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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

Restore Democratic Rights!**National Committee, CPUSA**

On September 8, 1953, following the arrests by the F.B.I. of Comrades Robert Thompson, Sid Stein, Carl Ross, Sam Coleman, Mrs. Shirley Kremen, and Mrs. Patricia Blau, the National Committee, CPUSA, issued the following statement:

The recent arrest of World War II hero Robert Thompson and trade-unionist Sid Stein, fugitives from Smith Act injustice, is another blow on a long list of blows against the democratic liberties and Constitutional guarantees of the American people.

Thompson and Stein were fugitives from punitive measures inflicted by a fascist-minded judge on the basis of a verdict rendered by an intimidated and hand-picked jury and sustained by a reactionary Supreme Court majority. Their real and only crime is that they were and are dauntless fighters for peace and the democratic rights of the American people, fighters for the true national interests of our country.

The arrest of Carl Ross, Sam Coleman, Mrs. Kremen and Mrs.

Patricia Blau for allegedly "harboring" Thompson and Stein is part of the same pattern. The charge of "harboring" should deceive no one. Their real "crime" in the eyes of Eisenhower's Attorney General Brownell is their role in the struggle against war and fascism.

It is an alarming fact that these arrests were accompanied by shouts that the "Communist underground has been cracked." These shouts are intended to hide the real meaning of these arrests.

* * *

The real meaning is precisely that these arrests have dealt another blow to the democratic rights of all Americans; that they follow on the indictment and arrest of 97 under the Smith Act, and prepare the ground for new arrests and persecu-

tions; that they are aimed not only at the Communist Party, but at the trade unions and other organizations of the people. The shouts about the "Communist underground" are intended to conceal the fact that among those indicted and persecuted are Jack Hall of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Karley Larsen of the International Woodworkers; William Sentner and Dave Davis of the United Electrical Workers; Irving Potash of the Fur and Leather Workers; as well as officials of the Pension Union of Seattle, of the Civil Rights Congress, of the labor and Left press, and so on.

It is no mere coincidence that the arrests occurred at the same time Ben Gold of the Fur and Leather Workers was indicted for perjury under Taft-Hartley; that Brownell announced he will add the Lawyers Guild to his subversive list; that the reactionary American Bar Association demanded the disbarment of Communist lawyers; that the Jenner committee found "subversion" among the Protestant clergy, the press and the schools of our country; that Brownell gave an interview to the reactionary *U. S. News & World Report* announcing the plans for intensifying the drive on "subversives" and calling the Communist Party more "dangerous" now than ever before.

* * *

All this shows that the process of fascization is advancing faster than

the American people realize. The Eisenhower Administration is speeding up the drive to install fascism in our country.

But there is still time to act, and new possibilities for beating back the drive to fascism. There is still time to stop the Smith Act persecutions and arrests, to win amnesty for all Smith Act victims, and to repeal the fascist Smith Act.

It is a despicable fascist lie and trick to say, as Brownell does, that the Communist Party is "underground." Our Party is an open, legal party, engaging in public activity, maintaining offices, printing and distributing literature, holding meetings, and sending its spokesmen to testify and fight at official hearings. It is fighting all efforts to deprive it of legality.

In fighting for its own legality, the Communist Party is also fighting for the legality of the Bill of Rights. Our Party's right to exist as a legal party and to exercise Constitutional rights is therefore the concern of all the people of our country, including those who disagree with us. For the experience of our country to date, not to speak of Germany, irrefutably establishes the fact that every attack on the Communist Party and the rights of Communists has been followed by a bigger assault on the general democratic rights of labor and the people, on the basic rights of freedom of association and freedom of the press.

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Therefore all the American people, and especially labor, should enter this fight. It is in their own vital bread-and-butter, life-and-death interest to repeal the Smith Act and the McCarran Act, to restore the First Amendment of our Constitution, to defend the right of free political association.

All Americans have every reason to be alarmed by this talk of a Communist "underground." Where else but in fascist countries is there talk of a Communist "underground"?

This talk can be understood only as an attempt to prepare the ground, to cultivate the atmosphere in our country, for branding all activity in defense of peace and the Bill of Rights as "underground" activity. It is a tragic symbol of how far the billionaire monopolists and their politicians have gone toward transforming our country into a police state. By this kind of talk, the Eisenhower-McCarthy-Hoover Administration exposes its real objective: to drive all democratic rights underground.

By "underground" they mean any and all attempts to protect democratic rights from unconstitutional, illegal and undemocratic police state invasion and destruction. For example, the F.B.I. openly boasts of tapping phones of all people identified with the fight for peace and democracy. When such people then refrain from using their own phones and use pay telephones in order to pre-

vent garbled versions of their conversations from being distorted to get them fired from jobs, or deported, or hauled before inquisitorial committees, or ousted from professions, this is called "going underground."

* * *

The F.B.I. stations carloads of snoopers in front of headquarters, halls, meeting places and the offices of pro-peace and people's organizations. They try to photograph people entering and leaving. They plant illegal dictaphones inside so as to record conversations in order to "finger" people for harassment and persecution. When people do not obligingly come to be photographed or have their voices "recorded" for F.B.I. files, but meet instead in the privacy of a home which is not under police state surveillance in order to exercise their Constitutional and democratic right of free speech, this is called "going underground."

The F.B.I. places the homes of prominent Communist leaders under 24-hour surveillance, trailing them from home to office and to meeting places, in an effort to intimidate whomever these Communist leaders meet with or speak to. Where such Communist leaders, therefore, in order to carry out their activity of fighting for peace, leave home and take up residence elsewhere, sometimes separating themselves from their families to do so, as they have every democratic right and every

responsibility for so doing, this is called "going underground."

* * *

But are not such things fully understandable to the American people? Every unionist who has ever had to build his union in a company-dominated town or labor-spy infested shop; every Negro who knows the history of his people's struggle for freedom; every American who cherishes the Constitution and the Bill of Rights will know that what the F.B.I. calls "going underground" are simply the measures which increasing numbers of people, Communist and non-Communists as well, are being forced to take in order to exercise their democratic rights. Where is the real danger and menace to our country here? Obviously from the illegal, unconstitutional police state surveillance and harassment of the F.B.I., directed by McCarthy's self-confessed pal and admirer, J. Edgar Hoover, and Eisenhower's Attorney General Brownell, who has just whitewashed McCarthy of fraud and corruption in the use of funds.

The American people will understand this fact. But understanding is not enough. What is needed is a huge mobilization of the American people led by labor to restore the democratic rights which are being destroyed and to prevent American democracy and the Bill of Rights from being driven underground.

What is needed is a powerful

fight-back against the efforts to impose fascism on our land. It is necessary to demand the release of Thompson and Stein, as of all Smith Act victims. It is necessary to demand amnesty for the victims of the Smith Act. Stop Smith Act persecutions. Repeal the Smith Act! Repeal all police state laws—the McCarran, McCarran-Walter, Taft-Hartley acts!

* * *

What is needed is to abolish the secret political police in the U.S. The American people are increasingly worried about F.B.I. snooping, recruitment of stoolpigeons, and harassment of neighbors and friends. They are increasingly showing it by refusing to "cooperate" with the secret police, by refusing to give information or to finger their neighbors and fellow workers. They are closing their doors in the faces of F.B.I. snoopers.

The arrests in California of Thompson, Stein, Ross and the others will not intimidate the American people. They will be found ready to protest plans of Eisenhower and Brownell to add to the sentence of Thompson. They will be ready to enter the fight to save our Bill of Rights, to avert war and thereby to save the very lives and liberties of the American people.

William Z. Foster

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Perspectives For Political Action

By Andrew Stevens

(The following is an extract from the main report delivered at the recent National Conference of the Communist Party. Another section of this report was published in our last issue. The full report is now available, in pamphlet form, from New Century Publishers.)

THE National Committee Resolution on the Results of the Presidential Elections formulated a tactical line for the Party in the electoral struggle for the whole immediate period ahead. This tactical line bases itself on the undisputed fact that the main sections of the popular movement—labor, the Negro people, the poor farmers—have not broken from the Democratic Party, and that there is no immediate perspective that they will do so. Hence, the central task consists in influencing this mass popular base of the Democratic Party, to fully develop its independent political action and organization under conditions in which it is not prepared to form a new party, in which it is striving to advance the electoral struggle for its interests primarily within the framework of the Democratic Party and, in a few cases, within the Republican Party. The National Committee asserts that this tactic is the key to bringing about a new political realignment in the country on the basis of which labor and its allies will ultimately be able to accomplish their historic task—

the formation of a new party of the people.

There have been two tendencies in relation to this tactical line. The first has been to interpret it as meaning simply that "everybody should go into the Democratic Party." But this is a gross distortion of the National Committee Resolution. For what the Resolution calls for is a line of action directed towards influencing the policies, and building the independent political organization and activity of the social base of the Democratic Party, that is, of labor and its allies. These are two quite different matters. The second tendency has been to propagate the tactical line of the Party in its general form without seriously tackling the problems of its concrete implementation in one or another state, city, union, or mass organization. The result in both cases has been passivity in the electoral field and a failure to plunge boldly and actively into the multitude of municipal election campaigns that have already taken place, are still scheduled to be held, to say nothing of the failure to give serious political

attention to the preparations for the 1954 Congressional elections.

How must the tactical line of the Party be implemented?

1. By the widest development of a united front struggle on all key policy questions within the trade unions, the main organizations of the Negro people, the mass organizations of the farmers, and the main national group organizations. Only to the degree that these key organizations of the labor movement and its allies are won for correct policies in the fight for peace, the struggle against developing fascism and the fight against the approaching crisis, can we assure a correct content to the independent political activity of labor and its allies.

2. By helping mobilize these main organizations of the people in struggle around specific issues flowing from the program of the democratic coalition which we aim to help build. These non-electoral mass struggles on issues are the pre-condition for effective political action and electoral activity.

3. By participating in the existing independent political organizations and arms of labor and the Negro people (P.A.C., L.L.P.E., etc.), helping to build them where they do not exist, and facilitating the emergence of broader agencies for independent political action comparable to the old Washington Commonwealth Federation or to the existing Democratic Leagues in the South.

4. By helping influence the establishment of such relationships be-

tween the organized arms of labor's independent political action and the Democratic Party as will best contribute to the ability of labor and its allies to influence the Democratic Party from within as well as from without.

RELATION OF LABOR TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

What relationships exist today between labor and the Democratic Party? It is an indication of our relative isolation from the mainstream of the labor movement that we can answer this question only fragmentarily and in generalities. But a detailed knowledge of this relationship is essential in every locality for a fruitful implementation of the line of the Party. For we must guard against blueprinting labor's course and attempting to impose "ideal" plans of action which do not take into account the situation as it has developed concretely in each locality or area.

What are the main patterns which are presently operative?

In some places, labor shares in the coalition leadership of the Democratic Party together with other forces on a state-wide, country-wide, or Congressional district basis. This is true, for example, in Michigan, Minnesota and West Virginia, and in various county or Congressional district organizations such as Washington County, Pa., or Rockford, Ill. In these places, labor operates directly within the Democratic Party, plays a

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decisive role in its leadership, controls a considerable section of the Democratic Party machinery at the precinct, district, county and state levels. As a result, labor has a most direct and decisive influence on issues, program, candidates, platform and election campaigns. However, in these areas, this is being done at the expense of surrendering the independent organization of labor's political action and election machinery beyond the maintenance of a top policy committee. In these situations, trade unionists active in political work operate simply as Democrats with a minimum or no effort at all to bring labor's independent position and role to the attention either of the trade-union membership or the public at large.

In other places, especially where the Democratic machine is strong and entrenched, labor, while having certain minor positions of influence within the Democratic Party, has in the main not followed the course of "moving into the Democratic Party." It operates mainly outside of the structure of the Democratic Party, attempting to influence the policies, candidates, programs and campaigns of the Democratic Party from the outside. It does not in these areas play a decisive role on any of those matters. But the very method of its activity in relation to the Democratic Party compels it to develop a relatively high degree of independent organization of its own political action machinery and independent presentation of labor's position to its

members and the public at large. Such a relationship prevails in Illinois, Ohio and a whole host of other states and cities. Here labor is compelled to rely exclusively on P.A.C., L.L.P.E., Central Trades Councils and C.I.O. Councils. Despite this, here also, the Democratic Party is the main electoral vehicle for the trade unions, Negro people, poor and middle farmers. The difference is that labor and its allies do not decide basic questions but rather bring up support to candidates and programs after the main decisions have been made by other forces in the Democratic Party.

In each of these areas, the implementation of the tactical line of the National Committee depends on a concrete examination of the actual relationship of forces. But whatever the variations in application may be, the essence of our tactical line is to influence the course of events by strengthening the independent organization and activity of labor and its allies within the context of the existing or developing relationship with the Democratic Party.

What are the prospects for a quick and successful implementation of the tactical line of the Party? Very favorable, as a matter of fact, in spite of our differences with the main sections of the labor movement on the ultimate perspectives of political action.

Within the labor movement we are confronted with various long-term perspectives:

Some forces are opposed on prin-

ciple to the formation of a new people's party at any time. Some forces oppose the perspective of a new party and orient instead on "capturing" the Democratic Party in order to transform it into a "people's party." Some do not exclude the possibility that labor may fail in this objective and be compelled to build a new party in the future but modelled along the anti-Communist lines of the British Labor Party. Despite our differences with all these forces on ultimate perspectives in relation to labor's political action, the basis exists at present for a united tactical approach in the struggle to advance labor's independent political organization and activity and to achieve a realignment of forces in the country. This, therefore, is the link which if firmly grasped can lead to a new political situation—a new coalition between labor and its allies with certain bourgeois liberal forces which will not be a replica of the New Deal but a new alliance based on labor playing a new and more advanced political role—an independent political role even before a new party emerges.

This is not to say that differences on perspectives will not influence the approach to and solution of many problems connected with the expansion of labor's independent role and activity at the present moment, even within the framework of a united approach to labor's immediate objectives. Such differences will undoubtedly arise in the course of united and

parallel activity, giving rise to new tactical problems whose solution will demand the greatest flexibility and skill on our part.

At the present, however, what must be emphasized is the possibility of broad sections of labor moving in the direction taken by the U.A.W. Resolution on Political Action. The tactical line of this resolution might well be adopted by other unions as an immediate program for expanding the independent political role of labor in the 1954 Congressional elections.

The application of the Party's tactical line calls for special study in the South. For here certain relationships exist which are not duplicated in other parts of the country. For example, despite the high Eisenhower vote in the South, monopoly capital has no intention of establishing the two-party system there. In the South, the preferred party of monopoly capital is the Democratic Party which follows a policy of coalition on national tickets and issues with the Republican Party. While the Democratic Party in the South rests on a social base composed in the main of labor, the Negro people and the poor farmers, the relationship of this social base to the Democratic Party is not the same as in the North. Nowhere in the South does labor play a comparable role in the Democratic Party to that in the North. With the exception of victories which are won in the fight for the right to vote, the Negro people en masse are excluded

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from the Democratic Party even as a base of voting support due to the denial of suffrage. To a lesser extent, this is also true of masses of poor white farmers.

Nevertheless, the trend is for struggle by labor, the Negro people and the rural poor to move into political action through the Democratic Party precisely because, in effect, a one-party system prevails in the South. Hence, the task of influencing the mass base of the Democratic Party in the South, takes on the form of building and extending the right-to-vote movement, the struggle against Dixiecrat control of the Democratic Party, in coalition with broader forces such as the Maverick group in Texas, the exertion of mass pressure on elected Southern officials, the expansion of such organizations as P.A.C., L.L.P.E., N.A.A.C.P., Voters Leagues, Democratic Leagues, etc.

ROLE OF P.P. IN ADVANCING A NEW REALIGNMENT

It is within the framework of this main approach to achieving a political realignment in the country that the role of the Progressive Party must be assessed. For the P.P. nationally, and its two strongest sectors—the A.L.P. in New York and the I.P.P. in California—has an important role to play in facilitating that realignment. It will strengthen itself and influence the course of events to the degree that it plays this role successfully and skillfully.

Let us first of all be clear as to

what P.P. *is* and what it *is not*.

The P.P. *is* primarily a united front peace party supported by the advanced sectors of the labor and Negro people's movement. Both in 1948 and in 1952, its national tickets were the only channels through which the advanced peace forces of the country found expression, as against the war programs and national tickets of the two major parties. Hence, despite many weaknesses, the P.P. has played and can continue to play a very important role in the fight for peace in the electoral and legislative arena.

The P.P. *is not* the third party, the mass people's party which is historically inevitable in the U.S. Such a party, formed as it must be by decisive sectors of the organized labor movement, the Negro people and poor farmers, will crystallize on a scale, in a form and under a leadership that is yet to be determined. But it will obviously not be the result of the growth in influence and strength of P.P. to the point where it ultimately becomes this people's party.

The role of P.P. must be assessed within these limits of what *it is* and what it *is not*. For obviously, its fight for peace cannot, if it is to be effective and meaningful, be waged in abstract fashion without regard to the actual form which the process of political realignment is assuming. Equally, the political realignment which is now taking place will be decided primarily by the maturing of the mass fight for peace, and the reflection of that fight in the electoral and legislative arena.

It follows from this that P.P.'s fight for peace cannot be waged successfully if it confines itself to mobilizing support for its own candidates on a rigid "go it alone" basis. A most important aspect of its struggle for peace consists in influencing the labor and people's movement to fight for peace even within the framework of their continuing adherence to the Democratic Party. This it can do by following a broad united front and coalition policy with these masses in the fight to defeat the worst war mongers and open fascists and to elect candidates committed to the principle of peaceful negotiations and the struggle against McCarthyism.

Likewise, although the Progressive Party is not the vehicle through which the break-away from the two-party system will ultimately be channeled, it can and must play an important role in accelerating and politically influencing the process of political realignment by its activity in stimulating the independent political action, initiative and organization of labor and the Negro people. This it can do by a broad united front and coalition approach in all election struggles which advance labor's political independence and further Negro representation.

Of particular importance is the role the Progressive Party can play in initiating and stimulating various forms of united action around legislative issues nationally, on a state scale, and in the various municipalities. Through advancing a people's legislative program; by organizing

support for particular legislation, or by generating movements to compel the introduction and enactment of legislation of special concern to the workers, the Negro people, and the poor farmers; by participation in various legislative hearings, etc., the P.P. can contribute in a fundamental way toward advancing the independent political action of labor and the interests of the people as a whole.

Does this mean that P.P. or for example, the A.L.P. in N.Y., should play the role only of a political action center like the old P.C.A., and abandon its function as a political party? Of course not.

It is obvious that in the present situation, the struggle of labor and the Negro people for a political realignment will not be effective enough to guarantee that in all the key electoral contests slates of candidates worthy of support will emerge. Nor is it precluded, in view of the support to the war program by the top leaders of labor, that slates of candidates which are in effect determined by labor can be supported by the advanced peace forces. In such situations, unless there is an alternative, the masses will be confronted with the choice of two equally reactionary war mongers as the candidates of the major parties in the elections. If a broader united front coalition opposed to the two major candidates cannot be formed, then it is clearly incumbent on P.P. to guarantee that the masses have a means of registering their votes for peace, democracy, and protection

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from the approaching crisis, by entering its own candidates. Clearly, in view of its strength and resources, the Progressive Party will be able to do this only in a relatively few electoral contests. But it must be in a position which will make it possible for it to do so should it so decide.

It is our opinion that only to the degree that P.P. and A.L.P. follow such a united front and coalition policy, and move away from their previous rigid third party strategy, will they be able to strengthen themselves in the period ahead and to exert their maximum influence on the course of events.

INFLUENCING THE OUTCOME OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The tactical line advanced in the National Committee's Resolution is the basis for our policy in the municipal elections which are still to be held in many important cities. We will not speak in detail of those which have already been held because, with few exceptions, our Party played little or no role in them.

We must give serious thought to explaining why it is that year after year these municipal elections come and go and our Party plays a minor role in influencing the outcome of events. We do not speak here of the responsibility for this which may be attributed to a narrow third party approach to municipal elections which since 1948 has in most cases

reduced our activity to that of pure propaganda work from the sidelines, so to speak. There is an even more basic explanation. The fact is that our Party is not a year-round factor in municipal politics, with but few exceptions. Despite the fact that here and there ideal programs and platforms may exist on paper on the main municipal issues, they are not the basis for serious and sustained year-round united front and coalition municipal activity.

The fact is merely another indication that our fight for peace is a very abstract one. For the war drive of American imperialism, the war economy, the war-time budget of the federal government has had a crippling effect on the cities of our country. The attack of the monopolists on the living standards of the people is carried out in a major way through their municipal policies in relation to the school system, transit facilities and rates, health and sanitary facilities, tax policies, fire protection, street repair, sewerage and garbage disposal, etc. The McCarthyite offensive finds its reflection in the purging of schools and other branches of municipal civil service. The big racket of war which has its headquarters in Washington helps feed to monstrous proportions crime and corruption in the cities, bolstering reaction through alliance with big party machines and gangsterism in the unions. Our Party, by and large, is inexcusably isolated from the year-round fight on these issues.

That is why we play such a negligible role in municipal election campaigns. For these municipal elections are the periodic culmination of the struggle on these issues.

Our isolation from the municipal election campaigns and the struggle on municipal issues also reflects our isolation from the mainstream of the labor movement. For it is a fact that the trade unions in the key cities of the country manifest great activity in relation to municipal issues and municipal election campaigns. In particular, certain unions are especially sensitive to the municipal struggle because of the impact of city finances on budgetary allotments, wages, etc. The labor movement as a whole is sensitive to the effect of elections on certain key offices which determine whether pro-labor or anti-labor forces will capture city hall, the police force, or the councilmanic chambers. Finally, labor is alert to the fact that it is on a municipal level that the most significant advances can be made in the election of trade unionists to important offices. The fact is that in a whole series of municipal elections this year and in the past years, labor has succeeded in electing its candidates to the top executive and legislative posts in various cities. We need not belabor the traditions of New York municipal elections in this respect. In the recent period, we have witnessed the election of the president of the C.I.O. Shipbuilders as Mayor of Hoboken; the election of a labor bloc to the city council

in Lorain, Ohio; the election of the president of the Typographical Union as Mayor of Rockford, Illinois, and the president of the Newspaper Guild as City Clerk in the same city. If the full facts were known these experiences undoubtedly have been duplicated in a host of other cities.

Let us therefore resolutely put an end to this neglect of a most vital part of our political struggle and electoral work. There must not be a single municipal campaign in any major city in this country in which our Party does not intervene in time, and in such a broad coalition fashion as to help influence the outcome of events.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

The period ahead is one in which the 1954 Congressional elections will increasingly dominate the political scene. These Congressional elections are crucial in the fight to put an end to the cold war, to defend American democracy and to protect the living standards of the people. All forces and currents in political life are already extremely active in preparation for these elections. For it must be emphasized that while the day on which ballots will be cast is scheduled for November of 1954, the election struggle which will determine the outcome of that vote is already under way.

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a) The central overriding issue is the fight for peace, specifically the fight for a negotiated settlement of differences between the United States and the Soviet Union.

b) The struggle against McCarthyism-McCarranism in all its manifestations—repressive legislation, anti-labor legislation, congressional witch-hunting, etc.

c) The fight against the threatening economic crisis; for an economic program to protect and advance the economic welfare and social security of the people and halt the government's give-away, take-away program.

d) Defense of the civil rights of the Negro people, in particular enactment of a compulsory federal F.E.P.C., anti-lynching legislation and repeal of the poll tax.

What objectives should labor and its allies set for itself in the 1954 elections?

1) To bring the fight for peace into the halls of Congress by defeating the most rabid warmongers and opponents of peaceful negotiations, and by electing a strong bloc of active fighters for peace and proponents of peaceful negotiations.

2) To elect an anti-McCarthy Congress by defeating every McCarthyite-McCarranite candidate, especially singling out for defeat those who are incumbents, and by electing a powerful bloc of conscious and determined fighters against McCarthyism.

3) To increase the number of trade unionists in Congress; to in-

crease the representation of the Negro people in Congress.

The preparations for the 1954 elections require that the following be done:

1) The development of a planned and consistent struggle from day to day on the major issues involved in the Congressional elections.

2) The development of a vigorous and militant struggle in support of a people's legislative program which reacts to every issue in Congress and displays political initiative in projecting labor and people's issues to the fore.

3) Special attention to organizing the maximum pressure during the coming session of Congress on Congressmen from labor areas and areas of strong Negro concentration.

It must not be assumed that the developments of such mass struggle will automatically reflect itself in electoral victories. Side by side with them, there must go a policy of direct intervention by labor and its allies in all important primary and inner-party contests, the formulation of program and platform and the lines of the actual election campaign. The possibility of facilitating this will be enhanced if the proposals adopted by the U.A.W. convention are fought for and carried out in life by the entire labor movement. These proposals call for conferences on a state scale of labor, farm and other liberal forces "for the purpose of evaluating the political situation in the state and mapping plans for state and Congressional elections."

Local unions "are urged to immediately contact local labor, farm and other liberal organizations to establish local committees for the purpose of promoting joint political action." Locals are urged to "develop independent political action machinery in every Congressional district in which U.A.W.-C.I.O. has membership" with special emphasis "put on ward, precinct, block and neighborhood organizations where our members can and should participate in the formulation of the program and selection of liberal candidates of ability and integrity." Local union officers, shop stewards, individual members and union representatives are called on "to study and familiarize themselves with state and local legislative issues, to discuss them at their union meetings, in the shop, in the home and among their fellow citizens in every community."

At the same time that we project a policy which calls for active intervention by labor and its allies in every Congressional contest, we must select a certain number of key Congressional districts for special concentration. These contests must be ones in which the outcome has national significance for the defeat of a rabid warmonger, the defeat of a McCarthyite-McCarranite, the election of a staunch peace fighter, the election of a labor or Negro Congressman. Each district organization must canvass the situation in its own area to determine which contests shall be made the subject of special

concentration to guarantee victory in the objective set.

Finally, we emphasize the time element. The election laws and electoral calendar of the states vary. In order to avoid impotence because of time limitations in connection with primary filing or contests, each state must *at once* determine the time limitations within which it must work in order to accomplish its main aims.

The Progressive Party organizations have a very important role to play in those areas where they exist in connection with the struggle to inject the central issues into the campaign, to spark the most diverse types of movements on issues, to spur the development of coalition and united front candidates and campaigns. In the overwhelming majority of cases this can and will be accomplished without the Progressive Party projecting candidates of its own. This does not exclude the possibility, where circumstances dictate, that the Progressive Party will enter its own candidates in cases where the primary results have left the field monopolized by two equally war-mongering and reactionary candidates.

The outcome of the 1954 Congressional elections will be crucial to the fight for peace and against fascism. It will help determine the nature and direction of our struggle in 1956 for the election of a government that will maintain peace and prevent fascism from coming to power.

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For a New Approach to Our Concentration Tasks

By Alex Parker

(The following is an extract from the organizational report delivered at the recent National Conference of the Communist Party.)

THE MAIN political report and the resolution of the National Committee analyzing the elections have placed before the Party the role the working class must play in building a new people's coalition. The recognition of its role in this post-war period has been understood by the leadership since the 1945 convention which wrested the Party from the revisionist hands of Browder.

Commenting on the leading role of the working class, Comrade Eugene Dennis at the 1948 convention had the following to say: "To halt the drive toward fascism and war, the new people's coalition must be led by the working class and its most class conscious section."

Acting on that understanding, Comrade Henry Winston declared:

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.

At the 1950 Convention concentration on the working class was posed sharply. The Resolution adopted by that Convention, among other things, stated:*

The Party National Convention calls upon the whole Party to establish guarantees that a real policy of industrial concentration will be carried forward, and that major attention is given to the workers in the stronghold of trustified capital, which happens also to be the stronghold of the reactionary labor officialdom. For by winning the workers in these industries we will be influencing the thinking and actions of the entire labor movement. *A thorough shaking up is required in the Party on this score. The base of the Party is not yet sufficiently among factory workers. Also, the fact that the Party is not yet predominantly composed of industrial workers becomes in itself a factor tending to pull the Party away from its concentration plans, year after year.* (Emphasis added)

Developing this question further,

* *Political Affairs*, Jan. 1951, pp. 14-15.

Comrade Winston said in his report to that Convention:*

And what does "thorough shake-up" mean? It means that an immediate and drastic change must be made on all levels of leadership so that 90% of its work is devoted to the task of uniting the ranks of the workers, and winning them for support of our Party's policies.

A number of years have passed since these objectives were placed before the Party. Today we are entering upon a decisive phase of the struggle against the forces of reaction—the forces of war and fascism. We cannot stress too much the supreme importance of labor's role in the struggles that are now unfolding. It is in order to pause in these current discussions and assess how the decisions of the 1948 and 1950 conventions have been carried out.

What is the situation in regard to our industrial concentration?

In an overall sense, the placing of the problem of concentration at the 1948 and 1950 conventions in the excellent reports of Comrade Winston (incidentally, let me urge all Party members to re-read these reports**) has borne some fruit. These reports, and the program of activities they outlined, were aimed at eliminating the disastrous effects of Browder revisionism which had re-

sulted in the liquidation of shop club organizations and the serious weakening of the Party's connections with the workers in the mass production industries. Even in 1948, three years after the reconstitution of the Party, while considerable headway had been made in restoring the vanguard character of our Party, the fact remained that little headway had been made to root our Party among the industrial workers. These Convention reports and decisions contributed greatly in orienting the Party on the working class and enhancing the Party's vanguard role among the workers. Many of the positive developments in the labor movement can be traced directly to the role our Party played in this period.

However, despite many positive achievements, the main decisions of the 1948 and 1950 Conventions have yet to be realized. The Party is not based predominantly on industrial workers. On the contrary, there has been a serious decline of industrial workers in the past several years. During the registration of 1950, which revealed serious liquidationist tendencies in the Party, our industrial losses were the greatest. The fluctuation of the membership during these years has been highest in such key industrial centers as Ohio, Illinois, Western Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Undoubtedly, objective conditions have had a great deal to do with these losses, but it is a fact

* *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1951, p. 25.

** The 1948 Report was reprinted in *Political Affairs*, August, 1952. The 1950 Report is in *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1951.

that the districts did not do all that was possible to halt such trends.

To this day, a large percentage of industrial workers employed in industry are not organized for work in the shops. In the New York districts, for example, only 5% of the membership is organized in shop clubs. In the Michigan district, where our Party registered its greatest successes in applying its concentration policy, too many auto workers are still in community clubs and are not geared for work in the auto industry. In Los Angeles, 25% of the membership are industrial workers, yet, only half of them are organized for work in their industry. The trend in these districts exists in varying degrees in almost all districts. Thus, we find a paradoxical situation. On the one hand we have called on the entire Party to turn its face toward industry, and years later, a large percentage of our members who are already in industry, are not organized for work there. This is one of the unsolved tasks which this meeting must place for resolution in the immediate period ahead. Every district leadership must be held responsible to take the necessary political and organizational measures to overcome this problem. In fact, shifting the main attention of our membership to work in the key shops, industries, industrial cities and towns and working-class communities is of decisive importance if our Party is to play its role of participating in and leading the working class in the present and pending

struggles.

Perhaps the outstanding weakness in the execution of the Convention decisions regarding concentration has been our failure or inability to mobilize our Party for sustained attention to this work. The "90% of time" to be devoted to industrial and concentration work called for by Comrade Winston fell flat in the face of actual practice. Were these decisions unrealistic? Did we overshoot the mark, so to speak? I do not think so. Often our decisions were cancelled out by a series of objective conditions that could have been overcome—especially if we had applied ourselves diligently and continuously to the tasks.

What then are the basic reasons why industrial concentration work remains the concern of a small number of individuals and is considered a departmental aspect of our leadership? The 1950 Convention Resolution indicated an answer to this question when it stated: "The fact that the Party is not yet predominantly composed of industrial workers becomes in itself a factor tending to pull the Party away from its concentration plans year after year."

But to leave this question at this point is inadequate. More concrete conclusions will have to be drawn. The role of the leadership in this connection is decisive. Our Party members, regardless of composition, will respond to correct policies when projected and fought for by the leadership. In my judgment there are

five basic reasons why we have not been able to rally the Party on a sustained basis for concentration work. They are:

1. The National Committee did not wage a sufficient and consistent struggle to win the Party for its correct policies.

2. There are too many comrades in Party leadership whose knowledge and understanding of the issues confronting the working class is too abstract.

3. Insufficient integration of comrades from shops and trade unions in the policy-making bodies of the Party at all levels.

4. A style of work which swings from one campaign to another—a style of work which demands quick results.

5. Periodic disruptions due to defense problems and the jailing of our leaders.

For years now the National Committee has emphasized the special role of the working class, and developed a sound concentration policy. Much of the work of the National Committee was geared in the direction of concentration. Industries were selected, coordinators chosen, tactical questions in these industries were periodically discussed, some campaigns were undertaken. But the application of this concentration policy was sporadic, and after a few spurts, things generally returned to "normal" and there was an inadequate struggle to make concentration a permanent feature and system of work in the

Party. Districts were allowed to proceed too much on their own. During the days of the Open Letter, in the early thirties, a district organizer was removed from one of the key concentration districts for his failure to follow a concentration program. I am not advocating the removal of D.O.'s as a solution to this question but certainly we must wage a much more consistent struggle on the district level to realize the objectives of our concentration program.

If it is said that the composition of the Party membership has been a factor retarding the progress of our concentration plans as was stated in the 1950 Convention Resolution then an examination of the composition of our leading cadre is in order to see to what extent this has been a factor in holding up the work. Over the years there has been a system of work which has created two types of cadres in the Party. There are the so-called "inner-Party workers," and the so-called "mass workers." This mechanical division of our cadre has meant that some of our most devoted and loyal comrades have received a one-sided development—one which is divorced from intimate contact with mass work. Many of these comrades hold important functions in district and national leadership. They are responsible for work which should be geared to the Party's concentration program. But this is not achieved. Their whole existence, political and social, is from one Party functionary to another. They almost

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never meet non-Party shop workers. They seldom come into contact with the rank and file Party members who are workers, except to issue instructions. Of course, such comrades are not solely responsible for the failure to carry out our concentration plans, but the role they play in leadership, especially in the absence of shop comrades on leading bodies, certainly helps to determine the outcome of the plans.

Two years ago there was quite a debate on this question in the Board of an important district. One comrade, a miner, who noted within the Board a number of comrades with non-proletarian background and no intimate ties with the workers, decided that the reason for the failure to follow a consistent concentration policy within the district was the predominance of such comrades in leading posts. The Board rejected his position because it denied fatalistically the possibility that these comrades could come closer to the problems of the workers. In so doing, however, the Board realized that a serious problem had been posed.

If we are to make the basic change in our orientation to the working class, the Party must help all comrades to come closer to the needs and problems of the workers, and to participate in one form or another in mass activity. In some instances, also, comrades should be encouraged to go into industry.

In the past several years those who have the most intimate connections

with the workers, comrades from the shops and trade unions, have been separated from leading bodies of the Party. The lack of their participation undoubtedly has had some effect on the work of the leading policy bodies. It is true that the present conditions of work create some real obstacles in the integration of shop workers in leading committees. But such obstacles are not insurmountable, provided we understand that our leading committees cannot fully meet their responsibility toward industry in the absence of such comrades. In the coming period we must change this situation.

Another way to change the quality of our leadership in concentration work is to overcome a division of labor that has grown up whereby Party functionaries give general political leadership and trade unionists guide the economic problems of the workers. In one district, a county organizer worked with a concentration shop club for one year. He built it up to meet regularly, conducted class and educationals, and acquainted the club with the general policies of the Party. When he was asked if he ever read the union contract and knew the conditions of the workers in the shop, he admitted he had never seen the contract. When negotiations took place in the shop he relied on the comrades in the club, and particularly on one who was the business agent, for all the thinking on the economic questions in the plant. Conversely, the full-time

trade-union functionary never felt confident to discuss the political situation without the participation of the county organizer. This mechanical division of labor results in separating economics from politics, in weakening our theoretical and political leadership in the club because it is never applied to the concrete conditions and struggles that the workers face. This is but one of many such examples. What we must fight for are collective bodies that have the ability to give leadership to all problems of the workers, economic and political.

The concept that campaigns and drives for subs or funds, etc., are barriers to our concentration work must be rejected. True, there are some methods employed in campaigns which were obstacles to our concentration work, but this does not have to be. Campaigns organized by the Party must have real concentration objectives. They should be geared to meet our concentration needs and thus become a phase of activity which is part and parcel of our overall objectives in strengthening our base in the mass production industries where the majority of the workers are found. What we must learn is the need to develop all our mass work, our Party building programs, our sale of literature and the press, in and among the workers in the concentration industries. This calls for planning our campaigns in a fashion which helps and is not in contradiction with industrial concentration.

Objective factors such as attacks on the Party, preoccupation with defense matters, the jailing of Party leaders, temporary dislocations in Party leadership, have contributed to sporadic approaches to our plans of concentration. Especially has this been true since the 1950 Convention. But it was not ordained that we should be distracted from what is the heart of all of our work. We did not think deeply enough about the repeated warnings of Comrade Foster when he insisted that we must not allow ourselves to be turned into a defense organization. The lessons he drew from the experiences of the I.W.W. did not sufficiently sink into our consciousness—especially among those who were not on trial or jailed.

The resolution of the National Committee analyzing the outcome of the 1952 elections placed sharply the necessity of shifting the main orientation of the Party in the communities toward the bourgeois-led mass organizations. This question must be seen in relation to our general political objectives, namely the building of a people's coalition under the leadership of labor. It must be seen, in the first place, as an auxiliary to our concentration work. Second, it must be viewed as a means of connecting ourselves with the workers, the masses of farmers, the Negro people, liberal and middle-class elements, youth and women's movements.

In the past year we have made some progress in strengthening this phase of our work, but on close ex-

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amination, we find, with some exceptions in the Negro and youth fields, the work has proceeded haphazardly. Especially has this been true with respect to strengthening our ties with the working class. Whatever progress we note, with the exception of work in Negro people's organizations, has been in those organizations with few or no working class members. While not belittling these positive achievements, we must give major emphasis to the key aspect of work in bourgeois-led organizations which influence the broad mass of workers, the most important of which are in the Negro field and among the national groups.

Where there is the least progress is precisely among the national groups. These organizations are most important from the standpoint of the working class. The work here must be integrated into our concentration plans in every industry and

in every district. The most important organizations must be selected and our national group comrades assigned to work there. Unless this is tackled in the most vigorous manner our concentration program will suffer.

There are many other problems regarding concentration, such as the work and functioning of shop clubs, organization forms to combine our community work with work in industry, cadre training, etc. We have singled out at this time the strengthening of existing shop clubs, the building of new shop clubs, the fight to improve the working class quality of our leadership and concentration on the national group organizations as the main links with which to move the chain. This new approach to a sound concentration policy is a relentless struggle to execute correct policies which have been worked out previously.

"The Negro People in American History"

By William Z. Foster

FOREWORD

William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, is the foremost Marxist-Leninist leader and theoretician in our country. Many writings of Comrade Foster on the history and problems of the trade-union movement are known throughout the wor'ld. His last two outstanding works, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, and *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, contain a magnificent demonstration of the application of Marxist-Leninism to the United States and the Western hemisphere.

Now Comrade Foster has completed a third great work, *The Negro People in American History*, to be published very soon.

Comrade Foster's own leadership in the struggle to weld Negro-white unity constitutes an epic in American history. He pioneered in the organization of Negro workers during the huge steel and packing struggles of 1919-20. From the beginning he showed that the trade unions will become a truly decisive power only when they embrace, on the basis of equality, all workers—Negro and white.

Comrade Foster's new book is a synthesis and an analysis of all the Marxist writings of the past on the Negro question and on American history. In addition, it represents a monumental contribution towards an understanding of the struggles of the Negro people and of the development of the Negro nation. The book provides the necessary theoretical clarity for a comprehension of the significance of the national liberation efforts of the Negro people.

This book will prove to be a great weapon in the hands of the American working class for it demonstrates the necessity for the Negro-labor alliance. Furthermore, it demonstrates the need on the part of all honest white workers to carry forward this banner of unity among all sections of the American people. It shows, historically and conclusively, the tremendous importance of the struggle against white chauvinism, a struggle in the self-interest of the working class. Simultaneously, it serves as a powerful weapon in the fight against Negro bourgeois nationalism.

The recent three volumes by Comrade Foster constitute a basic library on the national and colonial question in this hemisphere. This most recent book

will advance our whole understanding of the Negro question in the U.S. and of the colonial and semi-colonial status of the peoples of Latin America. I am confident that this book will be vigorously spread throughout the labor movement, the Negro movement, and throughout our Party.

PETTIS PERRY

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The South Today, and Labor's Tasks

By Charles P. Mann and Wilbur H. Brown

INTRODUCTORY NOTE:

This is a chapter from a larger work—*The Economic and Political Situation in the South Today*.

It is a purpose of this article to present factual data regarding the status and trends in those branches of industry and agriculture in the South which employ the largest numbers of the working population. The examination is limited, therefore, to Textile and Lumber in industry, and to Cotton and Livestock in agriculture. In the basic industries of mining, steel, railroad transport, etc., crisis factors are also present and maturing. The fact that the basic industries and other branches of light industry are not dealt with here is not to suggest any minimizing of their importance in the total economic picture in the South.

The materials presented here attest to the fact that the crisis factors in the Southern economy are rapidly maturing. Furthermore, this process of economic decay has been greatly accelerated by the cold-war trade embargo against the Soviet Union, China and the European lands of People's Democracy.

* * *

INDUSTRY:

In 1949 per capita income of Southerners was \$882 or 66% of the national average.

Agriculture was no longer the leading economic activity in 1949, having become second to manufacturing. Manufacturing in 1949 accounted for about one-sixth of all income in the region, while agriculture contributed one-eighth of the total.

In 1947, 14.6% of the nation's manufacturing wage earners were employed in the Southeast. The factory workers of this region are the most highly concentrated in the non-durable goods industries of all the regions of the country, 64% of all the manufacturing employment being engaged in non-durable goods manufacture.

Lumber and textiles are the two leading industries of the Southeast.

In 1950, the Southeast had 48% of the entire textile industry employment of the nation. In January, 1953, 80% of all spindles in the country were located in the Southeast. The Southeast accounts for 45% of all lumber industry employment. The

payrolls in the lumber, furniture and paper factories—the leading forest products industries—rank second in size only to textiles and apparel among the manufactured products of the region. It also has 60% of the tobacco products industry.

The productivity of the region's factories, as measured by average value added by manufacture per production worker *rose the most of any region* between 1939 and 1947. Output per worker rose from 69% of the national average in 1939 to 80% in 1947—an 11% increase in 8 years!

There has been a relatively rapid expansion in the output of fuels and other mineral products. The Southeast almost doubled its share of total national output of mineral fuels—from 8% in 1929 to 15% in 1948. Between 1929 and 1948 the Southeast moved from third to second place as a producer of coal; from fifth to third place as a producer of petroleum, natural gasoline and natural gas. The largest increases took place in Louisiana petroleum output and Kentucky coal output. In coal output *per man hour* this increase amounted to 31.4% from 1930 to 1947. This rapid increase in coal output occurred *in the region which has the least mechanization of mine operations of any mineral production area in the country*. In 1947 only 44.6% of all coal mined underground was mechanically loaded!

In addition to the above Southern giant industries, there has been a

movement into the South of a number of other industries. For example, aluminum; expansion of sulphur production; some auto and aircraft assembly plants; packinghouse; a couple of big farm equipment and rubber tire plants; a large number of big munitions, cement and fertilizer plants and small shoe factories have set up operations in the Southeast in the post-World War II years. But all of this much-heralded industrial growth produced only a temporary and relatively negligible increase in the total working force.*

Plant expansion and relocation for the South had already reached its peak by mid-1952. (New investments in manufacturing plant and equipment was still only 14% of the national total in 1947.) Gains in employment from the influx of new (mainly war-serving) industries *have already fallen far behind the figures of unemployed in the mass employment textile and lumber industries*. The textile and lumber industries—the chief industries of mass employment in the South—have been for the past four years more or less in a condition of near-depression. The crisis in textile and lumber is chronic and the industries are tobogganing downward toward ruin at an accelerated rate.

Investment capital in the Southeast increased only 7% in the decade between 1939-1949. Yet, the flow of interest, dividends, net rents and royalty payments notably increased.

* See, "Notes on Recent Developments in the South," in *Political Affairs*, May, 1952.

In Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and South Carolina, property income accounted for only 7% of all income—the smallest proportion in the country. This fact is attributable directly to the absentee ownership of the bulk of all properties—business, industrial, agricultural and hotel and apartment properties, to “the outflow of income to owners of Southeast property residing in other parts of the country,” primarily to the Wall Street corporations and banks represented in the Rockefeller, Morgan-First National Bank and Du Pont interests.

The Regional Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor lists the following breakdown on industrial employment and weekly average earnings in the following Southeastern states as of October 1952 as appended below: (National average weekly wage in October 1952 was \$70.80.)

Wages in the factories of the Southeast, in most industries and on the average, are the lowest in the country—34% below in 1939 and

25% below in 1947. In October, 1952, the average weekly wage of workers in manufacturing was \$52 against the \$70.80 national average or approximately 38% less.

AGRICULTURE:

In the years 1946-48, cotton (with seed) accounted for 25% of the Southeast region's cash receipts from farm marketings, and meat animals (livestock and dairying) accounted for 17% of the total take from agriculture.

In 1949, farming accounted for 13% of all income of individuals in the Southeast region. Arkansas and Mississippi, the states with much the larger proportion of total income derived from agriculture in 1949, were at the bottom of the list in regard to per capita incomes. (This latter fact is indicative of the pitifully low earnings and barbaric exploitation of the plantation workers and sharecroppers.) The farms of the region are operated with the least mechanical power and the most manpower of any of the agri-

State	No. employed in Manufacturing	Weekly Wage	Amount Below Nat'l Average
Tennessee	277,900	\$56.58	-\$14.22
Alabama	236,500	55.08	- 15.72
Virginia	253,600	54.67	- 16.13
Florida	113,300	53.67	- 17.13
North Carolina	448,100	49.91	- 19.89
South Carolina	220,300	49.61	- 20.19
Georgia	310,500	49.41	- 20.39
Mississippi	98,000	47.08	- 22.92

cultural regions of the country. (Example: one tractor for every 7 farms in the South as against one tractor for every 2 farms as a national average.)

While tobacco, sugar cane, rice, soybean, and peanuts are important Southern crops, cotton is still king in Southern agriculture. Livestock raising and dairying has developed considerably in the past ten years. Economic well-being of Southern farmers in particular, and to a considerable extent of the South in general, is dependent upon the strength of the cotton and livestock market, and the market for cotton and livestock has not been so weak since the depression year of 1932!

In the country as a whole a considerable growth in agricultural productivity, livestock raising and poultry was registered over the past decade in spite of a loss in farm population and acreage under crop as a result of technological improvements and mechanization. However, the South made the least progress of all agricultural areas in this regard. As was pointed out in *Political Affairs* in August, 1950, the heralded mechanization of Southern agriculture and accompanying "revolutionary transformation in the monoculture character of Southern agriculture and in its production relations"—the automatic breakup of the plantation system and the peaceful liquidation of the barbarous landlord-tenant relations—is a myth and a delusion.

In the Southeast cotton is still

king and over half (56% in 1951) of the total U.S. crop is grown there. Notwithstanding all talk of tendencies toward diversification, and, notwithstanding the fact that livestock raising and dairying now accounts for 17% of the income from farm production, the basic fact remains that 43% of the Southeastern farmer's cash receipts come from cotton and tobacco (taken together).

In 1945, the Southeastern states had 186 million acres of land in farms. 36.6% of this farmland was in use to crops and 25.9% was in use for pasturage. (There were 23 million acres of wasteland in the Southeastern states in 1945!)

As to the mechanization of agriculture in the Southeast—it is still "a wish, a hope and a caricature" of a deferred dream. Only a very small fraction of the increase in productivity in agriculture there can be attributed to acceleration in farm mechanization or electrification. Such increased productivity (still the lowest of any agricultural region) as has occurred over the past ten years was still wrested from sweated men, women, children and mules in the main.

The fact is that in the heart of the Southeast itself a very small fraction of the cotton is harvested by machine methods. If one examines the overall figures for the rate of the increase in mechanization of cotton-picking, the figures are at first glance impressive: 0.4% of cotton harvested mechanically in 1946, 17% in 1951*.

* *Life Magazine*, Jan. 5, 1953.

and, according to *The Wall Street Journal* (April 28, 1953), 25% of the crop in 1952. The bulk of this increase, however, is outside of the Black Belt, being concentrated in California and Arizona and, to a somewhat lesser degree, in Oklahoma and Texas. East of Texas the mechanization is almost non-existent: 9% of the cotton crop mechanically picked in Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas; 2% in the remainder of the South.

True, the Southeast lost heavily in farm population between the years of the two census decades, 1930-1950—a decline of approximately 25% in the number of farm workers per 1,000 acres of cropland. But it still has the largest number living on farms and the highest percentage of farm dwellers to total population of all the regions of the country. Of the total Southeast population 57.2% is rural.

The farm population in the Southeastern states in 1948 was 11,272,000. There were 2,183,000 farms in 1945 in the Southeast, the "average" farm size being 85 acres as against the national average of 195 acres. In 1945, also, 2,957,000 farm workers were employed in the region.

* * *

In terms of earnings during the prosperity boom years the "average" Southern farmer never got his head above the mire of poverty and debt. Lowest receipts per farm worker during 1946-48 were in the South, which has almost one-half of all the

farm workers in the country. Receipts were only half of the national average in the Southeast, that is: \$1684 against the national average of \$3401.

Practically all the available official statistics on the South are presented in terms of "average" figures. This, of course, conceals the wide disparity between the rich and poor farmers; the few high-paid workers and the many whose earnings buy them only a slow starvation. As to the status of the Negro in the various areas of Southern life, only at the hands of the government statisticians has he achieved "integration"! The fact is, however, that in no area of life do the general figures for the South as a whole accurately represent the special oppressed status of the Southern Negro people. If we characterize the disparity in economic well-being between the Southerners and the rest of the nation as a "differential," then the distance between the economic condition of the Negro masses and that of the "average Southerner" is a gaping chasm; to say nothing of the disparity between the condition of the Southern Negroes as compared with the "averages" for the U.S. as a whole.

The most complete compilation of recent figures on the economic status of the Negro people is to be found in Victor Perlo's article in *Science & Society*, Spring, 1952. Whenever one examines "average" figures on the deplorable conditions of the masses in the South, one must keep in mind that the conditions of

the Negro masses are worse still, as witness the following comparisons taken at random:

"In 1949, the median annual income of Negro families in the South stood at \$995, that of white families was twice this figure, and that of white families in other sections of the United States was approximately three times as large. Less than 12% of the Negroes in the South had yearly incomes of \$2,500 or more."*

In industry, Negro workers are primarily limited to the lowest paid job classifications, frozen in the unskilled ranks and excluded from employment altogether in most of the "new" run-away plants such as chemicals, textiles, rubber, etc. Only 8% of all the craftsmen, foremen and skilled workers in this category in the South are Negroes. Yet Negroes are approximately 28% of the South's population.

Between 1930 and 1945, Negro farmers accounted for only 4% of the increase in farm ownership but accounted for 35% of the farm tenants who were forced off the land and out of agriculture.

The Department of Agriculture's Negro Field Agent, Mr. T. M. Campbell, reported that 6,000 farms had been lost by Negro farmers between 1945-1953. Of the 582,000 Ne-

gro farmers in the South, less than 185,000 own any land at all. And, while the average size of farms operated by white farmers in the South is about 160 acres, that for Negro farmers is less than 50 acres—much of which is eroded and unproductive. The precipitate fall in livestock, dairy products and cotton now threatens to wipe out another huge chunk of the remaining small Negro farmers.

It is abundantly clear, therefore, that the struggle to wipe out this all-sided discrimination against the Negro people (the "Negro-white differential"), must be the heart and core of the struggle to eliminate the North-South wage differential. There is truth profound in the oft-repeated challenge of the Negro worker to his white brother in the mines and mills of the South—"The boss-man that's robbing me is cheating you. Here is my hand. But, if you rather suckle up to the bosses crooks because you don't like my looks; then, pity for me and shame on you!"

CERTAIN SPECIFIC FEATURES OF SOUTHERN ECONOMY

Against the above background of the *main features* of the industrial and agricultural economy of the South, let us look at the *specific characteristics* of: (1) the two "biggest" industries—textile and lumber, and then view the situation in respect to, (2) the *key and decisive crop in the agriculture of the South, namely: cotton*, and, also, the status of *livestock farming*.

* Lewis W. Jones, *The Nation*, Sept. 27, 1952. Since this writing additional data have become available regarding the economic situation of Southern Negroes. See: "Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States," Staff Report to the subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, 82 Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 14, 1953.

Textile:

1) Some 545,000 workers were employed in the textile mills of the Southeastern states in 1947 and 268,000 were employed in the lumber industry. Together these two industries accounted for 46.8% of the total of employed production workers of the entire eleven Southeastern states. It is readily apparent therefore that "as these industries go, so goes industrial life in the whole South."

The first half of 1952 saw the textile industry in a severe slump, with employment cut 26%. But a sudden seasonal spurt in the final quarter permitted the Southern region of the industry to report year-end employment at 618,000, an increase of 6,700 over the like period of 1951. But what is the outlook? John Popham, economic analyst for the *Chattanooga Times* painfully admits that the outlook for textile is shaky; he foresees "soft spots and discordances." But the mill operators are not so coy. "The future looks glum," they chorus. And they make no prediction as to how far into '53 they can carry on. American textile manufacturers are caught up in a world-wide textile crisis, with their warehouses already bulging with unsold stocks. The western world market for U.S. textiles has shrunk to close to zero. The sales of Japanese cotton textile goods of high quality and much lower price dropped 68% between March 1951 and September 1952. The plight of this low-bidding competitor of U.S. textile manufacturers is indicative of

the condition of the western world's textile market. Those western countries with dollars are simply not using them to buy high priced U.S. textiles. Southern textile industries have entered the period of deepening crisis—overproduction and loss of markets. It has no way out short of breaking the trade embargo against China, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. No amount of stimulants it can apply to increasing sales in the home market can absorb the tremendous outpourings of its overexpanded industry. Commodity cash price quotations on the local markets for textiles (print cloths, 64/60, 38½" yd.) for the past five years are as follows:

1948 —	.15¾
1949 —	.16¾
1950 —	.20¾ (Korean War)
1951 —	.16
1952 —	.15¾

Lumber:

The identical outlook is forecast for the lumber industry. This industry has already been in a slump for a number of years.

Lumber production in 1952 was ¾ billion board feet below that of 1951. The year 1952 was started with record inventories in mills and wholesale and retail yards. "No one in the lumber industry will hazard a prediction for 1953," noted a New York *Times* economic writer (Jan. 5, 1953) in a year-end article on the industry.

Here again is an industry sinking

progressively deeper into a crisis of over-production which has no outlet but that which a big new export market would offer. Such a market is the China market. The crisis factors presently operating in the two major Southern mass-employment industries are due not only to the operations of the laws of capitalism in general, but most immediately to the particular *dictat* of the dominant Wall Street finance capitalists' embargo of trade with China, the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. Southern industrial prosperity which is presently so dependent upon textile and lumber is being made a sacrifice NOW to the long-term "grand strategy" of Wall Street for world domination, being in a subordinate status to the heavy-war goods producing industries in the hierarchy of the monopolists.

If this trend of development is unarrested, what is the outlook? For southern industry and business: bankruptcy and ruin. For the southern workers: mass unemployment, misery and hunger. *That is, if the people do not intervene to change the course of national policy away from war and war economy, to one of peaceful relations and mutually profitable trade in commodities for peaceful living with the governments which lead the 800,000,000 potential customers of the democratic and socialist areas of the world. The southern economy has come to the fork of the road. The southern people in concert with the rest of the nation must choose the road to peace and*

trade which can lead to an extended period of prosperity. The only other alternative is war, economic ruin and national disaster.

WHAT OF SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE?

Cotton:

The deepening cotton crisis in the U.S. is a major feature of the general "western world" crisis of over-production in cotton.

Cotton is the South's and the nation's most important export crop. What has happened in this connection is made clear by these official figures: Taking the eleven-month period of July, 1950 through May, 1951, 4,200,000 bales of cotton were exported; the same months from 1951 through 1952, 5,500,000 bales were exported; 1952-53, the comparable figure was 2,900,000. In terms of dollar value, the fall was even more catastrophic: the value of the cotton export, July, 1951 through May, 1952 was \$1,148,000,000; the value from July, 1952 through May, 1953 was \$534,000,000—that is, less than half!

According to the Department of Agriculture, the indicated cotton crop, as of September 1, 1953, was 15,200,000 bales, which will mean a minimum of a 2,000,000 bale surplus above all possible domestic and Western world export sales. The carry over from the previous crops will be 2,789,000 bales, which indicates that a minimum surplus of 4,789,000 bales may be in the offing

at the start of next season. J. H. Carmical estimates (*N. Y. Times*, May 31, 1953) that the total carry-over of cotton by August 1 will be between 5,300,000 and 5,400,000 bales as compared with 2,789,000 on August 1, 1952.

As a matter of fact, the *only assured* export markets for U.S. cotton is from such U.S. government dominated countries which have been granted loans and which the U.S. government can blackmail into earmarking credits for the purchase of U.S. cotton. "For years," observed the *New York Times* (Jan. 7, 1953), "most of the main cotton-importing countries have been beset by a shortage of dollars . . . importing nations are looking elsewhere to buy cotton and conserve their dollar exchange for the purchase of other items. . . . Foreign buyers have been able to purchase most of their requirements at prices below those prevailing in this country."

U.S. cotton's principal competitors on the western world market are Pakistan, Brazil and Egypt. Also Mexico has a record cotton yield this season of $1\frac{1}{4}$ million bales. Each of these countries is suffering from all the symptoms of a depression in respect to cotton. They have glutted warehouses of unsold stocks. In an effort to unload her cotton stocks, Pakistan slashed export duties to attract foreign buyers. Brazil has given the New York Cotton Exchange the jitters as she prepared to dump 1,000,000 bales (\$175,000,000 worth) of her surplus on the western market

at an estimated profits loss of almost \$100,000,000 by the Bank of Brazil. Egypt prepares the *coup de grace* for U.S. cotton hopes as she prepares the propitious moment to dispose of her surplus cotton. Egyptian cotton has always been at a premium price above the U.S. grade but now, to sell her cotton, she has lowered substantially the historical premium existing between the two cottons.

The English market has also run dry. England experienced its deepest post-World War II slump in the Lancashire textile industry. As a result, British purchases and imports of cotton—even in the sterling bloc countries—has fallen to a pittance.

Indeed, U.S. cotton producers are fast on the way to being shut out of the capitalist world's cotton market. Consequently, this fact will give rise to a further intensification of the cut-throat competition and "dumping" practices.

The general decline in Western (capitalist) world commodity price levels is reflected in the U.S. price of cotton. From a high point of 43 cents a pound—established early in the year 1952—prices fell away to around 33 cents a pound in December. The biggest decline came in the last quarter as farmers sold the crop—the small farmers suffering heavy losses—on the declining market with production prospects of a bumper crop (at least 15 million bales) mounting and with exports and goods moving slowly.

"Since its beginning, the United States cotton industry has depended

largely on market outlets abroad. Until the capitalist world crisis of the 1930's, 50% to 60% of the cotton grown in this country was shipped abroad. Though the proportion of the crop moving in international trade subsequently declined, this nation's economy still is tied to a great extent to the foreign market. . . .

"With prospects of a supply next season (August 1, 1953) of some 20 million bales the United States Government and the cotton industry will again be faced with a real surplus problem. The domestic mills will need no more than 10 million bales, leaving an equal number for carry over into the next crop year and for export markets." (New York Times, May 31, 1953.)

"Cotton! Cotton! Cotton! Ten million bales for sale! Who will buy my pretty cotton?" This doleful chant of the U.S. cotton sellers in the old cotton markets of the "Western world" meets no answering refrain from buyers because the capitalist world market is glutted with cotton. Is there a "way out" even under the present system for the southern cotton industry and the millions of toilers whose livelihood depends on it? Yes, relief is available! It is this:

First, a progressive domestic policy that would result in appreciably enhancing the purchasing power of the masses, and that would concentrate on the building of great housing projects, roads, public works. And, second, peaceful settlement of cold war issues to pave the way for the

re-establishment of traditional China trade and smashing the trade embargoes! For the past fifty years China was a key stable foreign market for southern cotton and textiles. This is the only prospect for possibly arresting the deepening crisis in cotton and southern agriculture in general.

Livestock:

Now, what is the present situation and future outlook for cattle-raising—the much heralded nostrum that was to save southern agriculture?

Livestock market prices fell off 20% between August 1952 and January 1953. Beef cattle prices have dropped from the 1951 peak of \$30 per 100 pounds to \$21.30 as of October 1952, representing a \$6.20 drop from the same time the previous year. There has been a further decline since the first of the year.

A UP release of July 6, 1953, reported that cattle prices were down 35 to 40%. Texas farmers were reported to have received \$120,000,000 less income in the first 5 months of 1953 than they did in 1952. Cattleman Buford Thomas of Okeene, Okla., was quoted as declaring, "I wish all my cattle had died last fall. It would have saved me money. I can't sell them now for what it cost to feed through the winter." Struck by falling prices, drought and pestilence, the smaller farmers are faced to face with ruination. Especially is this the case with the smaller livestock farmers. Returning from a tour

of the western part of Texas, Representative Poage (Texas Democrat) was quoted as giving the following pithy estimate of the situation: "The people aren't going broke. They are broke."

There were bumper crops of feed grains and corn produced in 1952—the second best year since the 1948 record, despite drought in the Southwest. Correspondingly big surpluses were achieved in cattle, hog and sheep production. (The same was true for poultry and dairy products and the "perishables.") Surpluses in marketable livestock (as in agricultural produce in general!) are rapidly accumulating in unmanageable quantities.

By January, 1953, prices brought on the market for all farm commodities had suffered a combined average drop of 12% under that of a year ago. This marked the lowest price level since the Korean war and was close to the government (parity) support level.*

Especially is the falling market prices for livestock hitting the new "diversified" southern farmers who entered late into the business of livestock and dairying and are in competition with the giant capitalist ranch-factories of the West. No, cattle will not make up for the losses being suffered by cotton; rather cattle will follow cotton down the chute of the developing economic crisis in agriculture, that is, unless our government is

forced by the people to substitute peace policies—with accompanying *free and fair east-west world trade*—for the present disastrous course of mounting war preparation and ruin. We conclude this point with a quite interesting and appropriate quotation from a piece by that disillusioned [?] Eisenhower admirer, the Scripps-Howard columnist, Marquis Childs (Jan. 9, 1953):

While declining farm prices have in the past been the forerunner of depression, the question ahead concerns much more than the farmer and his right to an equitable return for his products.

During the campaign the Republicans attacked the Truman prosperity as a war prosperity, and a case can be made out that it is just that.

But at the same time Eisenhower, as candidate, promised a prosperity that would not be based on spending for war. . . .

Unless Southern farmers—and the whole American people—act to make Eisenhower live up to that demagogic promise, we are in for years of economic disasters.

The above shows that the three main pillars upon which the whole economic structure of the South rests—textile, lumber and cotton—are already sinking rapidly into the mire of a typical capitalist business crisis. The Korean war and the lopsided spurt in the plant re-location and production of war goods did not arrest this descent of the Southern economy into a depression but, on the contrary, in respect to the

* The "loan" or government price-support (government purchase) program does not extend its protection to small farmers or cover other than selected agricultural commodities.

South's leading industries and major cash crops, operated to further speed its descent. This is the inescapable conclusion from this analysis of the facts furnished by the government's own published documents.

The gathering storm clouds of a devastating crisis in the economy of the United States are nowhere so evident as over the Southern skies. What conclusions must the labor movement draw from this estimate? What actions are indicated to safeguard the masses from suffering the worst effects of this impending economic catastrophe?

ORGANIZE THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

I. *The organization of the unorganized Southern workers for economic struggle and independent political action in industry, and in agriculture.*

This is one of the most decisive tasks before the American labor movement for 1954.

The influx of new industrial plants into the South is not the result of any policy of the monopolists to proceed with the all-round development and exploitation of their traditional "reserve" region. Incidentally, the extent of this increased industrial development is grossly exaggerated.* The National Planning Association estimates that it would take new capital investments of 5 billion dol-

lars annually for the next decade to raise the industrial level of the South to a par with that of the country as a whole. But in no year during the period of the new "era" of industrial development in the South (1938-1953) was this figure even approached—notwithstanding the Roosevelt "New Deal" expenditures, the World War II and the Korean War booms in the war goods industries.

Such expansion of industries in the South, such as textiles, chemicals, etc., has been motivated by the special inducements held out to them by the local and state governments. Among such inducements are low cost sites (and in some cases rent-free), tax exemptions and/or low taxes and even the building of the plants through public bond issues and leasing them to the northern capitalists for a song. Above all other "inducements" which the South holds out to outside capital, the main persuader by far is its *lower wage scale*. The whole machinery of the state power in the South is arrayed on the side of maintaining this Southern wage differential in behalf of the Wall Street robbers. Therefore, a number of capitalists continue to move their plants South in pursuit of maximum profits, seeking to take advantage of the invitations extended by the reactionary political regimes there who promise them protection against the demands of working men and women for a decent living wage.

The extent and the murderous

* See: James Jackson, "The Effect of the War Economy on the South," in *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1951; various contributors, "Notes on Recent Developments in the South," in *Political Affairs*, May, 1952.

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forms of this anti-labor protection is graphically revealed in the record of the Senate Labor Committee's 1950 hearings on labor management relations in the Southern textile manufacturing industry.*

The Committee was compelled to conclude that:

This concerted opposition to union organization and collective bargaining and the resulting nullification of the labor policies of the United States have been studied extensively by the sub-committee. The extent and effectiveness of this opposition in the Southern textile industry are almost unbelievable. . . .

This retrogression of collective bargaining does not appear to have occurred by chance, nor does it appear to have come as a series of isolated incidents. In his testimony before the sub-committee, Mr. Rieve said: "I charge that there exists in the textile industry, primarily in the South, a widespread conspiracy to prevent union organization and to destroy those unions which now exist." The evidence before the sub-committee goes far to substantiate Mr. Rieve's charge. . . .

In stopping a union organizing campaign, employers will use some or all of the following methods: surveillance of organizers and union adherents; propaganda through rumors, letters, news stories, advertisements, speeches to the employees; denial of free speech and assembly to the union; organization of the whole community for anti-union activity; labor espionage; discharges of union sympathizers; violence and gun play; injunctions; the

closing or moving of the mill; endless litigation before the National Labor Relations Board and the courts, etc. If all this fails, the employer will try to stall, in slow succession, first the election, then the certification of the union, and finally the negotiation of a contract. Few organizing campaigns survive this type of onslaught. . . .

The challenge and warning which this situation holds for the entire labor movement is obvious. *The Nation* was speaking the truth, when, editorializing on this theme in its special issue on the South of September 27, 1952, it declared:

To the extent that Southern labor remains unorganized, the standards of organized labor are endangered in other areas. "*Workers in the North*," writes Edwin A. Lahey, a Chicago newspaperman, "*are paying through the nose for the failure of the labor movement to organize the South.*"

More than this, the South looms large in the strategic plans of the monopolists to destroy the trade unions altogether now that the Eisenhower millionaire Administration with its "give-away, take-away" policy is ruling the roost.

WIPE OUT THE WAGE DIFFERENTIALS

The principle factor that is operating to undermine the wage standards and working conditions of the organized workers in the U.S. is the existence of the North-South wage differential within the same industries, which discriminate against the southern workers in general and the

* See: *Reports of the Sub-Committee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Senate Committee on Labor & Public Welfare, 2nd Session, 82nd Congress.*

Negro workers in particular. Really effective labor unity cannot be realized until the trade-union movement carries out the long-delayed task of knocking out, once and for all, the North-South and Negro-white differential in wages for the same work performed. Such divisive differentials still exist to one degree or another, in every industry without exception. Unless the largely unorganized workers in the southern factories and on the southern plantations are brought into the general organized labor movement now—and this can only be done on the basis of a fight against the North-South, Negro-white wage differentials—then the wage standards, working conditions and trade-union organizations are in danger of being driven into the ground by reaction which will seek to utilize these unorganized masses against the trade-union movement. It will be utterly impossible for the trade-union workers to defend themselves against the coming economic storms without mobilizing, enrolling and uniting to the fullest possible extent the strength of its class. To head into the coming depression years with the potential great army of Negro and white southern workers scattered and unorganized could be disastrous for the American labor movement and the nation.

FOR AN ORGANIZING CRUSADE

Therefore, what is required on the part of the trade-union movement is

no less than a full-scale organizing offensive in the South NOW! The condition demands a joint or at least parallel organizing campaign of the respective international unions to organize the unorganized factories and plantations of the South, developing the greatest possible degree of mutual aid and cooperation on the part of the respective international and central bodies of the C.I.O., the A.F.L., the U.M.W., the independent progressive unions, the R.R. Brotherhoods and the Farmers Union.

Such a new organizing initiative in the South cannot be postponed to await the realization of organic unity of the split trade-union movement. Rather, trade-union unity will be greatly speeded on the basis of the joint undertaking of the job of organizing the South. The strategic keys to the organization of the Southern workers are the largely unorganized textile and lumber industries. These must be the concentration industries and the entire trade-union movement should help underwrite and guarantee the organization of these two principal industrial pillars of the whole southern economy.

A southern organizing drive cannot succeed if conducted again in the half-hearted, timid, professional organizers' style of the last two efforts. It cannot be victorious if undertaken as a routine pure and simple trade-union chore. To win, it must unfold those tactics which will give it the fervor and character of a southern people's crusade to wipe out the discriminatory wage rates

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paid Southern workingmen and women by the Wall Street-owned Southern mills and plantations. It must be conducted as a crusade for equal job rights and equal pay for equal work for the Negro masses. It must be conducted as a crusade that brings decisive strength to the struggle of the Negro people, white workers and poor farmers to win full suffrage rights and legislative protection of their general civil liberties, living standards and social security. To succeed it must draw upon the good experiences and rich book of tactics developed in the initial C.I.O. drive in the South of the late 1930's.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

To insure its success, it must fully absorb the total import of the lessons of the defeats suffered over the years by the textile workers. The central and basic lesson that must be drawn from the long record of unionizing failures suffered by the textile workers over the last 40 years is this:

Effective unionization with the elimination of the southern wage differential in textile and other lily-white industries and plants is quite impossible without fighting for—and winning—non-discriminatory hiring policies. This is the inescapable lesson of the history of textile union organization (as contrasted with the situation in the southern coal and ore unions). This axiom is drawn from the half-century experience of the textile workers—a lesson they must yet be taught to recognize and

accept before they can substantially improve their plight. Therefore, the first *cardinal principle* for success of a trade-union organizing drive in the South is that it must be conducted in intimate connection with the struggle of the Negro masses for equal *job rights* and for the general democratic demands for equal suffrage rights and civil rights. *Either unity with the Negro workers to wipe out the wage differential or unity with the bosses in defense of "white supremacy" and the Southern wage differential.** The fact that there are already large numbers of Southern Negro and white workers organized into the trade-union movement indicates that the masses of workers will respond to trade-union organization when seriously undertaken by the labor movement.

The organization of the textile workers in the South on the basis of (1) struggle to eliminate the Southern wage rates differential in the industry and (2) on the basis of changing the employment policies from the present lily-white character to a Negro-white, non-jim-crow, employment job pattern is an indispensable precondition for the rapid maturing of the Negro-labor alliance in the South (and consequently in the country as a whole). Textile presents the seemingly paradoxical picture of a lily-white industry that has developed largely in the heart of the areas of Negro majority population

* For full data on the North-South and Negro-white wage differentials, see Victor Perlo, *American Imperialism*, chapter IV, and his article in *Science & Society*, Spring, 1952.

in the Southeast. But this seeming paradox dissolves into a classic show-piece of the divide and rule strategy of the Wall Street-Bourbon ruling class. This industry has flourished and made multi-millionaires of its owners from the near-slave-wage labor of white women and children for half a century. This situation will be changed when the white working-men of the South have joined with their Negro fellow-workers in struggle against the divisive policies of the ruling class which bars Negro workers (who are a majority in the textile area) from jobs in the mills.

The white textile workers pay the price for their boss-inspired prejudices not only in terms of their weekly earnings (39% below the national average) but in the highest tuberculosis and illiteracy rate suffered by workers of any other major industry in the country. Not only is this the case, but their boss-inspired self-isolation from political (in addition to economic) contact and unity with the majority Negro masses of their area has deprived them of any effective vote or voice in the political life of their towns, counties, states and congressional districts.

Hence it is evident that it is in the best interest of the white textile workers themselves to fight to establish Negro-white working class solidarity by opening the gates to the employment of Negro men and women in their industry. For this is the necessary first step, the precondition, for forging a durable Negro people-labor alliance, for seriously

unfolding the *political* struggle for greater democracy in local and national government, civil liberties and advanced public services.

Correspondingly, the Negro liberation movement will remain seriously retarded and handicapped until the conditions have been established among the strategic textile workers which will permit of the building of firm bonds of Negro-labor unity in this territory of the Negro nation. Hence, the vital stake that the Negro liberation movement has in the successful organization of the textile workers on the two-fold basis of the elimination of the North-South wage differential and of anti-Negro employment practices.

THE LUMBER INDUSTRY

The big, sprawling lumber industry is the largest employer of Negro labor in the South. Working conditions in this industry are as primitive and "labor relations" as barbaric, as can be found in any colonial country in the world. Wages are notoriously low and fully 50% below that in the Northwest and far West—the other two principal lumber producing regions. In 1947, the average annual wage for lumber workers in the South was \$1,416 while for the Northwest it was \$2,456 and for the far West, \$3,060!

The organization of the workers of this industry is not only a vital aspect of the fight to bring the trade-union movement up to full fighting strength before the economic "bust";

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not only is it necessary in the fight to wipe out the North-South wage differential in order to raise the wages of these workers and to protect the jobs and wage standards of the lumber workers of the West, but also, because it is of strategic importance for the further development of the Negro liberation movement. *The organization of the lumber workers would considerably augment the strength of the labor movement in the country as a whole; furthermore it would add to the organized proletarian base and backbone of the Negro liberation movement an additional and crucial one-quarter of a million workers who reside in the territory of the Negro nation.* Also, because the lumber workers—like the bulk of the textile workers—have close ties with the rural masses and, in season, themselves often double as farm workers on the big cotton plantations.

* * *

In addition to the organization of these two major southern industries—(which it is the class obligation of the entire organized labor movement to guarantee) *it is necessary for the respective international unions to fill in the gaping open-shop holes in their respective jurisdictions in the South.* This means there is room for expansion southward for every bona fide trade union—C.I.O., A.F.L. and independent-progressive. There are literally scores of thousands of unorganized workers in aluminum, sulphur, rubber, chemical, glass, farm

equipment, electrical, shoe, paper, apparel, tobacco, transport, department store and others in the South.

Such an insistent demand must go up from the rank and file in every union that the top labor leaders will be forced to move and fulfill their responsibility to their union members by undertaking the organization of the open-shop, low-wage plants in their respective jurisdictions in the South.

Finally, *there is the commanding need for planfully undertaking the job of strengthening the unions which are already established in the South.* This means above all to improve the bonds of Negro-white solidarity—in employment practices, in up-grading and job training, in wiping out discriminatory job classification practices, in the promotion of Negroes to a full share in the leadership of all aspects of union activities, etc. It means, at the same time, to work to enlarge the progressive community role and legislative-political activity of the unions in the fight for free and equal suffrage rights, for the abolition of anti-labor laws, jim-crow laws, anti-Communist, anti-democratic rights laws, and, for free and fair trade relations with Western European states, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the countries of People's Democracy, and, for internal union democracy, for fighting trade-union tactics in handling grievances, to secure advances in wage and working conditions, etc.

ORGANIZE THE FARMERS

As we have pointed out previously, there are in the South one-half of the farmers of the country, three-fourths of the farm workers, practically all of the sharecroppers and the bulk of the tenant farmers. The South's rural population is slightly larger than its urban population—a population ratio that obtains in no other region of the country. It is readily seen from these facts that for the workers to *secure* their wage standards and working conditions, it is necessary to extend their trade-union organizational activities into the Southern countryside, *to organize the unorganized working farmers—the farm laborers, sharecroppers and tenant-farmers: also, the small farm owner-operators.* Because of the pressure of the larger rural population on the cities, really serious economic and political victories and advances cannot be made secure by the urban working class except through a fighting alliance with the *organized farm masses* in addition to cementing its firm alliance with the Negro people's national liberation movement. This is the *strategic* necessity for the trade-union movement—to give leadership and every support to the building of the militant organizations and unions of the farm workers, sharecroppers, tenant-farmers and struggling yeomen farmers.

The predominant one-crop plantation system characteristic of Southern agriculture, means that the Southern farm masses engaged on the plan-

tations, who suffer poverty and ruin in geometrical progression to the arithmetical fall in the cotton market prices, have no home-produce self-sufficiency—no personal garden-crop, pigs, chickens, milch cows—to feed themselves with when the bottom falls from under the cash crop. They do not raise their foodstuffs; they are dependent on store purchases like all other ordinary consumers. Crop failure or sharp declines in market prices spells untold misery, immediate impoverishment and the imminent threat of starvation for the families of the plantation toilers, unprotected as they are by even the meager social security benefit and unemployment compensation of the city industrial workers. Thus as has been proved in the past the Southern rural masses are open to sharp widespread radicalization as factors of crisis develop in their economy. The working class must fully appreciate the Southern farm toilers as an especially prized and militant ally for both today's economic and legislative struggles, and tomorrow's political victories, and should render every assistance to further their organization.

Whereas it is both possible and necessary under present circumstances for advanced elements among the Negro and white farm toilers to take the initiative in the matter of organizing the unorganized rural working people, it will not be possible for them *alone* to sustain this development. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that the leaders of

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such organizational endeavor and progressives in the Right and Left-led trade unions raise a well planned, sustained explanatory campaign in all branches of the labor movement for a *new drive to organize the unorganized workers in the Southern industries*. It is inconceivable that the rural workers could long sustain a militant struggle and organizational drive on the countryside against the worst landlord-capitalist-state, police-supported reactionaries without this struggle being supported by a *complementary and parallel effort on the part of the trade unions among the unorganized workers in the cities and towns*.

Hence, the demand that the trade unions manifest their solidarity with the struggling farmers by *helping themselves*, by commencing a movement to organize the South's unorganized workers. The opportunities and possibilities for convincing the labor movement to undertake

this task are more favorable now than for a long time past. By way of illustration of the truth of this assertion we can take note of (1) the fact that with the accession of the Eisenhower Administration, a more fluid situation exists there in respect to the possibilities of joint action on a Southern organizing drive and other projects, and (2) the fact that the run-away plants—which have already undermined the wage standard and employment of New England textile workers—are being felt and experienced by the Northern and Western workers in almost every industry.

Such is the present organizational task before the labor movement in respect to the South: to undertake, without further delay, the job of the organization of the unorganized workers in the South. This applies especially to the workers in the textile and lumber industries, and to the toilers on the cotton plantations.

Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" and the Crisis in Physics Today

By Philip M. Tilden

This year marks the 45th anniversary of the writing of one of the great classics of Marxism—Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism. This devastating critique of idealism in its newest subtleties gave a profound exposition of dialectical materialism and a brilliant Marxist generalization of the new discoveries in physics. On this occasion we bring to our readers an analysis of the state of physics today in the light of Lenin's teachings—the Editor.

OUR CENTURY is widely hailed by spokesmen for the bourgeoisie as an age of great "scientific progress." Radio, television, the airplane, the guided missile and the atom bomb, modern industrial and military technique are believed to be the fruits of this progress and the guarantee of continuing technological advances. The leading scientists in America, however, hold a different view. They feel that we are exhausting our resources in fundamental physical theory. They maintain that:

Wartime discoveries such as radar, magnetic detection of submarines and even the atom bomb, were simply the exploitation of long established scientific principles.¹

The dramatic technological advances of the present period are based mainly on developments in the science of the late nineteenth and early twen-

tieth century. Scientific theory has failed to develop at the same pace as its technological application.

How did this situation arise? A number of fundamentally important discoveries were made at that time. These discoveries, however, led to theoretical deductions that were in conflict with the basic tenets of long established physical theory. In order to guarantee the progress of science, it was necessary to overhaul the fundamental theories of physics to account for the newly discovered phenomena. The physicists were unable to do this, and the problems posed by the new discoveries remained unsolved. Indeed, during the last fifty years, the contradiction between established scientific theory and the new principles disclosed by the scientific discoveries made around the turn of the century deepened and became more profound.

The source of this continuing stalemate in theoretical physics was brilliantly analyzed by Lenin in his

1. *Science*, vol. 105, March 5, 1947. Joint Policy Statement of the "Inter-Society Committee for a National Science Foundation."

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major philosophical work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, written in 1908. A number of Russian writers, following the German scientist, Ernst Mach, the philosopher Richard Avenarius, and the school which developed around them throughout Western Europe, had intensified this crisis in the theory of physics by directing attention away from the real scientific problems that needed solution. Instead, these writers offered a "philosophical solution" of the crisis by denying the objective existence of the real world and by denying the possibility that scientific knowledge can obtain a true picture of nature.

In order to defend Marxism against Russian critics who echoed these "philosophical consequences of recent natural science," Lenin devoted himself to a thorough study of the developments in science and philosophy. Following the defeat of the revolution of 1905, moods of defeatism had penetrated the Russian revolutionary movement, particularly among the intellectuals. These groups were influenced by the ideological tendencies then current in Western science and by the wave of repression against the Russian working class by the Czarist Minister Stolypin, and the government and ruling class generally. The Machian "solution" of the scientific crisis thus provided these elements with arguments for attacking Marxism in the guise of "adapting" it to "recent science." Among the Marxists

some propounded Mach's views on the ground that Marxism had no special philosophy and that, therefore, Marxists could be eclectic and choose any philosophy.

Lenin's book dealt with the basic questions on all these ideological fronts. He insisted and proved that Marxism *did* have its own philosophy—dialectical materialism. He showed why Mach's treatment of a scientific problem provided a basis for a sophisticated attack on materialism as well as a crass defense of religion in less erudite circles. In so doing, Lenin developed an exhaustive materialist generalization of all the important scientific developments from Engels' death to the first decade of the twentieth century. More than this, he anticipated the major direction of the philosophic distortions of modern science in our day. Lenin thus illuminated the power of Marxism in dealing with the problems of physical science.

Developments in physics in the last few decades since Lenin's day have further accentuated the crisis in bourgeois physical theory. In the capitalist world, scientists and philosophers, ignoring Lenin's work, have increasingly sought refuge in Machian idealism.

It is timely, therefore, to review the nature of the continuing crisis in physics, the philosophical currents stemming from it and to show how Lenin's analysis remains definitive for our period as well as his own.

Mach's philosophical views were advanced as a "solution" of a genuine scientific problem precipitated by the discoveries of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. What were these problems? The theoretical consequences of these discoveries either were in contradiction with long established scientific principles or found no place in the body of recognized scientific theory. What were these new developments? The first of these was the discovery by Maxwell that light was an electromagnetic wave motion. Then came the discovery of radioactivity by Becquerel, Curie and Rutherford in the '90's. And in 1897 J. J. Thomson found that an electrically charged particle—the electron—was a fundamental constituent of all atoms.

The physics of Newton was unable to account for these new findings. Newtonian physics conceived the fundamental constituents of material bodies as solid indivisible particles or atoms, which, like tiny billiard balls, move uniformly, unless acted upon by external forces which determine their motion. The behavior of large bodies was explained by the motions of the constituent particles and their collisions. It was thought that the mass of these particles was fixed and indestructible. These ideas were regarded by scientists as ultimate and final scientific truth.

However, radioactivity showed that atoms were not indivisible or indestructible but that some atoms

spontaneously and continually change into other atoms. Nor was there any place for Maxwell's electromagnetic theory of light in Newtonian physics. Furthermore, Thomson's theory of matter showed that atoms consisted of smaller particles which were held together by electrical forces. Moreover, the motions of electrons demonstrated that their mass (or "inertia") was not a fixed quantity but one that changed appreciably at very high speeds.

The scientific theory of classical or Newtonian physics has a clearly defined philosophical outlook. Its viewpoint is that of philosophical materialism, *i.e.*, nature exists independently of our knowledge. It recognizes the existence of objective law in nature; that the phenomena of nature are interconnected by relations of cause and effect. However, the Newtonian conception of nature is static. It attributes fixed boundaries to phenomena, and it attributes absolute and universal generality to natural laws that have been derived from particular phenomena. Newtonian physics is a mechanical or metaphysical, rather than a dialectical, materialism.

The new developments which we have described were in conflict not only with specific formulations in Newtonian physics, but were in conflict more fundamentally with its mechanical view of nature. Moreover the metaphysical notion that all Newtonian concepts represented fixed and immutable laws of nature,

mean that a single phenomenon which cannot be explained by, or which implies principles in conflict with these laws, casts doubt on the basis of the entire theoretical structure.

Mach and Avenarius and their followers took the position that the conflict between the new scientific discoveries and Newtonian physics was irreconcilable. They interpreted the breakdown of the mechanical materialism of Newton and its metaphysical notion of scientific truth as the breakdown of philosophical materialism in general. Thus the Machian, Karl Pearson could say: "The laws of science are products of the human mind rather than factors of the external world."²

Or as Mach himself put it: "In nature there is neither cause nor effect. I have repeatedly demonstrated that all forms of the law of causality spring from subjective motives and that there is no necessity for nature to correspond with them."³

And if scientific truth is subjective in origin, then it follows, according to Mach that: "Not the things (bodies) but colors, sounds, pressures, spaces, times (what we usually call sensations) are the real *elements* of the world."⁴

But these conclusions of Mach are,

2. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, in *Selected Works*, vol. XI (International Publishers, 1943), p. 221. All other quotations from Lenin cited in this article are taken from this work.

3. P. 220.

4. P. 107.

as Lenin shows, by no means incapable consequences of the failure of the Newtonian system to explain the new developments in physics. The breakdown of Newtonian physics does not mean the breakdown of materialism. For, as Lenin puts it:

The *sole* property of matter with whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up is the property of *being an objective reality*, of existing outside our mind.

The error of Machism in general, as of the Machian new physics, is that it ignores this basis of philosophical materialism and the distinction between metaphysical materialism and dialectical materialism. The recognition of immutable elements, "of the immutable substance of things" and so forth, is not materialism, but *metaphysical, i.e., anti-dialectical, materialism*.⁶

And on the other hand:

Dialectical materialism insists on the approximate, relative character of every scientific theory of the structure of matter and its properties; it insists on the absence of absolute boundaries in nature . . . however "strange" may seem the absence of any other kind of mass in the electron save electromagnetic mass, however extraordinary may be the fact that the mechanical laws of motion are confined only to a single sphere of natural phenomena and are subordinated to the more profound laws of electromagnetic phenomena, and so forth—all this is but another

6. P. 317.

corroboration of dialectical materialism.⁷

Lenin points out that Mach's "solutions" offer nothing new in philosophy but are simply a re-hash of Berkeley's subjective idealism. Consequently, the Machian position is basically anti-scientific, a retreat from, and a failure to grapple with, the specific scientific problems posed by the new discoveries. Why do the followers of Mach accept this retreat into idealism? Lenin answers:

It is mainly because the physicists did not know dialectics that the new physics strayed into idealism. . . .

Denying the immutability of the elements and the properties of matter known hitherto, they ended in denying matter, i.e., the objective reality of the physical world. Denying the absolute character of some of the most important and basic laws, they ended in denying all objective law in nature.⁸

And, as a final characterization, Lenin states:

The physical idealism of today merely means that one school of natural scientists in one branch of natural science has slid into a reactionary philosophy being unable to rise directly and at once from metaphysical materialism to dialectical materialism.⁹

In order for scientific theory to advance, it was necessary for scientists to understand that:

. . . the "essence" of things, or "substance," is *also* relative; it expresses only the degree of profundity of man's knowledge of objects; and while yesterday the profundity of this knowledge did not go beyond the atom, and today does not go beyond the electron and ether, dialectical materialism insists on the temporary, relative, approximate character of all these *milestones* in the knowledge of nature gained by the progressing science of men. The electron is as *inexhaustible* as the atom, nature is infinite, but it infinitely *exists*. And it is this sole categorical, this sole unconditional recognition of nature's *existence* outside the mind and perception of man that distinguishes dialectical materialism from relativist agnosticism and idealism.¹⁰

Mach's philosophical views became influential among bourgeois scientists, and Lenin's work was ignored in the capitalist world. Thus, the theoretical foundations of physics became more and more infected with idealism, and the progress in fundamental scientific research dwindled.

* * *

In the period since Lenin's death there have been further developments of the basic discoveries of the turn of the century. The work of Rutherford, the Joliot-Curies and Fermi showed that radioactivity was not a unique or rare phenomenon. It was shown that all atoms could be made radioactive when bombarded with high speed sub-atomic particles, and the nucleus of atoms

7. P. 317-318.

8. P. 318.

9. P. 318.

10. P. 319

could be broken down, producing elements of lower atomic weight. It was discovered that the nucleus had a very complex structure, including several electrically charged particles and several electrically neutral particles. In addition, Fermi discovered the spontaneous fission or "breaking in half" of Uranium, which led later to the development and utilization of atomic energy.

These discoveries further demonstrated the inadequacy of the classical model of the atom as an indestructible and rigid billiard ball. They demonstrated, as have developments up to the present, that the atom itself is a structure of infinite complexity. These discoveries in atomic and nuclear physics, furthered the breakdown of mechanical materialism that was already apparent in Lenin's day.

The developments leading to the theory of Quantum Mechanics ushered in a new phase of the crisis in physics. The experiments which led to this theory revealed startling phenomena which are completely inexplicable on the basis of the mechanical model of nature that characterized classical physics. In the absence of widespread understanding of dialectics, the theory of Quantum Mechanics has again occasioned philosophical interpretations which have brought about a new resurgence of idealist philosophical trends and a renewed attack on materialism.

These developments showed, firstly, that light could exhibit particle properties. Pre-quantum physics

conceived light as exclusively a wave motion described by Maxwell's theory, and conceived particle motion in accordance with Newton's theory as an unrelated and separate phenomenon. It had been shown earlier that radio-waves, light, X-rays, gamma rays and cosmic rays are all wave motions of different frequency. However, the new experiments showed that in the interactions between these wave motions and atomic particles, all these forms of light behave like particles.

Thus light exhibits both wave and particle properties in different interactions with surrounding nature. But these two properties of matter had been thought to be mutually exclusive.

In 1925 De Broglie suggested that just as waves may exhibit particle properties, atoms or electrons may have wave properties. Two years later Davison and Germer demonstrated that a beam of electrons passing through a crystal behaved like a beam of light and exhibited typical wave properties. Subsequent experiments demonstrated that other sub-atomic particles had similar wave properties.

But wave properties for electrons and atoms were even more difficult to understand than particle properties for light. All these particles had been conceived of in terms of the billiard-ball model of Newtonian physics. Wave motions have no place in this conception.

Thus the problem was posed: what is the connection between these

wave and particle properties of matter? What relationships underlie the separate manifestation of wave and particle properties? The newly discovered phenomena thus created a need for new advances in the theory of physics.

However, it was not possible immediately, owing to limited knowledge of these new processes, to formulate a precise theory of the way in which an electron exhibits wave motion, or of how a beam of light or an X-ray interacts with sub-atomic particles. Schrodinger tried to formulate all motion as a wave phenomenon, but as a consequence of this view one would have to conceive of an electron or atom as spread out over all space. Such a view is in contradiction with everyday experience and cannot be maintained.

Quantum Theory was formulated as a provisional solution for these difficulties. Instead of treating *individual* sub-atomic particle motion, or the interactions between electromagnetic waves and *individual* particles, the behavior of *aggregates* of particles was treated. It was possible to obtain a statistical mathematical treatment of the experimental findings without detailed knowledge of the *individual* particle processes. There was a precedent for this approach in the history of classical physics. The kinetic theory of gases is such a statistical treatment which was developed because of the practical difficulty of relating gas temperature and pressure to the indi-

vidual motions of literally billions of gas molecules.

However, it was believed that the behavior of the gas observed in everyday experience and treated statistically could in principle be explained by the Newtonian laws of individual particle motion. In the case of the phenomena treated by Quantum Mechanics, on the other hand, the laws of classical physics do not apply. The precise behavior of the individual particles is not known; enough is known however to exclude classical particle physics as an explanation of the observed phenomena.

Some of the scientists influenced by the idealist methodology of Mach and his followers, attempted to make a virtue of the limitation in knowledge that underlies Quantum theory. Influenced also by the early success of Quantum theory in treating atomic phenomena, they began to abandon causality and to deny the existence of individual electrons or atoms. They asserted that the statistical laws found for aggregates of sub-atomic particles had no basis in any kind of individual particle behavior.

These tendencies are seen most clearly in such statements as Bohr's "Complementarity Principle" and Heisenberg's "Uncertainty Principle." Bohr held that for ordinary objects the laws of motion are Newtonian; that is, they predict individual particle motion under the action of applied forces. At ordinary

frequencies, such as for light and wave motion applies. In the sub-wave motion applies. In the sub-atomic domain of electromagnetic waves and particles, such as for X-rays and electrons, however, the laws are Quantum laws; *i.e.*, statistical and not derivable from either Newton's or Maxwell's laws.

Bohr asserted that this gap in knowledge was fundamental; that it would never be possible to find a relation between sub-atomic phenomena and those observed for particles and waves of ordinary size and frequency. Bohr thus conceived Quantum theory, which represents a temporary and provisional stage in the development of physical theory, as ultimate metaphysical truth.

Heisenberg's "Uncertainty Principle" develops this same kind of reasoning still further. Heisenberg asserted that it was impossible *in principle* to conceive of individual particle motion as the basis of the quantum laws for aggregates of particles. He pointed out that, as a consequence of the interaction between light and sub-atomic particles, the precision of any simultaneous measurement of the position and velocity of sub-atomic particles would be limited in a fundamental way.

It is observed that X-rays or gamma rays, interacting with electrons, for example, produce changes in the velocities of the electrons. But to measure the position of an individual electron (to observe it) requires

interaction with a definite X-ray frequency. The velocity of the electron acted upon by this X-ray frequency will be increased or decreased by this interaction. Hence if an increase in the precision of a position measurement is sought, then the precision of a velocity measurement of the same electron will be proportionately decreased.

Heisenberg concludes that not only is the precision of measurement limited but that it is impossible even to conceive of a more precise particle position and velocity.

* * *

Confronted with these new developments, once again as in Lenin's day, leading scientists and philosophers abandoned the field of science and took refuge in idealist philosophy. Thus Heisenberg, instead of concluding that Quantum Mechanics gives only a limited and provisional view of reality, concluded that nature, and not our knowledge of it, is limited. Heisenberg in formulating his principle as an immutable and universally applicable law of nature denies the possibility of ever obtaining improved knowledge of nature, and thus imposes a philosophical, non-scientific limitation on the progress of physics.

Faced with the contradictions between Quantum Mechanics and the theories of Newton and Maxwell, Bohr and Heisenberg identify Newtonian Physics with materialism,

and therefore conclude that no precise, causal materialist explanation of sub-atomic phenomena is possible.

To this view Lenin had already made a definitive answer forty-five years ago. He said:

It is absolutely unpardonable to confound as the Machians do, any particular theory of the structure of matter with the epistemological category, to confound the problem of the new properties of matter, (electrons, for example) with the old problem of the source of our knowledge, the existence of objective truth, etc.¹¹

The formulation of Bohr and Heisenberg, far from being inescapable consequences of the new properties exhibited by matter, reflect the influence of reactionary anti-scientific philosophical trends. A generation ago Lenin stated:

The vast majority of scientists, both generally and in this special branch of science in question, *viz.*, physics, are invariably on the side of materialism. A minority of new physicists, however, influenced by the breakdown of old theories brought about by the great discoveries of recent years, influenced by the crisis in the new physics, which has very clearly revealed the relativity of our knowledge, have, owing to their ignorance of dialectics slipped into idealism by way of relativism.¹²

Yet today William L. Laurence, science editor of the *New York*

Times, in discussing Einstein's announcement of his new field equations, states apparently without fear of contradiction (March 30, 1953):

The Uncertainty Principle has led, furthermore, to the universal acceptance by present-day physicists (with the exception of Dr. Einstein) that there is no causality or determinism in nature.

Dr. Einstein alone has stood in majestic solitude against all these concepts of the quantum theory. . . .

Forty-five years ago Lenin emphasized that only a *minority* of the physicists were slipping into idealism. Today, as Laurence testifies, the vast majority have abandoned causality. This is eloquent testimony of how far bourgeois science has deteriorated since Lenin's writing.

The idealist interpretation of physical theory apparent in the work of Bohr and Heisenberg has become the dominant tendency in bourgeois science.

The bulk of the scientists have abandoned their traditional materialist scientific methodology. They deny the possibility of systematic advances in knowledge of the external world and openly espouse empiricism and the newer variants of philosophical idealism.

Thus the philosopher scientist Morgenau states: "Immediate perceptions, and they alone, are said to constitute sensed nature because of the involuntary, immediate sponta-

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12. P. 405.

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neity with which they occur"; also "atoms, electrons, light waves are not part of sensed nature."¹³ Or as Philip Frank puts it: "Only the combination of relations between symbols, logical rules and operational definitions constitute the science of physics."¹⁴

Where this ends up can be seen from the remarks of Professor Bridgman, Nobel Prize Winner in Physics, made in the course of discussing "The Philosophical Implications of Physics"¹⁵:

The world fades out and eludes us because it becomes meaningless. We cannot even express this in the way we would like. We cannot say that there exists a world beyond any knowledge possible to us because of the nature of knowledge. The very concept of existence becomes meaningless. It is literally true that the only way of reacting to this is to shut up.

Frank and Morgenau are representative of the dominant trend among bourgeois philosophers of science. This trend stems directly from Mach, as Frank himself points out:

The elucidation of relations between symbols and facts in physics owes much to the work of men like Ernst Mach, Henri Poincare, C. S. Pierce and P. M. Bridgman. The schools of thought which have been called Positivism, Pragmatism and Operation-

alism have done a fine job. The present monograph follows their lines in general but does not make any attempt to build up three "self consistent" systems of Positivism, Pragmatism and Operationalism. . . . The spirit of all these schools of thought is one and the same.¹⁶

Thus these developments in philosophy represent nothing new. Just as Lenin showed that the "new philosophy" of Mach and the empirio-critics was nothing but a rehash of Berkeley's idealism, so today the "new philosophy" of logical positivism and operationalism constitutes nothing but a rehash of Machism.

Lenin's critique of empirio-criticism remains definitive for these trends as well as for those of his own day. As in Lenin's day, the idealist philosophical "solutions" of the problems of physics have not contributed at all to scientific progress but have intensified the crisis in bourgeois physics.

As Lenin showed, the only correct starting point for a materialist generalization of revolutionary new scientific discoveries is the theory and outlook of dialectical materialism. Lacking this outlook, the bulk of the bourgeois scientists have been unable to evaluate the new scientific developments properly and have become easy prey for idealist and anti-theoretical philosophical interpretations put forth by the present-day Machians.

13. Morgenau, Henry. "Metaphysical Elements in Physics," *Review of Modern Physics*, July, 1941, Vol. 13, No. 3., p. 180.

14. Frank, Philip. *Foundations of Physics*. (University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 75.

15. *Bulletin*, February, 1950, III, no. 5, of American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

16. Frank, cited work, p. 5

Confronted with the sterility of the prevailing idealist interpretations of Quantum theory, many scientists have abandoned theory altogether and limited themselves to narrow experimental computational and technical questions. Only a few have begun serious efforts to reformulate Quantum Mechanics along more or less materialist lines.¹⁷ However, this trend is bitterly attacked by the bulk of the physicists who have come to maturity under the influence of one or another of the prevailing idealist philosophies of science. Philosophical idealism in physics as well as in biology is official dogma and it requires courage as well as insight for scientists to criticize the prevailing idealist interpretation of Quantum Mechanics.

In the socialist sector of the world, under the guidance of Lenin's basic contribution to scientific methodology, systematic attention is devoted

to fundamental theoretical problems in physics. In line with the recent Soviet discussions on biology, cosmology and chemistry, an organized discussion has been taking place on the entire range of basic theoretical questions in Quantum Physics.

Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* is even more pertinent today than a generation ago in exposing the ideological sources of the stalemate in bourgeois physics. Physical theory cannot advance systematically without a dialectical-materialist, scientific methodology. Philosophical idealism is a false idol which hinders the development of science as well as society.

The crisis in physics is linked with the crisis in bourgeois society; scientific progress is linked with social progress. The great discoveries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century provide the technical basis for revolutionary advances in the theory of physics. The victory of Lenin's scientific methodology over bourgeois obscurantism will clear the barriers to such an advance.

17. Some of the work along this line is discussed in the article by Hans Freisandt which appeared in the Summer 1953 issue of *Science & Society*.

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Letters from Readers

New York City

On July 25, 1877, Marx wrote to Engels:

DEAR EDITOR:

In your review of the book, *Letters to Americans*, by Marx and Engels, in the September issue of *Political Affairs*, you state (p. 60):

"Keen to the imperative need of a mass worker-Negro-Farmer alliance, and to the favorable conditions for its formation, Engels, like Marx before him, sought to guide the Marxists in the United States to center all their efforts upon this objective."

To my knowledge of the writings of Marx, he nowhere specifically deals with a labor-Negro-farmer alliance. Can you cite such a reference?

P. H.

I appreciate your letter. The fact is that Marx did make an explicit forecast precisely of this development in the United States, an outlook which, of course, inheres in his entire theory of the class struggle.

"This first outbreak* against the associated oligarchy of capital, which has arisen since the Civil War, will naturally be crushed; but it can very well form the point of departure for bringing into being an earnest labor party in the United States. To this must be added two favorable circumstances. The policy of the new President [Hayes] will turn the Negroes** into allies of the workers and the great land expropriations (precisely the fertile land) in favor of railroad, mining, etc., companies will similarly turn the already greatly dissatisfied farmers of the West."

This quotation is taken from: Marx-Engels, *Complete Works* (German), Third Section, Vol. IV, p. 466 (Marx-Engels Institute, Moscow, 1931).

V. J. J.

* Marx has reference to the nationwide railroad strike of 1877.

** Marx is referring to the Hayes-Tilden betrayal of Reconstruction, and the abandonment of the Negro people to the tender mercies of the former slaveowners.

WORKING WOMEN

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

Women Who Work, by Grace Hutchins, International Publishers, 96 pp., 75c.

I had the privilege of observing the National Conference on the Problems of Working Women which was sponsored by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America in New York City, May 2-3. This conference, the first of its kind held by a major union, brought together some 400 delegates of UE locals throughout the country, mostly women, in two days of spirited discussion and sober planning. It was geared to such slogans as: "NO RATE BELOW COMMON LABOR—ALL RATES BASED ON JOB CONTENT—NOT SEX", "SPEED-UP RUINS OUR HEALTH AND HOMES," and "MORE TAX MONEY FOR CHILD CARE CENTERS."

Here recounted were experiences shared by many millions of working women in the United States—gross discriminations in wage rates, sex bars to up-grading, lay-offs in violation of seniority, crippling speed-up, foremen who especially harass women, and men fellow-workers—and also husbands—who have been infected with the poisonous boss ideology of male superiority.

But here also were stories of union grievance machinery challenging and making inroads into the colossal profits which General Electric, Westinghouse,

Harvester and other corporations squeeze out of the hides of women workers; of militant struggles and victories to up-grade women workers and equalize wage rates; of the fight for jobs for Negro women; of heroic struggles of men and women together on union picket lines; of women workers beginning to move forward in the fight for equal rights; and of men workers coming to learn—still too slowly, but definitely—that company discrimination against women workers undermines the whole structure of union security, and must be fought in the interest of all workers.

More impressive than anything else at this conference was the ability, strength and fighting spirit of these hundreds of women delegates — all proud of their union, appreciative of its concern for their special problems, and determined to help arouse their sisters and brothers in powerful, united struggles for a greater share of the wealth which their labor creates. One sensed here the emergence of something "new" in the labor movement, a development still in its infancy but destined to grow, a movement which will yet bring women workers into full and equal participation in the trade unions of our land, with enormous increases in the unity and power of working-class struggles for a peaceful and democratic America.

It is within the framework of this

emerging development—pioneered by UE, the United Packinghouse Workers of America, and a few local unions—that one can best grasp the significance and practical value of Grace Hutchins' new book, *Women Who Work*; for here is an arsenal of facts and insights with which to arm and strengthen the growing movement for the rights of working women.

This is not a book on how the "ideology of male superiority" affects working women; indeed, I don't recall even one use of the term in the whole of these 96 pages. *Women Who Work* is far removed from those sterile, abstract, sectarian discussions—now all too common in the progressive movement—which tend to distort the women question into little more than a problem of personal relations between the sexes.

This volume is addressed to much more fundamental aspects of the woman question. Its major concerns, like those of the recent UE conference, are: *first*, the objective, material conditions which restrict women to a subordinate status in our exploitative society (the base from which the ideology of male superiority stems); and *second*, the political role and strength of working women as an organized force for democracy and peace, especially in the labor-progressive movement.

Part I of this book, "On The Job And In The Home", is devoted to a concise, concrete analysis of many special problems and issues faced by working women. Here is the "Double Burden" with its "80-hour week," and the problem of "latchkey children." Here are the kinds of jobs held by nearly 19,000,000 U. S. working women—in factories and offices, on the farms,

and "following the crops," along with convincing refutation of "the ancient myth that women work for 'pin money' and do not really need the jobs they hold."

Here also are the key devices by which the bosses extract more than \$5,000,000,000 *extra* profits annually out of women productive workers in manufacturing — differential wage scales, double seniority lists, speed-up, and heavier work loads; and the harmful effects of these practices, not only on women workers and their families, but also on the working class as a whole. Here, finally, are aspects of the still limited but growing struggle for equal rights on the job, and the threat to women's rights which is represented by the so-called "Equal Rights Amendment" to the U. S. Constitution.

Part II of this book, "Why Women Organize," is concerned chiefly with the extent to which women workers are organized and the role they play in the trade unions and other progressive organizations. Brief attention is given to the special problems of "older" women workers, and their implications for trade-union policy. There is considerable documentation of the fact that, despite proportionately large numbers of women in many unions, "the labor movement in this country is still run by men." Also interpreted is the very limited role now played by the millions of working-class women in the "women's auxiliaries" of A. F. of L., C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods, here posed against the great potentialities of these societies as a center for progressive efforts "to strengthen the cause of all who have common interest in those who toil."

Recognition of the special problems

and importance of Negro women in this whole picture is reflected in four sections of the book which analyze the occupational status of nearly 2,000,000 Negro women workers, document the urgent need for fair employment practice legislation, interpret the progressive role of the National Negro Labor Council and other Negro people's organizations, and illustrate the "Power of Unity" when white and Negro workers join hands in combatting racism, as in the victorious Stuyvesant Town housing struggles in New York City. There is also a section devoted to women in progressive organizations generally, especially among Jewish and other national groups.

Among the most impressive sections of Part II are those which recount the heroic role of women "In Recent Labor Struggles," and interpret the advanced position of women in "Action for World Peace." Here one begins to appreciate the great reserves of strength and militancy which the fuller mobilization of working women can bring to the struggles of the labor-progressive movement—the qualities which led Stalin to speak of working women as "a regular army of the working class . . . fighting shoulder to shoulder with the great army of the proletariat."

It should be clear from the wide scope of this brief book that its analyses are necessarily fragmentary and sketchy, with an average of less than three pages devoted to each of the 29 different sections into which the discussion is organized. *Women Who Work* does not provide a rounded discussion of the many problems with which it deals; but its handy compilation and interpretation of abundant factual data will be extremely useful for working-

class leaders and others concerned with the problems of working women. Moreover, the data are presented and handled with that high level of technical excellence which we have come to expect in publications of Labor Research Association, of which the author is Editor.

It should also be clear from the above outline of contents that *Women Who Work* is not a theoretical discussion; although its conception and development obviously grow out of considerable theoretical insight. One finds, for example, no discussion of the class structure of capitalist society and the relations of the woman question to the class struggles; but the factual analyses here provided do reflect and document those relations. Completely absent is any discussion of how the woman question is related to the leading role of the working class as the decisive force in the coalition for democracy and peace; but this relationship is implicit in the analyses of the entire volume, especially as regards the role of women workers in trade-union struggles, in the Negro liberation movement and in the peace movement. This lack of direct theoretical discussion necessarily limits the depth of insight which may be obtained from this volume. It is my opinion that the meaning and importance of the factual information here set forth would have been considerably enhanced if the whole were given an explicit, even though briefly developed, theoretical frame of reference.

The consistently non-theoretical orientation of this book probably explains, at least in part, its complete omission of any discussion of women in socialist society. There is not one mention of

Socialism, or the Soviet Union, or the People's Democracies in the entire volume. Herein lies a very serious limitation. To discuss the special problems of working women in the United States without even hinting at the only path of development which offers a fundamental solution of those problems is to deprive one's audience of the perspective so essential to effective struggle.

In general, however, one must appraise Grace Hutchins' inexpensive little volume—the only one of its kind in the field—as an extremely valuable contribution to the labor-progressive

movement. Its down-to-earth documentation and analysis of the most basic aspect of the woman question—the concrete problems and struggles of working women—stand in sharp contrast with the classless, esoteric, ramblings of the vast majority of recent books on "the woman question," now loudly touted in the bourgeois press. *Women Who Work* will prove to be of tremendous value in strengthening that emerging working-class movement for women's rights which was so effectively dramatized at UE's recent National Conference on the Problems of Working Women.

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