

# political affairs

FEBRUARY 1952 • 25 CENTS



- CLAUDIA JONES [ 1 ] The Struggle For Peace in the United States
- WILLIAM Z. FOSTER [21] The Communists and the La Follette Movement of 1921
- JOHN W. PRESTON [32] Recent Developments in the Negro People's Movement
- N. PAPADOPOLOUS [43] Wall Street's War Designs in Greece
- J. D. [51] On Chauvinism Against the Mexican-American People
- SAMUEL ROBINSON [57] The Negro People Speak  
(*Book Review*)
- [64] A Powerful Film For Peace

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*A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism*

Editor: V. J. Jerome

## The Struggle for Peace in the The United States

By Claudia Jones

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, in his capacity as chief political servitor of U.S. imperialism, once again proposed, in his recent State of the Union Message to Congress, a criminal crusade of force and violence against the vast majority of the human race. Truman, though demagogically prating about peace, glorified Wall Street's aggressive expansionism which is now flagrantly directed against the colored peoples of Asia and Africa, and proposed an unrestrained armaments race.

Mr. Truman cynically boasted of the colossal size of U.S. imperialism's armed strength, and its pile of A-bombs. By way of perspective for peace, he urged even more intensive arming to be accompanied by further cuts in consumer goods output and in real wages. While he lectured the people about the need for "sacrifice," in a year marked by the largest total profits in the history of American

capitalism, he proposed an additional five billions in new taxes.

Truman used hundreds of words in an effort to justify further burdens upon the people, but not a mumbling word did he voice about the terrible repression of civil rights in our country, the political persecution, led by his Administration, of Communist and other working-class leaders. The genocidal oppression of the Negro people, as highlighted just before his Message by the killing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, was ignored, and not a phrase fell from his lips about F.E.P.C., or anti-lynching and anti-poll tax measures. Dropped was all talk of the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, but instead he indulged in a concern for a "fair" version of that slave statute.

Nor could the farming masses derive any satisfaction from the Truman message. A recent Federal report signed by James Patton, Presi-

dent of the National Farmers Union, indicated that two million farmers (in a total of 5-6 million farms) will be forced off the land and into industry to meet the "defense" requirements. When one adds the already heavy drainage of farmers' sons for the armed forces, it is clear that further impoverishment awaits the already greatly harassed lower-income farmers.

Of course, Truman's sabre-rattling Message had its "peace-loving" interludes, confirming the accumulating peace sentiment in our country, to which hats must be tipped in accordance with the demands of good campaign strategy. Thus, Truman declared: ". . . day in and day out we see a long procession of timid and fearful men who wring their hands and cry out that we have lost the way—that we don't know what we are doing—that we are bound to fail. Some say that we should give up the struggle for peace and others say we should have a war and get it over with." Mr. Truman "struggles for peace" by putting aside a total of eleven percent of his budget to meet all the needs of all social services!

In his pose as "savior" of the "American way of life," Truman invokes the divine right to impose war's "blessings" on the Korean people and on the rising national-liberation movements of the colonial and dependent countries. Moreover, Truman seeks to convince the American people of the "necessity" to rally behind Wall Street on the basis of a "peril" which he dares term "internal

aggression." But Truman perpetrates a gigantic and vicious hoax when he asserts that our nation is in "peril" because the Chinese people do not want Chiang Kai-shek, and the Korean people do not want Syngman Rhee; because the peoples of Egypt and Iran want to control their own natural resources, and because the peoples of Indo-China, Burma, Spain, and Greece want a free, democratic existence. The Truman war program, unless routed, dooms our nation to endless war in which the rich become richer and the poor poorer; it consigns the nation's youth to death for the glory of Wall Street profiteers. The Truman perspective is that of looting the national wealth, of crushing the national aspirations of the freedom-seeking peoples, of extending the Korean adventure into a World War. Stripped of its demagoguery, Truman's Message confirmed our Party's estimate that the war danger has heightened, albeit its defensive tone reflects the growing counter-struggle for peace of the masses of workers and the people generally. It likewise reflected growing contradictions of an inter-imperialist character as well as within the U.S. bi-partisan war coalition, and in effect acknowledged the decisive and ever-increasing strength of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The utter futility of the 20-month war in Korea and Ridgway's seven-month stalling of the truce talks have increased the sharp uneasiness of the American people, with whom the

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Korean war was never popular, and who have long seen it as a threat to world peace.

The startling significance of the Truman-Churchill "secret agreements" to A-bomb Manchuria and to take the war to China, to "save" South-East Asia from its own peoples with the help of hired Chiang mercenaries, armed with American weapons, must be viewed in the light of Truman's fundamental adherence to the criminal bi-partisan war policy, ruinous to our nation and to all humanity. And it is in this light that we must view the current Senate hearings for ratification of the so-called Japanese Peace Treaty signed without the consent of the major Asian powers and without the Soviet Union, the Dulles call for "hardening" of U.S. policy to "overthrow" the Chinese People's Republic, and the new wave of incendiary war talk.

#### SETBACKS FOR WALL STREET IN THE U.N. ASSEMBLY

The recently concluded Paris U.N. Assembly meeting graphically revealed the real reason for the Truman warning to his NATO allies against "faltering" since the road is "long and hard." For there the exceedingly shaky nature of the coalition forming the U.S. imperialist bloc in the U.N. became clear. It was evident that the satellite delegates could not be held securely by the U.S. imperialist leash of economic sanctions.

Wall Street dollars could not elim-

inate the justified fear that these representatives have of their impoverished and insulted peoples. Those peoples of Western Europe, Latin America, Africa, Australia, Asia, and the Near and Middle East do not want any part of a war on China. This is shown by the extreme difficulty the U.S. had in forcing a U.N. vote denouncing the Soviet Union for "violating" its 1945 treaty with the Chiang regime, on the "theory" that it is "Soviet aggression" for the Chinese people to sweep out the butcher-regime of Chiang Kai-shek and to inaugurate a self-determined, independent, and democratic People's Republic.

It is in this light that the now tempered bull-dog bark of Churchill is to be understood in his speech to Commons, following his U.S. tour. Nor was this the only moral defeat suffered by the U.S. imperialist bloc at the Assembly meeting. There was, too, the vote on U.N. admission of Greece from which the entire Latin-American bloc initially abstained; and not to be forgotten is the significant presentation of the C.R.C. petition, "We Charge Genocide," by William Patterson, precisely at a time when the Wall Street delegation was boasting of "human rights" and at a moment when the eyes of the world were on Florida, scene of the genocide bombing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore.

#### NEW MOODS FOR PEACE

Over a year ago, Gus Hall, in his

main Report to the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, said, truly and profoundly:

The clearer the war danger becomes, the more people move in defense of peace. This new upsurge is based on a new appreciation of the war danger, on a growing realization that the present course of the bi-partisans has led to a dead end. It is based on a growing confidence that peace can be won. The new turn of events in Korea packed a double wallop because millions of Americans were never enthusiastic about this reckless adventure and were never sold on the idea that this was a war for which they should willingly make sacrifices. . . . We must be confident that we are going to win the working class as a class, the Negro people as a people. And that the poor farmers, church groups, and large sections of the middle class are going to participate in the organized peace movement. A powerful American peace front is clearly emerging from these developments. This peace front will be based on the working class, the Negro people, poor and middle farmers, and yes, sections of the capitalist class. This is especially true of the capitalist elements who see their imperialist aims best fulfilled on the "continent" and those closely tied to agriculture. (*Peace Can Be Won!*, by Gus Hall, New Century Publishers, 1951, p. 24.)

The subsequent months have vindicated Comrade Hall's analysis. There has been and there is a maturing peace sentiment among the American people, heightened during the U.S. imperialist deliberately-installed Korean truce talks. A striving is evident amongst broader and

broader masses for an over-all negotiated settlement of all outstanding differences among nations. Even the Gallup Poll reported seventy percent of the American people desired a Truman-Stalin meeting devoted to resolving U.S.-U.S.S.R. differences. The growing peace sentiment stems not only from new sections of the population as a whole, but primarily from new sections of the working class and Negro people. More and more the inequality of "sacrifice" and the genocidal policy towards the colored peoples abroad and at home serve to expose the sickening hypocrisy in the Truman bi-partisan foreign policy. These peace moods are reflected not only in growing queries and doubts, but in an insistent note that our country take a new path—that it reverse its present bi-partisan war policy for a path of negotiation of outstanding differences between nations and for a Big Five Power Peace Pact. This note has a real grass roots quality and is being sounded more and more frequently and openly by mothers, wives, veterans, youth, and G.I.'s themselves. Despite continued and sharpened governmental harassment of the advanced defenders of peace, a "second look" is being taken as increasing masses weigh the *real* alternative to the bi-partisan dead-end—the principle of negotiation between nations, which, premised on the concept of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, can lead to the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact.

These masses, faced by declining

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real wages and mounting unemployment, demonstrate a growing awareness that it is the war economy which is responsible for this suffering and are moving to challenge more boldly the monstrous bi-partisan "alternative" of an "all-out war" to "get it over with quick" or a huge armaments race and "more Koreas."

The development of these peace sentiments is not the result of a sudden awakening but rather stems from a process of long duration. Among the many forces stimulating the growth of these desires have been the 110,000 reported U.S. battle casualties, the cynical seven-month long delay in the truce talks, the open alliance of the U.S. rulers with Japanese and Nazi militarists and fascists, and the immense rise of the worldwide peace struggle exemplified by the liberation efforts in Asia, the Near East and Africa, the mounting hatred of U.S. imperialism throughout Europe, and the signing of the demand for a Five-Power Peace Pact by over six hundred millions of world humanity.

What is taking place is the *beginning* of a basic re-evaluation of the suicidal anti-Soviet premise of the Truman bi-partisan policy. And this applies to large masses who have not yet broken with monopoly capital's two-party system and are still attracted by the "peace" demagoguery of one or another bi-partisan spokesman.

While trade-union leaders in ever increasing numbers cry out for an end to the Korean war and the anti-

imperialist sentiments of the Negro people reach an all-time high level; while Truman's "holy war" propaganda is delivered a blow by the defeat of his proposal to appoint General Mark Clark as Ambassador to the Vatican; while the whole State Department effort to make peace "subversive" suffers a blow in the great victory of the acquittal of Dr. Du Bois and his associates of the Peace Information Center—at such a time Truman still waves the threat of atom-bomb superiority and projects new proposals for extending hostilities.

And Truman does not repudiate the hideous statement of his field commander in Korea, Gen. Van Fleet, who felt the war in Korea was a "blessing in disguise," and that "there had to be a Korea either here or somewhere else in the world." (*New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1952.)

A "blessing" — the annihilation and maiming of literally millions of men, women and children! A "blessing" which has brought the horrified condemnation of world opinion from a leading French Catholic intellectual like Charles Favril to the Women's International Democratic Federation!

U.S. peace forces must dissociate themselves from these "blessings," not only in the interest of common decency, but also of true patriotism and internationalism. History will not excuse the American people any more than it did the German people, if we fail effectively to dissociate ourselves from our "own" racist imperialists in their drive for world con-

quest and domination. This makes it necessary to deepen the understanding of all peace forces of the special white chauvinist content of the Truman bi-partisan war-policy against the colored peoples of the world.

The sharpening crisis in Wall Street's foreign policy, and particularly in the solidity of its bi-partisan coalition, is seen in the blunt "admissions" of failure from monopolists like Henry Ford II and Charles Wilson, accompanied by the attacks against "Truman's war" by a Senator Taft or a Herbert Hoover.

Reflecting the crisis amongst their masters are the lamentations of such bourgeois ideologists as Demaree Bess of the *Saturday Evening Post* and Walter Lippmann. More and more, these "confessions" take the form of admitting that the danger of "Russian aggression" was a maliciously conceived Big Lie. Such expressions, causing the "free enterprise" racketeers no little worry, mainly show that the peace movement at home and abroad is making it difficult for Wall Street to *choose*, as of today, the "all out war" alternative. It does not mean that the imperialists have lost their *urge* to war. In this connection, it is useful to refer to Comrade Hall's summary address at our Party's 15th National Convention: "The speeches of Hoover and Taft do reflect the crisis in Wall Street's foreign policy. They are admissions of the bankruptcy of the bi-partisan war policy. They are attempts to capitalize on the growing peace sentiments of the American

people. Speeches of this kind open new doors for the peace movement. But these men belong to the war camp. We can have no illusions about Herbert Hoover, Kennedy or any one else in the war camp." (*Political Affairs*, February, 1951, p. 15.)

It would be wrong, of course, not to pay close heed to these monopolist "admissions." Some of the forces in the emerging people's peace coalition hold that the Left does not accurately appraise these trends and that the real choice is between Hoover and Truman. Thus, I. F. Stone, starting from the correct premise that "the world can be saved by co-existence," finds Hoover to be "much closer to Henry Wallace's old position, which was also F.D.R.'s than to Truman." "The Roosevelt-Wallace position," writes Mr. Stone, "had sufficient faith in America not to be afraid of Communism. Hoover has faith enough in capitalism to feel that Communism, as he said 'will decay of its own poisons.' *Pravda* is not afraid of that challenge but the Truman-Acheson Democrats and the Dulles-Dewey Republicans are" (*N. Y. Compass*, Feb. 5, 1952).

We agree, of course, with Mr. Stone's basic premise of the possibility of peaceful co-existence. Is this, however, as Stone holds, only a question of "faith" in one or another society? No, in part the concept is influenced by "good business" reasons of trade. But this still is not the core of the matter. The core of the matter is the mass will for peace and



the people's power to impose this will on the war-makers. This must be sealed in a Five Power Peace Pact. Then, and only then would it be possible to conclude that the war danger had lessened. A key to Mr. Stone's error may be found in his conclusion that "the Hoover-Taft policies might easily lead in the same direction [as Truman's] if and as new Communist victories abroad frightened the propertied classes here into support of fascism."

But fear is at the heart of the present bi-partisan policy—a fear of the peoples' rule at home and abroad. History teaches that it is not the peoples' victories that lead to fascism, but their immobilization and disunity in the face of reaction's assaults. The finance capitalists move towards fascism when they become convinced that they can no longer rule in the old way; they adopt fascist methods of terror and rule rather than adhere to the most elementary democratic process at home and abroad. In resorting to this policy of external and internal aggression, they raise the hysterical cry of "aggression" against all who resist that very aggression. Thus, they howl "Soviet imperialism" and slander all movements of peoples anywhere for national liberation and national reconstruction upon democratic foundations as "internal aggression."

This policy of imperialist onslaught and fascism at home is the policy of the Truman-Dulles camp as it is of the Hoover-Taft camp. The differences between them are not

of a strategic, but of a tactical, nature. Their strife is a "family quarrel" of finance-capitalist groupings, which fear and resist the peoples' victories here and abroad, and some of whom, like the Mid-Western industrialists, want at this time to concentrate upon the American and Asian continents for their "spheres of interest." They are fearful of losing all in "all out" war on the European continent.

But it is a "family quarrel" which can ripen into a crisis for the entire strategy of the bi-partisan war policy. An alert peace movement can and should enter into debate on such questions, in order to strengthen their growing advantage, to press for realization of the *real* alternative—the alternative of lasting peace, based on co-existence of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., on the basis of peaceful competition, honoring of commitments, negotiation of all outstanding differences, and recognition of the basic democratic right of all peoples to choose their own form of government. It is this deeper ideological meaning, underlying the real concern of certain top monopolists with the "reckless pace" with which the bi-partisan camp moves to the twin disaster of war and depression, that a people's peace movement must grasp hold of, in order to curb the warmongers.

#### MAIN NEW DEMAGOGIC ARGUMENTS

The real essence of U.S. foreign

policy is pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet, anti-democratic—and anti-American. This bi-partisan foreign policy seeks to destroy every “Communist State” and to annihilate every “Communist.” It seeks to “overthrow internal aggression,” and build “situations of strength.” It poses as a “holy” crusade in order to cover its chauvinist and racist ideology as it adopts the *Mein Kampf* concept that “nationalism is the enemy of liberty.”

What of the Acheson-formulated anti-Soviet “situations of strength” argument? This formula not only means continued unemployment and hastening economic crisis, but it means perpetual arming-to-the-teeth, perpetual war-mongering and forcible efforts to destroy existing governments not to the liking of U.S. imperialism. Small wonder that the “situation of strength” policy moves the high brass to express alarm that “peace may break out” in Korea, and to issue “warnings” that the flame in Korea “threatens” to end. This policy engenders, not strength, but hatred, so that the peoples of the world already compare our youth to the youth of Hitler. It is the policy of the Rommels and Mussolinis who wrote sonnets to the “beauty” of bursting shells and who gleefully watched the torture of Communists and non-Communists in concentration camps—a policy which is unfolding in the actual present building by the bi-partisans of concentration camps for “Communists first” and then for all who dare to oppose this ruinous war policy.

The more brutal “internal aggression” argument is nothing but a Truman version of the racist *Mein Kampf* aim of domination over “inferior peoples” who need the benign “blessings” of Anglo-American imperialism to lead them to “salvation.” It represents a naked “white man’s burden” imperialist approach of bloodily—and vainly—trying to reverse the triumphant world-wide colonial and national liberation movements highlighted by the historic victory of the People’s Democratic Republic of China, and inspired by the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

U.S. imperialism, faced with ever-rising and growing struggles from the oppressed Negro people within its own borders, must attempt to hide from world view its own genocidal practices, fearful lest exposure further pulverize its shibboleth of a free nation in a free world. Consequently, the fable that “nationalism is the enemy of liberty” is designed not to whittle away the concept of an arrogant boastful nation, who can “take on the world” and “get it over with quick,” but in typical white supremacist manner, to heighten chauvinist nationalism and white chauvinism through the program of “imposing salvation” on “childlike” peoples to whom self-government has been ruthlessly denied in century-long suppression.

One and all, these demagogic arguments of the bi-partisans hide a policy of betrayal of the true national interests of the United States

and its people. It is the Hitler dream to destroy every "Communist" state, but in the context of today it could culminate not only in world war, but in a world atomic holocaust, from which the imperialists will not and cannot emerge victorious, but in which tremendous suffering will result to our people and all the world's peace-loving peoples. What is in peril, therefore, is not the "American way of life" but the wages of workers who are asked to rob themselves of billions of dollars so that Truman and the Wall Street monopolists can roam over the earth trying to crush freedom-seeking peoples who want independence and peace and to advance socially on the basis of their choice. The peoples of the world will never yield to these Wall Street terms. The vital interests of our own country demand that a mighty peace front be built through which can emerge a people's peace coalition capable of curbing the Wall Street monopolists' drive for a third world war and fascism. Such a peace front, based on the working class and the inherently, anti-imperialist, growing Negro people's movement, will include broad sections of the farmers and millions of people in intellectual and professional pursuits.

#### STATE OF PROGRESS TOWARDS A PEOPLE'S PEACE COALITION

The question arises: How can we help to "build and expand" on this perspective of a people's peace coal-

ition in the context of a day-by-day peace struggle which, in the first place, must be rooted among the workers? It must be frankly said in evaluation of the present organized peace movement in the U.S. that the growing sentiment for peace among the workers does not yet find expression in adequate peace organization of this decisive class. Necessary for this orientation and for advancing the peace movement in the U.S. by deepening its anti-fascist and anti-imperialist content, is rooting the peace movement among workers and organizing peace activities on union and shop levels. Any tendency to liquidate labor peace centers, under the guise of real difficulties, means only abandoning this perspective. There is no doubt that Right opportunist tendencies are camouflaged in the advocacy of such "Left" sectarian practices, while little enough is done to seek the precise forms of peace organization to which the workers do readily respond. The struggle to win the working class is fought, not in the realm of abstract theories of the Right or the "Left," but around specific issues, around policies as regards wages, speed up, equal rights for the Negro people, foreign affairs, inner union democracy, etc. In the words of Comrade Hall:

We must have confidence that we can win the entire working class to the policies and programs based on class struggle. We can do this, not in isolation, but by organizing and leading in struggle the rank and file in the *existing unions*, in the departments, shops,

locals and Internationals. (*Political Affairs*, December, 1949, p. 27.)

Every index shows an increasingly anti-war feeling among the workers. More and more trade-union expressions as those emanating from figures like Carl Stellato, William R. Hood, Frank Rosenblum, etc., call for a Five-Power Peace Pact. Clearly, this higher anti-war militancy of the workers emphasizes the interlocking of the fight for peace with the fight for a decent standard of living, unshackled unionism, collective bargaining, an end to discrimination and other elementary demands. Numerous shop stewards' peace conferences and peace ballot campaigns confirm the ready response to the peace issue among the workers. Growing mass unemployment and high taxes are undoubtedly the reason for the gloomy complaints even of Social-Democratic leaders like Walter Reuther.

What bothers class collaborationist labor leaders like Reuther, of course, is the growing rank-and-file pressure of the auto workers who face mass unemployment, and who are questioning the bi-partisan foreign policy which has brought them, not the promised prosperity, but worsening economic conditions. The workers see wages frozen, higher prices and taxes, and the growth of repression against the people's liberties, heightened chauvinist oppression of the Negro people, and enhanced corruption in government. Even Reuther's complaints can serve to tear the mask from the eyes of many

workers, who may well wonder why Reuther and the class collaborationist labor leaders persist in trying to hold the workers within the framework of the two rotten old parties of capitalism.

In this connection it is useful to refer once again to the advice of Gus Hall:

It was in Korea that the masses saw the greatest danger of a world war, and a war with China. The Republicans very cleverly identified the Truman Administration with this central danger point, and thus were able to capitalize on the peace feelings of the masses. We must conclude that, yes, large sections were misled. But they are for peace. They will follow the correct road in the struggle for peace if they get the right leadership. We must be able to offer the masses a practical alternative, one which they see provides a real chance to win outside the two old parties. This alternative must correspond to their present level of understanding in the arena of political action . . . Large sections of the working class are beginning to draw some very important lessons from the last election campaign. The big lesson is not that the trade-union leaders took a licking. The lesson is that there must be some road that does not lead into the blind alley to which the workers have been brought by the labor officialdom. This is the outlook on which we must build, and which we must help to expand. (*Peace Can Be Won!*, p. 54.)

#### THE PRESENT ORGANIZED PEACE CENTERS

A basic ideological weakness un-

derlies the tendency of failing to concentrate the peace struggles and organization among the workers and the Negro people. How is this to be observed in practice? Here is an actual example: An organized peace coalition exists in a particular city. This coalition in its present state experiences difficulty in getting a hall for a certain project. A fight is carried through unsuccessfully — and privately. Certain advanced forces in the coalition suggest that the peace issue is so urgent and the need so great that “broader forces” be sought out for this project. So far so good. Even the “private” negotiation, which should be criticized, is not the main point. Broader forces *are* secured and the existing peace coalition, which supports parallel peace actions, supports this one. Lo and behold! however, there are certain forces in the coalition who do not understand the Negro question, or the decisive role of the working class. Where is the emphasis of the Left forces in the coalition? They rightly express concern that this state of affairs jeopardizes the new coalition which is emerging and some of the forces in it. They themselves certainly appreciate that not all the components of the coalition will fully understand all these questions, but it is expected that they will come into the coalition on the basis of its minimum program. But its minimum program is premised on the fact that there is a great ferment for peace especially among the masses of workers and the Negro people; it is premised on the fight

for labor's rights and on the effects of the war drive on the Negro people. Do the Left-progressives battle on these issues? Yes, they battle, but unfortunately oftentimes incorrectly. They usually “battle” by arguing that to struggle ideologically on these issues, would “create a problem.” What they fail to recognize and oftentimes fail to do, is to examine their own weaknesses which, having their source in Right opportunism and “Left” sectarianism, usually boil down to a retreat in meeting these arguments. Experience confirms, however, that many of these broader forces respond to and learn from a struggle for the correct ideological and practical position on these questions.

Errors such as this isolate the peace coalition from decisive working class forces and the Negro people. Now, no section of a united front coalition can be ignored or “asked” to accept second class citizenship status. How much more serious this becomes when it affects the decisive core of the coalition, the labor-Negro people's alliance! Of course, where the Negro people are concerned, this reflects white chauvinism as well. Yet serious strains, affecting relations with top labor and Negro peace leaders, having a mass base on national and state levels, exist because of this most costly error in peace activity.

A key reason for such serious errors lies in the lack of a common estimate of the character and role of the present organized peace centers among labor, women, youth and in overall

peace coordination. To be concrete: can it be said that full clarity exists among progressive forces, including Communists, relative to the programmatic character of the American Peace Crusade, the American Women for Peace, the National Labor Conference for Peace, the Youth Division of the Peace Crusade? No, it cannot! The American Peace Crusade and the above-mentioned independent organized peace centers, themselves coalitions, emerged as a result of the need for an organized peace center, of a special kind, shown particularly in the powerful, grass-roots response evoked by the Stockholm Peace Petition campaign. This response came from leading forces among intellectuals and professionals, as well as among the working class and the Negro people. Thus, the American Peace Crusade came into being and dedicated itself to advancing a principled program. Key elements of the A.P.C. program are the principle of peaceful co-existence and the negotiation of outstanding differences between the Big Five Powers. The program, based also on a recognition of the war drive's ravaging effects on the working class and the Negro people, spurs the struggle for Negro-white unity. This peace coalition includes Left-progressive forces, and, in line with its principled advocacy of peace, programmatically rejects Red-baiting and all other divisive ideologies.

Many of the forces in the A.P.C.—and in varying degrees the other peace centers — express unclarity,

and disagreement, on several phases of basic policy, including the whole question of the working class and its relation to the peace coalition, the role of the Soviet Union, etc. This is as we should expect in a genuine united front peace coalition.

But a grave persistent weakness is the lack of a working-class base and real roots among the Negro people. The point is not only that these weaknesses exist, but that many of the advanced Left-progressive forces fail to accept their special ideological role and, on numerous issues, in and out of the present organized peace coalitions, this weakness seriously jeopardizes the continued growth of the coalition. Consequently, entirely too much time is consumed in necessarily resolving these problems, on top levels, while the task of rooting and organizing a united front working-class base goes by the board.

Experience teaches that where these questions have been frankly subjected to friendly discussion, the progressive forces in the coalition, together with the Left-progressives, resolve the matter satisfactorily.

All peace forces, and Left-progressives in particular, must be keen to cooperate with every progressive tendency that may manifest itself, under the strong pressure of the masses, in the trade-union leadership—on all levels—and within the Negro people's movement. All peace forces must learn to cultivate such trends and utilize them for the building of a broad peace coalition.

This is all the more decisive, since

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the new and increasing difficulties of the warmongers do not imply the cessation or necessarily a lessening of the war danger. On the contrary, the masses must be alerted as never before to combat the machinations of the war incendiaries.

The task demands mastery of the united front and the bold grappling with special ideological questions on all issues confronting the peace movement. Some Left-progressive forces, including some Communists, argue that the present coalition peace centers are "too Left." "We must build broader ones and scrap the old," they say. Frequently this argument hides a tendency of capitulation to so-called "broad forces" which, in fact, reject the peace coalition's minimum program. Others demonstrate in practice that to fail to build and expand present organized peace centers is to fail to take advantage of the current mass peace upsurge. Thus, the development of "broader centers" is wrongly counterposed to the strengthening of the present organized peace centers. Some Left-progressives, including some Communists, even take the initiative in dissuading groups who come into activity as a result of the stimulus of these peace centers, from coming closer to them, in day-to-day working relationship.

The "great debate" goes on and on, while at a standstill is the heart and core of the real issue, that of not only moving with the stream, but of building and consolidating united front peace organizations among the workers and the Negro people, and of

organizing united front activity from below on the key peace issue and primarily on the economic and social consequences of the war drive.

The Right opportunist danger, reflected in a neglect to come to grips with basic ideological problems relative to the peace struggle, is mainly expressed in the failure of many Left-progressives, including some Communists, to play their special ideological role of convincing people of the correctness of the previously agreed on minimum program. Nor should Left-progressives fail to note the effect that such wrong approaches have on non-Left Negro and white forces in the coalition who see their own roles being reduced and who quite correctly resent being "written off." No argument that such discussions will isolate "broader forces" holds water. The existence of an organized peace center, or even of parallel peace movements on special issues, does not excuse lack of ideological struggle in *all* coalition peace movements.

Conversely, the "Left" sectarian danger reflects a narrow approach to the peace movement and is based on a defeatist attitude that world war really is inevitable.

The necessity for broader forms of peace struggle complements, it does not contradict, the necessity of strengthening the present organized peace centers, particularly in terms of developing their working-class base. To pose these efforts as mutually exclusive is to endanger not only existing organized peace centers, but the

whole concept of the united front, of an anti-fascist, anti-imperialist people's peace coalition based on the working class and Negro people.

Just as there is no contradiction between a mass united front coalition policy and the special responsibilities of the Left-progressives in the fight against white chauvinism, so is there no contradiction between the development of broader movements around specific peace issues and the building and strengthening of the existing organized peace centers based on the working class and the deepening of their ideological leadership.

#### THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

If it is true that the Truman war crusade, brutally exemplified in the atrocious war against the colored peoples of Asia, develops in an atmosphere of rising counter-struggle for peace, it is also certainly true that even greater counter-struggle by the Negro people is developing as they resist the Wall Street bi-partisan attempt to destroy their liberation movement, and their leaders—Paul Robeson, W. E. B. Du Bois, William L. Patterson, Benjamin J. Davis, Henry Winston, James Jackson, Ben Careathers, Pettis Perry, Roosevelt Ward, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, and many, many others.

But against this white supremacist, chauvinist war drive upon the peace-loving peoples of the earth, there also develops in our epoch, the liberation

movement of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries. It is clear, then, that this liberation movement "is inseparably connected with the movement for peace. Therefore any forcible attempts by the imperialists to keep these peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection is a threat to the cause of peace." (I. A. Seleznev, in *Political Affairs*, December, 1951.)

Faced with rising anti-imperialist counter-struggle of the colonial peoples and nations and at home with the growing, and ever-more conscious anti-imperialist Negro liberation movement, American imperialism multiplies its hourly crimes against the Negro people.

At the same time there is taking place a sharpening in the whole Negro liberation movement, and a dissociation from the Truman bi-partisan war policy by increasing sections of the Negro people as expressed by more and more Negro spokesmen. Thus, many State Department Negro spokesmen are competing widely in the Negro press in "warnings" to Truman that his Point Four Program, which accompanies Wall Street's imposed "blessings," is being rejected by the independence-minded peoples of Asia, Latin America, the West Indies and Africa. Thus, it is not only the forthright Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, who raises this issue, but even the State Department representative, Dr. Dailey, on return from a tour of the Far East and Africa, "warns" U.S. imperialism to reject

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this anti-national liberation path. Further, Negro spokesmen such as P. L. Prattis, editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Dr. Benjamin Mays and numerous Negro journalists, commenting on recent Truman messages, warned that "Negro voters still have to be convinced." In the words of the influential Negro historian and publicist, J. A. Rogers: "Colored voters are convinced that they have been ruthlessly carried for a ride and exploited on the civil rights appeal. Now they are face to face with the cold facts that not a single civil rights measure has been passed in Congress. They also know that these measures have been checked on all turns by the Southern Democratic bloc. President Truman admitted in his recent State of the Union message that these issues had not been effectuated" (N. Y. *Amsterdam News*, February 2, 1952).

Nothing so points up the basic new element in the relationship between the struggle for peace and the Negro liberation and people's movements than this increasingly sharp criticism by the Negro people of the Truman bi-partisan policy. The Negro people as a whole see the struggle for their rights impaled on the blade of Wall Street's greed, in a war against the colored peoples of Korea which threatens to spread into a war against the oppressed colored people of the entire world.

As decisively placed by Comrade Benjamin J. Davis in his Report to the Party's Fifteenth National Convention: "The new element in the

relationship between the struggle for peace and for Negro liberation is the growing acuteness of the contradiction between American imperialism in its war program, on the one hand, and, on the other, the struggle of the Negro people and their supporters to defend their elementary liberties and to advance the cause of full citizenship. This is by far the most important single new factor to be noted in connection with the struggle for national liberation of the Negro people."

It is exactly the "new element" basically analyzed in Comrade Davis' Report that must yet be grasped by Left-progressive forces and the Party cadres. The further significance of this fundamental relationship between the struggle for peace and for freedom was documented and analyzed by Comrade Pettis Perry. These profound contributions require study and mastery by all Left-progressives and Party cadres without delay.

An appreciation of the great contributions of Comrade Davis and Perry will do much to heighten the ideological level in the struggle against white chauvinism, which still plagues the whole peace movement. We cannot speak of the new militant features of the Negro people's movement without recognizing that this very fact places new and tremendous responsibilities on our ideological and practical work. We must sharpen the understanding of the national question, particularly as this applies to the Negro people, in order to advance the leading role of the workers

in the Negro-liberation movement. This is of basic importance in the specific context of the struggle for peace in order to guarantee strengthening the alliance of the working class and Negro people. Such an alliance must form the solid core of the emerging people's peace coalition, which will reverse the present ruinous direction the imperialists are traveling.

We must put an end to the false conception that "broader forces" cannot understand the Negro question. While it would be incorrect to demand that the full program of the Negro liberation movement be part of the program of struggle of the existing organized peace movement, it is necessary to demand — and certainly to expect of Left-progressives and Communists in the peace movement—an all-out battle against the white chauvinist poison which permeates many of these movements. To assert the impossibility of spreading an understanding of the Negro question is to excuse inactivity in the fight against white chauvinism and to insult the broad masses eager for peace and democracy. We *must* convince our allies in the anti-war struggle of the correctness of the minimum program in terms of the rights of the Negro people and Negro-white unity, which they are duty bound to fight for. The struggle for peace requires a struggle against colonialism and rejection of racist warmongering. We must labor to deepen the understanding of the masses as regards the in-

herent relationship between the attacks on the Negro people and the attacks on the peace movement and democratic liberties, as regards the synthesis between the fight against a robber war in Asia and the imperialist attempt to thwart the Negro liberation movement and keep its leaders from exposing U.S. imperialism claims that it is a "free nation" in a "free world."

The superb people's victories in the Du Bois case, in Stuyvesant Town, and in the development of the National Negro Labor Council Movement, fused with past struggles around Trenton, Martinsville, McGee, etc., show how the struggle for Negro rights and Negro-white unity advances and heightens political consciousness on the part of participating Negro and white masses.

Merely to master the full significance of the State Department's "reason" for the denial of a passport to Paul Robeson on the grounds that "racial discrimination" is a "family matter" the public exposure of which is inimical to the interests of the security of the United States Government, is to pose the question: Why have not the peace forces fully mounted a mass campaign that can lead to victory around this prime issue involving the revered people's artist and world peace leader—Paul Robeson? All over the world, especially among the hundreds of millions of darker peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the West Indies, the U.S. imperialists are finding the

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Jim Crow system in this country a most serious obstacle in their path of aggression. And it is the Communists everywhere who, together with the Left-progressives, are the leaders of the masses in this sharp condemnation of the Jim Crow outrage in the United States.

Hence, ideological struggle on this front assumes urgent significance, particularly in view of the leadership assumed in all peace centers by outstanding Negro men and women. Their contributions cannot and should not be concentrated on "doing battle" on these issues. Their white co-workers must assume greater responsibility and initiative in this regard, not only because this is proper in the struggle for Negro rights, but also in order that these capable Negro men, women, and youth fighters may be freed to give fullest leadership, in their authoritative positions, to building a broad peace base among the Negro people; to developing relationships with the emerging peace expressions from very broad sections of the Negro and white forces, coming from churches, fraternal organizations, Negro women's organizations, etc.

This is of prime importance, since as things are today there persists a serious lack of an organized peace movement and organization in the decisive Negro communities, particularly in the South. This lack exists in the midst of rising intensity of mass actions of the Negro people against the growing lynch murders

and intimidation, as in Cairo and Cicero, Illinois, Mims and Groveland, Florida, etc.

The warmakers, trying to offset this powerful anti-Jim Crow sentiment at home and abroad, have put forward a number of prominent Negro figures to belittle and deny the existence of Negro persecution in the United States. These shameful figures include Channing Tobias, Mrs. Edith Sampson, Ray Robinson and the like. These sorry apologists for white supremacy must be exposed far more vigorously than heretofore. This can best be done by the Negro people themselves, and a peace base among the Negro people on the foundation of alliance with the Negro people's movements would help greatly in exposing such misleaders. This is particularly true among Negro women, who in their significant and developing Sojourners For Truth and Justice movement, will have to deal with the burning problems of the war and its effects on the Negro children and the family, on Negro mothers and wives, among whom a fiercely powerful peace sentiment exists. All this will strengthen the growing mass independent women's peace movement in our country and its present independent peace center, American Women for Peace. Coming to grips with the consequences of the war effort opens up new and rewarding avenues of broad mass contact with the overwhelming majority of working-class Negro women, whose militant desires for freedom

and peace are the most outstanding in the nation.

### FIVE POWER PEACE PACT

The campaign for a Five-Power Peace Pact offers a magnificent opportunity to strengthen the whole organized peace movement in our country.

Barely five months old, the organized Pact campaign is receiving unprecedented response among masses who thus again show the error in hesitations on this question within the organized peace movement and among Left-progressive forces, including the Party. There is no doubt that influencing this vacillation was a certain amount of disorientation among the organized peace forces following the significant Chicago Peace Congress. Such moods as that of "hanging on hopes" that the military would effect cease-fire following the "ebbs and flows" of the truce talks, had to be quickly discarded, in the course of self-critical examination, for the plain truth that peace can only be won through mass struggle. Basically influencing the hesitancy was not only this factor but the underestimation of the decisive character of this Five-Power Pact effort which will not end until peace is assured by the signing of such a pact. Underlying all these factors, was a fundamental ideological weakness in comprehending the full implications of the possibility of peaceful co-existence between states of different social systems, in addition to a tendency to shy away from vigorous

struggle, particularly among the working class and the Negro people, against vile anti-Soviet lies and fables about "Soviet imperialism."

The American Peace Crusade leadership in the Five-Power Peace Pact effort has been outstanding. It has stressed the many-sided approaches to this campaign and has served to stimulate trade-union, farm, Negro, women, cultural, and youth peace forces into similar activity. Numerous A.P.C. conferences on a state level and peace workshops have been held. Many petitions carrying special appeals, such as Peace Prayers, union resolutions, etc., have been issued. Scheduled for March, in Washington, is a National Delegates Assembly involving the Crusade and many other forces who do not adhere to the entire Peace Crusade program. Here delegates from the entire country will convene to exchange experiences in the signature campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact, with the purpose of stimulating the campaign.

Great initiative behind the Five-Power Peace Pact effort has come from the American Women for Peace which has, in many cases, boldly canvassed existing women's organizations and urged them to participate, jointly or separately, in the campaign. Supporting the work, too, is the World Youth and Friendship Book Campaign, where signatures for a Five Power Peace Pact are gathered by young people for eventual presentation to the United Nations.

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Expressions of support have come from additional varied sources, notably from trade-union leaders such as William Hood and Hugo Ernst, and from many leading intellectuals, professional and cultural figures, such as Professor Anton Carlson, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Paul Robeson, Dr. Alice Hamilton, and Professor Philip Morrison. Again, groups such as the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) have reiterated their support of peaceful negotiations among the great powers. Significant leaders in the religious life of the country such as the Rev. Dr. Jemison, of the National (Negro) Baptist Alliance, Bishop Bromley Oxnam and Rabbi B. Benedict Glazer, have also spoken out for agreement amongst the great powers.

These, and many similar facts, not only confirm the growing pro-peace upsurge, but show that where the initiative is seized boldly, around particular issues, broader forces do come forward, unity is achieved, and wider and wider segments of the population are reached.

Two forthcoming international events offer further excellent opportunities for broadening and deepening the anti-war struggle. The first is the American Inter-Continental Peace Conference, scheduled for March. The prime responsibility of U.S. imperialism for the terrible exploitation of the peoples of the West Indies, and of Central and South

America, makes active participation by peace lovers of the United States in this Congress all the more significant.

In April an International Conference in Defense of Children will be held in Vienna. "To save the children, the most precious wealth of all mankind," declares the International Sponsoring Committee, "we appeal to all men and women of good will, to all organizations which are interested in the problems of children, to participate. . . . This Conference will study what can be done in order to defend the right to life, to health and education of all children in the world." Surely, profound interest of all peace forces in the United States will be manifested towards this great international event.

#### THE PARTY AND THE PEACE STRUGGLE

The Communist Party, whose leaders are victims of Smith Act repression, can be proud of its modest contribution to the struggle for peace. What would our nation have been, had we not had the inspiring leadership of the Party led by William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis? The whole activity of the Party has been devoted to reversing the present ruinous path of our nation, resulting from the Wall Street bi-partisan policy. The membership, in and out of the organized peace movement, have been selfless in their work for peace, and have experienced

and are experiencing many reprisals as the Communist Party fights for its legal rights as an American political party, a fight which is itself, of course, of the essence of the struggle against war. Communists must and do bring to the peace movement the selflessness, enthusiasm and confidence in victory characteristic of Marxists-Leninists, not because they are self-righteous, but because the Party is *correct*, because its path is the path of the development of human society.

As Communists we struggle for peace, equality, freedom and Socialism—we struggle for the best interests of the working class, the Negro people, the farming masses, the vast majority of the American people. To fulfill these high Communist principles, we must learn from the people and we must shed all moods of "spontaneity" in the peace strug-

gle. The mastery of the united front tactic, the deepening of our ideological weapons, must be strengthened.

To work to unite all people who understand that our country is in danger of war and fascism; to work so that our nation is not viewed with fear and loathing by the peoples of the world; to root our peace struggle basically among the working class and Negro people—this is the path to the achievement of the correct main line of our Party in this period. That main line seeks the emergence of an anti-fascist, anti-monopoly, people's peace coalition, that will lead to a people's front against war and fascism strong enough to curb the warmongers in 1952 and thus open to all the American people a vista of happiness, security, equality and *peace*.

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# The Communists and the La Follette Movement of 1924

By William Z. Foster

*We are proud to bring to the readers of Political Affairs the following chapter from William Z. Foster's forthcoming and eagerly awaited History of the Communist Party of the United States, the outline of which appeared in our January issue. The discussion contained in this chapter of an earlier effort to bring about a political coalition of Left and progressive and Worker-Farmer forces in the United States, carries with it many valuable lessons for the major struggle in our day to forge a broad, powerful anti-monopoly, anti-fascist, anti-war coalition of the people—The Editor.*

THE GENERAL resistance of the workers to the capitalist offensive in the years immediately following World War I crystallized in a big farmer-labor movement, and it culminated in the independent candidacy in 1924 of Senator Robert M. La Follette for the Presidency of the United States. This was the biggest effort ever made, before or since, by the rank and file American workers and their class allies, in the face of official betrayal, to set up an independent political organization. The Workers Party, the Communist Party of the period, played a most important role in this significant development.

For the past century and a half one of the most powerful means of the American capitalists to dominate the workers has been to keep them affiliated to, or under the domination of the capitalist political parties. Since Civil War times this device of the capitalist rulers has manifested itself in the so-called two-party system. Throughout all these years the advanced workers have repeatedly rebelled against this infamous political control by organizing labor parties, but these attempts did not succeed. Various reasons combined to bring about their failure. Among these, basically, were the political immaturity ideologically and organizationally of the working class; its lack of homogeneity, made up as it was largely of great masses of workers with different languages, religions, and cultural backgrounds; the persistence of petty bourgeois illusions among the workers; the stubborn opposition of the trade union bureaucracy since the rise of the A.F. of L.; and last, but not least, the lack of a clear lead from the Marxists, chiefly because of sectarian reasons.

The early American Marxists, in the decades immediately following

the Civil War, as we have seen, under the personal advice of Marx and Engels, although not without making many sectarian and opportunist mistakes, did follow in general the sensible policy of participating in these elementary working class parties and of cooperating with the closely affiliated farmer political organizations. Lenin writes: "Marx and Engels taught the socialists to break *at all costs* with narrow sectarianism and affiliate with the labor movement, so as to *raise politically* the proletariat since the proletariat displayed almost no political independence either in England or America in the last third of the 19th century."\* From 1890 on, however, the sectarian De Leon put an end to this essentially correct mass policy, holding that the labor and farmer parties were basically reactionary and that the Socialist Labor Party alone sufficed as the party of the working class. The Socialist Party, in its time, also continued this narrow line, and it was not until as late as 1921 that it began to look upon the spontaneous labor party movement as anything but a rival. The Workers Party inherited from the Socialist Party the long-continued hostile attitude towards the labor party.

In 1922, however, the Workers Party broke sharply with the thirty-year-old S.L.P. and S.P. anti-labor party policy and took its place in the forefront of the growing struggle for a labor party. The Workers Party

came to understand that the political development of the working class in the United States was not following an identical pattern with that in Continental Europe. In Europe, where the trade unions were organized either after, or simultaneously with, the party, the party developed independently with an individual membership, a social democratic program, and a recognized political leadership of the working class. On the other hand, in countries where, due to specifically retarding factors to the political development of the workers, the trade unions came first in the development of working class organizations, the workers, seeking to make a political as well as an industrial struggle, eventually came to set up a labor party based primarily upon the trade unions. This course has been true of England and its dominions, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa—and also of the United States. Here the general line of development is towards a broad party based on the trade unions, but the tempo of its growth is far slower because the retarding political factors have been much greater. Further elaboration upon this point is made in Chapter 37. The failure over the years of the American Marxists to realize the foregoing facts regarding the general line of working class political development, finally pointed out by Stalin, was one of their greatest mistakes.

By 1921 the Workers Party realized the vital importance of supporting the labor party as a long step

\* V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels Marxism*, p. 108 (International Publishers, 1933).



by the workers away from the two-party system and bourgeois political domination. This was a long stride away from sectarianism and into broad mass work. At its second convention, held in New York in December, 1922, the Workers Party, therefore, confirming the earlier decision to this effect by the C.E.C. in May, 1922, declared:\* "The Workers Party favors the formation of a labor party—a working class political party, independent of, and opposed to, all capitalist political parties. It will make every effort to hasten the formation of such a party and to effect admittance to it as an autonomous section." It added: "A real labor party cannot be formed without the labor unions, and exploited farmers, tenant farmers, and farm laborers must be included."\*\*

The political situation at this time was propitious for the formation of a labor party. The workers in the United States, passing through the bitterest offensive of big capital, had experienced a whole series of fierce strikes. They had been largely disillusioned by Wilson's "liberalism" and, of course, they had no use for Harding's brand of reaction. Besides, the Gompers leaders had been deeply discredited in the whole post-war struggle, and they were little able to stem the strong tide for independent working class political action. Also, for the first time in over 35 years the Marxists, in the Workers Party and the T.U.E.L., were making a real fight for a labor party. Consequently, the workers turned sharply towards

independent political action.

#### THE DEVELOPING LA FOLLETTE MOVEMENT

There were four main streams of mass political organization that finally culminated in the movement behind the La Follette Presidential candidacy of 1924. These were (a) the group of local labor parties that grew up during 1918-19 in Chicago, New York, Bridgeport, etc., and of state parties in Illinois, Connecticut, Michigan, Utah, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. The Chicago Federation of Labor was the recognized leader of this movement. (b) The Nonpartisan League, founded in 1918 as a Left wing in the Republican Party and headed by A. P. Townley, formerly an S.P. organizer. The N.P.L. claimed 188,365 members in 1918, and loosely grouped around it were a number of state farmer parties in the middle west and northwest. (c) The Committee of Forty-eight, founded in 1918 and headed by J. A. H. Hopkins, was an extensive petty-bourgeois liberal organization. (d) The Plumb Plan movement, which was organized in 1919. Its leaders were Warren S. Stone and Wm. H. Johnston, the heads of the Locomotive Engineers and Machinists Unions respectively. It was based on the sixteen railroad unions and had a program calling for "government ownership and democratic operation of the railroads." The N.A.A.C.P.

\* C. E. Ruthenberg, *The Liberator*, February, 1923.

\*\* A. Bimba, *History of the American Working Class*, p. 318.

eventually also endorsed La Follette.

In November, 1919, the various state and local labor parties met in Chicago and combined into the National Labor Party. The pre-T.U.E.L. group in Chicago was active in this movement, the national secretary of the National Labor Party, J. G. Brown, later becoming a member of the T.U.E.L. In 1920, again in Chicago, the National Labor Party took part in a merger of the Committee of Forty-eight and a number of state farmer parties, emerging as the Farmer Labor Party, again with Brown as secretary. The Chicago Left wingers were also very active in this convention, in fact, actually bringing about the amalgamation of the two main groups by rank and file action when their leaders vacillated. The F.L.P. sought La Follette as its candidate in the 1920 elections; but its program was "too radical" for him and the "lefts" objected to La Follette's white chauvinism. Parley Parker Christensen, who was comparatively unknown, was acclaimed and polled some 300,000 election votes.

The next big step in the developing La Follette movement was that the Plumb Plan movement, in February, 1922, transformed itself into the Conference for Progressive Political Action (C.P.P.A.). At its founding meeting in Chicago, besides the representatives of the sixteen railroad unions, there were present the miners, needle trades, nine state federations of labor, and other

union bodies, and also the National Farmer-Labor Party, Socialist Party, Nonpartisan League, various state labor parties, the National Catholic Welfare Council, Methodist Federation for Social Service, etc. All told, about 2,500,000 were represented. Ducking the labor party issue, the conference decided that each state should use such plan of organized action as it saw fit, either working as a minority within the old parties or as independent political parties. J. G. Brown and Morris Hillquit were members of the national organizing committee.

In December, 1922, the C.P.P.A. held another conference in Cleveland. Here, however, the question of forming an independent labor party thrust itself forward and occupied the center of attention. The labor party resolution was finally voted down, 64 to 52; whereupon the Farmer-Labor Party decided to withdraw from the C.P.P.A. The Communists advised against this action\* and the Workers Party sent two delegates to this Cleveland conference, Comrades Ruthenberg\*\* and Foster. The Socialist Party, joining with the reactionaries, issued a statement demanding that the Workers Party be barred\*\*\*. The whole Chicago Farmer Labor group insisted that Ruthenberg and Foster be accepted as full participants. But the

\* *Proceedings of the Third National Commission Workers Party*, December, 1923, p. 15.

\*\* Ruthenberg, who was in prison since early in 1921, had been released in July, 1922.

\*\*\* N. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States*, p. 405.

conference, controlled by conservative union leaders, voted not to admit the representatives of the Workers Party.

#### THE WORKERS PARTY AND THE FARMER LABOR PARTY

The Workers Party and the T.U.E.L. meanwhile were actively pushing their agitation for a labor party. The T.U.E.L. national referendum on the labor party was a big success. All over the country unions voted favorably upon the T.U.E.L.'s proposition of establishing a labor party forthwith. *The Labor Herald* (official organ of the T.U.E.L.) reported that "the unions now on record in the League vote extend over 30 states and 47 international unions. In the thousands of locals in which the issue has been raised we have been informed of less than a dozen which failed to approve of a labor party."\* The leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor endorsed this referendum.

It was during this time, April, 1923, that the Communist Party, at a special convention, liquidated its underground phase. The Workers Party became in fact, if not in name, the Communist Party. Also the Workers Party moved its headquarters to Chicago in July. At its third convention, in December, 1923, the Party reported a membership of 25,000.

Meanwhile, definite working rela-

tions were developing nationally between the Workers Party and the Fitzpatrick-Nockels-Brown group. The ten years' long cooperation between the latter leaders and the Chicago T.U.E.L. militants, which had resulted in so many constructive national campaigns, was now developing, as it did eventually, into a united front between the Workers Party and the Farmer Labor Party.

By mutual agreement of the two parties, a call was issued by the Farmer Labor Party for a general convention to take place in Chicago, July 3, 1923, of "all economic and political organizations favoring the organization of a Farmer Labor party." The W.P. and F.L.P. leading committees agreed on the basis of representation, the construction and the number of the future party's leading committee, and also on certain resolutions to be proposed, particularly for the recognition of Soviet Russia. They also agreed that if there were half a million workers represented at the convention the new party should be formed. The W.P. and the F.L.P. shared the costs of sending out of the convention call. On the agreed upon basis, invitations were extended to all trade unions, local and state labor and farmer parties, and the Socialist, Socialist Labor, and Proletarian Parties, in addition to the two sponsoring parties.\*\* The S.P. declined the invitation, but the general response was excellent.

\*\* *Proceedings of the Third National Convention of the W.P.*, December, 1923, Chicago.

\* *The Labor Herald*, June, 1923.

The movement grew in many directions.

As the July 3 convention approached, however, the Fitzpatrick group began to grow visibly cool towards it. The A.F. of L. had cut off its big subsidy to the Chicago Federation of Labor, and many La Follette-inclined forces tried to induce Fitzpatrick and his group to cut loose from the coming convention. The latter weakened under these pressures. Nevertheless they went into the convention without openly repudiating their agreement with the Workers Party.

#### THE FEDERATED FARMER LABOR PARTY CONVENTION

The convention of July 3, 1923, brought together an estimated 600,000 workers and farmers, represented by 650 delegates. Of these, the Communists made up but a small minority. The enthusiasm for the proposed federated party swept the gathering, which was composed mostly of rank and filers. From the outset the Fitzpatrick group maneuvered against the convention's establishing a party. First, they tried to reject the credentials of the Workers Party, but this move was defeated almost unanimously by the convention. Then they tried, through an out-of-town delegate, to transform the convention into simply a consultative conference. This was countered by an amendment made by Joseph Manley, a Workers Party member representing Local 40 of the Structural Iron Workers Union, and it was sup-

ported by Ruthenberg, to form the new party.

Only on the night of the third and last day of the convention did the Fitzpatrick group bring in a definite proposal of what they wanted done. They then proposed that all the organizations present should affiliate to the Farmer Labor Party as autonomous units, except that the revolutionary elements, meaning the Workers Party, should be excluded. The F.L.P. proposal said "it would be suicide . . . to bring into such affiliation any organization which advocates other than lawful means to bring about political changes"—strange charges indeed from the radical Fitzpatrick group, which had invited the W.P. to the convention, and which only a few months before had voted to seat Ruthenberg and Foster in the C.P.P.A. gathering. The convention also rejected this proposition with a roar, and it decided by a vote of about 500 to 40 to organize the Federated Farmer Labor Party, which was done.\* As Fine says, the Fitzpatrick group wanted to bolt, "but they did not have enough of a following for that."\*\* A representative group of workers and farmers were elected as the Executive Committee. Joseph Manley was chosen Secretary-Treasurer, and the F.F.L.P. established its headquarters in Chicago.

The program of the F.F.L.P. pro-

\* See *Proceedings of the Third Convention of the Workers Party*, 1923, p. 19, and *The Labor Herald*, August, 1923.

\*\* N. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States*, p. 431.

posed, to "free the farm and industrial worker from the greedy exploitation of those who now rule this country and to win for them the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which their exploiters deny them." The new party demanded, "the nationalization of all public utilities and all social means of communication and transportation," these industries be operated democratically, eventually by the economic organizations of the workers and farmers. For labor there was demanded the 8-hour day, the abolition of child labor, and a federal minimum wage. For soldiers, the bonus. For all city and rural workers, the establishment of a general Federal system of social insurance, covering sickness and other disabling causes. For the farmers, the demand that the land be assured to the users, the issue and control of all money by the government, the payment of war debts by an excess profits tax, and a moratorium on all farm debts. The program made no specified demands for the Negro people.\*

In the organizations which voted to form the Federated Farmer Labor Party on July 3rd, representing approximately 600,000 members, there were some 50,000 miners, 10,000 machinists, 100,000 needle workers, 7,000 carpenters, 10,000 metal workers, the West Virginia Federation of Labor, with 87,000 members, the A.F. of L. central bodies of Detroit, Buffalo, Minneapolis, and Butte, with 140,000, 40,000, 20,000 and 10,000 affiliates respectively. The farmer

labor parties of Washington, Ohio, California, Illinois, Wisconsin, etc., added many additional thousands. But when it came later on actually to affiliate with the F.F.L.P., only 155,000 did so, and these were mostly the more "left" organizations.\*\* In short, the F.F.L.P. failed to attract the broad masses. The attraction of the C.P.P.A., plus the Fitzpatrick split, both with the help of the red-baiting capitalist press all over the country, succeeded in keeping the more conservative trade unions at the convention from joining up with the F.F.L.P. The latter organization gradually dwindled in strength.

#### THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Labor Party sentiment continued strong, however, and a fresh attempt was made by the W.P. to get such a party established on a broad basis. This effort was organized in conjunction with the well-established Minnesota Farmer Labor Party, with which the Workers Party had built up friendly relations. A general convention was held in St. Paul, Minn., on July 17, 1924, for the purpose of setting up a national farmer labor party. This convention assembled 542 delegates from 29 states, representing largely farmers. After adopting a program similar to that of the F.F.L.P., it elected as its Executive Secretary, C. A. Hathaway, an influential Minnesota Communist

\* *The American Labor Year Book, 1923-24, p. 158.*

\*\* *Proceedings of the Third Convention of the Workers Party, p. 21.*

machinist. The convention chose as its candidates in the approaching national elections, for President, Duncan McDonald, former U.M.-W.A. head of the Illinois miners, and for Vice-President, William Bouck, chief of the Western Progressive Farmers League of Washington.

At the St. Paul convention, despite the overwhelming decision to form the new Farmer Labor Party, there was much sentiment for La Follette and proposals were carried for negotiations with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, regarding joint support of a La Follette ticket. The Workers Party, looking aghast at La Follette as a petty bourgeois reformist, declared to the St. Paul convention that, "the only basis upon which the Workers Party will accept La Follette as the candidate is that he agree to run as a Farmer Labor candidate, to accept the party's platform and its central control over the electoral campaign and campaign funds."\* La Follette rejected these terms.

On July 3, at Cleveland, the C.P.P.A. nominated Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler to run for President and Vice-President. The convention represented at least 4,000,000 organized workers, farmers, and middle class elements. The A.F. of L., for the first time endorsing independent presidential candidates, gave the movement its official blessing. This was because, with the ultra-reactionaries Calvin Coolidge and John W. Davis as the

Republican and Democratic candidates, it could not withstand La Follette pressure among its rank and file. Moreover, the Gompersites had a healthy respect for the railroad unions behind the C.P.P.A., as they had given them the worst licking in their career at the 1920 A.F. of L. convention in Montreal upon the issue of the Plumb Plan. But the Executive Council, in endorsing La Follette, made it clear that this action is in no sense "a pledge of identification with an independent party movement or a third party.\*\*

The strong mass sentiment for La Follette had disastrous effects upon the Farmer Labor Party, just organized at St. Paul. Most of the participants of that convention later mounted the C.P.P.A. bandwagon. Consequently, the Executive Committee of the Farmer Labor Party deemed it the part of wisdom to withdraw its candidates, McDonald and Bouck, thereby dissolving the F.L.P. as a party. The Workers Party, thereupon, put up William Z. Foster as its candidate for President. This was the first national Communist ticket, an event of prime importance in the life of the American working class. The party got on the ballot in 13 states, made a strong campaign, and polled for the national ticket, according to the unreliable official figures, some 33,300 votes.

In the presidential elections the La Follette Progressive Independent

\* *The Liberator*, July, 1924.

\*\* Lewis L. Lorwin, *The American Federation of Labor*, p. 225.

polled 4,826,382 votes, or about 16.5 per cent of the total vote cast. Undoubtedly, large numbers of votes were stolen from the La Follette column. The good election showing of La Follette and the huge mass organizations behind the C.P.P.A. obviously provided a sufficient basis for a strong national party of workers and farmers; but this was the last thing wanted by the A.F. of L. and railroad union leaders, tied up as they were with the two capitalist parties. Consequently, on February 21, 1925, they met in Chicago, and after rejecting proposals to form a labor party, informally dissolved the C.P.P.A. and went back to the old Gompers policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." Gompers died on December 13, 1924, shortly after the La Follette campaign, but his anti-working class policies lived right on after him.

Despite the favorable political situation, the working class was not able during the crucial period of 1922-24 to make a breakaway from the two capitalist parties and establish an independent mass political party. This was because of the workers' prevalent ideological and organizational weaknesses mentioned above, the crass betrayal by the trade union leaders and the Hillquit S.P. leadership, and the fact that in 1923 the economic situation began to pick up substantially. The ensuing "prosperity" tended to re-create petty-bourgeois illusions amongst the masses, and it also strengthened the control over the unions by the reactionary

leaders, sworn enemies of the labor party. Errors made by the Left wing were also a factor in the failure to organize a labor party.

#### TACTICAL MISTAKES OF THE WORKERS PARTY

It is clear that in this complicated fight for a labor party the young Workers Party, in its eagerness to help the working class to break out of the deadly two-party trap and to establish a labor party, made some serious errors. The most basic of these was to permit itself to become separated from the broad movement of workers and farmers gathered behind La Follette. Even though the Party was barred from affiliating officially, nevertheless, through the mass organizations, it could have functioned as the Left wing of the La Follette movement, even at the cost of a qualified endorsement of its candidates. The basic reason given by the Workers Party for not supporting La Follette—the fear of our small Party being engulfed by this broad petty bourgeois-led movement—was not a sound conclusion. The fact that the Party, during this great movement of workers and farmers, was finally compelled to put up its own election candidates, was proof that a mistake had been made.

That there was, of course, some danger that the Party might be swamped ideologically by La Follette was to be seen right in the Workers Party itself. Thus John Pepper, a C.E.C. member, came for-

ward with a highly opportunistic evaluation of the La Follette movement. He called that movement "the third American revolution." Said he, "The revolution is here. World history stands before one of its great turning points—America faces her third revolution . . . the coming third revolution will not be a proletarian one. It will be a revolution of well-to-do and exploited farmers, small business men, and workers. . . . It will contain elements of the great French revolution, and the Russian Kerensky revolution. In its ideology it will have elements of Jeffersonianism, Danish cooperatives, Ku Klux Klan, and Bolshevism."\*

Of course, in any broad mass movement there will be different ideologies, some even reactionary; but to say, as Pepper did, that the labor-La Follette movement represented a "third revolution," was not only to overestimate its social character and its strength but also to give a wrong perspective as to the nature of the social change which America faces in the future. The La Follette movement represented a united front of workers, petty bourgeoisie, and farmers in the struggle against monopoly capital, with the petty bourgeoisie and labor leaders in control. Time, experience, and the work of the Communists were necessary to change that domination. But to withdraw from that movement, as the Communists did, was a political error. The Workers Party should have gone along in critical support

of the La Follette movement. Thus, it could not only have carried on effective work among the masses in motion, but also have avoided much of the Party's later relative isolation.

Another error, of the same general character, was the split with the Fitzpatrick group over the formation of the Federated Farmer Labor Party on July 3, 1923. In view of the strong tendency among the masses to turn towards the C.P.P.A. and towards a La Follette ticket, which was already then in prospect, and also considering the vacillating attitude of the Fitzpatrick forces, it was unwise for the Communists to insist upon the setting up of the F.F.L.P., even though this was formally in accordance with the pre-convention agreement between the W.P. and the Fitzpatrick-Farmer Labor Party group. The Workers Party should have been able to realize that under these circumstances there was no solid basis for the new labor party. The result of this mistake was the still-born Federated Farmer Labor Party. The later formation of the Farmer Labor Party at the June 17, 1924, convention in St. Paul, merely compounded the original error, with another still-born party, which had to be abandoned almost at once.

The W.P.-Fitzpatrick split on July 3, 1923, was particularly harmful in that it spread throughout the trade union movement. Eventually it largely divorced the Communists from their center group allies, breaking up the political combination which had carried through the big national amal-

\* *The Liberator*, September, 1923.

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gamation and labor party campaign, not to mention, in its earlier days, the Mooney campaign, the meat-packing and steel organizing drives, and various other progressive movements. The Left-center split on July 3 was one of the basic reasons why the Gompers bureaucrats could ride so roughshod over the Left wing at the A. F. of L. convention, as they did, a few months later.

From a policy standpoint, what had happened was this. The Workers Party started out with the correct theory that the labor party had to be based on the broad trade union movement. But when its affiliation to the

C.P.P.A. was denied, it mistakenly concluded that the Left-center combination of the W.P. and the Fitzpatrick group would suffice to build the labor party. And finally, when the ill-advised split came with Fitzpatrick, the W.P., departing still further from its broad and correct labor party policy, undertook itself, with only its closest allies, to organize the labor party. This narrowing line was quite futile, as demonstrated by both the July 3, 1923 and June 17, 1924 conventions, and as shown by the relative isolation of the Workers Party.

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## HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Scheduled for Spring publication by International Publishers

# Recent Developments in the Negro People's Movement

By John W. Preston

COMRADE BENJAMIN DAVIS opened his report to the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in December, 1950, with the following statement:

The indivisibility of the struggle for peace and the struggle for freedom which takes its most basic form in our country in the battle for Negro liberation was always of major importance. It began to take on flesh and blood during the cold war. But since the American monopolists launched their gangster war against Korea and China, this battle has become a matter of vital urgency in the effort to halt the drive to fascism and another world war.

The new element in the relationship between the struggle for peace and for Negro liberation is the growing acuteness of the contradiction between American imperialism and its war program, on the one hand, and on the other, the struggle of the Negro people and their supporters to defend their elementary liberties and to advance the cause of full citizenship. This is by far the most important single new factor of the general political situation to be noted in connection with the struggle for national liberation of the Negro people.

The prompt, skillful and bold seizing of this factor can advance the whole cause of Negro rights and raise

the American people's struggle for peace to a new high level, nationally and internationally.

Events relating to the Negro liberation movement since the Convention have confirmed the estimation made by Comrade Davis. Now, as then, the principal new element in the situation is the continued growth in the contradictions between the drive toward war and fascism of the American monopolists, on the one hand, and the more militant struggles for Negro liberation, on the other. Consequently, an estimate of developments and trends in the field of Negro rights since the Convention must proceed from an examination of the effect of this growing contradiction upon the fight for Negro equality, especially in the Black Belt.

## INCREASED ASSAULTS UPON NEGRO PEOPLE

A most obvious result of the Truman-Wall Street foreign and domestic policy has been the general intensification of big capital's oppression of the Negro people in the Black Belt as well as in the country as a whole. Evidence of this is to be seen in the gradual destruction of the

already miserable living standards of the Negro workers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers, arising from the war economy. No section of the population can testify more eloquently as to the meaning of speed-up, high prices, exorbitant rents, the expropriation of income for taxes, joblessness, poor housing, and intolerable health conditions than the Negro masses.

Since the Convention, big capital's drive toward fascism has brought new attacks upon the democratic and Constitutional rights of the Negro people. Witness Cicero, Illinois; the imprisonment of Ben Davis and Dr. Alphaeus Hunton; the arrests of Ben Careathers, Claudia Jones, and Pettis Perry. Witness the FBI's frenzied search, evoking memories of the days of fugitive-slave laws, for the first two Negro political refugees of modern American history—James E. Jackson, Jr. and Henry Winston.

Witness the brazen efforts of the FBI to supervise the movements, not only of individual Negro leaders, but of entire communities; their campaigns at recent national conventions of organizations of the Negro people to determine who should be elected to office; their outrageous approaches to Negro ministers relative to the contents of their sermons; their threats against leading Negro educators and cultural figures; their efforts to prevent a growing number of Negro leaders from securing a passport.

Witness the frenzied attacks upon the Negro Labor Council convention

by the *Cincinnati Enquirer*; the open defense by the Voice of America and American embassies of the murders of Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven. Witness the recent publication by the State Department of a book which is now being promoted abroad, designed to explain away Negro oppression in the United States.

Witness the contemptuous and insulting attacks upon Negro women evidenced in the Josephine Baker case and in the continued imprisonment of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram. Witness the white chauvinist efforts to break up the Negro Labor Council convention by such Social-Democratic lackeys of Wall Street as Walter Reuther.

Witness the open revival of the Klan in the South and in some Northern metropolitan centers. Witness the contemptuous refusal of the Supreme Court to deal with a number of important cases affecting the vital interests of Negro Americans. Witness Wall Street's continuing drive against the nation's foremost cultural figure, Paul Robeson, against the dean of American scholars, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, and against William L. Patterson, outstanding fighter for civil rights and Negro equality.

Witness the intensified ideological offensive against the Negro people manifested in the new cult of idolizing the Confederate flag and the slave owner's way of life in books and movies.

Witness the new phenomena of

bombings in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas; the Groveland, Florida lynchings; and the heinous murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, Florida leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Side by side with the new fascist-like attacks upon the Negro people and their most militant leaders, has come new maneuvering on the Negro question by the Truman Administration and Social-Democratic agents of Wall Street. Examples of this demagoguery may be seen in Truman's recent veto of a jimcrow educational bill; in his fraudulent order setting up a committee on government contract compliance; in Senator Humphrey's announcement that hearings are to be held on Fair Employment Practice legislation.

Rivers of ink are being used by bourgeois and reformist writers in the publication of books, articles, and speeches on the Negro question. In addition, Hollywood has produced several "New Look" films on the question of Negro equality—the last of these being *The Well*, which seek to perpetuate in new ways the vicious cult of white supremacy. Not since the period of great debate on the issues of slavery immediately prior to the Civil War has there been such a discussion on the Negro question as is taking place today.

Among the latest of those to enter the arena of "race relations" is Thomas E. Dewey, who penned some words of dubious wisdom in a recent issue of *United States News*

and *World Report* on the tactics and strategy of winning "to our side" the colored peoples in the East.

#### DEVELOPMENTS IN NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT

How has this growing drive by the bourgeoisie against the Negro people's struggle for full citizenship affected the Negro liberation movement? The resolution of the 15th National Convention accurately noted the entrance of the Negro liberation movement into a new period signalized by the emergence of three new features: (a) "The direct military aggression of U.S. imperialism against the colored peoples of Asia; (b) the beginning of the merger of the Negro liberation struggles with the colonial world liberation struggles against Anglo-American imperialism; (c) and the new upsurge of the Negro masses in which the Negro workers play a more militant, organized and conscious role."

Confirmation of this estimate is to be seen in reports from the South and other parts of the nation which indicate a marked increase in the militancy, political maturity, and growth in national consciousness of the Negro people. This growth in national consciousness is demonstrated by many facts, among the most important of which are the following:

1. The struggles of Negro workers at Ford's in Detroit; in the farm equipment industry at Louisville; in the mines and mill works at Bir-

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mingham; in the electrical industry of Indiana; in the steel and packing industries in the Chicago area; and in hundreds of other instances in the South and in the basic industrial centers of the Midwest, have constituted a powerful force in the development of a class struggle policy in the labor movement. The successful organization of the National Negro Labor Council on October 25th in Cincinnati marked a high point in the maturing of the Negro workers and in their development as the organized and leading force in the battles for Negro equality.

2. *The right-to-vote movement among the Negro masses in the South has emerged as the major political development in Negro life today. This is so because this is the only all-class movement among the Negro masses whose roots and origins are in the Black Belt, composed of Negro industrial and agrarian workers, and which already begins to loom as a serious threat to the oppressors of the Negro nation at the seat of their oppression. There is no other aspect of the Negro liberation movement which has assumed the scope, militancy, and is potentially so important in terms of immediate struggle against U.S. imperialism.*

The right-to-vote movement began in the South in the early and mid-1930's. Stimulated by the drive of the CIO to organize the unorganized in the South and certain progressive policies of the Roosevelt Administra-

tion, this movement reached its first important high point during the period of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southern Negro Youth Congress. The first stage of this movement coincided with and derived strength from progressive CIO and New Deal groupings.

During the last several years, however, the right-to-vote movement and the battle for Negro representation in the South have developed under conditions of general political reaction in this country, and at a time when the CIO has already gone over in the South to the Dixiecrat position on the Negro question. In the midst of Ku Klux Klan reaction, police terror, the Dixiecrat movement, the brazen demagoguery of the Truman Administration and the sell-out by the top brass of the CIO on the Negro question, this movement has become Southwide in scope, including tens of thousands of Negro workers and sharecroppers. Already the movement has succeeded in breaking down the lilywhite primaries in a number of localities and has elected a number of Negroes to city councils in such cities as Winston-Salem and Fayetteville, North Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; and Nashville, Tennessee.

In preparation for the 1952 elections, leaders of this movement are now estimating the situation with the view of determining upon strategy and objectives for the period ahead. In Louisiana Negro candidates are running for Governor. In

the Carolinas serious consideration is being given to running Negro candidates either for the office of Governor or the U.S. Senate. An important issue is also being made of Negro candidates for the House of Representatives. Bearing in mind that the perspective, advanced by leaders of this movement several years ago, of a million Negro registered voters in the South has already been realized, it is clear that the masses of Negroes are moving into positions from which they will offer major political opposition to their national oppressors.

Significantly, but unfortunately, the dominant leadership of this movement continues to come from the Negro middle class; although there are exceptions in several areas where working-class leadership is the rule. This condition demonstrates, however, the fallacy of the position advanced by some comrades that the Negro bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie have, as a whole, spent their possibility for militant and progressive leadership.

The right-to-vote movement links all issues around which Negro masses in the Black Belt area are struggling, such as civil rights, educational equality, police brutality, the fight against rape frame-ups, and other questions.

An example of this is to be seen in the recently held Mississippi state conference of two hundred Negro leaders. Convening in Cleveland, Miss., under the leadership of Dr. Howard, head of Mt. Tabor Hos-

pital in Mound Bayou, the conference adopted a ten-point program on a variety of subjects, such as child welfare, the conditions of Negro workers, etc. At the very center of this program was the question of the right to vote.

Whether or not the present primacy of the right-to-vote movement will be maintained and its potentiality realized will depend, of course, upon a number of factors, the most important being the ability of the Party to play its correct vanguard role and the degree to which the leadership of this movement passes into the hands of the Negro workers.

#### STRUGGLE AGAINST NEGRO REFORMISTS

A third important aspect of developments in the Negro liberation movement which has emerged more clearly since the National Convention is the process of change in the status of Negro leadership in relation to the Negro masses and the new importance which must be attached to the struggle against Negro reformism.

A pronounced aspect of this process of change is the general decline in the influence among the masses of Negro reformist leadership arising from the latter's policy of servile support to the foreign and domestic policy of Wall Street. It was only a short time ago that A. Philip Randolph and Willard Townsend were speaking for tens of thousands of

Negro people. Today it can be said that the influence of these two reformists has reached an all-time low point. The efforts of the Truman Administration to replace these Uncle Toms with such individuals as Mrs. Edith Sampson, Ray Robinson, Dr. Channing Tobias, and Jackie Robinson, have not succeeded. It is not an exaggeration to say that never before in modern times has the leadership of the Negro reformists been under such critical review from the masses of Negro people as it is today.

It is precisely this pressure from the masses on the one hand, and capitulation to the war policies of the bourgeoisie, on the other, which is forcing Negro reformist leaders to resort to unparalleled demagoguery and a new-found zeal for action on the Negro question. Lester Granger, Roy Wilkins, Willard Townsend, A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Benjamin Mays, and a host of other such reformists are delivering addresses from one end of the country to the other, writing anti-Communist and pro-Wall Street imperialist books and articles; making trips abroad to propagandize the "American way of life"; organizing conferences; leading delegations, and working in every possible way to maintain their connections with organized Negro life.

Walter White's role in the struggles around Cicero and around the lynching of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Moore provides a classic illustration of the new dangers arising from re-

formist activities. In both of these cases, White flew to the scene, convened innumerable press conferences, issued statements, led a "delegation" to Washington, and called for an "investigation" by the Department of Justice. In the Moore case he was emboldened enough to call for strike action by the workers.

In these two cases, the primary role of Walter White, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier* (and their white Social-Democratic allies from the *New York Post*) has been one of diverting the anger of the Negro masses away from the Truman Administration and American imperialism.

As for White's demagogic use of the correct demand for work stoppages to protest the murder of the Harry Moores, his efforts have been limited to "negotiations" with individuals like Philip Murray, who has thus far refused even to place before the steel magnates the demand for an FEPC clause in the steel contract now up for settlement!

As a substitute for strike action the *Pittsburgh Courier* is calling for a day's pay to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the boycott of Florida fruits. These proposals, of course, should be supported; yet it should by no means be regarded as an adequate substitute for, or of equal importance with, strike action among the workers.

Negro reformism has gone all-out to save the Truman Administration and monopoly capital from the anger

of the American people, Negro and white, over the Cicero outrage and the Florida killings. It must be recognized that they are having considerable success and that reformism is today a greater danger than ever, despite the truth that there is a general weakening of the position of reformist leadership among the Negro people.

#### RISE OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST NEGRO LEADERSHIP

Side by side with the declining status of the reformists among the Negro masses, the stature and prestige of the Left-progressive and anti-imperialist sector of Negro leadership has grown considerably during the period under review. This is especially true of the such internationally renowned anti-imperialist spokesmen among the Negro people as Paul Robeson, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, William L. Patterson, and Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass.

In addition to these, note must be taken of the growth and influence of militant Negro trade unionists such as Ernest Thompson, Sam Parks, and William R. Hood, who today speak for tens of thousands of Negro workers in such basic industries as electrical, packing, auto, and waterfront. Through the organization of the National Negro Labor Council, it is now possible for the already considerable influence of Left-progressive Negro trade-union leadership to become a more important factor in the whole of Negro life.

In a special position of esteem in the eyes of the Negro masses is Comrade Ben Davis, whose work over the past years has contributed immeasurably toward making the Communist program and Negro Communist leadership important factors in the Negro liberation movement. Acclaimed by thousands, fearless, staunch, brilliant—Ben Davis has earned the special hatred of the U.S. imperialists, who have imprisoned him.

Is there anyone so naive as to believe that the selfless and historic leadership of Ben Davis is lost upon the Negro masses? Who can misunderstand the meaning of the fact that oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples the world over will see in the imprisonment of this proud son of the Negro people the true face of U.S. imperialism, and the unalterable determination of the Negro masses to be free?

The same high level of Negro leadership for which Comrade Ben Davis was imprisoned is represented by other Negro Communist spokesmen—Henry Winston, James Jackson, Claudia Jones, Pettis Perry, Claude Lightfoot, Howard Johnson, and Ben Careathers. Over the years these comrades have won the love and respect of the Negro people.

Recognizing the growth in prestige of the Communist, Left-progressive, and anti-imperialist sector of Negro leadership, the Truman Administration's policy aimed at destroying this leadership has been vigorously applied during the past year.



Therefore, a clearcut policy and program for the defense of Negro leadership, going far beyond the important, but limited, efforts thus far is necessary. This is an urgent and immediate task.

#### SUMMARY OF TRENDS SINCE THE CONVENTION

There are several principal conclusions that we must draw in regard to the main currents and trends among the Negro people during the period which has passed since the 15th National Convention of our Party. The following are among the most important:

1. Events have fully confirmed the correctness of the line on the Negro question adopted by the Convention, and an inseparable part of examining Negro work at this time on a national or district scale must be a further study of the Convention reports and decisions on the Negro question.

2. The contradictions between the imperialist war drive and the liberation struggles of the Negro masses have sharpened considerably since the time of the Convention, with the oppression of the Negro people becoming more than ever an international question. The Civil Rights Congress petition on genocide to the United Nations has broadened the international aspects of the Negro question.

3. The growth in national consciousness of the Negro people, militancy, and a higher level of political understanding noted in the Conven-

tion resolution has continued and mounted.

4. The contradictions between the militant moods of the Negro masses and their organizational expression are greater than ever, with the dominant forms continuing to be the traditionally established organizations. This is especially true of the NAACP, which continues to be the most important Negro people's organization, but where serious work in the Association has ceased in a number of Districts. The policies pursued by the Walter White leadership in top NAACP circles are far to the right of the Harry Moores and many other local Association leaders.

Clearly, the new level of militancy among the Negro people is not expressing itself in a mass break-away from the established institutions of Negro and American life. They are refusing to follow any course that will isolate them from the population generally.

5. A serious lag continues to exist between the wider influence among the masses achieved by Left-progressive leadership, on the one hand, and the limited organized base which this leadership possesses, on the other.

6. The imperialist offensive has brought a new wave of chauvinism in the country, seriously affecting the organized labor movement in general, and the Left-led trade unions in particular, seriously feeding nationalist currents among Negro workers.

7. The growing contradictions between the policies of the imperialists and the Negro people's movement, coupled with the effects upon the Negro masses of the colonial upsurge on a world scale, are objectively laying the basis for the development of a powerful and conscious anti-imperialist trend among the Negro masses.

To help influence such a development, more consideration must be given in the coming period to the question of unity movements and collaboration between Negroes in the United States, the oppressed Negro, Indian, and Mexican peoples in other sections of the hemisphere, and the peoples of Africa.

8. The Truman Administration is now faced with new and more serious obstacles to its foreign and domestic program as a result of developments among the Negro people during the past thirteen months. These developments constitute a powerful source of strength to the camp of peace and democracy. However, only an insignificant fraction of the potential strength of the Negro people's movement is being brought to the support of the peace camp.

#### A POSITIVE ESTIMATION OF NEGRO WORK

Since the adjournment of the 15th National Convention, our Party has passed through its greatest and most important test. With our national chairman ill, our general secretary, the chairman of the Negro Commis-

sion, and other leading comrades in jail, with Comrades Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones, and others under arrest, our Party has proceeded to reorganize itself with the view of successfully playing its vanguard role in the mighty battles of the American working class and people in 1952 that are already unfolding.

It is against this background that a positive estimation must be made of the work of the Party in the Negro field during the past period. The work of the Party on the Negro question within the labor movement; against the Stuyvesant Town evictions; in defense of Negro leadership; in the struggles for Negro political representation; against white chauvinism; in the fight against police terror; for redress in the Cicero outrage; for the apprehension and electrocution of the murderers of the Harry Moores—this work has proceeded, despite all obstacles, errors, and weaknesses.

What, then, are some of the positive aspects of the work during the period under review? Among the most important are the following:

1. Throughout this period the Party on a national and district scale has continued to give serious attention to Negro work. The articles and leadership of Comrade Perry have been outstanding. In a number of Districts the Negro Commissions continue to function.

2. This period has witnessed a number of important struggles on the Negro question in several major unions, with the Party playing a key

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role. The most outstanding of these has been in the electrical industry, culminating in some important victories in the U.E. convention. Under extreme difficulties the Party played an important role in helping organize campaigns for jobs and upgrading for Negroes in a number of basic industries. Party and Left-progressive forces gave support to the organization of the Cincinnati Convention of the Negro Labor Council. Although we have suffered serious setbacks on the Negro question in some unions, and especially in the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America, the line of the Party is clear, and our aim is to reverse these defeats in the quickest possible time.

3. The Party during this period has played no small role in a number of vital civil rights struggles, such as those around Willie McGee, Lieutenant Gilbert, the Martinsville Seven, and the Trenton Six. Many local struggles against police brutality and the frame-up of Negro soldiers are being waged under the leadership of the Party in almost every District.

4. The past period has witnessed significant steps toward the integration of Negro cadres in leading Party positions. This pattern is being duplicated to some degree in a number of progressive-led mass organizations.

5. The Party has taken a series of steps to strengthen its work on a national scale in the Negro field, as well as in a number of Districts,

with particular attention being paid to the South.

#### NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF OUR NEGRO WORK

There are a number of important weaknesses in relation to the work of the Party on the Negro question. There are, in addition, several very basic negative factors that are seriously impeding the developing of the Negro liberation movement. In the period ahead the Party must tackle these questions on both a national and state scale. Without this, it will be impossible for the Party to fulfill its correct vanguard role in the movement for Negro equality. Moreover, it will be impossible for the full potential strength of the Negro people's movement to be brought to bear in support of the camp of peace and democracy.

A number of these weaknesses were set forth in the report of Comrade Davis to the Convention; others were contained in the resolution; and others in the reports of Comrades Jackson and Perry. The main problems are:

1. A serious weakening of the struggle against white chauvinism, and a failure to come to grips with Negro nationalism.

2. A failure to adhere to a national policy of strict concentration in Negro work. We must proceed on all questions relating to Negro work from the following three-point concentration concept, listed in the order of their importance: Black Belt,

Midwest (Chicago-Detroit-Cleveland), and Harlem.

3. Continuing weaknesses in regard to the united front and our coalition concept as regards Negro work. A main reason for the enormous gulf which continues to exist between the militant moods of the Negro people and their organized participation in the struggles for peace, is our failure to find the forms and levels of struggle around which broad unity movements can be built.

4. Serious Right opportunist and "Left" sectarian errors are creeping into our work, especially as it relates to the mass organizations such as NAACP, Elks, churches. The decline in NAACP work during the period under review has been noted. This we must take steps to correct in the period ahead.

5. Serious ideological problems are arising among some Negro Marxists who see the Negro people's movement as having priority over the historical struggle of the American working class for socialism. This is a fundamental departure from the teachings of Lenin on the national question and must be resolutely combated.

6. New problems have arisen in relation to the role of the Party in Negro communities and the integration of Negro comrades into the general work of the Party. In a number of areas there are danger

signs of the liquidation of the Party in Negro communities, side by side with a dangerous decline of Negro membership.

#### PROGRAM AND PERSPECTIVES

On a national scale and in every District, a clearcut program of work on the Negro question must be hammered out. This program must take into consideration the following main tasks: (a) The fight for peace; (b) the 1952 elections; (c) the struggle for jobs, upgrading, and building the National Negro Labor Council and the campaign for a million signatures for a national FEPC; (d) building of a movement in defense of Negro leadership, and for the defense of the Party among the Negro people; (e) the organization of the agrarian workers in the Black Belt; (f) full support to the Civil Rights Congress' U.N. petition on genocide; (g) renewed attention to work in the NAACP and to its National Civil Rights Mobilization scheduled to convene in Washington Feb. 17-18; (h) full support to the progressive paper *Freedom*; (i) full support to the movement for jobs for Negro cultural workers; (j) a concerted effort to bring to the Party membership our basic theoretical position on the Negro question; and (k) a renewed struggle against white chauvinism.

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# Wall Street's War Designs in Greece

By N. Papadopolous

THE KOREAN ADVENTURE in aggression has turned out a fiasco for the men of Wall Street. They have been unable to arouse mass support for this unjust war. They have failed in their effort at conquest. In the face of this reality and the intensified antagonisms besetting the imperialist camp, they have been forced into making a pretense of negotiating for a truce.

While they realize that their foray in Korea may have to halt, they are like the crooked gambler who keeps a few cards up his sleeve to use when the opportunity is ripe. These cards, for the military, are hotspots like Germany, Iran, Egypt, and most decidedly the Balkans.

There is imminent danger of a new and even more deadly Korea in the area involving Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and the People's Democracies, Bulgaria and Albania. The entire Balkan region has served for decades as the powder keg of predatory imperialism, and central to this region is Greece. Early in 1949, John Nuveen, head of the Marshall Plan mission in Greece, expressed that country's key position in a sentence, typically cast in Goebbels-like language: "One can say definitely that

Greece constitutes the access to the Balkans, that is to say, to the countries behind the iron curtain."\*

## GREECE: A CENTER OF WAR DANGER

There is at hand today voluminous documentary evidence of the war danger stemming from Greece in actual statements by Athens leaders, their newspapers, and other similar sources.

Several angles of this question may be examined. First, who is preparing to attack whom? Second, what military and political preparations have been made so far for this attack? Third, when will this attack take place?

As to the first question: Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey are preparing to invade, dismember and destroy Albania and Bulgaria. They are making the preparations under the aegis of U.S. imperialism. The idea for the invasion of Albania dates back to before 1947. We shall cite only a few of the more recent items of evidence.

The official Athens radio, in Au-

\* Quoted in the Greek daily paper, *Eleftheria*, February 27, 1949, and cited by Olive Sutton in *Political Affairs*, November, 1949, p. 70.

gust, 1950, broadcast a talk under the title, "Our Neighbors and the Enemy Bridgehead of Albania," demanding a new frontier at the expense of Albania. In November, 1950, the Athens radio again declared that "Northern Epirus," which is fascism's name for southern Albania, "was Greek and must be united to Greece." The broadcast concluded with the statement that the 28th of October, 1951, Greece's national holiday, must find Northern Epirus united with the "Motherland."

In February, 1951, the premier of Greece offered a toast in public which was quoted in the Greek newspapers as follows: "I drink to your health and hope that the next time I raise my glass it will coincide with the liberation of Northern Epirus, a cause which I will never abandon." *The New Statesman and Nation*, in London, commented on such statements by saying that "Such pseudo-strategic ravings may perhaps raise a smile; what must be taken seriously, however, is the thought now manifest in Athens that the time may soon be ripe for the much-meditated invasion of Albania."

Of course, Greece is not the only government with such designs. We could give ample quotations from the Yugoslav papers and leaders avowing the same intentions. And that these two governments are not alone can be proven, too. Associated Press in this country reported in April, 1951, that at the beginning of the year, 3,000 anti-Communist Al-

banians, Turks, Greeks and Yugoslavs filtered across Albanian land and sea frontiers and made their way to Tirana, Albania's capital. They contacted elements hostile to the government and planned to overthrow the government at a given time.

The *Baltimore Sun* ran a similar story revealing that the United States, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece are conducting clandestine operations with emigré Albanians. It further stated that the United States was said to have a swarm of agents culling intelligence reports.

Free Greece radio had reported these events four months earlier when it broadcast that the Americans were training and equipping, in native uniforms, 1,000 Albanian fascists to be used for sabotage when the Greek invasion of Albania started and also as provocateurs to give a pretext for aggression against Albania.

The official name of these invasion plans is "Operation Lightning." The Greek General Staff offers the following arguments in support of the plan to conquer Albania: more air and naval bases would be available to the Anglo-American forces; ten Greek and Yugoslav divisions would be released for employment against Bulgaria; Turkey would be released from the need to hold forces in Thrace and could concentrate on the Dardenelles and Caucasus; the operation would have a great "moral" effect in Europe where American prestige has fallen, and would raise the morale of the Greek Army, unite

the country, make possible the final purges of progressive elements whose peace policy greatly influences the people, and thus provide the opportunity to "clean up the rear." Athens foreign ministry circles unofficially revealed several months ago that General Eisenhower had approved the plan, since it would "assist his general plans in Europe."

We have stressed the immediate danger to Albania without intending to minimize the similar position of Bulgaria. The imminence of such an attack on that country could be amply documented. General Kitrilakis, Deputy Chief of the Greek General Staff, visited Ankara in January, 1951, and presented the Turks with a definite plan for a Greek-Yugoslav-Turkish alliance. According to his plan, the Turks would assemble their land forces in Thrace, together with Greek forces, to form a strong spearhead against Bulgaria, supported by the U.S. air forces based on Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes.

Greece and Turkey are now to be included in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Although this inclusion was finally made official at the Ottawa conference of NATO in October, the idea for such a move began early in 1950. From the beginning of 1951 the United States began its pressure campaign to get agreement from the other NATO nations. The United States had difficulty in convincing some of the smaller nations that Greece and Turkey, without frontiers on the North Atlantic,

should be included in a North Atlantic alliance.

Greece's Premier seemed the most anxious to tie his country to the Atlantic war pact. In February, 1951, the Greek press reported him as complaining: "The Greek government feels that western planning is moving too slowly. We believe we should not only be prepared to defend our territory, but to attack. We could march on the Danube and run a spearhead through the enemy flanks which could cripple any Russian attempt to drive to the English channel." Then he concluded: "With the assistance of Britain and the U.S.A., we shall transform Greece into a springboard from which a blow will be delivered against the heart of the Soviet Union."

The entrance of Greece and Turkey into the Atlantic Pact is taking place simultaneously with the realization of a military alliance between Greece and Yugoslavia, thus rounding out the war plans for that area. In a recent interview in the *London Observer*, Tito proposed an open military alliance between the three nations, and a reactionary Greek paper commented that the "defense of Greece and Turkey is a primary condition for the defense of Yugoslavia."

Greece has become a veritable floating aircraft carrier. So far, 13 major air bases have been completed, and military highways, especially around the frontiers of Albania and Bulgaria, have been rushed to comple-

tion. The *New York Times* estimates that Tito has 700,000 troops available. Greece has offered 500,000 and now claims to be ready to supply 700,000 men.

Over the past year, innumerable discussions, meetings and conferences have occurred among the military staffs of Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Great Britain and the United States. In addition, all kinds of naval, air and land maneuvers have taken place involving the forces of these five nations, separately and jointly. It is interesting to note that the maneuvers often take the form of invasion tactics. At the present moment, both the United States and Great Britain have tremendous fleets in that area.

For instance, Truman ordered the Sixth Task Fleet, stationed in the Mediterranean, to support the North Atlantic command of General Eisenhower. The fleet is under the command of Admiral Carney who participated in many of the military conferences we mentioned. The *New York Times* reported that this fleet has been expanded until it is one of the most powerful naval forces the United States has and includes 70 ships, among which are two of the world's largest aircraft carriers.

The United Nations, on November 23, 1951, set up a new Balkan Sub-Committee of the Peace Observation Commission. One of the primary purposes of the new plan is to make it easy for Tito to collaborate with the sub-committee. When the original UNSCOB was first formed three

years ago Tito had denounced it as an instrument of Anglo-American imperialism. Now the path has been cleared for him to collaborate with the new committee. The new committee's members are those regarded as completely trustworthy by the State Department.

The Greek News Agency in London reported that the plan is that, as soon as the sixty days for winding up UNSCOB have passed, the new sub-committee will be sent to Greece. Shortly afterwards, an increase of incidents provoked by Greco-Yugoslav forces along the frontiers of Albania and Bulgaria can be expected. Thereafter, Tito may well invite the sub-committee to enter Yugoslav territory, ostensibly to "investigate," but actually to create the necessary warlike atmosphere. The so-called investigation will, of course, be followed by a report to the UN blaming the People's Democracies for the incidents. The American majority at the UN will thereupon clamor that Tito was right when he was "complaining" at the present session against "threats" from the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria, and the way will thus be cleared for the sending of troops to the Balkans, to fight against the "provocations."

Albania registered with the UN documented accounts of invasions of her land and air territory for the past five years. In fact, she accounted for 21 armed provocations in the month of August, 1951, and 19 in the first three weeks of September.

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However, her appeals go unheard and unanswered. On the other hand, Yugoslavia and Greece fabricate incidents, and there is much attention at the UN and in the press when they allege that tiny Albania is provoking them into a war.

#### CONDITIONS IN GREECE TODAY

Here in the United States, the people are feeling the cost of these war preparations in their standard of living and loss of freedoms. In the countries which the United States is turning into war bases, conditions have reached an almost unbelievable crisis.

Greece spends a colossal proportion of her budget for military purposes. Fifty-six percent of the budget of this starving nation goes for military purposes. As for America's so-called aid to Greece, the basic facts are: Anglo-American aid to Greece since November, 1944, when Britain liberated Greece from the Greeks, totals \$3,789,000,000. Of this sum over seventy-eight percent was used for military purposes.

If we take 1938 as the base year, and conditions were bad then, the cost of living has risen 441 times! In the past year alone, basic consumer goods have gone up 50 percent. On the other hand, wages are one-half what they were in 1938! The number of unemployed is enormous. Today there are nearly 300,000 unemployed—in a total population of seven and a half million! Many sections of Greece have already ex-

perienced severe bread and water famines. The misery is felt in every phase of life. Less than one-third of Greece's children have schools to attend. There are 80 to 120 children in a classroom that has no desks or books. In the Athens City Orphanage, 1,156 babies, actually half of the inmates, died of starvation and bad treatment in the past eight years.

We could go on and on, citing examples of what has happened to Greece's economy as a result of the war plans of the American occupationists and their lackeys in the Greek government.

Let us cite a very brief instance of how the American occupation has destroyed Greece's independence as well as her economy.

On November 16, 1951, the Minister of Public Works was asked in the Greek Parliament to state the reasons for the delay in granting credits for the construction of certain public works. He replied that the delay was "due to the fact that the credits are being vetoed by the American Mission in Greece. Members of the Mission have come to my Ministry as dictators and I have ceased to exist as Minister." Of course, Premier Plastiras hastened to apologize to the American Ambassador for this statement.

Under a 1948 law, not only all members of the United States Mission and their families were granted extra-territorial rights, but the same privileges were accorded to all U.S. firms operating in Greece.

All of Greece's natural resources are now under the control of American and British interests. The American Mission has decided that Greece is not to be industrialized, although industry is a primary need for the restoration of the Greek economy. But Wall Street wants Greece's raw materials and cheap labor power. As a matter of fact, the United States is now exporting olive oil to Greece, and the olive growers in Greece are starving!

Part of the process of preparing for war, as we know, is the elimination of resistance to war. In Greece, this process of subduing the people's aspirations for freedom and peace takes a most brutal form.

The free trade unions of Greece were long ago abolished and replaced with government-controlled organizations and government-appointed leaders. Freedom of the press has been abolished. Democratic people's organizations have been outlawed.\* Thousands of people's fighters have been thrown onto the islands of exile. And there are nearly 2,000 Greek democrats under sentence of death in Greek jails at the present time and nearly 30,000 political prisoners. The Athens regime has made every attempt to hide the full story of its brutality. Military courts and emer-

\* As we go to press we learn that the situation in Greece has become aggravated and signs accumulate pointing to an early effort to establish an open fascist dictatorship under Generalissimo Papagos. Thus, toward the end of January, 1952, the Greek government closed down the two remaining democratic newspapers, *Demokratiki*, and *Frousi Tis Irinis*, and arrested the leadership of the United Democratic Left.—Ed.

gency laws are hanging like swords of Damocles over the heads of the people.

But, despite all terroristic measures, the regime has been unable to silence the voice of the Greek people. General strikes have taken place; demonstrations have occurred with slogans of Union of Cyprus with Greece in which 5,000 students participated; thousands of signatures have been collected for a Five-Power peace pact.

### THE RECENT ELECTIONS

The national election of September 9, 1951, showed very clearly the advance of the people's struggles for amnesty, peace and democracy. The election was conducted according to the recent electoral system of France, which, as is known, favors the conservative parties. The results of the elections show the following:

The Greek Rally (Papagos)	114 seats
E.P.E.K. (Plastiras)	74 seats
Liberals (Venizelos)	57 seats
E.D.A. (United Democratic Left)	10 seats

Populists (Tsaldaris)	2 seats
Agrarians (Right-wing)	1 seat

Thus, while the parties of Plastiras (now Premier) and Venizelos, with 131 seats, together could muster a small majority, Papagos' Greek Rally failed to secure a working majority. These results constitute a significant victory for the people, and a defeat for the American-backed Papagos, who received only 34 percent of the vote.

The people's victory would have been more impressive, if the basic conditions for freedom of expression were secure and all citizens were allowed to vote. Aside from the large urban centers, where the terror was not so open, the elections in the rest of the country took place under the brutality of Papagos' armed bands, of the army and of the police. This is proved by the election results. In Athens for instance, the United Democratic Left received 20 percent of the votes; in Pireaus and Corfu, 22 percent; in Salonica, Larissa and Lesbos, 28 percent.

As to the denial of the right to vote, we have these facts: 100,000 civil servants were actually deprived of their vote because they were told they could vote only in their home towns (away from Athens); another 200,000 peasant refugees did not have the right to vote in the cities where they live, since they were forcibly evacuated from their villages during the period of the civil war. 30,000 political prisoners in exile did not have the right to vote, although they were allowed to vote in 1950. Thus, 300,000 people could not vote, which means that E.D.A. was deprived of these votes, since the overwhelming majority of the voters excluded would have voted for the United Democratic Left.

This great victory of the people so frightened the American imperialists that right after the elections they started a new wave of terror against the people's movements. First, they

cancelled the election of the ten Members of Parliament who were in exile or in prison when elected. Two were sentenced to death—the seamen's leader, Tony Ambatielos, and Manthos Tsimboukides, youth leader (world protests have prevented, so far, their executions); while a third, Manolis Glezos, who tore down the Nazi swastika from the Acropolis, was sentenced to jail for ten years. Then mass trials were started. One, taking place in Athens, saw 93 brought to trial at one time! In marathon sessions, twelve were sentenced to death, five among them women, one of whom gave birth while in jail. The attacks were launched in the big cities, with the rounding up of people who had spoken out for peace. All these maneuvers were used in order to provide grounds for the dissolution of the E.D.A. coalition.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF AMERICANS

Despite the fact that the Greek people voted for general amnesty, peace and democracy, and despite the fact that Premier Plastiras pledged to a huge pre-election rally in Athens that he would grant general amnesty within three months of his election, the people are still denied their mandate. The United Nations has received various memoranda in behalf of the Greek people and their organizations asking that the terror and executions be halted and that free elections and a general

amnesty be declared. The asserted aim of the United Nations to defend the independence of member nations has been ignored in the case of Greece. The present state of Greece is a direct violation of the principle of national independence. Greece, economically, politically and militarily, is under the direct control of a foreign power, namely, the United States of America, which assumed this control of Greek affairs following the direct and open intervention in Greece by the government of Great Britain.

The American people and especially the American working class, have a key responsibility in connection with what is going on in Greece. It is the government in Washington which controls all events there, and it is our moral responsibility to do something about this. Key demands, before peace, justice and democracy can come to Greece, are for a general amnesty to be decreed for all exiles and political prisoners; death sentences to be commuted immediately; all special courts martial to be abolished; and all relief organizations to

be guaranteed the right to assist all destitute persons, including political prisoners and their families.

Here is yet another urgent reason for the widest possible support of the campaign for a Five Power Pact. Greece is a main strategic area in the war plans of U.S. imperialism, and the crucifixion of its people is preparatory to securing that area as a base for aggressive military action. The American working class and its allies—all democratic-minded Americans—should demand that all foreign control be removed from Greece and that the Greek people settle their own affairs and choose their own way of life, freely and peacefully.

The truth about Greece must be carried to the American people so that they will be moved to insist that the United States government give up its stranglehold on the Greek people. If the American people demand that their government cease bulwarking the terroristic, reactionary Greek regime, freedom will come to Greece and a center of the war danger will be eliminated.

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# On Chauvinism Against The Mexican-American People

By J. D.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN PEOPLE constitute an oppressed national minority. The main ideological weapon which American imperialism has used to maintain the Mexican people in the United States as an oppressed national minority has been chauvinism.

What is chauvinism? "It is the term applied to those theories and practices which are based on the lie that any nation or people is superior to others, and therefore has the right to dominate and oppress other nations or peoples." (Education Outline on "Struggle Against White Chauvinism," p. 5.)

The chauvinism practiced against the Mexican people is referred to by themselves most commonly as "Anglo-chauvinism," and non-Mexican white Americans are referred to as "Anglos"; I shall in this paper use the same terms. This chauvinism directed at the Mexican people seeks to focus and highlight the forcible imposition of the culture of the conqueror, expressed mainly in the denial of the use of the Spanish language in all public life and the en-

forced use of English. U.S. imperialism has vilified the Mexican people as "lazy," "irresponsible," "incapable of learning," and generally "inferior."

This chauvinist ideology has been dinned into the minds of the Anglo majority ever since the Mexican-American War. U.S. imperialism has fought ruthlessly to deny the Mexican people access to education. The whip of special economic oppression over the Mexican people drives the Mexican children out of the school and into the agricultural fields to work. Imperialism, at the same time, places the blame for lack of education on the Mexican people and propagates the lie of "inferiority." In spite of their state of oppression, the Mexican people have fought for education and have learned much from their struggles for equality.

As part of U.S. imperialism's subjugation of the Mexican people, an assault was developed against all things Mexican, to the extent that the term "Mexican" itself was turned into a derogatory word. A theory for abandoning this term was propounded by so-called "friends" of the

Mexican people and taken up by certain assimilationist exponents among the Mexican people. And so, we have the Social-Democratic reformist elements referring to the Mexican people in Texas as "Latin-Americans"; in New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona as "Spanish-Americans"; and in California as "Spanish-Californians." Of course, the discrimination remains the same.

But, the Mexican people are fighting for their "right to be," as a young Mexican woman protested recently in a letter to the *Denver Post*. This right is very dear to the dignity and pride of the Mexican people.

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Chauvinist theories and practices are indispensable to U.S. imperialism as a fundamental ideological instrument in its drive toward war and fascism. The capitalist class of the United States intensifies the systematic use of chauvinism as it moves toward domination of the world by war and in its attempt to put the fascist noose around the necks of all the people in our country.

Examples of this systematic chauvinism can be seen in the slanderous songs Peggy Lee sings, in the caricatures of the Mexican people as expressed in the Judy Canova "Pedro" show, in the stereotypes that make fun of the Mexican people's difficulty in expressing themselves in English. But will anyone, save the chauvinist, say that education takes place only in the English language?

The Mexican people are oppressed

by imperialism in a special way. The Mexican worker is oppressed as a worker and as a member of a national minority. The Mexican petty bourgeois is oppressed by U.S. imperialism, together with other petty bourgeois, but, in addition, he is oppressed as a member of an oppressed national minority. Mexican doctors, lawyers, businessmen, teachers, etc., are confined to the impoverished Mexican communities.

The constant pressure of chauvinist ideology is bound to affect the American working class, and will penetrate even our Party membership, unless a vigilant struggle is put up against it. Because of a lack of vigilance, this slanderous ideology has, indeed, seeped into the minds of our Party cadre in "drops," with resulting chauvinist attitudes and moods.

This added oppression of the Mexican people necessitates a special approach in methods of work on the part of our Party forces in the fight for equal rights. Our job in the Party is to help break down these barriers, not only in progressive and bourgeois-led mass organizations, but also, and in the first place, within the Party, so as to secure the utmost freedom of participation of our Mexican cadres.

Failure to understand and apply this special approach results in a double standard being placed upon Mexican cadres. It results in expecting utmost perfection, in being excessively critical, in other words, in applying a formally equal approach

to an actually unequal situation which material facts present. This is sheer idealism, and is the complete opposite of our materialist outlook.

One of the most disturbing factors, however, sometimes found in our work, is the vulgarization of the term "special approach." There are some Anglo comrades who decide they will be "overly nice" and use sweet words to the Mexican comrades. But such sweet words lack genuine sugar. Some Anglo comrades believe they should not criticize Mexican comrades. Others believe they should not struggle jointly with them for the line of the Party—for the very things we have in common and to which we jointly dedicate our lives! Certain Anglo comrades believe they should do things "for" our Mexican comrades. Still others believe they should not "burden" Mexican comrades with discussions of complex problems, etc.

These practices are deviations in the direction of patronism. They arise in the attempt to apply a special approach without understanding the real basis of this special approach. In fact, they are expressions of chauvinism, because they are based on the false premise that the Mexican people are "inferior," and not on the fact that barriers and obstacles have been placed in the way of this oppressed minority.

We see, then, that there are two main manifestations of chauvinism, both interrelated and both based on a lack of understanding of the special

oppression of the Mexican people. In the one instance, there is no attempt at a special approach; in the other, the special approach is attempted without a correct understanding. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many comrades are guilty of both manifestations in the process of their work. For example, I recall an instance of a Mexican person working for a progressive organization where some Anglo progressives were critical of her work. They did not openly discuss their criticisms with her, but did so behind her back among themselves and sometimes sneaked up and did some of her work for her.

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Next, I should like to deal with the attitude of superiority which is often displayed very subtly and is therefore difficult to pin down. This is expressed in a display of arrogance in talk, unnatural comradeship, lack of social relationships or warmth, and generally the lack of an atmosphere of comfort and freedom.

Thus, to cite an actual example: a few Anglo comrades undertook to help a Mexican comrade in a study group to read. This was very good. What was chauvinistic in it, however, was that the Mexican comrade felt that they were teaching her in a way that conveyed their feeling of superiority. This was not overtly expressed, of course, but evidently these comrades did not make her feel that

the teaching was done in a modest, comradely fashion, and this embarrassed her.

Therefore, a special approach means to remove these attitudes of superiority. It means to give special aid that will enable Mexican comrades to develop fully, to advance into leadership, and to make their best contributions to the overall struggle.

Advancing Mexican cadre to leadership posts is not where we stop. Special aid must be given to enable them to express their quality of political leadership. This must be a continuous process. We have seen instances where Mexican comrades, having been advanced into leadership, are then bypassed and, not participating fully, became discouraged from continuing in such posts. We have also witnessed certain Anglo comrades who use "subtle" ways of resisting the leadership of Mexican leaders. Or sometimes the opposite occurs, the placing of full responsibility on Mexican leaders without the proper assumption of responsibility on the part of these Anglo comrades.

Many Mexican comrades have come forward into positions of leadership in the past period, and are making good contributions. This has come about because of our previous struggle against chauvinism. But we have fallen down seriously on this in the recent period by not consistently pursuing this struggle. The struggle against chauvinism must be

a day-to-day, undeviating part of our work.

The presence of chauvinism in the Party creates difficult conditions of work for our Mexican cadres. The persistence of chauvinism also leads to serious anti-Party expressions and sentiments developing among some Mexican comrades.

Chauvinism within the Party can very often cultivate the germ of anti-Party sentiments as a way of fighting back—a most dangerous, ruinous and distorted defense against chauvinism! This happens to some of our best Mexican cadres. Chauvinism feeds the deviation toward bourgeois nationalism, which is alien and anti-Party, and which reflects the attempt to undermine the vanguard of the international working class, the Party. The Party's solution to the national question is that it can be solved *only* in conjunction with the interests of the proletariat and side by side with it.

What takes place when the Anglo comrades do not fight chauvinism, is that the brunt of the struggle against chauvinism falls upon the Mexican comrades, thereby feeding bourgeois nationalism, and increasing chauvinism on the part of the Anglo comrades. On the other hand, if the Anglo comrades busy themselves one-sidedly fighting against nationalism, what results is an increase in chauvinism and an increase in bourgeois nationalism.

It is the special duty of Anglo comrades to come forward as the

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leaders in the fight against chauvinism. For it is they who are part of the oppressing national majority and as such they enjoy certain special national privileges denied the Mexican national minority. This means that Anglo comrades must not try to duck criticism and self-criticism concerning chauvinism, because they will not learn from their mistakes and will do inestimable harm to the Party and the struggle for peace and democracy. There has not been enough self-vigilance and collective vigilance on this question by Anglo comrades. Too many times self-criticism comes about only when Mexican comrades raise the question. The Party has full confidence that Anglo comrades can meet this task successfully. In our first discussion on Anglo-chauvinism many Anglo comrades made real headway and proved they could rise to the task.

*Some tasks that follow from this are:*

1. The Anglo comrades must undertake concrete struggles for the rights of the Mexican people, *and must carry these struggles into their own neighborhoods*. Such struggles must include the fight for jobs in all categories of employment, equal pay for equal work, improvements in working conditions, healthful housing conditions, full educational opportunities, and the elimination of all manifestations of chauvinism, segregation, and discrimination.

2. All comrades should consciously strive to equip themselves adequately

with Marxist-Leninist understanding of the national question and its specific application to the Mexican question.

3. All comrades should strive to remove the language barrier by enabling Mexican comrades to express themselves in Spanish when they so desire.

4. All comrades should assist in the bringing forth of Mexican culture, history, etc., so as to enable the Mexican people to give fullest expression to their heritage. They should help seek material useful in bringing this forward.

5. All comrades should help take measures assisting the political education of Mexican comrades through study groups, reading circles, political discussions, etc.

6. All comrades should take the responsibility of helping to advance our Mexican cadres into leadership, not in a mechanical way, but in a mature political manner.

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How can we become sharp and vigilant on this question? It is no mystery. Chauvinism can be detected and overcome to the extent that we struggle to understand the Mexican question as a national question, to understand the oppression this national minority suffers every minute of every day; to understand imperialism's implementation of chauvinist ideology in its drive to launch wars of plunder and tighten its exploitation of the whole international working class, its allies, the Negro

people, the farmers, and colonial peoples outside our country. To the degree that we understand these questions, shall we be able to cleanse our Party of chauvinism, advance our entire work and heighten the political quality of all of our Party cadres.

At the same time, we must heighten the struggle against white chauvinism in relation to the Negro people. Too many times we separate the struggle against white chauvinism from the struggle against Anglo-chauvinism. The struggle must be carried out jointly on both fronts, simultaneously strengthening both. Conversely, the lack of struggle on one front weakens the other. This struggle must be conducted with the understanding that some chauvinist acts and attitudes manifest themselves differently in each, depending on the degree and specific way of oppression, since one constitutes a nation and the other a national minority. Only in this way can we strengthen and achieve Negro-Mexican-Anglo unity in the mass work of the Party.

Today, when U.S. imperialism is violently intervening in the affairs of other countries and is seeking to rivet the yoke on the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa, the counterpart of this aggression is vividly seen in its increased oppression of the Negro people at home.

Genocidal assaults upon the Negro people multiply on every hand. The recent shocking bomb-murder of Mr.

and Mrs. Harry T. Moore of Florida should move every decent American into organized protest.

If the working class and its allies are to prevent war and defeat the drive toward fascism, far more serious efforts must be put forth to mobilize the people of our country against such bestial acts. Together with this struggle must take place a concrete fight for jobs for the Negro people in industry and other fields and against all forms of discrimination.

On this basis, the Mexican national minority can play its role in uniting with the Negro people and its allies around specific issues. For the imperialist bourgeoisie has not overlooked the pernicious effect that the poison of white chauvinism has over other groups. This means that while we fight against chauvinism in relation to the Mexican people, we must at the same time struggle for the Mexican people to play a role in the battle against white chauvinism.

Finally, the three to five million Mexican people in the United States constitute an important asset in the struggle for peace and democracy, and are indispensable to the achievement of the strategic objective of the American working class—the abolition of capitalism and the achievement of socialism. The struggle against chauvinism is an indispensable prerequisite toward winning the peace-loving, fascist-hating Mexican masses.

## Book Review

### THE NEGRO PEOPLE SPEAK

By Samuel Robinson

*A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States.* Edited by Herbert Aptheker, with a preface by W. E. B. Du Bois. The Citadel Press, New York, 1951, 962 pp., \$7.50.

HERE IS that rarity—a truly great book. Here is the documented truth of an epic of our land: the long march of the Negro people toward freedom, fighting all the way.

In the vast labor of collecting and editing the hundreds of documents assembled in this work, Comrade Aptheker aimed to present the Negro people's story in the words of the people themselves. He achieved that aim, and his new work is, as Dr. Du Bois points out, a milestone on the path of Negro historiography that was first blazed by Negro pioneer scholars.

No collection of documents, of course, can be the history of the Negro people; nor can any single book contain the documentary record of Negro expression. (The *selected* writings and speeches of a single figure—Frederick Douglass—require several large volumes.) In no sense does it minimize the significance of this work to stress what may not be obvious to all: that this is a documentary history. And indeed, it is a tribute to the editor's skill that, from the mass of material at hand and to be unearthed in this field, he has presented a work that outlines the

typical expression of Negro thought from colonial days to the beginnings of the twentieth century.

Another prefatory statement is in order: it is necessary to understand and appreciate the singular meaning of a work in which the Negro's story is told by the Negro himself. Such a work directly challenges a fundamental concept of "white supremacy": that nothing can be learned from the Negro people; that anything the Negro people say ought to be ignored. Thus, in a recent book about "Negro personality," two white bourgeois "scholars" dismiss as meaningless the whole record of Negro protest literature: "in it we would only expect to find an appeal to the white man's sense of justice and fair play. . . ."\* Truly, none are so blind as those that will not see!

Unfortunately, there are even some writers of the Left who do not fully understand the special significance of a work in which the Negro people speak for themselves. For example, in the course of a warmly favorable review of the *Documentary History*, published in *Jewish Life*, February, 1952, Morris U. Schappes writes:

"This is a documentary history of, and written exclusively by, the Negro people. This self-imposed restriction, that all the documents must be not merely

\* *The Mark of Oppression*, by Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, New York, 1951.

about but by Negroes, was perhaps a needless strait-jacket; in many instances supplementation of this excellent material with properly chosen documents from white sources might have both enriched and clarified the picture."

Apparently Schappes misses the main idea of the book. The root of his error is a failure to grasp the *national character* of the Negro people in our country. If this were, let us say, a documentary history of the Irish people, I doubt if the omission of English spokesmen would be questioned: an Irish anthology should be Irish, of course, and who would call it a "strait-jacket"?

And it is simply not true that "white sources" are needed to enrich and clarify the picture which Aptheker sought to present: how the Negro people felt, what they saw, what they wanted. Nor did Schappes help his case by failing to cite *what* sources might have enriched *what* paucity and clarified *what* confusion.

Then, too, it is difficult to understand how anyone can say that all of these documents are *about* Negroes: such a "restriction" could not be fashioned from the materials of historic Negro expression, and the evidence of that fact is abundantly proved in this collection.

Finally, any trepidations about the wisdom of the Negro people speaking for themselves are brilliantly answered by several of the documents in this work. Here is Frederick Douglass in the first issue of his paper, *The North Star*, explaining why a *Negro* abolitionist journal was necessary. Not from any "unworthy distrust or ungrateful want of appreciation of the zeal, integrity, or ability of the noble band of white laborers in this department of our cause; but from the sincere and

settled conviction that such a Journal . . . would do a most important and indispensable work, *which it would be wholly impossible for our white friends to do for us.*" (P. 266, My emphasis, S. R.)

The special value of *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* is that here *the very people who are alleged to be inferior* demonstrate, irrefutably, that they are not inferior. This reviewer can think of no slander against the Negro people that is not *proved* to be false in these pages. This direct proof is not fortuitous: from the earliest days Negro spokesmen consciously and continually blasted away at the hideous structure of "white supremacy." Indeed, the *first* fighters, in theory and practice, against racist ideology in the United States were Negroes!

"One of the first things that I heard when I arrived in the free states," said William Wells Brown, "—and it was the strangest thing to me that I heard—was, that the slaves cannot take care of themselves. I came off without any education. Society did not take me up; I took myself up" (p. 470). He did indeed—this fugitive slave. Abolitionist leader, lecturer, reporter, novelist, historian!

The main theme of Negro history is richly reflected in these pages—the militant, unceasing, organized fight for freedom: for freedom from chattel slavery, and from the system of oppression that replaced chattel slavery. Virtually every issue is dealt with: the fight against the poll tax (as early as 1793), against segregation, discrimination, lynching. For the ballot, for land, for women's rights, for education, for equal pay.

For peace: here is the record of the

Negro people's opposition to unjust wars waged by the United States government: "Shall we shed our blood in defense of the American slave trade? Shall we make our bodies a rampart in defense of American slavery?" (p. 219). The answer was No!, and after slavery had been abolished, and American imperialism was riding high: "the American Negro cannot become the ally of Imperialism without enslaving his own race" (p. 824); and, "It is a sorry, though true fact that whatever this government controls, injustice to dark races prevails. The people of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and Manila know it as do the wronged Indian and outraged black man in the United States . . ." (p. 825).

And here too is the record of the Negro people's heroism in the just war against the slavocracy—and what they had to contend with from their enemies in the North. While "the colored soldier [is] going out in face of the cannon's mouth," there is a pogrom in Detroit against the Negro people:

"I could see from the windows men striking with axe, spade, clubs, &c., just as you could see men thrashing wheat. A sight the most revolting, to see innocent men, women, and children, all without respect to age or sex, being pounded in the most brutal manner . . . without fear of the city authority" (p. 502).

Detroit, 1863, and Detroit, 1943—during World War II!

Today the thought-control Smith Act is the law of the land, upheld by the Supreme Court: it is well to be reminded of the Negro people's heroic struggle against the Fugitive Slave Act, as for example: "We, the citizens of Springfield, feel called upon to express, in the most decided manner, and in

language not to be misunderstood, our disapprobation of the same, or of any further legislation having a tendency to oppress mankind. . . . *Resolved*, that should the task-master presume to enter our dwellings, and attempt to reclaim any of our brethren whom he may call his slaves, we feel prepared to resist his pretensions" (p. 305).

Today in Pennsylvania fighters for peace and freedom are convicted of "sedition." One hundred years ago in Christiana, Pa., a free Negro was to be seized as a fugitive slave: his Negro neighbors saved him, and for that, they and some white men who refused to help the slave-catchers were arrested on charges of—treason. A Negro editor speaks out against the "recklessness of truth" and "ferocious malignity" of most newspapers on the case: "It shows how little real faith the popular press of this nation has in the principles upon which its whole action is professedly based" (p. 324).

Today, in the Negro Labor Councils, Negro trade unionists unite for equal rights, for F.E.P.C., etc., and they are charged by the labor fakers and Negro misleaders with "fostering Jim Crowism." Here is Douglass, in 1883:

"Until this nation shall make its practice accord with its Constitution and its righteous laws, it will not do to reproach the colored people of this country with keeping up the color line—for that people would prove themselves scarcely worthy of even theoretical freedom, to say nothing of practical freedom, if they settled down in silent, servile and cowardly submission to their wrongs, from fear of making their color visible. They are bound by every element of manhood to hold conventions, in their own name, and on their own behalf, to keep their griev-

ances before the people and make every organized protest against the wrongs inflicted upon them within their power" (p. 661).

In our time men like Pettis Perry, Communist leader indicted under the Smith Act, cry out for Negro representation in all levels of government; and there are those who consider such demands to be presumptuous — let's put up good men, regardless of color, they say. Here is Douglass again:

"We are as a people often reproached with ambition for political offices and honors. We are not ashamed of this alleged ambition. Our destitution of such ambition would be our real shame. If the six millions and a half of people whom we represent could develop no aspirants to political office and honor under this Government, their mental indifference, barrenness and stolidity might well enough be taken as proof of their unfitness for American citizenship. It is no crime to seek and hold office. If it were it would take a larger space than that of Noah's Ark to hold the white criminals. . . . *We shall never cease to be a despised and persecuted class while we are known to be excluded by our color from all important positions under the Government.*" (p. 665. My emphasis, S. R.)

Second-class citizenship in political life is reflected in all spheres of American life including, to its shame, the trade-union movement. Let the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. who wish to hold down the Negro members, reflect upon the pioneer role of Negroes in the American labor movement:

"There is also an organization in the port of New York, incorporated April 15th, 1863, known as the 'American Seamen's Protective Union Association,'

with an accumulating capital. There are several benevolent societies, and also several workingmen and women's protective unions, organized for mutual relief and protection. The oldest and most prominent is the 'New York African Society for Mutual Relief,' founded in 1808, and chartered by the State of New York March 23d, 1810. This Society has kept up its organization for near 62 years without intermission. All branches of skilled and unskilled laborers are members viz: Master builders, tailors, shoemakers, machinists, and blacksmiths, printers, farmers, notary public and commissioner, seamen, longshoremen, and common laborers. This society owns real estate valued at \$40,000, and supports its sick and infirm members" (p. 623).

And here is the pioneer Negro labor leader, Isaac Myers, reaching out in solidarity with the white workers in 1869:

"I speak today for the colored men of the whole country, from the lakes to the Gulf—from Atlantic to the Pacific—from every hill-top, valley and plain throughout our vast domain, when I tell you that all they ask for themselves is a fair chance; that you and they will dwell in peace and harmony together; that you and they may make one steady and strong pull until the laboring men of this country shall receive such pay for the time made as will secure them a comfortable living for their families, educate their children and leave a dollar for a rainy day and old age. Slavery or slave labor, the main cause of the degradation of white labor, is no more. And it is the proud boast of my life that the slave himself had a large share in the work of striking off the fetters that bound

him by the ankle, while the other end bound you by the neck." (pp. 628-29).

And how prophetic and profound are these words of J. M. Waldron at the National Negro Conference, 1909, called by Dr. Du Bois and his colleagues:

"... the Negro must make common cause with the working class which today is organizing and struggling for better social and economic conditions. . . . The Negro, being a laborer, must see that the cause of labor is his cause, that his elevation can be largely achieved by having the sympathy, support and cooperation of that growing organization of working men the world over which is working out the larger problems of human freedom and economic opportunity."

These are difficult days in our country for labor, for the Negro people, for all progressives; the drive of the ruling class toward imperialist war abroad and fascism at home is savage and desperate. But, as Herbert Aptheker has pointed out elsewhere, "He who knows the history of the Negro people will face the future with supreme confidence. For this history proves that, let the despoilers of humanity do what they will, the integrity, the aspirations and the struggles of the mass of mankind continue and endure."

Who can miss the supreme confidence that rings heroically from the pages of the *Documentary History*? Listen to George Lawrence speaking in 1813: "... I know that there are thousands of our enemies who had rather see us exterminated from off the earth, than partake of the blessings they enjoy; but their malice shall not be gratified; they will, though it blast their eyes, see us in prosperity" (p. 57).

And read these words from a pamphlet by the young Negro Abolitionist, David Ruggles, who in 1834 denounced the published slanders of a pro-slavery clergyman: "... one thing I know, posterity will requite my wrongs, and when the 'extinguisher' of Mr. David M. Reese shall itself have been extinguished in death, and sunk down—down—in the long eternal sleep of oblivion, my little book, pregnant with truth, shall survive the revolution of ages, and give even Dr. Reese himself a reluctant IMMORTALITY!" (p. 151).

And Dr. John S. Rock, in 1858, after the Dred Scott decision: "Judge Taney may outlaw us; Caleb Cushing may show the depravity of his heart by abusing us; and this wicked government may oppress us; but the black man will live when Judge Taney, Caleb Cushing, and this wicked government are no more" (p. 404).

True, there are other voices heard in this work: weak voices, compromising voices, treacherous voices. They are a small minority and as Douglass points out, "Considering our long subjection to servitude and caste, and the many temptations to which we are exposed to betray our race into the hands of their enemies, the wonder is not that we have so many traitors among us as that we have so few. The most of our people, to their honor be it said, are remarkably sound and true to each other. . . ."

The proof of the wonderful love of the oppressed for each other is overwhelmingly presented in these pages: the operators of the Underground Railroad, risking torture and slavery to help free their fellows; those beautiful people who have not been honored nearly enough—they who toiled and

starved and saved that they might present their kinsman in bondage with a manumission paper that read: "henceforth and forever be free."\*

Here is a seven-year-old Negro child in Cincinnati, answering the question, "What do you think *most* about?": ". . . to be good boys and when we get [to be] a man to get the poor slaves from bondage."

Yes, here is human love, and wisdom; humor and wit; sublime eloquence and slashing satire; mingled laughter and tears—the sacred drama of the great history of a great people. All of it to be read and enjoyed—and *studied*.

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There are gaps in the story: some no doubt are inevitable, but others are editorial failures. One of the most important of these omissions is that there is no reference to the infamous Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896. That decision is of urgent and immediate significance today; it is still upheld by the Court. In this case, not only did the highest judiciary of the land uphold Jim Crow laws, but it enthroned *racism* as an official doctrine of the United States government, declaring with chauvinist demagoguery: "If one race is inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane."

From 1896 until now the Negro people have never ceased to oppose this legal bastion of "white supremacy": in several court cases it is being challenged today. The record of that opposition should have been included in this work.

\* For an account of Negroes who purchased freedom for slaves see *To Be Free*, by Herbert Aptheker, International Publishers, 1948.

Another omission is a serious shortcoming in my opinion: the absence of any contemporaneous expression about Thaddeus Stevens. There is properly much comment on many other friends of liberation: Garrison and Phillips and Lovejoy and John Brown and Lincoln and Harriet Beecher Stowe—and European fighters for democracy like Kossuth; but of Stevens there is only one mention, and that by the editor. Surely, and without deprecating any of the others, Stevens is one of the greatest heroes of the revolution that overthrew the slave-owning class: his consistent and inspired fight for radical reconstruction, for land and true freedom for the "freedmen," is one of the glories of American history.\* And the very fact that he is not only unsung but viciously slandered by bourgeois historians should have called forth a special effort by the editor to present Negro testimony about the Great Com-moner. It is to be hoped that new editions of this work will remedy such weaknesses.

This invaluable volume shows, through the words of the Negro people themselves, that the Communist Party, and our Negro comrades, in the forefront of whom stand such champions as Benjamin J. Davis, Henry Winston, Pettis Perry, and Claudia Jones, represent the mainstream of Negro life. This volume shows that the struggle for full political, social and economic equality, for Negro-white unity, for the advance of Negro workers to forward positions in the liberation movement, for the wiping out of lynch law, discrimination, and all manifestations of white chauvinism, for the elimination of the exploiting plantation sys-

\* See *Thaddeus Stevens*, by Elizabeth Lawton, International Publishers, 1942.



tem, is of the essence of Negro history as it is of our Party's program in today's changed historical situation. It shows much of the process of the forging through life of a Negro nationality and the rudimentary awareness of this on the part of many outstanding Negro figures. It shows the oppressors to be the users of force and violence and the violators of democracy. It shows the Negro people's historic opposition to unjust wars, and their decisive role in just ones.

A study of this volume will help illuminate the whole nature of the Negro question in the United States; it will show the indigenous quality of the Marxist-Leninist position on this question; it will show the Communist Party as the inheritor and continuer and developer of the very flesh and blood and spirit of the true past of the great Negro people. Indeed, this volume, guided both in conception and execution by the materialist world outlook of Marxism-Leninism, itself basically derives from the work of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., which for decades has championed, with its theory and its practice, the cause of the Negro people.

The timeliness and power of the *Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* is attested

by the studied silence on it by the big capitalist media of review. The *New York Times*, for example, can find plenty of room for a review of the "memoirs" of one of Jefferson's slaves (written by a slave-owner), but not one line of type to mention Aptheker's monumental collection!

The bourgeois reviewers are as bankrupt as the bourgeois historians—and the rotting class they serve. They would rather be silent than be forced to admit that virtually all of the contemporary advances in American historiography are being made by scholars of the Left—William Z. Foster, Herbert Aptheker, Philip S. Foner, Harry Haywood, John Howard Lawson, James S. Allen and others. Indeed, if you take away these names and also those of the Negro people's historians—Dr. Du Bois, the disciples of Carter G. Woodson, etc.—what is there left worth mentioning?

Let the bought-and-paid-for reviewers be silent. Others will speak. Every reader of this book ought to speak out for it: to librarians that it be on their shelves, to their friends, neighbors, shop-mates and class mates.

Circulate it, sell it, study and treasure it—this great truth about the Negro people, this arsenal for democracy, peace and liberation!

## A Powerful Film For Peace

"As War, Destruction, and Death are one, so, Peace, Building, and Life are one." So states the commentary in the magnificent film, *Peace Will Win!* and this is the theme of that great work of art.

This feature-length documentary film tells the story of the Second World Peace Congress held in Warsaw in November, 1950. It is a triumph of the film production of the New Poland and of the genius of its directors, Joris Ivens of Holland and Jerzy Szelubski of Poland. It is, too, in its technical excellence, a tribute to the fraternal internationalism of its Polish, Soviet, English, French, Czechoslovakian, and German cameramen, while its beautiful and distinguished music, the work of two Poles, Jerzy Gert and W. Szpilman, is based upon songs derived from six different countries.

The film is worthy of its theme, and its theme is the most vital in the world today. One watching this film sees the two thousand delegates from eighty-one countries representing varying political and religious views get to know one another and resolve all differences in the face of their real desire for the overwhelming necessity of humanity—Peace. One witnessing this film sees and hears profound passion and brilliant analysis. For here speak Neruda and Ehrenburg, Kuo Mo-jo and Pak Den-ai, Curie and Nenni, Cot and Toledano, the Dean of Canterbury and the Reverend Uphaus. No one, with a human heart, can listen to Madam Pak Den-ai, President of the League of Korean Women, and remain unmoved as she tells of the aspirations and labors of her people and how they were blasted and burned by American bombs (and the realism of

the screen brings unforgettable proof of this destruction to the audience as it hears the great Korean woman's flashing words).

But it is the film as a whole that is the miracle. For it brings you the excitement and joy of the delegates, the indomitable will for peace of the masses in the world, the heroism of the working people and farmers, the open love of the children. The film makes of the struggle for peace what it is—the most exciting, the most important, the most human, the most ennobling struggle the world is engaged in today. This film is a great artistic triumph, and as such it is a great political document. Every person who sees it will come away invigorated, will come away determined to participate in the crusade against imperialism and war.

*Peace Will Win!* must be brought to the American people. It is a weapon which if grasped and used could be of incalculable strength in stemming the tide of U.S. imperialism towards fascism and war. It played for weeks at the Stanley Theatre in New York to capacity audiences. Organized efforts should be made to get this film into movie houses throughout the country. Furthermore, 16mm sound prints are available, at modest fees, from Artkino Pictures, 723 Seventh Avenue, New York 19, N. Y., and thus the film can be brought into thousands of communities, homes, trade-union halls, churches and into the consciousness of hundreds of thousands and millions of Americans. No single more potent mass cultural instrument to build the peace movement in the United States exists than the epic film, *Peace Will Win!* Bring it to the people! V. J. J.

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A Novel of an Epic Freedom Struggle —

### SPARTACUS

by HOWARD FAST

Price \$2.50

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

### ***A Note on V. J. Jerome's Book . . .***

There is a beautiful warmth and tenderness in this story of a childhood in old Poland. The personal experiences of the boy have an extraordinary depth and scope: we see the unfolding of historical forces, the interaction between the little Jewish community and the great movement of workers and peasants that would eventually transform Russia and Poland.

I have seldom read a book in which history is so poignantly realized in terms of human detail and the adventure of daily living. The impact of the 1905 Revolution in Russia transforms the life of the Polish village; we see the change through the eyes of a nine-year-old boy; we share his hatred of the oppressors; we know the wonder and truth of his dream that the people will one day win their freedom and build a new society.

The publication of the book will be a major cultural event. It will provide a powerful weapon in the struggle for peace and democracy, and for a better understanding of the social changes that have taken place in eastern Europe.  
October 31, 1951

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

TITLE: *A Lantern for Jeremy*

AUTHOR: V. J. Jerome

PUBLISHER: Masses & Mainstream, Inc.

PUBLICATION DATE: April 15, 1952

PRICE: \$2.50

**Masses & Mainstream • 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.**

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