vicious practices against the Negro troops that MacArthur — whose institution of a Mississippi system of Jim Crow in Tokyo drew a sharp protest even from the Negro agents of imperialism who officially head the N.A.A.C.P.—had to ban the use of the term "gook" as applied to the Koreans, its slanderous implications against Negroes being unmistakable. But American imperialism is noted for saying one thing and doing another on the question of democracy.

#### WHAT PRICE CONCESSIONS?

There may be concessions by the Pentagon, in the form of political plasters stuck loosely over a gaping Jim-Crow sore in the armed services, but the basic pattern of segregation and discrimination is the same all the way from Fort Dix, N. J., to Yechon, Korea. Negro troops who are called upon to die in Korea are

denied the right to eat, work and live in dignity and equality in the United States, whether in Georgia or Harlem.

At the same time, American white supremacy brass in Korea—conscious of its guilt for the Jim-Crow brutalities imposed upon the Negro troops, switches responsibility for its own criminal injustices to the North Korean liberation army which is fighting for freedom, unity and independence as the Americans fought in 1776 and 1861. "Reds Despise Negro Troops" was the heading over an item in the Negro-hating *Daily News*, Sept. 4, 1950, which story went on to relate the so-called experience of a white officer who had escaped from a war prisoner's camp. The North Koreans, this officer stated, "treat Negro soldiers with contempt." Who was this white officer? Second Lieut. Billy Rountree from Victoria, Texas—of all places! Who could take the word of this military personification of the poll-tax state where white supremacy is imposed on the Negro people with the lynch rope, Ku Klux terror and bestial Jim Crow? Since when did Lieut. Rountree become so sensitive to injustices against Negroes? This was but a crude attempt to smear the North Korean liberation forces—which are a part of the whole world camp of peace, colonial freedom and independence against the mad empire grabbers of Wall Street. The Negro soldiers are the victims of Jim-Crow cruelties imposed by

these same Wall Street gangsters out of intense imperialist hatred for colonial and oppressed people who are black, brown or yellow.

The racist practices against Negro troops—even while they are dying for the glory of Wall Street—do not indicate that American imperialism in the Korean war is departing from its traditional and inherent policy of national oppression of the Negro people. On the contrary, it is intensifying this oppression—not only by virtue of the reactionary intervention of Wall Street in Korea—but also directly by the discriminatory brutalities against the Negro troops themselves.

Although it despises the Negro people, American imperialism—ideologically bankrupt in trying to explain its war of aggression against the colonial, colored Korean people—must needs call upon the Negro people and maneuver with them in order to get American imperialism off the hot spot before the colonial and darker peoples of the world. American imperialism is in a severe crisis, not only economically, but ideologically. This is the principal reason that Negro troops are used so ostentatiously. This is why Negro troops are played up so flamboyantly in the notoriously anti-Negro press and radio; and it is why even certain "publicity" concessions are made to Negroes in military—and civilian—life, concessions which do not disturb the basic pattern of the system of na-

tional oppression. The sudden capitalist fanfare over the use of Negro troops is so much demagogy to hide the imperialist purposes of their use. American imperialism cannot continue its special oppression of the Negro people without resorting to new forms of demagogy. This is due to a number of factors some of which are: first, there is the growing identity of interests of every colonial people, struggling for liberation from the imperialist yoke, with the world camp of peace, democracy, national freedom and Socialism, which is headed by the Soviet Union. The second main factor is the rising militancy of the Negro people, and the growing world resentment of their treatment by the ruling class in the United States. What has further intensified these factors is the savagery of Wall Street imperialism in Korea.

#### DIVERTING DOMESTIC AND WORLD RESENTMENT

The prominent use of Negro troops in Korea offers American imperialism its most dramatic ruse for concealing the racist character of its aggression, and of counteracting the truth—namely, that this is a reactionary, colonial war to enslave the Korean people. While the American imperialists would like to secure troops from all its Marshallized satellites to assist it, it especially delights in the troops of colored peoples behind whose dark skins it can hide its

bandit objectives. But Wall Street is losing the key political struggle before world opinion to prove that the Korean war is not a war of white colonial slavemasters against a colored, colonial people.

Secondly, American imperialism has the domestic front very much in mind. It knows that the Negro people and their allies in the United States are extremely skeptical about the so-called "noble and democratic" objectives of the Truman-Dulles-Rankin motives in this war, and that they are far from being a solid bastion of support for Wall Street's aggression in Korea, Formosa and Indo-China or of Wall Street's aims of world domination and World War III. By using Negro sons, husbands and brothers in Korea, Wall Street seeks to win over their kin in support of its criminal ventures. It is a low and insulting appeal designed to beguile the Negro people in the name of its sons to support a war which is clearly directed against the interests of all colonial and oppressed people—especially the American, African and West Indian Negroes.

Thirdly, the tremendous fanfare of publicity and so-called praise which the Negro-hating ruling class is showing upon the Negro troops in Korea is an attempt to set up, in the most dramatic form, the test of recognition and heroism for the Negro. That test is that the Negro people must lay down their lives upon the

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altar of American imperialism and must serve as cannon-fodder for the ruling class which has for more than 300 years kept the Negro people under the heel of Jim-Crow racist oppression. The new test of heroism which the ruling class offers to the Negro workers is that they must die to enslave other colonial or colored peoples, even as they are enslaved—that is, to reduce all colonial peoples to the status of the Negro in Mississippi and Georgia.

Fourthly, American imperialism, by its exhibitionist use of Negro troops in Korea, is attempting to seal in blood the tactic of divide and rule—of turning one white-supremacy victim of United States imperialism against another one of its victims. It is the tactic of racist hatred and division, concerning which even Hitler could learn from Wall Street imperialism. While United States monopoly-controlled newspapers are anxious, with war-mongering, misanthropic zeal, to play up the number of Koreans killed by Negroes, they never found any enthusiasm for Negro troops who killed white, racist-minded Nazis in World War II. Moreover, it is a known fact that the Negro occupation troops, since 1945, have been stationed in the Far East—not in Europe—in order to use them against their colored brothers rising for freedom from the white imperialist gangsters of America and Europe.

Fifthly, American imperialism, by

its consciously emphasized use of Negro troops in Korea, seeks to divert the Negro people from the hypocrisy and double-dealing of Truman and the two major parties on the civil rights program, and from the rapidly increasing Klan violence and economic repression imposed upon the Negro people. The reactionary American capitalists and their bi-partisan lackeys wish the Negro people to direct their wrath, not against Wall Street and its two-party flunkies who are responsible for racist attacks, but against the Korean people and the whole camp of peace, democracy, freedom and Socialism, led by the Soviet Union. With brutal cynicism they want the Negro people to submit to and support their own oppressors, and to combat and even kill the forces of freedom and peace, with whom they have a common cause. The tiny minority of desperate billionaire imperialists will commit any infamy, any atrocity against mankind to keep their system of plunder, rapine and colonial slavery alive.

#### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JIM CROW IN THE ARMED FORCES

The depth of ideological bankruptcy and hypocrisy of the American imperialists and their apologists cannot be fully unfolded unless their perfidy is challenged in connection with the use of Negro troops.

A first class struggle should be con-

ducted against the Jim-Crow brutalities imposed upon the Negro troops in Korea, in Tokyo, at home and elsewhere. The demand for the abolition of discrimination, segregation and all forms of Jim Crow in all branches of the armed services should be insistently pressed upon the Truman Administration, simultaneously with the struggle against the use of any troops for purposes of imperialist aggression. Any failure on the part of white trade unionists and progressives energetically to demand an end to these vicious abuses of Negro soldiers can only mean yielding to the heavy pressure of white chauvinism with which United States imperialism is seeking to corrupt all sections of the labor and progressive movement. This means exposing the capitalist press for suppressing the truth about the foul racist practices against Negro troops; and it means bringing this truth without stint to the masses of workers and democratic-minded majority of the American people. Even the argument that Negro troops in Korea are "proving" their right to equality at home is both a white chauvinist slander against the Negro people and an implied justification of the reactionary Korean war.

The struggle against these Jim-Crow abuses can be effective only if it takes place within the framework of the over-all struggle not only for peace, but against imperialism as well. Above all, it must be kept in mind that the U.S. army is an imperialist

army whose role in Korea, and in the entire Far East as well as in Europe, is to secure world domination for the Wall Street monopolies.

The struggle against Jim Crow in the armed forces merges with the whole struggle against national oppression of the Negro people; and this struggle has to be directed against American imperialism and its program of unleashing World War III and fascism. It is a weapon of offense for the whole anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, anti-war camp; and it is a powerful weapon. In this connection it is worthy of note that the permanent Soviet delegate to the U.N. Security Council, Jacob Malik, has several times effectively raised the question of the imperialist white-supremacy system used against the Negro people, but that not once has the arrogant and pompous Truman representative, Warren Austin, dared deal with this "Achilles heel" of American imperialism.

The vicious mistreatment of Negro soldiers in Korea has raised additional doubts among large sections of the Negro people as regards the lie that the Wall Street-Truman plan for world domination means a new "heaven-sent emancipation" for the Negro people. Fifteen million Negro Americans tend to look askance at any imperialist war launched at colored peoples struggling for their freedom, even though the government wraps itself in the mantle of taking "police action" against so-called Com-

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munist expansion. It is a tribute to the courage, understanding and anti-imperialist sentiments of the Negro people that they seriously question the objectives of the Truman Administration in Korea. So long and so bitterly have the Negro people and their forefathers and their brothers suffered as a result of imperialist oppression, that they tend to be justly suspicious of imperialist demagoguery.

The fact that Jim Crow still exists in the armed forces in this country makes it easier for the Negro people to realize that President Truman's executive orders "abolishing" Jim Crow are hypocritical shams, issued only for vote-catching purposes, and for the purpose of undermining the struggle of the Negro people against the whole racist Jim-Crow system. The true nature of the President's Committee for "equality in the armed forces" becomes apparent. Lester Granger, head of the National Urban League, Negro-reformist agent of imperialism, the main Negro misleader on the President's committee, appears now in his full ugliness—a contemptible Red-baiter and a belly-crawling Uncle Tom apologist for Truman, and for the Negro-hating white ruling class. The same is true of such Social-Democratic flunkeys and supporters of imperialism and its war program as A. Phillip Randolph, George Weaver and such Wall Street-serving turn coats as Walter White and others—all of whom mouth a few empty phrases against Jim Crow

in order to camouflage their subservience to American imperialism. Granger's role on the President's Committee for "equality in the armed forces" is to make apologies for the continued existence of Jim Crow in the army. These Negro misleaders who have identified themselves with Wall Street's imperialist war program, are experiencing difficulties, however, in selling their treacherous policies to the Negro workers and masses of the people.

The so-called new opportunities offered to Negro troops in Korea, as we saw, are accompanied by the growth of fascist reaction on the home front. This is the meaning of the Hitlerite persecution of the noble and courageous world fighter for freedom, Paul Robeson, of the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party and jail its leaders, and of the wave of terror against West Indian born Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and others. Prompted by Wall Street, the Truman Administration is threatening to place a Communist label on every struggle to combat lynch terror and outlaw the Jim Crow system, threatening militant Negro leaders and organizations with jail or with assignment to the honor roll—the "subversive organizations" list. Negroes are in the front-line trenches of Korea, but they still are in the back in America on the Jim-Crow street cars in Georgia, or when they apply for jobs or housing anywhere in the country.

Heroism, which accords with the revolutionary fighting traditions of the Negro people, is not the kind which helps the hated class-enemy to enslave other peoples; but is the kind that stands up against the war program of the atomaniacs and fascist-minded imperialists who are leading America to catastrophe. Those who, in the pay of Wall Street, try to represent the Negro people as being on the side of the imperialist hangmen and riding bosses do the vilest infamy to the historic role of the Negro people as fighters in the cause of freedom. Likewise, those oppressed strata who help to enslave others are drawing the noose tighter around their own necks.

For the Negro people, as well as for all lovers of peace and democracy, the way to abolish the Jim-Crow injustices imposed upon the Negro troops in Korea is to fight for the slogans: Hands off Korea; Bring the Negro and white soldiers back home; For the peaceful settlement of the Korean war in accordance with the principles of freedom, independence and unity of the Korean state. The highly important partial victories won by the Civil Rights Congress in the Willie McGee, Trenton Six and Martinsville 7 cases demonstrate that the most effective fight for Negro rights is led by the fighters for peace. Surrender to the war program, the policy of the lieutenants of imperialism in the labor and Negro movements, means surrender of Negro rights.

Communists have an indispensable role to play in connection with this issue. They must literally radiate boldness, militancy, selflessness and skill, combining the struggle for redress of the immediate grievance of Jim Crow in the armed forces with the over-all objective of the struggle against imperialism, against fascism and for peace. While exposing the imperialist character of the United States armed forces, and of the intervention in Korea, Communists must do so on the basis of the special, national character of the Negro question. Under all circumstances and conditions, the fight for a Leninist-Stalinist position on the Negro question is a matter of principle—in line with the fundamental policy of our Party.

The struggle against Jim-Crow abuses suffered by Negroes in the armed forces, as we have seen, is necessarily a part of the struggle against the sharpening imperialist offensive on civil liberties and the living standards of the people on the home front. There has been a tendency within certain advanced circles to veer away from all questions concerning Jim Crow in the armed forces—leaving this issue to the demagoguery of the Social-Democrats, Right-wing bourgeois Negro reformists and other agents of imperialism within the ranks of the Negro people. Any such tendency, unless vigorously combated by our Party—particularly among white workers—can

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only feed white chauvinism within the ranks of the labor and progressive movement. It also leads to a lack of political and ideological firmness, and practical struggles on the Negro question in the political, social, economic and cultural fields. It reflects a crass underestimation of work among the youth of Negro and white. Our Party must take special notice of the sharp revival of white chauvinism and white supremacy ideology and practices in consequence of the reactionary intervention against the colored people of Korea and in the Far East generally and as the war drive steps up in intensity. It is also necessary to note that such a war is bound to engender bourgeois nationalist trends among the Negro people, which the ruling class will seek in every way to exploit, often through petty Negro racketeers and provocateurs.

The Negro people put little stock in the claims of the Right-wing reformists, Social-Democrats and other agents of imperialism in their ranks that Truman's reactionary war in Korea means prosperity and equality for them. At a time when American monopolies are moving toward World War III, inciting and abetting reaction, tyranny and imperialist

slavery all over the world, and attempting to establish fascism at home, the Negro people can expect only intensified exploitation and more oppression. The perspective of freedom for the Negro people lies in the direction of Negro-white unity against the monstrous program of the Wall Street monopolists for world domination, war and fascism. The high road of struggle to halt the course of sharper exploitation and intensified national oppression of the Negro people, which looms as the inevitable outcome of a third world war, is to combine in common action the struggles of the Negro people with the broad people's struggle for peace.

It is the bounden duty of the Communist Party to give bold and skillful leadership to the working class and the Negro people on the questions posed by the special use of Negro troops in Korea. By extending this leadership, while avoiding both "Left" sectarianism and Right opportunism, we will strengthen our ties with the Negro people, and initiate militant struggles which will deal heavy blows to their imperialist oppressors, and contribute to the emergence of a working class and people's coalition for peace and freedom.

# Wall Street's War Preparations and the People's Living Standards

By Alexander Bittelman

THE MASSES of the American people are already gravely concerned over the effects of Wall Street's acts of aggression and world war preparations in worsening their economic conditions and living standards. This is to be noted, not only among the workers, but also among the small farmers, the poor urban middle classes and especially among the Negro people. As to the working class, widespread struggles for higher wages and other economic demands have occurred during the last several months in nearly all industries. And all of this takes place while the profits of the monopolies—the fountain-head of fascism and war—are mounting with unprecedented rapidity.

One of many illusions Wall Street's labor lieutenants and the Truman "liberals" are skillfully cultivating among the masses is that the aggression of American imperialism in Korea and China and its accelerated preparations for a new world war represent no serious threat to the economic conditions and living standards of the American people. While echoing Wall Street's demand that the people make "sacrifices," the reformists are trying to persuade the

masses that now, with war on, the danger of an economic crisis "has gone," that unemployment will disappear, and a new and long period of "war prosperity" will set in.

However, the facts of daily life are already beginning to tell an entirely different story. Retail prices, according to William Green himself, have risen 13 percent since the aggression against Korea began (about 15 percent at this writing). A 20 percent increase in the withholding tax upon wages goes into effect in October. Speed-up is growing with murderous intensity. New contradictions, arising from the so-called "war prosperity," are laying the basis for economic catastrophe. And the *major objective* of the economic war policy of the American monopolies is to force the people to shoulder the war burden by drastically reducing their living standards.

## WALL STREET'S ECONOMIC WAR POLICIES

Wall Street's economic war policies are naturally determined by its general imperialist policy of continuing and expanding open aggression and speedily preparing for an attack on

the Soviet Union, for a new world war. And in pursuing this policy, the monopolies are naturally trying to place upon the masses of the people the main financial burden—as well as all other burdens—of the cost of aggression and war preparations.

The cost to the American people of Wall Street's acts of aggression and war policies must be looked into very closely. We limit ourselves here only to the material or financial costs, leaving out for the moment the cost to the people in life and blood, in sweat, in health, in general well-being and happiness. Who can estimate the "cost" of that? But the material or financial burden upon the masses of the American people resulting from Wall Street's criminal war adventures can be estimated with a fairly certain approximation, if it is understood that the kind of new world war which American imperialism is preparing will differ in many crucial respects from all previous wars in which the United States was a participant.

To begin with, Wall Street would have to force the masses of the American people to wage war—atomic and bacteriological warfare—*against the overwhelming majority of the human race*. This kind of a war would inevitably have to be fought all over the world, including the United States.

Consequently, Wall Street's economic war policies, as well as its military and political policies, will

unfold themselves in such a way as to try to meet the requirements of *this kind of war*, not that of World War II or World War I. This means that the American people will be forced not only to supply most of the military manpower and to do most, if not all, of the fighting on all battlefields. This is becoming quite obvious. But the masses of the American people will also be compelled to supply most, if not all, of the armaments, munitions, finances and all other gigantic material needs of a new world war.

But this is not all. The kind of world war Wall Street is preparing has as its objective world domination for American imperialism. This means that the American monopolies seek to establish their rule and dominance in the *economic* life of the world side by side with political and military domination. But to establish economic dominance Wall Street needs to penetrate and subordinate to itself the industries, economic and other material resources, the commerce and finances of other peoples and countries, as is being indicated by the development of the Marshall Plan and by the plans of the so-called "Point 4 Program" of colonial domination and conquest. To realize these plans for economic domination, the American monopolies are trying to build up unprecedented accumulations of capital for export—capital with which to enslave other peoples and countries—as well

as reserves of goods with which to bribe the corrupt rulers of the other capitalist countries.

In other words, the kind of world war which Wall Street is preparing and to which it is driving *will demand the diversion of most of the material resources of the United States to the carrying on of actual warfare and to penetrating and conquering for Wall Street the economic life of the rest of the world.*

The proportion of the so-called gross national product (total value of all goods and services) which would have to be diverted (which is in fact on the road to being diverted) to preparing and waging Wall Street's World War III, can be estimated approximately in the following way. In World War II, the American people took part in a just war, as a member of a coalition which was supported by the majority of the peoples of the world. We fought together with the majority of the human race. We fought together with powerful allies who had vast material resources—and industrial capacities of their own. We had as one of our allies a people and a country—the Soviet Union—which carried the *main* burden of the fight against the *main* enemy—Hitler Germany, which destroyed the bulk of the Japanese armed forces—and which was decisive in winning the victory. Notwithstanding all this, the United States had to divert to carrying on the war about 50 percent of all goods

and services produced in 1942 and 70 percent in 1943. However, in an unjust and criminal world war, in which we will be forced to fight *against* the majority of the peoples of the earth, we can have few allies who possess, or will be in a position for any appreciable time to use, large material resources and industrial capacities during a new world war. Consequently we shall be forced to carry the main burdens of preparing and waging this kind of war to such an extent, that the 50 percent ratio of all goods and services diverted to war in 1942 and the 70 percent in 1943 would have to be raised in a new world war to 70 percent and 90 percent respectively, as a conservative estimate. If we add to this direct diversion of wealth an intensified speed-up of capital accumulation, and the building up of commodity reserves, the question naturally arises how much of goods and services will there be left to meet the needs of the civilian population? And the inescapable answer is, precious little. The perspective for the people is mostly guns and no butter. The other question that is raised here is how soon this kind of a burden will confront the American people with the imminence of total economic ruin and catastrophe.

To hide these dangers from the masses of the people, the warmongers are engaging in some fancy calculations, based upon the greatly increased productive capacities. Tak-

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ing as a starting point the current rate of the gross national product, which is estimated at \$270 billion annually, the conclusion is drawn that since 50 or 70 percent of the total national products would give at this time 135 and 189 billions of dollars instead of the 80 and 135 billions of 1942 and 1943 respectively, there will be enough goods and services to meet both the requirements of a new world war and the needs of the civilian population. But all this is sheer fancy.

That this is so can be seen by comparing the scale and scope of the military expenditures in the two periods respectively of 1938-1941 and 1947-1950. In the four fiscal years 1938-1941 the direct military expenditures of the United States were \$11,667,000,000; but in the four fiscal years of 1947-1950 these expenditures reached the sum of \$53,151,000,000, *almost five times as much*. Why this sharp increase? This is an important question, because Wall Street's spokesmen are in the habit of asserting that a new world war will cost us about as much as the last war, which seems to them a very comfortable thought. Of course, there would be little comfort for the people in such thoughts even if they were true. But they are not true. This we see readily from the *sharply different magnitudes of military expenditures in the preparations respectively of World War II and the Wall Street projected World War*

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The reasons for this are as follows: First, on the eve of World War II, American imperialism was maneuvering to direct the fascist Axis against the Soviet Union instead of preparing to fight against the Axis in a world war; whereas American imperialism has been deliberately planning and organizing World War III, making beginnings in that direction while we were still in the last war. Second, the political, economic and military nature of the Wall Street projected new world war, as already analyzed, is altogether different from that of the last war.

Furthermore, the war mobilization plans of the Federal government for the fiscal year 1950-51 call for the diversion of no less than 77 percent of the Federal budget to *direct military expenditures* which are only a part of the total expenditures for so-called "national defense." By the time this appears in print. Congress will have approved for the current year the expenditure of \$14,680,000,000 for the armed forces of the U.S., \$16,771,000,000 for the war against the Korean people, \$5,522,000,000 for arming Wall Street's puppets abroad, and an additional \$2,525,000,000 for the same purpose but disguised as Marshall Plan "aid" and \$26,000,000 for exploring the economic possibilities of colonial conquest ("Point Four"). This makes a total of \$39,224,000,000, or

nearly forty billion dollars of a total Federal budget of 52 billion.

This is not at all the situation as presented, for example, by the *New York Times* (Aug. 17), namely, that "Today the problem is one of diverting about one-tenth of the nation's production to war." Already the war plans call for a diversion of 15 percent of the national product, 23 percent of the national income and 77 percent of the Federal budget for *direct* military purposes which make up only a part of the total war expenditures. But this is not all. President Truman has already indicated that before long he may ask for another 10 billion dollars for war this year—and even more. In that case we are practically committed to divert to war and war preparations during the fiscal year 1950-51—18.6 percent of the national product, 23 percent of the national income and 80.6 of a Federal budget of 62 billions.

From the speed with which the United States is being driven by Wall Street to total war mobilization, as seen in the war budget for this year, it is not difficult to realize that, as we move to approximate a total mobilization, Wall Street will seek to force the masses to give up their living standards, to go with little food, to make the best of the clothes that they now have, to forget their housing needs, ignore the health and educational requirements of themselves and their children—just to keep on

working for the war and war preparations. *Wall Street's economic war policies will be concentrated with progressively greater force on reducing and eventually destroying the living standards of the masses of the American people.*

#### PAY-AS-YOU-GO MEANS MAKE THE PEOPLE PAY

The economic war policy of the monopolies to reduce step by step the living standards of the working class, of all working people, is presented to the public in a misleading form. It is called the pay-as-you-go policy, which means that the cost of war and war preparations is to be met from current production and income. But this is only the official meaning. The true content of this policy is to meet the cost of the war by curtailing, by reducing to the very minimum, the mass consumption of the means of livelihood.

On this question there exists a remarkable, though not surprising, unanimity in the ruling class and in the leadership of its two major parties. There are differences, of course, on "ways and means," but even here a consensus of ruling-class opinion is crystallizing that the first thing to do is *to reduce the purchasing power of the masses*. The theory is simple: the less money the people have to buy things with, the less they will buy and the less they will consume; and the less the American people consume the more there will be for

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carrying on war adventures in all parts of the world, for preparing and launching a new world war—for an attack on the Soviet Union—for building up gigantic accumulations of capital to export and enslave other peoples, for building up gigantic reserves of goods with which to bribe the capitalist rulers of other lands and subordinate them to Wall Street.

However, to achieve this aim—to reduce the purchasing power of the masses—is no simple or easy job, as the monopolies and their labor lieutenants know very well. The American working class is demonstrating daily its determination to protect its living standards, to seek to improve them wherever opportunity presents itself. We shall discuss later the meaning of the current strike struggles for higher wages and other economic improvements. In other words, the struggle to defend the living standards of the working class and all working people is shaping up as one of the major issues of the present period. This struggle is objectively closely related to the fight for civil liberties and against the fascist danger, and integrated fundamentally with the central fight of the historical moment—the fight for peace. Consequently, the monopolies and their labor lieutenants will be forced (are in fact being forced now) to maneuver, to retreat, to make certain temporary concessions to the workers and the working people generally on the question of wages

and other economic issues. But this does not and cannot change the fundamentals of the economic war policy of the monopolies—their main objective in this field—which is to curtail and reduce the purchasing power of the masses, to curtail and reduce their living standards. Inevitably the monopolies will press brutally in that direction; and this pressure will grow ever stronger, the faster the rate of movement toward total war mobilization grows. The direction of Wall Street's war economic policy is the same as of the Hitler-Goering policy: *Guns instead of butter.*

How to set afoot the process of systematic reduction of the purchasing power of the masses, is the problem engaging now the concentrated attention of the monopolies and their servants. And from what has appeared in the press, the general line of attack upon the living standards of the masses is becoming clearer. That line of attack is directed, first and foremost, at *freezing wages*; this is a major monopoly objective, together with *increased speed-up and longer hours*. No matter what maneuvers and concessions the monopolies may be forced to make by the resistance and struggles of the working class, the foregoing are and will remain the central objectives of Wall Street's economic war policies.

Another point of monopoly attack on the purchasing power of the masses is *rising prices*. In this field,

the monopolies rob, not only the working-class consumer, but also the small farmers and city middle classes. Next comes the whole field of government fiscal policy and taxation. Here we already see the main trend of government policy. It is to shift the main burden of war taxation upon the masses; this is the substance of the war taxation measures adopted by Congress, measures which increase all the old burdens of indirect and direct taxation and add a 20 percent increase in the withholding tax upon wages. The talk of "excess" profits taxes is still talk. But even the adoption of such taxes will interfere little, if at all, with war profiteering of the monopolies, because the war contracts offer the corporations many possibilities to recover from the government payments many times more than they may have to pay in "excess" taxes.

Still another point of monopoly attack upon the living standards of the masses is the steady reduction and elimination of government expenditures (Federal, state and local) on health, education, and on all so-called social welfare services. This process is already in motion.

Finally, there is the broad field of government financial policy. Here the monopolies have a double objective; on the one hand, to coin extra billions from government borrowing, and, on the other, to impose upon the masses a system of forced or semi-forced savings. The general

theory behind this double objective is to project such means of government borrowing for war purposes as will drain off into war bonds the maximum possible part of the people's earnings, while at the same time further enriching the monopolies.

#### WALL STREET'S CREDIT STRUCTURE AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF A WAR ECONOMY

Here we come to a point of considerable importance, namely, the deliberate efforts of the monopolies and their government to protect Wall Street's credit structure *at the expense of the masses of the people*. For the fact of the matter is that the credit structure of the American monopolies is slowly being undermined. Under the impact of extensive war borrowings by the government, the credit structure may face the perspective of a collapse. This situation is causing considerable uneasiness in monopoly circles, feeding their determination to keep to a minimum the growth of the national debt upon which rests a major part of Wall Street's credit structure and to cover from the current income of the masses most of the war expenditures.

The national debt stands now at about 260 billion dollars. This compares with about 40 billions at the beginning of 1939 and over 61 billion on the eve of U.S. entrance into World War II. The Federal debt is now almost six and one-half times

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A major part of the country's credit structure rests upon this national debt. Bonds covered by the national debt are held by various Federal government agencies and trust funds—funds which support the old age, unemployment and social insurance systems. A good portion is generally held by the Federal Reserve Banks, which stand at the very base of the credit system. A large and increasing portion is held by mutual savings banks and insurance companies supporting small savings accounts and insurance policies involving tens of millions of people. Of insurance companies alone, 41 major organizations had almost 10 percent of their investments in U.S. government bonds at the end of July 1950.

But one of the largest holders of the national debt are the commercial banks, the most active promoters of credit in all forms, and a major part of their credit transactions is supported by their holdings of government bonds. This is true in a similar way for business firms, corporations and wealthy individuals whose holdings of government bonds constitute support for the operation and expansion of the credit structure of the country. For example: in December 1948, out of a total national debt of over 250 billion dollars, commercial banks held 62 billions; the Federal reserve banks over 23 billions; insurance companies over 21 bil-

lions; mutual savings banks 11½ billions; corporations, etc., over 21 billions; U.S. government agencies and trust funds 37 billions; and individuals about 67 billions. Consequently, a persistent trend of weakening of government bonds, which the present rapid rate of war mobilization and conversion to a war economy may bring about by forcing a further and considerable expansion of the national debt, must inevitably produce a serious shake-up in the entire credit structure of the United States.

This is particularly true when we consider that another of the supports of the country's credit structure is also in serious danger of beginning to weaken. We refer, of course, to the volume of outstanding consumer credit. This volume was \$19,627,000,000 in June 1950—550 millions of dollars above May 1950 and \$3,503,000,000 above June 1949. Upon this sum of nearly 20 billions of outstanding consumer credit rests a good deal of the country's credit structure. The economic policies of the monopolies to reduce mass purchasing power is bound to decrease the ability of millions of consumer-debtors to meet their payments. As this beings to assume the nature of a trend, the whole credit system must begin to feel the repercussions.

But over and above all the foregoing factors threatening the credit structure of the United States, which Wall Street is seeking to protect at

the expense of the masses of the people, are the crisis elements of economic development after World War II and especially since the beginning of the economic decline in October 1948. That decline proceeded uninterruptedly for ten months and by July 1949 registered an 18 percent drop in total industrial production, with steel dropping 20.3 percent, machinery 21.3 percent, textile and products 27 percent, etc.; a drop of 25 percent in expenditures for new plants and equipment in manufacturing; and an increase in unemployment of 150 percent, with 6 million totally unemployed and about 12 million partly employed. Beginning with that decline we had a developing economic crisis in American industry. This was accompanied by a growing agrarian crisis in the United States simultaneously with a growing economic crisis in all capitalist countries, accelerated by the Marshall Plan. All this was taking place in the face of mounting government expenditures (Federal, state and local) which reached the figure of 52.7 billion dollars in 1948, rising to 60.6 billions of dollars in 1949—an increase of 15 percent. But these government expenditures did not prevent the decline and the developing economic crisis.

To check this crisis development, whose growth was being accelerated by the rapidly deepening general crisis of the world system of capitalism, the monopolies and their two

major parties were intensifying the imperialist drive for Wall Street world domination, while increasing the exploitation of the American working class and all working people. With this went an expanded armament program and the steady growth of the elements of a war economy and of war-stimulated inflation.

We must take note of the fact that during the five-year period of 1946-1950 direct military expenditures amounted to over 96 billion dollars and that total consumer credit rose from 10 billion dollars in 1946 to 20 billion dollars in 1950. It was during these years that we see the steady accumulation of elements of a war economy accompanied by war-stimulated inflation.

In fact, the American capitalist economy was not free of elements of a war economy practically since 1938. In that year, we had the beginning of heavy military expenditures designed "to lift" the economy out of the 1937 economic crisis and to prepare for "war emergencies." This trend continued with increasing intensity until 1941, when the United States was heading rapidly to a full-fledged war economy. We had this kind of economy during 1942, 1943 and part of 1944. From the latter part of 1944 through 1945 and 1946 we had declining elements of a war economy with rapidly growing elements of a peace economy, in which total industrial production declined

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nearly 29 percent. These were the years of so-called "reconversion" and "liquidation" in which part of the economy was still of a war character connected with reconversion from, and liquidation of, World War II. Part of the economy was made up of elements of civilian production carried forward from the war years, plus expanded peace-time production beginning in the latter part of 1944; *while still another part of the economy consisted of elements of a new war economy, in preparation for World War III.*

The years 1947 and 1948 were years of expanding peace-time production accompanied by a steady growth of the elements of war economy and of war-stimulated inflation. They were years in which a new economic crisis was beginning to mature in the surroundings of a rapidly deepening general crisis of the world capitalist system, resulting in the outbreak of the economic decline of October 1948 and the developing economic crisis. But the rate of growth of the developing economic crisis was being retarded by the armament program and the inflationary tendencies stimulated by the war preparations. Thus, the cumulative effect of these developments—armaments, war preparations, inflation—together with a temporary upswing in the production of autos and housing, was to check by the end of 1949 the decline in most industries, and to bring about a rise of "boom" proportions in a number

of industries (steel, motor vehicles, airplanes, housing), while other industries continued to lag.

In search of an imperialist way out of the worsening crisis conditions of American capitalist economy, Wall Street was shifting more definitely and rapidly to the building up of a war economy in preparation for world war. And the passing over of American imperialism to direct acts of aggression (the attack on Korea and the aggression against China), accompanied by accelerated preparation and mobilization for an attack on the Soviet Union, are having the following economic effects: The growing elements of a war economy are in the process of becoming the dominant economic trend, modifying the course and forms of the developing economic crisis which began with the decline in October 1948. 2. This, however, *creates new contradictions, which are bound to worsen immeasurably the crisis conditions of American capitalist economy.*

The accelerated trend to a full-fledged war economy spells a process of drastic curtailment of people's consumption, of the destruction of the living standards of the masses. The continued Federal spending for war purposes—*unproductive purposes*—of at least 75 percent of the budget, or 20 percent of the national product, or 25 percent of the national income, with these figures continually increasing, must inevitably lead the country to economic ruin

and financial bankruptcy. The national debt, as we saw, already approximates 260 billions of dollars, making a per capita indebtedness of \$1,695 for every man, woman and child in the country. Bankruptcy under such conditions means a financial and credit crisis of government and business, a breakdown of the financial and credit structure of the United States. And the Wall Street drive to hasten the rearmament of the Marshallized countries will only worsen their economic condition and will aggravate the crisis factors in the American capitalist economy.

To escape the catastrophic economic and financial crash generated by the contradictions of the accelerated drive to a full-fledged war economy, the monopolies seek to expand their direct aggression and war in the Far East and to hasten the opening of hostilities against the Soviet Union. In other words, they are driving the United States to national disaster. And on the road to it, the monopolies are following economic war policies designed to make the masses of the people carry the main economic and financial burdens of the war and war preparations, including the burden of protecting the credit structure of U.S. imperialism. The mainstay of these Wall Street policies is *to cover the cost of the war and war preparations from the current income of the masses of the people*. It is the Hitler-Goering principle of *guns instead of butter* that

the Truman Administration is putting into effect.

From this it is clear that the crisis developments in the capitalist economy of the United States have *not* been resolved by Wall Street's accelerated drive to a full-fledged war economy. This drive has set afoot a process in which the rapidly growing elements of a war economy are becoming the dominant economic trend. This means that the developing economic crisis which began in October 1948 is in the process of being modified in its course and in its forms only to the extent that the growing elements of a war economy are becoming the dominant economic trend. We are dealing with a *process* and not with a complete development.

Finally, the accelerated growth of the elements of a war economy is giving rise to new contradictions, contradictions of a war economy in the given internal and external situations. These contradictions, operating on the basis of the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system, are deepening the crisis conditions of American capitalist economy and are preparing the ground for a catastrophic economic and financial crash.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS

The American working class is already engaged in serious struggles for the protection and improvement of its living standards. One of the

most outstanding facts of American life today *is the veritable wave of strikes and other forms of struggle for various economic demands but primarily for wage increases.* It involves practically all industries throughout the country, *and the initiative and drive come from below,* with the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy "going along," maneuvering and preparing the ground for betrayal, while the Left and progressive forces, including the Communists, are playing an active and leading part in the wage movement. It is already a movement of national proportions.

The immediate and direct impetus for these wage struggles comes from the rapid rise in the cost of living—a nearly 15 percent rise in retail prices—since the opening of Wall Street's direct aggression in Korea. It also comes from the fact that wage increases in 1950 have been few in number and small in size due to the treacherous policies of the reactionary trade-union leaders both in the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. A study of the Bureau of National Affairs shows that of 815 settlements in 1950, 26 percent contained no wage increase at all. Of the wage increases "there were more settlements of 1 to 3 cents an hour and of 4 to 6 cents an hour than in 1949 but fewer settlements in the brackets from 7 cents upward. The largest percentage of settlements fell into the brackets of 4 to 6 cents an hour increase" (N.Y. Times, May

12, 1950). These wage struggles are stimulated further by the murderous speed-up which is continually growing with the blessing of Green, Murray, Reuther, Dubinsky & Co., by the accumulated unresolved grievances in the shops, *and by the extraordinary growth of monopoly profits.*

According to a study by the *Wall Street Journal* (August 1) monopoly profits in the second quarter of 1950 were 46.5 percent above those of the corresponding months of 1949. This is the average for 321 corporations. By industries, the facts are even more outrageous. The increase in aircraft was 117.2 percent, autos and equipment 57.9 percent, building materials 79 percent, chemicals 69.8 percent, electrical and radio 60.2 percent, farm equipment 6.9 percent (but from the first to the second quarter of 1950 the rise was 82.8 percent), iron and steel 57.5 percent, metal mining and metals 498.5 percent, textiles 75.5 percent, tools and machinery 20.3 percent.

The glaring contrast between the steadily falling real wages of the workers and the mounting real profits of the monopolies could not but have a most stimulating effect upon the presently spreading wave of wage struggles. Another contributing factor is the realization by the workers that their bargaining power is rising in many industries due to the rise in employment and to the perspective of certain shortages for

various types of skilled and semi-skilled labor, most of which is connected with the accelerated drive to a full-fledged war economy.

Finally, the workers find it urgent to secure adequate wage increases as soon as possible, not only to meet partly the rising cost of living, but also to beat the wage freeze about to be imposed upon them by the monopolies, their government and their labor lieutenants. The war profiteers, *i.e.*, the monopolies, call the wage demands of labor "unpatriotic" and "selfish," and are pressing the reactionary trade-union leaders, Green, Murray, Reuther, Dubinsky, to agree to "freeze" wages and to outlaw strikes under the guise of a so-called "voluntary no-strike pledge." But the actions of labor, namely, the demands and struggles for wage increases to protect and defend its living standards, *which means the living standards of the American people*, won in decades of suffering and sacrifice in the struggle against rapacious monopoly exploitation, are highly patriotic, because they seek to realize the needs and hopes of the masses of the American people. Consequently, it is not the "unpatriotic" nature of labor's wage struggles that worries and angers the monopolies and their servants. It is the fact that Wall Street's war of aggression in Korea is unpopular among the workers as among the rest of the American people. They do not see why Americans

must go to the other end of the world to kill people—the Koreans—to destroy their country, and get killed themselves. They do not see why we must do things that threaten an atomic world war that will be fought on American soil as well. They do not consider that Wall Street's war of aggression in Korea is *their* war. And this, of course, has a good deal to do with labor's readiness to fight for the protection of its living standards against the attempts of the monopolies to reduce and destroy these standards in order to make the masses of labor and the people pay the cost of the war and war preparations.

In this situation, the reformist trade-union bureaucracy is forced to execute a number of fancy maneuvers. On the one hand, this bureaucracy is working together with the monopolies and their government to prepare the ground for a wage freeze, for outlawing strikes under the guise of a "no-strike pledge"; for imposing upon the people the fraud of "equality of sacrifice"; and for turning the trade unions into adjuncts of Wall Street's war machine camouflaged with the fake of "labor representation" in the war agencies of the government. But, on the other hand, this bureaucracy is in deadly fear of exposing fully its role of Wall Street servant, of a lackey of the war-profiteering monopolies. Hence, the Greens, Murrrays, Reuthers and Dubinskys are making all kinds of

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gestures in favor of wage increases and against rising prices; and, driven by the powerful mass urge of the workers from below, these betrayers of labor pretend "to go along" in the fight for wage increases. Yet all the time this treacherous outfit is scheming to inveigle labor into "accepting" the "no-strike pledge" and "equality of sacrifice" fraud, in the expectation that, if and when this happens, labor will be so shackled that it will be unable to resist the wage freeze and will have to submit to the monopoly policies of reducing and destroying labor's living standards.

And the monopolies themselves are also maneuvering. They, too, make concessions of various magnitudes to labor's wage movements and some of them—e.g., the Chrysler outfit (which was in effect facing a rising strike situation)—grant slight wage increases even "voluntarily." But this must not deceive the workers into thinking that these concessions represent the real economic war policies of the monopolies. The present wage maneuvers of the monopolies are dictated, first, by the rising wave of strike struggles and by the improving bargaining position of the unions due to the rise in employment and the possibility of shortages in certain kinds of skilled and semi-skilled labor. Secondly, they do not desire to precipitate sharp clashes with labor which might create insuperable obstacles for the reaction-

ary trade-union leaders to secure a "no-strike-pledge" altogether. Thirdly, they prefer to come to the wage freeze without delay and to get long-term contracts. Fourthly, they are motivated by a tactical consideration not to expose prematurely their real economic policies and objectives. Lastly, the monopolies calculate that, once the "no-strike pledge" and the wage freeze are in effect, they will take back from labor much more than they are now forced to grant in wage increases; and they will do so by means of increased speed-up, rising prices (even if price "controls" are instituted) and through anti-labor and anti-people government policies in the sphere of taxation and war financing.

They expect to get their pound of flesh not only in these spheres. The monopolies and their agents are becoming ever more closely bound up and integrated with the machinery of the government. During World War II, the monopolies and their agents completely dominated the agencies of government that carried on the war—economically, politically and militarily. And now again, as old war agencies are being activated and expanded and new ones created, the monopolies and their agents are taking charge. These are the ominous further developments of state monopoly capitalism which are at the bottom of the drive to war and fascism. And the presence on some of these agencies of the Greens, Mur-

rays, Reuthers, Dubinskys, Potofskys, etc., will only mean that the monopolistic war profiteers will have "labor's" voluntary approval of all their crimes against the American working class and people. And it is by means of these war agencies, too, that the monopolies expect to be able to intensify the exploitation of labor many times over what they are now forced to concede in wage increases.

Here are a few examples:

The Iron and Steel Advisory Committee of the Munitions Board, which is a policy-making agency of the Department of Defense, is dominated by the steel trusts as represented by Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel, Ben Moreell of Jones and Laughlin, Ernest Weir of National Steel, F. Purnell of Youngstown Sheet & Tube, A. B. Homer of Bethlehem Steel, and C. M. White of Republic Steel.

The powerful Priorities and Allocations Division to be set up by the Department of Commerce will be headed by Maj. Gen. William H. Harrison, president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Co.

The newly created military traffic organization by the Department of Defense will be in charge of Edward G. Plowman, a vice-president of the United States Steel Corporation.

The Ordnance Committee of the Defense Department's research and development board is controlled by John S. Newton of Baldwin Locomotive Works, James Fairman of

Consolidated Edison Co., and Dwight T. Calley of the Atlantic Refining Co.

These are only a few examples of how the monopolies are integrating themselves ever more closely with the capitalist state power, taking charge of the administration of the government's war agencies through Wall Street generals and generals of Wall Street.

Labor and the masses of the people generally are thus faced with a task of great importance and magnitude. *It is to protect and defend the living standards of the masses of the American people from destruction by the economic war policies of the monopolies, carried out by their two major parties, their government and their labor lieutenants.* We speak here of the living standards of the working class, of the masses of the Negro people, of the working farmers and poor middle classes. The struggle to defend the living standards of the working masses is in the best national interests of the American people. The objective of their struggle has to be pursued in many fields: in the industries, in the legislatures and on the farms. It is an objective which calls for the utmost unity of the working class against the war-profiteering monopolies and for the exposure of the fake unity maneuvers of Green and Murray which are designed to shackle labor to Wall Street's war machine. It is an objective which calls for the strongest

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bond of unity of the American working class with the national liberation movement of the Negro people, who are already carrying heavy burdens of Wall Street's wars and war preparations. In this unity the fight for the equal rights of the Negro workers in industry, as in all spheres, is a major and central task. Finally, it is an objective that calls for the unity of the American working class with the small and middle farmers and the poor middle classes of the cities whose living standards are also menaced by Wall Street's economic war policies.

In this struggle the Communist Party has to fulfill a significant and historic vanguard role. It is to fight together with the masses *and in their front ranks* for the defense of their living standards; and, in doing so, to help the masses *combine and connect* the economic struggles with the fight for peace and civil liberties. This role our Party will fulfill regardless of the specific conditions which the profiteering warmaking monopolies and their government may impose upon the struggles of the masses of the American people and upon the work of our Party.

We must bring into the economic struggles, in an agitational and propagandistic way, the issues of struggle for peace. It is the duty of the vanguard—the historic role of the vanguard—to prepare the masses themselves to combine and connect the economic struggles with the fight for

peace and democracy, against the war and fascist dangers. It is the duty of the vanguard to prepare the masses themselves to carry on these struggles along the lines and on the basis of the policy of the united proletarian front and people's front against war and fascism.

The Communist Party will continue to give the utmost active support to the struggles of the masses:

For wage increases and against the wage freeze, for shorter hours without reduction in pay, against speed-up, for the rollback of prices, for price controls administered by the democratic organizations of the people, against war profiteering by the monopolies, against taxing the people for Wall Street's wars.

For the repeal of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law; against outlawing the right to strike under the guise of a "no-strike pledge"; against turning the unions into adjuncts of Wall Street's war machine; against all fascist and profascist legislation of the Mundt-Ferguson - Nixon - MacCarran - Kilgore - Truman type; against outlawing the Communist Party.

For full equality of rights of the Negro workers in industry and of the Negro people in all fields—economic, political and social.

For active support to the price, credit and land demands of the small and middle farmers at the

expense of the monopolies.

The Communist Party will especially stress the need for *unity*, unity of action for the immediate and burning economic and political demands of the masses regardless of ideology or political affiliation. We will fight with the utmost concentration for the workers' united front and the people's front against war and fascism, for the broadest coalition in the fight for peace, for working-class unity in the struggle to defend the people's living standards, civil liberties and equal rights.

But we will fight *as a vanguard party*. We will seek to help the masses understand that the fight for protecting and saving the people's living standards demands for its success a daily struggle for peace and civil liberties. We shall seek to win the masses to an understanding and acceptance of the truth that the fight for immediate economic demands and issues can gain in strength and will attain important successes by combining it with the fight for peace, for civil rights, against war and fascism.

To strengthen the historic struggle for the people's living standards

it is necessary to *intensify the fight* for stopping MacArthur's bombings of Korea's civilian population, for a peaceful settlement of the war in Korea and for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces, for seating the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council, for outlawing the atom bomb, for stopping Wall Street's armament race and mad rush to World War III. In the consistent and concentrated struggle *for the utmost unity of action* in the shops, in the departments, in the industries, in the localities—for the defense of the living standards of the masses, Communists must continue to do all in their power to strengthen the fight for peace and civil liberties. *Any weakening of the fight for peace will inevitably weaken the fight for the living standards of the masses.*

Therefore: we will at all times seek to help the masses to learn, in the process of their daily economic and political struggles, *that the fight for protection and saving the living standards of the American people from Wall Street destruction will be won only by winning the fight against the warmakers, by winning the fight for peace and democracy.*

By Liu

[The Report of the Constitution of Liu Shao-chong's Congress in China on the day here for them it is his high gain in the relation of Chinese masses, of the fight for the public, on October 1,

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## On the Party

By Liu Shao-chi

[The following section from the Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Party delivered by Liu Shao-chi at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China on May 14, 1945, is published here for the first time in English. We deem it most appropriate to feature this highly significant analysis of the main principles which have guided the relations between the victorious Chinese Communist Party and the masses, on the great historic occasion of the first anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, universally celebrated on October 1, 1950.—The Editors.]

BECAUSE OF ITS Marxist-Leninist program and policy our Party has independently organized and led the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist New Democratic Revolution of the Chinese people, fulfilled to the maximum extent the tasks of the Chinese proletariat in the present bourgeois-democratic revolution and carried out the leadership of the proletariat in the people's revolution, with Socialism and Communism as its ultimate goal.

The General Program of the Party

Constitution points out that our Party represents the interests of the Chinese nation and people. Of course, this is the essence of our Party and of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The interests of the Chinese proletariat and the interests of the Chinese people are identical. The New Democratic Revolution against imperialism and against feudalism now carried on by our Party is in the interests not only of the working class but also of the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of China can succeed only when it stands not only for the partial and immediate interests of its own class but also for the interests of the entire people and only when it organizes and unites not only its own class but also the entire nation and people to carry on the struggle. The proletariat cannot achieve its own liberation if it fails to liberate the people as a whole.

On the other hand, the Chinese working class together with the other laboring people constitute the main body of the Chinese nation. It is their interests that form the foundation of the interests of the Chinese nation and people. In fighting for the cre-

ation of an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous New China, the Chinese Communist Party is representing the interests of the entire Chinese nation and people as well as of the Chinese working class. The same will be true in the future when the Party will fight for the realization of Socialism and Communism, because the building up of a Socialist and Communist society means the final emancipation of mankind as a whole. . . .

#### REGARDING THE MASS LINE OF THE PARTY

The General Program and the detailed provisions of the Party Constitution lay particular stress on the Party's mass line. This is another feature of the present revised Constitution, because the mass line is a fundamental political and organizational line of our Party. This means that all our Party organizations and all our Party work must be closely linked up with the masses.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly pointed out to us that the mass line should be applied in all our work. In his report to this Congress he again urged us in most sincere terms to do our work by following the mass line. He said that the striking feature distinguishing us Communists from any other political party was our very close contact with the broadest masses of the people. He asked us to serve the Chinese people with all our heart and soul, not to

become isolated from the masses for a single moment. . . .

He further told us that we are invincible "as long as we rely upon the people, believe firmly in their boundless creative power, have faith in them and unite as one with them." He pointed out that "commandism" is wrong in all phases of work because it goes beyond the level of consciousness of the masses, violates the principle of voluntary action of the masses, and is an expression of impetuosity. "In all our work," he added, "tailism is wrong, because it falls behind the level of consciousness of the masses, violates the principle of leading the masses one step forward, and is an expression of sluggishness." All these teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung are extremely important and should be carefully studied and grasped and earnestly carried out.

This mass line of ours is possible only in a proletarian Party. Our mass line is a class line, a mass line of the proletariat. Our views with regard to the people and our relationship to them differ basically from those of all exploiting classes.

#### THE PARTY'S ROLE AS VANGUARD

We fully understand the decisive role which the vanguard of the masses of the people is to play in the

\* The attempt to carry out Party or government work by merely issuing orders or making use of administrative orders without organizing, educating, convincing and mobilizing the masses.

struggle for emancipation of the people. The complete emancipation of the masses of the people is possible only when they have such a vanguard of their own as our Party; otherwise they would be without revolutionary leadership. Without such revolutionary leadership, the people's revolution would meet with failure. Only under the firm and correct leadership of our Party, and only by carrying on the struggle in the political direction our Party has pointed out, can the Chinese people achieve their complete emancipation.

This is one aspect of the problem.

The other aspect is that the vanguard of the masses of the people must establish proper and close relations with the masses of the people. It must stand for their interests in every field, first of all, in the political field. It must adopt a correct attitude toward them, and lead them by correct methods. Only by so doing can the vanguard be closely united with the masses of the people; otherwise it is quite possible that the vanguard will become isolated from the masses of the people. In that case, the vanguard would not be the vanguard of the people or perform its task of emancipating the masses of the people, and would run the risk of being wiped out by the enemy. This means that the vanguard of the masses must have a thorough-going and clear-cut mass line in all its work.

#### AGAINST TAILISM

What are the basic circumstances

under which the vanguard would become isolated from the masses of the people?

First of all, the vanguard would become isolated from the masses if it failed to perform its tasks as the vanguard of the people, if it failed to represent at all times and under all circumstances the maximum interests of the broadest possible masses of the people, if it failed to set forth in time correct tasks, policies and style of work, if it failed to stick to the truth and if it failed to correct its mistakes in time. In other words, tailism and laissez-faire would lead to isolation from the masses.

In our Party, there has been as yet no open advocacy of spontaneity or the tailist "theory" of following at the heels of the spontaneous mass movement or dispensing with the leadership of the proletarian Party. But "*Chen Tu-hsiu-ism*"\* in the latter period of the Great Revolution of 1925-27 and capitulationism in the early period of the Anti-Japanese War were both a kind of tailism, lagging far behind the mass revolutionary movement of the time, and incapable of setting forth correct tasks, policies or style of work to represent the people and inspire them to go forward, with the result that isolation from the people ensued and the revolution sustained losses and defeat. In addi-

\* A Right opportunist line followed by Chen Tu-hsiu, secretary general of the Communist Party of China in 1921-27. It advocated surrendering the leading role of the working class in order to placate the bourgeoisie. Chen Tu-hsiu became a liquidator after the defeat of the revolution, and later joined with the Trotskyites as an open enemy.

tion, there are some comrades who commit errors of a tailist nature in particular lines of work.

Some comrades, for instance, in their practical work, regarded the Party as an army, government or trade union appendage, instead of the highest form of class organization. Others in their practical work displayed inertia and conventionalism, remained satisfied with things as they were, let things run their own course and lost their keenness for making improvements. Instead of putting forward correct tasks, policies and style of work on the basis of the actual conditions of the masses at the given time and at the given place in order to lead them forward, they violated the principle of leading the masses one step forward. They yielded to the backward ideas of the masses and reduced themselves to the level of an ordinary worker or peasant, or even of backward elements, thus abandoning their vanguard role. Sometimes they compromised with the incorrect ideas of the masses and followed at the tail of spontaneous movements of the masses, failing to give them correct and farsighted leadership. This tendency is bound to isolate us from the broad masses of the people, because the people do not need such leaders.

#### AGAINST COMMANDISM

Secondly, the vanguard isolates itself from the masses of the people, if and when its attitude and methods

of leadership are incorrect, if it fails to make the masses realize the correctness of the Party's slogans through their own experiences and to act accordingly, or if the slogans and policy are too advanced or too "left," or the forms of struggle and organization it advocates are impossible under the circumstances or unacceptable to the masses. In other words, commandism, adventurism and closed-door-ism would lead to isolation from the masses.

Some comrades in our Party have committed mistakes of commandism, adventurism and closed-door-ism. Some, for instance, have been irresponsible toward the masses in their work. They did not believe that it was the masses who were emancipating themselves. Instead, they stood above the masses to fight in their stead, to bestow emancipation on the masses and to issue orders. Such comrades suffered from impetuosity. Being only superficially active, they did not know how to transform the Party's slogans and tasks into those of the people, or how to enlighten the masses and properly wait for their awakening. Nor did they know how to take steps to bring about a natural revolutionization of the masses. They merely tried to compel the masses to accept the Party's slogans and tasks simply by issuing arbitrary orders and forcing the masses into action. Thus, they violated the principle of self-willingness of the masses. Particularly when slogans too advanced and policies too

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"left" had aroused doubts and dissatisfaction among the masses, they sought all the more to carry on their work by means of issuing orders, by coercion or even by punishment. The worst thing about such practices is that they would arbitrarily try to find faults, shortcomings and bad examples, subjecting these to criticism, condemnation, and punishment in order to frighten the people and the cadres, and in order to push forward the work. They refused to find out the good points and good examples and to study, develop and systematize them. They neither commended the heroes and model workers, nor recommended or disseminated the good experiences in order to encourage the progress of the Party members and the people, and to overcome errors and defects. They struck blows at others everywhere and did things simply by issuing orders. Instead of learning from the masses of the people and benefiting by the people's new ideas and inventions they forced others to do things in their way. Such a tendency led to serious isolation from the masses of the people and aroused the latter's resentment against them or even against the entire Party.

#### AGAINST BUREAUCRACY AND WARLORDISM

In addition to the two tendencies mentioned above, other tendencies of bureaucracy and warlordism have been noticeable in some of our com-

rades. Such tendencies also mean serious isolation from the masses of the people.

A bureaucratic tendency was manifested by some comrades in their lack of a standpoint of serving the people and their lack of a sense of responsibility to the people and to the Party. Typical examples are those who loafed around doing nothing but issuing orders. They did not investigate, study or learn from the masses. They rejected criticism from the masses, ignored the rights of the people, or even asked the people to serve them. They made no scruple of sacrificing the interests of the people for their own benefit, becoming corrupt and degenerate and lording it over the people.

The tendency of warlordism was manifested in the ignorance, on the part of some comrades, of the fact that our army was an army or an armed force of the people, a most important instrument of the people for defeating their enemies and liberating themselves. Instead, the army was regarded as a special power standing outside or above the people, or as an instrument for building up the personal influence or position of a small number of people. As a consequence, they introduced bureaucratic and dictatorial modes of work.

The characteristics of such practices, as manifested in relations between officers and men and between upper and lower ranks, are to command the army by issuing orders and meting out punishment, instead of

relying upon the army's consciousness and initiative. Secondly, such characteristics were manifested in the relation between the army and the people; they are seen in the failure to strengthen army discipline. In dealing with the people, some comrades did not ensure that their subordinates pay strict attention to discipline. These comrades lacked feelings of love for the people. Instead, the people were subjected to coercion, violence and insults, thus estranging them from the army. Thirdly, such characteristics were manifested in a purely military approach to the relationship between the revolutionary army and the revolutionary government, seeking to place the army above the government and to run the government by the army.

It is very clear that such a tendency has nothing whatsoever in common with a People's Army.

#### FIGHT TENDENCIES OF ISOLATION FROM THE MASSES

The wrong tendencies of isolation from the masses referred to earlier arose in our Party out of the cultural backwardness of the toiling people, as well as out of the influence exerted by the exploiting classes of the old society. The petty-bourgeois elements and other elements in our Party, being long separated from social production as they were, were often susceptible to such influences, resulting in various tendencies of isolation from the masses. These tendencies

have their own deep social origin and were even mentioned in the General Program of our Party Constitution. Further development of the revolution, involving much harder work, will offer greater opportunities for the growth of such tendencies among us. We must, therefore, wage a constant struggle against them in order to maintain and strengthen constantly our link with the broad masses of the people. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it, we must constantly "sweep the floor and wash our faces" so that political dust and dirt and political germs may not cloud or poison the minds of our comrades or the body of our Party.

The masses of the people must have their own powerful vanguard, which on its part must be most closely united with the broadest possible masses of the people. Only thus will the emancipation of the masses of the people be possible. Therefore, our Party, the vanguard of the Chinese people, must constantly liquidate those tendencies which estrange the masses, referred to earlier, and must unite more closely with the masses of the people. Such a line is our Party's mass line, the mass line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is a line which is designed to establish correct relationships between our Party and the people. It is a line which enables our Party to adopt a correct attitude and correct methods for leading the masses of the people. It is a line which aims at establishing a correct relationship between our

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Party's leading bodies and individual leaders on the one hand and the people they lead on the other.

According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the policy and methods of work of our Party must originate from the masses and go back to the masses. In other words, our Party's organizational, as well as its political line, should come correctly from the masses and go back correctly to the masses. Our Party's correct political line cannot be separated from its correct organizational line. Although partial, temporary disharmony may occur between these two, it is impossible to imagine a correct political line existing alongside an incorrect organizational line or vice versa. The one cannot be isolated from the other. By a correct organizational line is meant the mass line of the Party, a line of intimately linking our Party leadership with the broad masses inside and outside the Party, a two-way process between the Party and the masses, a line of combining general appeals with individual guidance as a method of leadership.

#### EVERYTHING FOR THE MASSES

In order to carry out thoroughly the mass line of our Party and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the General Program and provisions of the Party Constitution have particularly drawn attention to the following attitude toward the masses which must be instilled in the mind of every Party member.

Firstly, it is the standpoint that everything is for the masses, and for serving the masses wholeheartedly. From its very beginning our Party was founded to serve the people. All the sacrifices, efforts, and struggles of Party members have been made for the welfare and emancipation of the masses of the people and for nothing else. This is the greatest glory of us Communists. This is something we are particularly proud of. Hence, any viewpoint must be erroneous if it sacrifices the interests of the people for personal interests or for the interests of small cliques. So long as they are devoted to their duty and have a more or less good record, all our Party members and those who have joined the revolutionary ranks are serving the people, regardless of whether or not they are aware of it, whether they occupy important, leading positions or are merely privates, cooks or grooms. They are all directly or indirectly in the service of the people at different posts, and are therefore all equal and honorable. We must develop, among all Party members and personnel, a high level of consciousness so that they may serve the people and hold themselves responsible to the people on the basis of a high level of consciousness.

#### FULL RESPONSIBILITY TO THE MASSES

Secondly, it is the standpoint of assuming full responsibility to the masses of the people. As we serve

the people we must be responsible to them and enable them to obtain real benefit and emancipation through our service. We must try our best to avoid mistakes or reduce them to a minimum in order not to do harm to the people or cause less harm to them. The tasks, policies and style of work we advocate must all be correct in order to benefit the people; otherwise harm will be done to the people's interests. In that case we must earnestly practice self-criticism for prompt rectification of our errors. This means that we must know how to serve the people, and serve them well and not badly. Hence, under no circumstances should we assume an easy-going attitude toward the people.

It is also necessary to understand the unity between responsibility to the people and responsibility to the leading bodies of our Party. This means that our Party members, in carrying out the instructions of a leading body or individual leader of our Party, must be held responsible to such leading body or individual leader. But it would be wrong to separate responsibility to the Party leadership from responsibility to the people. Only by holding oneself responsible to the people can one say that one has assumed the highest and final responsibility. It must be understood that the interests of the Party are identical with the interests of the people. Whatever benefits the people benefits the Party and must be furthered by every Party member

with heart and soul. Likewise, whatever injures the people injures the Party and must be opposed or avoided by every Party member. . . . Any Party member who is responsible to the people is also responsible to the Party, and he who is irresponsible to the people is most irresponsible of all to the Party. What must be understood is the unity between responsibility to the Party and responsibility to the people. They should be unified, and not separated.

When shortcomings or mistakes are discovered in the directives of the leadership or of individual leaders in regard to tasks, policies or style of work, suggestions for correction should be made with a sense of responsibility to the people. It is essential to distinguish between right and wrong and not to take things easy; otherwise it would mean irresponsibility both to the people and to the Party.

The discipline of the Party must be observed and its unity maintained, because maintenance of such discipline and unity is serving the basic interest of the Chinese people. There must be no undermining of the discipline or unity of the Party on the pretext of assuming responsibility to the people. Nevertheless, any shortcoming or error committed by a leading body or individual leaders must be corrected. It is the duty as well as the right of every Party member to help in this respect, for any such shortcomings or errors are disadvantageous to the people, hence

also to the Party. Our Party membership's spirit of sincere self-criticism, a critical attitude toward one's own errors and those of the leadership, and a spirit of observing Party discipline, are part of the spirit of being responsible to the people.

#### FAITH IN THE CREATIVE POWER OF THE MASSES

Thirdly, it is the standpoint of having faith in the people's self-emancipation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us that the masses of the people are truly great, that their creative power is inexhaustible, that we are invincible so long as we rely on them, that the people alone are the real makers of history, and that real history is the history of the masses of the people. Marx pointed out long ago that the toilers would emancipate themselves. Their salvation depends neither upon emperors, gods, or heroes, but upon themselves, as the "International" says. This means that only through their own struggles and efforts can their emancipation be achieved, maintained and consolidated, as it cannot be bestowed or granted by any outsider, nor can it be fought for or secured through the efforts of any one except themselves. Hence, the viewpoint of gratuitously presenting emancipation to the masses or acting in their stead in their fight is wrong.

The masses of the people make their own history. Their emancipation must be based on their own

consciousness and willingness. They develop their own vanguard. And, under the leadership of this vanguard, they must organize themselves and fight for their emancipation by their own efforts. Only then can they consciously secure the gains of their struggle and retain and consolidate them. The enemies of the people can be overthrown only by the people themselves. It cannot be done in any other way. Merely through the efforts of the vanguard and without the people's own genuine consciousness and mobilization, their emancipation is impossible; history will not move forward, and nothing can be accomplished. Even such things as reduction of rent and interest, mutual aid in work, or co-operative societies, all of which concern the immediate interests of the people, will become just so much empty talk unless consciously and voluntarily taken up by the masses themselves, instead of having such things bestowed upon them or organized for them.

The cause of the Communists is nothing but the cause of the masses of the people. However correct our program and policy may be, these cannot be realized without the direct support and persistent struggle of the masses.

With us, therefore, everything depends upon and is determined by the people's consciousness and voluntary actions, without which we can accomplish nothing, and all our effort will be in vain. But, so far as we rely upon the consciousness and voluntary

actions of the masses and so far as these are genuine, then, with the addition of the Party's correct leadership, every aspect of the great cause of the Party will finally triumph. Therefore, when the masses are not fully conscious, the duty of Communists—the vanguard of the masses of the people—in carrying out any kind of work is to develop their consciousness by every effective and suitable means. This is the first step in our work, which must be well done no matter how difficult it is, or how much time it will take.

Only when the first step has been taken can we enter upon the second step. In other words, when the masses have reached the necessary level of consciousness, it is then our responsibility to guide them in their action—to guide them to organize and to fight. When this has been done we may further develop their consciousness through their actions. This is how we lead the masses step by step to fight for the basic slogans of the people as put forward by our Party. This is the utmost part that we Communists, and all advanced elements and outstanding figures among the masses, can play in the people's cause. All kinds of errors, such as acting-the-hero, commandism, manipulation and the attitude of gratuitousness may ensue if attempts are made to perform a greater role.

In the struggle for the emancipation of the people, a Communist should act and can only act as a leader or guide to the masses of the

people. He should not and can not act as a "hero," to replace the people in the task of conquering the world. In their revolutionary struggle, the masses of the people are in urgent need of farsighted and steadfast leaders and guides as an indispensable factor for their success. But they do not need "heroes" to conquer the world for them, for such "heroes" isolated from the masses can achieve nothing for the cause of emancipation of the people.

#### LEARNING FROM THE MASSES

Fourthly, it is the standpoint of learning from the masses of the people. In order to serve the people well, to kindle their consciousness and to give guidance to their actions, we Communists must, first of all, possess certain qualities. We must have foresight, forethought. This means that we must be the harbingers of enlightenment, the people capable of best helping the less enlightened. Aside from our whole-hearted devotion to the cause of the people's emancipation, our inexhaustible enthusiasm and our spirit of sacrifice, we must have adequate knowledge and must be sufficiently experienced and vigilant before we can successfully raise the level of the people's consciousness, lead their actions and serve them well. Learning is indispensable, if we are to acquire knowledge, experience and foresight.

We may enrich our knowledge by studying Marxist-Leninist theories,

history and the lesson of the people's struggles in foreign lands. We may also learn from our enemies. But what is most important is to learn from the masses of the people, because their knowledge and experiences are the most abundant and most practical, and their creative power is the greatest. This is why Comrade Mao Tse-tung has time and again told us we must learn from the masses before we can educate them.

Only when our comrades have humbly learned from the masses of the people, crystallized the knowledge and experience of the people and turned it into systematic knowledge of a higher order, will they be able to take positive steps to develop the consciousness of the people and give guidance to the people's activities. It will certainly be futile, if instead we should self-conceitedly devise a set of schemes out of our own imagination, or mechanically introduce a set of schemes from historical or foreign experiences in order to develop the consciousness of the masses and to guide them. In order to learn unceasingly from the masses, we must not stand isolated from the people for a single moment. If we do so our knowledge will be greatly limited, and certainly we cannot be intelligent, informed, capable or competent to give them leadership.

An ordinary person is ipso facto often nearer to truth than some of our higher bodies.

In order to give leadership to our

cause, it is far from enough to rest solely on our own experiences or those of our leaders. In order to exercise correct leadership, to the experiences of the leaders must be added the experiences of the rank and file of the Party membership, of the working class, and of the toilers, as well as of the so-called nobodies. . . .

[To achieve this], there must be intimate connections between the leaders and the masses, between the leaders and the rank and file of the Party membership, the working class, the peasantry, and the working intelligentsia.

To maintain and consolidate connections with the masses, to be ever-ready and willing to listen to the voice of the masses—this is wherein lies the strength of the Bolshevik leadership and the reason for its sure success. (*Collected Works of Stalin*, Chinese translation, Vol. V, p. 322.)

Such is Stalin's advice to the Communists of the Soviet Union. It is a universal truth.

The tasks of leaders and leading Party bodies are to exercise correct leadership, have a correct idea of the situation, grasp its essence, set forth the tasks, make decisions, and mobilize and organize the masses to carry out these decisions, as well as to organize them to supervise their execution. To do these well, it is necessary to learn from the masses and to follow the line of "coming from the masses" and "going back to the masses," otherwise no leadership can be satisfactorily exercised.

These standpoints of "everything for the people," of holding oneself responsible to the people, of having

faith in the people's ability to emancipate themselves, and of learning from the people constitute our mass viewpoints. This is the standpoint of the vanguard of the people in regard to the people. Only with such a viewpoint, such firm and unequivocal mass standpoints, can our comrades avail themselves of an unequivocal mass line in their work and carry out correct leadership.

#### WHAT IS MASS WORK?

It is wrong for some comrades to regard as mass work only the work of such mass organizations as trade unions or peasant leagues, to the exclusion of all others. All activities of the Party or those under its leadership are activities of the masses of the people, and should be carried out, without exception, through the masses, with a mass standpoint and on the basis of the mass line. The mass line and mass standpoint are required for each and every activity. Work in our Party is also a kind of mass work and should be carried out according to that line, since the Party itself is part of the masses of the people, and furthermore it is dedicated solely to serving the people.

Our work in the army is also a kind of mass work to be carried out according to the mass line, since the army itself is part and parcel of the masses of the people, dedicated solely to serving the people.

Of course, different lines of work

have their particular forms of procedure which should not be confused with each other. Thus forms of work for trade unions and peasants' associations should be distinguished from those for the Party and the army, yet, all of them are mass work.

Naturally, the masses of the people are not all alike and so our work is varied and intricate. Our comrades, according to their respective roles, must each directly serve a specific section of the people, such as the workers of a factory, the farmers of a village, the staff members of an office, the soldiers of a military unit, or just a handful of people; yet together they have the common objective of serving the Chinese people.

Hence, our comrades must grasp correctly the relationship between the part and the whole, so that while directly engaged in partial activities and serving a section of the people, they are indirectly promoting and strengthening the entire revolutionary cause and serving the entire people. Their standpoint must cover both the part and the whole. It is wrong to keep an eye only on the part to the neglect of the whole or vice versa. The parts and the whole must be unified.

When there is conflict between the partial, temporary interests of the masses of the people and their total, permanent interests, the former must be subordinated to the latter. This means that a small reason must be subordinated to a big reason, or a small principle to a big principle.



This is a very intricate problem; however, there can be a thorough-going mass line only when our comrades know how to think out and how to discern correctly and co-ordinate the people's partial and basic interests in very specific situations. Otherwise, they may consciously or unconsciously support the temporary interests of a section of the people and so oppose and isolate themselves from the long-range interests of the majority.

In the initial stages of every mass movement there are generally to be found the relatively active, the intermediate elements and the backward element; the active elements are usually in the minority, with the latter two categories constituting the broad masses. In accordance with the mass line, the majority, that is the intermediate and the backward elements, must be taken care of, or the advanced elements will be isolated and nothing can be done satisfactorily. The slogans of action and the forms of struggle and of organization we put forward before the masses must be acceptable to the intermediate elements and the backward elements. The development of the consciousness and voluntary action of the masses concerns chiefly these people. A mass movement is possible only when these people are awakened and inspired to action.

We must pay particular attention to the education, consolidation and organization of the active elements so that they become the nucleus of

leadership among the masses. However, we should by all means refrain from organizing the active elements merely for their own sake and it is absolutely impermissible for us to isolate these elements from the middle-of-the-road and backward masses. Our sole intention is to attract and set in motion the latter, which can be done only through the former. In other words, it is for the broadest masses that the active elements are organized. If the middle and backward masses are not yet awakened, we must know how to enlighten them, as well as how to wait for them; if we are unwilling to wait, but recklessly rush forward with a handful of our active elements following us we would isolate ourselves from the masses and end in failure.

#### BREAKTHROUGH AT ONE POINT

The peasantry constitutes over 80 per cent of China's population. Taking the nation as a whole, consideration for the majority of the masses of the people mainly implies consideration for the peasantry. Our mass standpoint is intimately connected with our rural standpoint. Under the present conditions the working class of China will not be able to fulfill its own task if it ignores China's peasantry or rural emancipation.

In our work it becomes all the more necessary to combine individual guidance with general directives, and to set a whole campaign in

motion by breaking through at one point, in view of the rather low cultural level of the masses of the Chinese peasantry and other sections of the people, except the intelligentsia. General directives alone will never succeed with masses of a low cultural level. This is due to the fact that the masses, especially the peasantry, usually understand problems from what they see or experience for themselves instead of from our general propaganda and slogans. In our work we should break through at one point to give some example to the masses and let them see and understand it by themselves. Only by giving demonstrative examples to the masses can we encourage them, particularly the middle and backward elements, by affording them the opportunities and facilities to understand the problems, thereby instilling in them confidence and courage to act under our Party's slogans and to culminate in an upsurge of mass enthusiasm.

The reason that recent army heroes, labor heroes and model workers in different places are playing an outstanding role and have become the best propagandists and organizers of the masses is due to the very fact that through such actual personalities, examples and experiences familiar to them, the

masses are enabled to understand the issues, thus heightening their consciousness and self-confidence. This also explains why revolutionary reconstruction in China's revolutionary bases is playing an educational and enlightening role for the people of the nation as a whole and is developing the entire nation's consciousness and self-confidence. The same is true of a leadership's breaking through at one point in order to draw concrete experiences for the reinforcement of its general directives. It is difficult for the masses to understand general directives which are not born out by concrete experiences familiar to them.

We should lead the masses forward, but there should be no commandism. We should be connected intimately with the masses but we must forsake tailism. We should start from the level already attained by the masses in developing their consciousness and leading them forward. We must adjust the highest principles to the greatest possible connections with the masses in our work. Such is our mass line. This is, of course, difficult to do. But it is the only way to become a good Marxist and Communist.

So much the for the explanation of the General Program.

## Book Review

### THE VATICAN'S REACTIONARY POLITICAL ROLE

By Michael Salerno

*The Vatican in World Politics*, by Avro Manhattan, Gaer Associates, New York, 1949. \$3.75.

It cannot be denied that the Vatican has a definite hand in the shaping of American policies, foreign as well as domestic. Nor can it be denied that it exerts upon the national life of this country an influence which is clearly out of proportion to the numerical strength of the Roman Catholics in the United States, who, despite their gains, are still a minority.

This raises for the man in the street at least three burning questions which, important as they are in normal times, become life-and-death questions when we are confronted with what amounts to a general mobilization by the imperialists of Wall Street for an atomic war against the peoples of the whole world.

The man in the street, confronted at every step with unmistakable evidence of the inroad the Vatican has been able to make in the United States through its world-wide organization known as the Roman Catholic Church, would like to know, specifically: (1) whether the Vatican is the leader of a purely "spiritual force" as some would like to believe, or whether, as we Marxists tell him, it is the center of what is fun-

damentally a political force—the governing body of the most undemocratic and totalitarian organization in the world; (2) where this sinister power stands in the global struggle between the camp of democracy and peace and the camp of imperialist reaction and war; and (3) how a political body such as the Vatican, which Americans of past generations dreaded as a mortal danger to their democratic institutions, has come to occupy so dominating a position in this country.

Avro Manhattan's book *The Vatican in World Politics* provides the man in the street with adequate answers to the first two questions, and, despite its failure to give a similarly adequate answer to the third question, it must be regarded as a timely work deserving serious attention.

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Manhattan's book makes it clear at the outset that we are confronted with a political power, with a state, and not simply with the exponent of a religion. It states (p. 17):

"It is asserted by Catholics that the Pope never interferes in politics. We shall show later that he does interfere—sometimes directly; but even if it were not so, it is obvious that he in-

terferes in politics indirectly each time he orders Catholics to fight a certain legislation or social doctrine which, in his opinion, conflicts with Catholicism. . . . According to circumstances, the Pope, to further the power of the Catholic Church, approaches a problem either as a purely religious leader or as the head of a diplomatic-political center, or both."

With this as its premise, the book proceeds to analyze the Vatican as a diplomatic-political center to which in 1945 were accredited the ambassadors, ministers and personal representatives of 52 countries, as well as the power behind it—the power of the Roman Catholic Church "with its manifold world-embracing activities."

In regard to the Vatican as a state with its sovereignty, its laws, its finances and its governmental machinery—the most bureaucratic in the world—Manhattan's book has this to say:

"... as an independent State it is one of the newest and, as far as the extent of its territory is concerned, the smallest sovereign State in existence, having under its absolute rule only one hundred-odd acres and about 600 inhabitants. Yet, it directs and governs . . . 400,000,000 Catholics, covering the territories of all existing countries." (p. 21)

"... the power of this great diplomatic-political center is felt throughout the world." (p. 26)

And the book explains that this is so not only because the Vatican sends its representatives to the various governments of the world, but also because each of its representatives has at his

disposal both the diplomatic machinery of any ordinary diplomatic representative of a lay state and "the vast religious machinery of the Catholic Church inside the country he is accredited, as well as outside it," and because "every priest is *de facto* an agent of the Vatican and can collect reliable information about the local conditions of his parish—or, if he is a bishop, of his diocese—or, if he is a primate, of his country." (p. 26) Furthermore, the book leaves no doubt that, as a result of this, the Vatican is "one of the best centers of information of an economic, social and political character in the world," or, in less diplomatic language, one of the most dangerous centers of espionage activities.

It is, however, the power of the Roman Catholic Church that makes the Vatican what it is as a state, and Manhattan's book shows that this power is of an absolutist character, invested as it is in an executive divided into three (the Secretary of State, the College of Cardinals and the heads of Congregations), and unconditionally subordinated to the Pope, who is "the last absolute monarch in the world, the power of no political dictator being comparable to the unlimited power of the Pope in all matters" (p. 29). It guides the reader through the elaborate network of "Sacred Congregations" (equivalent to ministries), the most infamous of which is the *Congregation of the Holy Office*, once popularly known as the *Inquisition*, which still holds the theory that "outside the Church there is not and cannot be any truth." It describes also the various Tribunals and Offices of this government, devoting an entire chapter to the

*Office of the Index* and that of *Propaganda Fide* with its missionary activities which—it should be noted—in many cases anticipated and in all cases included the colonial operations of the imperialists in every corner of the world. It gives a fairly detailed account of the various religious Orders of the Church and especially of the Order of the Jesuits, who prepared the way for fascism and the corporate state; and lists the various lay organs of the Church, such as the Committees of Catholic Action which embrace all fields, from the social to the political, and which enable the Vatican to strengthen its control of Catholic political organizations and to extend its contacts within the non-Catholic political, economic and social organizations. In the first five chapters, Manhattan's book thus proves beyond any doubt that the Vatican, both as a state and as the center of the Roman Catholic Church, is from the point of view of its structure and tactics the most totalitarian power in the world.

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*The Vatican in World Politics* shows, however, that this Roman Catholic power is utterly anti-democratic also from the point of view of its basic philosophy and its actual performances in the last 50 years.

It points out, for instance, that the Vatican always stood ready to use the power of the Church—in Leo XIII's words—"to protect the rulers of Europe" (p. 25) and that, if Leo—the last of the modern Popes—was at times critical of these rulers, it was because of their failure to appreciate in full "the

lustrous gift of religion, which alone renders the state of subjection noble and worthy of Man" (p. 67). The book adds that the Vatican was guided at all times by a reactionary philosophy according to which "it does not follow that, because men are created equal by their nature, they must all occupy an equal station in society," and "those who occupy higher positions will in some way bring themselves down to those in a lower position, and treat them not only justly but kindly and in a friendly spirit. The poor, on their side, will rejoice in the prosperity of the rich and rely confidently on their help" (p. 69).

Manhattan goes on to show how the Vatican, guided by such a philosophy, opposed in practice not only Socialism, but liberalism, secularism, and progress in general; how it condemned democratic governments by stating that the more democratic a country, the more chaotic is its national life; how it helped to establish fascism in Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain; how it hailed Mussolini as "the man of Providence"; how it plotted since 1917 against the Soviet state; and how it must bear a great deal of responsibility for the outbreak of World War II.

And the book brings to light much valuable information from which it becomes clear that the Vatican not only helped the Nazi war against the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium and France (all Roman Catholic countries); that it not only helped form anti-Communist legions in many countries of Europe (1941); but that in 1942 it openly called for assistance to Hitler, declaring through the German bishops that (p. 207) "A victory over

bolshevism would be equivalent to the triumph of the teachings of Jesus over the infidels!" And when that victory began to appear unattainable in the face of the heroic struggle of the Soviet peoples, determined to defend their Socialist fatherland and with it all democratic freedoms (including religious freedom), the Vatican launched a campaign for a negotiated peace between the Nazi government and the British and United States governments. (pp. 212-213).

Furthermore, Manhattan reveals how, immediately after the military defeat of the Axis, the Vatican asked for a peace without reparations and for amnesty to all Nazi war criminals and how it tried to save the House of Savoy in Italy. The book provides the background for understanding why the Vatican supported the same forces that had nurtured fascism, and how in the struggle between the camp of democracy and the camp of imperialist reaction which is going on at present throughout the world, it takes its place on the side of the American monopolists who want to launch a new world war and for this purpose are re-arming the countries of Western Europe through the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact.

Finally, the book enables the reader to see how the Vatican, alarmed by the awakening of the Asian peoples has ever since 1917 favored any individual movement or government "ready to make an alliance with it [the Vatican] and to grant it privileges and help in fighting the common enemy—Bolshevism." Describing how it sent an Apostolic Delegate to Tokyo in 1919, the book goes on to prove that the

Vatican increased its underhanded support to the Japanese militarists as soon as they launched their aggression against Manchuria and that it further increased this support in 1936, when the Japanese war lords signed the Anti-Comintern Pact. In 1942 the Pope established full diplomatic relations with Japan, and in the following year he was instrumental in preventing Portugal from declaring war on the Japanese who had refused to evacuate Timor. (p. 413). The book recalls how the Vatican, upon realizing that the Japanese were doomed to defeat along with their Western Axis partners, allowed itself to be overruled by the American leaders of the Church and established friendly relations with Chiang Kai-shek with whom the Pope co-operated even more closely when Japan was forced to lay down its arms. (p. 414).

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As was stated earlier, Manhattan book has, however, several weaknesses some of which are serious.

1. It makes repeated concessions to anti-Sovietism and Red-baiting.

For instance, it speaks of the Vatican as being no less totalitarian than the Nazi, fascist and Soviet states. But while the author can easily, and correctly describe the Vatican and the fascist states as being "animated by the same spirit and moved by the same aims" (p. 43), nowhere can he adduce the slightest evidence that the Vatican and the Nazi-fascists have any trait in common with their diametric opposites—the Soviet state and Communism, the national, social or ideological fields

and indeed, he does not offer such proof; for he cannot prove that day is night. Can it be that the author is not aware that he is repeating here a monstrous lie of the sinister forces he is exposing? The abolition of classes and the exploitation of man by man, the flourishing of the true, qualitatively higher quality *Socialist* democracy in the Soviet Union are established facts which should have deterred Avro Manhattan from lumping together the Vatican and the fascist states with the Soviet system. The author, however, admits as regards the years preceding the Second World War that, whereas the Vatican was one of the chief fomenters of war, the Soviet government was animated by a "sincere desire for peace," as the world steadily, even if slowly, recognized (p. 338).

To give another instance, the book states (p. 133) that "the Vatican and the Western Allies lost no time in carrying out their plans in the freed territory of Italy." But elsewhere (p. 10), in referring to the countries of Eastern Europe liberated by the Soviet Army, the word *liberated* is put in quotation marks. Can the author be unaware that this sly concession to anti-Sovietism impairs his role as historian?

2. Avro Manhattan's work exaggerates the element of religious hostility to the power of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Vatican's policy toward the Soviet regime. The result is that it presents the Vatican as "friendly" at the time of the October Socialist Revolution, but hostile to the Soviet government when, contrary to its earlier expectations, that government did not proceed to crush the power of the Rus-

sian Orthodox Church in the field of religious activity.

It is however, well known that the Vatican opposed the Soviet government since its inception and not exactly for "religious reasons." It is well known, too, that at no time was the Vatican justified in charging the Soviet government with repression of religion as such.

3. The book does not take note of the fact that the Vatican is supported today by the Right-wing socialists who, in a number of European countries, have formed a bloc with Roman Catholic politicians on a platform of submission to U.S. imperialist domination, under the flag of the so-called "third force." As a result, it weakens the fight against the Vatican as a world-wide instrument of the Wall Street monopolists—a fight which obviously must be directed not only against the Roman Catholic hierarchy but also against reactionary Social-democracy.

4. The book fails to point out that the Vatican more and more inspires gangster methods of struggle against the leaders of the democratic forces, as is evidenced by the attempt on Togliatti's life, by the murder of Iglesias in Cuba, and by numerous other acts of clerico-fascist terrorism consummated with the assistance or approval of Roman Catholic reactionary politicians and with the blessing in most cases, of certain leaders of the Roman Catholic Church.

It is true that in speaking of the sinister power of the Congregation of the Holy Office—the Inquisition—the book states that the Vatican still adheres to the infamous theory that was responsible for the massacre of the Al-

bigenians and the terror against Jews and other "infidels" in Spain. But it is also true that *The Vatican in World Politics* leaves the reader with the definite impression that in practice the Pope does not go beyond this, and that, in his fight against the so-called "enemies of the Church," he employs only the weapon of "religious activity." The fact is, however, that all over the world the contemporary Roman Catholic hierarchy does not differ in this respect from that of the Middle Ages and is not averse in practice as well as theory to inspiring violence and provocations of all sorts to suppress those who do not accept the Pope's political dictates.

5. *The Vatican in World Politics* is especially weak in the passages dealing with the relationship existing between the "center of the Catholic Church" and American finance capital. True, the book leaves no doubt that, in the struggle between the camp of imperialist reaction, headed by American finance capital, and the camp of democracy and peace, headed by the Soviet Union, the Vatican is on the side of the Wall Street monopolists. But it represents the Vatican as a power which is only interested in furthering its own interests, the "immediate as well as permanent interests of the Catholic Church," and for this purpose is ready to use the devil, if necessary. It describes the Vatican as a power bent upon "moulding the course of local, national and international events in such wise as to facilitate the attainment of its main goal—domination throughout the World" (p. 417); as a power—that is to say—which uses American finance capital but is detached from it and even tries to bend it to its own will.

Nowhere does the book take into account the fact that today the Vatican is an integral element of finance capital. Yet, despite the mystery surrounding this fact, it is known that the Vatican is today one of the most powerful finance capitalist aggregations in the world. Thus, data presented by the Communist Party of Italy in a recent publication\* reveals that:

In Italy, the Vatican has controlling interest in 31 trusts with a total capital of 33 billion liras, a minority interest in many others having a total capital of 25 billion liras, and real estate valued at 400 billion liras.

In France, it is the possessor of 20 billion francs' worth of shares;

In Spain, it controls one-third of the entire national wealth;

In Portugal, it controls the Banco Ultramarino of Lisbon and through it the mines and plantations in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola;

In Switzerland, it controls through the Jesuits the great electricity concerns represented by the Elettro-Bank;

In Latin America, it controls 40 per cent of the capital invested in the Banco Franco-Italiano, which in turn controls the Italian-Argentine Company with branches in Peru, Paraguay and other countries; and it has an interest in Argentina's public utilities, in the Mihonovic Shipping Company, in the Spanish American bank of Argentina, in the tin mines of Bolivia, and in the rubber, textile and cotton industries of Brazil; in the United States it has an interest in the Sinclair Oil Company.

\* *Il Vaticano Contro il Progresso, in Prospettiva*, November 1949, issued by the Communist Party of Italy.



in the Anaconda Copper Company and in the mining industry, and it is represented through Myron Taylor by the House of Morgan.

As Ercoli (Palmiro Togliatti) pointed out in 1929\* in an interesting essay on "The End of the 'Roman Question,'" the Vatican "has eliminated the distance which in the past separated it from the other forces supporting capitalist society." By not taking into account the fact that the Vatican not only "attended with profit the school of the Bank" but has become itself part of the banking world subordinate to Wall Street, Manhattan's book pictures the Vatican as threatening even American finance capital, and describes the world as the stage of a gigantic struggle in which there are three participants—the United States, Communism, and the Vatican, the last utilizing the antagonism between the first two for the purpose of realizing its own independent goal (p. 9). "Indeed," states the preface to *The Vatican in World Politics*, "the inescapable alternative by which mankind today is confronted is not whether this will be the American or the Russian Century, but whether this might not after all become the Catholic century" (p. 10).

The book thus fails to explain adequately why the Vatican has been able to make such inroads in the United States, or why it receives the enthusiastic support of the "World Church Council," headed by Foster Dulles and other reactionary leaders of the Protestant churches, or why the Vatican increased the number of North Americans in the College of Cardinals.

What the author leaves out of his analysis is the fact that, whereas the American capitalist system, in its initial stage, in the stage of its historically progressive ascendancy, needed the support of the Protestant Church with its doctrine of predestination that served it so well in the field of "free competition," at present, when it has become monopolistic, decaying and imperialistic, this system must rely on the support of a world-wide organization armed with an age-old reactionary experience, a "universalist" or cosmopolitan philosophy and practice and the tradition of bitter opposition to any struggle for national liberation and independence. By failing to see that the Vatican is the willing ally and instrument of American finance capital, and that there is no contradiction between Henry Luce's American Century and what he terms the "Catholic century," Manhattan arrives at the wrong conclusion that the Vatican has been able to make big inroads in the United States because of "the spread of Communism in the last 20 years" (p. 293).

6. *The Vatican in World Politics* is to be criticized also for picturing the power of the Roman Catholic organization as invincible. The book not only describes the Vatican as the arbiter of world events, but makes it appear as unshaken by the world turmoil, as the one power that is able to withstand all kinds of changes brought about by wars and revolutions. The Roman Catholic power—it says—is not deterred by setbacks or dismal failures such as would break other, less majestic, powers. "Governments may come and go, but the Catholic power continues to stand more challenging than ever" (p. 418).

\* Ercoli, *La fine della 'Questione Romana,'* Stato Operaio, Paris, April, 1929.

True, the book does not deal with the events in the countries of people's democracy and with the support given by millions of Catholics to the Communist parties of Western Europe, facts that shatter the contention that the Vatican is an invincible power. According to the publishers, the work was written before many of those events took place or at least when their meaning was not fully evident. This does not excuse, however, the author's failure to appreciate that even at the time when the book was written, the Vatican was in the midst of a tremendous crisis and far from being impervious to the social changes brought about by the anti-fascist war. Such a failure is, indeed, responsible for the author's pious and empty hope that the Vatican "by keeping step with the spirit of the twentieth century" will "try to follow a new road" (p. 420).

However, the author concludes his book with the warning: "A third world war, unlike the wars of the recent past, would spell irremediable destruction . . . also of ancient institutions, among which the Catholic Church would certainly be one of the main sufferers" (p. 419).

\* \* \*

While, as Marxists, we point out certain shortcomings in the book, we regard *The Vatican in World Politics* as a notable contribution to the fight for peace and freedom, which today is a fight for life itself. The fight for peace is a fight against United States imperialism. But it is a serious mistake not to be aware of the great danger the Vatican represents today, as one of the chief fomenters of world war, and

as a center of world reaction.

We feel, too, that in the fight against this dangerous center of clerico-fascist reaction and war-fomenting activities, we Communists must unite with all freedom-loving people, including Catholics, who must be brought to understand that this is not a religious, but a political fight. As V. J. Jerome pointed out in April 1946:

"Certainly, as Marxists, we must remember that our program calls for unification of all sections of the people's forces that can be rallied around the banner of progress. As Marxists, therefore, we should know that we must always seek ways to unite with the Catholic masses, wherever possible, on issues however moderate—and *always with sensitive regard* for their deep-going religious feelings. . . . We must bring the Catholic masses to understand that . . . the issue is not Communism vs. Catholicism, as the Vatican would have it appear, but the united democratic forces of the people—including Catholics and Communists—against reaction wherever it manifests itself, in the Church and outside."\*

Since Manhattan's book is free of any religious bias, it certainly can be of great help to all anti-imperialists in their effort to rally Catholic masses in the fight against the reactionary, war politics of the Vatican. The supreme task of the hour, for non-Catholics as well as for Catholics, is to halt the drive to fascist reaction and imperialist war by Wall Street and all its allies and instruments, who would destroy all the people's freedoms, including religious freedom.

\* V. J. Jerome, "The Vatican's War on Peace," *Political Affairs*, April 1946, pp. 325-326.

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