

# political affairs

JULY 1953 • 25 CENTS

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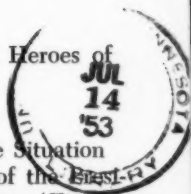
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

JOHN SWIFT

JEROME GOLDEN AND  
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**NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 Broadway, New York**

*Re-entered as second class matter January 4, 1945, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. POLITICAL AFFAIRS is published monthly by New Century Publishers, Inc., at 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., to whom subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be sent. Subscription rate: \$2.50 a year; \$1.25 for six months; foreign and Canada, \$3.00 a year. Single copies 25 cents.*

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*A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism*

Editor: V. J. Jerome

## The Rosenbergs: Heroes of Democracy

National Committee, C.P., U.S.A.

ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG were brutally murdered in an act of fascist violence by a ruling class that is desperate in the face of the rising forces of peace and democracy. The murderers of the Rosenbergs hoped that they could intimidate the fight for peace and democracy by hurling into its face the murdered bodies of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. But these rulers, who try to cover with brutality and arrogance their fear of the peoples of America and the world, were never more mistaken.

The Rosenbergs died innocent—heroes of democracy.

They gave to America and to the world an example of heroism and self-sacrificing patriotism which tore the mask off the vile frame-up which had been concocted against them personally and against the American people as a whole.

What the F.B.I. political police, the Truman Administration, and then the Eisenhower-Brownell lead-

ership had demanded of them, and of Morton Sobell whom they buried in jail for 30 years, is that they help open the gates to fascism, to anti-labor, anti-Communist, anti-Semitic violence in the United States.

The claim that the Rosenbergs "had their day in court" is a mockery of truth and justice. The Supreme Court was reconvened illegally to cancel the stay of execution and met with a pistol to its head in the form of impeachment threats, in an atmosphere of a Southern lynch town. The Supreme Court did not even have the decency to read the original trial record, or look at the evidence in the case, as Justice Black pointed out. A veritable lynch cry broke out among the "kill-the-Rosenberg" forces at Justice Douglas who dared to uphold the law and who challenged the legality of the death penalty.

The top officials in government, especially the department of frame-

up headed by J. Edgar Hoover, plotted to force the humble Jewish couple to betray democracy by "fingering" the progressive and Marxist movement as an "espionage conspiracy."

They had hoped to force this innocent couple to commit this perjury in order that the hatred of the American people for the Korean war, for the entire "inevitable atomic war" line of the atombomb maniacs should be directed in pogrom-fashion against the working-class vanguard, the Communists, the Negro and Jewish people, the labor and progressive forces generally.

In short, the plot to frame the Rosenbergs on the basis of a fantasy created by the FBI in a deal with a frightened and chronic liar was a political plot to assist in advancing the McCarthyite pro-fascist reign of fear in the United States, to brutalize the population, and get it to accept the further fascization of the United States without resistance.

\* \* \*

But the Rosenbergs would not play this Benedict Arnold role against their country and against democracy. By their heroism, they roused the world to the realization that there exist in America incorruptible forces that will not bow to frame-up, McCarthyism, anti-Semitism and the nightmares of the atombomb worshippers. The Rosenberg case became the focus of the entire world's hatred of Washington's war policies, of its hatred and resistance to the effort

to McCarthyize America in the image of the Swastika. Though foully murdered by the Eisenhower-Brownell-J. Edgar Hoover forces, in an atmosphere of McCarthyism, the Rosenbergs succeeded in unmasking the plot before the eyes of literally the majority of mankind. Though dead, they live on, growing more powerful every minute as the world camp of peace and democracy refuses to let their murderers get away with their conspiracy.

Around the defense of the heroic Rosenbergs there arose a wide popular movement which was gaining momentum rapidly. So much so that the Eisenhower Administration hurried with obscene speed to get the execution over with before the people's movement against the murder would become irresistible. Americans in every walk of life were roused to protest the death penalty, including thousands of ministers and rabbis, leading atomic scientists, and others. The final clemency train to Washington brought fifteen thousand to the White House, the biggest demonstration in the capital in this generation. The outpouring at the Rosenberg funeral was a grief-stricken but militant and angry demonstration of tens of thousands determined to fight back.

In this historic battle for the preservation of democracy in the United States, it is a tragic fact that the organized labor movement was deceived by the colossal frame-up propaganda in this case; that it fell vic-

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tim to the stupid and criminal myth that there existed an "atom bomb secret" which the Soviet Union had to "steal" and that this explains the terrible danger of atomic war under which our country lives today. Yet this crude myth was debunked completely by the nation's leading scientists, and the Soviet Union offered time and time again to enter into a pact with our country to outlaw the atom bomb under a strong system of UN controls and inspection.

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But in maintaining almost complete silence on this fascist conspiracy of labor's worst enemies, great harm was done to labor's most immediate interests, no less than to democracy in general. It was left to other splendid forces in America to stand up to save the honor of the nation in this battle to stave off the Hitlerism which a frantic and desperate ruling class seeks for America as its policies face bankruptcy and defeat throughout the world. This miscalculation by labor which gave way before the terrific barrage of lies and fear around the "atom spy" hoax, must now be remedied as quickly as possible. The truth about the Rosenberg case, their innocence, the ghastly forgeries of the prosecution, and the enormous impact which the Rosenbergs made in rousing the tidal wave of world protest, must now be brought to every union local, community, church and to the public generally.

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There must be no more Rosenberg frame-ups! There must be a halt to the Hitlerization of America by the

Eisenhower-Brownell-J. Edgar Hoover forces working hand in glove with the swastika-minded McCarthy and his goons. Though the Rosenberg murder was a sordid victory for those who were determined that they should die, the murderers of the Rosenbergs are now paying and will pay an even greater price as the days, months and years pass! Already, the murder of the Rosenbergs, in defiance of world opinion, has increased the isolation of the Washington pro-war plotters to an acute degree. There is not a people, a nation, in the world today which does not seek to pull away from the Washington A-bomb worshippers simply to protect their own lives, their own dignity and national independence. The murder of the Rosenbergs has unmasked the Eisenhower-McCarthy forces in the USA before the majority of humanity.

The task is now for us Americans not to falter in the face of this challenge but to take inspiration from the courage of these two patriotic Americans who would not give the Jew-haters and the war-plotters what they wanted. It is up to us now to see the lessons of the Rosenberg case and to act on them:

1. The truth about the "why and wherefores" of this frame-up must be brought to the labor movement which should be shown that behind the Rosenberg frame-up stood the worst enemies of all labor; that if the Rosenbergs could be framed "as spies," then any labor leader or mili-

tant worker can be framed by the same forces on trumped up charges of any kind. The Rosenberg case—like Mooney and Sacco-Vanzetti and later cases—is a labor case.

2. To warn the labor movement and the people as a whole that behind the Rosenberg "spy hoax" new attacks are being plotted against the rights and living conditions of the people, and to help organize united resistance to stem the tide of fascism.

3. To explain that the Rosenberg fight helped to bring into being a spirit of resistance to McCarthyism which can be built on and expanded; that the Rosenbergs' heroism will inspire more and more Americans as the truth becomes known to millions.

4. To show that the Rosenberg fight merges with the people's hatred of the Korean war, of the suicidal foreign policies of Washington, and that the fight to expose the criminals behind the Rosenberg frame-up is

a vital part of the peace and democracy battles, just as the fight for Dreyfus in France was a fight for French democracy against militarism and war.

The pro-fascist forces will try in their hatred of the growing forces of peace and democracy to spread more anti-Semitism, more violence, more frame-ups. But the road before them is far from a clear one. On the contrary, they have roused new resistance by their barbarous crimes.

We bow our heads in tribute to two immortal American patriots, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The American people vow that those who murdered them and tried to murder America's heritage shall not succeed. The American people will meet the threat of fascism with a new national resistance worthy of our great traditions.

William Z. Foster  
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn  
Pettis Perry

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NOTE: Pressure of space has forced the holding over of the concluding installment of "Lessons of the Struggle against Opportunism in District 65" by A. H. Kendrick and Jerome Golden. It will appear in our August issue—*Ed.*

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# Resolution on the Situation Growing out of the Presidential Elections (Final Text)

National Committee, C.P., U.S.A.

IN PRESENTING the final text of its resolution, the National Committee wishes to make clear the following:

1. The changes made in the final text are confined to those which arose as a result of the inner-party discussion and which were made necessary in order to add greater clarity and precision to the resolution.

2. No attempt was made to bring the resolution up-to-date in the sense of analyzing any of the post-election developments because any such additions would necessitate a complete recasting of the structure of the resolution and therefore a completely new resolution. The National Committee believed it wiser to keep the resolution in its original form and confined to the limited purpose for which it was originally drafted.

The National Committee is of the opinion that this resolution has already served a tremendously useful purpose in orienting the Party to its new tasks and responsibilities, and that in the period ahead, the final text of the resolution will serve as a useful guide for the Party in its work.

Various elaborations of the line of the resolution and its application to new developments since the elections have already appeared in *Political*

*Affairs*, particularly in the articles of Comrade Foster.

The National Committee wishes to thank the members of the Party for the many splendid contributions made to the rich inner-party discussion. All of this discussion has been taken into account and is reflected in the final text printed here.

\* \* \*

A great fraud was perpetrated on the American people in the 1952 elections. Seeking to create the impression that the people were being afforded a real choice, the Republican and Democratic Parties spent a hundred million dollars to stage this colossal deception. The election campaign of both parties represented a cruel hoax which robbed the nation of its ability to translate its genuine peace aspirations into an effective electoral mandate.

Not the people, but the war-minded men of the trusts and monopolies, the duPonts, Rockefellers, Morgans and **General Motors**—dictated the choice of national candidates and the programs of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

Neither the extreme demagoguery nor the false promises of the election cam-

paign can hide the fact that both parties fully expressed the determination of U.S. imperialism to press on with its criminal war of aggression in Korea, to step up the tempo of its imperialist armed adventures. Despite the fact that World War III would inevitably end in the defeat of U.S. imperialism, both parties adhered to the insane design of launching a war against the Soviet Union and People's Democracies.

In this situation, the resolute efforts of our Party to project peace as the central issue of the campaign was a vital contribution to the working class and the people as a whole. Particularly important was the timely and militant campaign organized by our Party, on the initiative of Comrade Foster, for an immediate cease-fire in Korea. Of great significance also was our Party's contribution to the campaign for Negro representation which reached nation-wide proportions and resulted in a number of victories.

Our Party correctly rejected and fought against the line of the bourgeois liberals and reformist labor leaders of support for Stevenson because this policy, no less than endorsement of Eisenhower, meant support of the bi-partisan war program of monopoly capital. Our Party correctly supported the Progressive Party national ticket—the only clear voice for peace in the 1952 elections.

The outcome of the 1952 elections strengthened the hand of the most reactionary forces of monopoly capi-

tal.

1. It placed the preferred party of monopoly capital, the Republican Party, in control of the government. The Democratic Party, no less than the G.O.P., is controlled and dominated by monopoly capital and represents the interest of the trusts. But the G.O.P. is openly and avowedly the party of Big Business; it does not have to rely to the same degree as does the Democratic Party on organized labor and the Negro people as its social base. Monopoly capital, therefore, looks upon the Republican Party as its most effective instrument today in forcing pro-fascist and war measures on the nation.

2. It strengthened the hand of such advance-guard fascists as McCarthy, McCarran, Velde, Nixon, Byrnes, Jenner, and Potter. With the outcome of the elections, McCarthyism has become a menace of major proportions.

3. It heightened the influence in national affairs of the aggressive, anti-labor, anti-democratic forces as represented by Taft, Hoover, Farley, Byrnes, and MacArthur.

4. It bolstered the position of the Dixiecrats through further consolidating a political working alliance of Dixiecrats and Republicans.

5. It laid the groundwork for stepping up more aggressive pro-fascist measures by monopoly capital against labor, the mass of farmers, small business and the people generally. Included in this are preparations for a union-smashing offensive.

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6. It increased for the immediate months ahead the danger of moves designed to spread the war in Korea and the Far East and of provocative actions in Europe aimed at preventing a blowup of NATO. The Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" policy is a continuation and dangerous intensification of the aggressive Truman-Acheson war policy.

It is harmful to obscure the fact that the G.O.P. victory in the 1952 elections does in fact strengthen the hand of the most reactionary pro-fascist, pro-war elements of monopoly capitalism. It is the duty of our Party to arouse mass awareness and understanding of this fact while building confidence that the people can prevent fascism from coming to power.

The feature of the new political situation which has supreme importance for us and upon which our tactical line must be based is the great and justified alarm among the masses over the Republican victory. We must fully appreciate the existence of this deep-going concern in the ranks of workers, Negro people, poor farmers and lower income urban middle classes.

We must fully associate ourselves with this concern. We must also associate ourselves with the many millions who voted for Eisenhower primarily because of their peace aspirations.

There is a very real contradiction between the attempt by millions, including large numbers of women and youth, to register a peace man-

date through Eisenhower and the actual course and policies of the Republican Party. This, in the first place, accounts for the fact that these millions do not represent a stable base for the Eisenhower regime.

Wall Street will do everything in its power to try to transform those millions as rapidly as possible into a mass base for its imperialist and pro-fascist aims. It will try to create ever greater gaps between these millions and the labor and Negro people's movements.

The heart of the resistance movement to Wall Street's program lies in labor, the poorest strata of farmers, and the Negro people. The mobilization and unity of this giant core, which already recognizes the peril inherent in the G.O.P. victory, represents our most basic and immediate task.

In this lies also the guarantee that millions who voted for Eisenhower will move in the direction of resistance rather than surrender.

Our Party must be the foremost, the most effective, the most consistent fighter for unity of the working class. It must strive to achieve united action of the working class, Negro people, farmers and democratically-minded people. The unfolding of this all-pervasive struggle for unity is the central task of our Party in this new political situation. This must in the first place take the form of the struggle for the united front from below. To the degree that this is done it will open possibilities

for united action on all levels. By unfolding this struggle for unity of action against the pro-war, pro-fascist course and measures of the Republican Administration, our Party will develop among the masses an understanding of the central lesson emerging from the victory of reaction in the 1952 elections.

Support of the pro-war measures of the Truman Administration; acceptance and propagation of the "big lie" of the external and internal "Communist menace" disarmed the workers, blocked the path to independent action by labor and its allies, and paved the way for a Republican victory.

The major responsibility for this policy and its consequences rests squarely with the official leadership of the main trade-union centers. This was the content of the policies of the Reuthers, Meanys, *et al.*, who paralyzed independent political action by projecting the myth that Stevenson was an obstacle to the advance of reaction. They pursued these policies despite the fact that the Democratic Party administration, operating with bi-partisan support, originated and unfolded the current war program in behalf of Wall Street—Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, NATO, Korean war.

\* \* \*

The rapacious greed and feverish search for maximum profits determine the basic drive of American monopoly for world domination. American monopolists are funda-

mentally united behind this drive, as they seek a way out of the deepening crisis of U.S. and world capitalism through aggressive imperialist adventures, attacking democratic rights and instituting reaction, and through the further impoverishment of the masses both at home and abroad.

Our Party and the working class cannot project any real perspective of struggle nor can it correctly utilize existing and future rifts in monopoly ranks unless it recognizes the basic unity of monopoly capital behind these aims.

The rifts in monopoly circles arise out of the contradictions between their common aim of world domination and the realities of the world situation, economically and politically. These realities include the disintegration of a single world market and the coming into being of two world markets. They further include the growing contradictions, rivalries and antagonisms between different imperialist countries.

Because the American imperialist drive necessitates the ruthless conquest and subordination of all peoples, it is necessarily a program of war and fascism. Because the most determined and consistent opposition to its program of enslavement and aggression comes from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, Wall Street views the Soviet Union as its main enemy, as the force which it seeks to destroy.

The rising strength of the peace camp headed by the Soviet Union

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and the People's Democracies, the rising movements and armed struggles of the colonial nations for independence, the sharpened struggles and contradictions between various imperialist groupings, creates an ever growing crisis in American foreign policy. This is further aggravated by the growing resistance on the part of the American working class and the people generally to the consequences of the war drive as felt in their daily lives.

One of the results of the deepening crisis is that it promotes rifts among the monopolists on how to best carry out their program of world domination.

The main differences in the ranks of monopoly capital in this period arise over the following issues: 1) the feasibility of launching an early war against the Soviet Union; 2) how best to maintain and consolidate its domination over its imperialist rivals and to exploit even further the markets, resources and peoples of the capitalist and colonial worlds; 3) the struggle for control over the war economy—the \$75 billion budget, the division of war contracts, the determination of tax program, etc.; and 4) the question of how soon to move over to a program of out-and-out attack on the labor movement, and of domestic fascism.

The American working class can take advantage of these contradictions only if it takes upon itself the historic responsibility of uniting and leading the majority of the nation in

a great peace crusade against any kind of imperialist and aggressive war. Unlike the Roosevelt period, no basic political realignment, no great and powerful people's coalition against war and fascism can be built today which can succeed in reversing American foreign policy that does not have the working class as the basic driving force and backbone of the coalition.

\* \* \*

The dominant circles of monopoly capital will exert great efforts to build an atmosphere of "national unity," around Eisenhower and the Republican Administration. Eisenhower's selection of a member of the A. F. of L. officialdom as Secretary of Labor, his promise to amend the Taft-Hartley law, his declaration of opposition to union smashing, are intended to facilitate the creation of a "national unity" atmosphere around the pro-war, pro-fascist course to be pursued by the incoming Republican Administration.

Powerful forces in the Democratic Party, including the Southern Dixiecrats, the Farley forces in the North and the "liberals" most directly grouped around Stevenson, will, all in their own particular and different ways, promote this phony "national unity" effort. Undoubtedly, sections of Social-Democratic trade-union officialdom will take a similar line, at least in the early stages of the Republican Administration.

Despite the attempts to build an atmosphere of national unity around

Eisenhower, many factors are operating toward an early breakdown of these efforts. These factors are:

1. The growing failure of foreign policy and the mounting development of anti-war sentiment and struggles among decisive sections of the labor and people's movement. Together with this, there is a rapid sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions and the tendency towards the breakup of Wall Street world capitalist hegemony.

2. The mounting crisis of the U.S. and world capitalist economy and the ever closer peril of a devastating economic crisis leading to growing sharpness of economic struggle waged by labor, the mass of farmers, and small business against the intensified economic attack of the monopolies.

3. The spreading of the pro-fascist offensive of monopoly capital which increasingly tends to include among its targets the broad field of bourgeois liberals and leaders of labor and the Negro people; and the resultant growth to mass proportions of the struggles against McCarthyism.

4. The mounting struggles of the Negro people for equal rights and complete equality bring them into ever sharper collision with the anti-Negro Eisenhower-McCarthy-Dixiecrat alliance.

Monopoly capital brought the Republican Party into power because it is now prepared to drive for an even more aggressive policy of imperialist aggression; because it is

preparing for a deep-going economic crisis in the U.S. and the capitalist world as a whole. It demands more drastic measures to insure that the masses bear the full brunt of the horrible consequences of this crisis. It is determined to wipe out the gains achieved by the Negro people over the past twenty years and to intensify their super-exploitation and oppression. It insists on more aggressive and repressive measures against labor and against the Communist Party, thus paving the way for union-smashing offensives and for passing over to fascist forms of rule.

Thus, the Republican victory in the 1952 elections has strengthened and emboldened the forces of reaction. Simultaneously, however, it has opened up a perspective of sharper and broader mass struggles. For the attempt to sew labor up in a "national unity" of class collaboration is facing ever greater difficulties and is being increasingly exposed as monopoly capital steps up the tempo of its drive against the working class, the Negro people, and the nation as a whole.

The Republican victory opens up a perspective of broader and sharper class struggle involving the decisive sections of the working class now under Right-wing leadership. It would, however, be a fatal error for Marxists to rely upon the spontaneous development of this struggle. Struggles must be participated in, organized and led. It would be equally fatal to consider that because

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of the Republican electoral victory the reformist trade-union officialdom will reverse their class collaboration role and policies.

The sharpened danger to the labor movement will give rise to more militant demagogy on the part of Social-Democracy at the same time as there will take place an actual process of differentiation with sections of Social-Democracy moving in the direction of the united front.

Communists must not rely on spontaneity or have illusions about Social-Democracy. What is required is a deeper understanding of the role of our Party as the foremost force stimulating, organizing and influencing the development of mass united-front struggles on the key issues confronting the working class. What is needed is greater understanding of the primary importance of Party shop organization in the basic industries in the forging of working-class unity. What is needed is confidence that as our Party resolutely unfolds a broad and flexible united-front policy against the pro-war, pro-fascist measures of the Republican Administration, and as the masses move in the direction of united-front struggles against these measures, new opportunities for the development of united-front relations at all levels will arise in the labor and people's movements.

\* \* \*

The election outcome indicates that wide masses of workers, of the Negro people and poor farmers have

not yet lost their illusions in the Democratic Party and hence have not yet broken with it and from the influence of Social-Democracy. Neither does it represent the disintegration of the two party system. On the contrary, the election returns confirm the fact that, despite important defections, the alliance of the bulk of the organized workers, the Negro people and poor farmers that constituted the popular base of the Democratic Party since 1936, in the main remained intact behind Stevenson. There is no immediate outlook for a mass popular desertion of the Democratic Party.

\* \* \*

It was correct for our Party to reject and fight against the line of those labor leaders and liberals who proposed a policy of support of Stevenson on the ground that he was a progressive candidate. To support Stevenson meant support for the bipartisan war program. It was correct for the Party to subordinate all considerations in bringing forward peace as the central issue in this campaign. It was correct for the Party to support the Progressive Party national ticket which was the only clear voice for peace in the elections.

The main weakness of our electoral tactics in the 1952 elections consisted of the following:

1. A rigid third party line which failed to sufficiently unfold a policy of united front and of coalition approaches on issues and in congressional and Senatorial races. This was

particularly the case in many areas where the most notorious symbols of reaction ran as incumbents.

2. The failure within the framework of a correct policy of basic attack on both parties and tickets to sufficiently direct the sharpest fire against the Republicans.

While some efforts were made to broaden the approach of the Party in the direction of coalition policy, these efforts failed because a number of basic conclusions from the results of the 1948 elections had not been drawn. The leadership did not follow up the good beginning made in this direction by the 1950 convention of the Party. The failure of the leadership to clearly, firmly and resolutely fight for a broad coalition policy in the 1952 elections was especially serious because there was no evidence whatsoever pointing to an imminent breakaway from the two old parties in 1952. The mistakes made by the Party in the election campaign must be ascribed to strong sectarian tendencies within its ranks.

In the 1948 elections we were confronted with the task of finding the broadest united-front electoral vehicle for bringing sharply before the American people the question of peace. From this arose the need for our Party to help stimulate the formation of a united-front peace ticket and even the formation of a united-front party machinery to campaign for that ticket.

However, the mistake our Party made was to confuse this task with

the historic task of forming a new mass party of the people. As a consequence, there existed the wrong estimate that the formation of the Progressive Party represented something more than the simple emergence of an important fighting force for peace; that it represented in fact the emergence of a great mass people's party.

This estimate erroneously ignored the fact that in mid-twentieth century America there could not emerge a great new mass party as against the two parties of Wall Street until the labor movement, at least its decisive sections, had broken from the two-party system, particularly the Democratic Party. This arose in no small measure from an overestimation of the radicalization of the masses and an underestimation of the deep-seated influence of the labor reformists on the organized working class.

This mistake also arose in large measure from a Right-opportunist exaggeration of the role which liberal bourgeois forces (around Wallace) could play in bringing about a basic political realignment in the ranks of the working class and its allies.

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It has been increasingly clear that the formation of a broad and mass people's party in the United States, which will represent an historic and necessary advance on the part of labor and its allies, must arise out of the basic mass trade-union and people's organizations. Movement in this direction will be facilitated to

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the degree that every effort is made to stimulate independent political action and resistance against the attacks and policies of reaction.

The perspective for the immediate future is that of the unfolding of important struggles among the masses who form the base of the Democratic Party. Undoubtedly a coalition of reactionaries like Farley and McCarran together with the Dixiecrats of the Byrnes stripe will attempt to exercise control of the Democratic Party. Stevenson and other forces will attempt to render the Democrats impotent by having them play the role of the "loyal opposition" to the Republicans. It is expected that labor will also seek to extend its influence in this Party.

The Progressive Party, the Communist Party, and other progressive forces must under no circumstances stand aside from this fight. On the contrary, these must exert maximum influence toward bringing into being a coalition of forces which will work toward:

1. The development of forms through which labor can exert a unified class influence on the national political life and on the Democratic Party (similar perhaps to Labor's Non-Partisan League) and by development of broader alliances of labor and allies through such forms as the former Washington Commonwealth Federation, the Independent Voters League, now existing in the South, etc.

2. Maximum development of

P.A.C., L.L.P.E. and N.A.A.C.P. activities in every shop, local and community for independent political action through struggle on issues affecting the people and thereby also playing a role in the struggles within the Democratic Party. Such efforts must be stimulated in other groups such as the A.D.A. and Liberal Party.

3. Forcing on sectors of the Democratic Party, to the maximum extent and wherever possible, a genuine program of struggle against the pro-war and pro-fascist course and measures of the Republican Administration.

4. The formation of blocs of legislators in Congress and state legislatures that will fight for this program.

The Progressive Party which has performed yeoman service in the struggle for peace and against reaction is not a mass people's party led by labor but it can, with a modification of its role and policies, facilitate the political realignment out of which a mass people's party will develop and of which it should try to become a part.

The progressive-led organizations such as A.P.C., C.R.C., N.L.C. and above all, the progressive-led trade unions have a particular role in developing the united-front struggle around immediate issues and in working towards independent political action of labor and the Negro people.

Our Party will not cease in its efforts to deepen the understanding in the ranks of labor of the need for a mass people's party led by labor. Agitation for such a party should be

developed on a much more extensive scale than at present and can become an important factor in bringing about a new realignment. It will be of real value, however, only to the extent that it takes place within the framework of consistent struggles for unity on issues within the mainstream of labor and within the framework of those organizations through which the mass of labor and the Negro people express themselves politically. The tasks outlined above are the most immediate steps necessary to help lead the decisive sections of the working class to move in the direction of support for such a party.

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Most immediately the people are confronted with a series of urgent problems. Among them are:

The mass demand for a cease-fire and an end to the war in Korea faces frustration from the Eisenhower regime.

The most rabid reactionaries are preparing to ram new anti-labor bills through Congress, including measures to outlaw industry-wide bargaining and even more crippling amendments to the Taft-Hartley law.

The promise to enact a cloture rule in the Senate faces scuttling by the Dixiecrat-G.O.P. alliance as do the campaign pledges to reduce taxes and prices.

The Party must persistently help the working class, Negro and democratic forces to develop the broadest united movements in action for an

immediate end to the war in Korea; not only to persist in the fight for Taft-Hartley repeal, but also to enter the fight around Taft-Hartley amendments; to defeat the passage of new anti-labor legislation; to demand the passage of the cloture rule and of Federal F.E.P.C.; to press forward the fight for tax and price reductions; repeal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law and the Smith and McCarran Acts.

The growing arrogance of the monopolists toward organized labor, the increasing economic problems faced by labor as a result of increased speed-up, high prices and taxes and low wage levels requires the most militant and united struggle of labor on the economic and political field. This necessitates a consistent and persistent struggle to achieve labor unity, first in the form of united action and then through organic trade-union unity. Such unity is also decisive if labor is to play the role of main driving force and backbone of people's unity for peace and progress. The Left-wing forces in the labor movement and particularly in those unions in which they share in leadership are called upon to project most forcefully the need for and to fight most energetically to achieve united action of sections of the labor movement.

The Party must help to strengthen in every way the maximum class solidarity between Negro and white workers on the basis of promoting the fight for jobs in industry and

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office, for upgrading and the election of Negroes to all levels of trade-union leadership.

This class solidarity should likewise express itself in a closer alliance with the growing Negro people's movement fighting for social, political and economic equality in every sphere. This alliance should help to promote the fight for (1) F.E.P.C. federal, state and city; (2) Federal legislation to abolish the poll tax and to assist in every way the achievement of the right to vote for Negroes in the South; (3) Federal anti-lynch legislation; (4) Full support to the drive to organize the unorganized in industry and on the land in the South; (5) Support to the fight against discrimination and Jim Crow in education; (6) and to carry forward in the municipal elections and in the 1953 congressional elections the beginnings made in the 1952 campaign for greater Negro representation in both elective and appointive offices.

The main arena of struggle on the immediate issues is the organized labor movement and the mass organizations of the Negro people and the democratic forces. Every P.A.C. and L.L.P.E., every political and legislative avenue through which the people express themselves, must be alerted for a positive and active policy towards the Congressional and state legislative sessions. In this connection the progressive-led organizations have a special responsibility to take the initiative in projecting the

key issues and stimulating the unity of action around these issues on the broadest possible basis. Everywhere, the forces of labor and the people must be encouraged to move into political action to win their just demands.

The 1953 municipal elections assume a new significance in light of the outcome of the 1952 elections. The primaries of these municipal elections will coincide with a growing mass indignation against Eisenhower's Korea policy, the first fruits of the new Congress and a number of contracts and wage re-openers in many basic industries.

The chief feature of our Party's tactical line in the 1953 municipal elections is to help unfold a mass coalition policy embracing the labor movement, Negro people and the democratic forces, based on a program corresponding to the people's most urgent needs. Only by developing such an approach will we enable the masses to wage an effective struggle against reaction and war, to win important local victories in the fight for peace, democracy and security.

The fight for this policy in the 1953 municipal elections can help us advance towards a new, mass political coalition firmly rooted in the decisive unions and main mass organizations of the Negro people, small farmer and white collar masses.

It is necessary now to begin to prepare for the 1954 Congressional elections. This should take the form of striving to achieve unity of all labor

and people's forces on a Congressional District basis throughout the country with the objective of supporting candidates who will represent the interests of the people in the fight for peace, security and democracy.

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In the face of these historic tasks, the Communist Party is called upon to play an exemplary role as the vanguard of the embattled masses. It must unite its ranks as never before behind its Marxist-Leninist theory and program and behind the leadership of our Party headed by its National Chairman, Comrade William Z. Foster, and its General Secretary, Comrade Gene Dennis. Our Party can well be proud of the heroism with which it has stood up against the many-sided persecutions and harassments to which it has been subjected.

Following in the footsteps of the National Committee of our Party in the historic first Foley Square trial our comrades in the various Smith Act and Sedition trials in all cities over the country have unflinchingly faced the enemy in the courtrooms giving a true example of staunchness, devotion to principle and defense of the honor and integrity of our Party.

The Party must fight resolutely to win back all its legal rights, to bring the victims of the Smith Act out of jail, to defeat the McCarran Act and the attempts to completely illegalize the Party. This is a central part of the struggle to defend America from the danger of McCarthyism and the destruction of all civil liberties and democratic rights. In this connection everything must be done to strengthen our Party and its influence, to bring its message to the American people. Of special importance is the task of strengthening the Marxist press and literature, of organizing the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, the *Worker*, *Political Affairs*, and of books and pamphlets bringing the truth to the people and exposing the Big Lie. The circulation of literature is a task of honor and central importance for every member of our Party.

In the interest of our class and of the nation, in the interest of safeguarding the cause of peace, the National Committee calls upon every Party organization and member to join in a great initiative to develop the united front and above all unity of action of all working class, Negro and democratic forces.

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# Left Sectarianism in the Fight for Negro Rights and Against White Chauvinism

By William Z. Foster

THE GREATEST single achievement of the Communist Party is the persistent fight which it has long conducted for the immediate rights and equality and the ultimate national liberation of the Negro people. In this respect the Party stands far in advance of all organizations, political and otherwise, in the class struggle. The Party's fight, linked with that of the Negro people, has been militantly directed against every form of white chauvinism and Jim Crow segregationism.

The Party's battles in defense of the Scottsboro Boys, the Martinsville Seven, the Trenton Six, for Willie McGee and Mrs. Ingram, against lynching and the poll tax, against discrimination in housing projects, for the unionization of Negroes, for Negro political representation, are only a few of our activities, which have contributed greatly to the progress of the Negro people and which have made our Party beloved and respected among this persecuted people. All this serves to refute current Social-Democratic slanders to the effect that, "Communists are obstacles to the struggle for Negro rights," or "Advancements being made are a natural outgrowth of an evolving democracy," and the like.

The Communist fight for and with the Negro people has been waged, not only in the realm of practical policy, but also in that of theory—Communists having long been pioneers and leaders in these respects. With our theory of the national character of the Negro question, our specific fight against white chauvinism in all its manifestations, our struggle for Negro-white unity in every field, and our struggle against the distortion of Negro life in history, art, and literature, we have made and are continuing to make, major contributions to the general intellectual struggle and development of the Negro people.

## WHITE CHAUVINISM

The Communist Party has learned during the course of decades of struggle on the Negro question that the greatest ideological barrier and the main danger in the fight for Negro rights and equality is white chauvinism. White chauvinism, the poisonous ideology of white supremacy, is cultivated by the ruling classes of capitalist industrialists and planters for the allied purposes of: facilitating the super-exploitation of the Negro toiling masses, driving a wedge between Negro and white

workers and farmers, weakening the entire labor-progressive movement, and furthering generally the cause of reaction. Originally developed by the Southern planters as a defense of chattel slavery, white chauvinism has been taken up by capitalists generally as one of the most dangerous of all their ideological weapons against the working class and its democratic allies.

White chauvinism is, above all, the weapon of fascists, and its potential danger increases with the growth of McCarthyite tendencies in this country. With the drive of American imperialism for world conquest, for domination built upon Anglo-American white supremacy, white chauvinism also becomes increasingly an international menace. Jim Crow follows the flag, and wherever American militarists and businessmen go, and this is throughout the capitalist world, they take with them the deadly virus of segregation. Awareness of this rising danger is shown by the aggressive denunciation of Jim Crowism by the aroused peoples of the U.S.S.R., China, India, and various other countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

White chauvinism has been systematically cultivated in this country, North as well as South, for over three centuries—ever since chattel slavery got under way in colonial Virginia. Until the advent of the Communist Party, with its militant theoretical and direct struggle against Negro oppression, there has been little challenge, as such, to white chauvinism, except on the part

of the Negro people themselves. During the long struggle against slavery, culminating in the Civil War and the Reconstruction Period, a considerable attack was made upon white chauvinism by some Abolitionists, but this fight by no means eradicated it. In fact, there was very much chauvinism in Abolitionist ranks. As for the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, they have cultivated, not combatted, this political menace.

The general result has been that white chauvinism, in all its array of crassly brutal and insidiously subtle forms, originating with the ruling bourgeoisie, has seeped down into the masses and has become deeply imbedded in all aspects of American life. The Government, churches, schools, and colleges, fraternal organizations, industries, armed forces, mass entertainment systems, trade union bureaucracy, and all other institutions, are contaminated to a greater or lesser extent by this dangerous American ideological plague.

The white workers of the North and South, as well as the farmers and intellectuals everywhere, are more or less infested with white chauvinism. Nor is the Communist Party altogether immune. The C. P., with its Marxist-Leninist principles and its constant struggle for and with the Negro people, is far freer from the political disease of white chauvinism than any other predominantly white organization in the country. Nevertheless, it has many outcroppings of it, which it constantly must fight against. Among

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the more common manifestations of white chauvinism in the Party are passivity in the fight for Negro rights, failure to develop social contact with Negroes, refusal of homeowners to rent rooms to Negroes, hypocritical attitudes toward Negro Party and union functionaries, failure to upgrade Negro workers in industry and to elect them as union officials in progressive unions, disapproval of intermarriage, the practice of white chauvinist language and habits, etc.

The fight against white chauvinism is of basic importance to both Negro and white workers. It is not simply a matter, important though it is, of relieving the Negro people of this bitter hardship. Even more significant is the fact that the fight against white chauvinism is indispensable for developing the Negro-white solidarity, without which the labor-progressive movement can make little real headway. White chauvinism is a deadly obstacle to the advance of American democracy and the preservation of world peace, and it is upon this basis above all, that it must be relentlessly combatted. The fight against white chauvinism must not only be linked up with every fight for Negro rights but every other struggle of the working class and its allies. It is not merely a Negro matter but a broad working-class question. This emphasizes the great importance of the leadership shown in this issue during the past few years by Comrade Pettis Perry.

White chauvinism, of course, must especially be combatted and eradi-

cated from the ranks of the Communist Party. There can be no place in our Party for such bourgeois poison. Even though white chauvinism is far less with us than with any other class struggle organization, nevertheless, such outcroppings of it as occur are very offensive to Negro comrades, who correctly expect from our Party the very highest standards in this respect. The resignation of Negroes from our Party on the grounds of white chauvinism, and there have been such, is intolerable and a disgrace to the Party. Negro members must be made to feel perfectly at home in the Communist Party, not only politically, but also, and especially, socially. This can be done only on the basis of a persistent fight against all manifestations, however subtle, of white chauvinism. In this respect our Party must, and in fact does, set a glowing example to the whole labor and progressive movement. The Party's outstanding fight against white chauvinism is a decisive proof of its vanguard role and that it is indeed the true Party of the Negro people.

#### LEFT SECTARIAN DEVIATIONS

In our Party's long fight in the complex task of winning for the Negro people full economic, political, social and cultural equality, including therewith the fight against white chauvinism, we have naturally made many mistakes. These, of both a Right and a "Left" character, we have freely pointed out and acknowl-

edged in practice. The worst Right-opportunist mistakes that the Party ever made in the Negro question was its failure, over a period, to fight the Browder treachery, to the effect that the Negro question was automatically solving itself, that there was no need to struggle over it, and that the Communist Party itself in the South was unnecessary. Even more handicapping to our work in the long run, however, has been a persistent passivity in the Negro question and a failure to raise Negro demands in mass organizations, on the false opportunist grounds that to do so would be to jeopardize our general Party program of work. This is white chauvinism. These opportunist moods have by no means been liquidated and today they remain the main danger in our Party's Negro work.

The Communist Party has also made many Left-sectarian mistakes in this vital sphere of work. Among these was the early Leftist presentation of the slogan of self-determination as an advocacy of a Negro Republic in the Black Belt. Another, persistent, Leftist error has been our playing down, and often denial of the basic role of race in the Negro question—a fundamental mistake which is still largely uncorrected. Still another error of this general character has been our sectarian tendency largely to ignore the political progress that has been made recently by the Negro people, and to fail to evaluate it objectively. Then, too, many comrades, in sectarian fashion, have gone on repeating in the

old way the dictum that the Social-Democrats consider the Negro question as simply a class question, despite the fact that, in their own opportunist way, they have for many years been dealing with it as a "racial" question—as witness their handling of the Truman civil rights program, F.E.P.C. legislation, etc.

We are also making a number of serious Leftist errors in our present struggle for Negro rights—specifically in our fight against white chauvinism, which is the chief subject here to be dealt with. These errors are a deadly handicap in our fight against the dominant danger from the Right—white chauvinism, both in our Party and among the masses; hence their elimination presents us with an imperative task.

The current sectarian errors in our fight for Negro rights, of which the fight against white chauvinism is an integral part, are directly related to similar errors in other phases of our Party's mass work. Here we must bear in mind the central lessons of the Resolution of the National Committee. These lessons, briefly stated, are that our Party, during the period since 1948, committed a number of major sectarian errors and that it is necessary to develop a broader mass political policy. Among such errors noted by the Resolution were an overestimation of the role of the Progressive Party as the mass party of the people, instead of understanding it as one of the major means towards this end; and the following, in the 1948-52 elections, of a "rigid third party line," instead of a broad

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united front coalition policy involving the third-party movement.

These were Leftist sectarian errors, and many similar errors are to be found in other branches of the Party's mass work. The main cause today of such sectarian trends is a wrong reaction to the great pressures now being exerted against us by the Government in its drive for war. This heavy pressure—of ideological and political terrorism—marked by many arrests is aimed to isolate the Communists from the masses and to destroy the Party.

Under this heavy drive from the Right, many elements weaken and quit. This is Right-opportunist capitulation. The sectarian trend in the Party, however, manifests itself by a sort of drawing within our shell under this pressure, the needless abandonment of our outposts among the masses and a narrow concentration upon our main stronghold, the Party. This is a special type of sectarianism in this period of sharp persecution. The worst manifestation of such sectarian reactions were the marked tendencies, at the outset of the drive against us, to go underground; a sectarian course which our Party has not yet fully overcome. Under the circumstances, the proper Communist policy would have been to redouble our efforts to maintain and extend our mass contacts, which obviously we are very far from having done. To the extent that we are experiencing today some isolation, this is primarily due to these sectarian moods of withdrawal. It is not that the masses are rejecting us.

Of course, large sections of the workers have been poisoned by Wall Street's anti-Communist, pro-war campaign; nevertheless, in view of the people's well-known desire for peace, their anti-fascist spirit, and their determination to defend their standards of living, greater opportunities exist for work among them than we are now taking advantage of.

The current sectarian trend has especially shown itself in our trade-union work. Without attempting here to make a rounded-out evaluation of our trade-union work, it is quite clear that we have not made a solid, united front struggle to maintain and develop our mass contacts and activities in the A. F. of L. and also (with some notable exceptions) in the C.I.O. Similar trends are to be observed also in the independent unions. Undoubtedly a more resolute united front struggle would have left us in a much better position generally in the trade-union field than is now the case.

In the general field of peace work there are also to be observed the characteristic sectarian trends of this period. Here broad opportunities lie before us, in view of the deep mass longings for peace, to build up strong united front campaigns. But, again, there manifests itself the tendency to withdraw within ourselves, rather than to go boldly to the masses.

There are also serious sectarian trends to be seen in our defense work. During the past five years our Party has written basic labor history in its heroic struggle against govern-

ment persecution under the Smith, McCarran, and other semi-fascist laws. But our fight has been needlessly narrow, when objective conditions offered opportunities for a much broader mass struggle. The sectarian trend manifested itself in our recent trials by a too narrow concentration upon legal defense as such and by a neglect of the broad general mass political work, not only in defense, but in peace, workers' standards, Negro rights, etc. In this weakness we have a clear expression of the characteristic Leftist deviation of this period, to withdraw needlessly (under cover of resounding general slogans), from the mass contacts and to retire upon the Party fortress itself.

#### SECTARIANISM IN FIGHT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS AND AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

The sectarian trends in our Party's Negro work are part of this same general pattern of Leftist errors characteristic of this period of severe political reaction and government repression. In the struggle for Negro rights there is always to be combatted the main danger of white chauvinism, which is a Right danger, and a high barrier in the fight for Negro rights. We must also fight the lesser Right danger of Negro bourgeois nationalism. White chauvinism, as it manifests itself among the masses of the working class and in the ranks of our Party, is a reflection of white bourgeois nationalist ideology and it is Right-opportunism of the worst character. Right-opportunism

underestimates the significance of white chauvinism, both without and within the Party, treats it as a minor evil, and makes little or no fight against it; it is, in short, essentially a surrender to the white chauvinists.

In the fight for Negro rights the main danger is white chauvinism, and the main weakness is a failure to fight it. In the fight against white chauvinism, to the degree that it is being waged, the main hindrance to a successful struggle is sectarianism and distortion of the battle against white chauvinism.

The Party cannot fight either the main danger of white chauvinism or the lesser danger of Negro nationalism with policies, as now, heavily handicapped by Leftist sectarianism. Leftism always cultivates, not weakens Right dangers. The Left-sectarian tendency isolates the Party from the masses, makes a caricature of the fight against white chauvinism, considers white chauvinism as virtually ineradicable and proposes impossible disciplinary measures to combat it. In the end, both the Right and "Left" deviations come to the same result—no fight, or, at best, a weakened fight against white chauvinism. It is, therefore, a basic necessity, if our Party is to make a solid fight for Negro rights and against white chauvinism, that it must eliminate these Leftist errors which are widely prevalent in the Party and are crippling its Negro work. These errors are the more dangerous because they have been but little discussed and not at all fought. Here let me review some of



the more important of these errors. a)—*Neglect of Work among the Negro masses:*

The most serious sectarian error now being made by the Party in its fight against white chauvinism, and one which gives birth to various other sectarian mistakes, is to neglect work in general among the Negro masses and to develop the fight against white chauvinism primarily as an inner-Party campaign. Many comrades—Perry, Henderson, Haywood, and others—have indicated this serious lack of mass work in the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, and among the Negro people in general. The Right tendency cultivates this basic inner-Party-orientation error by contending, especially in practice, that it is both unnecessary and impossible to carry on the fight against white chauvinism among the broad masses. And the sectarian trend cultivates the error by divorcing itself from the masses and making an unbalanced concentration upon the Party itself. Some of these comrades would seem to imply that the Party is the main source of white chauvinism in the working class.

Another harmful aspect of this Leftist inner-Party orientation is its tendency to separate the fight against white chauvinism from the mass struggle for Negro rights. It is a typical sectarian attitude to consider white chauvinism as a sort of detached phenomenon, especially within the Party, and to shoot into it on this basis. But this whole trend is basically incorrect and tends to cripple

our work generally among the Negro people. White chauvinism cannot be fought as a thing in itself by a separate campaign. It can be fought only in connection with the struggle of the Negro people for full economic, political, social and cultural equality. The fight against white chauvinism is an organic part of this broad struggle for Negro rights and cannot be divorced from it without itself becoming reduced to an empty, harmful abstraction.

Of course, we must carry on special campaigns in our Party against white chauvinist tendencies—for our standards in this matter are vastly higher than are to be found at present in any predominantly white organization; and our Negro comrades are quite right in insisting that we must maintain and improve these high standards. But to separate this inner-Party campaign against white chauvinism from the mass struggle for Negro rights, as is now dangerously the case, means to make this campaign sterile and largely impotent.

The most important measure necessary to strengthen the fight against white chauvinism without and within our Party, therefore, is vastly to improve our struggle all along the line for Negro rights and to weave the fight against white chauvinism in with this general mass struggle. We must become, far more than we are now, the tireless battlers among the masses against lynching, police brutality, and the whole Jim Crow system. We must greatly intensify our fight for the rights of the Negro

people to vote and to be elected, to work in every industry and calling, to occupy all grades in the armed forces, to belong to all trade unions, to acquire a solid education, to achieve full leadership in all mass organizations, to live in any neighborhood they choose, to secure justice in the courts—in short, to enjoy the fullest equality in every respect. The fight against white chauvinism must become an integral, inseparable part of this mass struggle. This is the main path to drastically strengthen our position among the Negro people, and, concretely, to put our fight against white chauvinism upon a more practical and effective basis than now exists.

b) *The Leftist Definition of White Chauvinism:*

Together with intensifying our work among the Negro masses and with linking up organically together the fight for Negro rights and against white chauvinism, our Party must achieve a more realistic definition of what constitutes white chauvinism than is now the case. In this general respect the Party is also seriously hampered by Left-sectarian conceptions and practices.

White chauvinism is a reactionary bourgeois ideology and it must be vigorously combatted inside and outside the Party, whenever it manifests itself. In order to do this effectively, attention must be paid to the varying degrees with which workers and others are infected with this ideological poison and remedial steps taken accordingly. Confirmed

white chauvinists, those who are openly or covertly advocates of white supremacist ideas and practices, are enemies of the Negro people and the working class, and they should be treated as such. Our Party cannot tolerate the membership of such elements; expulsion is the answer for them. There are large numbers of workers, however, many of them members of our Party, who, although genuine friends of the Negro people, sometimes, through lack of sensitivity or understanding of the Negro question, give vent to white chauvinist expressions and acts. Obviously the treatment in such instances is friendly education, not harsh disciplinary measures. In determining who is a white chauvinist or guilty of white chauvinist tendencies, therefore, the question of resistance to correction must be considered.

There is, in the Party, however, a strong Leftist sectarian tendency to evaluate white chauvinism as a uniform political disease and to lump together and to throw into one pot as white chauvinists all those who are in any way, however slightly, tainted by this weakness. The sectarian tendency also sharply condemns as conciliators of white chauvinism, if not as outright chauvinists, all those others who see any difference in degree of contamination with white chauvinism. This sectarian definition of chauvinism practically eliminates education as a corrective measure and puts the whole stress upon organizational measures. Consequently, not only have comrades been unjustly disciplined, and even

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expelled, but the whole fight against white chauvinism has been confused and weakened.

Obviously, white chauvinism cannot be effectively combatted with such crude Leftist methods, whether among the masses or in the ranks of the Party. Party members must be sensitive and alert to correct all manifestations of white chauvinism, but not in this sectarian way. Especially charges of white chauvinism should not be thrown around so recklessly as is now the case. This is a most serious charge, and it should not be leveled against a Party member until it is clearly justified. A comrade in our Party, convicted of white chauvinism, is crippled from then on, if not politically dead. Such severe penalties should be reserved for real white chauvinists, not for comrades where need is for more education on the Negro question. Also we should not dull the effects of the white chauvinist appellation by applying it indiscriminately. A sectarian handling of the vital question of white chauvinism produces more of this poison by causing passivity among the white membership and withdrawal from activities with Negro comrades. It also sets up serious, if not dangerous, frictions in the Party.

The development of a correct definition of white chauvinism also carries with it a more correct application among the masses of the Party's fight against white chauvinism. Our Party fights resolutely, upon every occasion, for Negro rights and full equality. How much, however, it is

able to insist upon its advanced stand against white chauvinism in a mass organization depends upon Communist tactical considerations in the given circumstances. Undoubtedly those comrades have taken a Leftist sectarian position on more than one occasion who have laid down as the basis for cooperation with non-Party masses, heavily infected with white chauvinism, the full acceptance of the Party's advanced stand on the Negro question.

c) *Leftism Regarding Negro National Sensitivity:*

Lenin and Stalin have taught us upon many occasions that the Communist Party, in dealing with oppressed peoples, must carefully bear in mind the fact that these peoples, as a result of long periods of persecution and super-exploitation, have developed moods of suspicion and enmity which they tend to direct not only against the specific oppressing classes, but against the whole oppressor people. This makes it very necessary for Communists of the oppressor nations to follow such a course as will win for the Party the fullest confidence and cooperation of the oppressed masses, including their individual members in the Party.

The American Negro people are an oppressed nation. Understandably and justifiably they have in the main developed many suspicions and enmities towards whites—not simply towards the ruling classes, but towards all whites. Nor are Communists exempt initially from this sus-

picion. This is a natural phenomenon, the normal result of the terrible historical experience of the Negro people in three-and-a-half centuries of exploitation, persecution, and ostracism — chattel slavery, peonage, lynch terror, the Jim Crow system, and rank discrimination in every sphere of life. *And this persecution and super-exploitation are still going on.* Under these circumstances it would be a political miracle if the Negro people, in the main, did not have deep suspicions and hostilities regarding all whites, who are so largely chauvinists and active participants in the Jim-Crow system. These national moods can and do persist actively even when a considerable degree of Negro-white political cooperation has developed—and their remnants will undoubtedly last over into Socialism. What some ill-informed comrades erroneously call the “over-sensitivity” of the Negro people towards white chauvinism is thus rooted in their centuries-long historical experience.

The basic answer of the Party to this important question is to carry on a tireless mass fight for the rights of the oppressed Negro people. No less important, the Party's white members, purging themselves of all traces of white chauvinism, must work in a spirit of comradely friendship and complete social equality with Negro comrades. If these things are done, Negroes coming into our Party will quickly come to realize that it is their Party and that they are in the midst of true friends and co-fighters. Their resentment at na-

tional oppression, added to their general working-class spirit of revolt, readily makes of Negroes the best of Communists. Unfortunately, as remarked above, our Party, although it is incomparably the best champion of the Negro people, has not yet reached the necessary high levels of understanding and work in this general respect.

The Leftist tendency in the Party presents some strange and dangerous remedies, to deal with this question of Negro national sensitivity. Comrade Haywood, for example, quotes a New York district functionary to the effect that, “No white comrade should ever do anything to offend a Negro.” This idea, often expressed, is sheer nonsense. The good will and hearty cooperation of the Negro people in general and of Negro comrades in particular, is not to be developed by such patronizing attitudes, which really reflect white chauvinism. Such policies would mean to put Negro comrades in a sort of touch-me-not category, which would be impossible among Communists, with our vigorous methods of debate and struggle, and which would be highly offensive to Negro comrades.

Another sectarian idea, along the same line, goes to the effect that Negro functionaries, in fact, Negroes generally, should not be criticized politically. Not long ago a top white Party functionary, speaking to me of a comrade who was showing strong bourgeois nationalist tendencies, said matter-of-factly, “Of course, we could not criticize him

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as he was a Negro." Such an uncritical attitude is basically wrong and it is by no means an isolated case. We have had many bad experiences because of it in the Party and in mass organizations.

Political criticism is not some sort of punishment. It is a major constructive means for the ideological development of our Party's members, and also the only way by which the Party can formulate its policies and ensure their correct application. All Party functionaries, and also Party members, must both criticize themselves and be subject to self-criticism. We cannot have two standards in this matter. Negro comrades are the first to reject the non-Communist idea that they should not be criticized. Our task is not to exempt our Negro comrades from healthful criticism, but to see to it that it is genuine and not made in a hypocritical manner, with subtle, or not so subtle, overtones of white chauvinism, as is now so often the case.

#### d) *Sectarianism Regarding White Supremacist Terminology:*

The white supremacists who for over three centuries have controlled almost unchallenged the means of mass information and education in the United States have saturated our cultural life, especially our language, with innumerable racist trends and expressions highly insulting to the Negro people. This is a basic part of the general means used to keep the Negro people in special subjection. These anti-Negro trends in American cultural life are not only

widespread, but often of a very subtle nature. Generally, the Communist Party has done a splendid pioneering job in combatting these corrosive white chauvinist influences in American culture and in bringing forth the Negro as a major constructive intellectual factor, both from an historical standpoint and in the present situation.

During the past few years, however, our Party has tended to tolerate a number of crass Leftist-sectarian errors in this general matter, especially in its efforts to cleanse the American language of its white chauvinist infection. Thus, impossible language standards are being set up and comrades are often called to order or disciplined as white chauvinists for using speech expressions which are devoid of white chauvinist content. In February, 1950, Lloyd L. Brown wrote an important article on this subject in *Masses & Mainstream*, but too little attention was paid to it. Now, however, we must give consideration to this general question; for mistakes in this respect, such as are now widely being made, tend to damage the Party and its mass connections.

Lloyd Brown lists many words and expressions which are obviously white chauvinist and very derogatory to the Negro people. Such terms must be rigidly excluded from the vocabulary of Communists and also vigorously combatted in the mass circles where we have influence. The problem becomes more complicated, however, when it comes to words and phrases which, while not in them-

selves white chauvinist, are used in a white chauvinist manner against Negroes. Thus, among many, are the words "boy" and "girl", which are widely used insultingly to adult Negro men and women. The Leftist reaction to this practice is the trend to play down or discard altogether these words as applied to Negroes. But this is nonsense. Our task is not to eliminate such basic words from the vocabulary, but simply to war against their being used in a derogatory sense against Negroes.

The worst linguistic sectarianism, however, develops around the use of the word "black" and its derivative terms. The roots of this question are two-fold. The first element is that the white chauvinists, for centuries past, have designated a black skin color as the badge of physical, mental, and social inferiority; and second, that there has grown up in the English language, during the course of many centuries the practice of designating evil or fearful things as "black" or "dark." Among these are such as "black despair," a "dark outlook," and modern variations, blackmail, blackmarket, etc. There are hosts of such expressions.

The sectarian reaction to all this is substantially to strike the word "black" and all its derivative terms, from our vocabulary. But this is typical Leftist nonsense. Contrary to it, we must actively defeat all attempts to demean black as a skin color and take the position that all skin colors—black, brown, red, yellow, and white—are all equally nor-

mal, natural, and beautiful. Here, at least, we can learn from Marcus Garvey, with his militant defense of the dark color of his people. As for the second category of words, those conveying the general idea that "black" is evil, in general they should be ignored as having no relation to white chauvinism. They often hark back to remote antiquity, when the night, the "black dark," was a period of great danger to primitive man and the day was his time of ease and happiness. For the most part, such expressions, with "black" as the symbol of evil, were evolved by ancient peoples who probably had never even seen a Negro.

The sectarian practice regarding the term "black," indirectly feeds the Right danger—white chauvinism—as Leftism always cultivates Right opportunism, by playing into the hands of the white supremacists who try to discredit dark skin colors. There is no basis in the actual life of the Negro people for such sectarianism. The most outstanding Negro writers freely use the term "black" to designate their people, as Dr. Du Bois, with his *The Souls of Black Folk*, and *Black Reconstruction*; Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis*; Spero and Harris' *The Black Worker*, etc. The term is also otherwise freely used, as in the newspaper, *The Black Dispatch*, and the names of the most popular Negro magazines are *Ebony*, *Jet*, and *Tan*. So let us have done with such sectarian nonsense as the "anti-black" trend.

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THE QUESTION OF NEGRO  
BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

Negro bourgeois nationalism is a basic expression of the fact that the American Negro people in the Black Belt of the South constitute a nation with the status of national minority in other parts of the country. Negro nationalism essentially expresses the striving of the Negro bourgeoisie to win control over the Negro national market, to hold the Negro workers under their exploitation and control, and generally to use them for the bourgeoisie's own political advantage. Historically, the Negro bourgeoisie, or more properly, petty bourgeoisie, have played a democratic revolutionary role. They fought for the liberation of their people—during the decades of struggle against slavery, during the Civil War and Reconstruction period, and during the long decades of bitter lynch-terrorist that followed the Republican betrayal of 1876.

But now the Negro bourgeoisie (and also sections of the petty bourgeoisie) is tending to give up, at least for this period, its revolutionary role. Under the pressure of the white American bourgeoisie it is being restricted and corrupted—as witness the stifling of Negro business concerns and the opportunistic maneuvers in various degrees and divisions of labor of the Randolphins, Whites, Yergans, Schuylers, Bunches, Sampsons, Tobiases, *et al.* While these elements still support some of the demands of the Negro people and while all efforts must be made to

create an all-Negro national front, the Negro bourgeoisie are more and more tending to come to an understanding with the white bourgeoisie at the expense of the Negro people. Examples of this were their long opposition to the trade unionization of Negro workers and their present attempts to lash the Negro people to the war chariots of American imperialism. More and more, the responsibility for furnishing political leadership to the Negro people as a whole falls upon the shoulders of the vigorous Negro proletariat.

Negro nationalism, like white chauvinism, but in a lesser degree, is a divisive force in the class struggle. It penetrates into the ranks of the Negro workers, and its general trend is to create suspicions and hostilities between Negro and white workers. It plays a part in all organizations in which Negroes are active. This includes the Communist Party. The disruptive character of Negro nationalism is not, however, to be compared with that of white chauvinism, which, in the country as a whole, in the broad labor-progressive movement, and in the Communist Party itself—is the main obstacle to the indispensable Negro-white solidarity in the class struggle.

Not only is there white chauvinism and sectarianism in the Party regarding the Negro question, but also, inevitably, there are manifestations of Negro bourgeois nationalism. When a Negro comrade (taking a position akin to that of white chauvinism), opposes intermarriage, he is expressing Negro nationalism.

The same is true when it is said that all white Americans, even Communists, are white chauvinists at heart; that whites cannot really understand or appreciate the significance of the Negro question; that whites cannot be depended upon to lead Negro masses in struggle; that whites should not, in principle, be included on editorial boards of Negro papers; that the Negro people, not the working class, is the real leader in the class struggle; and that the Communist Party is not the vanguard on the Negro question. When people within or without our ranks criticize the Party almost as though it were cultivating white chauvinism instead of combatting it, they are either expressing or conciliating Negro bourgeois nationalism, or are showing strong tendencies in this general direction. Such nationalist sentiments are very dangerous. They feed directly the white chauvinists' conception that between Negro and white there lies an unbridgeable chasm and that neither can really understand or cooperate with the other—which is dangerous nonsense.

Our Party must, of course, combat Negro bourgeois nationalism, also in its own ranks. But we must be sure that what we are fighting against is really bourgeois nationalism. Hitherto, the practice has been to ignore almost completely the Left-sectarian deviation and to class all errors, except those manifestly of white chauvinism, as bourgeois nationalism. This is a serious political mistake which must be corrected. Left-sectarianism cultivates and feeds Ne-

gro nationalism and often closely resembles it, but we must not confound the two, as we have been doing. We cannot fight Left-sectarianism if we confuse it with bourgeois nationalism, and vice versa. Moreover, to throw everything into one category as bourgeois nationalism plays into the hands of the Right deviators who ascribe the whole fight against white chauvinism to Negro nationalism.

#### THE FIGHT ON TWO FRONTS

In the struggle against current deviations in our fight for Negro rights, the Party must fight on two fronts; that is, against the main danger, white chauvinism, and against the lesser dangers. Left-sectarianism and Negro nationalism. We must also link up this fight with the struggle against Leftism in other branches of our mass work, as dealt with above and as indicated in the Resolution of the National Committee. We must very clearly understand that we cannot successfully fight white chauvinism when our Party's activities are so heavily handicapped with Left-sectarianism as is now the case.

Both Lenin and Stalin have provided us with many examples of how to fight on two fronts against ideological and political deviations. There is, for example, the classical struggle of the C.P.S.U. during the late 1920's and 1930's. Of course, the general position and tasks of our Party are very different from those of the C.P.S.U. at that time, but the lessons are nevertheless valid for us.



Stalin is answering questions in *Pravda*, April, 1930 (*Leninism*, p. 185):

*Fifth question:* Which is the principal danger, the Right or the "Left"?

*Answer:* The principal danger is the Right danger. The Right danger has been and still is, the main danger.

Does not this thesis contradict the well-known thesis in the decision of the Central Committee of March 15, 1930, to the effect that the mistakes or distortions of the "Left" distortionists are now the principal hindrance to the collective-farm movement? No, it does not. The fact of the matter is that the mistakes of the "Left" distortionists in the sphere of the collective farm movement are of a kind which create favorable conditions for strengthening and consolidating the Right deviation in the Party. Why? Because these mistakes put the line of the Party in a false light—consequently they help to discredit the Party—and therefore, facilitate the struggle of the Right elements against the Party leadership. Discrediting the Party leadership is the elementary basis on which alone the fight of the Right deviationists against the Party can be waged. The "Left" distortionists, their mistakes and distortions, provide the Right deviationists with this base. Therefore, if we are to combat Right opportunism successfully, we must overcome the mistakes of the "Left" opportunists. Objectively, the "Left" distortionists are the allies of the Right deviationists.

Here we have the situation in a nutshell. One would have to be politically blind not to see that the serious Left-sectarianism now affecting our Party in its fight against white chauvinism, a Right danger, is falsifying the line of the Party and is hamstringing that fight. Therefore, as indicated, this sectarianism has to be fought on a two-front basis (and Negro nationalism with it).

Of course, those who practice or conciliate white chauvinism will try to take advantage of the Party's fight against Left sectarianism. This is always the case. But the very heart of the question is that they are able to make far greater capital out of the failure of the Party to fight the crippling "Leftist" distortions of its policy. The Soviet situation, above cited, again offers us a classic example. The Rights—Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsy, Uglanov, *et al.*, tried to capitalize on the fight against the pseudo-Lefts — Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and company—even presenting themselves as supporters of Stalin and the Party line. But they were soon to learn that the downfall of the "Left" was only the opening stage of their own complete defeat.

If we are really to fight white chauvinism, then we must also fight sectarian distortions of this struggle.

## Reader's Guide to Further Study

The foregoing article deals with the following questions relating to the struggle against white chauvinism and Negro bourgeois nationalism:

1. What is white chauvinism? What are its sources and roots? Why is white chauvinism the major obstacle in unfolding the struggle for Negro rights and cementing Negro-white unity?

2. How does the poisonous influence of white chauvinism penetrate the ranks of the working class, the people's organizations, the Communist Party? Why is the ideology of white chauvinism incompatible with Marxism-Leninism? Why must vigorous and persistent struggle be conducted to combat every manifestation of white chauvinism among Communists?

3. Why is capitulation to white chauvinism a Right-opportunist manifestation? What is meant by Leftist errors in the struggle against white chauvinism today? Why do these Leftist errors weaken the fight against white chauvinism and cripple Negro work? How must these Leftist errors be combatted?

4. Why is the tendency to conduct the struggle against white chauvinism separate from the movement for Negro rights a Leftist error? Why has such separation actually impeded an effective fight against white chauvinism among Communists, and among the broad white masses and their organizations? What are some of the ways in which such errors must be overcome?

5. Why does the tendency to view every manifestation of white chauvinism uniformly, harm the fight to eradicate influences of white chauvinism? Can the influences of white chauvinism be eradicated from the Communist Party? How should Marxists fight against the use of white chauvinist terminology? Why must Marxists reject Leftist distortion on language as a diversion from the real struggle against white chauvinism?

6. What is Negro bourgeois nationalism? What are its sources, roots and manifestations? What is the relation of the struggle against white chauvinism to the struggle against bourgeois nationalism? Which is the main danger? Why?

### SUGGESTED SUPPLEMENTARY READING

- Benjamin J. Davis: *The Negro People in the Struggle for Peace and Freedom*, pp. 16-23.
- Pettis Perry: "Certain Prime Aspects of the Negro Question," in *Political Affairs*, October, 1951.
- Samuel T. Henderson; "White Chauvinism and Negro Bourgeois Nationalism," in *Political Affairs*, December, 1952, January, 1953.
- Charles P. Mann: *Stalin's Thought Illuminates Problem of Negro Freedom Struggle*, pp. 30-36.
- Harry Haywood: *Negro Liberation*, chapter 7.

# The Left and the Struggle for Labor Unity, I

By John Swift

THE NEW SPIRIT OF MILITANCY is becoming manifest in the ranks of organized labor. This is expressing itself in numerous ways and particularly in a growing movement for united labor action and organic labor unity. To influence this trend and to help it achieve final fruition is a task of great magnitude and importance.

In order to play an even more *conscious* and *leading* role in this struggle, it is necessary that all Communist and Left-wing trade unionists clearly understand the fundamental prerequisites needed for attaining such unity. Any lack of clarity or fuzziness in our understanding of this key problem can reflect itself only in practical policies which will harm the cause of real labor unity.

In the recent period there has been a great deal of stress placed on the *decisive* importance of working within and winning the present Right-led trade unions for progressive policies and working class unity. And properly so. These unions represent the overwhelming majority of the organized workers and those in the most basic mass production industries.

From this correct emphasis some comrades have drawn an incorrect conclusion. They have drawn the inference that the present indepen-

dent progressive unions, in which the Left has considerable influence and shares in leadership, have no important role to play. Such a conclusion is totally unwarranted and exceedingly harmful.

It is one thing to see realistically the relationship of forces in the labor movement and where the *major* attention must be given if a change is to be brought about. It is quite another matter to transform this main emphasis into an only emphasis. Such over-emphasis could lead in the long run to a weakening of the struggle for labor unity. For the independent progressive unions have a very important and *special* role to play in this struggle, one which they alone can fulfill.

This article is addressed to the problem of the role of the progressive and Left-led unions in the struggle for labor unity. We shall treat the subject in two parts. The first part will deal with some general aspects of this question. Without understanding the *general* role and significance of the Left current in the labor movement, it is impossible to understand the *special* importance of the progressive Left-led unions. The second part of this article will discuss some of the immediate practical problems confronting these unions in their struggle for

labor unity.

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The great importance of the Left current in the labor movement becomes abundantly clear when we stop to think more deeply about what we mean by the words "labor unity." After all, both Walter Reuther and George Meany also use this phrase. The Communist concept of it, however, is not exactly the same as theirs. When Reuther and Meany refer to labor unity, they are thinking almost exclusively of the split between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. The Communist approach to labor unity, of course, also includes the healing of the rift between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., a split which arose originally over the issue of craft versus industrial unions. It embraces much more than that. It includes much more than even the unity between the C.I.O., A. F. of L., Railroad Brotherhoods and United Mine Workers.

This is so because the split in the ranks of the workers which had its origin in narrow-minded, petty craft-ideology, and which continues to exist because of the personal ambitions and careerism of the top labor bureaucrats, A. F. of L. and C.I.O., is not the only split tearing the heart out of organized labor. There is another, and from an historic and basic class point of view, an even more damaging split, one which keeps the labor movement in a state of relative impotency.

This is the split between the two ideological wings of the labor move-

ment. The first of these bases itself on the recognition of the class struggle as a material, objective fact which cannot be conjured away. The second of these trends denies the reality or irreconcilability of the class struggle and practices and preaches class collaboration.

The first is the militant Left-wing current. This includes the Communists but is not limited to them. Those workers who accept the existence of a class struggle and base themselves, consciously or instinctively, on class struggle policies, are much greater in number than those who adhere to the principles of Communism.

The second is the Right-wing reformist current. This includes not only the more conscious Social-Democratic elements such as Reuther and Dubinsky, but also the more rash and brash adherents of capitalism, such as Meany, David McDonald of the Steelworkers union and John L. Lewis. All together, these make up the American variant of the international camp of Right-wing social-democracy.\* These are grouped together here only for purposes of general classification, and not because there are no differences between them. From a political and

\* Some readers may question the use of this formulation because the American labor bureaucrats, *unlike* some of their European counterparts, do not indulge in "socialist" phrases. But the new feature of international social-democracy lies precisely in the fact that the domination of the American dollar in the capitalist world has reflected itself in the domination of the ideology of the American form of labor opportunism on the labor reformists of Western Europe. Thus, there is less and less talk of socialism and more talk of "Third Force" Capitalism.

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tactical point of view, these differences frequently are very important.

These two ideological and political trends exist in the labor movement of every capitalist country. Nor can they be conciliated. They must be fought out. But the *concrete* problem of labor unity lies precisely in the objective existence of these two wings and the urgent need to bring them together into a united front based upon a common acceptable economic and political program of united action. So long as these two trends exist, labor unity cannot be achieved by one trend to the exclusion of the other. It can be accomplished only by a *conscious* policy which includes both trends, and which enables the workers to judge freely for themselves between them while remaining united in one and the same labor movement.

Any other approach than this is a denial, in practice, of the need for, or the possibility of attaining, a united labor movement in the immediate period ahead.

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When we think of labor unity in this deeper sense, we can realize that even the achievement of unity between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., as important as such a development would be, would not yet constitute labor unity in its fullest class sense.

It is from this point of view that one can understand the great significance of the progressive independent unions in which the Left has influence and shares in leadership. This significance lies not alone in their

numerical strength, although this is by no means unimportant. It is to be found in the cardinal fact that these unions alone in the labor movement publicly proclaim and defend the only real path to labor unity. In their very make-up they embody the principle of labor unity cutting across ideological lines. For it is a mistake to believe that these unions are made up predominantly of Left-minded workers. Where this error in judgment is committed great damage can be done.

The difference between these progressive independent unions and the main mass of the labor movement is that the workers in the former unions by their own experiences have learned the wisdom of unity with the Left. They judge leadership on the basis of policy and performance. Frequently, in these unions, workers who otherwise consider themselves as conservatives will vote their preference consciously for Left-wing leaders in whom they have confidence. These they are ready to entrust with leadership in the defense of their economic interests and their democratic trade-union rights.

As a logical corollary of such action, these unions refuse to go along with Red-baiting which they recognize as the insidious splitting weapon of the bosses. They reject the anti-Communist hysteria and the war drive. They stubbornly resist the enticing and corrupting lure of a phony prosperity based on war and war production. It is these un-

ions which hold aloft the banner of working class and Negro-white unity, of true independent political action, of peace, and of international labor solidarity. It is they, therefore, who represent the very best traditions, the basic interests, the honor and integrity of the American labor movement.

No wonder these unions and their leaders have won the undying enmity of the reactionaries and war mongers of every stripe and, by the same token, the militant adherence and affection of their rank and file and the admiration and respect of all class conscious and progressive-minded workers.

Hence the existence of these unions represents an important plus, and not a minus, in the struggle for *real* labor unity. Their weakening or destruction would constitute a blow at labor unity. There cannot be real labor unity which does not base itself on the principle of unity *despite* ideological differences and *inclusive* of these differences.

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At this point it is important to note, that while the unity of the working class is a principle for which Communists fight, we cannot and do not approach this problem in a formal or abstract fashion. There are times when the *very form* of unity may conceal the *substance* of disunity. This was certainly true in the '20's and early '30's. The formal unity of some 2½ million A. F. of L. craft workers was used to screen from sight the more basic split

which existed between the small minority of organized, better paid, skilled workers, and the great majority of unorganized, low paid, unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Many of these latter were Negroes, foreign-born, women and youth.

In that concrete situation the Communists favored the organization of the unorganized, although it meant expulsion from the A. F. of L. of the unions comprising the Committee for Industrial Organization. The rupture in the unity of the A. F. of L. was a lesser evil to the far greater one of an unorganized and thereby disorganized working class. Our attitude towards formal organic unity had to be determined by the best interests of the working class as a whole. To have worshipped the *formal letter* of A. F. of L. unity would have meant the betrayal of the *living spirit* of working-class unity.

The Communists strongly favor the reunification of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. today because it is a foregone conclusion that such unity can be obtained only by an acceptance of the industrial as well as the craft forms of union organization. The great need for such unity is dictated by current events, by the mounting threat to labor's standard of living, collectively and to its very existence.

The achievement of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity would constitute an important step forward. From it the workers would get a new feeling of unity and strength. They would begin to think more in terms of united class action and not merely along

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narrow craft-industry, or "my own union" lines. The main obstacle to such unity today is the fact that the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. officialdom have a vested interest in a divided labor movement. A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity cannot come, therefore, without a vigorous struggle of the rank and file for joint action, *first of all*, to be followed later by organic unity. Such pressure has been mounting in recent months, particularly since the November elections.

Granted that A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity is achieved, the task of forging real working-class unity, which means a unity bridging the ideological gap between Right and Left, is still the key. It is this which will decide whether labor plays its role of blocking the path to fascism and war in the period ahead or whether it takes the shameful path of the Social-Democratic controlled German labor movement of the pre-Hitler period.

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To fully grasp the crucial importance of Right-Left unity, let us remember that the period of greatest headway of the labor movement was one in which a split occurred in the ranks of the reformist labor leaders and their unions, with the pro-industrial union group uniting with the Left. It was in this period that labor more than quadrupled its size and organized the most important basic industries. It is this unity with the Left which made possible the great leap forward in trade-union organization from a minority movement to

the majority movement of the industrial workers of the country.

This unity did not remove ideological nor all political differences, for there is no hard and fast dividing line between ideology and politics. Lewis, Murray and Sidney Hillman did not renounce their class collaboration views and practices although we sometimes tended to forget this. Conversely, the Left did not surrender its own advanced ideology and class struggle policies. What, therefore, brought these two currents together?

First, the ravages of the economic crisis had let loose an angry torrent of class struggle. The organized workers in the mass production industries realized that only the organization of the unorganized could bring about an improvement in their own bargaining position. Even sections of skilled workers recognized this, for with the end of "prosperity" their own preferred positions had greatly deteriorated. Furthermore, the old gray-bearded A. F. of L. saw, which held "you can't organize the unskilled," was exposed as so much nonsense by the movement for unionism of the unorganized themselves. The pressure for a militant policy of organizing the unorganized, therefore, was great in a number of key unions such as miners, needle, garment trades, etc.

Second, the workers had learned some important lessons from the intense Red-baiting spree of the '20's. Everything progressive, including the demands for unemployment in-

surance and industrial unions, had been branded "Red." The workers also realized that the organization of the mass production industries would be no cinch. Its accomplishment required the unity of *all* who were ready and able to help. The workers also learned that the Communists and the Left as a whole were made up of self-sacrificing, militant fighters. These were people who already had begun to blaze the new trail to industrial unionism.

Third, the Left-wing forces were close enough to the workers to sense the fresh breeze of activity and struggle that was blowing. They threw their best efforts into bringing about unity, first in separate industries and unions and then all along the line.

Fourth, the Right-wing leaders who favored unity believed that this could help them achieve their own personal ambitions of leadership over larger masses. They feared that an opposite course could isolate them and endanger their hold on their own rank and file.

Thus, the unity of that period was, not a marriage of love, but one of convenience. In politics, unlike matrimony, there is no such thing as "love." Unity is always the calculated product of "convenience"—or, "necessity."

The necessity arose in the political needs of the time which called for a common program of immediate action. These needs were (1) Unity to organize the unorganized; (2) Unity to counteract the catastrophic

effects of the depression on the standard of living of the workers and the people as a whole; (3) Unity for progressive social legislation (the so-called New Deal); (4) Unity behind the elementary demands of the Negro people for justice; and (5) Unity to defeat Hooverism and the Liberty-League reaction at home, and Hitler fascism abroad.

This was the period of the greatest militancy in the ranks of the workers. New white and Negro leaders sprang forth from the depths of the mass movement. A new spirit pervaded the land, generated in the first place by the new spirit emanating from labor. The Gulliver of labor was beginning to flex his muscles.

In contrast to those vigorous days, the C.I.O. in recent years has become stodgy and prematurely old. As it strokes its "bay-window" of fat treasuries, it drools nostalgically for the robust energy and peppery enthusiasm of the "good old days." Its convention orators plead for a return to the "fighting spirit of '38," little realizing what has destroyed this spirit. Even the younger in years, Reuther, in his report to the recent U.A.W. Convention, pleaded for the C.I.O. to once again "recapture the crusading spirit."

But what has happened to the "crusading spirit?" Why does the C.I.O. Samson find itself greatly shorn of its former virility and strength? Why has it faltered in the great task of completing the organization of the unorganized, particularly in the South, where more and

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more Northern industry is fleeing? Why did it go down to defeat last November? These are questions the otherwise glib Reuther did not dare pose, nor answer.

We do not say that the militancy and crusading spirit of the past was brought about solely by the Left. We do say, and emphasize, that *what produced the unity with the Left also produced the fighting fire and fervor*. The destruction of this unity also destroyed this marvelous militant morale. Unity with the Left could be achieved only on the basis of a program of *forward advance for labor and the nation*; never of one of stagnation and retreat.

The crusading spirit arose from the vision of new fortresses to be conquered and new goals to be won. It arose from the setting of sights which fired the imagination, aroused the initiative, and inspired the confidence of great masses to accomplish great deeds. The army of labor was surging forward. It was winning important victories. An advancing army fighting for a just cause always has high spirit and high morale.

But when the enemy that the workers are asked to fight is no longer their exploiters, when Communism is made the enemy, when labor leaders spout the same phony slogans as monopolists, when much boasting and bragging are used to sell small gains and to cover up big failures, how can there be a crusading spirit? Who has ever heard of rank and file workers shouting with joy over the prospect of raiding other

unions? Over union brother fighting union brother? Over the adoption of "anti-Communist" clauses? Over support for the war program, when every honest worker instinctively abhors the very thought of another war and knows that, as a nation, we have no business in Korea? Little wonder the spirit flags! This crusading spirit can be **recaptured only** through a change in policy—a new policy which ends internecine warfare and unites labor behind a progressive program. To try to recapture "the spirit of '38," without the Left and without the kind of program which unity with the Left would represent is like trying to have a honeymoon without a bride. It just will not work.

The split which occurred in the C.I.O. between the Right and the Left was not over the question of ideology. It was over the question of policy, although, it must be emphasized, there is no Grand Canyon separating these two. If the conditions of sharper class struggle in the '30's provided the objective background for the unity which was forged in that period, the new situation following the war provided the objective background for the split which followed. This new situation can be summed up as follows:

During the period of the war the ruling class had "solved" the problem of economic crisis and mass unemployment. It had obtained for itself the highest profits in its history. This was followed by a period of post-war boom. Wall Street impe-

rialism intensified its drive for still greater profits through a program of world expansion and preparations for a new world war. This war was to be directed against the Soviet Union and the new People's Democracies. It was this program that Big Business set out to impose upon labor and the nation even if it had to be disguised in pious phrases about "defense of democracy" and the "free world." The material bribe with which its hook was baited was the seeming "prosperity" at the time. It offered the promise and illusion of a continuous prosperity with jobs, security and a higher standard of living.

The Right-wing labor leaders jumped at the chance to prove their loyalty to their masters. They asked labor to swallow the bait, hook, line and Truman. Instead of opposing the suicidal program of Wall Street, they gloried in their groveling role, content with the paltry crumbs falling from the over-flowing larder of war profits, thankful for the bones of respectability tossed their way by the master class.

It was this course of the top C.I.O. officialdom which sealed the doom of the Right-Left unity of the formative and youthful years of the C.I.O. The officialdom had to open up war against the Left. This was part of its contractual agreement with its masters. After all, how can you prepare a crusade for a world war against Communism and yet keep from making Communism the menace at home? But, as we have

shown, in the very crusade against Communism, the C.I.O. lost its crusading spirit, like Faust his soul.

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From all the foregoing it can be seen why the Right-wing leadership has been so zealous in its efforts to destroy the organized influence of the Left-wing and particularly the independent progressive-led unions. Its approach to Left-Right unity can be summed up in the phrase, "unity by extermination." This program for coping with the Left is not exactly new. Nor is there any reason for assuming that it will prove any more successful in this country than elsewhere. In fact, the American experience of the '20's proves the very opposite. All it can succeed in doing, if not stopped in time by the efforts of the rank and file, is to split the ranks of labor even more. It will demobilize and paralyze labor, just when labor needs unity like the world needs peace.

One thing is certain. All labor history bears out that the Left current can no more be liquidated than can the class struggle. The greater the intensity of this struggle, the greater must be the molten mass of class militancy pouring forth from the cauldron of experience. The greater also must be, at first, the instinctive, and then the conscious strivings of the workers toward class policies and class unity. It is this which is the Achilles heel of the labor officialdom. The class struggle cannot be exorcized. Even the labor leaders most enamoured with

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American capitalism cannot deny that all signs point to much tougher times ahead.

Having tied labor to the catastrophic war program of Big Business, the very failure of this program and its consequent crisis in foreign and domestic policy for the ruling class must reflect itself inevitably in an even deeper crisis in the Red-baiting, splitting and pro-war policies of the labor officialdom. For these policies will more and more clash with the fundamental class interests of the workers and the best national interests of the country as a whole. This collision must express itself in a renewed forward surge of the workers toward real trade-union unity.

Already the first indications of a change are visible. Is this not the meaning of the recent action of the General Electric workers of Lynn, Mass.? These workers formerly were a part of the U.E. They are now part of the I.U.E., which split away from the U.E. a few years ago. These same workers who were taken in by Red-baiting at the time of the split have now demanded that their leadership take steps toward bringing about the unity of action of *all* national G.E. workers irrespective of union affiliation. When the I.U.E. President, the professional Red-baiter James Carey, took issue with the wording of their proposed unity resolution and suggested an amendment to make clear that this unity did not include the "Communists"—meaning by this the progressive U.E.—the workers roared their disapproval and

voted him down. Thus quite openly and definitely, they expressed their recognition of the new situation which is developing in the country and the need for unity across the board.

What is the meaning of the resolution adopted by the recent U.A.W. Convention? These resolutions voiced alarm at the growing threat of reaction and McCarthyism. They called for entering into "collective bargaining" with the Soviet Union with a view toward a settling of differences. They expressed the fear of an impending depression. They called for a people's political alliance to be initiated by labor. They decided to fight for model F.E.P.C. clauses in all contracts. Although these new positions were coupled with the wildest old type of Red-baiting, they reflect, nonetheless, the beginning of a change in the mood of the workers. One also could point to the expressed desire of both the C.I.O. Packinghouse Union and the A. F. of L. Butchers for united action and ultimate merger. Or to the progressive policy statement of the Packinghouse Union calling upon labor to play a new role in the fight for peace, democracy and prosperity. Or one could dwell on the great significance of the unity pact between the two formerly warring camps in the New York Painters Union. Or to the election victory of a number of progressive unity candidates in local unions of transport, shoe, etc.

These are the tiny, weak, young, early buds of Spring. They still may

become frost-bitten and even perish from the icy blasts of reactionary labor officialdom. But they do represent that which is new, developing and growing. They represent the *variabilities* from the established pattern, and hence are so all-important in understanding the *process* of change already at work. Above all, they indicate the *possibilities* which exist for making these budding moves the beginning of a *transition* to a *new situation* in the labor movement.

It is on these new possibilities and opportunities that the Left must base its thoughts and actions. While seasonal changes take place without the intervention and activity of man, political changes are the consequences of this activity. This is what the General Secretary of our Party, Eugene Dennis, meant when he said: "Favorable conditions do not . . . in themselves guarantee a favorable outcome. It is the human beings, and in the first place, the class-conscious workers, who must guarantee that what can be done, is done." This was also emphasized by A. H. Kendrick in his article in the December, 1952, *Political Affairs*.

One thing is certain. The transition to a new situation in the labor movement will not take place spontaneously or automatically. It requires the participation, intervention and strengthening of the Left current. Otherwise the Dubinskys and Reuthers may give voice to the

growing militancy of the workers in order to prevent *real* labor unity, to *prevent* the labor movement from playing a qualitatively new role in the affairs of the nation. We must not forget that the majority of Right-wing labor leaders do not want an anti-fascist, pro-peace, people's coalition led by labor. The Reuthers and Dubinskys speak for a new political coalition, but what they have in mind is a coalition which will be basically anti-Communist in character and thus incapable of uniting labor or saving the nation from fascism and war.

Thus both sides of the new developments in the labor movement must be seen for correct policy. For out of the new positive developments there also arise new dangers. Only a more conscious and a stronger Left and progressive current can help overcome the new dangers and transform existing new possibilities into actualities. Both the new possibilities and the new dangers must be kept in mind by the Left in its work to win the Right-led unions for progressive policies and in its work to strengthen the role of the progressive Left-led unions in the struggle for a united labor movement.

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The special problems of the independent progressive unions in their struggle for labor unity will be dealt with in the second half of this article to appear in next month's *Political Affairs*—Ed.

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# Notes on the New York Election

By Jerome Golden and Anthony Appello

NEW YORK CITY'S eight million citizens are being avalanched by the most ferocious attack on their living standards in municipal history. Launched by Governor Dewey last winter with Mayor Impellitteri as his aide-de-camp, the budget offensive against the fare, rents and taxes is the New York counterpart of Eisenhower's assault nationally.

This attack occurs just when peace hopes are on the upsurge, when millions envisage the possibility of the billions now spent for arms being used instead for schools, hospitals and peace-time consumption.

Six months of the national Eisenhower regime finds the Republican Party, preferred party of monopoly and reaction, attempting to consolidate its hold upon the American people. It views the various local elections and by-elections as the arenas of struggle in which to further strengthen its grip on the political life of our country. The program of militarism, war economy, and profascist measures is being integrated into the life of the local communities. The counterpart of the Eisenhower billionaire-cabinet and the Taft-McCarthy Congress is being constructed to operate in the local legislatures of our country.

The attack upon the people's rights has already evoked labor action. In alliance with many diverse organiza-

tions, labor first counter-attacked in Albany last winter. At that time, however, the rank and file was not yet mobilized and labor's full weight was not exerted. But in the April budget hearings in City Hall, things were quite different. Ten thousand C.I.O. Transport Workers massed outside City Hall as the three day hearings closed. Inside U.E. Local members, A. F. of L. and independent teachers, Negro spokesmen, child care mothers, municipal employees and parent groups demonstrated a new militancy. The C.I.O., A. F. of L. and other civil service groups welded a common front unprecedented in budget history.

A. F. of L. spokesman John DeLury of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Municipal Affiliates ripped the Impellitteri budget apart and struck at the very roots of the city's fiscal crisis—the under-assessment of Big Business property. 7,000 uniformed firemen picketed City Hall for wage boosts, while Morris Iushewitz, city C.I.O. Council secretary and James C. Quinn, A. F. of L. Trade and Labor Council secretary, issued a joint message insisting on a special one day labor budget hearing.

This kind of militancy, this newness in labor's budget demands, set the tone for the emerging municipal election campaign.

### THE BUDGET AND THE PEOPLE:

No state, few nations and only the federal government itself has a budget larger than the \$1,528,814,950 city program for 1953-54—largest in its history. This is the key issue in the November elections. At stake is the fate of the people's security—fares, rent, housing relief, hospitals, health centers and sanitation. At stake are jobs for 200,000 city workers and the safety of 5 million transit riders who face the hazards of undermanned and under-inspected subways.

To date the Dewey attack has imposed a 15 percent rent increase on 850,000 apartment dwellers. It has mandated a Transit Authority with a "more than 15¢" fare to begin July 15. The minimum annual \$60 rent gouge, \$84 to \$184 fare steal, and \$40 to \$150 in threatening consumer taxes are only some of the worst features the people face. Dewey's package would, in addition: slash \$30 million a year in wages through a payroll tax, fire from 8,000 to 19,000 municipal employees, 3,200 to 10,000 transit workers, 3,240 substitute teachers, 850 provisional high school and college employees, 200 firemen, 200 welfare workers, 2,600 hospital personnel and from 480 to 1,000 sanitation men.

It would shut down the East Bronx TB and Queens General Hospital addition; kill the promised 40 hour week for 55,000 city employees; curtail the health insurance plan; reduce pensions. Garbage would be picked up once in three days, \$3 millions in

school repair funds would be lost, over 100 child day care centers would be closed.

*The Impellitteri regime, whose duplicity made the Dewey blitz possible, threatens to extend the 3 percent sales tax to consumer services. The Mayor warns that he might tax beer, movie and theater admissions, vending machines, charge for overnight street parking and hike the ferry fare.*

### THE AUTHORITY GRAB:

The crucial problems of this election campaign, however, go beyond the budget. They reach into the very heart of an administrative system of plunder and graft; one which is rapidly surrendering all of the city's services to the banks. Super-governmental agencies, spawned by the Rockefeller-Morgan combine, and known as *Authorities* have become laws unto themselves. Close to 100 such Authorities exist today and they control parks, highways, bridges, tunnels, markets, water and sewer systems, utilities, housing, airports and even museums. Now they are seizing the subways and the buses.

The Authority greed knows no bounds. The Holland and Lincoln Tunnels and the George Washington Bridge paid for themselves years ago. Even the unlamented ex-Mayor O'Dwyer, in an unguarded moment, admitted that 10 cents was sufficient to cover operating costs of these 50-cent spans. Who gets the other 40 cents? Under the phony slogan of "public interest" and "better management" these bank-created authorities are milking the citizens and making

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*Their big itch, however, is the city waterfront, the political underworld cesspool.* Here they want a new Authority.

One out of every 10 New Yorkers, 800,000 people, depends on the vast port of New York for a living. But 15,705 or 35 percent of the dock workers earned less than \$500 for the entire year of 1950 and only 5,636 of the 45,000 longshoremen that year earned between \$3,000 and \$4,000. Another 9,114 lived on an income of \$1,000 to \$3,000. As a result of years of the most bitter and intense struggles, the longshoremen are beginning to break out of the murder, intimidation, kick backs, gunman "unionism" and shape-up terror. Negro-white struggles against corruption and gangsterism forced probe after probe—even to the indictment of ILA dictator, Joe (King) Ryan.

But the government — Washington, Albany, City Hall—has left untouched the biggest racket of all: the shipowners' profit racket, unrivalled in brutal labor exploitation.

Despite all the efforts of civic crusades against the dock evils, the key to the struggle has been and continues to be the Negro and white longshoremen, whose heroic defiance of overlord and underworld oppressor finally exposed the Ryan gangster machine and the big business-political-goon tieups.

Aware of the waterfront impact on the elections, Dewey has scheduled a special legislative session for a "solution" filled with a state-controlled hiring hall gimmick, police screen-

ing, fingerprinting, dock-licensing job requirements, a phony "democratic" substitute for the shapeup, and his eventual goal, a waterfront Authority. Dewey demagogically wants to use the corruption as a campaign issue.

#### A FISCAL SOLUTION:

There is a solution that can go a long way to solve the city's crisis. Some \$60 to \$125 million annually is available through honest assessments on big commercial and industrial properties. The city knows that. A realistic property valuation would yield enough to cover the \$50 million banker-created transit deficit and save the fare, provide the workers their 25-cent hourly wage increase demand, meet the \$750 annual wage boost asked by municipal employees, maintain and extend child care centers and pay teacher salary increases. The total 1932 property valuation in all New York City was \$19 billion—the same as it is today. Even conservative realty experts admit this is \$5 billion below actual worth. An equitable tax on hidden profits in stock transfers would yield at least \$27 million more.

The city contends it needs \$127 million to balance the budget. If it would act on these last two items alone, it would easily do the job.

Can the big business blitz, operating through the Deweys and the Farley-Impellitteri combination be halted and rolled back? Yes!

A dynamic preview of the possibility of victory can be seen by what

happened at the budget hearings. Something new has been added to the politics of our town.

A loosely allied people's movement—hardly a formal coalition—displaying new signs of militancy and initiative on the part of the labor movement began to show itself on the budget struggle. The pressure of the workers who support the Democratic Party has also compelled more and more Democratic leaders to speak up.

The Negro people are militantly stepping up demands for increased representation, FEPC, against police brutality. People's organizations of varied political leanings and different community backgrounds are beginning to support each other on day care centers, schools, hospitals, relief, transit and health issues.

These groups, too, are becoming increasingly alert to the menace of McCarthyism. In their rising opposition to the Jansen school witchhunts, clerical dictation of our welfare program, and Velde invasions of our city, they reflect an awareness of the McCarthyite inroads in our municipal life.

While not directly reflected as yet in the Municipal election campaign itself, except in the activities of the A.L.P., there are many indisputable expressions of a peace sentiment, especially in terms of support for a cease-fire in Korea and the growing demand for peaceful negotiations between the big powers.

The Left has played a significant role in unfolding these struggles and projecting the growing coalition. By

its program and policy, it is becoming a factor in welding manifold sectors of the people's movement in a common front against a common enemy this November.

Obviously here are the coalition seeds from which giant oaks can grow.

New Yorkers have shown a rising mood of independence in the field of political action. The mounting mass struggles as briefly depicted above are seeking electoral expression. This has been developing for some time. While New Yorkers have voted Democratic in national elections, they have voted more and more as independents in municipal campaigns. In 1951 they elected Rudolph Halley as Council President against the two major machines; and Impellitteri, resorting to flim-flam demagoguery, but campaigning outside either of the top parties, was elected Mayor in 1950.

Insurgent Democrat Robert Blaikie defeated Tammany with F. D. Roosevelt, Jr. as a Congressional Candidate on Manhattan's West Side.

Perhaps the most significant development was the tremendously important victory of Julius A. Archibald in the 1952 elections as the first Negro elected to the State Senate in New York Legislature history.

Here we had a dynamic Negro representation movement that would not be impeded or diverted or split. Through the initiative and support of Left forces, and whole-heartedly supported by the rising movement for Negro representation, Archi-

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blald's candidacy was catapulted into Blaikie's primary campaign last year. The Left helped block early maneuvers aimed at sidetracking this particularly significant electoral struggle. The A.L.P. left a blank space in its column on the voting machine for this particular post and actively campaigned for his election. The entire strategy: the original initiative, the independent role of the Left, the coalition policies, the flexible tactics—all combined to achieve one of the most important progressive electoral victories in the 1952 elections in New York State. Here was one instance where the absence of a rigid third party line, and the presence of a correct Left initiative and tactic defeated Big Business reaction and scored a notable gain.

*The main need, therefore, in this election campaign is a people's movement, a coalition, however loosely formed and divergent on many issues.*

*Such a city-wide movement geared to a struggle against the Transit Authority budget, rent rises, waterfront corruption, and police brutality can win victories in November.*

With labor as its standard bearer, buttressed by the 700,000 Negro citizens, supported by the army of independent voters and real good-government forces, by consumers, women and youth, who would rally to such a program, a true people's coalition could be created.

The objectives of the Left and progressive forces in the coming election are:

1. To unite the people in a fight

to meet their needs and defeat Republican reaction and the Impeller-Tammany stooges.

2. To bring forward the issue of peace, especially through linking it up in clearly discernible ways, and without making it a pre-condition for unity movements, with the local issues paramount in the municipal campaign.

3. To try to achieve labor representation on the highest levels of city government by labor participating as an independent force in the elections.

4. To try to smash the lily white character of the Board of Estimate by electing at least one Negro to that body.

## II

For many months now our Party nationally has been engaged in a serious discussion of the lessons to be learned from the '52 elections. After speaking of the positive contributions of the Progressive Party in the '52 campaign, Comrade Foster says:

"The Draft Resolution points out, however, that serious mistakes were made in the electoral work of Communist and Left forces in both of these campaigns. This was by conducting a 'rigid third party line' with a failure to consistently unfold a policy of united front and of coalition approaches. . . . This was a narrow, sectarian policy." (*Discussion Bulletin No. 1*)

The experience of '52 underscored the lessons already being pointed up as far back as December 1950 in the main report to the 15th Convention of the Party delivered by Gus Hall. He declared:

"We must get away from old, narrow

concepts of how this party (The Third Party) is going to emerge. . . . We must overcome the state of affairs that finds us working in united front movements and coalitions, getting along fine until we get to the point of political action. Then comes election time—and usually the parting of the ways. We must find the programs, candidates, forms and avenues of electoral expression that will enable these united front coalitions and movements to continue to grow through election campaigns. It is with this in mind that we must shape our policy toward candidates running on major party tickets. Whatever the level of electoral understanding in a coalition of which we are part, we must not cut ourselves off from the masses simply because they are not yet ready to give advanced electoral expression to their aspirations.”

This correct line has now to be applied. We have learned that a rigid third party approach is fatal. What is the alternative? The abandonment of third party approaches? This would be equally fatal and particularly in a city like New York where large masses of voters have shown on numerous occasions their desire for independence. What then is a third party approach which is not rigid? *It is one which recognizes that while there are third-party movements and tickets in the field, we do not yet have a full-blown third party in New York operating on a progressive people's program which is supported and endorsed by a large section of the labor movement and people generally.*

Thus, Communists have the responsibility of judging and accurately estimating at what political level

the third party developments exist, what will help advance such movements and what will help propel forward the growing struggles, unity and awakening of the people. This can only be done by concretely knowing the level of the movement, the issues which will move the workers, Negro people and broadest masses and the political avenues of expression which they use. If we insist that the avenues of expression shall be only through advanced electoral tickets, we will have doomed ourselves in advance to isolation from the mass movement. We will have again, despite fine talk about coalition, been guilty of sectarian and rigid third party approaches.

This would be particularly true if we were unable to see and develop an approach which includes the most flexible coalition tactics in this forthcoming municipal election, particularly in New York where the issues are so grave and where many people's movements have been under way on a very broad basis. If we cannot do this, we have learned no lessons from the '52 elections.

Does the crucial need for coalition demand the scrapping of advanced third party movements? Absolutely not! Such a conclusion would be totally unwarranted and a grave error. What we are opposed to is not third party approaches but rigid third party approaches which do not see coalition and the fight for the development of coalition as a central task. That is why we are opposed to any go-it-alone policy which holds that the Left must pre-

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sent not only a full program but a full ticket as if it already had a broad mass labor and people's party.

The rigid third party approach expresses itself both in relation to issues and to electoral expression. For example: The issue of peace or war is the most decisive issue facing the nation. And this is as true in New York City as throughout the country. The war drive and its impact reflects itself in the municipal budget. The Dewey - Impellitteri gang-up flows from the assault upon the people nationally.

The issue of peace is therefore an integral part of the 1953 municipal elections. Yet it is equally true that the mass of the people do not see the issue of peace being decided in a municipal campaign as directly as in a national election. The issue is seen in a much more limited way.

We must therefore recognize that the starting point of coalition on the municipal level may be such issues as clean government, rent control, police brutality, etc. In many instances candidates may not yet be ready to support a peace policy but are ready to fight on some aspects of the economic, political and social consequences of the war drive. Only by patiently and tirelessly working in these movements; only by establishing ever closer ties with the masses present in these movements and campaigns, will it be possible for us to raise it to higher levels in the struggle for peace. Any other approach is an attempt to substitute subjective wishes for political realities.

### *The Republican Party*

The "preferred party" of monopoly in the State, whose spokesman is Governor Dewey, is banking on a catch-slogan of "clean out the mess" and "good government" to smokescreen its blitz on rents, services and public control of municipal agencies.

*G.O.P. strategy is to use brazen demagogy and deceit to divert the deep-rooted desires of New Yorkers for a change.* Their tactical maneuvers are camouflaged by a phony "fusion" front which, they hope, will stifle emerging protest, confuse voters, split labor and its allies, and ensnare the host of independent and good-government voters. So cynical is Gov. Dewey that he plans even a "Republican - Fusion - Good - Government" candidate on a platform that "disavows" much of the worst elements in the Dewey "package." At this writing, Rep. Javitz echoes this lines with faint cries against a higher fare and passive "resistance" to rent rises while rallying to him the same Dewey pirate gang which forced the people to walk the plank on the rent and fare issues.

An alternative in Dewey's bag of tricks is another variety of notorious Dewey-Tammany shell-game pulled on the New York voters in past elections: a secret deal with New York top Democratic Party bosses to put forward a candidate fully satisfactory to Dewey and the bankers, against which the G.O.P. will run a dummy candidate. The man earmarked for this maneuver, should it be finally determined upon, is Frank

S. Hogan—authoritatively rumored to have the support of G.O.P. bigwigs and Democratic Party bosses Flynn, Farley, etc.

*The main danger in this extremely fluid election is the attempt of the Chase National Bank - Republican gang directly taking over the New York City government. Their plan is to do this behind the facade of a phony fusion coalition or, secondarily, and only if otherwise impossible, through some nominal Democratic stooge like Mayor Impellitteri or District Attorney Frank S. Hogan.*

#### *The Democratic Party*

The Democratic Party, no less than the Republicans, is a party of monopoly capital. Its social base, however, is made up overwhelmingly of workers and the Negro people.

Increasing disclosures of Tammany corruption have spurred sharp, internal struggles within the party. The Democratic Party is no solid phalanx; it has various trends, influences and groupings. Its basic unity on the war program, however, imprisons its domestic outlook. Important differences do exist on State and municipal issues. These conflicts reflect the pressure of the labor and people's movement grouped around the Democratic Party.

What are the differences?

1. New Deal social legislation vs. "economic royalist" views.

2. Relationships with and sensitivity to labor and the Negro people's aspirations and needs vs. anti-labor legislation.

3. Democratic liberties and constitutional rights vs. McCarthyism and McCarranism.

James A. Farley, whose adherents include Democratic leaders like Bronx boss Ed Flynn and James Roe of Queens, plays the Dewey line within the Democratic Party. He is the spokesman for the extreme Right; his clerical and reactionary supporters are the tweedle-dee to Dewey's Big Business tweedle-dum.

They operate through a group symbolized by Mayor Impellitteri. Elected as an independent, the Mayor paved the way for the Republican blitz. His regime has been disgraced by an upsurge of anti-Negro police brutality, anti-Semitic attacks, ousters of democratic teachers, cuts in schools, housing, hospitals, denial of municipal wage increases, violent Red-baiting, consumer tax threats, and the ban on the traditional May Day parade.

Impellitteri can and must be driven from City Hall by the great mass of the enrolled Democrats in the coming primaries.

Another grouping was reflected in the recent State Committee elections which named Richard H. Balch state chairman over Farley's candidates. Its legislative program contained positive measures to repeal the Hughes-Brees Law and extend both the coverage and benefits of unemployment insurance. It proposed expansion of Workman's Compensation and a \$200 million school bond issue. It urged increased state aid, opposed rent increases and the higher-fare Transit Authority.

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It supported Permanent Personal Registration and boosts in civil service salaries. This program was spotlighted in recent Albany and City Hall struggles.

Vacillating, retreating and evading on this or that issue, this bloc, nevertheless, maintains alliances with labor and the Negro people's movement, has begun to speak out against McCarthyism and has ties to good government and Social-Democratic forces in the city. (The contradictions, however, become clearer, when one realizes that a Blaikie, the first Democratic leader to nominate a Negro state senator, is often allied with Farley on inner-party questions.)

The strong assaults on McCarthyism and McCarranism by Senator Lehman and his call for a Democratic fight against these fascist threats, the A.D.A. demand, "investigate the investigators," opens up new vistas for broadening the anti-fascist struggle both inside and outside the Democratic Party.

Included within this grouping—although they are far from a cohesive entity in outlook or practice—might be found such names as F. D. Roosevelt, Jr., comptroller Lazarus Joseph; Borough President Robert F. Wagner; Robert Blaikie; Congressman A. Clayton Powell; Rudolph Halley; Minority Leader Assemblyman Eugene F. Bannigan, Abe Stark, State Senator Julius Archibald, Judge Samuel H. Leibowitz, Balch, Assemblyman Bertram Baker, and Congressmen Celler, Klein and Dollinger. In the lower echelons, on State legislative and

court levels, are many with stronger progressive positions.

This group can be moved to greater struggles against the social, economic and political evils stemming directly from a war policy *only to the degree that organized labor and the Negro people exert more independent pressure and aggressively participate in activity inside and outside the Democratic Party.*

#### *The American Labor Party*

The A.L.P. is waging important struggles and plays a key political role as one of the advanced forms of independent political action. It has spearheaded many decisive campaigns and broken ground on a host of issues, later taken up by labor and people's organizations. The A.L.P.'s greatest contribution has been its consistent and fearless fight for peace, a sweeping exposure of the bipartisan war program. It dramatized this issue with giant posters throughout the city, radio and TV programs, and petition campaigns. Wherever and whenever its spokesmen appeared on one or another legislative issue in Albany and City Hall, they showed the link between war expenditures and the resultant havoc to public needs.

The A.L.P. struggle against the Transit Authority is highlighted by its signature campaign protesting the higher fare, the distribution of its important document exposing the Authority grab, its fight on the rent steal, which helped mobilize tenants to Albany, its vigilant stand

against the Jansen teacher oustings, police brutality and for Negro and Puerto Rican rights. On every key municipal problem, the A.L.P. has been a proud reflection of the best, most militant people's traditions.

Its campaign influence would best express itself if it continues a policy of extensive struggle on its own independent program *while helping stimulate the broader movement of labor and the Negro people, in alliance with independent and honest good government forces.* Such an approach can help create the political framework for an anti-Dewey, anti-Tammany victory to "clean up the city" and thwart the attempts by reaction to isolate and destroy the A.L.P. At the same time it must retain the power for independent action and be prepared to advance its own candidates in those areas and for those posts in which coalition efforts have not succeeded and the people have been given no real choice.

The prerequisite for such a program is, first of all, a conscious, positive and consistent attitude toward all possible allies in the fight against the Dewey "package" program. For example, the Labor Party, in its splendid campaign against the higher fare deal, issued a leaflet denouncing Dewey, Impellitteri and Halley. The A.L.P. was obviously correct in blasting the Governor, in castigating Impellitteri's sellout and in criticizing Halley's "economy" proposals. But, in our opinion, it was incorrect to lump all three together, failing to see differences between them. Hal-

ley, for example, was exerting strong efforts against the Transit Authority. He was, in fact, one of the key figures against the fare conspiracy. Certainly such an approach cannot but help weaken the ability of the A.L.P. to influence those political figures and movements in New York City, who, despite differences, vacillations and hesitations on this or that question, can be moved towards some degree of participation in the ever-growing people's unity resisting the Dewey fiscal assault.

The A.L.P. plays, as it always has, an important role in municipal struggles. Its program is a positive one, its leaders devoted to the people's interests, its membership alert and militant. It has the potential of exerting significant influence in the developing people's coalition. Support to the A.L.P., helping in every way to build and strengthen it as an advanced political force, is of vital importance.

### *The Liberal Party*

The Right-wing, Social-Democratic-led Liberal Party is an important political influence in the city. It has a positive and progressive program on some municipal issues. It campaigned against the 15 percent rent rise and the Transit Authority; urged more low-cost housing; attacked the budget wage-freeze of low-paid municipal employees; demanded the 40-hour week for all civil service workers; backed higher welfare allotments and an expanded hospital program. It has joined in the mounting fight against anti-Negro police

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brutality. In general, its position on the city budget has been good. Its municipal program is a far cry from its participation in the bi-partisan Big Business foreign policy which weakens its democratic program.

Bitterly anti-Soviet, it has supported all-out war in Korea, lent its name to imperialist conspiracies in Europe, Asia and Africa, compromised with McCarthyism and fought the full unfolding of the Negro representation struggle.

Its electoral strength shifts from election to election depending on its coalition policies. It is NOT the political party of the labor movement; it speaks only for a small sector of it.

The Liberal Party, however, is one of the independent forms of political action; its members and supporters (not to be confused with its leaders) have broken with the two old parties and express themselves through an independent political approach. As of this writing the Liberal Party has not yet crystallized its position.

Recognizing the existence of powerful anti-Dewey currents among the electorate, the Liberal Party has indicated that it will not join with or support the Dewey Republican machine. This is a welcome approach. A policy, however, that avoids the people's coalition movement, that turns away from the fusion of labor, the Negro people, progressive, Left and mass organizations, would smooth the way for Dewey and the corrupt Democratic machine.

Council President Halley, a re-

gistered Democrat, is a pivotal figure in Liberal election plans. In helping to expose the O'Dwyer cesspool he so captured the imagination of the people that when he ran for City Council President he secured 48 percent of the total vote in a four-way contest. In the fight against the Dewey-Impellitteri plot Halley linked the two as "partners;" voted "no" to the budget; and issued a "March on Albany" appeal for a special session of the Legislature against the higher fare authority.

In some respects, however, Halley's proposals are similar to those of the Citizens' Budget Commission. They threaten job cuts and service slashes. They undermine the positive aspects of his program. Similarly, his position in favor of a state hiring hall for longshoremen, bitterly opposed by the longshoremen, was against the workers' interests.

#### ROLE OF LABOR MOVEMENT:

The working class, through its organized labor movement, is the single largest, best organized and most vital force in New York City. No coalition can achieve consistent direction or power without labor increasingly playing its dominant role.

The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. together have about a million members in the city. Yet no labor member sits in the Board of Estimate, City Council, on the lower or higher court benches, or in any top political or administrative post in the city. Labor should raise as its key political slogan the demand for adequate representation at all levels of municipi-

pal government.

If labor serves notice now that it will reject and fight any candidate who does not make his No. 1 electoral plank the struggle to smash the Dewey "package," such militant unity would inevitably result in important victories at all electoral levels. It could insure the election of a labor bloc in the City Council, a labor representative among the top three city officers, and on the Board of Estimate. Labor must vigorously begin intervening now for its candidates in all the old party primaries to win labor representation. Our Party considers this primary struggle of *key importance* and will give its full support to unfold such an objective and help realize it this year.

Labor's eyes are focused on the next stage in this critical fight. The State C.I.O. has summoned a state-wide conference to alert its members for the special session in Albany where it will demand that rents and fares be placed on the agenda. The A. F. of L. has not yet followed suit, although its key affiliates have urged the Mayor and the Board of Estimate to press the struggle.

The unity of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. is the basis for victory in this coming legislative clash. Without joint action, there is danger that the Dewey blitz, begun last January, will explode in all its destructiveness this summer.

This unity should draw to labor the bulk of its allies—the Negro people, the consumer, white-collar worker, good-government partisans, pro-

fessionals, and small businessmen.

In New York City this labor punch, concentrated in a United Labor Committee of C.I.O., A. F. of L. and Independent unions, would wrest from the phony fusion forces their "good government" and "clean up the city" slogans. Such a Committee could become the true spokesman of coalition, and its ringing call to all voters—of whatever party—who fear the rent-fare squeeze, who want more schools and low-cost housing, who hate anti-Negro and anti-Semitic bigotry, who are joined in a deep yearning for honest city leadership, would make it a dominant factor in the municipal campaign against Dewey on the one hand, and the Impellitteri-Hogan clique on the other.

Labor's best weapon in the campaign is its own strength. If it is not to become a tail to old party kites, it will have to expand and develop its own independent political apparatus.

By extending C.I.O. Political Action Committees and the A. F. of L.'s League for Political Education, labor can create the vehicle through which its independent program will exert maximum pressure for its *own* candidates and its *own* policy inside and outside the framework of the two major parties.

It should single out in the campaign those reactionary office-holders who should be driven from public life—the anti-labor Quinns and Maickels in the City Council, the Jim Lyonses, the Cashmores, the cabal of hacks and book-burners.

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## NEGRO REPRESENTATION:

Labor and the people's movements are increasingly alert to the relationship between Negro representation in all phases of political life and the cause of democracy. Everywhere Negro legislators have spearheaded the drive for FEPC legislation and in most cases have been in the forefront against bills which would curb the rights of labor and nationality groups.

In New York City, the Negro people, who constitute 10 percent of the population, have less than 1 percent of political representation. The rapid upsurge of a powerful unity movement which will embrace all sections of the Negro people, supported by labor and people's organizations, if it intervenes vigorously in the coming primaries, can force major party designations for Negroes and their elections to the Board of Estimate, City Council, courts, as well as high appointive posts in top city departments.

The lessons of the Archibald victory point up the dynamics of the broadest, all-class unity movement (with the Left playing an energetic role in stimulating such unity) and the development of such a democratic momentum *as to impose on the major parties* the designation of Negro candidates.

The main arena for a successful fight for Negro representation is within the framework of an independent campaign expressing itself through primary and election struggles of the major political parties.

The shameful history which sees

no Negro ever elected to top city office can now be re-written. Certainly no real movement to "clean up the city" can have a perspective of victory without making this a key aspect of its program.

## THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE:

Struggles of the Puerto Rican people against all political, economic and social forms of discrimination continue to develop. Struggles for equal job opportunities, for decent housing, for political representation constitute growing movements that will play an increasingly important role in the forthcoming elections.

The Puerto Rican people constitute five percent of the city population. More than 90 percent are workers. The failure of the labor movement to speak up and combat the sweatshop conditions, the flagrant discrimination in housing, the innumerable obstacles they face as citizens in voting, weakens the labor movement.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

How should our Party approach the '53 municipal election? It would be premature and incorrect for our Party at this time to assume a definitive position on the various candidates now being projected. The situation is still very fluid: political line-ups have not yet jelled; nor have the candidates or programs emerged with anything but the dimmest contours.

Does this mean that we have no alternative but to sit and wait it out? Absolutely not!

The Communist Party has a role

of tremendous importance to play.

Peace as an independent issue today is a vital factor among the people. The desire for a cease-fire in Korea, for an end to the war, and a settlement of all outstanding differences continues to mount.

Tied up with the question of peace, especially in New York City with the biggest port in the nation, is the economic security of the workers, dependent so much on the restoration of foreign trade. The perspective of a Korean truce opens up the potentials for conducting a successful campaign to secure East-West trade with its vast attendant benefits to New York workers.

Other sections of the population besides those of the waterfront are deeply concerned with the peacetime expansion of commerce and the consequent benefits to their business and trades. Furthermore, the perspective of ending the Korean war will unquestionably sharpen demands for peacetime construction of all sorts and will help demolish the myth that steel, lumber and other building materials cannot be used for social, public services because of so-called defense purposes.

Communists and progressives who have fought over the years for peace must continue the struggle for a peace settlement in Korea within the limited municipal campaign framework. Without in any way making sectarian pre-conditions on this question for unity with other forces, *we must find and develop*

*infinite varieties of projecting the peace issue in concrete forms.*

The Communist Party must fulfill its vanguard role by properly placing the issues in this campaign. It must evolve and project a coalition policy as the heart of its mass approach. It must win all forces on the Left to an understanding of a flexible and effective tactic and thus make possible united and militant contributions by the most conscious and progressive forces in the city. It must strengthen its ties among the hundreds of thousands today accepting leadership from Social-Democratic and reformist misleaders of the people. It must strengthen and unify the Left forces and help them both to play their independent role as well as make their invaluable contribution to the emergence of a broad and winning coalition. It must give its support to the building of the A.L.P. in order to help make it an even more important and powerful political factor. It must strengthen our own Party's influence, the circulation of the press and bring forward its own full program. It must find ways to come forward before the people in its own name, through the printed word, over the air and on the ballot.

By striving for such a policy, the Communist Party will make a major contribution towards the development of a real people's coalition for peace, democracy and security, the only path to defeat war and reaction.

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## Zionism and Bourgeois Nationalism, II\*

By Samuel Rosen

WHAT "JUSTIFICATIONS" and what "principles" did the Zionists use in order to establish their control over the Jewish workers and masses?

1. From Herzl on, Zionist leaders and theoreticians sought to create an aura of mystery about the phenomenon of anti-Semitism. It was some sort of enigma and due to some mystical force which could not be analyzed scientifically and rationally. Anti-Semitism, according to Zionism, had nothing to do with concrete social, economic and political factors.

In leading the Russian workers in struggle for the defense of the Jewish masses and against the pogrom makers, Lenin declared:

Not the Jews are the enemies of the workers. The enemies of the workers are the capitalists of all lands. Among the Jews are workers, hard working men and women—they are the majority. They are our brothers in oppression by capitalism, our comrades in the struggle for Socialism.\*\*

But Herzl and the Zionists saw this approach, which opened up the possibilities of a real solution to anti-Semitism, as endangering their own narrow bourgeois interests. They

therefore developed the theory as a leader amongst them, Leo Pinsker, wrote, that the Jew is "a stranger everywhere, wanted nowhere, and having no home of his own, he cannot claim hospitality. . . ."

Theodore Herzl elaborated this theory in his *Judenstaat* (The Jewish State). "The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not exist, it is carried by the Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted and there our presence produces persecution." This led Herzl to conclude: "From the beginning I understood the emptiness and futility of efforts to combat anti-Semitism."

The fact is that even bourgeois Jewish historical works with all of their distortions and misinterpretations, give the lie to this thesis. For even these histories record the fact that in any given historical period, certain Jewish communities faced persecution while others were living in comparative peace and tranquility. It would be difficult indeed to explain why this should be the case if the mere presence of Jews was the cause of anti-Semitism. Yet, this irrationality, this retreat from reason,

\* The first half of this article appeared in our June issue.—Ed.

\*\* Lenin *Collected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 31.

bothered the Zionists little, any more than irrationality bothered the ideologists and fomentors of racism and anti-Semitism. Both objectively represented two sides of the same coin. The anti-Semites unleashed their vicious assaults upon Jews in order to divide and to sow distrust in the working-class movement, while the Zionists spread their nationalistic propaganda for the very same purpose. And in so doing, they hindered, in fact repudiated and worked against, the unfolding of a real struggle against anti-Semitism and sought to separate the Jewish masses from the general working class.

In fact, a study of the history of Zionism shows that Zionist leadership considered the shattering of the ghetto walls and the beginnings of at least formal emancipation for Jews as a great tragedy. Thus, Ahad Haam, exponent of cultural Zionism, declared that the fate of the "unutterably poor, persecuted, ignorant and degraded Jews" of tsarist Russia was preferable to the fate of the Jews in western Europe where a certain degree of freedom had been won. Copious tears were shed over the fact that the emergence of the Jew from the ghetto meant assimilation and the loss of "traditional Jewish values." But behind this seeming concern for the Jewish masses was their real fear that the end of the ghetto meant that the movement of the Jewish workers into the mainstream of the general working class of their lands would be accelerated.

And a greater tragedy than that, the Jewish bourgeoisie could not envisage.

2. Lenin warned that "the worker who places political unity with the bourgeoisie of 'his' nation above the full unity with the proletariat of all nations is working against his own interests, against the interests of Socialism and democracy." And he added: ". . . the P.P.S. [Polish Socialist Party] considers that the national question consists of confronting 'we' (the Poles) and 'they' (the Russians, Germans, etc.), but the social democrat [*i.e.*, the Communist—Ed.] places in the forefront 'we' the proletarians and 'they' the bourgeoisie. . . ."\*

Zionists, like all bourgeois nationalists, sought not the unity of all workers but their disunity. They sowed the seeds of distrust and hatred against non-Jews in general. They fostered separatism and encouraged the Jewish masses to view all non-Jews, including the working class, with suspicion and hostility. Together with their fellow Jewish bourgeois nationalists, the Bundists, who operated as a divisive force directly within the working class, they sought to destroy working-class solidarity by taking advantage of the sufferings and tribulations of the Jewish masses and diverting it into a blind alley. Thus at the Ninth Conference of the Bund, a delegate declared: "We regard the Polish workers who are

\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 19; Vol. VI, p. 419.

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squeezing us out, as pogromists, as scabs, we do not support their strikes, we break them."\*

3. In order to imbue the Jewish masses with this bourgeois nationalistic approach, it was necessary to advance the mystical and reactionary concept of a "world Jewish nation."

Two historical tendencies are to be noted under capitalism with regard to the national question. On the one hand, and in the earlier stages of capitalism, one finds the process of the rise and consolidation of nations.

But there is also no doubt that in the higher stages of capitalism a process of dispersion of nations sets in, a process whereby whole groups, in search of a livelihood, separate from nations, subsequently settling finally in other regions of the state; in the course of which these settlers lose their old contacts, acquire new contacts in their new domicile, from generation to generation acquire new habits and new tastes, and possibly a new language. . . .\*\*

If this is true with regard to nations, how much more so is this true of the Jewish people. Living in different lands, and under different economic and political conditions, Jews acquired different customs, different habits and traditions and different languages. While certain ties, in the main dating back to ancient days and mostly religious, still persisted,

they were continuously retreating before the economic and political realities of life. Jews in Eastern Europe, enclosed in the ghetto, spoke Yiddish but Jews in Western Europe spoke the language of the country they lived in. Jews who emigrated to America from Eastern Europe and who therefore had ties with these Jewish communities still speak Yiddish (although normal economic intercourse forces them, too, to use English) and continue to show an interest in the Jewish culture developed in these countries. But their children, growing up under the economic and political conditions of the United States speak English and identify themselves completely with this country.

Jews in various lands lived in different geographical territories, had no common economic life. Their daily and long range economic and political interests were determined by the economic and political conditions of the country they lived in. To attach the title of *nation* to these various Jewish groups and to ascribe some mystical union to them was to remove Jews from the realm of reality, from the acute class struggles and problems of their lands. But this is exactly what the Jewish bourgeoisie sought to do.

"A nation," said Stalin, "is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." This was the scientific definition of a

\* Quoted by Stalin in *Marxism and the National Question*.

\*\* Stalin, cited work, p. 36.

nation based upon a concrete study of the historical development of nations. But the Zionists denied this scientific definition and substituted for it a mystical concept. A nation, said the Zionists, is a community of culture. No other attributes are necessary.

One might point out that even a community of culture did not exist among Jews. An East-European Jew traveling in India would find that aside from certain ancient religious rites and customs, there was no community of culture with the Jews of India. Their historical development was completely different. The Jew of India knew nothing of the Yiddish literature and traditions that had developed in Russia or in Poland. But one has no need to go to India to see that there was no world-wide community of Jewish culture. Jews brought up for generations in France or England had no community of culture with East European Jews.

But more fundamentally, it is "ridiculous sophistry" and "childish subjectivism" to imagine that the cultural can be isolated and lopped off from the political and economic elements. As Lenin pointed out:

In every capitalist society, the serious class struggle is waged primarily in the economic and political sphere. To separate from this the school sphere is, firstly, absurdly utopian because schools (like "national culture" in general) cannot be torn from economics and politics, and secondly, it is precisely economic and political life in a capi-

talist country that every step forces the breakdown of the absurd and obsolete national barriers and prejudices.\*

Zionist leadership, in promulgating the mystical theory of a world-wide Jewish nation objectively serves only one aim: to divide the Jewish workers from their real allies; to divert the Jewish masses from their very real economic and political problems which they share in common with their fellow countrymen, and to disrupt working-class unity.

From its inception, Zionism, though instrumental in spreading bourgeois nationalist sentiments, did not succeed in stimulating any mass Jewish exodus to Palestine. Statistics show that relatively few Jews emigrated to Palestine before the middle '30s. Wrote Ilya Ehrenburg:

Of course, there are nationalists and mystics among the Jews. They produce the program of Zionism. But it is not they who have settled Palestine with Jews. Jews went to Palestine because of the ideologists of misanthropy, the votaries of racism, the anti-Semites who drove people from their homes and made them migrate to distant lands in search—not of happiness so much as of the right to their human dignity. We all remember the epic of the *Exodus*, the ship which carried to Palestine refugees from Western Germany—people who by chance had escaped the furnaces of Oswiecim and Maidanek and then found themselves fired on by British soldiers.\*\*

\* Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*, p. 38.

\*\* In *Pravda*, Sept. 21, 1948.

It was not the Zionists or British or American imperialism that saved millions of Jewish lives from the hands of Hitlerism. It was the Soviet Union and the Red Army that was responsible for saving the Jews of Europe. And it was the heroic struggles of the Red Army at Stalingrad that forced Hitler to recall his troops from the Middle East and thereby saved the lives of the Jewish people in Palestine as well.

And it was not Zionism but Hitlerism that resulted in bringing Jews in large numbers to Palestine. As a result of this a new national question arose in Palestine—the question of two peoples, Jewish and Arab, fighting for liberation from imperialist rule.

Towards this *concrete* national question, two answers were posed. One was the position of imperialism and of its agents, the Zionist leaders and the Arab feudal lords; the other was the position of the Soviet Union and of all proletarian internationalists throughout the world.

Zionists had always conceived of the Jewish state as something which would come into being under the auspices of and in collaboration with imperialism. History decided otherwise. Imperialism had no intention of giving independence to either the Jews or the Arabs. But meanwhile, the defeat of fascism, the growth of the struggle for freedom both among Arabs and Jews, forced the whole question of Palestine onto the agenda of the United

Nations. The Zionist leaders up until the very last moment did everything in their power to sabotage the struggle for independence, to come to terms with imperialism. Only when they saw that power would completely pass from their hands did they unwillingly enter into the struggle and take over its leadership. But while they and their imperialist masters were attempting to behead the struggle, the Soviet Union fought steadfastly for the right to independence of the Jews and Arabs and for the creation of two independent states—Jewish and Arab—in Palestine.

The support given by the Soviet Union was not to Zionism, which was and remains reactionary, but to the concrete struggles of a people for freedom. As Ehrenburg pointed out in 1948:

We sympathize with the struggles of the toilers of Israel, they have the sympathies not only of the Soviet Jews, but of all Soviet people—there are no admirers of Glubb Pasha in our country. But every Soviet citizen is aware that a state is judged not only by its national character, but by its social system as well. A citizen of socialist society regards the people of any bourgeois country, and that means also the people of the State of Israel as wanderers in a dark forest who have not yet found their way out. A citizen of socialist society can never envy the fate of people who carry the yoke of capitalist exploitation.

And that yoke of exploitation has been intensified.

After the anti-imperialist War of Liberation was won, the Israel bourgeoisie was not long in imposing its dominance and rule on the new state. The Social-Democratic Mapai ("Labor") Party was in the overwhelming majority, and Ben Gurion and its other leaders carried on an anti-working class foreign and domestic policy. On essential points, it capitulated to the industrialists and large landowners while it deceived a large part of the workers into believing that it was following a "labor" policy.

The foreign policy of the Ben Gurion government has followed the tactic of collaboration with imperialism practiced by Herzl from the outset of the Zionist movement. The fact that the Soviet Union and the lands of People's Democracy made possible the establishment of Israel, caused the Ben Gurion government to go through a brief period of surface friendliness with the socialist countries. But intense and prolonged cold war propaganda created the conditions for a gradually more open collaboration with United States and British imperialism, which had tried to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel. Israel is now fully an economic and political dependency of Washington.\* Some evidences of this subservience are: co-operation of the Israel government

in the economic exploitation of the country by United States capital, with a resultant lowering of the workers' standard of living; the U.N. voting record of Israel; loans and grants-in-aid from Washington; participation of Israel in Mutual Security funds and the Ben Gurion regime's request for more; eagerness to join in some plan for "Middle East Defense," and the building of bomber bases in Israel.

Today, the Zionist leadership, both in the United States and in control of the government of Israel expose their complete betrayal of the interests of the Jewish masses by their venomous propaganda and acts against the Soviet Union, the land that was responsible for the survival of millions of Jews. In the name of "liberation" they organize a conspiracy against the Soviet Union. They publicly proclaim that they intend to get Jews out of the lands of Socialism by hook or by crook. They put ads in all the papers calling on all people to give them millions of dollars to carry out these plans and to help encourage incitements against the Soviet Union. And when they are caught in the act and are pulled up short they put on an air of injured innocence and cry out, "This is anti-Semitism."

"All we are interested in," cry the Zionist leaders, "is saving Jews. We must save them from *galut*, from exile. This is the historic mission of Zionism." But if Jews must be saved from "exile," why then do they not

\* For a documented study of the subservience of the Ben Gurion regime to United States capital, see Victor Perlo, *Israel and Dollar Diplomacy*, New Century Pub., 1953.



carry on a similar hue and cry in the United States, Britain and France? Apparently it is only from Socialist lands that Jews must be liberated, not from capitalist lands. But how different then is the Zionist cry of "liberation" from the "liberation" theme of Eisenhower and Dulles? Dulles argues that not only Jews but all peoples under Socialism must be liberated. Yet most people have come to sense that behind these hypocritical pronouncements of "liberation" lies the threat of a new world war and death to countless millions of people. Is there any distinction between Dulles' theme and that of the Zionists? Mr. Dulles gets very upset when the Soviet Union labels his schemes for what they are and shouts that this is despotism. And when the Zionists meet with a rebuff, they try to cover up by yelling anti-Semitism. Strange, is it not, that the Soviet Union should tell Mr. Dulles and the Zionist leaders that they will not be allowed to determine the destinies of the people of the lands of Socialism?!

The deadliness of bourgeois nationalism and the direct service it performs for imperialism is dramatically illustrated in the case of Israel. American imperialism, working feverishly to secure its control over the Middle East, relies on the cooperation of the reactionary ruling classes of Israel and of the Arab lands. They in turn, in agreement with the basic aims of imperialism and desirous of choking off the

growth of class struggle and of the national liberation movements, support the drive of American imperialism. And bourgeois nationalism becomes one of the basic devices in achieving these aims.

How does it work? The Israel bourgeoisie incites the people against its neighbors, the Arabs. It whips up antagonism to Arabs and proclaims them to be the enemy. Thus, the Jewish masses are diverted from the struggle against their own bourgeoisie and against American imperialism which is the real power behind the throne. Similarly, the reactionary and feudal Arab lords incite hostility against the Jewish people and proclaim them to be the main enemy of the Arab masses. Thus the Arab masses are diverted from their class and liberation struggles.

The main enemy of all of the peoples of the Middle East is thus able to pose as mediator and as ally while it continuously intensifies the arms race and the preparation of the Middle East as a military base of operations.

Bourgeois nationalism, in this instance, serves to strengthen American imperialist control and to deepen the enslavement and the suffering of Jews and Arabs alike.

The Zionist and Israel service to Washington and London exposed at the Prague trial is an extension of its collaboration with imperialism and a direct consequence of the bourgeois nationalist nature of Zion-

ism.

These services of the Zionist movement to imperialism are not new. We know from an unchallengeable source that this same type of service was supplied by the American Zionist organization in the First World War. Jacob de Haas, secretary to Theodore Herzl, in an article in the most respectable Anglo-Jewish magazine in this country, *Menorah Journal*, issue of February 1928, states this quite bluntly:

A real organization does not exhibit all of its strength on parade, though that ostentatious form of demonstration was not overlooked when the need arose. The great strength of the American Zionist organization was in the multifariousness of its contacts, and in the accurate knowledge of those in control of the human resources on which they could depend. Did the British need to obtain a contact in Odessa, or were they in need of a trustworthy agent in Harbin? Did President Wilson require at short notice a thousand word summary detailing those who were in the Kerensky upheaval in Russia? The New York office rendered all these services, asking nothing but receiving much, the respect and good will of the men whose signatures counted in great affairs. Thousands of Zionists everywhere served, and served well, in that far flung line which the organization maintained during that long trying period when victory seemed in the balance.

There is a large mass of similar evidence. As a very recent example

of this kind of activity we may cite Hanson Baldwin, *New York Times* military editor, who unquestionably has direct access to the Defense Department. In an article on January 29, 1953, discussing the effectiveness of U.S. intelligence in determining Soviet military strength, Baldwin mentions two other intelligence services which he regards as even more efficient—the British and Israeli. He writes:

But some observers believe that the British Intelligence Services with perhaps 3,000 employees and Israel's with perhaps 300, produce end results—in the form of facts and analyses that are fully as useful in guiding national policy and perhaps more accurate—than those produced by our much larger agencies.

The People's Democracies from the day of their birth knew that American imperialism would do everything to disrupt their work. Many international organizations, some of which paraded as relief and philanthropic agencies, were in the service of American or British imperialism or both. Very wisely, the People's Democracies barred these organizations. In the main, the only international organizations permitted were Jewish, such as the Zionist Organization and the Joint Distribution Committee. They were allowed because of the deep sympathy for the Jewish people and because of deep concern for their welfare. Thus American imperialism found that one of its best sources of infor-

mation and one of its best mediums for establishing contacts inside these countries were these organizations. How they made the most effective use of them was very glaringly exposed at the Prague trial.

Among those condemning "socialist anti-Semitism" is General Eisenhower, the author of the cynical re-nazification slogan, "let bygones be bygones," whose administration in Washington is *Judenrein* in its higher echelons. The capitalist press and the present "leaders" of American life demagogically complain about a non-existent socialist "anti-Semitism" while they themselves sanction the most ominous threats to the Jewish masses and to Israel itself by their support of fascists everywhere in the world.

The hypocrisy becomes all the more revolting in view of the decisive and uncompromising policy in the socialist countries—enforced by law and education and stiff penalties—against anti-Semitism and racism of any kind. When this is contrasted with the racism of U.S. imperialism, particularly as exemplified in its terrible oppression of the Negro people and its atrocious conduct in Korea, as well as in the growing anti-Semitism in the United States, an anti-Semitism that is superheating the hysterical lying campaign against Soviet "anti-Semitism," one gets a measure of the sheer abandonment of all human standards of decency and truth.

It is necessary for Communists to

go among the people and engage in the most patient explanation of the purpose behind this campaign of slander. But for Communists to be able to undertake the most rounded explanation of all phases of this question and above all to be able to assume the offensive against these enemies of Socialism and of peace, they must be clear themselves as to the fundamental significance of these attacks. Without eternal vigilance based upon firm ideological understanding and conviction, without a keen understanding of the class essence of each struggle, without being able to pose the question as did Lenin, "Whose interests does it serve?" and to be able to answer that question in a class way, Communists will inevitably and constantly be swayed by bourgeois ideology and propaganda and will fall prey to the confusion which affects the backward sections of the masses. One cannot act as vanguard without the ideology of the vanguard. One cannot mount an offensive against the class enemy when one stands on unsure footing and is swayed and put off balance by every new storm or gale that blows across the horizon.

The struggle for peace and democracy, for the freedom of nations and peoples, against racism and anti-Semitism, demands an uncompromising struggle against all forms of bourgeois nationalism including Zionism. Only such a struggle can save all peoples, including the Jewish masses, from tragedy and catastrophe.

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