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EDITORIAL ARTICLE

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By **W. E. B. DU BOIS**

with comment by Shirley Graham

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Editor: V. J. Jerome

The Real Issues in the 1952 Elections

Editorial Article

THE 1952 national election campaign, now in full swing, has been launched in the heat of the great struggle of our day, when the issues of peace or war, of democracy or fascism, confront the working class and its allies, here as in other lands.

The conventions of the two major parties of Wall Street have newly confirmed the fact that Big Business conducts its policies in the framework of a two-party system which involves a division of labor in accordance with changing political needs. The two Great-Show conventions have confirmed that while the Democratic Party operates on a *social base* that includes large sections of the popular masses, its *class essence* is identical with that of the Republican Party, which is more overtly the political expression of the monopolies. The conventions have evidenced that monopoly capital is basically unified to-

day on the major issues of its foreign-political and domestic program and that it has further tightened its controls on both parties in its efforts to chain the American people to its program of war and fascism. On the main issues affecting peace, economic security, democratic liberties, and Negro rights, and on the choice of presidential and vice-presidential candidates, the two conventions might have been held in one hall.

* * *

Big Business strives to perpetuate the myth of "freedom of choice" for the electorate, of battling out the issues in the forum of democratic debate. The ruling class and its reformist and liberal helpmates foster this fiction as a means of retarding the independent political expression and third party movement of the labor and progressive forces. And so, today,

they resort to new devices and new shibboleths designed to offset the growing resistance of the people to the burdensome war program, to the mounting repressions, to the raw deal for the Negro people, to the stench of corruption in office, and to all the unkept promises.

But what in reality is the choice afforded the people by the two major parties in 1952?

In the selection of the Eisenhower-Nixon and Stevenson-Sparkman standard bearers of the two-party system, Wall Street, while undoubtedly desiring Republican victory in 1952, has placed its seal of confidence on the election outcome in its favor, regardless of who takes over the White House.

As the *New York Journal-American* put it:

In Stevenson and Gen. Eisenhower the country has two strong Presidential candidates. That's the way we like it.

The division of labor reflects, of course, the fact, that the Democratic Party, to keep the support of the working masses, is compelled to resort to the fanfare of demagogic assurances. In this game it is aided by the top labor officialdom and sundry "liberal" friends of the people. The pomp and circumstance of demagoguery is in no sense the monopoly of the Democratic Party—for, the Republican Party's high command is also attuned to the radar that registers the discontent of the people and knows well how to make partisan use of growing popular resistance.

This dual-party division of labor reflects also the rivalries of groupings and sectional interests within the bourgeoisie, rivalries that make today for clashes between the Midwest groupings behind Taft and the dominant Wall Street forces that decided on Eisenhower. In another sense, there is the sectional differentiation within the Democratic Party represented by the Southern Dixiecrats who occupy strategic positions in the government and Congress. These sundry rivalries within the bourgeois camp are expressed in the vying for power, in struggles for control of the vast and extremely lucrative bureaucracy and patronage system. They are bound up with differences as regards tactics, emphases, and tempo in the process of implementing the basic program and policies on which the monopoly capitalists as a whole are unified.

* * *

With the slug-fest of the conventions over, the "rival" platforms, in cold reading, reveal themselves very much as a distinction without a difference. Indeed, the peace in the household of Big Business is hailed by the *New York Times* (July 25) in a major editorial devoted to the subject:

When we get past the criticism on one side, and the laudation on the other, it is a highly fortunate fact that both party platforms agree substantially on the course to be followed in the future.

The substantial agreement as regards foreign policy is set forth in

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detail in that editorial, which bears quoting here, with due warning against the Aesopian language which camouflages Wall Street's predatory aims with terms like "collective security," "peace," "European unity," "national defense," "Soviet imperialism," etc., etc. Thus, we read in the *Times*:

Both platforms declare that we cannot live either safely or prosperously in isolation. Both pledge support of the United Nations. Both promise to aid the development of "collective security forces" (NATO) in Western Europe. Both praise the efforts that have been made to achieve peace with Germany and Japan. Both welcome the proposal for a larger measure of European unity and promise to give that project such assistance as we can. Both pledge support and aid of the countries and the peoples that have fallen victims to Soviet imperialism. Both promise to maintain a strong and well-balanced national defense. Both welcome the idea of "reciprocity" in foreign trade, with the Democrats tying fewer strings to this proposal than the Republicans.

There are variations here in emphasis, in enthusiasm and in the degree of clarity achieved. But by and large there is certainly a broad enough area of agreement to lay the basis for a firm and successful bipartisan foreign policy during the next National Administration. And certainly our democratic friends abroad will find reason for good cheer in this performance.

It is abundantly clear that neither convention, by platform or choice of candidates, poses any challenge to Wall Street's pro-war course. Both conventions were in complete agreement on pursuing the aggressive

policy aimed at world domination. Sectional rivalries within the Republican camp caused a sharp flurry on tactical questions and even at certain points on the whole Korean adventure. Yet the essential bi-partisan agreement was evident. It was obvious that the Republican high command was unwilling to carry into the post-convention stage continuing clashes of a serious nature on foreign policy.

At the Democratic Party convention, foreign policy can hardly be said to have loomed as an issue. Senator Douglas' speech, in which the issue received attention, was an apologia to justify the Administration's Korean adventure and to prove that it had always been a bi-partisan undertaking.

Both parties stood out as war parties, neither offering any hopes for a peaceful alternative. Thus, W. H. Lawrence was able to write in the *New York Times* of July 26:

The selection of General Eisenhower . . . and Governor Stevenson . . . largely eliminates the issue of foreign policy as a main point of choice for the voters.

And, reporting Governor Stevenson's first post-nomination interview, the *Times* (July 31) stated:

He was in "substantial agreement" with his opponent in the race, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, on North Atlantic Treaty policy, and he hoped that nothing would be said in the campaign "to diminish the allegiance of our allies."

Indeed, the well-nigh unanimous

acclamation of both candidates by bourgeois spokesmen is almost unprecedented. This reflects ruling-class fear of any presidential ticket that might force sharp debate of crucial issues and thereby expose both parties as war parties.

The bourgeoisie is determined to prevent, or at least to hold down to a minimum, any real debate on foreign policy.

* * *

The essential identity of position with respect to foreign policy is extended to the home scene. The betrayal of the cause of the people by both parties is flagrantly expressed in their rejection of F.E.P.C., today the elementary test of sincerity toward the Negro people. It matters not to the 15,000,000 Negroes whether the rejection is outright or surrounded with dodging verbiage. The conventions of both parties in this hour of test took their position on the side of the Dixiecrats, on the side of the oppressors, lynchers, and despoilers of the Negro people. In the words of Comrade William Z. Foster:

Both conventions cold-bloodedly committed themselves to the fundamental policy of the Southern white supremacists by relegating the whole question of Negro civil rights to the respective states. . . . A disgraceful aspect of this sellout of the interests of the Negro people—interests which dovetail with those of the working class—was the way those elements in the two conventions, the pretended friends of the Negro masses, completely folded up under the pressure of the drive of the white supremacists. (*Daily Worker*, Aug. 8.)

The selection of Nixon and Sparkman as running-mates of Eisenhower and Stevenson well attests to this betrayal.

In Nixon, the financial oligarchy chose a figure whose career has been based on the enactment into law of fascist measures and the construction of concentration camps. It chose a man whose entire record in Congress is marked by the conspicuous absence of a single vote for progress. It chose a member of the odious un-American Committee, the collaborator with Senator Mundt on the forerunner of the McCarran Law. And lest there be those who would seek to make a qualitative distinction between Eisenhower and Nixon, let us remind them of the Presidential nominee's expressed enthusiasm for Nixon's "statesmanlike qualities" and his "ability to ferret out any kind of subversive influence wherever it may be found." The war-and-fascism program of Wall Street could not boast a better team than the arch-militarist Eisenhower and the rarin'-to-go Hitlerite Nixon.

No less apt is the choice of Sparkman as vice-presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. Dictated by the Southern Dixiecrat camp, this choice is of an unmitigated racist who has gone down the line with the white supremacists in his every vote in Congress. His is a record of opposition to F.E.P.C., to anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, to the prohibition of jim crow in the armed forces, to the elimination of restrictive covenants in housing, and to

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non-segregated educational opportunities. His is a record of voting for the amendments to kill the Wagner Act, voting for the Smith-Connally anti-strike measure, for the Taft-Hartley Act, and for its fore-runner, the Case Bill—a long record of voting against labor on crucial bills before Congress. The abysmal perfidy of labor's misleaders is nowhere more exposed than in their wretched attempt to palm off this ultra-reactionary as a Southern "liberal"!

The attempt to put a "liberal" camouflage on Sparkman is part of the overall hoax of presenting as a great and glamorous "independent" Wall Street's Democratic choice of Stevenson, who has taken a position against a Federal F.E.P.C. by upholding the slave-holders' stand on states' rights. In picking the white-supremacist Sparkman, Stevenson chose his elective affinity.

In their shameful betrayal of the Negro people, both parties of Wall Street made a play for the Southern vote. The Republicans seek at least several of the Southern states, and the Democrats, to keep the South solid.

But the wrath of the Negro people has broken through—over all the attempted "reassurances" and the metaphysical efforts to represent the Democratic plank as a "victory".

Rep. Clayton Powell voiced the indignation of the Negro people throughout the land when he denounced the double-barrelled sell-out at Chicago. The thousands of Harlem

residents who rallied to hear his public condemnation were representative of the torrent of anger which swept the Negro communities, North and South. There is no doubt that both the Republicans and the Democrats will resort to feints and maneuvers to lull this resentment. But the militancy and determination of the Negro people to win first-class citizenship cannot be stifled. From coast to coast, as at no time since the days of Reconstruction, the Negro masses are uniting to break through the jim-crow block to Negro representation.

* * *

On the major issue of labor's demands, the two convention and the ensuing period have shown that, notwithstanding the growing dissatisfaction of the workers with the Truman war-burden regime, there is no mass trend on the part of labor toward the party of the "outs", the Republicans. What new labor support might accrue to the Republican Party is counteracted by the traditional reluctance of the American people to bring a military man into the White House, as well as by the overt anti-labor record of Nixon. Certainly, the Republican convention's outright commitment to retain the Taft-Hartley Act showed its open contempt for the rights and needs of the workers. This does not mean that as the election campaign unfolds the GOP will not resort to the most elaborate "labor-loving" demagogy.

The labor reformists are busy trying to sell the Democratic Party to the workers, pointing to that party

convention's platform plank favoring repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer George Meany waxed enthusiastic: "We couldn't have written a better Taft-Hartley plank ourselves, if they had let us." But only those with failing memories will forget that in 1948 the Democratic convention handed labor a similar promissory note which has to date remained unhonored. And only the naive will treat Truman's "veto" of the Act as anything but a formal gesture. To cap the climax, the man whom the Democrats hope to bring into Presidential office is himself opposed to effective repeal of the Act.

Furthermore, neither convention pledged itself to restore the Wagner Act and to safeguard the right to strike. On the contrary, the Democratic convention advocated legislation to prevent strikes which threaten "the national safety or welfare." By this, it gave the government *carte blanche* to move in against the workers in any area or situation which the bosses and their state power might declare covered by this sweeping provision. Key to this commitment is, of course, the implied plot to chain the trade-union movement to the imperialist war machine.

* * *

The reactionary labor reformists have turned into sales agents of the Democratic Party ticket (save for those, like Hutcheson, who are on the "I like Ike" bandwagon).

If before the Democratic conven-

tion got fully under way rank-and-file pressure forced a Reuther to indulge in phrases: "Democrats could still stand on their 1948 platform, they hadn't used any of it," the demagoguery soon wore thin. The labor reformist - Social Democratic - A.D.A. camp is all out for the Democratic ticket, desperately endeavoring to link Stevenson with New Dealism, and Sparkman with liberalism.

Although some top labor leaders and representatives of Negro mass organizations participated in the Republican Party convention, it was at the Democratic convention that the labor officialdom, Negro reformists, and A.D.A. liberals played their major role. Their combined strength, had they exerted it in behalf of the people, would have been tremendous. Yet, they steadily retreated, tail-ending behind the reactionaries of Wall Street on every major issue. They shielded Stevenson's duplicity on civil rights and failed to put up a genuine fight for compulsory, federally-administered F.E.P.C. and for abolition of Rule 22 (to halt the Dixiecrat filibuster tactic); they did not even put up a token fight for the repeal of the Smith and McCarran Acts, thus betraying the mandates of their own organizations; they were giants in championing the general line of the Democratic Party machine, but dwarves in speaking out for the rights and interests of the workers, the farmers, and the Negro people.

The position of the labor reformists on the war differs in no way from that of the bi-partisan Truman Ad-

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administration. They have, albeit unsuccessfully, striven to get the workers solidly behind the war and the war program. They have acted as a spearhead of rabid anti-Sovietism, they have justified U.S. imperialist intervention in Korea, and they are all out for America's (read: Wall Street's) "world leadership." This perfidy is in the line of duty of the labor-liberal lieutenants of imperialism.

In spite of the labor officialdom, the workers' struggles have persisted, expressing their discontent and restiveness, throughout the postwar years, with no let-up during the Korean war period. But for the misleaders, organized labor would long since have broken through the hold of the two-party system onto the highroad of a broad and vigorous Third Party movement. By fostering the myth of the Democratic Party as the "people's party," they have succeeded in causing those considerable sections of workers and the Negro people who are distrustful of both parties to view the Democratic Party as the "lesser evil." This "lesser evil" theory serves the reformist misleaders and the bourgeoisie as a lightning rod against the trend toward independent political action.

* * *

In the 1952 election campaign the only people's alternative to the sell-out parties of Big Business is the Progressive Party—its platform and its candidates, Vincent Hallinan, valiant lawyer-champion of the rights of the people, and Charlotta Bass, veteran woman leader in the Negro

people's liberation movement.

It is in the platform of this party that the people's will to peace finds its voice. Salient demands in its foreign policy plank are: an immediate cease-fire in Korea, "without any ifs, ands or buts," with all disputed questions to be settled by civilian representatives of all nations involved in the war after the fighting stops; the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations; an end to stockpiling of A-Bombs and war armaments; and a five-power conference to secure overall settlement of differences. The Progressive Party convention declared strikingly: "We reaffirm that the best defense of America is peaceful relations with all the nations of the world. The conference table for peace must replace the battlefields of war."

The Progressive Party platform takes its position in bold championship of the cause of labor; it demands without hedging, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, the repeal of the wage freeze, the re-enactment of the Wagner Act, the adoption of \$1.25 hourly minimum wage plus overtime rate after 30 hours a week, and the defeat of the Smith anti-strike bill. On civil liberties the platform demands full restoration of the Bill of Rights, repeal of the Smith and McCarran Acts and all other repressive laws. On Negro rights it demands a Federal F.E.P.C. with effective enforcement powers, as well as anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation and an end to all forms of segregation and discrimination. In the words of Comrade Foster, "This

program represents what the great bulk of the working class, the harassed Negro people, and the mass of the American nation really want, regardless of the fact that these masses, caught in the grip of crooked leaders, still remain in the trap of the two-party system and continue to vote for the political representatives of their class enemies."

Full support to the Progressive Party's platform and campaign, to the end of rolling up the maximum possible vote, is of decisive importance in 1952. Any casual or half-hearted approaches to the Progressive Party ticket would do deep injury to the cause of peace and would be a serious blow to the people's interests. Full and consistent support of the Hallinan-Bass ticket will not only strengthen the Progressive Party but will contribute to the development of the broader people's coalition for peace, democracy and economic security against the monopolists and the war camp.

A major task, in this connection, is the building of independent rank-and-file trade-union committees, wherever this is possible, on local, State and national levels, on such key issues as the truce in Korea and F.E.P.C. Around these considerable support can be rallied for the Peace Ticket. Independent liberals, who can be drawn into independent committees for the Peace Ticket movement, and who are disappointed with the Democratic Party convention, can be won to support the genuine pro-peace platform of the Progressive Party.

Among the Negro people, their betrayal by the conventions of both major parties opens up today wide possibilities of directing the first impulse of boycotting the polls into the positive channel of support for the Progressive Party platform. The candidacy of Charlotta Bass is in this respect a shining symbol of the sincerity of that party with respect to the issue of Negro rights and Negro freedom.

Side by side with the all-out campaign required to rally mass support for the Progressive Party ticket, must come parallel and related non-partisan movements around issues and candidates, to reach the masses of voters who adhere to the two major parties and who do not yet see the necessity of a Third Party, or the P.P. as the Third Party alternative.

Upon the advanced forces, who are conscious of the need for the new political realignment, devolves the task of not surrendering these basic masses of voters to the false saviors of the A.D.A., to the reformist and Social-Democratic leaders, and to the glittering demagogues of both bourgeois parties who drape themselves in "liberal" togas. The only way in which the masses can be reached in these elections is with the issues that are vital to them—all the issues, big and "small", national and local, economic, social, and political. The issues of peace, the demands of labor, Negro rights, and civil liberties are paramount. But it would be fatal in any way to neglect or even belittle the various issues that affect and will continue to affect the people in the

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election campaign on Congressional, state, and municipal levels. It is on these electoral levels that significant break-throughs can be achieved, not only around Progressive Party candidates but also around candidates of either of the two major parties, who can be "put to the test" on the issues of peace and the Bill of Rights, on issues affecting the working class, the Negro people, and the farmers, here on a local, there on a national scale.

To this end, it should be the concern of the Left and progressive forces to stimulate coalition electoral campaigns in the localities in support of candidates who are prepared to take a positive position on a minimal program favorable to the interests of the people—on economic and labor questions, on Negro rights and civil liberties, and on ending the war in Korea and resolving international differences through negotiations. By means of such coalitions, the people's forces *can* succeed in defeating a whole number of warmongers, labor-haters, racists, and McCarthyites, and elect a Congressional bloc on the platform of the people's demands.

In participating in coalitions, the advanced forces will have to guard against narrowness and rigidity of tactics. In instances where a candidate, let us say of the Truman camp, with mass support, is committed to vote for repeal of the Smith Act, or for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, or for a compulsory F.E.P.C., but whose position does not yet meet the stated political minimum, it is possible for the coalition forces to

give such a candidate qualified and critical support, and to continue to exert efforts to make the candidate responsive to the demands of the coalition on all elementary issues.

Among the Negro masses a broad, all-embracing movement can and must be developed to reach Negro Democratic and Republican voters to guarantee the election of Negro candidates on all levels. The sell-out of the two Wall Street parties on the issue of a Federal F.E.P.C. has made the demand for Negro representation even more vital. The possibility exists today for the broadest type of coalition for Negro rights, cutting across all sections of the Negro community, and for winning support to this coalition from the labor movement, from the professional strata, and the peace forces generally.

Parallel with the building of popular coalitions in support of specific candidates, it is necessary to intervene in the election campaign in order to force other candidates, from the presidential level downward, to take a position on the major issues of peace, labor, the farmers, Negro rights and civil liberties. Through existing political action bodies in the A. F. of L., C.I.O., independent unions, Negro people's organizations, and farm and community organizations, the progressive forces can stimulate actions and campaigns, such as visits by delegations, to bring pressure upon candidates. In this way a Stevenson could be forced to take a stand for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and

for opposition to all anti-labor legislation, as well as for a compulsory F.E.P.C.; in the event of refusing to take such a stand, he would brand himself fully as an enemy of the working class and the Negro people. In these ways, the Left and progressive forces will participate in the 1952 election campaign to hasten the new political alignment so vitally needed for the working class and the people as a whole. It is to this end—the achievement of a clearly defined coalition movement crystallized in a mass Third Party—that the advanced forces must direct their sights. *Struggle, and only struggle, will lead to an exposure of the monopoly-class essence of the two-party system and conduce to a mass break-away from it in the direction of an anti-monopoly, anti-fascist, anti-war people's party.*

* * *

THE VICIOUS Smith Act persecutions, the imprisonments of Communist Party leaders, the current frame-up trials, and the further threat to the Party's legality under the McCarran Act have not succeeded and will not succeed in removing the Communist Party as a factor in these important national elections.

In this election campaign, in the face of fierce odds, the Communist Party, the Party of the American working class, once again manifests its indestructible ties with the exploited and oppressed of our nation. It takes part in this campaign as an independent force placing before the people its program on the vital issues of the day and as a force contributing

to building the coalition movement of the people—the working class, the Negro people, the working farmers and all oppressed sections of the population—for struggle in the cause of peace and democracy, of economic security, of the rights of labor and the Negro people. It will seek to mobilize support for the Progressive Party ticket which is the only election ticket in the field that stands for peace, economic security and the rights of the people. It will strive to help bring about on various electoral levels the defeat of war-mongers, labor-haters, racists and other reactionaries, to wrest concessions from candidates of the old parties wherever possible, and to achieve the election of a progressive bloc in Congress.

In this election campaign, the Communist Party will strive to advance the understanding that both major parties are parties of Big Business and that the only course for the people is independent political action—the way of a mass Third Party movement—a people's coalition, anti-war, anti-fascist, anti-monopoly in character, whose objective will be the establishment of a government representative of this popular coalition. In this connection, the Communist Party will expose the falsehood of the claim that the two party system is a permanent fixture in our national political life and that a Third Party of the people "cannot succeed." The Communist Party has before it the task of helping the masses to see the hoax in the "lesser evil" contention with which the reformists and re-

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reactionary Social-Democrats seek to hold the people in allegiance to Wall Street's Democratic Party through dressing up the Truman and Etevensons as heirs of Jefferson and of Roosevelt.

In this election campaign, the Communist Party has the special responsibility of convincing the masses that peace is the over-riding issue of the day, that every question of foreign and domestic policy is integrally related to this central issue. The Party, in participating in the various struggles of the people, will endeavor to make clear that the fight against the tax-burden and high prices, against the wage-freeze and speedup, for the repeal of Taft-Hartley and the safeguarding of the right to strike—that all these and related demands must be bound up with the conscious mass resistance to the war program of Wall Street. In the course of helping to organize mass struggles for peace and to mobilize support for the Peace Ticket, the Party has the responsibility of showing that the threat to world peace issues from the world-domination aims of Wall Street, that the people of America have nothing to fear from the Soviet Union, whose socialist system is committed to a consistent policy of peace and friendship with nations. It is especially important, in this connection, to expose Wall Street's Hitlerian Big Lie of "Soviet imperialism," "Russian aggression," "Communist totalitarianism," etc., etc., and to bring out convincingly the necessity and possibility of peaceful co-existence between our country and the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party, devoted champion of Negro equality and Negro freedom will in this election campaign continue to expose the treachery contained in the dangerous propaganda of "gradualism" and strive to win the labor movement, all progressives and peace forces for struggle to guarantee full exercise of the Negro franchise and to extend Negro representation. It will intensify its effort to set into motion a powerful people's movement to realize the vital and imperative demands of the Negro people.

The Communist Party views as its task the need to help dispel moods of anti-parliamentarism and apathy toward the election campaign that are manifesting themselves in the labor movement and among the Negro people, and to launch a struggle against persisting attitudes of economism to which certain advanced trade-union elements are still addicted. There can be no effective championing of the rights of labor and the Negro people, no promotion of the true role of the working class in the struggles of today, no intensified fight to break the stranglehold of the reformists in the trade unions, and certainly no advance toward independent political action, while such defeatist moods and attitudes remain.

The Communist Party has no presidential ticket in this election campaign. It considers that it can make its best contribution by helping to build the coalition of the people's forces generally and, specifically, by helping to mobilize the widest

possible support for the ticket of the Progressive Party and for coalition candidates in the various localities. The Communist Party will put forward local candidates in a number of areas; in other areas, where the ballot restrictions make this impossible, the Party will have write-in candidates. But in all instances, whether there be Communist candidates or not, the Party and its membership will actively participate in these elections, bringing the Party's program to the people, widely distributing its election platform, issuing pamphlets and leaflets on the main issues affecting the people, and speaking over the radio, at street and indoor rallies. Throughout the campaign, the working-class press—the *Daily Worker*, *The Worker*, the *Daily People's World*, and the national-group papers—can serve as a most important medium through which to reach the masses.

As the Party of Socialism, the Communist Party has the task in this election campaign of bringing to the working masses the ideas of Socialism, of the Socialist society as the ultimate, inevitable and only solution of the basic problems confronting the working class and all the oppressed—the final guarantee of an end to poverty, mass misery, national oppression, wars and fascism. This campaign offers a great opportunity to bring out the truth about the Soviet Union and the States of People's Democracy, the truth of Socialist democracy, of the Socialist way of life for men and women, youth and children, of the Socialist system as the

way of peace and friendship among nations, of Socialist culture in which the people come into their own.

The Communist Party realizes that the American working class, still under the ideological sway of the reformist aides of imperialism, is not yet conscious of the objective of Socialism as the way out. The Communist Party, contrary to the vilifying and distorting Smith Act frameup accusations of "conspiracy" and "force and violence" levelled at it by Wall Street and its spokesmen, strives to guide the people's day-to-day struggles toward the achievement of ever greater immediate gains, of ever greater measures of democracy, of ever greater guarantees of peace. It dedicates its efforts toward bringing about a mighty people's coalition that can check the war-and-fascism course of the monopolies and elect an anti-monopoly peace government of the people. Such a democratic people's government concerned with the people's welfare, will rally the popular masses to curb the monopolies, undermine their power, and restrain and defeat their violence against the people. With the increasing role and leadership of the working class and its vanguard Communist Party, such a democratic people's government will open up the road for the accelerated advance of the working masses to the Socialist transformation of society. In this way, the Communist Party strives to win the working class and its allies for the perspective of the American Road to Peace, Democracy and Socialism.

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Race, Nation and the Concept "Negro"

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

MARXISTS UNDERSTAND THE NEGRO question in the United States as a *national* question—that of an oppressed nation in the Black Belt area of Negro majority population, and that of an oppressed national minority in other parts of the country. From this basic theoretical conception flow the program and policies of the Communist Party on the Negro question, including: building Negro unity of all classes under leadership of the Negro workers, strengthening the Negro liberation movement as an independent force on the American political scene, extending the struggle for Negro democratic rights and against white chauvinism, consolidating the Labor-Negro Alliance, which will culminate in the ultimate achievement of Negro freedom through self-determination in the Black Belt.

Bourgeois ideologists, on the other hand, conceive the Negro question simply as a *race* question, devoid of national character, and involving merely the accommodation of two biologically differentiated population groups, the "white" (or Caucasian) race and the Negro race. In the hands

of imperialist reaction and its apologists, this basic conception leads to "justification" and intensification of the oppression of the Negro people on grounds of their alleged "racial inferiority" and of supposed "white superiority." In the hands of the bourgeois "liberals" and those under their ideological influence, this conception leads to illusory "gradualist" and "integrationist" approaches to a "solution" of the Negro question.

Marxists in our country have long struggled to establish the scientific understanding of the Negro question as a *national* question, and to popularize terminology which reflects this point of view. The increasingly widespread use of the term "Negro people" in the Negro community during the past two decades is largely a direct result of growing ideological influence of the Communists among the Negro people.

The correct struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the false and misleading "race problem" conception of the Negro question, especially against the racist, white supremacist connotations, has been distorted by many progressives into a rejection of the

concept of race altogether. "Race" has tended to become a bad word among some Marxists, so much so, indeed, that some have polemized against even the common phrase "no discrimination because of race, religion or national origin." This nihilist approach to the concept "race" is theoretically unsound. It represents a pseudo-Leftist deviation which distorts and weakens the correct struggle for an understanding of the Negro question as a *national* question.

Comrade William Z. Foster warned against this incorrect tendency during the Communist Party's discussion on the Negro Question six years ago. Writing in *Political Affairs*, in June, 1946, Foster said: "We must not brush aside the question of race, as we have done too often in the past."

The full implications of Comrade Foster's admonition seem not to have been grasped by certain Marxists; for the incorrect tendency completely to reject the concept of "race" not only persisted, but became more widespread during the past three years as the Communist Party developed its ideological campaign on the Negro question and the struggle against white chauvinism. There were isolated instances in which even the term "white chauvinism" was questioned on grounds of its implied "race" connotations.

This incorrect tendency to negate the concept and role of race was carried to its logical conclusion at a Marxist educational conference on race theories in the fall of 1951. I, together with others, developed a de-

viation on the question of "race" and "nation," which has done considerable harm to the struggle for a theoretically sound understanding of the Negro question as a national question, and thus has served to weaken the struggle against white chauvinism.

At this conference three papers were read and discussed. The first report, entitled "A Marxist Evaluation of the 'Race' Concept," developed the thesis that "race" is an unscientific concept ("There are no races of mankind."); and that a struggle must be waged against remnants of the "race" concept in Marxist discussions of the national question. The second report, entitled "'Race' and Capitalism," traced the rise of the "race" concept with the rise of capitalism; asserted that any classification of populations into "races" necessarily leads to racism, to the false doctrine of racial superiority and inferiority; and concluded that the science of socialism has no need of the concept "race." The third report, presented by me, was a paper entitled "On the Concept 'Negro.'" It is this report that has been the subject of extensive discussion in Marxist circles during recent months.

My report accepted the basic premises of the other two papers and sought to apply them to the Negro question. Documenting in considerable detail what is called "confusion in current usage" of the term "Negro," the report undertook to establish the following propositions:

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understood scientifically "only as a sociological concept," devoid of all racial meanings, there being "no such thing as a 'Negro race'—anywhere in the world."

2) Correctly conceived, the term "Negro" designates only the Negro people of the United States, a product of history and social development in this country.

3) A correct definition of the concept "Negro" would "include nothing whatever about 'race,' physical characteristics, or African origin. It would run something like this: A 'Negro' is a person who shares the common psychological make-up of the Negro people of the United States, who views himself as belonging to the Negro people of the United States, . . . and who moves in the society and is fully accepted as an integral part of the Negro people of the United States."

4) Thus the several peoples of Africa and peoples of African origin in the West Indies and Latin America "are not Negroes. They should be referred to by their respective national and tribal designation. . . ."

5) The "very real and politically important bonds of sympathy among colored peoples' throughout the world, especially among those of immediate and remote African ancestry . . . should be encouraged and strengthened. This fact, however, does not justify a loose, 'racial,' misleading global use of the term 'Negro,' which correctly applies to a particular national development in the United States. . . ."

The intent of the paper was to polemize against bourgeois racist ideology and further to develop the Marxist conception of the Negro question as a national question. The report was received enthusiastically by most (not all) participants in the Conference, and by hundreds of other progressives who read a mimeographed digest of the report. Subsequent analysis and discussion have made it clear, however, that this whole thesis is theoretically unsound and politically harmful, that it constitutes a deviation from Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question.

THE CONCEPT "RACE"

It is a fact of nature that human populations in different parts of the world differ as regards certain external physical characteristics, notably skin-color, hair-texture, and body structure. These physical differences have a historic origin, representing variations in the human species, and dating far back in the era of primitive society. They were induced and developed by the process of people settling over the surface of the earth under widely divergent geographical conditions, and by the travel and crossing of tribes and nationalities.

These physical differences are superficial — only "skin-deep," as the common expression goes. Soviet scientists, for example, characterize such differences as "secondary, biologically superficial traits, having no significance for the biologic evolution of

man, and so much less for his social and cultural development."¹

It is these superficial physical traits which constitute the sole basis for the classification of human beings into races. Thus, what are called "races" are loosely defined human population groups distinguished by more or less common external physical traits resulting from the prolonged isolation of these populations in different parts of the world under the influence of widely divergent geographic and climatic conditions. Soviet anthropologists define "race" as follows:

Race is a biological group of people formed in the early stages of mankind's development. Races are distinguished by such characteristics as the color of the skin, the textures and color of the hair, the structure of the body, etc. For instance, the distinguishing features of the black race (Negroes) are a dark skin and curly hair; those of the yellow race (Chinese, Japanese, Mongolians, Buryats) are a yellowish skin and straight black hair; those of the white race are a light skin. The emergence of races was influenced by natural environment in which people lived in primeval times and in a state of disconnectedness of the human groups and of the absence of a developed system of contact among them. Race differences are a subordinate fact. Of overriding significance is the fact of the biological unity of all mankind firmly established by science. Race differences have no significance for the social life of man. On the contrary they are waning with the development of society and the liquidation of the isolation and disconnectedness be-

tween human groups living in different geographical conditions. In the higher stages of society the primordial isolation of man gave way to contact and mutual aid—to the intermingling of races. In the course of time this resulted in the fact that there is no pure race in existence any longer. . . . Therefore the reactionary theories of the fascists and the present day Anglo-American racists of "pure" races is a lie and a fraud. It is impermissible to confuse nation with race; for nation is a social phenomenon, the result of prolonged historical development of society. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has proven incontrovertibly that all nations and peoples—irrespective of racial characteristics—once they are free of exploitation and without mutual hostility are equally capable of assimilating advanced culture and impelling it forward. The practice of the Soviet Union has conclusively refuted the racist fiction of the imperialists.²

Understood in these terms, race is a valid concept which corresponds to objective reality. It has nothing in common with the pseudo-scientific myth of racial inequality, or "racism," which Joseph Stalin once characterized as being "as far removed from science as the sky from earth."

The most generally accepted classification of races is the three-fold grouping: Caucasoid (or "white"), centering in Europe; Mongoloid (or "yellow"), centering in Asia, and including the American-Indian descendants of Asian ancestors; and Negroid (or "black"), centering in Africa. Some American anthropologists use five categories (listing the

¹ *Boisbaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1950. (Translated from the Russian.)

² *Short Philosophical Dictionary*, ed. Rosenthal and Yudin, Moscow, 1951 (Russian), p. 429.

American Indian and the Australoid as separate racial groups); others use as many as thirty categories; and there are variations in between. Soviet anthropologists devote considerable attention to the study of a large number of "territorial anthropological types," defined in much the same terms as races.

A rounded discussion of the concept "race" is beyond the limits of this article. However, there are several important points which need to be established briefly before we proceed to discuss the role of race in the formation of the Negro nation.

First, race is not a fixed or static category, but a dynamic one. The incidence of particular physical traits used to distinguish a given race tends slowly to change in response to changing environmental conditions, a process which is accelerated by the conditions of modern life.

Secondly, the widespread intermingling of physically divergent populations through the centuries, a process enormously accelerated by the development of capitalist society, precludes any possibility of drawing a clear line of demarcation among the several races. Races are very loose groupings of human beings; and they vary in relative rather than absolute ways.

Thirdly, there is no scientific basis for the "racist" thesis that the superficial physical differences among races are paralleled by racial differences in physiological, mental or emotional traits, and that these alleged differences "explain" and "justify" inequalities in economic, political and social

status. Soviet scientists characterize as "greatly at variance with reality" the racist conjecture "that human races differ in their physical and mental endowments, and that these racial differences shape the history of human society and culture."³

It should be noted that most bourgeois scientists now give at least superficial endorsement to the proposition that all races are equal—as, for example, in the recent UNESCO series of publications on "The Race Question in Modern Science."⁴ Generally, however, through wholesale acceptance of the unsound Mendelian-Weissmann theories of heredity, they at the same time substantially buttress the pseudo-scientific foundation of racist ideology. Moreover, their half-hearted positions on this question—that racial inequalities have not been conclusively demonstrated, or are not so marked as once supposed, or are induced by environmental circumstances — represent no fundamental rejection of the race-difference hypothesis, but rather a tactical shifting of ground in the face of the enormous accumulation of scientific data which demolishes the whole rotten thesis of racial inequality.

It should also be noted that the Negro people, themselves, were the pioneer fighters against racist ideology in the United States. Beginning

³ M. Levin, I. Roginsky, M. Cheboksarov, "Against Anglo-American Racism," *Voks Bulletin*, Moscow, No. 64, 1950.

⁴ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris; especially: *The Race Question* (1950); L. C. Dunn, *Race and Biology* (1951); and Michel Leiris, *Race and Culture* (1951).

as early as the famous Benjamin Banneker letter to Thomas Jefferson in 1792 and continuing up to the present period, Negroes have always been in the forefront of the struggle against the false doctrine of racial inequality.⁵

The thoroughly established scientific principle that there is fundamental equality among all races of human beings emphasizes the necessity of distinguishing sharply between the *biological fact* of race and the *social myth* of "racial inequality." This distinction is crucial for an understanding of the relation between race and nation, in the formation of the Negro nation in our country.

RACE AND NATION

In the course of social development, human beings living in close proximity have grouped themselves together in various forms of social organization, corresponding to the prevailing mode of production. The highest level of such development in primitive society was the *tribe* and the tribal federation. The class society of the slave period brought into being the *state*, which has continued through all successive epochs as an instrument of class domination. The merging of tribes into more or less localized *nationalities*, all embraced by the slave or feudal state, was a characteristic development of the pre-capitalist era. The development of

commodity production and trading as the predominant forms of economic activity, with the rise of capitalism, operated to undermine the isolation of small population groups characteristic of feudal society, and to weld different tribes and nationalities together into a unified, cohesive *nation*—into an "historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."⁶ The social organization of peoples into nations continues through the epoch of socialism; but it will tend to be dissolved with the emergence of communist society, with "the gradual amalgamation of all nations into one."⁷

It is important to emphasize that tribes, nationalities, and nations are *social* (not racial) formations, developed in response to the requirements of different modes of production. This is true, even though all or most of the members of a particular tribe, nationality, or nation, occupying a given territorial area, happen also to belong to the same race, or biological division of mankind.

Thus, Stalin stresses the fact that:

A nation . . . , a definite community of people . . . is *not racial*, nor is it tribal. The modern Italian nation was formed from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, and so forth. The French nation was formed from Gauls, Romans, Britons, Teutons, and so on. The same should be said of the British, the Germans, and others, *who were*

⁵ Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, Citadel Press, New York, 1951. (See index citations under "inferiority of Negro, argued against".)

⁶ Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, International Publishers, 1942, p. 12.

⁷ Joseph Stalin, *The National Question and Leninism*, International Publishers, p. 12.

formed into nations from peoples of different races and tribes."⁸

The biological fact of race, therefore, is not the basis of national formations. Rather, nations are the historical product of *social* development corresponding to the capitalist mode of production.

In response to the uneven development of capitalism, different peoples were formed into nations at different times in history; and the process is still under way.

Thus, whereas national states—one nation, one state—are characteristic in Western Europe, multi-national states are characteristic in Eastern Europe, "where feudalism had not yet been eliminated, where capitalism was feebly developed, where the nationalities which had been forced into the background had not yet been able to consolidate themselves economically into integral nations."⁹

Thus it is that various tribes and peoples of Africa and Asia are only now in the process of merging into nations. Thus it is also that the earlier developed nations of Europe, by virtue of their superior technology based on emerging capitalist economies, were able to extend their domination over and to enslave the primitive peoples of Asia, Australia, Africa and the Americas during the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

Moreover, the wealth accumulated through this enslavement of primitive peoples provided the main basis for the development of industrial capitalism. As Marx pointed out with reference to the African slave trade:

... the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation.¹⁰

It was during this period of colonial expansion, in the wake of the maritime discoveries of the late fifteenth century, that the unscientific doctrine of race differences—of "superior" and "inferior" races—was developed by ideologists of the colonial powers as a mask or "justification" for their exploitation and enslavement of other peoples. As summarized by Soviet scientists:

... in the era of primitive capitalist accumulation when the European states first began to seize colonies and came into direct contact with representatives of other races, propaganda or racist ideas tried to justify the inhuman exploitation and extermination of the so-called "dark-skinned" peoples.

This period produced the reactionary "theory" of the racial inferiority of the Negro, the Indian, the other colonial peoples and of the superiority of the European or "white" race over the "black" and "yellow" races.¹¹

This causal relationship between

⁸ Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, *op. cit.*, p. 9. (My Italics—D.A.W.)

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁰ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 823.

¹¹ M. Levin *et al.*, *op. cit.*

the development of capitalist colonial exploitation and the rise of racism, together with the further development of racist doctrines in the epoch of imperialism, has been recognized and clearly formulated by a number of progressive scientists. The eminent Negro sociologist, Oliver C. Cox, for example, generalizes that "racial ideologies were developed with reference to the relationship of Europeans with non-European peoples and subsequently refined to meet the needs of imperialism within Europe itself."

Harry Haywood characterizes the myth of racial inequality as "the theoretical foundation upon which rests the whole noxious system of Negro segregation and its corollary, 'white supremacy.' Formerly a rationalization of chattel slavery, it is used to justify the Negro's present-day vassalage."¹²

Herbert Aptheker shows how the unsurpassed fraud, terror and mass lynchings directed against the Negro people with the rise of imperialism during the late nineteenth century was backed up by "the evolving of a modern, 'scientific' white chauvinism."¹³

This whole relationship between capitalist exploitation and racism, together with its vital political role today, is effectively summarized by Howard Johnson:

In order to justify the economics of slavery, the whole myth of "white su-

premac^y" was erected in the ideological sphere. The "white supremacy" myth pervaded American life. . . . This ideology outlasted the economic institution of slavery and today is used by the Wall Street imperialists as one of the main ideological buttresses of its national chauvinist drive to world domination.¹⁴

Thus, racist ideology became part of the superstructure of capitalist society, arising from and serving to reinforce the exploitative relations of capitalist production. The objective physical differences which alone constitute the basis for grouping human beings into races, in and of themselves, are devoid of social significance. Race *per se* plays no role in the development of nations or other social formations. This is by no means true, however, of the *social myth of racism*, which has attached to the biological fact of race a social significance by no means inherent in the physical traits themselves. This myth has played and continues to play an important role in social and political development.

The national developments underway in Africa, for example, are social formations which arise in response to changes in the mode of production, just as in the case of similar formations in Europe or elsewhere. The simple biological fact that certain "Negroid" physical traits (*i.e.*, skin-color, texture of hair, etc.) predominate among the peoples of Africa is in and of itself, irrelevant to these national developments. By no means

¹² Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation*, International Publishers, 1948, p. 137.

¹³ Herbert Aptheker, "American Imperialism and White Chauvinism," *Jewish Life*, July, 1950.

¹⁴ Howard Johnson, "Aspects of Negro History and the Struggle Against White Chauvinism," *Political Affairs*, February, 1950.

irrelevant, however, is the fact that the European conquerors of Africa parade under the banner of "white superiority," and seek to justify their dominance on the ground that the Negro race is an "inferior" branch of humanity.

This widespread racist ideology of the European conquerors constitutes a major political force, furthering the subordination and enslavement of the African peoples. In turn, it calls into being a counter-force among the several Negro peoples of that continent—a consciousness of race, supplementing and reinforcing their tribal and emerging national consciousness. Because of the social significance attached to skin-color and other racial traits by the early colonial and later imperialist oppressors, color identification operates as a further basis of unity among the peoples who constitute the emerging African nations.

Thus it is, for example, that *consciousness of race* is an important component of the national consciousness of the rapidly emerging Nigerian and other African nations. So it is also with the development of nations and national minorities among peoples of the Negro race in the West Indies, Latin America and the United States.

The African tribesmen who were brought to this land and enslaved during the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries came from widely divergent cultures, spoke different languages, and represented quite discrete social groups. They shared in common, among other things, a de-

veloping consciousness of membership in a common race, the Negro race—a sense of the unity of "black" people in common struggle against their "white" ruling-class oppressors.

Under the conditions of two and one-half centuries of slavery, these up-rooted African tribesmen and their descendants, centered overwhelmingly in what is now known as the "Black Belt" area of the South, learned to communicate with one another on the basis of a newly acquired common language, the English language. They shared in common the murderous oppression of a system of slave production geared to an ever-expanding capitalist world market. They struggled in common against this inhuman oppression—through strikes, flights, revolts, and other means. They were constantly confronted with, and they struggled in common against, the slave owners' ideological weapon of racism, buttressed by pseudo-scientific "evidence" and alleged pronouncements of God. As a result of these common associations and experiences, including their growing race consciousness, there developed among the slave population strong and abiding psychological bonds of unity, which found reflection in their unique cultural creations during this period, most notably the Negro spirituals.

Thus, during the period of slavery, the once more or less disparate groups of African tribesmen and their descendants were welded together into a distinct people, a nationality developing toward nationhood. The de-

velopment could not run its full course because of the plantation barriers which prevented free association among the slave population as a whole.

Following the destruction of the slave system during Civil War and Reconstruction, the conditions were established for the fuller development of the Negro people as a nation. The defeat of Reconstruction, consummated in the Hayes-Tilden betrayal in 1876, destroyed the hopes of the emancipated Negro for full integration into American national life on the basis of freedom and equality. The Negro peasant masses were left landless under the subjection of the new Bourbon masters of the South. More and more, class groupings and stratifications began to manifest themselves among them. With the development of a Negro bourgeoisie at the turn of the century, side by side with the growing numbers of Negro wage laborers, as well as a Negro middle class, the struggle against segregation and discrimination, and against the oppressive plantation system, assumed more and more the essence of a national struggle, a struggle for national affirmation. Common integrating economic, political and social conditions and experiences during the past 75 years have served more firmly to weld the Negro people in the Black Belt area of their majority population into a distinct *nation*, a nation hindered in its development by brutal national oppression.

The essential characteristic of this

continuing development among the Negro people in the United States is not racial, but social—their merging together into an increasingly integrated nation through an historic succession of unifying experiences based on common territory, language and economic life, and giving rise to the development of a common psychological make-up — traditions, ideas, aspirations, etc.—which more and more find reflection in day-to-day conversations, customs, literature, music, the dance, and other forms of art. An important unifying factor in this whole development is *race*—or more precisely, the social significance which has come to be attached to race by virtue of the false racist ideology against which the developing Negro nation has continuously been forced to struggle.

Thus, the Negro nation developing in the Black Belt is a historic and unique social formation among that part of the United States population which stems from the loose grouping of human beings designated as the "Negro race." It is not a "racial" community of people; but the fact of common race, distorted by capitalist exploiters into racism, has played and continues to play an important unifying role in the further integration of the Negro nation in our country.

At the same time, the question cannot be left on the level of race, since the posing of the issue as a "race issue" is the way in which the white ruling class seeks to conceal the national essence of the Negro people's struggle. In the words of

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Comrade Foster:

Preoccupation with this burning question of racial discrimination tends to obscure the more basic conception of their status as a nation.

THE ROLE OF AFRICAN HERITAGE

The African tribesmen captured by the traders in men and transported to the New World brought with them much more which they shared in common than certain external physical characteristics. They brought also cherished memories of their homeland, their native languages, patterns of family life, religious beliefs and ceremonies, forms of artistic expression, and various other attributes of the primitive African cultures.

This African cultural heritage, despite variations among the different tribes, included much that was common or strongly similar among the early Negro slave populations in the Americas. It operated as a further unifying influence, reinforcing and strengthening other factors contributing toward the integration of these populations into nationalities and nations. Even today, the impact of the African heritage is clearly evident in the social life and culture of the several Negro peoples of the West Indies and Latin America, and to a lesser extent in the United States.

Estimates of the extent of African cultural survivals among United States Negroes differ considerably. For example, Melville J. Herskovitz, anthropologist at Northwestern Uni-

versity, has found what he interprets as African survivals in practically all phases of contemporary Negro life.¹⁵ On the other hand, E. Franklin Frazier, sociologist at Howard University, while conceding the influence of African culture on early Negro life in this country, is convinced that in the "process of adjusting themselves to American civilization, the majority of the Negroes have sloughed off completely the African heritage."¹⁶ A decade and a half of careful and extensive research by Lorenzo D. Turner, linguist at Roosevelt College, has revealed the current use of about 4,000 words of West African origin, together with many African speech patterns, among approximately 250,000 Gullah Negroes who live on the islands and in other isolated areas along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina.¹⁷ W. E. B. Du Bois asserts that "there still can be traced not only in words and phrases but in customs, literature and art, and especially in music and dance, something of the African heritage of the black folk in America. Further study will undoubtedly make this survival and connection clearer."¹⁸

Whatever may be the precise extent of African cultural survivals in Negro life in the United States today, there is no question that this African heritage played an important, inte-

¹⁵ See, for example, his effective critique of the race-difference doctrine: *The Myth of the Negro Past*, Harper and Brothers, 1941.

¹⁶ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, Macmillan, 1949, p. 21.

¹⁷ Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanism in the Gullah Dialect*, University of Chicago Press, 1949.

¹⁸ W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Folk: Then and Now*, Henry Holt and Co., 1939, p. 198.

grating role in the earlier life of the Negro people. Moreover, the enormous mass appeal of the Garvey movement during the 1920's, the tremendous concern of the Negro people over Italy's rape of Ethiopia during the 1930's, the widespread interest in African liberation struggles reflected in the Negro press today, and the frequent development of African themes by Negro musical, dance, literary and graphic artists—all attest to the continuing vitality of the African heritage as a force among the Negro people of our country.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The major theoretical errors expressed in my paper of last September are of more than academic significance; they are pregnant with harmful political implications for the Negro people and the working class. To the extent that these incorrect ideas are still current in the progressive movement they operate to retard the struggle for Negro liberation and the broader people's struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. There are several important respects in which this is true.

First, the denial that race (especially skin-color) is a component of the concept "Negro" tends to undermine the basic understanding of the Negro question as a *national* question; for this understanding rests, in large part, on a grasp of the unifying role which consciousness of race has played and continues to play in the national development of the Negro people. It follows, of course, that the

practical effect of this theoretical distortion is to weaken the whole program of struggle which flows from the Marxist understanding of the Negro question as a national question.

A word of caution, however, is in order. At the same time that we recognize the unifying influence of race consciousness among the Negro people, we must remain alert to the fact that racism and consciousness of race also tend to obscure the true *national* character of the Negro question. This is the danger which my paper of last fall sought to combat; and it continues as an important area of ideological struggle.

Second, and more concretely, the denial of the racial component of the concept "Negro" tends to destroy the theoretical basis of the struggle against white chauvinism; for the very concept "*white* chauvinism" is predicated upon an understanding of the role which "*race* prejudice"—the myth of "*white* superiority"—plays in the national oppression of the Negro people.

It should be emphasized that the concept "*white* chauvinism" embodies both the idea of national superiority ("*chauvinism*") and racial prejudice ("*white* superiority"). Effective struggle against white chauvinism must rest upon a full understanding of the nature of this ideological weapon of imperialism—and also, of course, of its corrupting impact upon the working class.

It is also worth noting that the imperialist ideology of white chauvinism is directed not alone against the

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Negro people, but also against other "dark-skinned" peoples — such as many Puerto Ricans and Cubans, West Indians, Mexicans, Indians, Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese. Thus, these and other "colored" peoples are the objects of both racial and national oppression, and of the corresponding ideology of white chauvinism.

Third, the denial that race and African heritage are essential components of the concept "Negro" serves to minimize the very strong and important bonds of unity between the Negro people of the United States and other Negro peoples in Africa and the Americas; and the political effect of this error is to narrow and weaken the world coalition of anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for democracy and peace.

Right now, for example, millions of American Negroes are following closely, and large numbers are giving direct aid to the heroic Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws being conducted by the peoples of South Africa against the fascist tyranny of the Malan government. The special concern of American Negroes for these and other African liberation struggles reflects close identification with the African peoples. It is based primarily on consciousness of common race and common interest in struggle against the ruling class myth of "white superiority," and secondarily on a sense of awareness that Africa is the historic homeland of the Negro people of the United States, that the enslaved peoples of

that continent are descendants of our own forebears.

This special concern of Negroes in our country for the peoples of Africa is paralleled by—indeed, is an integral part of—their deep sympathy for oppressed "colored peoples" elsewhere. The bonds are especially firm with the several oppressed Negro nations in the British West Indies, as well as with Cuban, Puerto Rican and other Latin-American Negroes. These bonds of sympathy extend even beyond the Negroid peoples of African heritage and embrace also the Mongoloid peoples of Asia, whom American Negroes recognize to be also victims of the imperialist ideology of "white superiority." Moreover, there is abundant evidence that these feelings of unity and sympathy on the part of the Negro people in our country are fully reciprocated by the Negro peoples of Africa, the British West Indies, and Latin America, and by other colonial peoples in Asia.

These international bonds of unity among Negro and other colored peoples are of prime political importance. They operate greatly to strengthen the anti-imperialist struggles of these peoples for their own liberation, and thereby to strengthen and more firmly to consolidate the whole world coalition of democratic peoples' forces now fighting to halt the predatory, chauvinist, imperialist drive toward war and fascism.

Fourth, the widespread discussions precipitated by my theoretical errors on the concept "Negro" tended to

divert parts of the Marxist movement away from today's crucial main line of ideological struggle on the Negro question and to focus attention on a somewhat sterile, academic discussion not directly linked to the major political tasks of this period.

The drive of United States imperialism toward war and fascism is accompanied by a marked intensification of white chauvinism. The Negro liberation movement, itself, is assailed by bourgeois ideas which tend to sap its unity and strength.

These are the ideological battlefields toward which our theoretical understanding on the national and Negro question should be directed.

Finally, one of the most important outcomes of the recent discussions held to correct the false ideas contained in my paper on the concept "Negro" is an enhanced appreciation by all participants of the indispensability of Marxist-Leninist theory as a guide to sound and effective work in this as in other fields of activity.

Readers are cordially invited to submit manuscripts, not exceeding 4,000 words, for publication in *Political Affairs*. Letters of comment will also be welcomed; those submitted for publication should not exceed 400 words—the Editor.

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The Meaning of Industrial Concentration

By Henry Winston

We republic below an extract from the outstanding Report by Comrade Henry Winston, National Organizational Secretary of the Communist Party, to the Party's Fourteenth Convention, held in 1948, on the organizational and ideological tasks of the Party, because it remains of basic significance to the entire membership. The complete Report was published in Political Affairs, September, 1948, and will repay the most careful study.

Comrade Winston, courageous fighter for the working class and the Negro people, is one of the Eleven Communist leaders convicted in the first Smith Act frameup trial at Foley Square. As the trials of the Smith Act victims throughout the country proceed, the fight to smash these frameups and repeal the Smith Act is joined with the fight to win amnesty for all the imprisoned Communist leaders and political refugees, and of all convicted Smith Act victims. In this struggle, against the forces of war and fascism, instruction and inspiration may be gained from Comrade Winston's splendid Report—the Editor.

* * *

THE CENTRAL TASK before the Party is the fight for shifting the main base of our Party to the working class. This cannot be done unless we turn

the face of the entire Party to the workers in the factories. There is already a new awareness in our entire Party of this urgent task. Every single state convention, and scores of comrades in the pre-Convention discussion, have given major attention to this question. We must transform this new awareness into deeds.

HOW TO APPLY INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION POLICY

What is the essence of a concentration policy?

First of all, it requires a fundamental understanding of the role of the workers in the basic industries, in relation to the working class and the life of the country as a whole. It is precisely these workers employed in the huge plants by the tens of thousands who, as Lenin pointed out, become educated to understand the need for unity, collective action and solidarity by the very process of large-scale production itself. One cannot conceive of successfully building the Progressive Party, of organizing an effective fight against the draft, or in defense of civil liberties, a successful fight against war and

fascism, unless this section of the working class is fully mobilized. And, of course, one cannot speak of winning the American workers for Socialism without winning the majority of this section of the working class. It is necessary to permeate the entire Party with this consciousness.

Secondly, such a policy requires the selection of the points of concentration where a base must be secured, if we are to set in motion the entire labor movement. This means knowing which districts must be given major national attention, which industries are key and what plants are decisive. Concretely, while we must strengthen our base in all industrial states, we must above all shift our main emphasis to such states as Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan and to Western Pennsylvania. While we must strengthen the Party in all basic industries, we must particularly select for major concentration such industries as steel, auto, mining, maritime, electrical and railroad. Within these industries we must pursue a policy of concentration in key industrial towns and key plants and departments—with special consideration to the most underpaid sections of the workers, the unskilled and semi-skilled. In some districts additional industries may be selected, as for instance textile in the South and New England; in Ohio rubber, in addition to steel and mining, etc.

Thirdly, the full mobilization of the Party is required to achieve the objectives of our concentration pol-

icy. Concretely, this means that all Party clubs must have a share in the responsibility for work at the concentration points. Communists in the mass organizations, trade unions, etc., should try to convince these organizations similarly to pursue a concentration policy.

Fourthly, beginning with the national and state leaderships, the entire Party must be involved in planning, guiding, and assuming systematic control and check-up of concentration objectives. All political and organizational problems must be discussed and reviewed from the standpoint of how to realize them in concentration industries. Systematic discussion of the problems in concentration industries must be organized in the top political bodies of the Party. Our leadership must be unsparing in the allocation of capable forces, finances, literature, and other material assistance.

Have we said some of these things before? We have. In fact, at our Emergency Convention three years ago the need for applying a consistent concentration policy was placed as a central objective. Why is it that we did not realize all of the objectives set for ourselves nationally and in the states? . . .

We must frankly say that the failure to secure adequate results in our concentration work in the last three years is due, in the main, to an underestimation in practice of the vanguard role of the Party. In practice we concerned ourselves much more with specific policy and tactical ques-

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tions of the unions, of relationship to top bodies, rather than to questions of building a base below to insure correct policies and tactics. What was incorrect? The separation of the building of the Party from the solution of questions of policy! What must not be forgotten is that it is not enough to have a correct policy in the industries, but in addition the organized strength of the Party must be thrown into the key points of concentration. From now on a drastic change must be made. Questions of policy and tactical line must always be related to the forces required to carry out the policy. This will demand a systematic and constant political check-up of our strength in the concentration areas: first, by the political bodies of the Party; and, secondly, through greater coordination of all departments and, most important, a fusion of the work of trade-union and organizational personnel.

The realization of the objectives of our concentration policy demands:

1. Developing and testing in life a correct policy for each industry.
2. Developing the united front from below to insure the carrying through of such a policy.
3. Drawing constant lessons from the experiences of the workers in the course of their struggles, thus helping to develop their class consciousness.
4. Systematically building the party, by bringing into its

ranks the most militant and advanced workers. . . .

THE PARTY CLUB AND CONCENTRATION

If we are to achieve these objectives, our attention has to be turned first of all to the Party clubs, and particularly to the shop and industrial clubs.

These clubs constitute the link between the Party and the basic industrial workers. It is through them that we shall be able to mobilize the workers to resist the drive of monopoly capitalism against their living standards and their trade unions, to resist the drive toward war and fascism. This means that a correct policy of concentration requires that the entire leadership concern itself with the problem of improving qualitatively the work of the shop and industrial clubs in general, and of the individual members in particular.

If these clubs are to be able to play their rightful role, the entire level of our theoretical and political work has to be raised. If these clubs are to reflect in the shops and industries the vanguard role of the Party, we must assist them to become the policy-making bodies within the shops and industries, firmly grounded in the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. It is only in the struggle to realize such an objective that the clubs and individual members will be able to play the leading role in the development of the united front on a departmental, shop and industry level.

Through such methods these clubs will be able to work with, and give leadership to, broad sections of the workers in the struggle for the defense of their economic needs and to spur the workers to independent political action and class consciousness. More and more workers will thus come to realize the class nature and role of the state, the crisis in the two-party system, the harmful role of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade-union bureaucrats, the need for becoming fully involved in the development of the Progressive Party, etc.

Our Party must take full advantage of every opportunity in the day-to-day struggles to champion and advance the fundamental interests of our class, thus demonstrating that:

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. (*Communist Manifesto*) . . .

WHAT KIND OF PARTY ARE WE BUILDING?

In the coming days we shall witness an increase in the enemy attacks against our Party, but we shall also witness an ascending wave of mass struggles. Our Party must take all the necessary steps to strengthen itself speedily in order to be able to help lead these struggle. We should therefore, while taking a realistic

view of the situation, act with the firm conviction that we can win this fight.

Some comrades conclude that under conditions of monopoly's offensive and the defensive battles of the working class "we must retrench" and "wait for more favorable times" for Party building, or that "we need to limit the Party membership to the most militant activists within the vanguard Party." In the light of the tasks facing us as Communists, can we accept this "theory"? Obviously not! Those who advance this "theory" fail to see that the "more favorable times" of tomorrow are being determined, and can be determined only by what we do in today's struggles. In a period of reactionary offensive, favorable opportunities cannot be created by a "wait and see" policy, by "retrenchment" or by "limiting the Party membership to the most militant activists."

The concept of "retrenchment" is not a line of struggle; it is a retreat. This concept flows from a one-sided estimate of the situation in the country. Comrades who defend such concepts fail to see the emerging struggles and the militant cadres they will bring to the fore. The place of many of these cadres should be in the Communist Party. Our day-to-day struggles must be designed to reach and win them and the Leftward moving masses.

Their one-sided estimate of the situation leads these comrades to overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the fighting

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moods of the masses, as well as the ability of our Party to influence the course of the developing struggles. This "theory" denies the vanguard role of our Party and is in essence a form of liquidationism. The present offensive of monopoly is not an argument against, but an argument for building the Communist Party. We must reject all counsels of retreat and retrenchment.

Other comrades conclude that the best way to meet reaction's offensive is by submerging the Party in the mass movement. In practice this concept would lead to a state of affairs in which the Party becomes identical with the trade union or mass organization. These comrades see the need for work among the masses, but they do not clearly see the need for the vanguard Party of the working class. In reverse form they express a certain timidity and a fear of the masses. Moreover, their conception tends to create a tailist policy, and not a policy of leadership which aims to instill class consciousness, pride in, and direction to, the working-class and people's movement. Instead of following a conscious and consistent policy of leadership, these comrades tend to rely on spontaneity. Here again we have an overestimation of the strength of the enemy and an underestimation of the ability of the masses to fight back effectively under the leadership of the Party. This conception likewise denies the vanguard role of the Party.

Nor is the problem resolved by establishing two types of Communists

—one doing "mass" work and submerging the Party among the masses, and the other doing "Communist" work and moving independently of the masses. This division is fundamentally wrong and solves nothing. This combination of Leftist-sectarianism and Right opportunism stands in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist principle of Party organization. Comrades given to such thinking fail to see that the starting point of all Communist work is mass work, that the Party can be built only through such activity.

Nor will the "go it alone" "theory," which draws sectarian conclusions from the independent role of the Party, solve anything. Clearly, strengthening the Party to play its vanguard role in the working-class and people's movement requires a clear understanding of what we mean by its vanguard role. The vanguard Party is not separated from the masses. It is integrally linked with them, leading and helping them to move forward. We ourselves have the task of making clear to the masses our Party's oneness with them. We must show them that the Party is the most advanced section of the most progressive and advanced class.

We cannot convince the people of our vanguard role just by talking about it. We can convince them only by helping to increase the fighting capacity of the people at all levels of struggle. This we can do only by increasing our own fighting capacity, and by improving the quality of leadership we give to the mass movement

on the basis of our scientific understanding.

Our task is to grasp all opportunities to help build the united front of struggle in the shops, in the working-class neighborhoods, to build the Progressive Party and every democratic movement, and thus to fight to build our Party as *the indispensable instrument* for beating back the offensive of reaction, fascism and war.

In the further building of our Party, we must also pay considerable attention to the need of substantially lowering the age level of the Party by recruiting large numbers of young people. Here it is worth noting that in the past several years we have made some progress in this direction. . . .

There is a great stirring among the youth, who are the first to be hit by Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism. Reaction is leaving no stone unturned to win the youth for its reactionary program. There are numerous instances indicating that reactionary forces have been able to misdirect the youth (as, for instance, in some unions, in inspiring hoodlum acts, etc.), because of the absence of decisive leadership in the fight for the youth. Hence, our Party must not only considerably intensify its activity among the youth, particularly among the young workers in industry and among the youth in the Negro communities, but we must place as a central task the recruiting of substantial numbers of young Americans into our ranks in the coming months.

OUR PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

In challenging monopoly oppression, the working class finds a powerful ally in the Negro people who, by the very nature of their position in American life, are rallying to the banners of the struggle against Wall Street. Success in the struggle against monopoly requires the forging of the alliance of labor and the Negro people, the building of the Negro people's unity and the building of our Party, the consistent champion of the Negro people's struggle. For without our Party such an alliance cannot grow and permanently exist. In this connection, we should take note of the following passage from the Draft Resolution:

The intensified attacks upon the Negro people demonstrate clearly the growth of imperialist reaction and national oppression in the United States. The Negro people are experiencing the most extreme, the most brutal manifestations of the growing fascist danger especially in the South.

It would be a most fatal error on the part of labor if it failed to see that this attack is an attempt to tear asunder the growing alliance of the workers and the Negro people, and thus to destroy the labor movement itself. Participation in the fight for the equal rights of the Negro people is an indispensable duty for the American working class, and essential to the maintenance and extension of democracy. Hence the necessity

for unfolding an energetic struggle for the equal rights of the Negro people; for the outlawing of Jim Crow and the passage of the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, for the abolition of all forms of discrimination against the Negro people in army and civilian life; for democratic agrarian reforms in the South, satisfying the needs of the Negro people for land, freedom, and equality; for the right to self-determination of the Negro people in the Black Belt.

The Draft Resolution calls upon the Party to make the demand for full economic, political and social equality, a demand which corresponds to the class interests of the workers, a demand which should become the battle cry of the entire labor movement.

Thus, our Party must keep in view the aim of making a radical turn in the direction of unleashing the full potential of the Negro liberation movement and building our Party as the proven leader of the Negro workers and the Negro people. This is an undertaking that we accept with honor.

Our Party since the Emergency Convention has conducted many significant struggles for Negro rights: anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, for F.E.P.C. legislation, against restrictive covenants, against discrimination in the armed services, in defense of the Ingrams, etc. Nevertheless, these struggles have developed unevenly, and in many cases sporadically.

The basic weakness in the fight for

the rights of the Negro people is the failure to tackle the basic problem of which the other issues are but a reflection. I have in mind the fight on the job against discriminatory firings and layoffs of Negro workers, against the refusal of many companies, including many in the basic industries, to hire Negro workers; and against the refusal of many plants to upgrade Negro workers, and of unions to promote them as shop stewards, committeemen and leaders. Only here and there can we record notable exceptions.

While we re-established our Party in the South, we do not yet have an operative policy of attacking the very basis of Negro oppression on the land. What does this mean? It means that while we must continue to strengthen and further develop in every way the struggles already begun, we must likewise direct our attention to the solution of the fundamental economic and social problems which will give basic substance to the fight of our class, and real equality to the Negro people.

The failure of the labor movement to conduct a consistent struggle for the vital interests of the Negro people is due to the fact that it still lacks an understanding of the Negro question. This means at the same time that, in failing to forge an effective labor-Negro alliance, the working class is failing to defend its own class interests. In such a situation, enormous obligations are placed upon the working-class vanguard.

The Negro workers in the trade-

union movement are in revolt against the Social-Democratic do-nothing policy on the issue of job inequality. But the majority of the white workers, due to the influence of bourgeois ideology in the labor movement, have not yet come forward in solidarity with the Negro workers on this vital issue. In many cases, even among progressives in the trade unions, there is a negative approach to this burning issue of Negro job inequality. The result is that the white workers are not helped to understand what this revolt means to labor as a whole. Neither are the Negro workers helped to appreciate more fully the need for class solidarity.

Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie asserts itself as never before, trying to head off class solidarity and win the Negro workers to its banners. The monopolists make full use of Social-Democratic labor leaders, as well as of some Negro leaders who spread the slogan: "Neither Jim Crow nor Communism." Left-progressive unionists will unwittingly help those who seek to weaken and undermine the unions, unless they overcome existing weaknesses in their fight for full equality.

It is important for us to understand that, as the offensive of the monopolists increases against labor, the class-collaborationist moves away from the defense of labor's interests in general and those of the Negro workers in particular.

The problem of discrimination against Negro people in the basic industries is not limited to Negro industrial workers. One of the worst

forms of discrimination is to be found in the general offices. The general offices of the steel, auto, mining, maritime, electrical, railroad, public utilities and a host of other trusts, refuse to hire Negro men and women. These offices remain "lily white." Clearly, we cannot ignore this situation any longer. It is another example of the attempt to split the working class from the Negro people and create divisions also within the Negro people themselves.

We must recognize the fact that weaknesses on this front of struggle are due to the existence of white chauvinism, expressed in policy and practice. The phrase, "We're all equal," equates formalistically the problems of Negro workers with those of all exploited and oppressed. Supporting F.E.P.C. by resolution alone is a means of avoiding the concrete fight against inequality in the departments, shops and plants. This we all know. The failure effectively to combat this kind of hidden white chauvinism, expresses a lack of faith in the white workers. The white workers will rally, if convinced that their own interests are at stake in the fight for Negro rights.

The Party must unfold an energetic struggle against white chauvinism, not only in the realm of ideology, but also in a practical fight for equality on every level. The result will be that greater numbers of white workers will enlist in the fight and Negro workers will become more active participants and builders of the union. In addition, they will become

a leading force in the Negro communities, and our Party will grow more rapidly among Negro and white workers.

I do not propose to deal with the problems of the South, since they will be dealt with in a special report before this Convention. I want, however, to deal briefly with several problems of the Negro community itself.

The Negro communities are highly organized and progressive and have, in the last decade or so, always been found in their majority in the progressive column on all the basic issues. However, one of the major weaknesses from which the Negro communities still suffer is to be found in the totally inadequate position of leadership that the Negro workers have won and assumed within the Negro community. Until basic progress is made in this respect, the Negro community cannot play its full role in the struggle for the interests of the Negro people and within the general people's coalition for peace, democracy, and progress. But progress in the solution of this question is to a large degree dependent on the unfolding of the struggle for full and equal rights of the Negro workers in each factory, in each industry, and in each trade union. Thus, the fight by our Party forces, and by the progressive forces in general within the labor movement, for equality for the Negro workers is the key to the solution of almost all questions within the Negro community.

Undoubtedly, our Party generally

enjoys greater influence and support among the Negro people than among any other group. This has been shown on innumerable occasions when the Negro workers rallied to the support, not only of Negro Communist leaders but of our Party as a whole. But it is also true that there exists a very wide gap between this general support and influence and the numerical growth and stability of our Party in the Negro community. Why is this so? To answer this question we must take note of some of the basic weaknesses in the work of our Party, which contribute to this situation.

In the first place, we quite often raise slogans and develop movements on such issues as the fight against high prices, for rent control, more adequate recreational, health and hospital facilities, against police brutality, and against discrimination and inequality in whatever forms they are expressed. The Negro people readily join with us in this fight. But it is also true that we do not always carry on a consistent and sustained fight on these issues and that we allow various reformist and Social-Democratic groups to take advantage of this inconsistency and thus take over leadership of such movements. Such a situation is also made possible by the fact that we do not always expose those petty-bourgeois and reformist leaders who are out to mislead and behold the Negro people's movement and because we do not give sufficient attention to showing the Negro people

in practice, through struggle and through consistent education, the difference between a reformist class-collaboration policy and a policy of struggle. In a certain sense it might almost be said that, because of the readiness of the Negro people to struggle and the ease with which they can be led into struggle, we often, instead of utilizing these very positive factors, tend to rely on spontaneity and thus tend to lag behind the masses. Here again, the assumption by the Negro workers of leadership in the Negro community is essential to overcome this weakness and to guarantee a consistent and persistent development of the struggle.

Finally, we must say that any weakening of the fight against white-chauvinist tendencies within the ranks of the Party, whether manifested in the Negro community, in the Party as a whole, or in the labor and people's movement generally, is one of the greatest obstacles to the steady advancement and consolidation of the Negro people's movement

within the Negro community and to the building of our Party into a mass Party in the Negro community. The very influence and respect that the Party has won among the Negro people makes them most sensitive to any failures on our part. They rightly demand of us more than of anyone else. They use a different yardstick in measuring us than in measuring anyone else.

By fighting for equal rights for the Negro workers within the labor movement, by a consistent policy of struggle for the rights of the Negro people in the community, by advancing resolutely the leadership of the Negro workers in the Negro community, by an effective exposure of the reformist and Social-Democratic misleaders, by an uncompromising struggle against every manifestation of white chauvinism, our Party can quickly overcome the gap between its general influence and its organizational weaknesses and establish itself as a major force among the Negro people.

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On the Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti

By Art Shields

This is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Nicola Sacco, a shoe worker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, were killed in the electric chair in Charlestown, Massachusetts, on August 22, 1927, for their determined opposition to capitalist exploitation, violence and oppression. Both had been active in strikes in the great open shop industries of New England. Both were listed in F.B.I. dossiers as "dangerous radicals" and "agitators" before their arrest. The frame-up pretext for the execution was the murder of a shoe company paymaster in South Braintree, Mass., to which another man subsequently confessed.

* * *

IN SIGHT OF the Foley Square courthouse, where F.B.I. informers recite "force and violence" stories, is a high, cream-colored office building that was once used as an F.B.I. prison. There victims of the 1920 "Red Raids" of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and J. Edgar Hoover were sweated by brutal Federal operatives recruited from private detective agencies. And there Vanzetti's friend, Andreas Salsedo, a printer, was held incommunicado and third

degraded for two months without formal charges.

The F.B.I. inquisitors wanted Salsedo to "confess" to some 1919 bombings that appear to have been committed by provocateurs. And they wanted names—names of militant foreign-born workers, who stood in the way of the employers' labor-busting drive. They wanted those names in order to arrest more workers and beat them to get more names for more arrests. But Salsedo refused to turn stoolpigeon. And shortly before sunrise of May 3, 1920, a fourteenth story window opened and a body whizzed past Patrolman Harding as he stood in a doorway on Park Row.

The body crashed while Vanzetti was investigating his friend's illegal confinement. Salsedo, Sacco, and Vanzetti were members of an Italian anarchist group that published an Italian-language paper which supported the strikes of foreign-born workers. The F.B.I. men had been watching Sacco and Vanzetti for some time. They found that Vanzetti had come to New York from his home in Plymouth, Mass. to consult lawyers about his friend's detention. They learned that he was calling a

protest meeting after the murder. THE FRAME-UP TECHNIQUE

And cops were waiting for Sacco and Vanzetti when they came to Brockton on May 5 for the meeting. The manuscript of a leaflet calling the meeting was in Vanzetti's possession when they were seized.

The F.B.I. men and the cops then went to work in traditional police fashion. Sacco and Vanzetti were accused of taking part in an unsolved payroll murder in South Braintree, Mass., on April 15, 1920, with which they had nothing to do.

The plotters were utterly cynical. "It was the opinion of the Department of Justice agents here that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of them," said Lawrence Letherman, former Boston F.B.I. agent, in an affidavit in 1926. Letherman had been in the Federal service for 36 years. He was employed by the respectable Beacon Trust Co. of Boston when his conscience led him to speak out.

The F.B.I. knew that it was framing innocent men.

"... It was ... the general opinion of such of the agents in Boston as had any knowledge of the Sacco-Vanzetti case," said Letherman, "that Sacco and Vanzetti, although anarchists and agitators ... had nothing to do with the South Braintree crime." Similar admissions were made by Fred J. Weyand, another former F.B.I. operative, who had worked on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The F.B.I. was using the Big Lie technique to get rid of two champions of the people.

This frame-up technique, as an organic method of capitalist class justice in the U.S.A., has been used for generations against the labor movement and the Negro people. It enables a ruthless oligarchy to pretend that it is protecting "law and order" while it legally lynches Sacco and Vanzetti or a Willie McGee.

These Big Lie court methods have a peculiar utility to the monopolists in a country where it is necessary to pay lip service to the people's democratic traditions.

In deference to these democratic traditions, the frame-up gang is careful not to prosecute progressive workers, organizers, writers, educators and representatives of the oppressed Negro people openly for their actual deeds or their real ideas. The oligarchy railroads its victims instead on false charges of "violence," or "conspiracy to advocate violence."

This was demonstrated in the hanging of twenty Irish union miners in Pennsylvania in the late 1870's. These workers—misnamed "Molly Maguires"—were framed by the coal barons on a murder charge, but their "crime" was union organizing and for this they really died. Similarly, the Haymarket Martyrs were framed as murderers, but the ruling class murdered them in 1886 for their leadership in the great struggle for an Eight-Hour Day. The Copper Trust framed William D. Haywood, of the Western Federation of Miners, on the same charge, but working-class solidarity smashed that frame-

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up. The Copper Trust had Joe Hill, I.W.W. organizer and poet, legally murdered in 1915. And the public utility magnates framed Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, and only world-wide protests saved their lives and after many years won their freedom.

There were hundreds of applications of the frameup technique in the law courts of the industrial North and plantation South before the Sacco-Vanzetti case began.

THE ROLE OF THE F.B.I.

The F.B.I. was not in on these earlier frame-ups. It was a tiny institution until the United States entered the imperialist war in 1917. But by 1919 the F.B.I. had become a powerful anti-labor police system that was arresting many workers in the Great Steel Strike, led by William Z. Foster. And in 1920 it began taking part in the seven-year frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti. The blood of these martyrs stains the hands of America's political police.

The F.B.I.'s role in the legal lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti is brought out by agents Weyand and Letherman. ". . . their conviction," said Weyand, "was a result of the cooperation between the Boston agents of the Department of Justice and the District Attorney." The terms of this electric chair deal are stated in Weyand's affidavit.

The deal followed the pattern that is still in use in the Steel Trust courts of Western Pennsylvania where

Steve Nelson was railroaded to 20 years' imprisonment.

"The understanding in the case between the agents of the Department of Justice in Boston," said Weyand, "and the District Attorney (Frederick Katzmann of Norfolk County, Mass.) followed the usual custom that the Department of Justice would help the District Attorney to secure a conviction, and that he, in turn, would help the agents of the Department of Justice to secure information that they might desire."

This plot of the F.B.I. and the D.A. was exposed again by Felix Frankfurter, now Supreme Court Justice, in his 1927 book on the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

The F.B.I. agents in Boston were not working on their own. They were getting orders from Washington (where J. Edgar Hoover became F.B.I. Chief in 1924), says Weyand. And the Boston agents were kept busy spying on the Sacco-Vanzetti committee. Other agents covered the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, placed a spy in the cell next to Sacco, gave the D.A. data on the "radical activities" of Sacco and Vanzetti and conducted various "investigations."

These reports went into the F.B.I. files, which J. Edgar Hoover refused to open when his victims were going to the chair. These files, added Agent Letherman, "would throw a great deal of light . . . upon the real opinion of the Boston office of the Department of Justice as to the guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti."

THE PROTEST MOVEMENT

The frame-up began falling apart after the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti at Dedham in 1912. Two State "eye witnesses admitted they had lied. A State police captain made important statements for the defense. And Celestino Madeiros, one of the actual killers at South Braintree, then in the death house in another case, eventually confessed that his gang was guilty—not Sacco and Vanzetti.

Meanwhile the mass campaign to free the victims reached enormous heights. The impending crucifixion of these two innocent immigrant workers first roused the peoples of Italy, Spain, and Latin America. The demonstrations quickly spread to France, Germany, England, Scandinavia, and to every city in the Soviet Union. The Communist movement became the chief organizing force in the worldwide agitation.

Help for Sacco and Vanzetti was also coming from hundreds of local unions in the United States, and some international unions as well, in the first year. The unions' fight for existence against the open shoppers made them actively sympathetic. The campaign spread rapidly. By 1922 the American Federation of Labor denounced this "ghastly miscarriage of justice" at its convention.

The Sacco-Vanzetti defense movement had enormous strength and serious weaknesses at the same time. Its strength lay in its universal appeal to all lovers of justice. The greatest artists and thinkers of the

world, as well as rank-and-file workers, learned to love the courageous young shoe worker with his beautiful wife and sweet children, and the poetic and philosophical fish peddler of Plymouth, who was ready, like his friend Sacco, to give his life for the oppressed. Out of this universal appeal came the broadest united front movement.

The strength of the movement lay also in such talented and devoted leaders as its principal organizer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—now a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, whom the F.B.I. is framing in the trial of the 15 Communist leaders today. Its strength also lay especially with the thousands of brave working men and women, under the leadership of the valiant International Labor Defense (I.L.D.), who gave their time and money to the fight. And it lay more and more, as time went on, with the Communist Party, which rallied masses in major Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations in the latter years of the struggle.

Its weaknesses lay in betrayals and in fatal illusions within the movement. The betrayals came from the A. F. of L. hierarchy, which did all it could to prevent action, especially strike action such as saved Mooney. And the illusions about "good" judges and "liberal" governors, who might save Sacco and Vanzetti without mass struggle, came from petty bourgeois supporters, some Social-Democratic leaders, and Right-wing labor officials.

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about Governor Alvan T. Fuller, the multi-millionaire lord of the State House in Boston, who blandly promised "justice" to Sacco and Vanzetti. Many people were deluded into thinking that Sacco and Vanzetti would be saved without a real struggle, when Fuller appointed a commission to hear the evidence after Sacco and Vanzetti had been sentenced to death.

The commission was a fraud. It was a cap-and-gown group of executioners, headed by the aged President Lowell of Harvard, a Back Bay millionaire. It was appointed to give the Back Bay aristocracy's blessing to the killing.

There were also widespread illusions about such liberal judges as Louis D. Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes of the U.S. Supreme Court. These illusions were blasted when the two judges refused at the eleventh hour to halt the legal murder. Brandeis gave the pretext that he could not act because his wife had once given sanctuary to Mrs. Sacco at their country home. And Holmes testily declared in a formal written opinion three days before the execution that the people must not look to him to give "justice" in this case.

"I have received many letters," said the old judge, "from people who seem to suppose that I have a general discretion to see that justice is done. They are written with the confidence that sometimes goes with ignorance. Of course I have no such power. . . . Far stronger cases than this have

arisen with regard to the blacks when the Supreme Court has denied its power."

Holmes privately admitted that he knew that Sacco and Vanzetti could not have received a fair trial. But the old man, like Brandeis, lacked the courage to fight the Back Bay aristocracy of which he was a part.

* * *

Sacco and Vanzetti themselves had no illusions about capitalist class justice. They recognized that only the power of the working class could save them. "I must have a million men," Sacco cried out in the last days.

Sacco and Vanzetti were almost saved. Governor Fuller was compelled to postpone the execution for 12 days while pickets demonstrated in Boston. But the death plot that had started on Park Row was carried out with cynical brutality. Sacco and Vanzetti died, but they won a great political victory in their martyrdom. Millions of men and women had been united in a common struggle for justice, and the frame-up system stood exposed with the mark of Cain upon its brow.

" . . . This is our career and our triumph," Vanzetti said as the death sentence was pronounced. "Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words, our lives, our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

The Textile Crisis in New England

By Michael Russo

FROM LANCASHIRE to Bombay and from Osaka to Fall River, the tempo of spindles is dropping, as a crisis in textiles grips the capitalist world. Not since World War I and the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism has this industry—among the first to react to any decline in mass purchasing power—experienced such a crisis, which threatens to exceed in severity and duration that of the 30's.

Scarred and battered by the chronic capitalist ailment of "overproduction," the textile industry is not responding to Wall Street's "therapy" of a militarized economy. On the contrary, its basic affliction—the disparity between its enormous productive capacity and a steadily dwindling market—has been seriously aggravated.

Especially hard hit has been the industry in New England, where more than 70,000 textile workers are unemployed. No other industry brings to mind so vividly, and is so closely associated with, crisis and depression as the textile industry. From its earliest days, not only skills, but unemployment and hunger, the industry's legacy under capitalism, have

been handed down from one generation to another. Mute testimony to the incurable disease under capitalism of "over-production" are abandoned mills throughout New England, whose spindles and looms have long ceased to whirr.

THE INDUSTRY'S PAST

New England at one time occupied a dominant position in the manufacture of cotton textiles. It still is a major producer of woolen and worsted goods. Before World War I it produced 80 percent of the nation's cotton cloth. Today the South has become the nation's prime producer, whereas New England's cotton cloth production has fallen to less than 20 percent.

Up to World War I, despite periodic crises, the textile industry of New England went through a period of growth and expansion. Close to 400,000 workers were once employed in all branches of the textile industry of New England. Following World War I, chronic crisis and decline set in.

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ton-system spindles in the United States. Of these, 18,175,000 were in the North, most of them in New England, and 17,723,000 were in the South.

By 1950 the national total had dropped to 23,149,000. The number in the South increased but slightly over the 1925 figure. In New England, on the other hand, the number declined to 4,342,000, almost 14,000,000 less than in 1925. The total national decline of 14,723,000 cotton-system spindles occurred, it is clear, by liquidating the "excess" facilities of the New England cotton textile industry. Furthermore, although textile employment in the United States increased by 81,000 from 1919 to 1947 (much less than all other major industries), textile employment in New England cotton mills declined by 71 percent during that period, when 134,000 workers lost their jobs. These figures prove that the crises from the 20's on were "solved" by the liquidation of the major part of the New England cotton textile industry.

WHY THE CRISIS?

What are the reasons for the severity of the textile crisis in New England? Why are the effects of crisis more disastrous in New England than in the South?

The industry in New England is old. Like many other industries, it had its beginnings there. Most of the mills were built at the turn of the century, many before. New England mill owners not only bled their work-

ers and drove them to early graves, but also many hoarded their profits, rather than use any part of it to modernize their plants. Mills and equipment became run down and obsolete. But far more important than the financial overlords' failure to maintain and develop the textile industry in New England has been their action in transferring the bulk of that industry to the South. Here the bosses, taking advantage of an absence of labor organization, have brought crushing competition to bear against the New England industry. An additional factor they counted on was tax rebates and outright subsidies frequently granted textile bosses by Southern states.

Throughout the 30's the industry continued to operate around the depression level. The return of the nation's unemployed to work as a result of heavy production requirements of World War II, lifted the industry out of its chronically depressed state for the time being.

In contrast to World War I, when capacity was expanded, production facilities declined during World War II. Employment in the woolen-worsted industry, for example, declined steadily during the years 1942, 1943, 1944 and for the first 8 months of 1945. By August, 1945, only 134,000 workers were employed in the industry—a decline of 57,000 from the peak of employment in December, 1941.

Military orders and the expansion of the consumer market during the war lifted profits to record heights. The larger corporations took the op-

portunity of generous help from the government in the form of tax rebates to carry through large-scale mill expansion and consolidation.

Shortly after World War II, however, in 1947, the chronic weakness of the textile industry again began to re-assert itself with growing intensity. Deprived of the stimulus of military expenditures and an accumulated back-log of consumer demand, the contradiction between the industry's enormously swollen productive capacity and the rapidly diminishing consumer market once again led to a crisis of "over-production," the closing down of mills and the dismissal of thousands of workers from their jobs. Thus, for example, during 1948 and 1949 mills consumed two and a quarter million less bales of cotton than in 1947.

The outbreak of the Korean war abated momentarily the developing crisis. In anticipation of another bonanza of profits through military orders and especially a rising consumer demand, the textile industry increased production and jammed the warehouses with textile goods.

In June, before the Korean war, the textile industry was producing at the rate of one billion dollars a month. In August, it had increased monthly production by one-half billion dollars.

The consumer rush to purchase textile goods, however, failed to materialize. Inventories piled up. As a consequence, the crisis which had been developing before the Korean war, assumed now even more ominous proportions. Throughout New

England, more mills closed their doors, entire shifts were laid off, thousands more joined the ranks of the unemployed, those still employed worked part time.

The production of cotton goods declined by more than one billion yards in 1951. Woolen-worsted spindles which had been running on a weekly average of 2,391 thousand active hours in October, 1950, dropped to a weekly average of 1,680 thousand active hours in July, 1951.

WAR DEEPENS THE CRISIS

Instead of arresting the developing crisis, the war economy, by undermining the consumer base so vital to the textile industry, through extortionate taxation, frozen wages and high prices, aggravated and accelerated it. According to a recent survey made by the President's Committee on the New England Economy, more than 50,000 textile workers lost their jobs in 1949 and the early part of 1950. The decline in textile employment continues. Since January 1, 1951, it is estimated that 50,000 jobs have disappeared from the textile industry in New England.

Mark Twain used to say that everybody talks about the weather but nobody does anything about it. The same can be said of the many New England public officials, community leaders, editors, etc., and their pronouncements on the textile crisis. There has been no end to plans, schemes, commissions, investi-

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gations, editorials, hearings, etc., presumably to deal with the textile crisis in New England. Still the crisis grows. An endless parade of "specialists" comes in to examine the prostrate patient. Each writes his own prescription. Despite the difference in language, the medication and prescribed treatment are the same. The workers, they all agree, should accept wage-cuts and eat less; they should exert themselves more — accept heavier work-loads. The real virus—war economy—attacking the aged and decrepit patient and thereby adding to his complications, defies the most microscopic investigations of these learned gentlemen. The more practical politicians, less skillful in the art of high-sounding double talk, are looking for gimmicks they cannot find—preferential treatment for the "distressed" areas, etc. All, including union officials, thrash about aimlessly in the hope of hitting upon some "solution" to the problem—one, naturally, that will not offend the war-minded ruling class whom they so zealously serve.

The leadership of the Textile Workers Union thought it had the answer, or at least it gave that impression by its incessant clamor for war contracts.

Are government contracts the answer to the problem of textile unemployment? Federal procurement agencies and top government officials have been forced to admit that government textile "defense" requirements are not enough when compared to the productive capacity of the textile industry. Total govern-

ment buying of all textiles, according to William L. Batt, Jr., Special Assistant to Labor Secretary Tobin, amounts to only 6 or 7 percent of the industry's capacity and cannot possibly end the crisis. Even during the last war, it was not only government contracts, but mainly the expansion of the consumer market that kept the industry going. Because, together with the high employment level, the workers were not being robbed by inflation and taxation to anything like the extent of today, people were able, partially at least, to satisfy their long-standing need for clothing and other textile products. It must also be remembered that the industry was then operating on a restricted basis and its productive capacity was not so great as it is today. Even so, throughout the war years no less than 500,000 cotton spindles remained idle.

Furthermore, unlike the steel and automotive industries, the textile industry is not an armament industry. Once it fulfills the basic requirements of the military, and this is done quickly, there is little need of replacement. And, in textiles, added military requirements directly reflect lowered civilian requirements.

Unemployment and crisis grip the textile industry, therefore, not for lack of "defense" contracts, but because the consumer market is rapidly shrinking under Wall Street attack. Although government orders increased from 10,078,000 linear yards in 1950 to 94,829,000 linear yards in 1951, total woolen-worsted production declined from 446,046,000 linear yards in 1950 to 367,333,000 linear

yards in 1951. Moreover, despite the increase in government orders, textile production as a whole was about 19 percent less in the first quarter of 1952 than in the first quarter of 1951.

The war economy, by undermining the consumer base so vital to the textile industry, has greatly intensified the struggle for markets in an industry notable for its cut-throat competition.

HOW BOSSES TRY TO "SOLVE" CRISIS

Determined to maintain their profits, despite fierce competition for a rapidly dwindling and totally inadequate market, textile corporations strive desperately to compensate for market losses by cutting production costs and intensifying the exploitation of labor, thus seeking to place the full burden of the crisis on the backs of the textile workers. Wages are cut, work-loads are increased and new machinery displaces thousands of workers. In 1919, in the Fall River-New Bedford cotton manufacturing area, for example, 67,011 cotton goods workers produced \$68,696,000 in gross profits. In 1947, in the same area, 30,022 workers produced \$67,562,000 in gross profits.

Spearheaded by the New Bedford-Fall River cotton textile manufacturers and the American Woolen Company, and encouraged by the submissive policies of the T.W.U.A. leadership, the corporations have unleashed a widespread attack against the workers throughout the industry. Confronted with mass unemployment, workers are compelled to accept

increased work-loads. In the weave room of the Wood mill in Lawrence, the work-load has been increased from 6 to 9 looms with no increase in pay. In the Pacific mill, the weaver's load has been increased from 6 to 12 looms with no increase in pay. In the weave room, Perch line, of the Wood mill, a new machine has been installed; 4 workers now do the work formerly done by 43 workers.

Past crises were "solved" by the liquidation of "excess" facilities in New England and the removal of mills to the South. Today there is not very much left of the cotton textile industry in New England to liquidate. The ravaging effect of a one-sided war economy intensifies the troubles of what remains of the industry in New England, and seriously affects the operations of the Southern mills. The woolen-worsted industry, whose main base is in New England, is now threatened. The American Woolen Company, the nation's largest producer of worsted goods, recently announced that fifty percent of the industry in New England would be removed to the South and the other half would be liquidated, in time.

In the past, although the South offered many advantages to the textile corporations, it was primarily the opportunity it afforded for greater labor exploitation that provided the most attractive inducement to New England textile manufacturers. One might think that the mills went South to be close to the source of raw material (cotton). The development of the textile industry in the South

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does not bear this out. Although Texas produces more cotton than any other state in the Union, its textile industry has not grown in the last 25 years—the period of the industry's greatest expansion in the South. In 1927 Texas had 268,000 cotton-system spindles. In 1947 the number of spindles there had dropped to 245,000. It was not the desire to be closer to the source of raw material that attracted Northern mill owners, but the desire for greater profit to be gained by the intensified exploitation of the Southern workers. These advantages soon came into evidence in the operations of the textile industry. Not only were they reflected in wages but also in work-loads.

Wage and work-load differentials between the North and the South are matters of considerable discussion and dispute. Northern mill owners, always anxious to cut wages and increase production, exaggerate the difference and claim that it adds up to about 30 or 40 cents an hour. The T.W.U.A. officialdom, on the other hand, because of their failure to organize the South, minimize the difference. They close their eyes to the reactionary open-shop character of the industry in the South, and the negative effect that semi-feudal reaction and the oppression of the Negro people have on the wage standard of the American working class.

In 1945 it was estimated that average wages in the South were 13.2 percent below the Northern average. By the end of 1946, the differential had narrowed to 8 percent. Wage increases won by Northern textile

workers in early 1948, widened the spread to about 14 percent. Since then, as a result of the capitulatory policies of the T.W.U.A. leadership and their failure to organize the South, New England textile workers have suffered additional losses in wages and have been compelled to accept even greater work-loads.

Because of the acuteness of the textile crisis, even those industries that had taken refuge in the more "favorable" climate of the South, are complaining. It now appears that the competitive advantages once offered by the South, are not sufficient to meet the requirements of a dwindling market. New England mills have long been complaining about "Southern competition." Southern mills now complain about Puerto Rican, Japanese and Indian competition. To meet this competition, many of the larger textile corporations are casting about for sites among Wall Street's "colonial possessions." The Textron Corporation already has three mills in operation in Puerto Rico. To retain their share of the foreign market, which is expected to drop by another 25 percent this year, the American Cotton Manufacturer's Institute recommends, for example, that textile corporations establish mills abroad, in countries with an abundance of impoverished and oppressed peoples who can be most intensely exploited.

ORGANIZATION OF SOUTH IS VITAL

Failure of the T.W.U.A. to or-

ganize Southern textile workers, has not only abandoned them to exploitation of the most unrestrained and brutal character, it has also been a major obstacle to the betterment of wages and working conditions of New England textile workers. The struggle to resist the employers' offensive cannot be effectively waged from the small Northern base of the union. Organization of the Southern textile industry is vital to the welfare of New England textile workers and to the existence of the T.W.U.A. itself.

The task is especially urgent today in view of the union-busting attacks unleashed by the textile corporations. Taking advantage of the crisis, and emboldened by a reactionary atmosphere, employers are determined to deliver a crushing blow to the union, already weakened by mass unemployment and serious internal division. This was signaled not only by the American Woolen Company's proposal to terminate its contract with the T.W.U.A. but by growing employer arrogance down the line.

To save what is left of the New England cotton textile industry and to prevent further weakening of the union's Northern base, it is highly imperative that the T.W.U.A. leadership, in conjunction with the C.I.O. and all of labor, undertake at once to organize the South.

And right here, on this life-and-death matter of the organization of the South, appears the indispensable need of Negro-white unity. It is a fact that the textile industry in the

South employs very few Negroes. But organization in any particular industry in the South requires—is premised upon—Negro-white unity, and the success of union organization in general in the South is unthinkable without such unity. It is clear, then, that the struggle for trade-union organization in the South—and this means Negro-white unity—is basic to all textile workers, not least, those in New England.

Instead of this, the reformists and misleaders have taken the position, not only of not organizing the South, but of playing along even with K.K.K. elements. The rationalization they offer for this is that the textile industry in the South is "without Negro workers anyway." In this way these reactionaries and chauvinists have strengthened reaction all along the line, damaged efforts at organizing the South and built up the worst enemies of organized labor in general and in the textile industry in particular.

The current crisis finds the T.W.U.A. leadership in a dilemma. Second to none in their Red-baiting and war-mongering, they studiously avoid, in "dealing" with the problem of textile unemployment, any reference to the war economy's catastrophic effect on the textile industry. Instead, they attribute the crisis to the declining appeal of clothes fashions and population shifts to suburbs, where women wear dungarees and slacks!

From its inception, Emil Rieve and the T.W.U.A. leadership have pur-

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sued a policy of subordinating the needs of the textile workers to the interests of the corporations—with increased profits for the corporations and disastrous results for the workers. The lowest paid workers in any of the major industries, textile workers, for the third time in four years, have had to forego much needed wage increases — “for the sake of the industry,” they were told.

If any further proof is needed that the policy of class collaboration plays into the hands of the bosses with disastrous results to the workers, it is the monstrous betrayal of 7,000 Bates Mill workers in Maine, the effects of which will be felt throughout the rest of the industry.

In spite of assurances by T.W.U.A. leaders that “there would be no wage cuts,” a boss-ridden arbitration board recently handed down the incredible decision cutting wages of Bates Mill workers by 7½ cents an hour.

Rieve termed the decision “shocking,” but said the T.W.U.A. would abide by it.

Rieve's acceptance of this heartless decision paves the way for similar wage slashes in New Bedford, Fall River and the rest of the industry.*

This assault by the cotton mill owners can be blocked only by the militant actions of an aroused and determined membership.

THE RIEVE-BALDANZI FACTIONAL STRUGGLE

One would imagine that with the industry in crisis, the union leadership would have been wholly pre-occu-

pled with the urgent task of mobilizing the textile workers to resist the employers' wage-cutting and union-busting offensive, and easing the difficult plight of the textile workers! But not the “labor statesmen” who head the T.W.U.A.! The two years between the 1950 and '52 conventions — years of crisis and mass unemployment for the textile workers — were entirely devoted by Rieve and Baldanzi to the factional struggle for power then raging in the union. This unprincipled struggle for union control not only dissipated union resources, created confusion and division in membership ranks; it also fostered anti-union sentiments and encouraged employers to intensify their onslaughts against the union.

The recent Cleveland convention revealed the total bankruptcy of the T.W.U.A. leadership and its callous indifference to the critical conditions of the textile workers. Few conventions in the annals of labor have been so devoid of any relationship to the real problems affecting their membership as was this T.W.U.A. convention. The real issues were lost sight of in the bitter factional brawl.

Months before the convention it was clear that not the crisis, but the factional issue, would receive major consideration at the convention. It was not chronic unemployment and the growing impoverishment of thousands of textile workers in Fall River, for example, that commanded

* Very recently it was reported that the TWUA has accepted an 8½ cents an hour pay cut in the New Bedford-Fall River areas.—Ed.

Rieve's attention, but the chartering of several mill locals in that city that had formerly comprised one amalgamated local, in order that his faction would be guaranteed a "majority" at the convention.

For years there had been mounting dissatisfaction over Rieve's policies and leadership within the ranks of the membership. Major reasons for dissatisfaction were the lack of union democracy, the absence of an effective wage policy, abject surrender to unending company demands for greater work-loads, a do-nothing policy in the face of chronic mass unemployment, and failure to organize the great mass of textile workers in the South.

The emergence of the Baldanzi caucus and the 1950 convention struggle were themselves distorted expressions of mounting opposition to Rieve's leadership. Baldanzi, despite basic agreement with Rieve on all major policy questions—wages, work-loads, etc.—nevertheless hypocritically exploited these longstanding rank-and-file grievances against Rieve for his own factional purposes. He managed to succeed in this all the more because of the absence of a genuine rank-and-file movement against which the unprincipled and factional character of his own position would have been more clearly revealed. By capping his activities with an attempt to lead masses of workers out of the T.W.U.A., Baldanzi exposed his real character and proved that his "opposition" to Rieve was not based on any consideration for the hard-pressed textile workers at all, but grew out

of a consuming personal ambition for power.

This factionalism, however, could not have taken place had not the groundwork for it been laid by Rieve as well as Baldanzi. Disgusted and demoralized with Rieve's leadership, anxious to remedy the situation, many honest rank-and-file members and local union officials mistakenly believed that by electing Baldanzi to office they could transform their union into a united, militant and democratic organization with a leadership dedicated to the interests of the membership. By identifying themselves with Baldanzi, many good union members allowed their progressive aspirations to be dissipated in a factional struggle. This, after the total betrayal of the union by Baldanzi, many former Baldanzi supporters now understand. That is why many of them, though still dissatisfied with Rieve's leadership, refuse to join the divisive movement and are determined to remain in the T.W.U.A. to carry on the struggle for a fighting and united union.

PRESENT NEEDS OF THE TEXTILE WORKERS

Textile workers have urgent need for a program and a leadership capable of meeting the crisis. In the strongest terms and through effective rank-and-file action, they should insist that their union break with the policy of going along with the corporations and the war-bent ruling class. Present bankrupt, company-inspired policies must be replaced by

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militant class struggle policies in the interest of the workers. From among the ranks of the membership there must emerge a new, progressive leadership, one that will inspire the membership to struggle in defense of their interests.

The first and decisive requirement for all textile workers, as already stated, is the organization of the South. This primary need of all textile workers must be coordinated with a specific program of struggle for the textile workers of New England, who can and must defend their working conditions and make important gains.

To meet the crisis, it is necessary not only to fight off employer attacks, but to oppose every aspect of the war drive which is creating havoc in the textile industry. Unless Wall Street's policy of militarizing the nation's economy is reversed, indications are that the current crisis in the industry will grow to devastating proportions, with even more disastrous consequences for the textile workers. In common with all of labor, the Negro people and all peace-loving Americans, textile workers should call upon the Truman Administration to end the war in Korea. They should speak out for a Five-Power agreement and for the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues. They should demand an end to the huge armaments program which is draining billions from the people that might otherwise go to strengthen mass purchasing power vital to the stability of the textile industry.

To meet the immediate needs of the textile workers, it is necessary to end the wage freeze and emergency decree, devised for the enrichment of the ruling class. To mitigate the effects of the crisis and to create more jobs, the institution of the 30-hour week with 40 hours pay—long overdue in the textile industry—is imperative. Contrary to the claims of the textile corporations and the T.W.U.A. leadership, the textile corporations can and should grant wage increases to all textile workers. The Southern wage differential should be eliminated and a national minimum wage of \$1.50 an hour should be established throughout the industry.

The corporation drive to increase work-loads is adding to the number already unemployed. To curb spreading unemployment and return textile workers to their jobs, work-loads should be reduced and uniform industry-wide work-load agreements acceptable to the membership should be established throughout the industry. To alleviate hardship resulting from chronic unemployment, unemployment insurance benefits should be increased and extended to cover the entire period of unemployment. Funds should also be allocated to meet the needs of the unemployed.

In this election year, textile workers should build and strengthen their Political Action Committees and intensify their political-legislative activity. In the textile areas, particularly, candidates should be brought forward from among the ranks of the workers themselves to

run for office on platforms reflecting the needs of the textile workers. All candidates, irrespective of party, should be called upon to pledge repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law—a major obstacle to the organization of the Southern textile workers. In the course of their political activity, textile workers should unite with all sections of the trade-union movement, the Negro people, and all who want to live in peace and security, to support the Progressive Party candidates and to help lay the foundations of a new mass party—one that will champion the cause of peace, democracy and security.

The dramatic proposals of the International Trade Conference in Moscow to increase particularly trade in textile products had a special meaning for the great mass of unemployed textile workers throughout the capitalist world and provided a glimpse of what could be achieved by the establishment of peaceful international relations and trade on a world scale. Throughout the world the pulse of millions quickened at the logic, common sense and humanity of these proposals. Hope brightened at the offer to rescue hundreds of thousands of workers from the deprivation of mass unemployment.

The offer of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the People's Democratic Republic of China to spend 19 billion dollars in the United States, Britain, France, Italy, and other capitalist countries, if accepted, would go a long way to retard the development of the crisis in textiles and would have a salutary effect on the economies of these countries—especially our own. Imagine the effect on the textile industry of the United States, if, through the establishment of normal trade relations with the Soviet Union, the New Democracies and People's China, these vast markets were made available to American textile goods!

To ward off a catastrophic crisis it is imperative that the struggle against the militarization of the economy, against Wall Street's criminal policy of armaments and war, be waged with renewed determination. In common with millions, the fate of the textile workers is bound up with the struggle for peace. By joining this struggle and placing the issue of peace in the fore-front of their daily activities, they defend not only their own interest, but the interests of the nation and all peace-loving humanity.

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On Problems of Self-Criticism*

Wu Ch'iang

THERE IS NO VERY great difference in the principles of criticism and self-criticism amongst intellectuals as opposed to industrial and agricultural workers; but intellectuals differ in certain characteristics, so that as regards questions of criticism and self-criticism there are certain differences in content and method. The present article is chiefly concerned with problems of criticism and self-criticism amongst comrades with intellectuals' background.

WHAT IS CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM?

What is criticism and self-criticism? Many people are insufficiently clear on this. Perhaps we can make the question clearer by dealing with the following three points:

A. Criticism and self-criticism is the motive force of revolutionary parties and groups, and for comrades who take part in such parties and groups. Every machine must have its motive force—steam or electricity—before it can become productive. Similarly, criticism and self-criticism

gives impetus to revolutionary parties and revolutionary comrades, and gives them the thrust necessary for progress. Without it there can only be a halt to progress, and even regression and disintegration. Criticism and self-criticism is the indispensable weapon with which defects can be corrected and good qualities further developed. Armed with this weapon, on the ideological front, there is "no stronghold we cannot storm, no enemy we cannot rout."

We can truthfully say that criticism and self-criticism gives the forward thrust for revolutionary activity, and is something that decides the ability of revolutionary parties and of revolutionaries to progress.

B. Criticism and self-criticism is the manifestation of the quality of revolutionary parties and groups. It is the acid test for every revolutionary's worth. From the way in which the party or group grasps and utilizes criticism and self-criticism it is possible to decide whether that party is truly revolutionary. To estimate the quality of a Party member, a Y.C.L. member or a Liberation Army man, we also need to see how he grasps and applies criticism and self-criticism.

* This article appeared in the magazine *Study*, published in Peking, on July 16, 1950, and was translated for *Political Affairs* by C. A. Curwen—Ed.

Take the example of the Chinese Communist Party and the reactionary Kuomintang. The Kuomintang represents the landlords and capitalists and oppresses and exploits the people. The Communist Party represents the proletariat, leads and liberates the people. This is the essential difference between the two parties, and because of this basic difference there follows another distinct difference. Such a degenerate party as the Kuomintang is unwilling, unable, and dare not use criticism and self-criticism to reveal its faults to the people. Chiang Kai-shek has never admitted his faults to anyone, or, if he has, it has been purely accidental or with intent to deceive. On the other hand, our Communists and revolutionary soldiers not only dare, but are even happy to reveal their faults to the masses, and immediately consider new methods of overcoming their defects. This is something that other parties, people not "of a special mould," cannot do.

Recently a leading comrade in the Japanese Communist Party was criticized by the Information Bureau of Communist Parties and by the Chinese Communist Party. This comrade without hesitation publicly accepted our criticism and admitted his faults. This is a very clear example of something which bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties cannot do.

The bourgeois Republican and Democratic parties of America, who helped Chiang Kai-shek to the tune of six billion dollars without being

able to prolong his existence, did not dare frankly to admit their failings after the downfall of their hireling, but instead produced a White Paper, saying that it was only Chiang Kai-shek who was worthless, and shamelessly inventing lies about "Soviet interference" to cover up their own ugly enormities.

Our revolutionary party has always struggled against unwillingness to admit and correct faults, and against political stagnation, as against a deadly enemy. Our revolutionary party at all times and in all places strives towards progress, and applies criticism and self-criticism.

Thus criticism and self-criticism is a first-class expression of revolutionary practice.

C. Criticism and self-criticism is one of our daily necessities. Stalin has pointed out that we need it just as we need air and water. Man cannot live without air and water, and neither can a revolutionary party or a revolutionary comrade live without criticism and self-criticism.

Criticism and self-criticism provides the forward thrust; it is the expression of the essential quality of revolutionary groups and comrades. At the same time it is a vital daily necessity, which provides us with a stimulus to uninterrupted progress, reinforces and invigorates the revolutionary organization and increases its strength.

So we can truthfully say that criticism and self-criticism consolidates their evolutionary organization, activates the individual revolutionary and

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Some comrades have insufficient understanding of this. They think that criticism and self-criticism is something which does not much matter; they do not regard it as a necessity; they think of it as nothing more than a method of study. Some comrades even think criticism and self-criticism is a special method of attacking others; other comrades consider it a sort of charm which will hide all their faults. There is one type of comrade who frequently criticizes himself. But, on the one hand he is "a paragon of candor," while remaining a "king of faults." Some comrades are always first when it comes to criticizing other people, but have never once put a finger on their own tender spots. They indulge in indiscriminate criticism in an attempt to throw dust in people's eyes and conceal their own faults.

There are others who think of criticism and self-criticism as something terrible, like a wild beast, and whenever they hear that there is going to be a meeting for criticism they suddenly "feel unwell," and try to escape that way. When it comes to self-criticism these comrades get weak about the knees and dare not face the music. Other comrades regard criticism as their greatest bugbear; everything else is fine, but all this criticism is a thorn in the side. These people mistake genuine criticism for a sort of "mass trial." The reason here is that this type of comrade fears that other people knowing about his defects and faults will dam-

age his prestige and put his nose out of joint. All this arises out of an insufficient understanding of the aims of criticism and self-criticism.

To sum up: criticism and self-criticism constitutes a basic difference between revolutionaries and reactionaries, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, and at the same time is a yardstick to measure the quality, the progressiveness of a comrade.

WHY DEVELOP CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM?

As everyone knows, we have won a great victory. We have overthrown the old society and established the people's power. But can we say that we have entirely abolished the old order? No. Bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism in China have not yet been fundamentally liquidated. Old relations in production have not been completely swept away; the old system of private ownership is still in existence and the influence of thousands of years of the old society, especially its vile ideological vestiges, are still to be found in the consciousness of many people.

We are never safe from the advance of these ideological enemies, which continually try to attack and demoralize us.

Intellectuals coming out of the old society always had a moderately comfortable life, and were continually subjected to capitalist and feudal education and influences, with the result that their ideology always

reflected many "hereditary" weaknesses, which persistently come to the fore. It is because of this that we must use criticism and self-criticism to overcome and conquer all non-proletarian ideologies which carry out "surprise raids" and "insidious infiltration" against us. We must use criticism and self-criticism to develop sterling qualities.

If our revolutionary cadre ignore or tolerate incorrect ideologies, take a non-proletarian line, and indulge in liberalism, then faults will continue to occur, petty errors will become major faults, isolated faults will become general faults, and the cadre themselves, if they persist in these mistaken methods, will be in danger of degeneration.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Our achieving overall revolutionary victory is but the first step of our 'ten thousand mile Long March.'"* We should consider this remark from many different angles.

In the ideological struggle, we can say that for the proletariat, leading the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national capitalist class, for them to seize political power from the reactionaries, was comparatively easy. But the struggle against capitalist and feudal ideologies is a very desperate struggle, comparable with the Long March.

Recently some comrades have been getting all worked up about salaries

* Translator's Note—In 1934 the Chinese Red Army left its old base in Kiangsi in South China and made a devious march of thousands of miles, overcoming incredible difficulties, to Yenan in Shensi Province in North China.

and amenities. Though this may appear to be a small matter concerning only one or two people, in fact it is a relic of bourgeois ideology and the idea of personal property. We must establish New Democracy in order to advance towards Communism; we must continually carry on New Democratic and Communist propaganda and education, and struggle unceasingly against capitalist and feudal ideologies. Individually our means of struggle is further to develop criticism and self-criticism.

The majority of our intellectuals have not a background of direct physical labor. This, and the fact of their upbringing, and of their being continually subject to the influence of their environment, produces in them many weaknesses. Above all, the reactionary rulers of China used a policy of deception, oppression, and all sorts of poisonous methods to make tools of, to corrupt and befuddle the youth. This gave rise to the tragic spectacle of so many young students spending their time in dance halls, gambling dens, brothels and such; poisoning themselves and destroying their self-respect.

The Japanese imperialists and the reactionary Kuomintang filled the cities with cheap romantic novels and with semi-pornographic films, so that our young intellectuals in that old society dragged out an existence that was neither life nor death. Under these conditions intellectuals were contaminated by many ideological diseases.

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ment, we are determined to correct these faults and block off all the roads that lead backwards. In order to do this we must use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, we must develop criticism and self-criticism. This is the most pressing need for our intellectuals.

The People's War of Liberation has come very near to achieving total victory,* and in the near future will complete the liberation of all China, and radically sweep out the reactionaries from our country. But after so protracted a period of feudalism, and after more than one hundred years (since the Opium War) of imperialist aggression, to construct communism in so large a country with such a vast population will be no simple matter. We will need plenty of revolutionaries, plenty of cadre to organize, educate and lead the people, collectively to carry out construction and complete "the Long March."

The development of the revolution demands our raising and training cadre. Apart from established schools, this training must be done by criticism and self-criticism to achieve a general improvement in political ideology.

Whichever way we look at the question—whether objectively or subjectively—these facts prove how important criticism and self-criticism is. It is evident that if we want results in our revolutionary work we must take criticism and self-criticism seriously.

* Translator's Note—This was written in 1950, since when all China has been liberated except for the island of Taiwan, which has been invaded by the American imperialists.

I suggest that we regard the cultivation of criticism and self-criticism as a pressing revolutionary assign-

DEVIATIONS IN CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

(1) There is one type of comrade who tries to hide his faults, and refuses to be candid and honest. Although it is obvious that his faults are legion, he thinks that there are only a very few, or even denies having any faults at all. He thinks, "As long as I admit nothing no one will know." There is a Chinese proverb: "The only way to keep something secret is not to do it"; but this comrade thinks, "the way to keep something secret is to say nothing. Or even if I am found out, as long as I admit nothing they can't touch me." All this is a question of pride. He fears to damage his reputation. But, comrade, even if you do not say anything, do you really think that no one will know? Your silence can only cause you bitterness. Does admitting faults involve a "loss of face"? No one is faultless. If you have the courage to admit your errors and correct them the masses will respect you, not despise you.

Some people fear punishment. They think that the small faults may be overlooked but that punishment will be meted out for the major faults.

This sort of dishonest, evasive attitude, not only cannot preserve prestige, but on the contrary can only result in a serious "loss of face."

(2) Some comrades take an aggressive attitude to others. Their attitude is "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" and "revenge is sweet." At meetings for criticism they give favor for favor and blow for blow. "Last time you didn't say anything about me, this time I'll keep quiet about you," or "last week you criticized me, this week I'll teach you a lesson you won't forget! And don't think I won't be able to pin anything on you"! He collects all sorts of malicious slanders and stages a real "blitzkrieg." In *The Three Kingdoms** Chu Ke Liang positively cursed Wang Lang to death. These comrades also have to curse someone to death before they are contented.

(3) Some comrades are very casual about their own faults, glossing over the serious matters and only mentioning the petty errors; minimizing the major defects and ignoring the minor ones, or merely skirting around the edges of questions.

This is their attitude to themselves. But with others their policy is one of fault-finding and exaggeration. They are lenient with themselves but give no quarter to others. This is called "Marxism-Leninism for you—liberalism for me." They say of their own errors that they were done "in the heat of the moment" . . . "accidental" . . . "merely carelessness," but when others make identical mistakes it is all "inveterate and habitual" . . . "very serious," and this or that "ism."

* Translator's Note—A historical novel written during the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644) about the Epoch of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 220-277).

(4) Some comrades put all the emphasis on a detail and think it can express the whole. They "lose the substance by grasping at the shadow." They only notice the superficial things and forget the real essence. They catch on to some petty fault of this or that comrade and try to wipe him out with it. They devote themselves wholeheartedly to finding fault. "On such-and-such a day you were talking much too loudly" . . . "walking about with your buttons all undone." They collect whole lists of such petty matters and totally disregard the real nature of the so-called fault, whether petty or serious. They do not care whether it was deliberate or accidental, habitual or otherwise, political or ideological; they do not inquire about current conditions. They indulge in wild criticism and reduce their victim to tears without being able to produce anything of consequence. "Much outcry — little outcome."

(5) Some comrades in criticizing others like to bring up only the good points and avoid speaking about the faults altogether. They make a point of lavishing praise all round. In their opinion everyone is just fine — all paragons. These people try their best to curry favor.

Many of our comrades like only to hear others say how good they are; to hear themselves praised positively warms the cockles of their hearts. But when anyone mentions their defects they get red in the face and hot under the collar. The type of comrade who is full of praise is exactly to their

taste. They do not understand that this type of praise is nothing but empty words.

(6) Another deviation is only criticizing the defects and not mentioning the good points. This is a bigoted sort of deviation. Some comrades think that criticism means just pointing out faults. They think that the aim of criticism is to find out as many faults as possible and make out the comrade to be such a rotter that he "cannot find anywhere to bury his bones." "Praise! Do you call that criticism?"

There is a case of one comrade who was disapproved of by quite a number of people. When there was to be a meeting they went around with a pencil in one hand and a little notebook in the other collecting everyone's criticism of this comrade. As soon as they heard of a fault they immediately wrote it down, but if anyone had anything to say in favor of the comrade, they did not bother to make a note of it, and asked, "What are you praising him for? We're not going to set him up as a model comrade, you know." They collected two or three hundred "crimes" from all corners to pin on their victim.

Think, comrades, what good results can this sort of criticism have? What good does it do to the one who is criticized?

(7) Some comrades only examine and criticize themselves, but do not criticize others. This type of comrade is solicitous about himself but careless about others. He is afraid of making enemies. He is afraid of criti-

cizing others for fear that they will hate him, for fear that they will take revenge. He thinks, "After all, who is faultless? If I criticize him today, won't he pay me out tomorrow?" "Sweep the snow from your own front door: leave the frost on the other man's roof to thaw"—best leave well enough alone. This is his motto.

(8) Some comrades like "perfect peace." Their attitude towards themselves is easy-going, their attitude to others is equally casual. The Chinese proverb says: "The water in the river and the water in the well have no quarrel." "Let's have no criticizing. Or, if we must have it, let it be gentle—no drawing of blood—with mutual affection as the keynote."

These comrades not only favor "non-aggression pacts," but also hope for "peace in our time"—all friends together—courteous and polite—a happy family. "A convivial circle, isn't that fine! What do we want with criticism and so on to damp our spirits?"

(9) Then there are the "tranquilists," who are always trying to gloss over difficulties. "What you say is true, but what he says is right too." "Father-in-law says mother-in-law is in the wrong; mother-in-law says father-in-law is in the wrong; daughter-in-law dare not say either is right." These people also believe in making trifles out of the big things and dispensing with the smaller matters altogether. "It's not as if we were strangers; what do we want to get everyone red in the face for?"

(10) Some people, rather than criti-

icizing a comrade to his face, do it all behind his back. Rather than doing their criticizing at meetings, they indulge in gossiping criticism after the meeting. If asked why they said nothing at the meeting, they reply, "You think I've nothing to say? Ha, plenty!" They gossip to everyone they meet, and the only one they do not say anything to is the one they really want to criticize.

There is an old proverb which says, "A good man is not afraid to speak face-to-face," but these comrades are much too shy.

(11) Some comrades make their own personal likes and dislikes their guiding principle. With their friends it is all mutual protection and screening. Although it is as clear as daylight that their friend has many faults, either because "we traveled together," or "we were schoolmates," or because "we get on very well together"; because of these personal considerations they will not criticize and even try to whitewash their friend.

But with comrades they do not like, they put on a grim expression and make a special speech, and try to show that nothing he can do or say is right. This is called "Friends too good to die, foes too bad to live."

(12) There are some comrades who like to make contracts before the meeting—non-aggression pacts and secret covenants. "I undertake not to criticize you if you'll agree to keep quiet about me." Everyone keeps quiet.

(13) Other comrades like to make

agreements and plans to deal with a common "enemy"; they assign "roles" to all their "actors." Then they "open concentrated fire" and take a great pleasure in criticizing their victim from top to toe.

(14) Some comrades obstinately refuse to admit their faults. When they are criticized they deny everything "Firm to the end," "a hero to the last," "no surrender"—these are their mottoes. "Do what you like, but don't think I'm going to admit anything!"

(15) Some comrades, although in their hearts they accept criticism and admit their defects, refuse publicly and openly to admit that they are at fault. They think, "As long as I realize my faults, and am prepared to correct them, that should be enough. What's the point of making a public confession?" In fact, if these comrades have not the courage and determination to admit their faults, where will they find the necessary resolution to correct them?

If we analyze these shortcomings we find three incorrect ideologies—subjectivism, liberalism and cliquism. These attitudes to criticism and self-criticism are none of them proletarian attitudes. They are all devoid of principle.

Subjectivism is a non-materialist ideology. Liberalism is a relic of capitalist ideology, and cliquism of feudal ideology. They are all antagonistic to the proletarian standpoint.

This type of criticism and self-criticism is not plaindealing and straightforward—it is a debased variety. It puts self first and relegates the group

to the second place.

It means that the incorrect ideologies of the old society doctrines have worked their way into proletarian criticism and self-criticism.

It means reducing relations within revolutionary organizations and relations among revolutionary comrades to the level of personal social relations. It means turning criticism and self-criticism into a means of social intercourse.

Incorrect criticism and self-criticism confuses the struggle against the class enemies with the internal ideological struggle, and this results in regarding one's comrades as the peasant regards the landlord or the landlord the peasant.

Another incorrect type of criticism and self-criticism contaminates revolutionary criticism with the methods of the hoodlums of society—deception — ultimata — cut-and-thrust — intimidation.

These defects arise out of comrades being more concerned with their own interests than with the interests of the revolutionary cause.

To give expression to these vicious habits in revolutionary criticism and self-criticism is a grave error. To contaminate the revolutionary ranks with these base ideologies — especially cliquism — is absolutely impermissible.

DEVELOPING AUTHENTIC CRITICISM AND SELF- CRITICISM

(1) We should be scrupulously

honest in criticism and self-criticism. Forget about face. The old saw: "All men have face: all trees have bark" is the philosophy of old social relations. The proletariat is honest, frank and plaindealing. The proletariat looks for truth among the facts.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us that we must "cut off our tails in public, without shrinking." Our comrades must eliminate all vain-gloriousness and self-conceit.

To admit faults does not mean admitting that you are rotten to the core. Admitting faults and revealing them to the group always pays, and harms no one. Not only does it involve no "loss of face," but, on the contrary, it enhances one's prestige and increases one's influence. Frankly admitting one's faults strengthens one's connections with the masses, so of course frankness is welcomed by the masses. The comrade who obstinately upholds his faults, makes allowances for himself or tries to argue his faults out of existence can only end in isolating himself from the masses. The masses will be dissatisfied with him and lose hope in him, and he will lose all influence with them.

(2) We should take a serious, not a flippant or irresponsible attitude to criticism and self-criticism. Comrades should not try to take a "middle line" or be bystanders. We should have the good of every comrade and of the whole group at heart, because a comrade who commits faults and has defects is harmful to the revolutionary cause, and is therefore the

concern of everyone. The attitude "Other people's faults are none of my business" is wrong. One's own faults are injurious to the revolutionary cause and also harmful to the group.

Comrades must develop self-criticism and pay attention to the criticisms of the group. Comrades should not make any distinction between their own faults and the faults of others. If one is tolerant of the faults of other comrades this means ruining those comrades. Similarly, to take a lenient attitude to one's own faults is ideological suicide.

To uphold or tolerate faults is to add fault to fault, to nourish and promote faults.

(3) Comrades should uphold the guiding principle without faltering, distinguish between right and wrong, and criticize according to the guiding principle and not according to personal whims.

What is the guiding principle? The broad interests of the working-class is our guiding principle; the Party policy, the Party aims and the Party line; the welfare of the people—this is our highest guiding principle.

We can benefit from criticism and self-criticism only by resolutely upholding this principle; only in this way can we find the correct solutions to our problems.

Petty, every-day matters which have no connection with principles—"so-and-so cleans his teeth four times a day," women comrades' hair style, "so-and-so's voice is much too loud"—these things do not warrant the

group's criticism, and do not need to be elevated to the rank of a matter of principle.

(4) When criticizing a comrade one should first admit his good points, and then criticize his defects and shortcomings. Only in this way are we in a position to criticize him; only in this way will that comrade cheerfully accept our criticism; only in this way will the aim of criticism be achieved. If one concentrates only on somebody's faults, nullifies and denies his merits, and makes him out to be altogether bad, if one takes this line, in the first place it makes it difficult for that comrade to accept any criticism at all, and secondly it makes him feel he is worthless, devoid of any good points, makes him disheartened and pessimistic. Of course, this does not mean listing all of a comrade's merits each time before starting to criticize his defects. It merely means that while criticizing someone the fact that he also has his good points should be kept in mind.

It should be understood that criticism and self-criticism is not to be restricted to those comrades who have rather more faults and defects than others. Sometimes a comparatively good comrade is rarely criticized. This can only result in that comrade getting conceited and complacent. We should not neglect to rouse him, caution him occasionally, so that he can continue to improve. Criticism and self-criticism is something that everyone, without exception, should take part in.

(5) Comrades should be unemo-

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tional and objective in their criticism and self-criticism; they should be good-natured, reasonable and analytical. Indiscriminate name-calling is not needed. "Only the right-sized hat will fit" — this is most important. Some comrades are emotional and impetuous; they give rein to their fancy and "loose a torrent of words." They accuse their victims of all sorts of "isms." Emotionalism and insufficient knowledge of the facts can only result in subjectivism and narrow-mindedness. People with a petty-bourgeois background are often shortsighted in their point of view. In criticizing this or that person or this or that matter it is essential to examine the development of the error—to search out the roots of it. It is essential to distinguish between what is important and what is unimportant, to distinguish between what is deliberate and what unintentional. Only by finding out the truth from the facts, by objectively analyzing and explaining each question can we ensure that our criticism will be cheerfully and unconditionally accepted.

At the same time we should point out to the comrade a road to improvement; as far as possible show him a way to correct his defects, because criticism is not only destructive but constructive as well. Its aim is to replace petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideologies, to replace feudal ideologies with proletarian ideologies and Communist ideologies.

(6) Our attitude to our comrades should be like that of a doctor to-

wards his patient. We should criticize in a good-natured spirit, in the spirit of helping a comrade to learn from his mistakes. The aim of criticizing a comrade, of criticizing an undesirable phenomenon, is to correct that comrade's fault and to get work done well. It is a comrade's incorrect ideology, not that comrade himself that is our enemy. It is that faulty part of his ideology that we want to destroy not his whole ideology. Only in this way can we encourage a comrade to overcome his defects and develop his good qualities.

(7) Comrades need a courageous spirit in self-criticism. We should struggle for a decisive victory on the ideological front. In criticizing others a bold spirit is needed and in criticizing ourselves a bold spirit is needed too. Some comrades, in actual battle, fearlessly clash with the enemy. They are willing to give their blood and sacrifice their lives without hesitation. But when it comes to taking up the weapon of self-criticism and joining battle on the ideological front, they get cold feet. These comrades bear up under the most adverse conditions, but when self-criticism involves a little discomfort they can't take it.

Some comrades always try to be in the vanguard. They are always challenging others to competition. But in the matter of self-criticism they prefer to take a back seat. These comrades, rather than wanting to have everything as clean as possible, like to keep their rubbish at home, to hide it somewhere. They think it profit-

able to hoard their rubbish. They like their rooms to be spotless and their clothes immaculate, but when it comes to ideological "spring-cleaning" with self-criticism, they are far from particular.

Comrades should try to be in the vanguard on the ideological front too.

(8) Comrades should take the authentic, not the extremist line in criticism and self-criticism. We should not struggle against petty-bourgeois ideologies with petty-bourgeois tactics. We cannot abolish faulty ideologies as long as our own standpoint and attitude is faulty.

Comrades should not criticize from the standpoint of personal prejudice. If we try to fight faults with faults in this way it can only result in confusion, in adding fault to fault, in confusing what is right with what is

wrong. So we oppose not only the philosophy of compromising with faults but also oppose extremism.

Some comrades think that they must look ferocious and intimidate people if they are going to show their "sense of struggle." Rolling up your sleeves and clenching your fists, shouting and cursing is all wrong. The inexperienced may be taken in and intimidated, but also he will be too bewildered to listen to your criticism. No experienced comrade will take any notice; he will know that "whatever you say, you can't shoot me."

Criticism and self-criticism must be based on reason, it must have content and a guiding principle. Of course in criticizing one should speak seriously, but remember! In the ideological struggle, "straight lefts" and "upper cuts" just don't work!

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