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# political affairs

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**A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism**

Editor: V. J. Jerome

**"The Court of Last Appeal Is The American People"**

National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A.

*(A statement issued October 9, 1951.)*

The National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. with deepest indignation condemns the refusal of the United States Supreme Court to grant the petition for a rehearing for the Communist leaders convicted under the thought-control Smith Act.

The Supreme Court thus identifies itself with the infamous frameup against the Bill of Rights. Its hasty, perfunctory decision on the very first day of its session, without even taking the petition and the many important supporting briefs under advisement, arrogantly rejects the grave and growing alarm of millions of Americans for the preservation of the Bill of Rights and the democratic processes it guarantees.

The decision rejects the urgent plea of numerous progressive and liberal forces to the Supreme Court to "take a second look" at the Smith Act for our country's sake.

It rejects summarily defendants' petition which deals with the denial of a fair trial—the challenge of the rigged jury system, the use of stool-pigeon testimony, the biased composition of the jury and the prejudicial conduct of the trial judge—issues which it had also previously refused to hear.

Of this Justice Black had the following blunt words to say:

1—The record shows a discriminatory selection of the jury panel which prevented trial before a representative cross section of the community. 2—The record shows that one member of the trial jury was violently hostile to petitioners before and during the trial.

The Supreme Court decision rejects the brief of the American Civil

Liberties Union filed only a few days ago, supporting that of John Raeburn Green on the unconstitutionality of the Smith Act.

It rejects a brief, filed by the defendants themselves last week, pointing out what the June 4th Supreme Court decision has unleashed—a veritable wave of terror, of mass arrests, denial of bail or excessively high bail, difficulty securing counsel, wholesale F.B.I. surveillance of homes and offices, and the threat of arrest to 12,000 Americans. The thought-control Smith Act, now twice blessed by the Supreme Court, threatens to let loose an even bigger wave of terror, unless it is stopped by the American people.

\* \* \*

This decision flouts the brilliant historical brief of two distinguished Negro attorneys, Richard E. Westbrook and Earl Dickerson, filed on Sept. 27, which urges that if the Supreme Court majority's concept of the Smith Act were allowed to stand, it is "bound to have a disastrous impact upon the century-old struggle of the Negro people for complete emancipation."

This brief states further that the decision upholding the Smith Act "is in effect to relegate the whole movement of the Negro people towards full equality in American life to a status which differs only in theory from that suffered by Negroes prior to the Civil War."

Such a serious political charge, made on behalf of the Negro people, deserves a better fate than to be thrown into the wastebasket of the Supreme Court. It is a grievous affront to the Negro people, who see in the imprisonment of Benjamin J. Davis in a Jim Crow U.S. penitentiary what can happen to any one of them.

\* \* \*

This 1951 version of the Dred Scott decision is not the last word.

Nor will millions of Americans accept it today any more than they did its forerunner nearly a century ago.

Political issues are not triable, and political parties cannot be outlawed.

The case of the imprisoned Communist leaders is not closed, nor will it be until they are free—any more than was the case of Eugene V. Debs or of Tom Mooney.

The present Washington exposures of stoolpigeon Budenz, who was the star witness for the government at Foley Square against the Communist leaders, will soon show him to all as unworthy of any credence as were the perjurers, Oxman and McDonald, in the Mooney case. Not

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ing is ever settled until it is settled right.

In this fateful hour we take courage from the words of Frederick Douglass at the time of the Dred Scott decision: "You may close the doors of your Supreme Court but you cannot close the doors of public opinion."

The court of last appeal is the American people. They can wipe the Smith Act off the books now as they have many other obnoxious laws in the past.

\* \* \*

This decision signalizes that Wall Street is ready to go full speed ahead into a bloody war and a brutal fascism. It is a cause for the gravest alarm. It must alert the entire labor movement, the Negro people, the cultural and religious forces, to unite in a renewed and mighty effort to repeal the Smith Act. It calls for united efforts to repel increasing terror in our country and to halt Smith Act mass arrests.

It calls for united efforts to secure the freedom of all Smith Act victims, and to expose Truman the politician who shadow-boxes McCarthyism while the Truman Administration gives the green light to further persecutions for political ideas. It is a sad day for our country when Americans fear to sign the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, lest they be called "subversive."

The Supreme Court has actually never passed on the Foley Square trial. It has accepted the judgment of the Circuit Court which injected Korea, the Berlin airlift and other irrelevant matters which did not confront the defendants at their trial.

We salute our comrades who are serene in spirit, the imprisoned within the stone walls of five federal penitentiaries and whose only crime has been loyalty to the people. We do not need to assure them that we do not accept the decision of the Supreme Court nor the pattern of Foley Square.

We pledge to arouse the masses of people to the grave danger to American liberties and the menace of war and fascism. We pledge to work unceasingly and tirelessly for their release, which can be the result of such a tremendous mass movement.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,  
Chairman

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN,  
Member of the National Committee

PETTIS PERRY,

Alternate Member of the National Committee

# Concerning the Atomic Weapon

By Joseph Stalin

*(Following is the text of an interview given by Soviet Premier Joseph V. Stalin to a Pravda correspondent as translated from that newspaper of October 6, 1951.)*

**QUESTION:** *What is your opinion of the hubbub raised recently in the foreign press in connection with the test of an atom bomb in the Soviet Union?*

**ANSWER:** Indeed, one of the types of atom bombs was recently tested in our country. Tests of atom bombs of different calibers will be conducted in the future as well, in accordance with the plan for the defense of our country from attack by the Anglo-American aggressive bloc.

**QUESTION:** *In connection with the test of the atom bomb, various personages in the United States are raising alarm and shouting about the threat to the security of the United States. Are there any grounds for such alarm?*

**ANSWER:** There are no grounds whatever for such alarm. Personages in the United States cannot but know that the Soviet Union is not only op-

posed to the employment of the atomic weapon, but that it also stands for its prohibition and for the termination of its production. It is known that the Soviet Union has several times demanded the prohibition of the atomic weapon, but each time it has been refused by the Atlantic bloc powers. This means that in the event of an attack by the United States on our country, the ruling circles of the United States will use the atom bomb. It is this circumstance that has compelled the Soviet Union to have the atomic weapon in order to meet the aggressors fully prepared. Of course the aggressors want the Soviet Union to be unarmed in the event of their attack upon it. The Soviet Union, however, does not agree to this, and it thinks that it should be fully prepared to meet the aggressor. Consequently, if the United States has no intention of attacking the Soviet Union, the alarm of the personages in the United States should be considered as pointless and false, because the Soviet Union does not contemplate ever attacking the United States or any other country. Personages in the United States

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are vexed because the secret of the atom bomb is possessed not only by the United States but also by other countries, the Soviet Union primarily. They would like the United States to be the monopolist of the production of the atom bomb. They would like the United States to have unlimited power to intimidate and blackmail other countries. But on what grounds do they think so? By what right do the interests of preserving peace require such monopoly? Would it not be more correct to say that matters are directly the opposite, that it is the interests of preserving peace that require first of all the liquidation of such a monopoly and then the unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon, too? I think that the proponents of the atom bomb may agree to the prohibition of the atomic weapon only if they see that they are no longer monopolists.

*QUESTION: What is your opinion regarding international control along the line of the atomic weapon?*

*ANSWER:* The Soviet Union stands for prohibiting the atomic weapon and terminating the production of the atomic weapon. The Soviet Union stands for the estab-

lishment of international control over the fully exact and conscientious implementation of the decision to prohibit the atomic weapon, to terminate the production of the atomic weapon and utilize the already produced atom bombs solely for civilian purposes. The Soviet Union stands for precisely this kind of international control. American personages also speak of control, but their control presupposes not the termination of the production of the atomic weapon, but the continuation of such production in quantities conforming to the amounts of raw material at the disposal of different countries. Consequently, the American control presupposes not prohibiting the atomic weapon, but making it legal and lawful. Thereby the right of the warmongers to annihilate with the help of the atomic weapon tens and hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants is made lawful. It is not difficult to understand that this is not control but a mockery of control and a deception of the peaceful aspirations of the peoples. It is clear that such control cannot satisfy the peace-loving peoples who demand the prohibition of the atomic weapon and the termination of its production.

# Certain Prime Aspects of the Negro Question

By Pettis Perry

THIS is the first time since the 15th National Convention held at the end of 1950 that we have placed for serious consideration on the agenda of the leading committees of the Party some basic aspects of the Negro question.

In preparation for this report—which I wish I could have made more adequate—I re-read most of our Convention documents on the Negro question, including the main Resolution and the excellent Report of Comrade Ben Davis, "The Negro People in the Struggle for Peace and Freedom."

In the course of this reading the question arose in my mind, in what concrete way could I contribute to furthering and implementing this fundamental policy of the Party? I concluded that perhaps I should elaborate on certain aspects of this policy in the light of developments since the Convention, and endeavor to clarify some of the points regarding which there is still considerable confusion in our ranks. I also concluded to propose to this National Committee that we insist with all vigor that the whole Party, on every organization level,

re-study the Convention Reports and deliberations.

For, why should it be necessary to re-discuss and explain anew the line of our Party? Is it not clear that the line of the Party projected at the Convention is being confirmed in life day by day? I could arrive at but one conclusion: the important Convention documents had either not been read at all, or had been read and "shelved" without the study they required in order to be translated into action.

## DEVELOPMENTS AT HOME AND ABROAD

Before attempting to deal with some of the questions demanding clarification which have arisen in the recent period, let me point to a few developments on the domestic and foreign scenes.

Since our Convention, seven innocent Negro men in Martinsville have been put to death; the six-year fight to save the life of Willie McGee was lost and McGee was "legally" murdered; Edward Honeycutt, another victimized Negro, has been executed in Louisiana. And what of the countless other victims of police

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violence and court frame-ups who have been murdered, maimed, jailed, under the legal sanction of racist white supremacy?

Since our Convention, we have witnessed growing Ku Klux Klan terror. Recall if you will the outrage of Cicero that took place on July 10-12. Organized hoodlums under the eyes of the law enforcement officers let loose mob violence against Mr. and Mrs. Harvey E. Clark to prevent them from moving into their newly acquired apartment. In a number of towns in Georgia, Alabama, California, and other states, K.K.K. burning crosses have shot up their evil flames to terrorize the Negro community. In early September of this year, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Davis of Pittsburgh found the K.K.K. sign smeared on their home: "Negroes Beware"—of course, it did not use the word "Negro." Both Mr. Davis and Mr. Clark, it should be borne in mind, are veterans of World War II. During this period, also, Mr. and Mrs. John Lewis, in Pittsburgh, were treated to the same kind of outrage.

And in these pro-fascist attacks, the minions of the law are either silent or flagrant partners of the Ku Klux Klan. Can anything be more repulsive than what the Grand Jury did in Cicero? Instead of indicting the hoodlums, the Ku Kluxers, it indicted three Negroes, including the Negro attorney of the Clark family, and two white progressives who took their stand against this white

supremacist attack. All of this, at a time when the Federal Government has seen fit to indict Communist Party leaders on the charge of conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence! Can there be anything more monstrously hypocritical?

Since our Convention, too, the drive of U.S. imperialism toward war and fascism has alarmingly advanced. This drive to war for world domination, with its Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Pact, which has turned country after country in Western Europe and in this hemisphere into vassal states of Wall Street, has as an additional major aim the strangling of the liberation movements in Asia. This is highlighted by the U.S. interventionist war in Korea, its aggressive acts against the People's Democratic Republic of China, and its hurried conclusion of the war-plot "peace" treaty with Japan.

#### WHITE CHAUVINISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Our Convention noted in its Resolution that the direct military aggression of U.S. imperialism against the colored peoples of Asia was accompanied by intensified national oppression of the Negro people at home, that the colonial world liberation movement against Anglo-American imperialism was merging with a new upsurge of the Negro masses in which the Negro workers were playing an ever more conscious and

militant role. The Resolution thus declared:

The beginning of the merger of the Negro liberation struggle with the world colonial upsurge is expressed in the growing moral and political unity of the colored peoples of the world against the racist, Jim Crow policies of U.S. imperialism, the fountain head of white chauvinism. . . .\*

The Resolution with particular sharpness emphasized that:

The direct military aggression of U.S. imperialism against Korea and China is accompanied at home by the fostering of chauvinist nationalism and white chauvinism against oppressed colored peoples all over the world. Hence the danger to the Negro people here at home is enormously increased. White chauvinism today merges with the drive toward fascism. White chauvinism is a racist ideology—one of the main weapons of the white imperialist ruling class in its drive to war.

Yet, in the face of the acute sharpening of this situation in the course of 1951, we still encounter in the ranks of the Party confused notions that the fight for the correct line of the Party on the Negro question at this time "interferes" with the fight for peace. In conjunction with this, many comrades peddle the idea, as posterous as it is dangerous, that the fight against white chauvinism at the present time would "alienate" us from the broad democratic coal-

tion we are anxious to build in the life of our country.

Can we for a single moment entertain the thought that there is a conflict between the fight for Negro rights and the fight for peace? It is an indisputable fact that there is a close affinity between the oppressed Negro people of this country and the newly liberated 475 million peoples of China, that there are common bonds, born of common suffering and common aspirations for freedom, on the part of the 15 million Negroes in the United States and the 380 million people of India, the 680 million people of Africa, the 150 million people of Latin America, the 70 million people of Indonesia, and the many millions of other peoples of Asia, in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, and against imperialism in general. Therefore, the mobilization of the Negro people along the lines of peace and freedom is a powerful weapon that the peace and labor forces in this country should seize upon and develop to the highest possible level.

How can it be seriously maintained that the fight against a Jim Crow army in the United States contradicts the peace fight? Who does not know that in America there are two armies in one, a Negro army and a white army which is called the American army? No one recognizes this more fully than the imperialist bourgeoisie itself. It is for this reason that Negro reformists from the *Pittsburgh Courier* and from the *Afro-American* have

\* *Political Affairs*, January, 1951.

been touring every single army camp throughout the North for the last three or four months supposedly to publicize, which to a certain extent they do, the existence of Jim Crowism in the army. But at the same time the main concentration of these papers is to try to find some modification, however slight, of the Jim Crow practices. It is for this reason that we learn that occasionally in this or that camp Negro and white soldiers eat together, or that this or that company is a mixed company.

Now, while all this may have some factual basis, a few things remain to be said: First, we Communists cannot, do not and will not accept the standpoint of gradualism. That one or another regiment consists of Negro and white soldiers is in itself important; but the facts are that this is the result of a long bitter struggle on the part of the Negro people for over three hundred years. Further is the fact that this was not the gratuitous gift of the Truman Administration. All that this concession proves is that if the Negro masses and their white allies unite in struggle, gains can be won and that even a final victory over reaction is possible. In this light we have to view the appointment of a Bunche, a Hastie, an Edith Sampson. While avoiding a negative, narrow, sectarian view of such concessions, we must not take a laudatory position, and above all not a position that is tantamount to saying that the Negroes are thereby being liberated. *As a matter*

*of fact, if the bourgeoisie were to appoint a Negro every day, 365 days a year, holidays and all, it would take fifteen million days to appoint fifteen million Negroes to freedom. Breaking this down in terms of years, that would amount to forty thousand years. The Negro people have no such patience.*

But to continue on the theme of the relationship of the Negro people's struggle to the fight for peace, we must again ask: Will the fight to eliminate Jim Crow in the armed forces conflict with the peace movement? It will not only strengthen it insofar as rallying the Negro people in the fight for peace, which is in itself of first-rate importance; it will also heighten the understanding of the broad peace forces as to the whole character of the war- and pro-fascist drive of U.S. imperialism, and thus help bring consistency and determination to the peace movement. And what the Negro people themselves will bring in terms of militancy and persistence is of the greatest significance to the peace camp.

The Negro people in this country occupy a strategic position relative to the working class within the country and therefore to the forces of progress as a whole. There is a greater percentage of industrial workers among Negroes in the United States than there are among any nationally oppressed people in the whole world, including not only Africa, but also India. These Negro proletarians, as our Resolution notes, are becoming

more and more politically conscious, organizationally and politically more influential, both in the labor movement and in the Negro people's movement. Furthermore, unlike India, which is eight thousand miles from the "metropolitan" British working class, or Africa, which is far removed from Europe, in this country the Negro working masses labor side by side with the white workers, in many cases belonging to the same unions, in a few cases sharing leadership in these unions, and generally having sympathizers among the white population. These factors create tremendous possibilities for the Negro people to attract to its side broad masses of the white workers and other sectors of the white population. An additional significant fact is that the subject Negro nation in the Black Belt exists within the geographical confines of the oppressor nation, the strongest imperialist nation the world has ever seen.

How much more difficult it is for the average Britisher who seldom goes to India, or Africa, and rarely sees an Indian or an African, to understand the character of colonial oppression than it is for the white people living, for example, in a city where tens of thousands of Negroes live, where the people of the white oppressor nation are able to see with their own eyes the horrendous ghetto conditions in which the Negro people reside, to see Negroes excluded from jobs, to see them insulted, ter-

rorized and lynched. This close proximity of white and Negro workers makes for the strengthening of class ties, aids the development of the Negro people-labor alliance, and is of strong advantage to the peace forces in this country.

To turn now to a further aspect of this question. Is it against the interests of the peace movement to struggle to end once and for all job discrimination against Negroes in industry? Is it against the interests of the peace movement to conduct the sharpest struggle against fascist attacks on the Negro people? Decidedly not!

Rather, the question has to be put as follows: Can the Negro masses in their great majority be won to the peace movement by wholesale capitulation to white chauvinism and in many cases by its actual practice? *There is no surer way to alienate the Negro people.*

The Negro people can be attracted in their great majority to the struggle for peace only if and when the broad peace movement begins to champion some of their burning demands. The last World Peace Congress declared, "As long as there is race discrimination, there can be no peace in this world." This declaration is an indispensable guiding principle for the peace forces of this country as of the rest of the world.

It is almost inconceivable that white progressives and, even more so, white workers, can approach their task in the cause of peace, which in-

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volves the struggle for international solidarity, proletarian internationalism, without meeting this task first of all in solidarity with the Negro people.

The Negro question is a national question that has world-wide import. There is nothing more embarrassing today for U.S. imperialism posing as world "democratic" leader than the thorny problem of Jim Crow at home. Every newspaper and magazine, every avenue of high-powered propaganda has been called into service to explain away the Negro question, to straighten out the "rough edges," because of the growing alarm at the world-wide resentment against this "American way of life." In their notorious manner of seeking to deny truth that embarrasses, the defenders and apologists of white supremacy resort, of course, to the demagogic cry of "Communist propaganda." Many Negro reformists, too, are urging: "Remove the inequalities so that the Communists will be left without a propaganda weapon."

But the stark, brute reality of white ruling class "democracy" lays bare at every turn the hideous lie of the "propaganda" charge. No Communist "fiction" but bourgeois fact was the speech, last September, of Thomas L. Hamilton, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, in Gaffney, South Carolina, delivered while a sheriff and ten state troopers stood around and listened, and while a thousand persons, according to the

press, attended the open air rally. Here is what he said: "The first time Negroes enter white schools in this state, that is the time blood will flow in the streets. The Ku Klux Klan will shed blood to see segregation maintained in South Carolina." Hamilton played on the prejudices of his listeners by attacking the Negro people's struggle as "Communist." And he roared: "It is left up to you and me to do it. Communists must be stamped out if it takes every man, woman and child in the country to do it" (*N. Y. Compass*, September 14, 1951).

Propaganda? Yes, the propagation of the truth of the national oppression of the Negro people—this is the charge that may truly be levelled at the Communists.

The bourgeoisie has raked up all its filth from the sewers, including the Trotzkyites, in the service of reactionary Negro reformists. Thus, Herbert Hill, a white Trotzkyite, unfortunately assistant field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., wrote an article in *Crisis*, official publication of the organization, for the June-July issue of this year under the lying title, "The Communist Party, Enemy of Negro Equality." This diatribe has a foreword by Roy Wilkins, national administrator of the N.A.A.C.P., a Negro misleader. Hill purports to "prove" that the Communist Party is interested in the Negro people for purposes of "Moscow propaganda," and he reiterates the familiar fable that all the Party desires is to

"use" the Negroes.

Rather than enter into polemics at this time with this gutter-journalism, let me state: If the Trotzkyites, if the Truman Administration, if the whole capitalist class and its reformist leaders among the Negro people and the labor movement are worried about the Communists "making propaganda" out of the misery of the Negro people, I offer a single suggestion—that they forthwith guarantee complete freedom to the Negro people, including self-determination for the Negro subject nation in the Black Belt. If then the Negro people refuse this freedom and decide to go back to plantation conditions and to live in ghettos and accept the denial of full-fledged citizenship—if this happens, then the Communist Party will be happy never to issue another piece of "propaganda" with respect to the Negro people.

What does all this show? It shows that the bourgeoisie fears the vitality of the Negro people's struggle and wants to deflect it into "safe" channels. But every interest and aspiration of the Negro people is directly contrary to the reactionary policy of U.S. imperialism.

Accordingly, the peace forces, unless and until they face up to this question, will never win the Negro masses—the broad sections of the Negro workers, the sharecroppers, the Negro farmers, in the fight for peace. And without this, the peace movement can never be an effective movement in the United States.

Needless to say, it is not incumbent on the peace movement to support the entire program for Negro national liberation. Indeed, none of the Negro organizations has such a program. But it is imperative that some of the basic questions in relation to the Negro people's struggle be tackled by the peace movement; and the Left-progressive forces—first of all, the Communists—have a duty and responsibility, through patient teaching and persuasion, to bring the understanding of this position to broad sections of the whites. For example, the peace camp in general, and the Left forces in particular, should begin to raise in a new way the question of the fight against Jim Crow in the armed forces. It is insufficient to say that we are against Jim Crow in the armed forces. The time has come to speak in concrete terms: The abolition of Jim Crow in the army means among other things, the complete merging of Negro and white in every branch of the service without exception; the army should have Negro officers of every rank, including generals; Negro officers should not be limited to the command of Negro troops, and they are not simply to serve as advisers to white officers on how to handle Negroes, but they are to be officers in the full sense of the word, commanding officers of units and camps in the North and South. Nothing short of this represents abolition of Jim Crow in the army.

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### THE PERSISTENCE OF WHITE CHAUVINISM

Are we plagued with white chauvinism, subtle and concealed, as our Resolution indicated? Yes, comrades, and in many forms. We have not only hidden and subtle chauvinism, but all too numerous evidences of open and crass white chauvinism. The most widespread expression of white chauvinism today is the lack of sustained struggle for the rights of the Negro people. In all the months since the glorious struggles around Martinsville and McGee we have not seen any sustained mass struggle in any state on the part of the Party and the Left forces. Whatever struggle has taken place has been sporadic. This state of affairs must be changed. This serious situation has meant a deterioration in many places in the fight of the Party for its line on the Negro question.

It is reported that at the great peace conference in Chicago, many white progressives and even a few Communists were constantly complaining: "There are so many Negroes wherever you look. They are on all kinds of committees." What these people failed to see was that the large Negro attendance spelled the growing strength of the peace movement. They were blind to the meaning of participation by broad sections of the Negro people—including sharecroppers from the deep South. Instead they were "horrified" that Negroes should play so leading a role in this broad movement.

A like situation obtains in many unions, mostly where Negro members play leading roles. In every such case so long as a Negro does not express an independent opinion or put up a fight for his view, he is a hero in the organization. But the moment a Negro trade-union leader takes an independent position a whispering campaign starts, very often taking this form: "So-and-so is arrogant," or "So-and-so is a careerist, an opportunist." And what is ironical is that the white trade-union leaders who argue this way are more often than not the kingpins of opportunism, the apex of arrogance.

Actually what you have in this approach is that many white progressives, among them Communists, attempt to set themselves up as experts on the efficiency and integrity of Negro leadership. More often than not, it is these very people who are quite ready to rationalize the existing white chauvinism and to cover up for those white comrades and progressives who are most guilty of its practice. This condition exists in almost every union. The tendency goes so far that if two or three Negro trade-union functionaries go to lunch together, this is immediately regarded as evidence of "factionalism" or "bourgeois nationalism." Of course, these accusers think nothing of the fact that the white trade unionists not only lunch and dine together, but generally pal with one another, without the company of

Negroes. In fact, these accusers constantly caucus among themselves about problems and policies affecting the Negro trade unionists. And just let anyone call this by its proper name—white chauvinism—then the wrath of god is let loose. This idea that Negro leaders must always say “yes” to their white co-workers in order to remain in their good graces is nothing short of the attitude of the Southern white “liberal,” no, worse, it borders on the attitude of the Southern plantation owner.

All too often, Party organizations and leaders receiving reports on what is taking place among the Negro masses, accept such reports as gospel, without so much as consulting the Negro comrades. That the comrades thus reporting—however good comrades they may be—and some are not above question—can have erred in their judgment is, of course, never given a thought. “Oh, he? Why he’s been around for years. He is such a wonderful comrade.” True, such a person may perhaps show a little bias, have a “little” anti-Negro feeling, express “some” anti-Semitism, but he is really a swell guy. “You see, he has been around for years.” It would seem that merely because some of these people have “been around for years” they could not have grown stale, or fallen under all kinds of opportunist influences.

The present situation demands especially that we sharpen up the struggle against white chauvinism and heighten the fight for Negro rights.

We must say categorically that there is absolutely nothing that the working class, the peace forces, any broad democratic coalition, or any movement for progress, can win in this country without the participation of the Negro people. Therefore, none should think that the fight for Negro rights is a missionary act of “good will.” The Negroes are not beggars. They are fighters and have no intention of accepting anything short of *complete* equality.

Certainly, the first place where the Negro people should expect to find this equality is among white progressives—first of all among Communists. Therefore, they have the right to expect to find no chauvinism, overt or hidden, in their relationship with Communist and Left forces. Only to the extent that white Communists and Left forces show by their own example that they are capable of inspiring this confidence among Negroes—the full confidence that here at last are the people cleansed of the filth of racist chauvinism—can they fulfill their responsibility of helping to weld the firm alliance of the working-class and progressive movements with the cause of Negro liberation. Without this, full unity of Negro and white is impossible.

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

There are those who utilize the present attacks upon the Party to say: “Well, you shouldn’t expect us now

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to raise the issue of white chauvinism. After all, we need everybody we have." Of course, it is true. We need everybody we have. But it is also true that within the ranks of the Party we do not need opportunists, we do not need white chauvinists. We need Marxists. We need those who will seriously try to understand the basic precepts of Marxism, to take some responsibility to become Marxists, to overcome chauvinist tendencies. We cannot apologize for white chauvinism, nor rationalize its manifestations with arguments about "the present situation." If anything, we must say, precisely because of the present situation, our Party and the Left forces must become more relentless in the struggle on this question. Our Resolution states that "white chauvinism is a fascist ideology, one of the main weapons of the white imperialist ruling class in its drive to war." How can this ideology be tolerated in our midst?

I think we should say that we were not sharp enough with a whole number of comrades when we launched the intense struggle against white chauvinism. In district after district, we have conducted discussions with a number of white comrades for a year or more, patiently endeavoring to make these comrades understand their white chauvinist behavior. But, frankly, such liberalism is seldom displayed with regard to Negroes who might deviate. It seems to me that those white comrades who fail

over a long period to understand the Negro question, and above all those who refuse or fail to fight white chauvinism, have no place in the leadership of the Party on any level. Some, indeed, have no place in our Party. We have to be categorical to that degree. At times we come across the argument, "Well, you can't do this because after all you would have to do it to everybody." That is not so. Our Party does not consist of white chauvinists. The overwhelming majority of our members can be rallied for the struggle against white chauvinism. In certain instances drastic action becomes necessary to strengthen the Party, to fortify our ranks in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

There may be a misconception of what is meant by education. Suppose, for instance, there were a strong anti-lynching law on the statute books providing the death penalty for lynchers and that such a law were enforced. This would be a dramatic form of education for the Southern white masses that would find its repercussions throughout the country. Or suppose there were a strong F.E.-P.C. law that would provide prison sentences with heavy fines for offending employers or union bureaucrats, and that this law were strictly enforced. There can be no doubt that this would be another dramatic form of education. It is in this light that we must understand disciplinary measures whenever applied to members of our Party. Once the explana-

tion for such disciplinary action were made the full property of the Party—and the membership mobilized to support it—this would likewise be a powerful educational weapon for the Party. The process of analyzing why a comrade committed the act of white chauvinism and why the Party adopted disciplinary measures would immeasurably clarify the whole issue. I must say, however, that disciplinary action is not the primary measure in the struggle against white chauvinism. The main weapon needs to be the ideological struggle and the mass political struggle expressing itself in an all-out fight on an ever higher level for the rights of the Negro people.

While saying this, however, we cannot tolerate the tendency—all too prevalent—of hesitating to apply organizational measures when necessary. Instances of such hesitancy are numerous. Thus, a white woman comrade was talking to a conservative white woman who said: "I have tried very hard, but I just cannot bring myself to the position of liking Negroes, no matter how hard I try." The comrade strangely agreed: "I am in the same position. I likewise have tried and I think it is disgraceful for white people socially to intermingle with Negroes. No matter what you say, Negroes are drunkards and irresponsible." This conversation was known by a number of Party members; yet no one thought it necessary to file charges and demand the immediate expulsion from

our Party of a person voicing such K.K.K. ideology. Instead, the comrades confined themselves to whispering among one another, contenting themselves with the comment, "Isn't this terrible?" Their concern was to "save" this individual.

Let me give another example: In the course of a recent tour, I attended a meeting in a Negro church where Mrs. McGee spoke. The white comrades in attendance, in almost every case, were smoking. The Minister pleaded with them to refrain; some of the white comrades became indignant with the Minister and went out to the vestibule—still inside the church—to smoke. A young white woman comrade walked into the church in dirty overalls. When one of the Negro comrades criticized this behavior, a white woman comrade became the mediator, pleading: "Why, you don't have to be rough with people, you have to teach them."

Then, in another district, again with Mrs. McGee speaking, a Ku Kluxer, during her speech, said that all Negroes should be hanged. When this remark was heard by a white progressive, he demanded that the racist be expelled from the mass organization. This got a ready response from the Negro members, but when the matter was put to a vote it was the one white protester and the Negro bloc that voted for the expulsion, while the rest of the whites, including Communists, voted to defeat the motion.

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War, in fighting against social-chauvinism, had this to say:

Those who do not wish to see the most intimate and indissoluble connection that exists between social chauvinism and opportunism, pick up individual cases and accidents—this or that opportunist, they say, has become an internationalist, this or that radical, a chauvinist. But this argument is entirely non-essential as far as the development of *currents* is concerned. For one thing, the economic foundation of chauvinism and opportunism in the labor movement is the same: it is an alliance between the none too numerous upper strata of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, strata enjoying crumbs out of the privileges of "their" national capital as opposed to the masses of the proletarians, the masses of the workers and the oppressed in general. In the second place, the political ideology of both currents is the same. In the third place, the old division of Socialists into an opportunist and revolutionary wing characteristic of the period of the Second International (1889-1914), by and large corresponds to the new division into chauvinists and internationalists.\*

The combatting of white chauvinism is intimately bound up with the entire struggle against Right opportunism, which reflects the ideological influences of the imperialists.

#### BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

If the rise of chauvinism to its present high point is a direct concomitant of the whole war drive, it

must be added that this chauvinism, in turn, is bound to stimulate bourgeois nationalism. This nationalism on the part of the Negro bourgeoisie expresses itself in capitulation to the imperialist bourgeoisie. The imperialist bourgeoisie is resorting to unprecedented bribery, cajoling, and intimidation of sections of the Negro population. A portion of the Negro bourgeoisie has sold out to U.S. imperialism and is now peddling its war drive. One immediately thinks of such names as Lester Granger and Roy Wilkins, whose main job now is to hold back the Negro liberation movement with sundry demagogic devices.

Bourgeois nationalism, like other bourgeois ideologies, also finds reflection in our ranks. But is it correct to ascribe bourgeois nationalism to those comrades who militantly challenge white chauvinism within the Party? Clearly, not; for theirs is an act of proletarian internationalism. Yet it is this struggle of Negro comrades against chauvinism which is considered by some of our white comrades as bourgeois nationalism. How often we hear it said of Negro comrades that they are "over sensitive." Yet, if there is any service that our Negro comrades have rendered the Party it is precisely the sharp way in which they have raised the question of white chauvinism. This has helped to strengthen the consciousness and outlook of the Party on the whole Negro question.

It must be stated, however, that

\* V. I. Lenin, *The War and the Second International* (International Publishers), p. 41.

bourgeois nationalism finds expression in the Party. Those Negro comrades who think that the question of white chauvinism should not be raised and adapt themselves fatalistically to its existence suffer from bourgeois nationalism. They express a complete lack of confidence in all whites, including white Communists, and evidence an attitude that the whites are incapable of understanding the Negro question. Bourgeois nationalism is often manifested by certain comrades who say: "We must do this alone; never mind the whites, we're disgusted with them." This is in essence a lack of confidence in the working class, in the Party. This is a lack of confidence in the science of Marxism-Leninism. The fact that such a position is often coupled with seemingly militant phrases does not at all cover up its essentially bourgeois nationalist character.

If the Negro people could settle the question of Jim Crow by themselves, Jim Crow would belong today to ancient history like the first slave ship that came to America. Furthermore, this "go it alone" attitude is even more backward than that of the Negro reformists today. While years ago the latter said, "Down with the whites," this is not so today. As a result of the historical struggle of the Party and the Left forces for unity of Negro and white, the Negro reformists have been compelled to declare themselves for Negro and white unity. As a matter of fact, but for the struggles of our

Party, there would not be today hundreds of thousands of Negro workers in industry. The imperialist bourgeoisie would not so slyly maneuver to head off the struggles of the Negro masses, to prevent their unification with the organized labor and progressive forces, were it not for its fear of the unity of labor with the Negro people's movement.

It is hard to understand how comrades with eighteen to twenty years in the Party can take the position that since the white comrades, who are supposed to lead in the struggle against white chauvinism, do not understand their responsibility, therefore the whites are impossible. This is the sheerest bourgeois nationalism and has nothing in common with Marxism and proletarian internationalism. It is no help to the Negro liberation movement for one to throw up one's hands and depart to a nationalist tent.

The struggle against white chauvinism is a struggle that must go on increasingly even beyond the stage of working-class assumption of power. But the fact is also that the working class will never come to power unless there is a relentless struggle against white chauvinism. The Negro comrades must help to convince the Negro people that the American working class is its only consistent ally. The white workers, however backward they are today, will move toward greater understanding of the Negro question. They will come to accept the Marxist axiom that

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free themselves they must help free the oppressed Negro people. But this understanding will not come of itself. It will require a sharp and relentless struggle, a struggle that must be waged jointly by Negro and white.

White chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism are both bourgeois ideologies. Bourgeois nationalism has its base in the sphere of market relationships. If it is a ruling bourgeoisie that through its oppression of weak and small nations, has taken over a portion of the world market and seeks more of it, this is the root, the material base of national chauvinism. If it is a subordinate bourgeoisie, which is the case within all oppressed nations, then it has been ousted from the markets, or prevented from getting markets in the first place, by the imperialist bourgeoisie, and its nationalism arises out of this economic fact. Bourgeois nationalism among the Negro people finds its economic roots in the Jim Crow markets upon which it is based.

While recognizing the bourgeois essence of both white chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism, we cannot and must not equate the struggle against them. The main danger now and in the foreseeable future is white chauvinism. To the extent that we mercilessly combat white chauvinism, we will strengthen the ability of our Negro comrades more effectively to carry on the fight against Negro nationalism. Hence, the need to fight on two fronts, delivering the

main blow against white chauvinism, while stepping up the fight against bourgeois nationalism and national reformism in the ranks of the Party, in the Negro people's movement, and in the labor and progressive movements generally.

There is no other Party with a program for Negro liberation except the Communist Party. There never will be any other Party in the United States except our Marxist-Leninist vanguard which carries on a struggle against the virus of white chauvinism. Ours is the Party of proletarian internationalism.

#### TASKS FOR TODAY

Finally, it should be clear that the struggle for peace and freedom is today central to advancing the cause of Negro liberation. In this connection I should like to outline a number of immediate tasks.

First, as to events in Cicero. The happenings there occurred but a few brief weeks after the magnificent struggles on the part of the Negro people and the labor and progressive movements around the cases of the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee, and after the significant partial victory in the case of the Trenton Six. Yet it is shameful to record that it took weeks after Cicero before a single important labor leader spoke out against the outrage. To this date not a district of the Communist Party, except Illinois, made the protest against the Cicero disgrace a major part of its activities.

Now, with the vicious indictments of Negro and white victims of white ruling class terror, and the cynical exonerations of the fascist hoodlums, the crime of Cicero calls out for immediate, resolute protests and actions. The demands must be raised for the quashing of the indictments, the immediate arrest and prosecution of the perpetrators of the violence, for full indemnity to the Clark family and their right to occupy their legally acquired home.

I think it is a scandal of the first magnitude that our Party in the country as a whole, including our National Committee, especially our Party in New York, did not react vigorously to develop a mass campaign for relief following the recent hurricane in the West Indies. The fact is that thousands upon thousands of West Indians live in this country, with a particularly large number residing in Harlem. The Negro people all over the country are very much concerned about this tragic event. It is urgently necessary to overcome this situation. A national movement must be created to raise large-scale relief for the people of the West Indies made homeless and destitute by the hurricane.

Generally, I would say that we need to give special attention to the whole West Indies question in Harlem. We cannot allow the situation to persist where leading comrades, Negro and white, myself included, can utterly omit any reference to this question in speech after speech

and otherwise fail to stimulate activities among this section of the population.

The fight for Negro rights has taken a turn which can be very advantageous to all peace and democratic forces in America and that is the demand for full political representation that Negroes are beginning to raise in sharper and sharper form. I think it is a great tribute to the American Labor Party that it put forward a Negro candidate, Mr. Jacques Isler, for a judgeship. But this must not be considered and treated as an isolated effort. This candidate should receive all-out support from every section of the progressive forces in Manhattan and the Bronx, and everything should be done to encourage the entire Negro population, regardless of political affiliation, to turn out in his mass support. The organized labor movement has a special responsibility in New York to mobilize its resources for full support of Isler's campaign. The Jewish masses and their organizations can play an important role in this respect. Such a development would be a great stimulus to all sections of the Negro population.

In addition, every district needs to give immediate consideration to the question of Negro representation as a mass political demand which would be most effective for the 1952 elections. This, quite aside from the question of just putting up a Negro candidate from time to time. Think of the irony of the situation: of the

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forty-eight states not one has a Negro on its highest court. Yet the Republicans and Democrats meet every two years in convention and adopt resolutions on anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills, etc., as bait to the Negro people, without any real challenge from the Left and progressive forces on such matters as the persistent failure to appoint Negroes to high judicial office and influential administrative positions. It is high time to demand that Negroes be appointed to all the courts in the country. Every time there is such a vacancy the demand must be raised that state and Federal governments appoint Negroes.

The subject of redistricting is another aspect of the question of Negro representation. This should be taken up immediately and the demand raised that areas like New York, for instance, be so redistricted that the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens will have the opportunity of electing Negro congressmen, state senators, etc. Not even in Harlem's own borough of Manhattan is there a Negro state senator. For the New York elections in 1952 this should become a key demand. In developing these movements on a state-wide scale we must see them as helping to promote a national movement that would energetically take up the question of Negro representation at all levels in the South and the actual enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. This immediately raises as something of prime impor-

tance the question of reviving the campaign for the immediate passage of an anti-poll tax bill at this session of Congress, so as to facilitate the whole process of achieving Negro representation on all levels in the South.

Finally, the central problem confronting the Negro people is the fight for peace and for civil and democratic rights. The war economy has produced little or no increase of employment so far as the Negro people are concerned. And Negro women, who were driven from industry right after the Second World War, have never regained any mass base in industry anywhere in the country. With regard to Negro youth, the prospect for jobs is dismal indeed. Thus, the question of jobs and job discrimination is a fundamental one confronting the Negro people, and it is here that the labor movement is weakest.

There are only two or three unions in the whole country that in the last year have boldly tackled this question. First, there is the Marine Cooks and Stewards, which is the only union threatening to strike on this issue, in this case in connection with efforts to prevent a Negro woman from becoming stewardess on one of the steamship lines. The second is District 2 of the International Woodworkers of America, which is in the State of Washington. In the early spring that District took steps to guarantee that Negroes be brought into the industry, hitherto entirely white. This was done, and the proc-

ess of employment and integration of Negroes already began in the early part of this spring. What is more, in April, the leaders of the union went before their convention and explained why this policy had been adopted. The convention went on record, not only approving it, but calling upon all locals to engage in a vigorous campaign against the Jim Crowism that barred Negroes from living in many of the towns in the area. Consider the fact that this District is part of a Right-led International, and yet such a far-reaching step can take place in a period like the present.

Within the labor movement generally, however, the fight for Negro rights and the struggle against white chauvinism remain extremely weak, a condition that must be changed if we are going to make the headway that we should.

It is necessary, therefore, that every effort be made to help strengthen the

Negro Labor Councils throughout the country and to give every possible support to the coming convention of the National Negro Labor Council, in Cincinnati. Along with this, special efforts are needed to strengthen all Negro institutions in the progressive camp in order to make possible the effective leadership of larger and larger sections of the Negro people. In this respect, maximum support should be given to *Freedom*, the vital Negro monthly, at the head of which stands that great champion of peace, Paul Robeson.

Concluding, I wish to urge again that everyone re-discuss and re-study the decisions of our Convention, because the line developed there on the Negro question and on all major questions is fully valid today. Let us apply it and let us go forward to the building of a real peace movement based on firm unity of Negro and white workers and all other progressive forces.

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# How to Fight McCarthyism

By Michael Bianca

THE 6-2 DECISION of the Supreme Court upholding the Smith Act greatly accelerated Wall Street's drive toward fascism. As the National Committee of the Communist Party pointed out, it marked "a fundamental change in the American way of life." For, with this decision, the National Committee continued, "The process of creeping fascism, initiated by Big Business after Roosevelt's death, has gathered new speed. Truman's reactionary and warmongering course has led to a victory for McCarthy, McCarran and MacArthur. Our country now stands on the edge of the precipice."

Events since the decision have fully borne out the warning of the National Committee. In the wake of the original victimization of the Communist Party leaders, there are now more than fifty who have been arrested under the Smith Act, including such militant trade-union officials as Jack Hall, director of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U.) in Hawaii. There has been an increase in the intensity of attacks upon labor, the Negro people, the foreign born, former New Dealers, leaders

in the peace crusade and outstanding figures in the arts and sciences.

Although the tempo of fascization has been greatly accelerated, it would be a costly mistake to assume that fascism is already here. As the National Committee statement also pointed out: "The danger of fascism has greatly increased, and with it the danger of a new world war. But World War III is not inevitable and even at this late hour the plot to speed and complete the already advanced process of fascization can still be thwarted."

Certain it is that the struggle for peace is the central question in halting the fascist danger in the United States; for the purpose of the fascist trend is to hasten the preparation for a war seeking Wall Street's world domination. There are, however, many forces that fear and are opposed to the fascist peril but do not yet comprehend the main issues in the fight for peace. We must seek out every way of uniting with such forces around every issue—economic and political—in the people's resistance to the burdensome war program and to the attacks upon their democratic rights.

This requires that we seek united action against each and every step aimed at curtailing democratic liberties. As Georgi Dimitroff pointed out sixteen years ago:

... the accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or other of finance capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. . . . Before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is *not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory.*\*

Fascism, as Dimitroff stated, is "the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." He observed that "The accession to power of fascism is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—by another form—open terrorist dictatorship."

Wall Street is today seeking to discard the bourgeois-democratic form of rule because it is faced with contradictions which it cannot solve in the old way and which it vainly

hopes to allay through the gamble of war and fascism. Wall Street is in constant search for a profitable outlet for its \$100 billion in surplus capital. But this vast surplus is faced by the constant narrowing of the capitalist market and fields of exploitation at home as well as abroad.

Not only is it becoming increasingly difficult for finance capital to expand, but its power is being weakened as the countries under working-class leadership grow in strength, as the colonial and national liberation movements continue to develop, as the workers in all countries refuse to accept the burden of war economies, and as the conflicts among the imperialist powers themselves sharpen.

In light of these stubborn facts Wall Street has been fast turning in the direction of the fascist form of class domination in an effort, primarily, to crush the mounting struggles for peace and against the effects of a war economy. It seeks to shatter any obstacles to waging a war for world domination.

#### VARIATIONS IN THE FORMS OF FASCISM

To most Americans the prototypes of fascism are the Mussolini and Hitler varieties, with their storm troopers, bestial anti-Semitism, public book burnings, lime-kilns, etc. As Dimitroff pointed out, however, the drive to fascism varies from country to country. He declared:

The development of fascism and fascist dictatorship itself assume *different*

\* G. Dimitroff, *The United Front* (International Publishers), pp. 12-13

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forms in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism has no extensive mass base and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is fairly acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic parties, to retain a certain degree of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an *early* outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly. . . . It is necessary in each country to investigate, study and ascertain the national peculiarities, the specific national features of fascism. . . . It would be a gross mistake to lay down a universal rule of development of fascism to cover all countries and all peoples.

In the United States today, the fascist danger is proceeding mainly through the fascization of the existing state apparatus at the hands of an Administration which hypocritically proclaims its devotion to democratic traditions with each new blow it metes out against democratic rights. While the "creeping fascism" of the Truman Administration is the main instrument for destroying democratic rights, Wall Street also resorts more and more to the open, more direct form whose main mouthpiece in Washington is Sen. Joseph McCarthy. McCarthyism is creating anxiety and resentment among all democratic forces in the country.

Other spokesmen for open, unbridled fascism are Democrats like McCarran and such vicious Dixiecrats as Cox of Georgia. And in the center is the Big Mikado, Douglas MacArthur. Wall Street has not turned to the formation of a storm trooper mass movement, principally because of the deep-seated democratic traditions of the American people. But the embryonic possibilities for such a movement can be seen in the Peekskill and Cicero riots, the attempt to work up a mass hysteria around MacArthur and the revival of the KKK in the South.

Nonetheless, it is the Administration itself which is doing most to destroy democratic rights. Truman's acts feed the growth of McCarthyism. Unfortunately, because of the "democratic" cloak with which Truman covers his misdeeds, the majority of the potentially anti-fascist forces do not yet discern the nature of this "creeping fascism."

#### THE PROTESTS MOUNT

But as the roundups by Truman's Justice Department grow, more and more voices have begun to speak out. Outstanding in the recent period was this warning by the reformist trade-union leader Frank Rosenblum, a vice-president of the C.I.O. and secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers:

Our civil rights are insidiously being impaired, restricted and curbed. A wave of legislation, beginning with the Taft-Hartley and Smith Acts and em-

bracing the McCarran and similar measures, has created in effect, a parallel legal system superseding the Bill of Rights and the Constitution and our traditional body of law.

This is a dangerous movement toward fascism, representing a real threat to labor and liberal elements in the community. This reactionary movement is deliberate and is being engineered by those who would substitute fascism for democracy, even though they seek to create the impression that it is being directed against the Communists.

Rumblings of fear and alarm at the fascist danger are being heard even in the top circles of the American Federation of Labor. Joseph Keenan, retiring head of the A. F. of L.'s League for Political Education, declared at the recent San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L.:

I am not afraid of Communists in this country, but I am afraid of those Rightists who will sneak into power on us. These Rightists are fooling around with fascism like a doctor fooling around with dope, hoping they can control it.

Similar fears were voiced by Hugo Ernst, Right-wing president of the large A. F. of L. Hotel and Restaurant Workers. Progressive trade-union leaders are stepping out more and more vigorously in the fight against this creeping fascism. The recent convention of the United Electrical Workers Union took a straightforward stand on the issue. I.L.W.U. President Harry Bridges was cheered

at the recent convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers when he urged labor to unite against this menace and warned:

Today they pick up half a dozen Communists and one unionist. Soon they'll pick up half a dozen unionists and one Communist.

Outstanding is the work being done by Ford Local 600 of the C.I.O.-U.A.W. which has mailed to all sections of the labor movement copies of its resolution urging unity against the Smith Act and all other repressive legislation.

Outside of the labor movement voices have also begun to speak out. This is particularly true among many Negro leaders and newspapers.

In the recent period even such anti-Communist papers as the *New York Post*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the *Madison (Wisconsin) Capitol-Times* have condemned the arrests of working-class leaders, including Communists.

#### TRUMAN FEEDS MCCARTHYISM

Nevertheless, the vast majority of the American people still do not see through Truman's demagoguery. One of the principal reasons for this is his pretense of fighting McCarthyism in defense of the Bill of Rights, even as he goes about destroying those rights. Truman's deeds are the opposite of his promises.

Truman and his aides point to his vetoing of the Taft-Hartley Bill; but they neglect to mention that he made

no effort to have the veto upheld, and that he has vigorously executed the Act itself.

While Truman and his aides prate of this veto, the President breaks strikes and issues injunctions under the powers of the Act. While Truman laments restraints on freedom of expression, he launches "loyalty" oath campaigns, publishes lists of "subversives," immediately implements the McCarran Act and sees his Justice Department turned into a vast Gestapo organization devoted to persecution and harassment of thousands of forward-looking Americans.

While Truman and his aides piously announce devotion to the freedom efforts of the Negro people and point to this or that particular appointment as proof of their sincerity, the President, in action, scuttles F.E.P.C., abandons the anti-lynching struggle, betrays the poll-tax repeal issue, maintains the whole pattern of Jim Crowism throughout the Federal government, and doesn't lift his voice to a whisper to denounce the barbarism involved in the McGee and Martinsville murders, the Ingram and Trenton frameups.

And for the people in general, Truman's smooth words will not help buy the pork-chops that his own warmongering economy has made prohibitively expensive.

With fanfare Truman orders an American Indian veteran buried in Arlington, but quietly his Administration divests living American Indians of what little land remains to

them; with words he regrets the racism that produces Jim Crow cemeteries, in deeds he wages a war against colored peoples in Asia and turns a land of thirty millions into one huge cemetery. Truman's Voice of America repeatedly tells the people of the world of his love for freedom, but Truman's State Department bulwarks every sadistic fascist from Franco to Rhee, from Chiang Kai-shek to Bao Dai. Truman—magnificent gestures, damnable deeds.

And the gestures are to gain him continued support from the Right-wing labor leaders, from Negro reformist figures such as Walter White and from the "liberal" leaders of the Americans for Democratic Action. All these gentry make it easier for Truman to put over his demagogy even as he steps up his efforts to destroy the Bill of Rights.

From the Taft-Hartley Law to the Smith Act arrests, the fascization of the state machinery has formed a coldly calculated series of acts, so that today the traditional bourgeois-democratic form of rule in the United States has been largely scrapped.

When the Taft-Hartley Law was passed in 1947, Philip Murray warned that it was a "long step toward fascism." Since that time the trade-union top officialdom has accommodated itself to that step toward fascism instead of conducting a sustained battle for the repeal of the law. As a result, new and more vicious anti-labor bills are being introduced, such as the Veldes Bill which would out-

law the right to strike in "defense" industries, a term which, under present conditions, can be construed to mean nearly the whole body of the American economy.

Deportation roundups have reached a mass scale, with Ellis Island and other centers becoming crowded concentration camps. The constitutional right to bail, as evidenced in the Smith Act and deportation cases, has been reduced to a mockery. The Supreme Court, packed with Truman appointees, makes no pretense of basing decisions on the Constitution but merely sits as a rubber stamp for reaction. Lawyers who defend political victims find their livelihood as well as their liberty jeopardized. The victims of the Cicero and Peekskill riots are punished, while its instigators are permitted to go free and are even given friendly nods. At no time in our history have so many of the key government posts been filled by generals, admirals and big corporation executives. The witch-hunting Un-American Activities Committee has become a standing institution.

This process of fascization is being accelerated as monopoly capital drives more feverishly to war.

As Wall Street attempts to spread this process, it finds it more and more difficult to maintain a pretense of defending democracy while murdering it. It is compelled more and more to open, unbridled forms of reaction of which McCarthyism is the most rabid expression.

The point has been reached where

Supreme Court Justices are vilified and attacked if they deviate in the slightest degree from the Administration's war-instigating policies, as happened with Justice Douglas when he suggested that Washington might be pursuing a wrong policy with respect to People's China. And woe unto any lesser judge if he dares to base his decisions on the Constitution in cases such as Smith Act arrests. Thus leading Senators and Representatives threaten to withhold the reappointment of Federal Judge Metzger of Hawaii because he based himself on the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution in granting reasonable bail to seven Smith Act victims.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

In working to build the united front against fascism, Dimitroff warned: "We must find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise from the vital needs of the masses, from the level of their fighting capacity at the present stage of development."

In the present situation a struggle to save the nation from war and fascism revolves around a four-pronged fight on these general demands: end the Korean war, stop all war provocations, sign a Big-Five Peace Pact; fight against the war economy and its effects; end the growing terror against the Negro people, enforce the 14th and 15th Amendments, wipe out Jim Crow; restore the Bill of Rights.



Many forces are willing to struggle on one or more of these issues, though not on all. And even on any one of these issues, many forces may not be willing to go all the way but are prepared to conduct a partial struggle. Our task is to support and encourage all steps and actions, no matter how hesitant, that move in a positive direction. In the process we should strive to convince these forces that their own self interest requires them to go faster and further.

For example, wide sections of the labor movement under Right-wing leadership and sections of the Negro people under reformist influence either do not see or are as yet unwilling to speak out against the Smith Act, which is the keystone in the Administration's effort to destroy the Bill of Rights and clamp fascism upon the land.

But these same forces stand in mortal fear of McCarthyism, which they correctly see as a threat to their liberty and very existence. The labor leaders see the most vicious anti-labor elements, such as Mundt and McCarran leagued with McCarthy. The Negro reformists see this coalition extending to bourbon-like Rep. Cox of Georgia to whom the N.A.A.-C.P. and the National Urban League are "red" organizations which must be destroyed. Liberal and former New Deal groups, such as the A.D.A. and the Liberal Party in New York, fear that the McCarthyites would treat them as roughly as they would treat the Communists.

Though the struggle against McCarthyism is only a partial one in the fight to restore the Bill of Rights, we should join in this struggle wholeheartedly. Most of the forces, in the fight against McCarthyism, are willing to struggle for any or all of the following points: support of the Benton resolution to oust McCarthy from the Senate, an end to "loyalty" probes and job screenings, and repeal of the McCarran Act. It is possible to develop a broad movement for McCarthy's ouster from the Senate analogous to that which forced the removal of Bilbo.

The logic of a full mass struggle against McCarthyism, if we work correctly, will aid the struggle against the Administration's attacks on the Bill of Rights. This is already seen in the position taken by Rosenblum and the *New York Post*, who speak out against some of Truman's methods because they see them as strengthening McCarthyism.

#### EXPOSE TRUMAN'S DEMAGOGY!

It is clear that the struggle against McCarthyism is one level of united front action that must be supported and broadened.

At the same time, it must constantly be pointed out that the main threat to democratic rights comes from the Administration itself whose Justice Department, packed courts and F.B.I. are the main instruments for destroying the Bill of Rights. While supporting all actions against McCarthyism, it is absolutely essen-

tial to build united action on such immediate and pressing issues as an end to the Smith Act arrests, the right to reasonable bail, against any and all attacks on the Bill of Rights, and for the repeal of the Smith Act.

It must especially be pointed out that it is not possible to fight for restoration of the Bill of Rights without demanding its full application to the Negro people who have never, even under the best of conditions in past periods, enjoyed these rights. The Negro liberation movement forms one of the most advanced and most vital sectors in the struggle against fascism. Fascism cannot be prevented in the United States without a firm struggle for Negro rights.

The fight to restore the Bill of Rights, which is at the heart of the struggle against fascism, must be fought on any and all levels. The main bulwark of this struggle is the working class and the Negro people. Labor, first of all, must take the lead, if real stability and depth are to be given to the struggle, and that is where our basic efforts should be concentrated.

Truman, it is now clear, is demagogically seeking to make the struggle against McCarthyism a main issue for the '52 elections. His supporters will again try to portray him, at best, as a crusader for democratic

rights and, at worst, as a "lesser evil" to the McCarthy gang.

The key to exposing this maneuver requires that we utilize the utmost boldness and flexibility in building a great mass movement for restoration of the Bill of Rights, that we support any and all steps in this direction, that we seek constantly to place the fight against the Smith Act and the struggle for Negro rights in the center of this movement, and that we develop a many-sided struggle against the effects of the war economy.

It requires that we conduct a sharp struggle against all sectarian tendencies and that we find ways of appealing to, and uniting with, Truman supporters, against McCarthyism, patiently and unceasingly pointing out that united action for full restoration of the Bill of Rights is in their own self interest.

Although the Supreme Court decision accelerated the tempo of fascism, its process seemingly is still too slow for Wall Street. This is a tribute to the democratic traditions and feelings of the American people who are increasingly manifesting their resistance to reaction. With unity of action against all anti-democratic measures, the people can halt and reverse this attack, save the Bill of Rights and prevent a third world war.

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# The Second Anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic

By Betty Gannett

THIS OCTOBER marks the second anniversary of the birth of the great Chinese People's Democratic Republic. The military and political debacle of the counter-revolutionary Chiang Kai-shek regime and the expulsion of the foreign imperialists from the soil of China brought to a close the century-long struggle of China's suffering millions against imperialist and feudal oppression. This irrevocable victory of the people attained at last the democratic unification and national independence of this vast Asian land. In place of the former semi-feudal and semi-colonial China there has arisen a free and united China, whose 475,000,000 citizens have become masters of their own destiny.

The liberation of the entire territory of China (save for Taiwan and several small islands) from the imperialist marauders and the Kuomintang national betrayers is above all a devastating blow to United States imperialism. As the new pretender to world dominance, U.S. imperialism sought to establish its unchallenged sway over China. Covetous of China's rich natural resources, its huge reserve of labor power, and its potentially un-

limited market, Wall Street during and after World War II strove to consolidate its economic position in that country.

Granted by the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek clique exclusive rights to establish business enterprises, exploit China's mineral deposits and oil fields, acquire and operate the power and transport facilities, flood the market with American-made products, and even buy up whole provinces and territories, the Wall Street robber barons reaped a rich harvest from the super-profits extracted from the body of China. The men of the trusts, through their Pentagon agents, lavishly poured billions of dollars into the coffers of the Kuomintang swindlers, shipped untold quantities of arms and military supplies, maintained air, marine and other military units, and assigned American advisers and experts to all governmental bodies and institutions—all with the aim of rapidly transforming China into a *place d'armes* in their aggressive schemes against the Land of Socialism.

U.S. imperialism saw in the spreading liberation movement a formidable obstacle to its expansionist aims.

The present "debate" notwithstanding, Washington and its master, Wall Street, gave all-out support to the corrupt Kuomintang regime in the vain hope of stemming the tide of the people's revolution.

But the sway of American finance capital over China was to be short-lived. The great sweep of the mass patriotic fury and the hammer blows of the People's Liberation Army, led by the glorious Communist Party, drove the bureaucratic Kuomintang gang from the mainland of China and, with it, the U.S. potentates.

The national-liberation struggle in China was successful because it was a profound and irresistible popular movement which aroused the rural and urban populations to resolute united struggle against the spread-eagle interventionists and their Kuomintang subalterns.

The national-liberation struggle in China was victorious because it was led by the Chinese working class—everywhere the most advanced and consistently revolutionary class—and by its indomitable, heroic vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party, and its helmsman Mao Tse-tung, which created under its leadership the broadest democratic unity of all patriotic social forces and organizations.

The national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people was unconquerable because it had the enthusiastic support of the peace-loving, democratic camp throughout the world, above all, the fraternal friendship and aid of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, beacon of the op-

pressed and exploited the world over.

#### THE NEW STATE POWER

With the victory of the national-liberation struggle, state power passed from the hands of the feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists, buttressed by foreign imperialism, into the hands of the people—the working class and the peasantry, comprising from 80 to 90 per cent of the population, in alliance with the urban petty bourgeoisie, and all other anti-imperialist sections.

The Common Program adopted by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference which proclaimed the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic, defined the new state power as follows: "The Chinese People's Democratic Dictatorship is the state power of the people's democratic united front composed of the Chinese working class, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements, based on the alliance of the workers and peasants and led by the working class."

The state power in China as Mao Tse-tung declared, is "a united dictatorship of all revolutionary classes," conforming to the social and economic conditions prevailing at the time of liberation and to the historic tasks confronting the present stage of the revolution.

The long night of alien oppression, dating back to the Opium War of the 1840's, reduced China to a semi-colony and perpetuated the feudal

and semi-feudal relations of production. Despite the fact that its vast territory contained all the natural requisites for a flourishing national economy, China never developed into a capitalist power with large-scale technically advanced industry. It was forced to remain primarily a backward agrarian hinterland, with industry comprising only 10 percent of the economy. As foreign capital penetrated China, destroying the natural and self-sufficient economy and making the country dependent on the world market, elements of native capitalism also developed. But this development was restricted by the domination and competition of the foreign usurpers of China's sovereignty, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the semi-feudal conditions of agricultural production which kept the overwhelming majority of the population at the brink of starvation, narrowing the base for an expanding home market.

The economic and political backwardness of China, and the poverty and deprivation of its millions, were not due to the natural calamities which regularly plagued the country, not to "overpopulation" (shades of Malthus!), nor to the "lack of ingenuity" of its people. It was due to imperialist subjugation and feudal oppression. Not until China shook off this double yoke, could she overcome her economic backwardness, release mighty productive forces in agriculture and industry, and usher in the social and cultural renaissance that is winning world admiration.

Only then could she lay the basis for advance on the road to the future Socialist society.

The semi-colonial and semi-feudal status of China determined the social character of the liberation struggle, the new state power, and the specific tasks facing the people.

From the foregoing it is clear that the revolution in China, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in essence, is not a socialist but a bourgeois-democratic revolution—albeit, a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a special type. The aim of this profoundly democratic people's revolution is not to consolidate the power of the bourgeoisie and establish a capitalist society, which was the historic task of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nor is its task the consolidation of bourgeois democracy and the creation of a bourgeois republic. Its aim is to eliminate the special privileges and the positions as a whole of foreign imperialism and to undermine the economic foundations of the compradore or bureaucratic capitalists. Its aim is to abolish the semi-feudal production relations, transform the semi-feudal landownership into independent peasant ownership and promote the industrialization of the country.

The people's revolution in China is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a special type, primarily because it is led by the working class, headed by its vanguard Party, whose historic mission is to advance the revolution to the stage of Socialism.

The state power created in China coincides with the social content of the people's revolution. The fact that the working class exercises decisive leadership in it makes it a state power that marks a transition, as Stalin foresaw a quarter of a century ago, to "China's non-capitalist, or, more exactly, socialist development."

"If the state system," Mao Tse-tung declared in July, 1949, "is not allowed to become the private possession of the bourgeoisie, but is the common property of the general population, and if to this condition is added the leadership of the working class, then you have the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship."\*

#### CLASS FORCES IN CHINA

The experiences of the Chinese people's revolution bear out the tenets of Lenin and Stalin, that in the epoch of imperialism, in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, a successful struggle for national liberation is possible only under the leadership of the working class.

In China, despite its small numbers, the working class organized and unified by its vanguard Communist Party, became the leader of the democratic revolution. In the unsuccessful revolution of 1911, the working class had not yet come forward as an independent force, nor had it brought forth its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party.

\*Mao Tse-tung, *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Peking, 1950.

Only in the period following World War I, and under the impact of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, did the Chinese working class emerge as an independent force in the anti-imperialist struggle and agrarian revolution. Headed by the Communist Party, the working class won the adherence of the overwhelming majority of the people, welding a firm alliance especially with the rural poor, and led the people's revolution to victory. The agrarian population became, under the leadership of the working class, the major mass base of the national-liberation movement and the People's Army.

The specific historical conditions of China's recent development also determined the tactical approach to the national bourgeoisie. The big capitalists, closely linked with, and in the service of, foreign imperialism, and symbolized by China's Four Families—Chiang Kai-shek, H. H. Kung, T. V. Soong and the Chen Brothers—were the pillars of the structure of the corrupt Kuomintang regime. These bureaucratic capitalists amassed huge fortunes and properties, waxing fat on the misery and poverty of the people. The twenty-year rule of the Four Families convinced the broad masses that the clique in power was interested in perpetuating the social and economic backwardness of China and the domination of foreign imperialism. For the people's revolution to be successful, it had to be directed against these venal servants of imperialism.

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the small and middle strata of the capitalists, who had little or no connection with imperialism, but suffered from the foreign domination and the feudal survivals, joined the United Democratic Front and played a positive role in the revolution. This role could, however, be only of a subordinate kind. For, as Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

The national bourgeoisie cannot serve as a leader of the revolution and should not occupy a major position in the state administration. This is because the social and economic status of the national bourgeoisie has determined its weak character, its lack of foresight and of sufficient courage. . . . In the era of imperialism, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are not capable of leading any genuine revolution to victory.\*

#### LAND REFORM

With the triumph of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal liberation struggle, the Chinese people faced such key economic tasks as confiscation of the land of the feudal classes and its transfer to peasant ownership; confiscation of the properties and capital of the imperialists and comprador capitalists and their transformation into state property; the rapid restoration and expansion of agricultural and industrial production, trade and commerce; and the stabilization and control of finances.

The task of destroying the feudal and semi-feudal relations which

reigned in the countryside rapidly unfolded. This could be achieved because the main reliance was upon the rural poor in firm unity with the middle peasants. The land reform program which now embraces 310,000,000 people, and will be completed in all of China by 1952, realized the irrepressible dream of the Chinese peasants for "land to the tillers." Countless millions of landless and land-poor peasants, who had been at the complete mercy of the feudal landlords and the Kuomintang officials, have now received land and become independent peasants.

The land reform is bringing to a conclusion the agrarian revolution, the foundation and main content of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Before the land reform, 70 percent of the rural population owned little or no land; 20 percent owned from 20-30 percent of the arable land; while the rich peasants and landlords constituting but 10 percent of the population, owned 70-80 percent of the land. This system of land ownership formed the basis of the cruel exploitation of the Chinese people.

But in China today there will soon be no landlord class, the most important social base of counter-revolution; for the land reform is rapidly eliminating the landlord class and its economic power, transforming the feudal landowning system into peasant land ownership. In China, too, there will soon be no impoverished and hungry peasantry, for the land reform has released the productive forces in agriculture, and the peasants

\* *Ibid.*, p. 22-23.

for the first time in their lives have surplus grain and other supplies on hand.

Marxism-Leninism teaches, and the experiences of the Soviet Union confirm this teaching, that only a socialist agriculture, setting the scattered peasant economy on collective rails, can finally completely overcome the poverty of the rural population, lay the basis for a rich and cultured life in the countryside, and serve industry as a stable source of raw materials. But socialist collectivization is not yet on the order of the day in China—not only because one cannot jump over the stage of giving land to the land-hungry peasants, but also because collectivization cannot be carried through without an industrial base, without an industry able to produce the modern machinery required by an advanced agriculture.

But land reform in China has created the conditions for the introduction of collective forms of labor to exploit more effectively technical and scientific methods of production and to raise the productivity of the agrarian masses. Cooperative organizations and mutual aid teams, based on voluntary participation and mutually beneficial to the peasants, have swept the rural communities and greatly increased agricultural output. Through pooling the individual efforts of the peasants, through utilizing jointly farm implements and draft animals, and through working in groups, labor productivity has been increased by from one-third to one-

half of the productivity by individual effort. As a result in many villages the 1950 harvest surpassed that of 1947 three and four times.

Large investments in water conservation projects and irrigation systems, investments which have already surpassed in this short time the total amount spent by the Kuomintang regime in its two decades of misrule, have increased and will further increase the yield of agriculture. Water conservation projects, flood control, drought and pest prevention have brought into production large uncultivated formerly inundated areas. The air force has been enlisted to rid locust-infested areas from these ancient enemies of the Chinese peasants. Huge reservoirs, like the Shihmanton Reservoir (completed in early July, 1951 in a short period of eight months) are scheduled to be constructed throughout the country.

Increase in agricultural production has brought with it an increase in the purchasing power of the farming masses and a rapid extension of the home market for manufactured goods. Thus, in 1951 the demand for all types of consumer goods is expected to increase four times over 1950. New homes, hospitals, schools, and libraries are springing up everywhere, changing the face of the Chinese village.

Is it any wonder that the Chinese peasants are devoted supporters of the new state power which guides the destiny of China to economic, social and cultural fulfillment?



## INDUSTRIALIZING CHINA

Since agricultural production and handicraft industry account for 90 per cent of the total national income, the recovery of agriculture means essentially the recovery of China's national economy. But, the people's government faces the great and complex task of transforming China from an agrarian to an industrialized country. Only then can China achieve economic independence and advance on the road to Socialism. For only a country producing its own means of production can create an expanding industry that will rise to an economy of abundance. Land reform has to be seen as a principal condition for the development of industry. Without raw materials for the factories and food for the urban workers it is impossible to advance industrialization. Therefore, the task of further expanding agricultural production remains a decisive element in overcoming China's economic backwardness.

The Japanese and United States interventionists in China's economic life, the civil war initiated by the Chiang Kai-shek regime, and the extreme methods of exploitation, wrought serious havoc on China's industries and its rail communication system. Some nine-tenths of all the iron and steel works, one-half of the power stations, large numbers of the coal mines, textile mills and other plants, and the major lines of the railroads were seriously damaged and dislocated.

New China was faced with the immediate task of restoring and developing industrial production, and, in order to lay the foundation for the industrialization of the country, to give primary attention to the rehabilitation and expansion of heavy industry; to expand the exchange of goods between town and country; to restore to operation and extend the nation-wide network of railways; to centralize government finances and stabilize the financial structure of the country, and to expand foreign trade in the service of industry, agriculture and the home market.

The transformation of the confiscated properties of the bureaucratic capitalists into state-operated enterprises placed in the hands of the new state power a firm material base for planning the restoration of industry. The plan projected by the Central People's Government, to shift the base of the national economy from agriculture to industry, increasing the share of industry in the economy from 10 percent to 30-40 percent within the next ten to fifteen years, is an undertaking of tremendous significance. This will demand primary attention to the state-owned industrial establishments which control the basic branches of industry and to guarantee that the leading role of this sector, which is socialist in character, shall play the dominant part in the economy.

But the overcoming of China's industrial backwardness demands also the continued existence and development of the private capitalist enter-

prises which comprise an important sector of the industrial economy. Thus, Mao Tse-tung stated: "In order to offset the pressure of the imperialists and advance the backward economy one step forward, China must make use of every urban and rural capitalist enterprise which can benefit the national economy and is not detrimental to the people's standard of living." In this sense he added, "Our present policy is to restrict capitalism, but not to destroy it."

The new state power, the Common Program of the People's Political Consultative Conference directs, shall regulate and coordinate all components of the social economy, under the leadership of the state-owned sector, in order that all shall help to promote the economy as a whole.

The People's Democratic Republic has already made tremendous headway in the restoration of industry. In less than two years China's railroads have been united into a nation-wide network and restored to efficient operation. The restoration of the railroads has greatly expanded the interchange of goods between town and country. The textile industry, a major branch of the nation's economy, employing 500,000 workers, will produce more yarn and fabric this year than ever attained in the history of China. Heavy industry, which prior to the Japanese war of aggression represented a combined capital of only one percent of the total capital investments, receiving major attention from the govern-

ment, produced in 1950 eleven times more steel, seven times more pig iron, and three times more machines, than in 1949.

A most vivid evidence of the great achievements of the people's democratic dictatorship is the centralization of the economic and financial activities of the country, the balancing of the state budget and the stabilization of commodity prices. The runaway inflation which lasted for twelve years and further worsened the lot of the Chinese people has finally ended, prices have been stabilized and, recently, commodity prices and taxes to the state have been further reduced. The state operation of the banks and the strict control over finances, the issuance of currency and the prohibition of the circulation of foreign banknotes (under the Kuomintang regime U.S. currency was legal tender), has finally stabilized the financial structure of the state and eliminated speculation.

China's customs system and foreign trade, always instruments for subjugating the country to imperialism, have now become important levers for stimulating its economic development and protecting the industries from foreign dumping, removing one of the greatest obstacles to China's industrial development. China now orders what it needs and no longer imports non-essential consumer goods which previously flooded the country. It no longer exports raw materials vitally needed to supply its own industry. Its expanding trade with the Soviet Union and the

states of People's Democracy, based on equality and mutual reciprocity, has helped to provide China with the necessary industrial machinery, fuel and manufactured goods required to advance its economy.

The working class through its trade unions, having a membership of 5,000,000, has played a major role in the rehabilitation and development of China's industry. A nationwide movement of emulation is now embracing several million workers, who strive to utilize more efficiently the machinery and equipment, guarantee the economic use of raw materials, promote inventions and new methods further to increase labor productivity, and fulfill before schedule the plans of industry. The emulation movement is now striving to transform the individual records of the labor innovators into collective records through the establishment of mutual assistance brigades, lectures and technical courses, thus rousing the labor enthusiasm of the entire working class.

As a result of these first beginnings in the rehabilitation of industry, the condition of the workers has already substantially improved. In many industries the real wages of the workers have increased by 40-50 percent, with the working day reduced to 8-10 hours.

Thus, China has been wrested from the orbit of world imperialism. It is now a vigorous force in the mighty anti-imperialist camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union.

For a time, Wall Street speculated on the foolish and futile hope that Mao Tse-tung, brilliant leader of the Chinese people, would "pull a Tito" in Asia and bring China back to the fold of imperialism. Veneal columnists devised "conflicts" between China and the U.S.S.R. "for domination of Asia." But the laws of life have mocked at their mad ravings.

The Communist Party of China is a revolutionary working-class vanguard armed with the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and in particular with the profound teachings of Stalin on the character and tasks of the Chinese Revolution. Mao Tse-tung creatively elaborated and applied the Marxist-Leninist doctrines to the concrete historical conditions of China. Under his indefatigable leadership, the Communist Party decisively defeated all opportunists; worked out the correct strategy and tactics for each stage of the revolution; brought into being the People's Liberation Army; and led the people out of imperialist-feudal enslavement.

The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the Chinese People's Republic and the U.S.S.R. has enormously strengthened the economic and political situation of China. The genuine fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union—the long-term credits for needed industrial machinery, the exchange of technical and production experience, the direct aid of Soviet experts and scientists, etc.—enabled China to make rapid strides in economic re-

construction. These relations of fraternal cooperation in all spheres of social life historically constitute new international relations based on the collaboration of free and equal nations, with full recognition of state sovereignty and territorial integrity—relations based on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Predatory designs on other countries and peoples are alien to the Soviet Union and the New China. Their peoples ardently desire and need peace. They need peace to further construction in the interests of the material and cultural well-being of their entire population. That is why China and the Soviet Union—bound in an unbreakable alliance—pursue a foreign policy dedicated to world peace, a policy directed against the new instigators of war. It is this Soviet-Chinese Alliance which, as Stalin declared on the occasion of the second anniversary of liberation, is a "strong safeguard for peace and security in the Far East."

But the U.S. imperialists are desperately attempting to reverse the course of history. This is why they conspire with the remnants of the fascist Chiang Kai-shek clique to organize subversive espionage activity on the Chinese mainland. This is why they refuse to recognize China and keep her from representation in the United Nations. This is why they have seized Taiwan, have launched military intervention in Korea and blatantly sabotaged and stalled the cease-fire negotiations. This is why too, they have blud-

geoned their satellites to adopt the misnamed Japanese "peace" treaty without the participation of China and over the opposition of the Soviet Union.

U.S. imperialism cannot win this struggle against the forces of revolution in China and Asia. To borrow from the words of Supreme Court Justice Douglas, "No number of atomic bombs—no amount of fire power—no number of troops can turn the tide of that revolution."

The people of the United States, especially the working class and the Negro people, have nothing in common with these expansionist aims of the men of Wall Street. They too, like the peoples of China, and of the entire world, dread the horrors of war and earnestly strive for peace. But our people must be helped to realize that peace cannot be secured through reliance on the Wall Street-controlled bi-partisan Truman Administration. Peace can be secured only if the people bring to bear their will for it through organized and united action.

The peace forces must make the land ring with the demands for immediate recognition of the People's Republic of China and the renewal of trade relations, for admitting China to the U.N., and for the immediate conclusion of the cease-fire negotiations and the right of the Korean people to establish the democratic unification of their country. The demand must be advanced with full vigor for a Five-Power Peace Pact to guarantee world peace.

# New Features in the Struggle Against Fascism

By George Blake

## THE ATTACK AGAINST THE PARTY

In 1948, Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, in his report to the 14th Party Convention, said: "The development of fascism in the United States now appears as a serious threatening menace. The process of fascization, most directly engendered by monopoly's war drive, itself in turn serves as a key internal instrument to facilitate and accelerate Wall Street's preparations for World War III."

This profound estimate and warning uttered three years ago has been fully verified. The recent imprisonment of the national leaders of the C.P. with the sanction of the Supreme Court, and the new waves of arrests of Communists in different parts of the country point to the sinister spread of a police state system of class rule that threatens the imminent destruction of democratic institutions in the country. The attack against the C.P. and its virtual outlawry by the Smith Act prosecutions is the most demonstrative example and gravest symptom of the advance of fascism. The object of

reaction in *timing* its greatest blow against the vanguard party of the American working class, is to isolate the party from the masses of the American people and to head off, disorganize and smash the growing resistance of the people to the predatory bi-partisan program of war, reaction and fascism.

However, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the ruling class to conceal its true aims as it moves from a bourgeois-democratic to a fascist form of class government. Increasing sections of the people are beginning to understand that while the *spearhead* of the attack is directed against the Communists, the *main assault* is aimed at the working class, the Negro people, the poor farmers and city middle class and the national minorities, in short, the great majority of American people.

Surely Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo left no ground for self delusion. Their "anti-Communist" and "dangerous thoughts" laws not only outlawed the Communist Party but also "legalized" a reign of terror, struck down the trade unions, all but annihilated the Jewish people, wiped out the organizations of the Social Democrats, liberals and Catholics—and proved to be the prelude

to World War II. (National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., *Political Affairs*, July 1951).

#### A QUALITATIVE CHANGE

Since 1948, the *creeping* process of fascization which characterized the earlier period of the preparations for war has undergone a *qualitative change in tempo and scope* which corresponds to the more advanced stage of the war drive and the instigation by American imperialism of actual acts of aggression. This is the underlying meaning of the Vinson decision on June 4th. It represents something more than the judicial conclusion of the trial of the "11," as the trial of the "17" in New York and the forthcoming trials in California, Pittsburgh, Maryland and Hawaii represent something more than a repetition on an extended scale of the original case. They signalize above all the continuation and *intensification* of the trend toward fascism under more acute circumstances that threaten to engulf the nation. "All Americans—not just the Communists—face a wholly new situation." (National Committee, C.P.U.S.A. *Political Affairs*, July 1951).

The frameups, the mass arrests and prosecutions of Communists are increasingly accompanied by a developing *system* of reactionary measures against the people. These attacks are many-sided and emanate from sources inside and outside of the State apparatus. They combine the process of the corruption and con-

version of the present organs of government to fascist forms with the stimulation of fascist and semi-fascist movements which contribute to the emerging pattern of total fascism. The organization of a mass fascist party, as in Germany and Italy is not an absolute pre-requisite to the establishment of fascism. Forms will vary according to historical circumstances and the relationship of forces in a given country, but the rise and development of mass reactionary organizations and fuehrer-like personalities is an inherent feature in an advanced stage. MacArthur, the Ku Klux Klan and the Christian Front, the American Legion, and the Dixiecrats are all facets of this development. A sinister expression is the recent widespread appearance of the Confederate Flag as the emerging banner of all these fascist groupings. (It is characteristic of the American fascists to flaunt the banner that represented the system of Negro slavery. Just as German fascism represented the fusion of the Ruhr industrialists and the Prussian Junkers, so American fascism represents the merger of the Wall Street monopolists and the Bourbon landlords of the South).

In its most rabid expression, the current drive toward fascism is broadly identified as McCarthyism. It embodies and leads the most evil and corrupt forces in American political life. It represents the most formidable effort to organize a mass fascist movement in the U.S.

The democratic, anti-fascist move-

ment led by its vanguard must associate itself with the rising mass resentment and opposition to McCarthyism. More than that, it must take the initiative to mobilize the working class and its allies to smash it. This struggle can only be deflected from its true aim, if left to the leadership of the Social-Democrats and the Truman "liberals," even though there are certain contradictions between the Truman administration and the McCarthyite extremists that compel them to make half-hearted protests. Their own unqualified support of the Truman war program makes an effective and consistent struggle on their part impossible. They lack the will and the capacity to conduct such a struggle. They lack the confidence of the masses. The fact is that McCarthyism is the *ultimate* expression of the reactionary policies of the Truman bi-partisan administration. It exemplifies the process in the present stage of history of how reaction leads to greater reaction. Vito Marcantonio, chairman of the American Labor Party, aptly describes McCarthyism as "the Frankenstein created by Truman." However, the struggle against McCarthyism must embrace the millions who are confused and still support Truman in the false belief that he represents a "lesser evil."

Our Party at every level must demonstrate its understanding of the tactic of the united front and its skill in applying it in the struggle against McCarthyism. We must vigorously overcome hesitations or fears that

this struggle will divert us from the struggle against the Truman program or that it will strengthen illusions in Truman. On the contrary, we must point out convincingly that the struggle against Truman and McCarthy is inseparable. On the one hand, we must avoid insisting that opposition to Truman become the basis or pre-condition for united mass action against specific manifestations of McCarthyism. On the other hand, in the course of our active participation around concrete issues in the mass struggle against McCarthyism, we can and must demonstrate that it is the reactionary policies of the *Truman government in power* that contribute to the extremism of McCarthyism and make it so dangerous. We can thus more effectively demonstrate that you cannot fight McCarthyism merely as a "lunatic fringe" and stand silent in the face of government inspired Smith Act prosecutions; that you cannot fight for democracy at home and simultaneously passively support or fail to oppose the bi-partisan foreign policy, when as never before, foreign and domestic policies are fused. Any abstention of the Party and the conscious anti-fascist forces from this struggle can only contribute to limiting the issue to Truman vs. McCarthy and thereby *enhance* the danger of fascism as the "debate" between Truman and MacArthur enhanced the danger of war.

Thus it is the interweaving of the Truman policies and McCarthyism with its contradictions that have,

with the weapons of terror and demagoguery, blanketed the nation in a smog of fear and confusion and speeded up the tempo of fascism.

#### THE ECONOMIC CONTENT OF REACTION'S PROGRAM

The offensive against the civil liberties of the people and their freedom of political expression is but one phase of the drive towards fascism. A basic expression of this drive is the stepped-up attacks of monopoly capital against the living standards of the working class. These attacks have also taken on a qualitatively new character. It is manifested primarily by the impact of the war inflation economy. The wage freeze, established originally by emergency decree and now incorporated in the Defense Production Act with the active support of the trade union bureaucracy is the major economic component of the reactionary drive against the working class. It is not just another important economic measure in the government war programs. Its main purpose is not to limit or regulate wage demands, but to serve as the key instrument to shift the main burden of the war program on to the workers and to *destroy their living standards in the process*. This is revealed in the reports of growing mass impoverishment as a result of the war inflation economy in the year since Korea. It is revealed in the report of the Council of Economic Advisers, covering this period, to the effect that while personal incomes had risen

13%, one-half of the population received no increases at all and 18% had suffered a loss in income. It is further reported that 10 million families subsist on \$38 per week. It is revealed in the startling increase of total and partial unemployment. This process of mass impoverishment heaps its greatest burdens upon the Negro people.

The wage freeze and the war inflation program as a whole is being integrated with the Taft-Hartley act to cripple and smash the trade union movement. The presidential injunction in the strike of the copper miners and Grand Jury inquisition of a number of trade union leaders are only the most recent episodes of a growing, all inclusive attack against the labor movement that cuts across Left-Right lines and which is designed to stifle any resistance to the war economy.

#### THE ATTACK AGAINST THE NEGRO PEOPLE

The reign of lynch terror directed against the Negro people is another concrete manifestation of the new tempo and scope of the unfolding fascist offensive. The execution of the Martinsville Seven and of Willie McGee, the mob violence in Cicero together with the infamous conduct of the Cook County Grand Jury, the federal indictment of one of America's greatest scholars and Negro leaders, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the vindictive persecution and harassment of Paul Robeson, the vicious Smith Act victimization of Ben Da-



vis and Henry Winston, and the daily police murders and assaults, all point to the genocidal character of the attack against the Negro people. Thus the national oppression of the Negro people, characteristic of imperialist class rule, is intensified qualitatively by the unbridled chauvinism stemming from the war drive. It is an integral and decisive part of the developing fabric of American fascist ideology and practice.

It is clear from the foregoing that the danger of fascism has increased alarmingly in the past period. It is imperative therefore that we combat any tendencies that exist among the masses to underestimate it. However, it would be profoundly wrong to conclude that the pro-fascists have reached their goal. It would be profoundly wrong to view the June 4th decision of the U.S. Supreme Court and the subsequent FBI dragnet as representing in any fatalistic sense the advent of a fascist regime in America.

#### THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

There has been a two-sided and contradictory development in the past period. Side by side with the sharpening of the danger, there is developing in the country a new mass awareness of the meaning and content of fascism that embraces millions. A resistance movement is beginning to take shape in the country. It is not yet crystallized into any definite form or reached the level of broad and effective mass action, but it is already registering new currents

among the people, new expressions of struggle, new consciousness of the issues, new militancy.

This new movement covers a wide front. It includes the rising significant struggles in the trade unions against the wage freeze and the high cost of living dramatized by the significant victory of Mine, Mill & Smelter in the copper strike that represented a major break of Wilson's Maginot Line. It includes the accumulating militant struggles of the Negro people's movement against every aspect of the Jim Crow oppression featured by the emergence of the Negro workers as a distinct class force achieving leadership in this movement. It includes a thousand and one struggles developing everywhere, every day, on a multitude of local and national issues. It includes the ovation that 350 students gave Prof. Fairbank at Harvard because of his victimization by the McCarran Committee. It includes above all rising mass expression for peace. The Chicago Congress demonstrated the great vitality and striking power of the most conscious peace forces in the country. The struggle for peace is beginning to embrace new sections of the masses that are embittered by the negotiations with Franco and reveal the most agitated opinions about American policy with respect to Germany and Japan. 74 per cent of the people, according to a recent Gallup poll, support an immediate truce in Korea. Everywhere the sentiment for peace is spreading and becoming

more articulate though it has not been translated into the organized and coordinated force representing the majority of the people that can compel a reversal of present policy.

This new movement is also significantly expressed in the expanding opposition to McCarthyism. It is a loose movement in the process of growth. Its objective character is anti-fascist. It provides the broadest avenues to channelize the resentment of the people against fascist groupings and fascist ideology.

One of the most important recent manifestations of these new currents is the opposition to the Smith Act that is beginning to register in the trade union movement. It is significant because it already appears as a growing trend that extends to many key unions under the Right wing and reformist leadership. The record now includes the Amalgamated, particularly in the speech of Rosenblum at the New York State C.I.O. convention; C.I.O. Textile; A. F. of L. Hotel & Restaurant; A. F. of L. Butchers; C.I.O. Oil Workers; the mighty Ford local of U.A.W., and others. It is significant because the positions adopted by the leaders of these unions for the most part express forthright support for the Black and Douglas opinions and indicate profound concern over the menace of fascism stemming from the Smith Act prosecutions. It is also significant because many of the statements emphasize the inseparability of the struggle for civil liberties, the struggle for the economic welfare of

the workers and peace. It is significant most of all because it reflects the broad rank and file sentiment that exists on these issues.

Thus there is clear evidence of stirrings among the masses that can, if organized in time, lead to the building of a powerful people's coalition based on the united strength of the working class that can defeat the fascist offensive. This movement is compounded of heterogeneous elements, but its basic content and direction is anti-fascist. It is also clear that the underlying factors that have contributed to this popular upsurge include the growing mass desire for peace and the growing mass resistance to the economic burdens of the war program. The strength of this nascent movement springs essentially from these fundamental sources. They guarantee its further development and the maturing of the people's coalition as an anti-fascist, anti-war and anti-imperialist coalition, provided the Party and the Left and progressive forces pursue the most vigorous and many-sided struggle for the united front.

This estimate of the new objective possibilities in the struggle for peace and against fascism must embrace our entire movement and serve as a weapon to overcome all defeatist concepts that will only retard the struggle.

#### THE VANGUARD ROLE OF THE PARTY

Our Party has made an outstanding contribution in stimulating and

developing the movement of resistance on every front. It is more than a tribute that despite the fact that the sharpest blows of reaction have been delivered against the Party, it has been the most consistent and effective force in the fight for peace, against fascism, in the fight for unity. It has been an uncompromising champion in the struggle for Negro rights and Negro national liberation, it has been the most consistent force in the fight to imbue the people and the mass movement with the realistic perspective that reaction can be defeated. It is striking proof that no matter how sharp the blows, the Party functions and will continue to function as the *Vanguard Party* of the American working class, fighting every inch of the way to defend the welfare of its class and its own integrity and status. The ruling class in its attack against the Party, in its present effort to drive the Party underground, dramatically exposes its fear of the Party and of the masses. It exposes its own difficulties, its internal contradictions, its crisis. It exposes its apprehensions of the political ferment in the country and the process of radicalization developing among the masses. Thus its fear of the Party stems not from the belief in its own slanderous utterances that the Party represents a foreign power, but that it represents the interests of the American people and the nation.

Its fear stems from its knowledge of the history of the Party, how the

Party when it numbered but seven thousand members led the great unemployed struggles in the crisis years of two decades ago, how it helped to initiate the powerful mass movement for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys which opened a new chapter in the history of the Negro liberation movement and the crucial struggle for Negro-white unity. The ruling class well remembers the vanguard role of the Party in the trade-union movement, in promoting the program of militant class struggle involving millions of workers which led to the organization of the C.I.O. in the middle '30's and which is now incorporated in the vital group of independent Left-progressive unions. It well remembers the Party's great and lasting contribution to the anti-Axis war. It cannot help but combine its memory of the past with its present fear that the unavoidable economic crisis which the war economy hastens will culminate in a popular realignment of forces under the leadership of the Communist Party that will defeat the predatory aims of monopoly capitalism.

#### THE UNITED FRONT

The fight for the united front is decisive. It is a fight that demands the active, leading participation of our forces in every struggle, not only on issues *we* project, but on issues the *masses* project, even if at first it seems to have little immediate bearing on the overall anti-fascist movement. It demands a sharper, more vigilant struggle against all de-

viations; against the sectarianism that inhibited a response to Rosenblum's speech in the Left-led unions because "he is a leader in the Amalgamated, a Social Democrat—what can you accomplish?" Against the sectarianism that still keeps many of our forces immobilized on the issue of McCarthyism because it might "blur the issues"; against the right opportunism that is expressed in evading the *concrete* fight for peace in the unions or that tends to gloss over the issue of the defense and legality of the Party as an integral part of the fight against fascism; against the combination of right opportunism and white chauvinism that poses the fight for peace *against* the struggle for Negro rights, etc. The fight against fascism demands the application of the lesson taught by Dimitroff: to fight every manifestation of fascism, and not to wait until it is full blown. It demands the most rapid unfolding of united front activity at primary levels, in the shops, neighborhoods and mass organizations and around limited, partial issues while at all times working to coordinate these issues with the central issue of peace. It demands, therefore, a new and decisive approach to strengthen the role of the basic organizations of the party in originating and promoting working class struggles. It demands new emphasis on the need to *win the mass movement* for a concrete, many-sided and consistent struggle for Negro rights as an imperative class task in the struggle against fascism. The

fight for the united front requires that the main focus must be in the organized labor movement, in the fight to win the working class for a policy of militant struggle in spite of and against the class collaborationist policies of the trade union bureaucracy. The outcome of the struggle will depend above all on the breadth and scope of the *mass actions and struggles* that are organized; and how they are directed to achieve a new political alignment in the country. Finally, the fight for the united front demands the most conscious effort to build and strengthen the capacity of the Party to function under the new conditions.

#### CONCLUSION

The struggle against fascism in America takes place within the framework of a world situation in which the peace and democratic forces, led by the Soviet Union, have become stronger and more united. It takes place also within the framework of a world situation in which the masses in satellite capitalist countries are expressing growing popular awareness of the trend toward rampant reaction in the U.S. and the attempts to export the same policies abroad as a rider to its treaties and war alliances. Thus, in Australia, Menzies, the Prime Minister, asks for an overwhelming vote of confidence in the referendum for an Australian version of the Smith and McCarran Acts. The referendum is defeated. In France a "Committee for the Defense of Imprisoned American

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Democrats" is organized and joins the Bastille Day demonstration with portraits of Lincoln, Roosevelt, Paul Robeson and Eugene Dennis. At a commemoration of our own July 4th anniversary in Paris, M. Emile Lebeyrie, honorary governor of the Bank of France, delivers an address in which he says:

We cannot forget, we French democrats—on the eve of our own independence day—that 11 of the purest, most proven and most noble American citizens have just been imprisoned for the crime of maintaining that American democracy can still be perfected, for being Communists, for being associated in the campaign of Peace that includes more than half the human race—and all that despite the fact that the Constitution expressly forbids Congress itself to limit the freedoms of thought, of speech, of expression.\*

We have no illusions about the difficulties ahead. We firmly believe, however, that the U.S. will not follow the path of Hitler Germany. We firmly believe that fascism here can still be averted and defeated. We believe, as Comrade Dennis said on the eve of his going back to jail, that "our cause is invincible."

This places the greatest responsibility on the Party. In this time,

\* Quoted by Joseph Starobin in *Masses & Mainstream*, October, 1931.

"America's Hour of Peril," the Party must give the most resolute leadership toward intensifying broad popular actions to defend the vanishing democratic liberties and the economic interests of the masses, to fight for the full equality of the Negro people, and to achieve a great strengthening of the peace front in the United States. The Party must continue to fight in the most determined fashion—and *under all conditions*—to maintain its ties with the working class from which it springs and of which it is an organic and inalienable part. It must proceed through vanguard participation in struggle to mobilize the masses for the fight to free its imprisoned leaders and to resist with all its energies the current attacks against the Party and its leaders.

Increasingly millions of Americans will see, as more and more are already beginning to see, that their interests and their future are intertwined with the interests and future of the Communist Party, and that the defense of the Party and its leaders is indispensable to the defense of their rights and liberties.

It is our task to widen this understanding among the people and, upon this basis, to rally them to action.

## Festival of Youth

By Pablo Neruda

*In August, 1951 over two million youth from more than ninety countries throughout the world held a tremendous festival for peace in Berlin. The festival centered at the Marx-Engels Platz in the heart of Berlin where once stood the Palace of the Kaisers. Pablo Neruda, the world-renowned poet and a leader of the Communist Party of Chile, addressed the assembled World Youth in the words that follow.*

ON TO BERLIN across the Baltic over water dark and glittering like steel, reminiscent of battles; over Poland's summer, studded with pines and fields of corn and poppies; on to Berlin through the air over the green and golden lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. Others again are clambering through the eternal snow of the Andes where condors swing overhead; over the blue Caribbean Sea carpeted with mother of pearl, lively with silver fishes and threatening sharks.

Youth is on the way to Berlin. From all ends of the earth they are streaming like new and living rivers, like new springs breaking through the rust of the old earth, conquering poverty, laughing at police who want to hold them back,

hurrying along with swift planes and innumerable trains, singing, chewing apples and writing verse—all on the way to Berlin.

Across the Soviet Union come the young Koreans and Chinese, the heroes of these epic far-off countries. Young peasants from distant collective farms, Soviet youth from all their different republics, young Poles, Hungarians, Czechoslovaks, Albanians, Greeks, peoples from the mountains and from the rivers, from the ports and from the villages.

What is sending all these young people to Berlin? What do the young dancers from Moravia and the blind young man from Havana want? What do the young Italian cyclist and the young Korean hero of independence intend to do? Do they want to think about old philosophies or discuss complicated international problems? Is this a huge meeting of young professors?

I don't think so. I think that they have come together in order to live side by side. They have come together to see each other, to talk to each other, to shake one another by the hand.

They have come to prove that the

young people from all over our planet, whose countries have all sorts of governments, from all climes and holding all opinions, can live in the same place when they are held together by those things which unite us; the love of life, of culture, and of peace.

That is just why this meeting was immediately considered dangerous by certain Western Governments. The Italian Government thought it more explosive than dynamite. De Gasperi has only held one meeting of his new Cabinet. This meeting did not consider how to give bread to the starving children of Calabria, it did not decide to award a prize to a new picture by Guttuso, nor did it discuss the establishment of new schools.

The Cabinet met solely in order to work out a decree forbidding young Italians to travel to Berlin, where they could get to know other young people from the whole world and sing and dance with them.

These governments want the youth to meet each other, but they want it to happen when they have machine-guns in their hands, when they are behind barbed wire with steel helmets on their heads or lying under the earth torn to shreds in a shell hole full of blood and slime.

And when, despite the De Gas-

peris, the Chiang Kai-sheks, the Syngman Rhees, the Trujillos of the Dominican Republic, the Videlas of South America, the Francos, the Perons, the Adenauers and the Trumans, people come together to see each other, to get to know each other, to communicate with each other and to live, then De Gasperi and Attlee immediately start talking about the iron curtain.

If such petty men, such petty politicians were the representatives of our age, what a sad age it would be. But they are not! We live in the age of the Berlin Festival, in the generation of a World Youth marching forward and conquering, meeting and singing. Let us arm the youth of the world for peace in defiance of its enemies. Let us arm the youth who come to Berlin over land and sea through the skies and over the mountains, with books and happiness, with health and honor, with music and with tractors, with love and with knowledge.

For some governments the fact that they are meeting is a crime. Peace, the simple word peace, is also a crime to them and they will soon begin to regard light as a crime.

We are meeting in Berlin so that light and truth and brotherhood and peace shall reign among all men.

## The United States in Asia

By A. Capek

THE SPOTLIGHT of public opinion has long been focused on America's role in Asia. The importance that the United States attaches to Asia as a source of riches and a base of strategic operations has been made evident in hundreds of different ways. The most glaring and naked expression of the ruthlessness and intensity of America's drive in Asia today is Korea.

For more than a year a major part of the armed forces of the United States has been committed to war against Korea, one of the costliest wars in American history. The reverses suffered by the U.S. in Korea provoked the Congress to conduct a lengthy investigation of United States Far Eastern policy.

All the architects and executors of American policy summoned to participate in the "great debate" paraded past the Congressional rostrum to reaffirm their commitment to warfare in Asia and on a global scale. The 2,000,000 words of testimony constituted an elaborate set of variations on a single theme: the U.S.A. attaches great importance to Asia. The U.S.A. wants to conquer

Korea, overthrow People's China, to rule Asia, as part of a global drive for world conquest, for war against the Soviet Union and all the nations and forces that insist upon developing their own way of life free of American dictate.

The main premises of the "great debate" guided the American negotiators in the Kaisung (Kaesong) cease-fire negotiations. That was evident from the conduct of the American negotiators. They stalled and obstructed the talks and continued aggressive military operations while the talks were conducted. They advanced demands for a demarcation line deep in the Korean People's Democratic Republic, north of the 38th parallel. But even a shift of tactics, even the American signing of a Korean cease-fire would not constitute a change in American aims in Asia.

And these aims have been revealed by America's deeds in Asia since the end of World War II far more eloquently than by the discussions of U.S. Far Eastern policy in the Congressional hearings.

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Even before the smoke of battle had fully cleared it became apparent that the United States was pursuing objectives of its own in the Pacific that had nothing in common with its wartime alliances and the aims of the anti-fascist war. Public pronouncements of American policy, of course, spoke of collective security and international agreements. President Truman officially repeated U.S. wartime declarations of policy and proclaimed that America was not seeking "one inch of territory in any place in the world." Simultaneously, however, the United States staked a claim to the vast reaches of the Pacific Ocean as an "American lake." America occupied the ninety-eight islands and island clusters of the Marianas, the Carolinas and Marshalls—the former Japanese-mandated islands now known as the United States Trust Territory—and unilaterally proceeded to develop them into American bases. Only after these islands were virtually annexed and their development as military bases had begun did the United States present the United Nations with a *fait accompli* on a "take it or leave it" basis.

As far back as February 24, 1946, the *New York Times* reported:

Construction work on a great series of advanced bases for the Army and Navy stretching across the Pacific went ahead at full speed this week, but in

Washington it was indicated that the United States Government hopes to shelve for at least a year a final international political settlement on eventual disposition of the former Japanese-owned and mandated islands.

By now it is generally forgotten that the report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on American approval of the United Nations Charter virtually made approval conditional on United States control of the Pacific islands. In the words of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee report itself, "no island in the Pacific occupied by the United States could be placed under trusteeship without this government's consent, and therefore only on terms agreeable to the United State."

On August 29, 1946, the *New York Herald Tribune* reported: "The islands, including the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls, with a population of 65,000, will be submitted for United Nations supervision on America's own terms. A rejection of these terms would be tantamount to withholding the trusteeship proposal. The United Nations would be barred from inspecting these districts."

From the very beginning the United States distorted the entire meaning of United States trusteeship as a cloak for American annexation. At the time even bourgeois American authorities on Asia noted this with concern. Thus Eleanor Lattimore, in a pamphlet

entitled *Decline of Empire in the Pacific*, issued by the American Institute of Pacific Relations in 1947, observed: "The American proposal for a trusteeship agreement for the Pacific Islands which we occupy . . . seems practically indistinguishable from annexation and is inconsistent with the meaning of trusteeship."

Simultaneously the United States proceeded to appropriate further islands in the Pacific, contrary to the international agreements of the powers allied in the war against Japan, without even the formality of attempting to secure United Nations consent. These islands are being developed as American military bases.

The most notorious example is Okinawa, one of the Ryukyu Islands. The Cairo declaration and other agreements among the Powers did not sever the Ryukyus from Japan. The United States, however, has long been developing Okinawa into a major military outpost in Asia.

The *U.S. News and World Report* (June 22, 1951), in an article headlined "Okinawa: Base to Dominate Asia" reported:

Air dominance over Asia is the U.S. goal on Okinawa. . . . U.S. aim is now to convert the former Japanese island into a stationary "aircraft carrier" from which U.S. bombers can dominate every Asiatic port from Vladivostok and Port Arthur to Singapore. . . . Upward of 200,000,000 dollars already have been spent or allocated to develop it into the

strongest American base outside the continental U.S.

#### NETWORK OF MILITARY BASES

Thus, in a relatively brief period of time, even the subterfuge of trusteeship was discarded. The island-grabbing in the Pacific is openly discussed in the American press in terms of bases "to dominate Asia."

At the same time the United States intensified its hold on, and military development of, its pre-war Pacific holdings: Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, and the formally independent Republic of the Philippines.

As early as 1946 Paul V. McNutt, formerly U.S. High Commissioner to the Philippines and later the first U.S. Ambassador to the Philippine Republic, was openly discussing the retention of U.S. military bases in the Philippines in terms of American designs in Asia, without even the pretext of American defense. Notwithstanding the fact that the Philippine Independence Act provided only for the retention of naval coaling stations in the Philippines, McNutt in an article in *Colliers* (July 6, 1946), wrote:

We are already committed to the maintenance of naval and air bases in the Islands. These are not designed merely for the protection of the Philippines, nor even for the defense of the United States. These bases are expected to be secondary supporting installations for supply, repair, and staging activities for all our armed forces in the Far East. . . . Committed as we are to long-time

occupation of Japan, to a strong policy in Asia, the Philippines are destined to play a major role in our diplomacy in the Orient.

In June 1947 the American design was formalized with the signing of the "Military Assistance Agreement" requiring the Philippines to grant some twenty-one bases, and such others as "exigencies" may require, to the U.S. on a ninety-nine year lease and rent free. The scope of the American bases ranged far beyond the domination of the Philippines. McNutt, then a major spokesman of American Far Eastern policy, declared in 1946: "Manila, Tokyo and Shanghai . . . those three cities form a triangle comprising the heartland of the Far East. Within the boundaries of this triangle the future of the Far East will be decided."

Manila was encircled with American military installations and bound with shackles of economic dependence on the United States. Tokyo and the Japanese islands were occupied by the United States, in violation of the agreements among the Powers and the post-war surrender policy, as an American preserve. But the strategic concept of the United States depended above all on the third point of the triangle—the only point of the triangle on the mainland of Asia, namely China. The initial post-war strategic plan of American imperialism for economic and military dominance in Asia depended upon American control of China.

#### CHINA: A NEW REALITY

It was in China that the full scope and true face of America's post-war policy in Asia was unmasked for all the world to see. Here we saw the insatiable appetite of the men who rule America today for territory and riches that do not belong to them. The United States threw its full weight into a desperate but futile attempt to halt and defeat the Chinese People's Revolution. It intervened in China to the estimated extent of more than 6,000,000,000 dollars worth of aid to the Chiang Kai-shek clique. But to no avail. The long coveted goal of American imperialism to control China, which seemed just within grasp with the defeat of Japan and the weakening of the rival imperialist powers in Asia, was lost by a new force that the American empire builders had never even taken into calculation. That force was the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, steered in the struggle for the national liberation of China.

The United States was confronted with a superior power in Asia—the power of the organized people. This power had been maturing for a long time. The profoundly altered relationship of forces in Asia, the beginning of the end of the undisturbed imperialist exploitation and oppression of the colonies and semi-colonies, was ushered in with the radical turn in the history of mankind, marked by the birth of the U.S.S.R.

The efforts of the combined imperialist powers to crush the young Soviet Republic were directed both from Europe and Asia. Japan, in league with Britain, France and the United States, landed troops in Vladivostok, seized the Maritime Province, and supported the White Guards. But both the intervention from Europe and Asia were defeated.

The old world order of imperialism and colonialism was dealt a blow from which it was never to recover. The imperialist chain had been broken by the victorious Soviet Revolution and the road to the national liberation of all peoples and to the liberation of the oppressed classes of the whole world was opened.

The Soviet victory gave new strength, new weight, new courage and new direction to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. And not in the false manner that the imperialist press likes to harp upon, not by Soviet intervention in the lives of the colonial and dependent countries, as a so-called counterweight to imperialist intervention. The Soviet leaders have time and again emphasized that the people's victory, socialism, is not an export commodity. The struggle for socialism is facilitated by the existence, experiences and international role of the Soviet Union. But it must be waged by each people.

This important fact as applied to China was partially admitted by the American imperialists themselves.

Thus in August 1949, in the Letter of Transmittal to President Truman accompanying the State Department's famous 1,095-page White Paper on China, Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote:

The unfortunate but inescapable fact is that the ominous result of civil war in China was beyond the control of the government of the United States. Nothing that this country did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capability could have changed that result; nothing that was left undone by this country had contributed to it. It was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces that this country tried to influence but couldn't.

But the new facts of life in Asia did not alter the course of United States policy in Asia. American imperialism refused to reconsider its blind opposition to peaceful coexistence with the new forces in Asia and in the world. Instead it reaffirmed and intensified the aggressive and interventionist course which had already suffered defeat in China.

This was officially proclaimed by Secretary of State Acheson in the very same Letter of Transmittal in which he had admitted the Chinese character of the Chinese Revolution and the impotence of the United States to smash it. In this letter he very soon switched to the familiar propaganda line of the State Department, went on to describe the Chinese People's Government as a "foreign" Soviet Government and de-

clared that the official policy of the United States is to "encourage all developments in China" to "throw off the foreign government."

American policy continued to pursue the goal of the conquest of China and the domination of Asia. Hence the stubborn refusal of the United States to recognize the People's Republic of China. Hence the war waged by the United States within the United Nations, where it repeatedly mobilizes its voting machine—frequently a reluctant voting machine—against the admission of China into the United Nations.

Hence, the American occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan and continued military and economic aid to Chiang Kai-shek and American espionage and subversive "Project X" activities in China.

Hence the American aggression in Korea with the dual aim of destroying the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the conquest of all Korea as an American base of operations on the Asiatic mainland.

Hence the lengthy preparations for an American-dictated peace treaty with Japan aimed at reviving a remilitarized Japan under United States control.

#### HISTORICAL ORIGINS

The military-strategic objective of the U.S. in Asia is an open book. The anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-national liberation objectives of the American war program are

shouted from the rooftops daily. But American spokesmen like to discuss U.S. activities in Asia in terms of "defense," aid to "backward" nations and the advancement of progress and civilization. American propaganda still attempts to advance a moral justification to divert attention from its naked aggression. American government spokesmen do not hesitate even to speak of "friendship" for China and the peoples of Asia.

The American empire builders of half a century ago, who staked America's claim in the imperialist rivalry for mastery in the Pacific and Asia with the conquest of the Philippines and Hawaii, spoke openly of the economic interests, of the desire for profits, markets, sources of raw materials and industrial, financial and commercial supremacy, that propelled them into Asia. It is illuminating to turn back the pages of history, even briefly, to see the historical continuity of American imperialist policy in Asia.

It was toward the end of the 19th century that the United States, then one of the younger, emerging capitalist powers, entered into the struggle for world supremacy in earnest. The substance of this economic struggle in the epoch of imperialism is the division and redivision of the world on the basis of the proportionate strength of capital. And the formal, full-dress entry of the United States into this struggle was the Spanish-American War of 1898.

The years preceding the Spanish-American War were years of the rise of American capitalism and its transition to the monopoly stage, the years of the rise of the trusts to the dominant position in the economic life of the United States.

The American capitalists were aggressively seeking new markets, sources of raw materials, outlets for the export of capital. As far back as May 27, 1897, the *New York Journal of Commerce* was boasting: "Nature has destined this country for the industrial supremacy of the world." The convention of the National Association of Manufacturers in 1898 concentrated its attention almost exclusively on the foreign market. The export of American capital had already begun. In 1898 approximately \$500,000,000 of U.S. capital was invested abroad.

It was against this background that the Spanish-American war was waged. The formal American declaration of war against the decaying Spanish empire was limited to a demagogic assertion of America's intention to liberate Cuba from the despotism of Spain. The objectives and significance of the war extended far beyond Cuba and the drive of the United States for supremacy in Latin America. In addition to Cuba and Puerto Rico, in this war the United States conquered the Philippines, and other islands in the Pacific.

The real intentions of the Spanish-American War were best expressed by Senator Beveridge, the

leading exponent in the U.S. Senate of American imperialism in its early stages. Beveridge, of course, did not speak for himself alone. He was a mouthpiece of the trusts and monopolies who had already assumed the seat of political as well as economic power and who were directing the foreign policy of the United States.

At the very beginning of the war Beveridge declared: "American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must be ours."

In a speech in the Senate in January, 1900, Beveridge spelled out U.S. Far Eastern policy in greater detail and voiced, what was already an obsession of the American capitalists, the desire for economic control of China. In this speech Beveridge declared: "Mr. President, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever. . . . And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. . . ."

As a Senator appealing to public opinion, Beveridge couched his arguments in the more popular propaganda forms. A far more elaborate formulation of American imperialism's desire to dominate China and the Far East was advanced by Brooks Adams, one of the most important theoreticians of the American expansionists of the early twentieth cen-

ture. Significantly, one of the books by Adams, entitled *America's Economic Supremacy*, first published in 1900, was re-issued in 1947 by Harper & Brothers.

Adams' thesis was that the United States was contending for top position as the center of world imperialism and world commerce. Essential to this goal was American control of China and U.S. dominance in Asia. Since other rival capitalist powers, including at the time Germany, Britain, France and Tsarist Russia, were also in the contest for mastery over Asia, Adams envisaged at first an alliance with Great Britain against the other rival powers and ultimately subordination of Great Britain to American dominance. He placed the Spanish-American War in an even broader setting than did Senator Beveridge. He wrote: "Approached thus, the problems presented by the Spanish war become defined. Competition has entered a period of greater stress; and competition, in its acutest form, is war. . . . The prize at stake is now what it has always been in such epochs, the seat of commercial exchanges—in other words, the seat of empire."

Discussing America's interest in the Far East more specifically, he maintained: "England and the United States have, therefore, today a stake in the Far East more than six times greater than that of Russia, Germany, France, and Belgium, combined. Nor is the present the

matter of chief concern. The expansion of any country must depend on the market for its surplus products; and China is the only region which now promises almost boundless possibilities of absorption. . . ."

Explicitly spelling out American imperialism's lust for China, Adams wrote:

Our geographical position, our wealth, and our energy pre-eminently fit us to enter upon the development of eastern Asia, and to reduce it to a part of our economic system. And, moreover, the laws of nature are immutable. Money will flow where it earns most returns, and investments once made are always protected. Evidently Americans cannot be excluded from China without a struggle and they may not, perhaps, be welcomed by those who have hitherto shown most anxiety to obtain a foothold there. The Chinese question must, therefore, be accepted as the great problem of the future, as a problem from which there can be no escape; and as these great struggles for supremacy sometimes involve an appeal to force, safety lies in being armed and organized against all emergencies."

#### ECONOMIC ROOTS

Adams expressed some of the unvarnished truth about what the American monopolists really wanted in China and Asia. No pretenses of "friendship." No hypocrisy about progress and civilization. Here is the open assertion that what the American bosses wanted, and want, are raw materials, reserves of cheap

labor, outlets for profitable investments and economic domination. And here is the acceptance of force and war as unquestionable and morally acceptable natural expressions of capitalism's struggle for supremacy.

As we can see, those open declarations of American intentions to dominate the world, to subordinate Asia and absorb it into the American economy, were made long before the Soviet Union was born, and cannot be dismissed, as American spokesmen repeatedly try, as "Soviet propaganda."

United States wars of conquest, brutal American aggression, military and economic, in Asia, for a long period of time, were rooted in the economic realities of American monopoly capitalism. The more hypocritical American monopolists of today try to cover up their frantic drive for control of raw materials and resources all over the world and the hot pursuit of outlets for profitable American investments, which are a means of further economic control, by talk of "Point Four" assistance to undeveloped countries. This Point Four Program is administered by a special American agency, the International Development Advisory Board, headed by a representative of the U.S. capitalist family dynasty, Nelson A. Rockefeller. In an article in the quarterly *Foreign Affairs* (July, 1951) Rockefeller discussed some of the realities underlying the U.S. interest in the "underdeveloped

areas" which embrace a large part of Asia. He noted:

Despite the meagerness of their individual and collective output, the economies of the underdeveloped areas are of crucial importance to the United States and to Western Europe. . . . They supply 57 per cent of the United States imports and 65 per cent of Western Europe's. *Of the critical and strategic materials upon which armaments depend, they supply three-quarters of all United States imports and an even higher percentage of those in our European alliance. Clearly, the success of the industrial mobilization plans of the North Atlantic Treaty countries is contingent upon the continued and increasing supply from underdeveloped areas, of such strategic minerals as bauxite, chrome, copper, lead, manganese, tin, uranium, and zinc. The same is true for natural rubber and a variety of important fibres.* [Emphasis added.]

America's raw-material greed was discussed in more specific terms in an article in *U.S. News and World Report* (May 18, 1951). The article pointed out:

The U.S. . . . now must lean heavily on imports of vital materials from abroad. Her life lines reach out to every segment of the globe for the tin, manganese, rubber and other strategic materials that keep industry and the arms program running. . . . Copper, lead, and zinc, once considered plentiful, now are becoming scarce. And for numerous critical materials — natural rubber, chrome, manganese, nickel, tin — this country already is almost completely dependent upon foreign sources.



Among the most critical of all the raw material needs of the U.S. is tungsten. As the article pointed out: "If the supply of tungsten alone were shut off, one authority maintained, the manufacturing capacity of U.S. industry would be cut in half. Tungsten is needed in tools."

The rich tungsten resources of China, formerly the major source of supply of the U.S., is not the least of China's riches coveted by American imperialism. Of the two major suppliers of the U.S. today, Bolivia and Thailand, one is in Asia. And tungsten has figured in the motives of the American negotiators who have disrupted the Korean cease-fire talks, demanding territory north of the 38th parallel notwithstanding earlier, official U.S. pronouncements that the 38th parallel was an acceptable line of demarcation for a Korean cease-fire. As *Newsweek* magazine (August 13) observed: "One important reason the U.S. is reluctant to move its defense line in Korea back to the 38th parallel is the presence of a major tungsten mine in the disputed area. Korea was at one point a major supplier of this vital, super-hard metal, essential in making machine tools, electronics equipment, and jet engines."

Every nook and corner of Asia has felt the impact of America's ruthless drive for riches no less than for military bases. Thailand with its great resources was wrested from the British orbit and converted into an American dependency. American

penetration of Indonesia is intense. U.S. control of the Philippine economy is complete.

Nevertheless the American position in Asia is weak, and U.S. Far Eastern policy is in the most acute crisis of its history.

#### CRISIS OF U.S. ASIA POLICY

The historical arch on which American Far Eastern policy was built was China. That arch was broken with the victorious Chinese People's Revolution, and nothing that America can do can reconstruct a relationship of forces that will make American domination possible. Throughout Asia the colonial liberation movements are further undermining the imperialist props and positions. Nine-tenths of Viet Nam has been liberated by the people under the leadership of the Communist Party in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, notwithstanding all the American aid to the French colonialists. In Burma and Malaya the imperialists have not been able to reimpose "stable" rule and the national liberation movements, in Burma particularly, are gaining strength. In Indonesia the liberation forces are demonstrating their might.

The weakness of America's position is apparent even in its traditional stronghold in East Asia, the Philippines. The Philippine liberation movement, which became an armed force in the course of the resistance against Japanese occupation,

is growing in strength. Far from being an American stronghold, the Philippines today is an important source of resistance and opposition to American imperialism in Asia. This is admitted by the spokesmen of those who rule America today. Thus in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1951), Albert Ravenholt, former United Press correspondent in the Far East, reported:

Possibly more than anywhere else in the Far East, society in the Philippines is coming apart at the seams. Internal developments in the Islands make it unrealistic to think of the Philippines as a secure military base for the United States and its allies at this time. . . . The Communist-led Hukbalahaps [armed forces of the Filipino liberation movement] . . . have set aside government authority in some of the richest rice-growing areas on the main island of Luzon. Their strength now is expanding rapidly on the smaller southern islands. . . . The Huks have thousands of sympathizers in the rural and urban areas who assist the guerrillas in maintaining a superior intelligence network.

The crisis of American Far East-ern policy has been discussed in a partisan way by Republican leaders in the United States as though it were a product of Democratic party mismanagement, rather than a changed relationship of forces which rules out the possibility of American imperialism realizing its rapacious ambitions in Asia.

In two major aggressive campaigns of the United States in Asia, Ameri-

can armed strength proved unable to secure victory for the aims of American imperialism. First and foremost was the defeat of American intervention in China. That was followed by American imperialism's inability to conquer Korea.

Washington was confident at first that it could gobble up Korea in a relatively short time. Yet one year after the start of American aggression, the United States was compelled to admit that the war in Korea was one of the major wars of American history. How hard America tried to win a victory in Korea can be seen from an interesting comparison of the first year of the war in Korea with the first year of the United States' role in the war against Japan, in 1942, that was made by the big business magazine, *U.S. News and World Report* (June 22, 1951):

The first year of "limited fighting" in Korea, by all standards is turning out to be a bigger fight than the first year of war with Japan. . . . Actual fighting, the figures show, has been on a much bigger scale in Korea than in the first year of war with Japan. The number of soldiers and airmen, for example, was about the same in the Pacific then as in Korea now. But, where the army had 10 divisions in the vast combat area of the Pacific in 1942, only two of them were in any combat during the year. . . . In Korea the army now has six divisions, with their supporting units, but these divisions all have been in nearly continuous combat. . . . The Marines, too, have seen more

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The cost in military equipment and supplies has been correspondingly higher in Korea, as well. In the first year of declared war against Japan, about 6.5 million tons of this costly cargo was shipped across the Pacific to the fighting fronts. In the first year of fighting in Korea, shipments of arms and military supplies have reached fifteen million tons—more than twice as much.

### HISTORY RUNS OUT

To cope with the crisis U.S. imperialism has resorted to its historical tactic in Asia: to utilize Japan in the interests of American policy.

In the dawn of the 20th century, when the U.S. was in the early stages of the struggle against rival powers for mastery of the Pacific and Asia, American policy embarked on the alliance with Japanese imperialism as an instrument against rival imperialisms and as a club against China. Significantly, this alliance was expressed in American support of Japan for the conquest of Korea, for the utilization of Korea as a base for aggression in East Asia.

In 1905 Secretary of War William Howard Taft signed the notorious agreement with Count Katsura, the Japanese Premier, which gave American recognition to a privileged position for Japan in return for non-interference in American exploitation of the Philippines. Between 1910 and 1930 Japan consolidated its position in Korea with the agreement and support of the United States,

which helped build Japan into a major aggressive force in pursuance of the anti-Soviet aims that have dominated American foreign policy since the birth of the Soviet Union.

It was from Korea that Japan launched its treacherous attack on China's Manchuria provinces in 1931, and from these combined areas that Japan waged its full-scale war against the whole of China.

Oblivious to the historical changes since then, the United States is pursuing this same pattern. The aggression against Korea was launched with the hope of securing all of Korea as a base of operation against China, the liberation movements of Asia and the Soviet Union. And notwithstanding the drastic reversal of America's hope to use Japan as an American club, as evidenced by Pearl Harbor, American policy—with China lost to it—is today based on reviving a remilitarized Japan under U.S. control, as the axis of its Far Eastern policy.

The *Wall Street Journal* (March 14, 1951) described Japan in America's plans today as "the hub of an anti-Communist bloc" and asserted that "the only feasible counterweight to Red China on the spot is a revived Japan."

Japan's war potential and Japan's manpower are wanted by the United States for the totality of its aggressive ambitions, military and economic, in Asia. The entire purpose of the recent "peace" treaty with Japan is to secure Japan as an Ameri-

can war base and as a club against all the democratic forces in Asia. This, of course, is in violation of the agreements of the Powers at the end of the war against Japan, and in violation of the interests of the peoples in Asia.

But the tide of history has swept beyond the impotent plans of the rulers of America. The old pattern of history cannot be repeated. The Korea of the Korean People's Democratic Republic is not the Korea of half a century ago, and could not be conquered as an aggressive base of American operations. China is no longer the semi-colonial, semi-feudal country of just a few years ago. It is a power of 475,000,000 people to be

contended with. And the alliance of the Soviet Union and China, which is part of the great world peace camp, and the struggles of the colonial liberation movements, constitute the unbreakable barrier to American domination in Asia.

Dangerous as America's plans for Japan and Asia are, they are the plans of a power which has passed its zenith, plans which reflect the weakness and desperation of American imperialism confronted with the superior power of the people's movements forging their national freedom and moving on the road to a new organization of society which bars wars, colonial oppression and antagonisms between peoples.

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