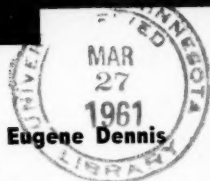


political affairs

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TO OUR READERS

One of the grossest frame-ups in the sordid history of government persecution of labor organizations and of the Left was consummated late in February, 1961. This occurred when the U.S. Supreme Court refused even to review the convictions of seven people—six men and one woman—previously found guilty of conspiracy to violate the non-Communist affidavit requirement of the infamous Taft-Hartley Law. The defendants were: Fred Haug, formerly an official in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Marie Haug, formerly an official in the United Electrical Workers; Eric Reinthaler, union member; Sam Reed, union member; James West, Communist Party Organizer for Illinois; Andrew Remes, a former Communist Party official; and Hyman Lumer, National Educational Secretary of the Communist Party, and Associate Editor of this magazine. All seven must surrender very soon to begin serving prison sentences of eighteen months; they also were each fined \$2,500.

The use of the "conspiracy" charge against labor goes back to 1806; it thus is one of the oldest devices of the bosses—and their government—against workers. Since the trial of the above Seven in Cleveland (starting January, 1958), leaders in the Textile Workers Union in North Carolina, of the International Garment Workers, Local 25, of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in Denver, and of the Teamsters Union in St. Louis have suffered similar "conspiracy" charges. In the Cleveland case, the section of the law for which the defendants were tried has been repealed—as manifestly faulty—since their conviction; they were convicted on the testimony of one government stool-pigeon, proven to have perjured himself on three significant counts, including the fact that he was an untried deserter from the U.S. Army.

The refusal of the Supreme Court to review in this case, taken together with its upholding of the convictions of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson and refusal to review the convictions of sit-in victims from Miami constitute exceedingly ominous portents.

We urge our readers to write to the President urging him to open up some New Frontiers on this front of civil liberties and trade-union rights. Please let him hear from you as to your outrage in adding still more victims to the growing roll of political prisoners in the United States; urge him to issue a Presidential Pardon for the Cleveland Seven.

—The Editor.

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: HERBERT APTHEKER; Associate Editor: HYMAN LUMER

The Life of Eugene Dennis

By the National Committee, CPUSA

In time our countrymen will come to learn the heroic measure of the man that was Eugene Dennis, leader, Communist Party, U.S.A. For Eugene Dennis was a most noble son of the American working class, a brave and daring fighter in its front line battles, a wise and far-seeing leader of its advanced guard.

With selfless dedication, profound knowledge, and consummate skill Comrade Dennis made enduring contributions toward the solution of the foremost problems confronting our nation and besetting mankind.

He worked for peace. He described the dimensions of the threat to humanity of a thermonuclear war and revealed the broad scope and titanic capacity of the potential forces that can be arrayed in behalf of peace.

He fought to end colonialism and racism. He was an active participant in the anti-colonial liberation movements in the Philippines, in South Africa and in China. In 1947 he was sentenced to a year in prison for challenging the House Un-American Committee in a form that focused the spotlight of world public opinion on the disfranchised status of the Southern Negro masses.

He advanced the unity and militance of the trade unions.

In 1928 he organized the agricultural workers in Wisconsin. In the early '30's Dennis was in the very midst of the struggles of the unemployed. He led many battles, faced many arrests and received a six-month jail sentence in Los Angeles. He worked for people's unity around labor's leadership for independent political action. Comrade Dennis played a prominent role in the work of the popular "coalition" which was the base for several social reforms of the Roosevelt years.

Above all else, Comrade Dennis was a devoted member, builder and leader of the Communist Party, a fighter for Socialism, a staunch advocate of proletarian internationalism.

Joining the Communist Party while yet a youth, Comrade Dennis was elected to the National Committee of the Party in 1936. In 1938 he was elected a member of the Secretariat of the National Committee. He was elected General Secretary of the Party in 1948, a post he occupied until 1959 when he was elected Chairman of the CPUSA.

Comrade Dennis made a signal contribution to the struggles to maintain Constitutional liberties in our country during the years of anti-Communist witch hunt hysteria and Smith Act trials.

During the years of Comrade Dennis' leadership our Party was subjected to violent assaults from the reactionary ruling circles. But notwithstanding jailing of its leaders and suppression of many of its organizations, the Party was not broken. Revisionists' attempts at liquidation of the Party from within failed.

Our Party will always honor the memory of Comrade Eugene Dennis. Its advance will be constantly aided by the rich legacy of his writings and the evergreen memory of his heroic and exemplary works.

We mourn the loss of our beloved comrade and leader.

We express deepest sympathy and pledge enduring comradeship with Peggy and Gene, Jr.

Secretariat: Gus Hall, general secretary.
Benjamin J. Davis
James E. Jackson
Hyman Lumer

* * *

By Gus Hall

IN THE DEATH of Comrade Dennis, chairman of the Communist Party, our nation has lost an illustrious son and citizen. Our people have lost a courageous defender, our working class a loyal fighting champion, and our Party a staunch and selfless leader—a seasoned Marxist-Leninist—and all of us, have lost a dearly beloved comrade and friend.

The whole of Comrade Dennis' splendid life was devoted to the lofty purpose of humanity's emancipation

from the yoke of capital and from every form of oppression and exploitation. He led a purposeful life dedicated fully to the struggle for democracy, peace and socialism.

Comrade Dennis was the best of citizens because he championed the cause of the people. He was a more effective champion of the people because he was a working class fighter. He was a better citizen, a better champion of the people and a better working class fighter because he was a Communist, a Marxist-Leninist.

He has left an indelible imprint

in the American social and political scene. He was part of the continuing change. He helped to make the change and changed with it himself.

In his life span, the working class of our land changed from an unorganized, helpless victim of brutal oppression to an organized trade union movement of many millions. Comrade Dennis contributed much to make this change possible. In his life span, our Negro Americans have risen to a powerful and effective democratic force, increasingly demanding their constitutional rights of equality. Comrade Dennis contributed much to advance this historical cause and make this struggle a success.

In his life span the conditions of the unemployed workers changed from the breadline and starvation to the present system of unemployment insurance. Comrade Dennis pioneered and gave leadership to make this change possible. In his early years Comrade Dennis was active in the struggle of the unemployed. He participated in and led many demonstrations which finally resulted in the present system of relief and insurance.

Comrade Dennis' horizon of activity encompassed the oppressed of the world. He helped in the fight of the Chinese and Philippine peoples for liberation and freedom. His life is a monument to the struggle for peace and that made him a finer American. He was the very opposite of the "ugly Ameri-

can." He brought good will to the American people where the arrogant American militarists and imperialists created ill will and hatred.

As a Communist, he fought for an end to the nuclear and arms race, for the outlawing of nuclear war, for a program of total disarmament. His dedication to peace and above all, to the friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union and the people of the world and to a program of peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist nations, was the basic theme of his life.

Comrade Dennis was a Party man, through and through. He came to the party as a lad of twenty-one, a steady young oak from the Northwest. He grew and rose in stature, influence and position with the growth of the party.

He was a builder of its organization, loyal to its principles and aims. He worked hard to master the science of Marxism-Leninism and used it as a guide to the solution of our people's problems. He was a thoughtful and principled leader.

Comrade Dennis was at the helm of our Party as General Secretary through its most storm-lashed years. In the years since World War II, the seas of reaction roared and raged against our Party—the guide-ship of the convoy of the working class and nation. But the hands of the helmsman were firm, his eye steady on the horizon of our bright tomorrow, and guided by the unerring compass of Marxism-Leninism, he steered a true

course. Under the firm hand of comrade Dennis' leadership, our ship weathered the furious gales of McCarthyism and all the blows of the enemy.

He kept us together and he helped have a united party of the American working class when reaction counted on defectors and detractors, dissolving our ranks.

As we pay tribute and honor to our

* * *

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

WE ARE GATHERED together today on a most sorrowful occasion. It is with a heart filled with grief that I speak on behalf of our National Committee. We are here to bid our last farewell to our beloved comrade and valiant leader, Eugene Dennis, Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. for the past year, and its General Secretary for the thirteen years prior. To me personally, the loss of Gene, who was my closest friend and dearest comrade, is second only to the death of my son Fred. It is hard to adequately express in words our profound sympathy to our dear comrade, Mrs. Peggy Dennis and her two sons in this, their hour of greatest grief. The untimely death of a loving husband and father, stricken in the prime of life at 56, by the killer disease—cancer—is an inconsolable loss. But they may take comfort in the realization that their sorrow is shared by multitudes of people in our own country and throughout the

dear comrade and express our deepest feelings of condolences to Peggy and young Gene, we pledge to continue to build the Party and to fulfill the great, the unfinished tasks which remain. We are all grateful for having worked with Comrade Dennis, and are, therefore, better Americans and better Communists. We will always remember Gene, staunch son of the people.

world. Eugene Dennis is known and mourned today internationally, as an *American* Communist leader, a courageous fighter for human rights, justice, peace and socialism.

Hundreds of messages from all corners of the globe have poured into office and to Mrs. Dennis, since the news of his death was flashed over the wires on Tuesday night, January 31st. They express deepest sympathy and warmest appreciation of the role of Eugene Dennis during his entire lifetime. For three and a half decades, his life has reflected all the struggles of the people, here and elsewhere. Since he joined the Communist Party at the age of 22, his unswerving devotion to its lofty human principles and his determination to bring them to the service of the American people, is an example we will all do well to ever remember and emulate.

Eugene Dennis was flesh and blood of the American working class. He was born in Seattle, Washington, August 10th, 1904. His

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mother, of Norwegian origin, died in his childhood. His father was Irish, with fighting Fenian ancestors. Gene, who was big for his age, worked in lumber camps at 17, during school vacations. He joined the militant I.W.W., the fighting union of that day, then busy in organizing drives. He learned first of socialism through an uncle, who belonged to the Socialist Labor Party. He read all the books he could find on the subject. When he graduated from High School, he was described as "a crack debater and a generally pleasant person."

On his father's death in 1928, Gene assumed responsibility for supporting the family. He became an electrical worker and joined the A.F. of L. union. Working at two jobs to provide care for his stepmother, who had tuberculosis, he contracted the dread disease. He was never entirely rid of its evil effects for the rest of his life, especially in his throat, which handicapped him as a speaker. The family moved to the Mojave Desert in Southern California. Here he found not only the healing heat of the desert, but the hot blasts of the class struggle, in the turbulent 30's. The thoughtful studious youth was tempered into a fighting man of action, in the depression years. He was arrested innumerable times in free speech fights, in campaigns to organize agricultural and maritime workers, and in unemployed demonstrations. A press description of that day reads: "A striking figure in a

black leather jacket, Dennis jumped to a perilous footing on a lamppost. His first sentence, as a Communist demanding action for the unemployed by the authorities, was all he could say. A half dozen cops seized him, slugged him and dragged him off to jail." Such were the young days of Eugene Dennis. After his arrest on March 6, 1930, he acted as his own attorney in a Los Angeles court room, as he did here years later. By the age of 26, he had earned the hatred of the employing class, which grew over the years. A California congressman named Nixon accused him in 1947 of instigating riots in the 30's. Eugene Dennis replied calmly, "*What was demonstrated for has now become the law of the land.*"

In the late 30's he realized his boyhood dream to visit China and the colonial countries to aid their national liberation. While scrap iron was still going from this country to Japan, Dennis was in China helping to fight Japanese aggression. His travels took him to many countries, including the Soviet Union, the Philippines and South Africa where Gene helped to reconstitute the Communist Party, which was an all-white party at that time. He insisted that it must be based on the native people of the country. Three years later, after Pearl Harbor, Eugene Dennis volunteered to return to then Japanese-occupied Philippines. His knowledge of the place and the people could have been of invaluable

service in the liberation struggle and to the war efforts of the United States. But his patriotic offer in an anti-fascist war was rejected because he was a Communist.

On his return to this country in the 30's, he became Communist party organizer in Wisconsin, from 1935 to 1937. Under his leadership, the party there grew from 450 to more than 1700 members. His exceptional abilities, and broad outlook helped the party to expand its political influence and to strengthen its ties with the labor movement. The many and varied activities of Gene and Peggy Dennis are well remembered in Wisconsin and many requests were made for their return. Eugene Dennis came to New York to become one of the national secretaries of the Communist Party, in charge of its legislative affairs. In 1946 he was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party, on the recommendation of the Chairman, William Z. Foster.

Almost immediately, Eugene Dennis became the special target of the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities. In 1947, he was arrested on a contempt charge, for refusing to testify before it. He challenged its authority and activities as illegal. He was sentenced to a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine. In his statement to the judge, he made his famous declaration: "*My liberty as an individual is, of course, dear to me. But more dear to me is the liberty of the whole American people.*" From

his arrest in 1947 to the day of his death, Eugene Dennis was never again free from legal charges—bail, prison or threat of prison. While the contempt case was on appeal, Eugene Dennis was again arrested in July, 1948 with eleven other national leaders of the Communist Party. They were charged with conspiracy under the notorious thought control Smith Act. He served the year contempt sentence in the House of Detention here in New York, while the appeal in the second case was pending. At his death he was still under indictment on the membership section of the Smith Act. The ferocious attacks on the Communist Party leadership that began in July 1948, continued against others, as the cold war and McCarthyism spread, with the Korean war as a climax. Eugene Dennis hit the nail on the head in his prophetic statement, when the Supreme Court upheld the Smith Act conviction in 1951: "We warn the American people that reaction here, as in Nazi Germany, will not stop with the Communists. Reaction will try to exploit this decision not only to suppress the Communist Party but to smash the trade unions, sharpen the terror against the Negro people and stifle the growing peace movement." How true these words proved to be!

Eugene Dennis served a five year sentence in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, where Eugene V. Debs was once a political prisoner. During our second Smith Act trial, I was

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allowed to visit and consult with him for a whole day. Never will I forget seeing our dear Gene, tall, handsome and smiling, coming proud and erect down the prison corridor!

His book, *Ideas They Cannot Jail*, are his speeches from 1947 to 1951 and his *Prison Letters* give his thought from 1951 to 1955. A profound and clear perspective of struggle for a world without wars, for international friendship, especially between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. shines forth in these books. To him the Soviet Union was not just another country, but the brave vanguard of socialism. His 1951 statement pledged further that, "Come what may the Communist Party will continue its efforts to unite the American people against the monopolies and their political puppets seeking to rush our nation into the disaster of a third world war. Come what may the cause of peace, democracy and social progress will continue to gain supporters and triumph over its enemies." He lived and worked for these goals. He defended them in courts and before witchhunting committees. He spoke and wrote of them to his last hour. They are his legacy to us.

I have spoken of Gene as a fighter in the class struggle for the rights of minorities, for the freedom of colonial people, for peace, for socialism. I revered and admired Gene in all these capacities, especially in the trying years since the war. But I loved him, as did all who had the privilege

of knowing him—as a human being. I knew him as well as I knew my own son. Eugene Dennis was a big man—without malice, bitterness or petty feelings. He was a calm, patient, objective and reasonable man—a real Communist. He was never petty, never carried a grudge, never allowed personal feelings, likes or dislikes, to sway him. To Eugene Dennis *principles came first*; the party *came first*; the welfare and unity of the party, *came first*. The welfare of the American people and the welfare of the workers and people, throughout the world, was ever his concern. To these he was dedicated, with a single-minded devotion. Outwardly he appeared reserved, but he was warmhearted, kind, good humored, affectionate. I have met few men like Eugene Dennis. May I say in all humility, that I have understood Gene far better since I have had the privilege of meeting the great leaders of Communist and Workers' parties from other countries and especially the socialist countries. He was of the same mold. I am glad I had a chance to say this to Gene, the last time I saw him, as well as to tell him a great deal of my trip abroad.

Eugene Dennis had never been really well since his return from prison. For over a year, an inoperable cancer had eaten at his vitals, and he had suffered excruciating pain. But his contributions to our party, in spite of these handicaps, were very great. He helped to save our party from dissolution by the revisionists

on the one hand, and isolation by the dogmatists, on the other. He helped to keep it under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, on the broad path of a correct party line, which was developed further in our 17th Convention, and in our recent peace resolution. Let me say here, without equivocation, that the correct views of the Communist Party, U.S.A. are deeply appreciated by our fraternal parties, who understand and value the role of Eugene Dennis. This is expressed in their messages to us, now on his death.

Our party's loss is very great. We will feel it even more as time passes. We will miss the wise counsel of Eugene Dennis—his balance and judgement. But in accord with his unconquerable spirit, we must close our ranks. With renewed resolve we must carry out the unfinished task to reach our goals of peace and socialism. Gene Dennis will remain, live on in us, in these noble endeavors. He would have it so. Let us

By James E. Jackson

REVERENCE to the memory and eternal honor to the name of Eugene Dennis.

It was in the early evening of Tuesday, January 31, when his strong heart ceased to beat and his great mind ceased to think.

Comrade Eugene Dennis was born "of the seed of the people that sorrow, that have no treasure but hope,"

pledge here to him and to each other the solemn vow, *the fight will go on*. Words fail me to part with Gene, friend, comrade, leader. Let me close with those of an unknown working-class poet. They were addressed to Joe Hill, who said on his day of execution: "*Don't mourn! Organize!*"

You've fought your fight, a long
good night

Is all that we can say.

Sleep on, sleep on, your work is done

Brave fighter for the Day.

Kind Mother Earth who gave you
birth

Receives you to her breast.

For us the Fight, for you the night,

The night of well earned rest,

No more you'll feel the clang of steel.

You've burst the prison bars,

You gave your life in this our strife,

Brave conqueror of stars.

Sleep on, sleep on, your work is done,

Dear Gene, Farewell! Farewell!

* * *

a true son of the working class. His Irish-Norwegian parents lived in Seattle, where he was born on August 10, 1904. Formal schooling ended for Gene after one year at the University of Washington when his father fell ill and he had to become a wage-earner for the family. He worked as a lumberjack, teamster, electrical worker and carpenter. He became very active in the union and organizing struggles of the workers. He

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joined the Communist Party in Seattle in 1926.

During the depression years he helped organize the agricultural, maritime and unemployed workers and led some of their bitter struggles in southern California having moved there in 1928. He was jailed six times in these struggles and beaten by company thugs. In Los Angeles on March 6, 1930, he was a leader of the great demonstration and march of the unemployed, and was again arrested and sentenced to jail.

In 1930, Comrade Dennis went abroad to observe the Marxist and working class movement in other countries. He saw the ravaging crimes of colonialism and racism and actively joined the fight against it. During these years he participated in the early national liberation movements, in South Africa, the Philippines and China.

When he returned home in 1935 he was sent by the National Committee as Party organizer in Wisconsin and other areas of the midwest.

Comrade Eugene Dennis was first elected to the National Committee in 1936, and to the Secretariat of the National Committee in 1938. He functioned in this highest committee of the Party's leadership thereafter.

In 1946 Comrade Dennis was elected General Secretary of the CP, having further distinguished himself in the difficult party crisis produced by the revisionism of Browder and its aftermath.

In 1947 Comrade Dennis was im-

prisoned for one year for challenging the legality of the House Un American Committee and in such a manner as focused the attention of world public opinion on the disfranchised status of the Negro people of the Southern states.

Following the nine months long Foley Square Thought Control and Communist suppression trial, Comrade Dennis and ten other members of the national executive board of the Communist Party were sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. He was released from Atlanta Penitentiary March, 1955.

Before and after the 16th Convention of the Party in 1956, Comrade Dennis as National Secretary led the Party in the defeat of the destructive drive of those who had become enemies of Marxism-Leninism, who sought to dismantle it from within, while warding off the pressure of sterile dogmatism.

In 1959, Comrade Eugene Dennis was elected Chairman of the CPUSA.

Comrade Dennis is the author of many published works. His books — *Ideas They Cannot Jail*, and *Letters from Prison* have been translated in many languages and countries abroad.

The life and works of Comrade Dennis are an inseparable part of all the history, all the hardships, all the successes; the pain and the glory, the failures and the triumphs of the past two decades in the throbbing and momentous life of our party,

our class, our country, and our world. He walked tall and proud through an age of storm and fearful stress, confident and courageous, inspiring and inspired; wise in his judgements, circumspect in his action, selfless in his devotion, unwaveringly loyal to his Party and his class, he carried forward the banner of our cause and the responsibilities of his high calling with honor till the end of his life.

We shall remember our Comrade Gene. And in remembering, straighten our backs when the load weighs especially heavy; sharpen our focus when the way ahead is clouded; lengthen our stride when the pace grows hard.

We shall remember our Gene as we scale the heights along a road made easier by the markers his work and prevision left to us.

Gene Dennis had the soul of a poet and the mind and method of a true scientist. Above all else he will be remembered as a leader of the Communists. His contributions to our theory and practice will continue to serve us well.

It was characteristic of his leadership that, while always guarding "as the apple of the eye" the unity of the Party, while always fostering working class unity, worker-farmer-Negro alliance, and the broadest coalition relationship of the vast majority of the people against the monopolists and war lovers, Comrade Dennis skillfully waged unrelenting struggle both against the re-

formists and against the petty-bourgeois ultra-revolutionaries. He was a creative Marxist-Leninist who taught our leaders in Engels' phrase "to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion" and not to "treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as though it were a credo and not a guide to action."

Comrade Dennis as leader of the American Communists, taught us to always heed Lenin's counsel: "Investigate, study, seek, devise, grasp that which is peculiarly national, specifically national in the *concrete* manner in which each country approached the fulfillment of a *single* international task."

The thought and works of Comrade Eugene Dennis are a precious treasury of golden seeds which it is the sacred trust of our Party to plant deeply and broadly among the masses. They will help bring forth—through multiformed and righteous social action of the working class, Negro people, farmers, youth—a new era to our nation and peace to the world; a new dimension of happiness, liberty, prosperity and brotherhood to the people. They will help bring to pass that condition in our country that Dennis proclaimed when he wrote: "*We see for our country a future free from war; a future without poverty, exploitation, or discrimination.*"

As Lenin wrote of Engels (who also died from cancer), we can say of Dennis: "In this stern fighter and

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His greatest love was the working class and its Party, the Communist Party: that historic vanguard of the working class and that leadership weapon in the cause of the peoples' liberation from calamitous war and all manner of oppression. But in Gene there was, excellently blended, that dedication to, and love of Man-in-mass, with the quality of tender love and personal friendship of comrade to comrade. His family relation with his sons and his wife Peggy is a love poem of the purest line. Peggy has more than shared his labors and struggles and dreams; she also actively participated in them with the greatest dedication and loyalty.

Before being sentenced with his colleagues at the Communist Suppression trial in Foley Square, Gene Dennis spoke these words—"We Communists face the future with confidence in our Party, our class, our people, our country . . . we will continue to serve the cause of peace,

democracy and socialism to which we have dedicated our lives . . . that cause will inevitably triumph. For no one can stop the forward march of history. No one can stop the forward march of the people. No one can kill ideas or imprison principles and beliefs."

The passionate alliance of Gene Dennis to the loftiest beliefs; his integrity and adherence to principle, and the power of his ideas will never die. They are a sacred heritage which will ever inspire and light the way to yet glorious advances for our Party, our class, our people and our country.

"For he is the common star
Of all we live in, all we are
In sons and more sons near and far—
Build, O men, keep building!
And let us feel there is no night
Can ever hide the growing light—
The light he saw, the light he spread
And all our sight, though he is
dead—
Build, O men, keep building."

Notes of The Month

By the Editorial Board

I. CAPITALISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Thirty-one years after the historic March 6th demonstrations of the unemployed, in which a million and a quarter demonstrated for jobs and relief throughout our land, we are again confronted with nearly six million jobless and with millions more on part time.

Only yesterday we were assured by the representatives and apologists of the giant trusts that we were now living under a "new capitalism." Some called it "people's capitalism"; others—reformists and the revisionists—spoke of the "welfare state."

In this respect it was no different on the eve of the big crash of 1929 which ushered in the crisis at that time. That crash also was preceded by talk of capitalism having changed and proved Marx wrong. At that time the reformists hailed Henry Ford as the prophet of a "new capitalism," which allegedly had solved the problem of capitalist crisis and mass unemployment.

A significant fact today is that we are in the midst of the *fourth* economic crisis since the war. And as even President Kennedy had to note, the present recession began before

there was full recovery from that of 1958. After each of these post-war recessions the residue of unemployment has been higher than the preceding. More industries have become "sick" industries, and more areas have become "depressed."

As these lines are written, one out of every thirteen workers is unemployed. Millions more work part time with the working week averaging little more than 38 hours, and only 32 hours in the steel industry. For Negro workers the official figure which by all indications is grossly understated, is given as 14.7 per cent of unemployed or twice that among white workers. One out of every six youth between the ages of 14 and 19 in the job market is unemployed.

There are already more than one hundred officially listed depressed areas and a growing number of ghost towns. To such industries of chronic unemployment, as mining and textile have now been added steel, auto, electrical appliances, and others.

It is freely predicted that accelerated automation will throw more millions on the scrap heap, including white-collar workers together with industrial workers, who up to now were the worst hit by such technological changes.

Unemployment and crisis have been with us under both Democratic and Republican Administrations, but it is true that there is some difference in their attitude to this question. The Republicans are more complacent about the economic situation. They do not consider the present unemployment too serious. This is understandable from the viewpoint of the steel barons who can make huge profits even when operating at 50 per cent capacity. The Democrats on the other hand—more dependent on the votes of workers—obviously are more sensitive to pressure from the labor movement and from the unemployed directly.

But in neither case will they admit that it is the capitalist system, the profit system, with its basic contradiction of social production and private appropriation and anarchy in production that is responsible. The Republicans say that the policy of concessions to the workers is responsible for "dislocations" and necessary "adjustments." The word *crisis* is to them unmentionable and even talk of "recession" is resisted as just the kind of talk that will "bring on a recession." Any proposal to deal with this situation is usually attacked by them as interference with the rights of "free enterprise," meaning with the policy of unbridled exploitation of the workers and the mulcting of the people through price fixing and other means by the giant monopolies.

The Democrats, on the other hand, argue that there would be no crisis except for those "unintelligent" monopolists who do not always know what's good for them. Sometimes, some of the hired learned men in this group will also admit to the "heartlessness" and "unconcern for the people," on the part of some sections of the monopolists. But the Democrats tell us that if it were not for these elements, capitalism could have a faster rate of growth than socialism and could be a planned economy, without crisis, without unemployment, and with constant improvement of the people's lot.

But the truth is that crisis and unemployment are inherent in capitalism. Only when capitalism is abolished are crisis and unemployment abolished. This needs no long argumentation. There is no capitalist country anywhere in the world that exists without periodic crisis and unemployment. And in none of the socialist countries, no matter what the stage of development, does there exist a crisis of over-production or unemployment. The basic contradictions of capitalism are insoluble under capitalism. Socialism resolves the contradictions by the abolition of the profit system, the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and the anarchy in production inherent in capitalist production. Hence, only when the working class and its allies are ready

to establish socialism in our country will they abolish forever economic crisis and unemployment.

* * *

Not so long ago we were told by the very monopolists who fought hardest against unemployment insurance and by many of the reformist leaders who once attacked it as "un-American," that our built-in stabilizers were a guarantee against economic crisis. We were also told that no matter what else may be said of our huge spending on armaments, it constituted additional insurance against economic crisis and unemployment. Most Americans by now know that all this is not true.

But there is something that is different today from that of March 1930 that is very important. Up to the big scale crisis of 1929 and the 30's there still existed in the thinking of millions of workers that the plight of the individual was the result of his own misfortune or inadequacy. But in the mass unemployment that hit so many millions, and, sparked by such mass actions as that of March 6, 1930, the working people of the United States made a leap forward in their thinking. Not yet fully conscious or understanding that it was the capitalist system as such which was at fault they nonetheless realized that it was not they as individuals who were responsible for their plight and that not by individual action could they alleviate their conditions. With that flash of

consciousness grew the mass actions, the hunger marches, the sitdowns at city halls and state capitols, the big organized movement of the unemployed and the rank and file movement within the AFL.

It was these struggles, this new consciousness and understanding by the masses, that compelled a recognition of responsibility on the part of local, state and federal governments and the enactment of both unemployment insurance and social insurance generally. It was this new consciousness that also was a major factor in the organization of the unorganized and the victorious strike struggles that brought recognition to the trade unions from the open-shop minded trusts. Out of this development grew a greater unity of employed and unemployed, of Negro and white workers and the recognition by the trade-union movement of its responsibility to other sections of the people, also exploited and oppressed by the monopolies. It was expressed in greater independence in politics and less reliance on the old parties, though still working within them.

This experience, this strength of the labor movement, the gains made in the course of struggle, are factors determining today the perspectives, the character of the struggle of the unemployed and the attitude of the trade unions on economic questions in general and the issue of unemployment in particular. To this must

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be added the influence of the growth of the socialist world system. The workers of our country, despite all the lies fed them about the socialist lands, know that in those countries there is no unemployment and that the standard of living of the people is constantly rising. They are aware that the rate of growth in the socialist lands is many times that in our own country. All this spurs our workers to fight against any deterioration in their position.

The monopolists as always are trying to place the burden of the current recession on the masses. Already they are gathering a coalition of Republicans and Democrats, mostly from the South, to defeat even the mild measures introduced into Congress by the Kennedy Administration. In fact, one can discern in the coalition being shaped similarities to the Liberty League of the thirties directed against the people's demands, and the concessions of the Roosevelt Administration in response to the struggles of the working people.

Thus far the proposals of the Kennedy Administration are very limited; far from making the trusts bear the burden of the crisis, the Administration has come forth with proposals for tax concessions for the big monopolies as an "incentive" for investment.

The AFL-CIO leadership, in response to actions and demands of the unemployed, city and state bod-

ies and some national unions, has come forward with a program much in advance of the Kennedy proposals. But even the program of the labor leadership is far from adequate. First, insufficient emphasis is being given to the need for a shorter work week without reduction of pay. The cold war policies of the dominant leadership around Meany is also a barrier to a more consistent program and policy of struggle for the needs of the workers, both employed and unemployed. Nor is there sufficient recognition of the outrageous discrimination against the Negro workers resulting in the terrible situation as regards employment. And the labor leadership has as yet adopted no clear policy of organizing the unemployed, assuring their full status as union members and their full rights in the life of the union.

The Communist Party, which in the 1930's spark-plugged the great struggles of and for the unemployed, is today again providing the needed leadership in this struggle. In a statement that is being distributed to tens of thousands in all the main industrial centers, the Communist Party calls upon the working people to fight for the following program:

The government and Big Business must assume responsibility for Work or Wages and the Right To a Job. Toward that end we propose:

1. A large scale government *works projects program at union wages.*

We need *now* a program to build low cost houses, schools, hospitals, roads, playgrounds, parks, flood control, scientific laboratories to fight cancer and other diseases. Also we need large scale federal aid to education, and long-term low interest loans for purchase of houses by moderate income families.

2. A 30-hour week with 40-hours pay through negotiations with employers and by action in Congress. Funds to provide for earlier retirement, retraining and severance pay, are essential but not as a substitute for shorter hours.

3. More trade with the Socialist countries—the Soviet Union, China and other lands.

4. Federal Unemployment Insurance for *all* workers, standard for all states, for at least two-thirds of the wages for the entire period of unemployment.

5. An end *now* to all discrimination. A Federal Fair Employment Practices Act, to ban job discrimination because of race or nationality. Strict enforcement of all existing state anti-discrimination laws.

6. Raise minimum wages to \$1.25 immediately.

7. *Taxation*: Make the big corporations pay. Reduce taxes of low and middle incomes. Raise personal exemptions. Higher estate and gift taxes. Close tax loopholes. Oppose proposed tax "incentives" to corporations; they would only be a giveaway.

Eliminate the withholding tax.

8. Restrictions on removal of plants to low wage areas in the U.S. or in foreign lands. Tax all profits of foreign plants operated by American corporations.

9. Enactment of a single, integrated federal system of social security guaranteeing all Americans cradle-to-grave security against all hazards of illness, disability, work injuries, unemployment, and old age.

Adequate medical care for the aged, financed through social security, along the lines of the Forand Bill.

10. Federal funds to depressed areas for adequate unemployment benefits, relief, training and relocation allowances.

II. THE MURDER OF LUMUMBA

The brutal murders of Premier Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito climaxed one of the most shameful episodes in the efforts of a dying colonialism to prolong its parasitic existence. The details are shrouded in mystery and the Tshombe gang in Katanga has belligerently announced that it intends to keep them that way. But this only strengthens the almost universal conviction that these were deliberate, premeditated murders for which the alleged "escape" was but a cloak. And this is further confirmed by the subsequent

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discovery of the killing of six other members of the Lumumba government.

Contrary to the picture painted by the spokesmen of imperialism, the conflict in the Congo is no struggle between rival factions, hostile tribes or "pro-Communist" and "anti-Communist" leaders. It is a struggle of the Congolese people for the realization of their freedom, of which the Belgian colonialists and their accomplices are striving to deprive them. It was Lumumba, as the recognized leader of the Congolese people and the symbol of their aspirations, who blocked the path of the imperialists and their tools, and for this he was killed. Whoever may have wielded the actual murder weapons, these are the real assassins.

None of those who opposed Lumumba can make the slightest pretense of speaking for the Congolese people. Moise Tshombe appeared on the scene at the very outset as an undisguised puppet of the Belgians, financed with Belgian money and supported by Belgian arms. His task was, in outright defiance of the legal government of the Congo, to split off the fabulously rich Katanga province and preserve it for Belgian exploitation. The pro-imperialist roles of President Kasavubu and his hatchet-man General Mobutu are scarcely less evident. Says Dana Adams Schmidt in the *New York Times* (February 19, 1961):

Among the recurrent thoughts expressed by Democratic visitors to Africa during the first months after the election were these: that President Kasavubu and General Mobutu exercised little leadership and were widely reported to be agents of the United States; that Mr. Lumumba had become a symbol of African independence in the Congo and throughout the continent, and that his importance and that of his movement must not be underestimated. . . .

In opposition to Lumumba's stand for a strong centralized government, Kasavubu called for a federated Congo—a thinly-concealed device for giving the Tshombes a free hand. It was in pursuit of such objectives that he illegally "dismissed" Lumumba as premier, dissolved Parliament and instituted military rule under Mobutu. This usurpation of power was followed by the equally illegal arrest of Lumumba. But this led to a wave of angry protest from all parts of the world, and Lumumba only grew all the more in stature. Hence the desperate decision to do away with him.

What made the whole outrageous business possible, however, was the disgraceful role of the UN forces in the Congo, under the direction of Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold. Here, too, it is worth recalling some salient facts. First, it was the Lumumba government that asked the UN to intervene, in order to help remove the Belgian troops which had reinvaded the country and to es-

establish the sovereignty of the duly constituted Congolese government. Second, the UN mandate called upon Hammarskjold, in consultation with the Lumumba government, to provide that government with whatever military assistance it needed.

But Hammarskjold, from the very outset, proceeded to follow a course directly contrary to this. He declared a policy of "neutrality" between the government and those who sought to overthrow it. Under the guise of this spurious "neutrality," he placated the Tshombe government, dealt with it on its own terms and excluded Lumumba from Katanga. He similarly countenanced and supported the illegal actions of Kasavubu and Mobutu. At the same time, he failed even to consult with Lumumba.

These actions opened the gates to the return of the Belgians in force, with Belgian troops and arms pouring in growing numbers into Katanga. Along with this, Tshombe has proceeded to build an army of foreign mercenaries. "It's already quite an army," writes Joseph Barry in the *New York Post* (February 19, 1961), "composed of Belgian, German and French professionals skilled in the art of dirty fighting and known to the local populace as The Ugly Ones." Backed by these forces, Tshombe now defies the UN more vociferously than ever. Meanwhile, plans are being hatched for an assault, jointly with the Kasavubu

forces, against the Lumumba government, now headed by Vice Premier Antoine Gizenga.

Thus did Hammarskjold violate the mandate of the UN Security Council, persisting in this course despite repeated protests in the UN by Lumumba, as well as by the Soviet Union and other countries. The fruits of his conduct are summed up by Toussaint in *The African Communist* ("The United Nations: Illusion and Reality," January, 1961) in these words:

The UN force in the Congo has *not* provided the government with such assistance as the government deemed necessary; it has *not* enabled the national security forces to meet their task fully. It has in fact presided over the dismemberment of the centralized Congo state, and acted as midwife of its fragmentation into a series of puppet states. It has lent its benevolent indifference to the destruction of parliamentary government, and to the usurpation of military power by a military dictator.

In this, Hammarskjold has not acted on his own, but as the faithful servant of the imperialist powers in the UN—above all the dominant power, U.S. imperialism, which has fully supported him at every turn. It is the ruling circles in this country who bear the main responsibility for perverting the UN and making it an instrument of neo-colonialism and the preservation of imperialist control in the Congo.

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What is really at stake in the Congo is evident from the following cheerful comment in *U.S. News and World Report* (February 20, 1961):

There is one Congo success story, however. In Elizabethville . . . Mines of Katanga, richest part of the Congo, had a banner year in 1960. Copper production hit an all-time high of 330,000 tons—75 per cent of world output. The mines, employing 20,000 Congolese, lost only five working days.

Taxes totaling more than 50 million dollars were paid to the break-away Government of Katanga. Something over 12 million dollars in profits has been put aside for the Congo's central government—when and if there is one.

In short, the Belgian exploitation has continued unabated, with due bribery of the local puppet government. Here lies the basic issue: whether the wealth of the Congo is to belong to the Congolese people or to the colonialist exploiters, to be taken out of the country in the form of enormous superprofits. Here lies the purpose of the whole despicable game of the Belgian aggressors and their partners in crime.

Of course, U.S. imperialism is playing its own game. Its aim is to restore imperialist control in the name of the UN, in order to replace Belgium as the dominant power in the Congo and to achieve greater economic penetration by American monopoly capital. Hence its immediate recognition of the Kasavubu

government after Lumumba's "dismissal" and the seating of Kasavubu as a UN delegate in Lumumba's place.

Now, in the face of world-wide wrath at the murder of Lumumba and other members of his government, they propose to continue the same reprehensible game. They propose to "investigate" the crimes for which they themselves are responsible. In the name of preventing anarchy and civil war in the Congo, and of making it possible for the Congolese people to solve their own problems, both Kennedy and Stevenson have taken the lead in insisting on retention of the UN troops in the Congo, on the basis of the same false "neutrality" as before. And Kennedy himself has stated emphatically that the United States recognizes the Kasavubu government "as the only legal government entitled to speak for the Congo as a whole," and that he considers the "broadening" of this government as the only legitimate subject of discussion.

Thus, the aim of American policy remains the institution in the Congo of a semi-colonial status under U.S. control. And toward this end the intention is to inflict on the Congolese people puppet governments of Kasavubus and Tshombes, and to destroy by force, if need be, that government, headed by Gizenga, which alone represents the true interests of the people.

It is this game to which the Soviet Union is so vehemently opposed, and with full justification. For if the Congolese people are truly to be left free to settle their own problems, this can today be made possible only by removing Hammarskjold from the scene and giving full support to the Gizenga government. It can be made possible only through the sternest action against the Belgian aggressors and their mercenaries, who must be driven out of the Congo, as well as by the disarming and arrest of their instruments—Kasavubu and Tshombe and their ilk.

This is what the Soviet proposals in the Security Council were designed to accomplish, and despite their rejection it is only through such measures that genuine independence for the Congo can be achieved. The problem cannot be resolved by keeping the UN troops there and empowering them to use force, as the resolution adopted by the Security Council does, for without a drastic change in policy this will only help to encompass the destruction of the Gizenga regime and the entrenchment of puppet governments.

The United States and its supporters in the UN self-righteously charge the Soviet Union with seeking the UN's destruction. But it is those who have acted to convert it into an instrument of imperialism who are wrecking it as an instrument for world peace. President Kennedy takes a tough attitude to the Soviet

offer of aid and support to the Gizenga government, threatening military action if necessary, and American warships are now gathered off the African coast. But the fact remains that the Soviet Union is only offering to do *what the UN should have done in the first place in response to Lumumba's appeal.*

If the colonialists hoped that the struggle of the Congolese people for their freedom would be quelled by the assassination of their leaders, they are doomed to disappointment. They are now reaping the whirlwind. Chaos and confusion in the Congo have been multiplied, with the added complications of sharpening U.S.-Belgian rivalries. The danger of war has been heightened. But meanwhile the forces which gave birth to the struggle for national liberation continue to operate. New leaders will appear to give expression to it, and its support will grow. The Congolese people have made it clear that they do not intend to put up any longer with colonial oppression, and in the end no puppet governments of imperialism will survive their wrath.

Moreover, the murders have served only to increase the support from abroad. Not only the socialist states but a growing number of other countries have recognized the Gizenga government. The world-wide demonstrations against the murders, and other expressions of shock, anger and revulsion, are clear signs of a growing tide of opposition to colonial-

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ism in the Congo. The reactions of the UAR, Ghana, Guinea and other African countries, which withdrew their troops from the UN Congo force in protest and which now recognize the Gizenga regime, are especially noteworthy. And of no small significance is the strong reaction of the Negro people in this country, who directly associate the liberation struggles of the African peoples with their own.

The present role of the United States in the Congo is one designed to advance the interests of the Rockefellers, the Morgans and other top financial groups in this country. But such gains can be sought by imperialism today only at great cost, and that cost is borne by the American people. It is they who pay, in mountainous taxes and high prices, for such imperialist adventures and for

the vast military budgets which sustain them. And it is they who will suffer most in the event of war. Furthermore, the drive of American ruling circles to undermine and beat down the struggles for national liberation in the Congo and elsewhere contribute greatly to the aggravation of international tensions and create a serious obstacle to the advancement of negotiations for peace and disarmament.

The interests of the American people, therefore, coincide not with those of Wall Street but with those of the Congolese people. They call for the scrapping of the present policy of the Kennedy Administration in the Congo and for its replacement by a policy of full support to the forces of national freedom—forces which no amount of terror and assassination will deter.

Our April issue will include articles by James E. Jackson on "The Deepening General Crisis of Capitalism"; A. Krchmarek on "The Rank and File Movement in the Steel Union"; W. Weinstone on "Lenin and the Anti-Monopoly Coalition."—The Editor.

The Struggle for Peaceful Co-Existence and Party Mass Ties

By Robert C. Thompson

We know that our readers will be most happy to find back in the pages of this magazine a contribution by Robert C. Thompson, veteran of the Lincoln Brigade, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross in World War II, formerly Chairman of the New York State Communist Party, and recently-released Smith-Act prisoner. Bob Thompson remains on what is called "conditional release" since the Government chooses to consider him a "convicted criminal." Hitherto the Government has insisted that Smith Act prisoners on conditional release were forbidden any association with Communists—on the grounds that such association continued "criminal contacts." Bob Thompson, however, has succeeded in achieving a partial break-through here, since the Government has not forbidden his submitting the article published below to this magazine. The Government official in withdrawing the prohibition did comment that "neither the U.S. Board of Parole nor the Department of Justice approves its text." We take this to be an added recommendation and so proudly bring Comrade Thompson's thoughts to our readers.—*The Editor.*

AFTER MORE THAN a decade of cold war hysteria, Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Bills, loyalty oaths, mass Communist trials and industry blacklists, it is a generally accepted public fact that the reactionary ruling class wants to destroy the C.P.-U.S.A. Certainly every member of the Communist Party is deeply aware of this truth.

What is not always so fully recognized is that every repressive measure of the ruling class has as its central objective the isolation of the Party from the masses, the severing of its ties with popular movements, and above all its ties with the organized labor movement.

There is of course an integral con-

nection between the mass ties of a Party and its legal status and rights. The fuller its legal status the more favorable are conditions for developing and expanding its connection with masses. The broader and deeper its ties with popular mass movements, the greater are its opportunities for preserving and expanding its legal rights and status.

Yet along with this integral connection there is a vital distinction to be drawn between the question of a Party's legal rights and its mass ties. They are by no means one and the same thing. A Communist Party can live and play an important role in working-class affairs even though its legal status be drastically curtailed

or even obliterated. No matter what its legal status, no Party can live, save in name only, if its ties and roots in the working class and people's democratic movement are severed.

The present membership of our Party has been steeled in the struggle to preserve and protect our Party both from State persecution and other ruling-class attacks, as well as from revisionist and dogmatist efforts to liquidate it from within. It is imbued with a fervent desire to protect and build our Party. All too often, however, this healthy desire is frustrated, sometimes even to the point of empty phrase-mongering, because the cardinal condition for waging an effective struggle for the Party in this period is inadequately understood.

Today—following the 17th national convention of our Party—which consolidated victories over both revisionist and dogmatist trends—no one can effectively struggle for our Party without fighting to overcome our Party's relative isolation from broad democratic movements of the day and above all from the decisive sectors of organized labor. This requires that in daily work the most painstaking attention be given to the problems of mass work, to the problems of Communist activity in the unions of basic industry, to the problems of relations between the Party and its individual members and the burgeoning Negro people's movement, the poor farmers, etc.

He who shouts "I am for the Party" and fails in practice to devote himself to these most vital questions of the day places himself in the position of being a wind-bag, an empty phrase-monger. Our Party needs windbags today like it needs a hole in the head.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN RELATION TO PARTY MASS TIES

For the past decade peaceful coexistence of the capitalist and socialist worlds or a third world war has been the dominant question on the American scene. The ramifications of this question have entered in a most pervasive way every aspect of the daily lives of every American family, every important strike and major social struggle.

The policy of cold war imperialist provocations and of active preparation for a third world war is a product in the first place of U.S. monopoly capital. It fears the prospect and outcome of a struggle under conditions of peaceful coexistence against the buoyant growing system of socialist states. In its most extreme forms this fear assumes the proportions of a willingness to turn their own inevitable social demise into the destruction of all humanity in the holocaust of an atomic war.

The cold war policy of monopoly capital is not just a foreign policy.

It is equally a domestic policy. It is a means of strengthening the control of monopoly capital over the life of the country. It is the avenue of militarization of the economy under conditions of state monopoly capitalism, of the direct subordination of the state to war industry monopolies. Demands for higher wages and better working conditions are branded as "undermining national security" and denounced as harmful to "national unity." Exposure of racial discrimination and social injustice is heralded as "aiding the enemy."

On the other hand, reaction cannot ignore the growing power, the political and moral strength, of the socialist and general democratic camp. It cannot intervene with the same freedom against the Cuban revolution as it did against Guatemala. It finds it increasingly difficult to openly attempt to break such strikes as those of the steel and railroad workers. It is forced to retreat in the face of sit-in demonstrations against racial segregation in the deep South.

Every easing of war tensions deprives the reactionary monopoly capital circles of our country of the main card with which they justify attacks on the living standards and democratic rights of the people—the cry of "danger from abroad."

The question of a peaceful coexistence policy or of a cold war policy has for the past decade thus become increasingly a question of the concrete conditions in which the work-

ing masses of our country wage their struggles for better conditions and more democratic rights. While still inadequately articulated in political and social struggles, no other question has such an all pervasive meaning in their daily lives.

Since 1948, the central thread running through the struggle of our Party for a correct general line of policy has been the fight for a correct concept of the struggle for coexistence and a realistic application of this concept to the arena of American class struggle. This fact is a great reservoir of Party strength. No matter how bad the factionalism and crass the deviations from correct policy, the central concern of our Party has been also the central problem of the American working class. More than anything else this has served to prevent our Party from degenerating into a narrow sect such as the Socialist Labor or Socialist Workers Parties.

In approaching the question of coexistence we should keep in mind the fact that the struggle of our Party to block and break through isolation is first and foremost a struggle for a correct general political line. Under the difficult conditions imposed by the cold war activities of the ruling class in America, this requires above all the unity between firm adherence to principles (Marxist-Leninist theory) and close links with the masses (flexible Communist tactics and practice).

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Initially, by its very nature, the edge of the struggle for a correct co-existence line had to be directed against rigid dogmatist concepts. What was required was a fresh appraisal of the new relationship of world forces growing out of World War II: a realistic estimate of the meaning of the emergence of the USSR as a foremost industrial nation, the breaking away of China from the colonialist to the socialist world, the emergence of a system of socialist states ranged against the system of imperialist states, the new power of popular and democratic movements within capitalist and colonial countries in this changed setting. (See Foster's *Twilight of World Capitalism*; Deposition on Behalf of Indicted Communist Leaders; 1949 Trial Testimony, etc.)

During this early period (1948 through 1953), many Communist leaders, who later embraced extreme revisionist views, resisted every advance of Marxist-Leninist thought (Bittelman, Gates, Stein, Fine, etc.) The essence of the position of these then champions of doctrinairism was an insistence on identifying the existence of the class struggle with the inevitability of war between the capitalist and socialist worlds, a refusal to recognize the new vistas of class struggle opened up by the changed relationship of class forces on a world scale.

There can be no doubt that this heavy resistance in leading Party

circles to the unfolding of a correct general line of policy on the paramount question of peaceful coexistence was the root source of many costly sectarian errors on the part of our Party during this period. It promoted the abandonment of areas of Party legality without struggle. It fostered moods of desperation and adventurism in the Party's trade-union work resulting in premature head-on-clashes of Left elements with the dominant labor officialdom on such issues as a break with the two-Party system. It promoted a general Party posture of declaiming to, rather than working with, the mass movement. A great deal of harm to the mass ties of the Party resulted from this resistance to the development of a correct general line of policy on the cardinal question of peaceful coexistence.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU was a political event of exceptional importance for the world working-class movement and for our Party. Its boldness and great depth and clarity gave our Party, as it did Communists of all lands, a fresh understanding of the new world relationship of forces from which theoretical conclusions of major import were drawn. In particular, its theoretical conclusions on the non-inevitability of a third world war and the possibility of transition to socialism without civil war under certain circumstances in a number of countries, represented in the American Com-

unist movement the most decisive of blows against rigid and doctrinaire trends of thought serving as brakes on our Party's developing a fully effective mass policy. The full beneficent effect of this great event on the general political line and mass work and ties of our Party was delayed for several years by the fact that coincident in time with the 20th Congress there arose to partial political dominance in our Party a powerful revisionist trend.

Revisionism as a political trend in the CPUSA had at its heart from its very inception a distorted concept of the era of struggle for peaceful coexistence. Running as the central thread through all revisionist thought and writings beginning with 1954 (Starobin, Clark, Bittelman, Gates, Stein, Fine, etc.) was an identification of coexistence with an era of social peace and an ebbing of class struggle. The camp of Socialism began to be equated with the camp of imperialism as a source of war danger. Criticism of some aspects of the role of Stalin during his last years was transformed into vicious slanders of socialist democracy and state structure. Totally wrong concepts of the main trade-union officialdom as a force developing a uniquely American path of transforming social life along socialist lines were infused into Party trade-union activities. The door was opened wide to the penetration of white chauvinist concepts and atti-

tudes in Party ranks. The field of youth work was abandoned to bourgeois-led youth groups.

This period of partial revisionist dominance of Party affairs had catastrophic consequences for the mass ties and influence of the Party. Many thousands of members under the influence of this ideological trend left the ranks of the Party in an illusory search for a "broader" vehicle and media of social progress. An even greater number were demoralized and discouraged and dropped away. Party prestige in working-class circles reached its lowest ebb.

From the outset this powerful revisionist trend in the Party met with resistance both from within leadership circles and on the part of the membership. This resistance, while for the most part ranged in common against the revisionists, was itself composed of conflicting trends. Included within it during an early phase of the internal struggle was a body of factionally-minded ultra-Left adventurists and dogmatists (Lannon, Haywood, Roman, Angel, Dougher, etc.) the most extreme of whom were later in 1957 to break with the Party and form the Provisional Organizing Committee. Despite many inadequacies, the main body of resistance to the revisionist trends followed a generally correct line on the central question of the struggle for peaceful coexistence and was able to block the full dominance

of revisionist activities. Provisional Organizing Committee was defeated from membership (Provisional Organizing Committee) leading Party and the struggle for a correction. The Provisional Organizing Committee of unique Party history at the time of the simple of another example. Re-complex sent a most specific American tant, however, resented Party sound, general peaceful and vitality within our movement had been or another. This modification coexist

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND PARTY MASS TIES

17th National Convention of the CPUSA.

THE 17th NATIONAL CONVENTION

The historic significance of the 17th National Convention of our Party lies in the fact that it symbolizes, after more than ten years of ramified and vigorous efforts, the defeat of the ruling class objective of destroying the CPUSA.

It demonstrated that our Party, despite all persecution, has retained an important area of legal status. It bespoke the fact that despite intensive cold war hysteria and severe losses, our Party retains many vital and live roots in the working class and democratic movements. Above all, by successfully defending and developing a correct general line of policy—in the first place on the central question of the struggle for peaceful coexistence—it preserved for our Party a powerful potential for becoming a vitally influential factor in the working-class movement of our country.

Within the multiplicity of problems faced by our Party at the time of its 17th National Convention, there were three tasks of an overall character:

The first of these was to consolidate firm victory over both revisionist and dogmatist liquidationist trends. This meant in the first place the establishing of a correct general

of revisionism in Party ranks and activities. At its February 1958 National Committee meeting, the revisionists were dealt a decisive political defeat and their forces removed from main political posts of leadership (Press, Party Org., Trade Union work, etc.). The thesis of the November 1957 statement of the 12 leading Parties of the Socialist world and the 64 Party Peace Manifesto played an important role in the struggle within the American Party for a correct line.

The February 1959 meeting of our National Committee holds a place of unique importance in recent Party history. It was not, as some were at the time inclined to believe, a simple victory of one group over another in an internal Party struggle. Reality was somewhat more complex than that. It did represent a decisive defeat for the foremost spokesmen of revisionism in the American Party. Equally important, however, is the fact that it represented the beginning of a new Party unity around an essentially sound, though as yet undeveloped general political line of struggle for peaceful coexistence. Included in, and vitally important to this new unity were individuals who at various moments in the internal struggle had been associated to one degree or another with all different trends. This meeting laid the essential foundation for the new unity and firm coexistence line developed by the

political line of mass policy on the central question of peaceful coexistence and the application of this concept to American conditions of class struggle. It was on this front that the Convention scored its greatest and most decisive advance. This involved sharp struggle in the pre-Convention period and at the Convention itself. It was necessary to rebuff and overcome doctrinaire views that sought to minimize or ignore the great import of the Khrushchev good will tour and the historic long-term consequences for this epoch of the rapid change in world relationships in favor of socialist, peace and general democratic forces. At the same time there was a recrudescence of Rightist views seeking to read into these new features of the international and national situation an illusory meaning that would emasculate the class struggle. Ideas were projected that the fight against World War III was already decided in favor of the camp of peace and that the danger of major imperialist aggression had subsided, that an important sector of monopoly capital had already determined on a course of peaceful coexistence and that therefore a drastic modification of our Party's policy of anti-monopoly coalition was called for, that the time had arrived for the Party to call for a national peace front inclusive of monopoly capital, etc.

In its main resolutions and the

central policy speech of Comrade Gus Hall, these Right and Left deviations were firmly rebuffed. A thoroughly sound general line of policy on the cardinal question of the struggle for peaceful coexistence was firmly established. This represents the great significance of the 17th National Convention of the Party and the reason why it holds the promise of marking a historic milestone in the Party's advance towards becoming a force of mass influence on the American scene.

The second over-all task confronting the Party at its 17th National Convention was the elaboration of a generally sound and adequate body of policy and tactics for all main fields of Party activity (Trade Union, Negro, Youth, electoral) on the basis of the sound political line adopted. It must be said that the Convention registered only small, although not insignificant, advance on this front. Nor in the year that has passed since this Convention has there been marked and vigorous progress. At the present stage in the re-building of our Party this task assumes exceptional urgency and importance.

The third over-all task consisted of constituting a leadership and adopting a style of work expressive of a new unity and morale in Party ranks, a leadership and style of work which would adequately implement the Party's mass line under new prevailing conditions. Here again, the pic-

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ture is one of certain significant beginnings and of large inadequacies. There is no doubt but that under the conditions established by the 17th National Convention, and around the new General Secretary of the Party, Gus Hall, a genuine collective leadership is slowly taking shape in the National Party and in most districts. This is a development of great importance and promise. Yet at the same time it must be noted that on a number of questions of great urgency it can scarcely be said that a beginning has been made. These include: a serious refreshing of Party activity with younger cadre having current mass ties, a streamlining of cumbersome Party leading organs in accordance with the real strength of the Party and its current conditions of work, the adoption of a fresh efficient style of work consistent with an ending of internal factional strife and a centering of Party attention on problems of mass work.

THE PRESENT RELATIVE ISOLATION OF THE PARTY

Our Party must frankly and openly take note of the fact that in the last decade it has suffered considerable isolation from the masses, from the general democratic movements of the period, from the developing and increasingly militant Negro people's struggles, from the widespread stirrings and movements of the

youth, and above all from militant trends and struggles of decisive sectors of organized labor. It must not only take note of this fact but react to it with a sense of deep concern and urgency.

The Democratic Party victory in the November 1960 elections makes even more over-riding the necessity for a rapid strengthening of the Party's ties with the masses. Unquestionably this development opens up greater possibilities for labor and other democratic forces to exert larger influence in national affairs. It opens up the perspective of broader and sharper class struggles.

Possibilities are one thing and their realization another. Broader and sharper class struggles to secure working class and people's demands and greater labor-democratic influence in our country's life will not happen spontaneously. It will not take place over night or in a straight line. In the first place the Democratic Party and the ruling class in general will continue to employ a combination of attacks on and concessions to the working masses as a fundamental method of rule. It will maneuver and use demagoguery probably to a greater degree than was possible for the Eisenhower Administration. The reformist leadership of organized labor and of other broad people's movements will not easily reverse their class collaboration role and policies. In the last analysis what will be decisive in the

coming four years is the role of our Party as a foremost force stimulating, organizing and influencing the development of mass united front struggles, in the first place from below, on the key issues confronting the working class and other democratic sections of the American people.

If our Party is to play this role it must have, in addition to its sound general political line, above all—close links with the masses. It must be able, in Lenin's words, to "link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and, to a certain degree if you will, merge itself with the broadest masses." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 61).

It is fatal to rely upon spontaneity to develop a broad united labor and people's movement. It is equally fatal to rely upon spontaneity to break our Party's isolation from the masses.

There is a certain mood of complacency in Party ranks with respect to its present relative isolation. This takes the form of an assumption that objective conditions are becoming ever more favorable both in the world and country and that in due time masses will on their own come to see the Party in its true light. This is a most dangerous and harmful fallacy. In the first place, no matter how favorable the objective conditions, masses will never come to the Communist Party on their own and spontaneously. In the second place, objective conditions will never be-

come really favorable without the conscious, active intervention and influence of the Communist Party in shaping contemporary events. The only path by which our Party can overcome its relative isolation is the hard path of tenaciously finding the way to daily establish and re-establish anew, and on an ever-widening scale, close ties with democratic and militant trends among the masses.

There is another side to this coin of self-isolation. It consists of a lack of perspective of Communist activity in reformist local unions and organizations of the people. This sometimes leads to moods of futility in which such activity in practice is not regarded as worth the painstaking careful attention it requires. These moods are most damaging when they apply to work in the unions of basic industry. Often such moods arise from a one-sided view of Right-led unions which tends to see only the class collaboration policies of the leadership. The basic class nature of these unions is not seen sufficiently. They are not deeply appreciated as being first and foremost the vehicles of the working class, the most elementary and basic mass organizations of this class. No matter how Right-wing the leadership, they remain the basic means by which the working class defends itself on the economic front from the attacks of capital. Such one-sidedness in approach inevitably leads to

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sectarian moods of self isolation and to a lack of perspective in Communist activity.

OVERCOME THE VESTIGES OF FACTIONALISM

Factionalism in Party affairs is the hand servant of Party isolation. No single other phenomenon so renders a Party impotent to protect and expand its mass ties.

Factionalism is not a simple matter of caucuses outside of regular leadership channels and organs. There are also such things as political platforms built and criticism developed on the basis of personal opportunism, devoid of principle. There are attitudes of holding aloof from Party policy and leadership and the fostering of a position of neutrality towards, and even permanent hostility towards, that policy and leadership. There are such matters as careerism where the desires of individuals are placed above the needs of the Party.

The hard and splendid fact about our Party following the 17th National Convention is that there no longer remains any principled basis for factional grouping and attitudes. Every vestige of such attitudes and groupings tends today to become purely unprincipled and unadulterated personal opportunism. It must be wiped out in toto if Party mass work is to thrive.

A harsh Party struggle against

vestiges of factionalism places a heavy responsibility particularly on leadership with respect to the fostering of a favorable atmosphere for genuine criticism from below and self-criticism. Generally in our Party today there is a minimum of attention to criticism from below and of genuine self-critical evaluation of work and policies. The rapid overcoming of this is a condition for the full wiping out of factional attitudes and practices.

There is today a feeble attempt to establish a theoretical basis for continued factional disruption and disorientation of the Party. It consists of a perverted application of the theory of political centrism to the conditions of our American Party. According to this line of reasoning, the 17th National Convention of our Party constituted a victory over outright revisionist forces and policies. It did not, however, replace these forces and policies with a "true" Left leadership and program. "The centrists took over." This is a rank parody of the truth. It is a denial of the truth that the correct main line of the 17th Convention was forged out of a two-front struggle—a struggle against both Right and Left deviations—and that this two-front struggle is the prime condition for maintaining and developing further a correct Party mass political line. No greater disaster could befall our Party than to give credence to this half-baked "thesis."

this aspect of our vanguard role, our Party is not motivated by the simple desire to place its members in positions from which they can sell Party literature or recruit new members. It is motivated primarily by the consideration of helping to achieve victories in those economic, political and ideological struggles which advance the class interests of the American working class. Individual Communists in their participation in such struggles must be guided first and foremost by the consideration of achieving the success of such struggles, and must have an advanced concept of the strategy and tactics necessary for such successes. This is the main avenue through which the prestige of our Party will be enhanced and its mass ties and influence extended.

Clearly what is necessary here is to avoid in any way the counterposing of such essential features of Party life as its public role, activity, and press building with its main function on the American scene—that is, its participation as an advanced force in the mainstream of contemporary economic, political and ideological struggles. That which is vitally needed is a proper correlation of these difficult aspects of the Party's vanguard role.

**TWO-FRONT STRUGGLE
AGAINST BOTH RIGHT AND
LEFT DEVIATIONS IS PRIME
REQUISITE OF CORRECT
MASS LINE**

The struggle against Right and Left deviations from a correct mass policy is not a transitory feature of the life of our Party. Both tendencies have deep roots in the objective conditions of the class struggle in our country. Both tendencies will constantly arise anew and in fresh forms as the struggle progresses.

Which tendency constitutes the main danger? That question depends entirely on the concrete circumstances of a given situation. Generally in the life of our Party it has proven to be that tendency, whether Right or Left, that the Party for a period of time ceases to struggle resolutely against. Party isolation from the masses results no less from one than the other.

To the extent that careerism and factionalism appear in the Party, Right and Left tendencies become blurred and tend to intertwine. Opportunism determines the particular character of the view presented or criticism made and it may be "Left" or "Right," depending on the particular circumstances of the moment.

At this moment in the life of our Party the development of a general type of discussion on which constitutes the main danger—Right or Left deviations—is an exercise in futility. Both exist in manifold forms and will continue to exist in the years to come. Both must be struggled against in the concrete forms and conditions in which they appear. The particular deviation which most

probably will appear at some time in the future as the main danger will in all likelihood be that deviation which today we let down our guard against. This is the reality of our Party situation today.

FOR A PARTY CONCENTRATION POLICY

The 17th National Convention set the stage for the development of an intensive and long term policy of concentration on the central sectors of the basic industrial working class. It equipped our Party with a correct general political line which is the prime prerequisite for such a concentration policy. It stopped short, however, of giving our Party this firm orientation in life. Few other questions have such central importance for the long range future of our Party on the American scene.

A concentration policy by its very nature requires a program and an orientation that covers a span of years. It requires the conscious, persistent and careful channeling of all major Party activities in specific directions. It requires a long-term approach to cadre and great attention to the development and protection of forces. Such a concentration program is the hub around which

all Party life and activity should turn.

Our Party has the necessary rich background and great backlog of experience in this field of concentration. It will not have to start from scratch in the development of such a program. What is necessary is to place this question squarely in the center of all Party thought and planning.

* * *

At the time of the 17th National Convention of our Party I was separated from the scene by the 30-ft. high walls of a federal prison. As a person just returned to the active arena of working-class struggle in our country, I wish to express to all members of our Party my profound gratification over the outcome of this Convention. Under very difficult circumstances and in full measure it lived up to the historic responsibility with which it was confronted.

Peaceful Coexistence or Atomic War. This is the great question before our nation as it is before the world. The 17th National Convention placed our Party firmly on the road of fruitful effective struggle to resolve this question on behalf of the survival and prosperity of the American people of which we are so inseparably a part.

By Geo

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Recent Strikes and Their Lessons

By George Morris

THE STRIKES OF THE recent period, notably those since the 1958 recession, have been marked by increased intensity and duration of the struggles. A rising level of militancy was clearly evident among the workers. But the employers, too, have been much more stubborn. Unions encountered greater difficulty in renewal of contracts, unless they agreed to forego appreciable gains. Wage settlements generally provided smaller gains for the workers than in any comparable period since the war. But most serious, especially in the past year, have been the frequent cases where unions lost ground by yielding important concessions to the employers, or lost bargaining rights through the use against them of the Taft-Hartley decertification process.

Notwithstanding the rising militancy among the workers and the upward curve on the strike chart, both in number of walkouts and workers involved since the post-war low point of 1957, the struggles generally were still of a defensive nature. Those struggles still take place within an overall situation marked by a continuing attack on labor pressed mainly by the monopolist corporations. This attack is waged both on the collective bargaining and legislative fronts. During the period under review, the enemies of labor gained a new weapon—the Landrum-Griffin law. That law was a direct product of the Mc-

Clellan Senate Committee hearings on corruption within trade-union ranks. Those hearings were one of reaction's effective weapons for three years to stimulate an attack on labor.

American labor is noted for its historic record of long strikes. But never before were there so many strikes of such long duration as in the recent period. The 116-day strike of 500,000 steel workers was characteristic of the period. The strike of 35,000 copper workers, members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, dragged for 129 days. Another strike of the same union's 2,500 copper workers in Idaho, stretched for seven months. The Wilson Co. strike of 5,500 members of the United Packinghouse Workers continued for 13 weeks. A series of strikes called by the International Association of Machinists and the United Automobile Workers in the aircraft industry through the summer of 1960, affecting directly about 150,000 workers, the first such general strike movement in that field, lasted up to two and three months in most of the struck plants. Some 30,000 Bethlehem Shipbuilding workers, members of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, were out six months until they won a settlement. The 1,900 farm equipment workers of the J. I. Case Co., of Racine, Wisconsin, were out six months before they called off the

struggle. Elevator constructors of New York were out four months.

Also significant were a number of struggles of workers who have not, or seldom, struck in the past. The strike that tied up the entire system of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the largest in the country, for 12 days, was that company's first system-wide strike in 114 years. General Electric's 70,000 workers in 50 plants were out three weeks. That company was affected by a multi-plant strike only once before in its history. The trainmen of the Long Island Railroad were out a month. The strike "fever" even tied up Broadway when Actor's Equity, for the first time since the early twenties, struck for a week. The Screen Actor's Guild tied up Hollywood for a month. More than 4,000 responded to a strike call of one of the New York City unions of public school teachers.

Many of the strikes called forth a widespread solidarity in labor ranks. The steel strike became a focal point for labor unity nationally in 1959. Financial support from various unions totalled more than \$5,000,000. It is noteworthy that throughout the 116 days there wasn't a single instance of strikebreaking or scabbing in the steel strike. The owners were aware of the futility of trying strikebreaking. In many instances comparatively small strikes often became the basis for area-wide solidarity movements. Such, for example, was the strike of just 660 crewmen of tug and ferry boats

owned by the railroad companies in the New York harbor. Their picket lines were respected by many thousands of workers of the railroads and other transit operations that spread along the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Long Island and other railroad lines as far as mid-west points.

NEW THREAT VS. OLD POLICIES

There are, however, some very disturbing warning signs that need the attention and study of the labor movement. *In the recent period there were more broken strikes and loss of ground for unions*, that at any time since World War II. For almost a quarter of a century, since the great labor upsurge of the mid-thirties, it has been practically taken for granted that unions are "here to stay" and would no longer be fighting for their lives. For almost a generation, wage statistics showed some increases with every wage round. True, in certain years the increase did not compensate for the rise of the cost of living. But the general direction was an increase in the nominal pay envelope. That trend, too, has fed a complacency that served to disarm workers in face of the tougher days towards which they were heading.

The leaders of the AFL-CIO and of most of its major affiliates, have been encouraging a feeling of union security and periodically advanced schemes for employer-union collabo-

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ration and "permanent peace." One notable example was George Meany's proposal for a "non-aggression" pact with the National Association of Manufacturers made at the time of the AFL-CIO merger in 1955. On that occasion, Meany even amazed the manufacturers with the information that he personally never took part in a strike or had anything to do with a strike in his entire life. That, however, did not influence the manufacturers much because their thoughts were in the direction of sharpening a general attack on labor. They were looking forward to McClellan Committee hearings in the Senate and its help to build an anti-labor atmosphere in the country.

As is known, Meany tried again in 1959-60 when he sought Eisenhower's intervention for the establishment of a "summit" body of employers and union leaders through whom a policy of collaboration and no-strike techniques could be institutionalized. *That effort crashed against the same rock—the class struggle.* On the one hand the workers were displaying a mood on the picket lines that was hardly compatible with Meany's scheme; on the other hand, the employers sought to keep up their attack on labor.

David J. McDonald, president of the frequently striking steel union, has also advocated a collaboration system with the steel corporations. He calls it "mutual trusteeship." But the realities of the class struggle were far stronger in the steel industry

than McDonald's declarations "abolishing" it. Walter Reuther met the same response as he sought some advance agreements with employers to head off a struggle next summer when contracts in auto expire. The workers are pressing for some basic demands—like the shorter workweek—in face of chronic mass unemployment in the industry; the employers are apparently just as determined to wrest concessions from the workers next August.

Meany, McDonald and Reuther now place their hope in a 21-member labor advisory body composed of seven labor officials, seven corporation executives and seven "public" persons, named by President Kennedy. This presidential advisory body is expected to agree on "broad principles" for settlement of disputes without strikes, to prevent "inflationary" wage increases and to find the answers to the problems growing out of automation. But there is no doubt that the main object before the 21 will be a formula for preventing a struggle in auto next August. That means, of course, a formula to again sidetrack the key issue—the shorter workweek.

In face of such a retreating mood among some of labor's chief leaders, it is, indeed, remarkable that the workers have been able to show the militancy and determination in defense of their past gains that we have seen. But it is also true that the paralyzing and corroding influence of class collaboration and illusions

that unions are "here to stay," has in many places helped the enemy to break through.

The most serious defeat came with last October's abortive three-week strike of General Electric workers called by the International Union of Electrical Workers headed by James B. Carey. The IUE is the largest single union among GE's 240,000 workers. But the majority are in some half dozen other major unions and about 100 scattering craft and other smaller unions.

Neither the AFL-CIO nor its Industrial Union Department, of which Carey is secretary-treasurer, organized the unions involved for joint action. As Carey called the strike, the other unions were busy entering into agreements with GE on the terms offered by the company. Those terms included the elimination of the cost-of-living escalator and annual improvement clause in exchange for a raise that fell short even of matching the cost-of-living index. The IUE strike was practically doomed under the circumstances. In Schenectady and Bridgeport, and partially in several other GE plant locations, the strike was actually broken by mass back-to-work movements. Not since the thirties has a major corporation been as successful in strikebreaking. In the three-month Wilson strike, the company actually succeeded in getting a substantial number of its regular employees to scab and recruited 3,000 strikebreakers in areas outside the

struck plant locations. It was the militancy of the strikers and the pressure of a nationwide boycott movement and help from labor generally, that forced the company to settle. But there was a serious danger that the United Packinghouse Workers would face decertification under the Taft-Hartley procedure that permits scabs to vote in place of the workers they displace. Fortunately, an arbitration board ruled that seniority must prevail in resumption of work at Wilson. That rule practically eliminated all the recruited strikebreakers.

STRIKEBREAKING PLUS DECERTIFICATION

Another case is the lost UAW strike at the Sikorsky plants whose 5,500 workers were out with the United Aircraft Workers in Connecticut last summer. That company, too, succeeded in recruiting a sizeable number of scabs—enough to break the strike and force the UAW to call off the struggle without a contract. The company's stooges followed quickly with a move for a decertification election and the UAW lost collective bargaining rights at the two plants by a narrow margin. Now a company union has the field.

A case in which tragedy mixed with disgrace for the labor movement, was in the militant seven-month strike of Mine, Mill in Idaho.

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ment for them. The outfit gotten up by company stooges was encouraged to move for a decertification election and Mine-Mill lost by a hair-line margin.

Some decertifications were obtained by so-called "independents" with the encouragement of employers, without lost strikes. The IUE lost its largest group of white-collar and technical workers by a decertification poll in New York.

The above are only some of the major examples of defeats. And they only reflect partially the fact, as shown in National Labor Relations Board data, that the unions are winning a steadily declining percentage of collective bargaining elections. How far can this go on without becoming a serious trend—a trend reversing the process that increased union membership five-fold since the mid-thirties? In recent years, as Department of Labor data show, there has been already a decline in union membership.

The workers have also suffered some losses in terms of their pay envelopes. More than half of some 5,000,000 workers who were covered by escalator and improvement factor clauses *lost them in recent new agreements*. That includes the railroad, electrical and, in effect, the steel and aluminum workers.

JOBS THE PRIMARY ISSUE

A major element of the recent strikes is that in most of them issues affecting job security are given

far greater emphasis than money. In that respect, too, the steel strike was characteristic. The principle issue was rules affecting seniority rights, setting of workloads, promotion and transfer procedures and, in close relation to most rules, the speedup of workers. The current strikes are often referred to as "automation strikes" because, at bottom, they are resistance to the consequences of automation and other new technology. The employers want rules changed because they want free reign to fire old employees, hire others and otherwise adapt the work force to new techniques in the most profitable way. They want all restrictions removed on new techniques.

The guide line for the employers is the formula of the coal mines. The unrestricted drive to replace men with machines has cut coal employment to a third of what it was a decade ago. Miners may get top wages, when they work, but the labor cost per ton of coal is cheaper today than any time in a half century. Since the automation spree began in the mid-fifties, the workers have grown sensitive to the job-displacement trend. *For that reason they are so tenaciously fighting on rules*. But they are fighting within the narrow limits of the guidance they get from their leaders. The demand for the shorter workweek, while given general approval in resolutions of the AFL-CIO and most of its affiliates, is sidetracked

by the leaders when actual collective bargaining gets under way. The struggle is mainly in defense of existing rules.

Wage gains in recent years have been running at a level so low that on an average they barely cover the cost of living increases.

According to Department of Labor data (as given in the Economic Report of the President, January, 1961) the average weekly spendable wage in manufacturing for a worker with three dependents (after deduction of taxes) *in terms of 1960 prices*, was as follows:

1956	\$79.67
1957	78.83
1958	77.67
1959	81.50
1960 (prel.)	81.05

The above trend of *real* wages in manufacturing, as the President reported to Congress, shows clearly that the post war rise that many workers experienced in living standards, has run its course. If it is further taken into account that a sizable section of the manufacturing workers who have strong unions (like steel, auto, machinery, printing, etc.) have made more significant gains than the average in the five years, then it should also be apparent that millions of others included in the above average, have suffered a *decline* in their real wages.

The same report of the President contains the Labor Department's analysis of major wage contracts.

Excluding construction, services, finance and government employees, it showed that for seven million workers under the agreements in 1960, five per cent received a raise under five cents an hour; 38 per cent from five cents to under nine cents; 46 per cent nine cents to under 13 cents; five per cent 13 up to 17 cents; five per cent over 17 cents and not specified, one per cent. In 1956 only one per cent were under five cents; 19 per cent were five to nine cents and 62 per cent nine to 13 cents; eight per cent 13 to 17 cents and seven per cent over 17 cents.

In the trend continues, 1961 will make a still worse showing because cost of living escalators that were still in effect last year will not operate any more for many workers. But it should be further borne in mind that the above wage raises are for the unionized workers. The picture is undoubtedly far worse among the unorganized.

ANOTHER TREND

Notwithstanding the general downward wage trend, there are some notable examples to the contrary. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which since its expulsion from the AFL-CIO *gained* 300,000 members, has been and still is, settling strikes, or negotiating agreements without walkouts, that run far above the average for other union workers. Its midwest agreement covering 200,000 workers, provided a package of 46 cents an hour

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over three years. This compares to five cents an hour, 550,000 non-operating railroad workers received after 15 months of negotiations, or four per cent, divided in installments over two years, the 250,000 operating railroad workers received. IBT contracts for New York, West Coast and other areas vary little from the above pact of the Teamsters.

The joint drive of the IBT and International Longshoremens' and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast for new pacts for some 25,000 workers, resulted in settlements averaging 21 cents an hour. But the settlements in aircraft ran seven cents an hour over two years. In textile, both for unionized mills and unorganized, the 1960 raise ran from five to seven cents. The shoe pacts in the country provide raises of five cents in 1960 and another three cents in 1961. The 1961 New York dressmakers' agreement provides 5.5 per cent raises for 3 years. The Textile union by-passed a raise for 1961.

The Transport Workers Union, also notable for its militancy, chalked up above average improvements. It won raises 18 to 25 cents an hour on a two year pact for 29,000 subway workers on the eve of the New Year's eve deadline in 1959. The gains were even more impressive, 30 cents hourly in the 2-year 1961 pact that was reached for the 6,000 Philadelphia transit workers after a one-day strike. But most sharply in contrast to the insignificant gains of the very con-

servatively led railroad workers nationally, is the showing of the Transport Workers, and the Long Island R.R. trainmen. The strike of the TWU jointly with some craft unions on the Pennsylvania Railroad resulted in a complete defeat of the company's efforts to cut into union rules and, instead, substantial improvements were won giving the workers a measure of job security. The trainmen, after a month on strike, won the five-day week for the pay they received working six days.

THE OUTLOOK FOR 1961

What is the outlook for 1961? According to the labor department, agreements covering some 2,000,000 workers are due to terminate during the year. The year's primary interest will be on the agreements with the automobile companies expiring next August.

Will the automobile manufacturers try again where the steel corporations failed? The round of strike struggles through 1959-60 defeated the efforts of the employers to drastically alter work rules and job security provisions. But the employers have not dropped the issue. And they surely count on the current mass unemployment to help them in new efforts to weaken union influence on workrules. Rebuffed on the steel front, the employers are now concentrating their effort in the railroad field through a commission named by Eisenhower, to which the

union leaders agreed, to study the "featherbedding" charge and come up with "solutions." It should also be apparent that unless the rank and file of the railroad workers make their sentiment known emphatically, the railroad labor executives will compromise on some of the rules and clear the way for a further cut in jobs. Railroad employment, under 800,000, is already below the level it was at the turn of the century.

The other point of employer attention will, of course, be the auto industry. In that field, too, the "solution" for the employers is more automation, more shutdowns of plants in the strongly organized Michigan-Ohio areas and shift to "right-to-work" locations, more investment in plants outside the U.S. and more production of auto parts in plants outside America. The employers will undoubtedly direct their fire on local supplementary contracts through which workrules are set and, from indications, they'll seek the end of the cost-of-living escalators. It was the auto industry that initiated the escalator and the annual "improvement factor" more than a decade ago. But whatever the value of that escalator may have been to give the auto manufacturers the "stability" and the free reign they needed for all-out automation, they feel they can do more profitably without it now.

In general, the corporations are currently taking their cue from Gen-

eral Electric whose president, Ralph Cordiner, the National Association of Manufacturers named as its "man of the year." GE's anti-union formula, commonly called "Boulwarism"—named after Lemuel Boulware, former vice-president in charge of labor relations—is credited with the defeat inflicted upon the unions of its employees last October. Boulwarism is a combination of old anti-union techniques that have long been used against unions. The formula includes the use of red-baiting and every other known tactic for splitting the workers into as many unions as possible; the laying down of the company's terms as an ultimatum when new pacts are due, and stubbornly sticking to those terms even if it takes a strike; opening the plants to scabs from the first day of a strike and demanding full strikebreaking cooperation from affected municipalities on threat to move the plant elsewhere. Mr. Cordiner was made the current hero of big business because his company is the *first of big giants organized in the upsurge of the late thirties that succeeded in reversing the trend.*

EVIDENCE OF THE CRISIS IN THE AFL-CIO

The labor movement's inability to mount an offensive, the continuance of the prolonged stagnation and the dangerous signs now pointing to a decline, are evidence of the crisis that afflicts the AFL-CIO. The crisis stems from the cold-war perspective

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upon which the leaders of the AFL and CIO embarked shortly after World War II and the illusions they encouraged that the workers will reap benefits from a world super-empire with Wall Street its nerve center. Having assumed a partnership in the cold-war drive, the leaders of the AFL and CIO have been mainly preoccupied with the work of fitting the unions into cold-war plans. To that end, they resorted to mass expulsion of unions, and thereby weakened and divided the workers. They cooperated with the witch-hunters to stifle rank and file activity and militancy. They sidetracked the principle demands of the workers, among them the shorter workweek, because they placed cold-war aims above the welfare of their members.

The top union leaders have seriously disrupted labor's alliance with the Negro community of the country—in effect sacrificing that unity for their cold-war policy—by their shameless neglect or evasion of a serious struggle against discrimination within the unions, in industry and government employment. This sharp rift between the AFL-CIO and the organizations of the Negro people, weakens the struggle of labor. It most certainly discredits the unions at a time when the Negro people are at a new historic stage in the struggle for freedom.

A decade of cold war did not bring the happy results promised by the AFL and CIO leaders. What gains workers made in the short "prosper-

ity" periods, were in large part lost in the recessions now coming every three years. *But the intensity of capital's attack on unions in the more recent period is fueled by a new factor that is only beginning to mature.* Wall Street's drive to build a neo-colonial empire through economic and military penetration of the weaker or recently liberated lands, is running into a rising wave of struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Cuba has cast off the yoke of American imperialism. Its example is inspiring millions below the Rio Grande. The dreams U.S. monopolies entertained in Africa are fading in face of the higher level the struggles for independence have reached in that continent. Nor can the U.S. monopolists use the UN as a rubber stamp as easily as they did in its first fifteen years.

The reverses met by America's imperialists in their drive for world "leadership" that has already cost many hundreds of billions, are causing them frantically to cry for still more billions for armaments and bases. That means a still heavier burden on the backs of the men and women who work and of other small-incomed people. Such has been the "remedy" of every imperialist power when it lost a grip over subject peoples and territories. The drive of the Belgian imperialists to foist an austerity program on the people at home after the loss of their colonial base, the Congo, is an example. The workers responded

with a month-long general strike—the longest and most all-inclusive such strike in history. That strike is indeed a great tribute to the Belgian workers who have for many years been under the leadership of a conservative political and trade-union leadership. It suggests a lesson for Americans, too. The rise of struggle can be very swift even for workers under the conservative U.S. labor leaders, when the pressure for it becomes strong enough.

The current drive to break strikes, decertify unions, enact still more anti-union laws and to sow division between black and white workers over jobs and the effects of automation, are only the early fruits at home of a policy that is beginning to meet reverses abroad. How much longer will the workers keep paying the price, and the labor movement remain stagnant or slide downward, while the leaders keep playing the role of labor lieutenants for the empire builders?

Today the AFL-CIO leaders think they can ward off the blows of capital by some employer-union "peace treaty." Instead of mobilizing the workers for new militant struggle to meet the attacks of the employers, the leaders of the AFL-CIO are laying their hopes on the conciliation efforts of the Kennedy administration. In the New Deal period, a rising tide of struggle, and eventually the CIO sweep, developed because much of the trade-union movement took the view that if the Roosevelt

administration is friendly to unions, its help will come in the form of protection of union rights against the enemies of labor. *The progressive content of the Roosevelt administration came mainly from the pressure of that tide of labor militancy.*

The trade-union movement will not get out of the crisis it is in, unless it shifts from a policy of cold-war and retreat to an all-out program for peace and advance.

THE FOUR-PART QUESTION

What about automation? What about the many other new techniques that are cutting jobs and swelling the ranks of the unemployed to four million between recessions, especially of the Negro workers? There isn't a labor leader who seriously thinks that retraining of workers, severance pay and like measures can serve as real remedies. Such measures are only minor aspects of a program. The resolutions of almost every union convention acknowledge that the shorter work-week is about the only major practical step that can be taken to meet the growing mass displacement of workers. But those resolutions are still collecting dust in the files.

What about the dangerous stagnation on wages? What about the widening gap between the wages of unionized workers and the three-fourths unorganized? How long can the higher-paid strongly organized workers hold their scales in face of the growing pressure of lower-

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paid, the unemployed, and the unorganized? A large segment of America's workers, many among them Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, are on wages below the poverty line. The labor movement itself cannot be secure unless it directs its effort to lifting the level of these lowest paid.

What about the mass of unemployed workers? In many sectors of the trade-union movement there is a sort of unexpressed understanding that the more unemployed are encouraged to drift elsewhere the better for the trade they left. If the union is to retain the loyalty of the unemployed members, and respect of union standards, it must protect them as it would if they were in a shop.

What about the three-fourths of the U.S. work-force not in unions? More than five years have passed since the AFL-CIO merger, but there isn't a sign of the much-promised organizing drives: not a sign of a drive in the predominantly unorganized South. The Federation lost a million members since 1955. Is progress conceivable while the trade unions stand still at the level of 25 per cent of the work-force? In the recent period it has been demonstrated that standing still is really going backward. The developing trend for decertification of unions and the fact that employers can find and recruit scabs in this country, should make that apparent and give ground for most serious concern.

All the four questions we have put are interrelated, because automation, declining wages, unemployment and the danger to a labor movement of only 25 per cent of the work-force in trade unions, are intimately connected. This four-part question cannot be faced with a policy that seeks to evade struggle. The strike struggles of the past two years certainly show the workers are in a fighting mood. But there is also a feeling of frustration among the workers as they fight. They are like a boxer who only tries to ward off his opponent's punches, but doesn't attack. Most strikes are so limited in their objectives that even if they are won, there is little that is actually gained. The steel workers scored what was hailed as a great victory, but several months after victory they were hit by the longest unemployment in their lifetime. The worker feels that having struck for 116 days, the objective should have been something more than just a retention of what he already had—especially a shorter workweek, to take up some of the unemployment.

As the ill-fated General Electric strike showed, many unions still fight battles alone, against the unity of the monopolies. The division caused by AFL-CIO expulsions, that increased the organized workers outside its ranks to about a fourth of the total, including the 1,700,000-member Teamsters, has seriously weakened labor's front. But within the AFL-CIO itself there is rivalry and sharp

division that prevent either real unity in strikes and collective bargaining, or agreement between competing unions for effective joint organizing drives. When the United Steelworkers, following the 1959 strike, returned to the unions a total of some \$5,000,000 in strike donations and loans, suggestions were made that the money be pooled to start a strike fund from which any union in serious trouble can draw aid. Those suggestions went to the winds and each union thankfully took the returned money.

When leaders are orientated towards unity with the employers for a class-collaboration, no-strike plan; when they foster division between unions and the Negro people; when, as Secretary of Labor Goldberg told the National Association of Manufacturers, the cold war between employers and labor must be ended so united support can be given to the cold war against the socialist world; when employers are offered cooperation for a technological re-arming of their plants and, therefore, more job elimination—when such thinking dominates the minds of leaders, they certainly cannot be inclined towards real labor unity, for an all-out militancy on a wide national front, for the shorter workweek, for organization of the still unorganized, and for serious tackling of the automation problem. Unless, however, labor takes a new approach and mounts such an offensive—as proved so successful in the late thir-

ties—it will not get out of its crisis and the days ahead will only spell more decline.

Fortunately, as we have already noted, there is also evidence of greater and more militant resistance to the attacks of the employers. Pressure for more aggressive action for jobs, and demonstrations like the Ohio mass caravan to Columbus and the Michigan "Put-America-Back-To-Work" conference of the auto union are also on the rise. The AFL-CIO council itself has been forced to agree to a mass conference for jobs in the regions and in Washington.

Most notable is the rapidly developing vigor of the Negro community for equal job opportunities and for immediate elimination of discrimination in the trade unions. The national conference for peace, jobs, and freedom, to be held in Chicago on April 14—sponsored by six important AFL-CIO leaders who have been critical of the Federation's foreign policy—may well be a real start for a peace position by labor, hence a breakaway from the policy of stagnation and retreat. The New York Central Labor Council's independent steps to develop a shorter workweek movement and to meet automation's threat and for organization of the unorganized, is another example. All such manifestations are both a challenge to old bankrupt policies in top labor leadership, and pressure for a struggle and a march forward.

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IDEAS IN OUR TIME

BY HERBERT APTHEKER

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: PART I

Rebellion against oppression is as old as oppression itself; and *that* is as old as recorded history. At the root of oppression has been the private possession of the means of production. Forms of such possession have been altered through the centuries and these alterations have been enormously consequential in the development of human capacity and freedom. But it was only in our century that it became possible to challenge seriously and realistically, the private ownership of the means of production itself.

The decisive and unique feature of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia is that there for the first time such a challenge was offered and succeeded; despite everything, it was not undone. Socialism was built there, now exists there, and the matter of "experimentation" is at an end. Thus was ushered in the era of the Building of Socialism; it signalizes as it intensifies the era of the Decline of Imperialism.

In this new era, imperialism, reeling under the "catastrophe" of the appearance of a world system of Socialism now embracing one billion peoples, today finds its colonial reserves—hitherto fundamental sources of raw materials, fantastically lucrative markets, preferred areas for investments of accumulating capital and prime suppliers of cannon-fodder—breaking away from it. And the process of breaking away cannot really be halted anymore because the power of imperialism is decisively reduced and because—given the existence of a Socialist world—the colonial peoples *can* now push their revolutionary efforts through to real success. No longer need these efforts be aborted into mere palace upheavals, for now there is a market for products, there is a source of credit, there is a pool of available technique, there is the wherewithal for industrialization and economic diversification, there is a powerful bloc of states sympathetic in principle and fundamental self-interest and carrying enormous diplomatic and military weight.

The time when the poor "shall inherit the earth" is now; they are inheriting it and that is what is shaking the ancient globe, and making it bountiful beyond genius' dreams "even for the least among you."

The term "under-developed countries" obscures more than it illuminates. It is of some usefulness as a descriptive term, for certainly the areas so designated *are* under-developed when it comes to the persistence of hunger, the prevalence of disease, the high level of illiteracy, the distorted economies; but analytically the term will not do. These countries are *over-exploited* and therefore are under-developed. When one sees they are over-exploited he understands the cause of the retarded development; he also understands why, to a large degree, the developed countries enjoy their status. It is the parasitic relationship between the capitalist metropolitan powers and the colonial peoples that helps explain the

relative disparity in their respective standards and productive plants.

Since World War II, this parasitism has intensified to the point where, for example, less food was being produced per capita in Latin America in 1958 than had been produced in 1938; at the same time, not only was there an intensification of absolute impoverishment but the relative impoverishment of the colonial peoples very much increased. This, plus the basic shift in the balance of forces in the world, *vis-à-vis* capitalism and socialism, explains the leap forward, in quantity and quality, of the present national-liberation movements.

The most powerful of the imperialist powers is the United States; in its own bailiwick—the Western Hemisphere—the system of imperialism remained unbroken. This was no small part of its own strength, economically, militarily and diplomatically. The Cuban revolution is the first really profound and successful shattering of this homogeneity; it shatters not only concepts of “geographic fatalism,” but also theories of American exceptionalism. Revolution is not only something for Asia or even maybe Europe—especially eastern Europe; no, here it is in America, and—ninety miles from the United States. Here it is in a little country, owned lock, stock and barrel by U.S. monopolies and having on its territory a huge naval base, with air and ground forces actually present. The contagious quality of the Cuban upheaval is not the least of the worries it entails for the United States ruling class; hence to undo that upheaval represents a major interest and commitment of that ruling class. No one should be under any illusions as to the lengths it will be willing to go—if it feels it can get away with it—to destroy that revolution.

There have been two main techniques employed by the U.S. government to protect the huge investments and stakes in Latin America held by major American corporations. These have been the threat or use of naked military force and the reliance upon less direct political, diplomatic and economic pressures. Generally speaking, the Republican Party has been especially prone to the former and the Democratic Party has tended to prefer the latter, although major exceptions occur—as, for example, Wilson's frequent resort to direct force. Very recently, there has appeared a valuable examination of the history of both forms of interventionism, with special reference to Cuba, in Robert F. Smith's *The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917-1960* (Bookman Associates, N. Y., \$5).

This book is especially strong for its treatment of the period from Wilson through Franklin Delano Roosevelt; here it is solidly based on first-hand research in the National Archives. Its material on the post-World War II era is skimpy and seems to have been appended in an effort to make the book up-to-date and so gain a wider readership. Professor Smith—of the Texas Lutheran College—demonstrates the gross and persistent interference in Cuban affairs by the U.S. Government for the past sixty years and he shows this to have been done on behalf of American monopolies. He proves, with the use of many hitherto unpublished documents, how the U.S. government employed troops in 1917 to suppress labor organizing activities and strikes in Cuba, while publicly affirming that the troops were there only for purposes of “training.” While Hoover's use of food for political purposes is well-known in terms of central and eastern

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Europe just after World War I, Smith shows that the same official created a shortage of food in Cuba in 1918-19 in order to pressure its government into accepting a reduction in the price of sugar and that only when such reduction was agreed to was Cuba permitted to import food and to borrow money from American banks.

One of the most illuminating sections of Smith's book deals with the New Deal period and FDR's policy towards Cuba. Smith notes that Batista's taking of power coincided with FDR's becoming President; he shows that Batista's ascendancy would not have occurred without the approval of the U.S. government. He demonstrates how that government—through the "good offices" of men like Welles, Caffery and A. A. Berle—pressured the Batista government ever further towards the Right—towards a "safe and sane" policy so far as U.S. investments were concerned. He notes that with U.S. assurance that the Batista regime was "safe" it was then kept in power for twenty-five years, while its plundering, murdering, and torturing activities were known to the responsible U.S. officials.

That Professor Smith himself is strongly anti-Communist and seeks to equate the blame between Castro's "excesses" and U.S. "intransigence" for the current severance of relations between the two governments may make all the more persuasive for many readers the well-documented first two-thirds of his volume whose main contents we have briefly summarized in the preceding paragraphs.

The weight of Smith's conclusions is in the direction of an appeal for a change in U.S. policy in Latin America away from opposition to all social advance and rigid support for an intolerable status quo to a more enlightened effort at alliance with the "middle groups" and support for ameliorative attempts.

This is the message that is appearing more and more often in most of the recent American scholarly works on Latin America. An example is Edwin Lieuwen's *Arms and Politics in Latin America* (Praeger, for the Council on Foreign Relations, N. Y., \$4.75). "Unless," he writes, "some major changes of approach are made, our entire foreign policy in Latin America may be destined for frustration and failure." A social revolution is sweeping Latin America, Professor Lieuwen sees; he insists, therefore, that the U.S. government must show foresight and "must not be too closely identified with an outworn order." The U.S. government must "assist the Latin Americans through their difficult process of social revolution"; else their drift will be further and further to the Left, and, presumably, one will have then a real social revolution, in no way "identified with an outworn order."

Professor Lieuwen quotes with approval John M. Cabot: "We simply cannot afford to identify ourselves with the elements which would tie down the social safety valve. That wouldn't protect our national interest; it won't even for long protect our investments."

Mr. Cabot's language gives away, perhaps unwittingly, his chief concern; rather clearly, it is not the welfare of the Latin-American masses. Moreover, Lieuwen's choice of Cabot as his spokesman is not a happy one, for Cabot was President Eisenhower's Assistant Secretary for Latin-American Affairs and subsequently his Ambassador to Brazil; surely, it is somewhat paradoxical for an author who states the urgent need "for major changes of approach" in U.S. policy to-

ward Latin America to bring forward the policy statement of the man directly in charge of implementing that very policy.

I think it is the fundamental weakness of Lieuwen's case that helps explain the clumsiness of his argumentation. He knows that a social revolution is in process in Latin America; he knows that its economy is decisively shaped and dominated by U.S. corporate interests; he knows, therefore—without ever making it explicit—that basic to the advance of any significant social progress in Latin America (not to speak of social *revolution*) is the removal of this alien corporate stranglehold upon its economy and therefore its politics. Is the state, whose function it is to serve those corporate interests, going to assist, of its own will and its own choice, a social revolution whose primary object must be to release the control those corporate interests have on most of Latin America?

An approach similar to that taken by Smith and Lieuwen marks the collected essays appearing in the volume *Social Change in Latin America Today: Its Implications for U.S. Policy* (Harper, for the Council on Foreign Relations, N. Y., \$5). In so far as the volume again documents decisive U.S. corporate influence in Latin America and the role this has played in bulwarking the Right in that area it is of importance. The scholars contributing to this volume also show that what "aid" has gone to Latin America has been predominantly of a military kind and often has served to suppress efforts at social advance; they demonstrate too, that where such "aid" has been of a civilian nature it has largely "been channeled into the traditional social structure from the top" (p. 106) and again served to bulwark the status quo. The chapter on Guatemala is of particular interest; it shows that there—where, since 1954, the domination by the United States has been naked—U.S. policy has expressed itself in fear of and hostility towards any form of social change and has exerted itself to undo what advances were gained in the half decade prior to the CIA engineered counter-revolution.

The volume's central proposal again is that the United States ally itself with the "middle class" in Latin America; thus, it may emerge not as the basic support of reaction, but as the champion of moderate reform and gradual amelioration of the most glaring of the inequities. This, too, is the burden of the books and speeches coming from Chester Bowles, A. A. Berle, and A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., all now in the State Department; increasingly it is tending to dominate the public stance of the Kennedy administration.

Mr. Berle, personally, while making similarly high-sounding speeches twenty-five years ago, as a public official actually advanced a policy in Latin America that helped produce the kind of relationship in U.S.-Latin American affairs that he now, again, publicly laments. Professor Schlesinger is now touring Latin America as a representative of the President. He seeks, through an "enlightened" policy of moderation and restraint, to convince the professionals, intelligentsia and middle-class elements, that by combining forces with the New Frontier it will be possible to prevent "revolution from below" and tyranny from above.

Since Professor Schlesinger was the author of a book published in 1948—*The Vital Center*—one of whose main themes was to insist upon the obsolescence

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of revolution in the present age of awesome military and psychological weapons for mass control, there is a certain historic justice in his present somewhat desperate anti-revolutionary mission.

There is further irony in the hope that it is the "middle classes" in Latin America that offer salvation, for it is exactly U.S. imperialism whose economic policies stunted the growth of such middle classes and thus turned many of their members into partisans of national-liberation movements whose main foe is American imperialism. Imperialism as it ages tends to fear elementary democratic rights in its home territory, let alone in its colonial preserves where such rights always were considered altogether seditious. It is more than a little late for American imperialism to try to fasten its hopes for survival in Latin America on the embryonic middle classes who have managed to survive the monopolistic practices of the Yankee corporations and its State Department. The natural allies of monopoly capitalism, in its colonial areas, are feudal and comprador elements, not the genuine national bourgeoisie.

Splits in the bourgeoisie here may help bring salutary pressure upon the State Department; considerations of simple decency no doubt are not altogether unimportant in leading some—even among the bourgeoisie—to a genuine revulsion when the United States is the main support of monsters like Trujillo; difficulties of carrying on in the old way in the face of the rising militancy and strength in Latin America help promote reconsiderations of such old ways; recognition of the changed relationship in the world's forces, with the weight of the Socialist world decisive in that change, also require a seeking of altered tactics—all these matters bear very heavily in the direction of impeding traditional U.S. policy towards Latin America and in particular towards its most critical point, the Cuban Revolutionary Government.

Not unimportant is nagging doubt in the minds of U.S. policy-makers as to the real state of American public opinion relative to Latin America and particularly Cuba. There is the gravest doubts as to the reliability of such opinion among the twenty-five million Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Cuban-American masses in the United States. And there is uncertainty, at least, as to how reliable would be the great mass of plain American people—with no investments in United Fruit or Standard Oil—if some gross and "old-fashioned" form of reactionary or counter-revolutionary course were pursued towards the New Cuba.* In this connection, the near-unanimity with which Castro is backed by, and the universal arming of, the Cuban population cannot be unknown to U.S. Intelligence, no matter how blundering it may be.

The danger, too, that an invasion of Cuba—or U.S. "support" to a mass invasion by mercenary murderers of non-American nationality—would produce another Spain, with the United States playing the role of fascist Italy and nazi Germany and could have the same result as Spain—i.e., ignite a new world war—this must weigh very heavily with responsible American officials, no matter how impatient they may be to "deal with" Castro.

* The phenomenal sale of over 350,000 copies of C. Wright Mills' powerful *Listen, Yankee* (Ballantine Books, 50 cents) is enlightening. Such a sale in a matter of a few months makes of the book a social force in its own right.

Nevertheless, evidence accumulates that while the dominant tendency in the Kennedy Administration towards Latin America seems to be a relatively "enlightened" concentration on economic pressures and reformist tactics, there has been no abandoning of the more brutal approach of force, at least as a reserve policy. Thus, U.S. military vigilance now finds it "impossible" to prevent the flight of planes from American soil for bombing, strafing, and propaganda missions over Cuba, though such vigilance was notoriously effective in the past against democratic refugees from Batista's terror. Thus, the training and arming of counter-revolutionaries by the hundreds and perhaps thousands in Florida and in Guatemala are open and well-publicized "secrets." Thus, there continues the publishing of advertisements in such papers as the *New York Times* (Jan. 5) and the *Herald Tribune* (Feb. 21) from well-financed counter-revolutionary organizations openly announcing their purpose of the forcible overthrow of the Cuban government.

The confidential news service operating for businessmen out of Washington, known as the *Kiplinger Letter*, under date of February 18, 1961, flatly predicted that "Castro will be overthrown within months." It stated that this would be accomplished by an invasion of counter-revolutionaries now being trained in Guatemala; that the United States Navy "will not interfere" with this movement; that many landings would occur simultaneously; that desertions have already been "arranged" within Castro's army; that there would be "local uprisings"; that there "will be great slaughter"; and that Castro's successor will be "radical" but not anti-United States and not a Batista follower.

Six days later, Senator Keating (R., N. Y.) stated, in the United States Senate, his belief that "Castro will not last out this year"; he added, "my conviction that this is so is supported by substantial evidence."

What "substantial evidence"? Is the *Kiplinger Letter* simply to remain confidential? Shall the American people acquiesce in the admittedly counter-revolutionary activities of Mr. Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency, and permit reactionary fanatics to attempt "another Guatemala" which may well lead to another World War and certainly would lead, in any case, to fearful loss of life?

We have enumerated above some of the factors that tend to impede an openly counter-revolutionary course on the part of the Kennedy Administration. But the factor that can be decisive in this regard—as in all other aspects with that Administration—is the development of articulate and organized public opinion in our own country, especially stemming from the working class and the Negro masses, unequivocally opposed to any form of U.S. meddling with the complete national independence and perfect sovereignty of the Cuban Revolutionary Government.

To achieve this, the truth concerning that Government must be brought home to the American people. In our next issue, we shall examine some of the more notable efforts recently made towards that end, especially those coming from the pens of Paul Sweezy, Leo Huberman, Paul A. Baran, C. Wright Mills, Joseph North and Blas Roca.

By Joa

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The Paris Commune: 90 Years After

By Joanny Berlioz*

IN 1924 THE FRENCH delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International (of which I was a member) was invited to a stirring ceremony. It was the turning over to the Moscow Soviet of a red flag of the Communards of 1871, saved in the last moments of the final attack of the Versailles army on the heights of Belleville and lovingly kept since then.

Our delegation, with one member carrying the sacred emblem, passed through an immense throng, in the midst of which military units of the capital lined the streets, their bands playing a mighty *Internationale*. We were proud of this tribute to our ancestors who, ninety years ago, "stormed heaven" (Marx) and with their blood wrote glorious pages in the history of the international working-class movement, which Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin studied to draw teachings that would hold good for the entire movement. We were also overjoyed by the certainty that the defeated Commune had had its glorious revenge in the USSR in October 1917; the flag that we brought could have no better place than in the Lenin Mausoleum where it is kept, near the body of the genius of the Revolution who had said, at the Seventh Congress of the

Bolshevik Party, held shortly after taking power: "*We stand . . . on the shoulders of the Paris Commune.*"

Napoleon III's regime of personal power had crumbled on September 4, 1870 after the crushing defeat at Sedan. The people were sick of arbitrary Bonapartism, of poverty, of military adventures, and had proclaimed the Republic, which the bourgeoisie had taken into its hands. The German armies continued the war and besieged Paris. The government called itself a government of national defense, but really it was the government of national defection; it pretended to fight the invader but its only idea was to strike a bargain with him. Its real enemy was the people of Paris, armed and organized in the National Guard, fired with ardent patriotism . . . *a victory of Paris over the Prussian aggressor would have been a victory of the French worker over French capitalism and its political parasites* (K. Marx).

These parasites surrendered the capital on January 27, 1871. They proceeded to have a reactionary National Assembly elected, which threw

* The author, a leader of the Communist Party of France, is Editor of its monthly publication, *Democratie Nouvelle*. This article was written for *Political Affairs*.—Ed.

down a challenge to Paris by setting itself up at Versailles, the ancient headquarters of the kings of France. The people of Paris, the workers and craftsmen of the faubourgs, had not accepted the capitulation, and its attitude was such that the German army did not dare to occupy the city. The National Guard had kept its arms, in particular a park of artillery. It rose against the treason to the nation on the part of the ruling class, whose selfish spirit led it to seek protection from a foreign imperialism against its own people—a regular practice that was repeated after 1945, the protector this time being American imperialism.

The proletariat and common people of Paris were to take up the cause of the nation, which its bourgeois leaders had abandoned: this was the basic reason for the insurrection of March 18, 1871. On that day, Thiers, chief of the executive power, wanted to have his troops seize the cannon of the National Guard; the population was warned and stopped the putsch and, with the support of the people, the Central Committee of the Guard took power. On the 26th the Commune of Paris was elected by universal suffrage, the first workers' government in the world; it was only to last 72 days, but it was to be the harbinger of great historical changes.

The Commune was principally engaged in the armed struggle against the Versailles party (Thiers had fled

to Versailles); the Versailles were supported by the German occupants, who threw up a tight blockade around the capital and sent the French prisoners of war to swell the ranks of the counter-revolutionary army. The Commune went down after a heroic fight, culminating in the battles at the barricades of the bloody week of May 21-28. The repression was savage; Thiers wrote to his prefects, "The ground is strewn with the corpses of Communards; this fearful spectacle will serve as a lesson."*

But the Commune was not only a movement of a national character. The patriotic uprising that it expressed in its origin was linked with the social objectives of a "glorious workers' revolution" (K. Marx), and it showed the perfect harmony between the interests of the proletariat and those of the country.

Many bourgeois historians have labored to deny that it had this nature of a social movement. Among these falsifiers is the American historian,

* We should recall the vile rôle played by Washburne, the United States Ambassador in Paris, whom Karl Marx denounced in a letter from the General Council of the International to the New York Central Committee in the summer of 1871. This character, who professed to be a friend of the Parisians, but was actually an accomplice of Thiers, offered the Commune, on May 21, his mediation between the Versailles and the *Fédérés*, allegedly to prevent the shedding of blood. On that very morning he had stated to a journalist, "Everybody who belongs to the Commune will be shot."

Unfortunately, his treacherous maneuver was taken under advisement by the Commune, and this perspective of a truce paralyzed its defense efforts for two decisive days. A splendid example of reactionary collaboration among the American, French and German bourgeoisies; it was not to be the last one!

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E. S. Mason (in particular, in his book published in New York in 1930), who works hard to minimize the contribution of the Paris Commune to the cause of the working class, and to reduce to the status of a legend the fact that it had set up a state of a new type, of the same type as that of the Soviet power, as defined by Lenin.

There is no doubt that the social achievement of the Commune, taken up as it was by the problems of the daily armed struggle, was not very great, but the inspiration of its program is clear. Some of its measures are definitely in the direction of the social emancipation of the exploited: turning over to workers' associations, enterprises abandoned by the owners; prohibition of work fines; equal pay for equal work by women; preparation for setting up the eight-hour day; management of enterprises by the workers in accordance with production plans, etc.

But above all, the Communards demonstrated that the working class was capable of running the government, a government of a different type from the one it had overthrown, a government whose source came directly from below. They destroyed the old apparatus of the state, its bureaucracy alienated from the people, its privileged corps; they removed the old managing figures from the central posts in justice and the police; they replaced the standing army set up against the people

by arming the people and entrusting them with keeping order; they made every agency of power responsible to the workers. The Commune, whose members were given workers' wages, was based on the mass organizations in existence at that time (political clubs, unions, sections of the International, women's organizations, etc.); it gave a public account of its actions and was under the permanent control of its constituents.

The decisions of the Commune were often democratic reforms, those that the republican opposition had demanded under the Empire, but which the "liberal" wing of the bourgeois opposition did not dare to put into effect. In this sense, the boldness of the perspectives and the ability of the working class in power were recognized and appreciated by the middle class of Paris, the shopkeepers, craftsmen and merchants. *"The working class was openly recognized as the only class able to use social initiative."* (K. Marx).

* * *

Now the failure of the Commune under the attacks of the counter-revolution calls for explanation. It had many weaknesses, despite the undoubted devotion and personal valor of most of its members.

The capitalist enemies of the Commune have made a great outcry about the "bloody horrors" perpetrated by the Parisian insurgents. Actually, the Commune's mistake

was to be too moderate and timid; it often stopped halfway to the action that was called for, despite the anarchizing phraseology that frequently surrounded its deliberations. It had illusions about "moral action" and carried traditional democratic scruples to excess. Thus it lost time in organizing the March 26 elections, which could have been dangerous for it, instead of immediately taking the military offensive against the Versailles clique, which was disorganized at the outset; it did not "expropriate the expropriators"; it respected the sacrosanct gold reserve of the Banque de France.

Because of the circumstances under which it arose, the Paris Commune was isolated. Its effort was only supported by transitory attempts at communes in some provincial cities. Above all, it was cut off from the French peasantry, which formed the great majority of the population at that time, and which gave Thiers most of the troops for his army. It was only on April 28 that the Commune issued an Appeal to the Workers in the Fields, a very able document which contained the slogan: *the land to the peasant, and the tool to the worker*. This appeal received little attention, because of material difficulties (control by the army of occupation) and the backward political condition of the rural masses. Here is one essential difference between the Commune and the October Socialist Revolution. In ad-

dition, most of the Communards had no clear conception of the need for an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry.

Here we come to the decisive weakness of the Commune: its lack of political maturity, the ideological confusion that prevailed in its ranks and that merely reflected the ideological confusion prevailing in the working-class movement of that time, with the best elements divided into antagonistic sects in which class consciousness was often only rudimentary. Among the Communards were followers of Proudhon, who had a considerable influence on the workers in the small workshops and on the middle classes, with his petty-bourgeois theories aimed at settling the social question by cooperation and mutuality. There were Blanquists, who advocated insurrections coming from closed conspiracies, and belated Jacobins still bemused with the memories of the bourgeois Revolution of 1789. To be sure, there were also representatives of the weak Parisian sections of the First International, through whom Marx and Engels tried, from London, to orient the enterprise of the Commune; but these representatives themselves did not form a unified group capable of directing the Commune and overcoming the negative influence of the petty-bourgeois democrats and socialists, who stood for the collaboration of classes.

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of understanding with respect to the aims of their movement, and in the last analysis for want of a revolutionary party to give leadership, the necessity for which was not realized, the general council of the Commune soon exhausted itself in sterile quarrels couched in big language, with results of lack of discipline and, in some cases, defeatism. It was not equipped with a scientific theory of revolution. The Communist Manifesto of 1848 had had little influence in France; treasures of loyalty and self-sacrifice, and in the end a Utopian confidence in the spontaneity of the masses, could not take the place of knowledge and application of Marxism.

* * *

All these weaknesses proved fatal to the Paris Commune, but they can only be evaluated if we place ourselves in the time at which they emerged.

The French economy had made significant progress between 1850 and 1871, to be sure, but many regions were still only slightly industrialized, and the small workshop still was predominant over the large concern. The proletariat was few in numbers and dispersed and weak; it was just beginning to attain class consciousness, clearing itself with difficulty from the influences of the petty-bourgeois ideology, which found expression in various divergent trends. It was only in 1879 that the first Marxist party, *le Parti Ouvrier Français*,

was founded in France, under the leadership of Jules Guesde and with the direct aid of Karl Marx, and even then many Communards did not join it.

Despite its inadequacies, the Commune had a decisive influence on the fate of the international working-class movement, thanks to the analyses in depth made of it by Karl Marx in *The Civil War in France* and Lenin, especially in *State and Revolution*. Lenin wrote that "*The commune . . . is the political form, finally discovered, by which that which has been destroyed can and must be replaced. . . .*" That is, the experiences of the Commune made it possible for the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat to take form, no matter how imperfect and unfinished this first attempt by the Parisian working class to exercise power may have been; the great lesson that was drawn from it, and which we are familiar with today, is that in the dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter what its forms may be, depending on the historical and national circumstances, the essential thing is the leadership of the Communist Party.

In France, the Commune led to the disappearance of the "sects" and was, in particular, the tomb of Proudhonism; "but at the same time it was the cradle of international communism" (Engels). The Commune, national in the sense that it was born of a patriotic revulsion

against the treason of the bourgeoisie, carefully eliminated any tendency toward narrow nationalism, and took as its emblem the red flag, the flag of "the Universal Republic," in the words of Frankel, one of Marx's best disciples. Frankel was a Hungarian, and it should be emphasized that many foreigners, of every nationality, took part in the movement, and thus made it one of the first examples of the indispensable internationalism of the proletariat.

All in all, the reason why the memory of the magnificent fighters of the Commune is revered by the workers of the whole world is, as Lenin said, that it "*taught the proletariat to pose the problems of the Social Revolution in concrete form*" and "*everywhere gave a new thrust to revolutionary propaganda.*" It is of universal scope.

But it is not vague, and we felt that with joy when our Party's delegation handed the last flag of the Communards over to the Soviet comrades. The work of the Commune, which was only a first beginning, found its fulfillment, under different conditions, in the victorious October Revolution, and, later, in the vast world of socialism. Between 1871 and 1917, between the pioneers and the final conquerors of working-class power, there is an unshakable alliance.

* * *

Every year, on the last Sunday in

May, the communists of Paris celebrate the boldness and the sacrifices of their ancestors by parading in front of the wall of the Fédérés in Père Lachaise Cemetery, where the last fighters of the Commune were executed. The communists of today parade with fervor and admiration, in the knowledge that the insurrection of 90 years ago prepared the ground for the future victories; they look ahead, and affirm their hopes for the future.

We know that the glorious experiment that foreshadowed the new society will not repeat itself with the same character. The development of Marxism-Leninism, the lessons drawn from the Commune and from its betrayal by the opportunism in which the Second International went down, and from its triumphal revenge in October 1917, will save us from the weaknesses of that time. The new relationship of forces in the world and the preponderance of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism create new possibilities for action and revolutionary success, perhaps by easier paths. Today there exists in France the indispensable tool of victory: the Communist Party, whose 40th anniversary we have just celebrated.

In order that this Party, which was so sadly lacking the Parisians of 1871, may be able to carry out its mission, we watch, with constant vigilance, to see that it gets rid energetically of anything that could cause

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confusion in its ranks, any manifestation of revisionism (which at bottom is often a return, more or less masked, to the old theories that proved so useless and so dangerous for the Commune), any weakening of the unity of thought and will of its collective leadership.

Our Party is sure that it is faithful to the memory of the Communards when it calls to struggle against De Gaulle's personal power, which resembles Napoleon III's dictatorship in many ways, and against the extension of the Thiers-Bismarck alliance that today constitutes the Bonn-Paris axis for foreign policy.

Like the Communards, but with a clearer awareness, our Party believes in the close connection between true patriotism and class struggle; it feels that the reconquest of our national independence and the renewal of the French nation are the task of the working class and its Party, at the head of the people.

Even the stubborn struggle that we are now waging for ending the Algerian war by honest negotiation links up with the memories of the Commune. We remember that an anti-colonial insurrection broke out in Kabylis early in 1871, and that the Versaillais crushed it with unexampled brutality, Thiers giving his occupation troops instructions "to act in Algeria as towards the Com-

mune." We do not forget that the chief generals who massacred the Communards, like those who massacred the fighters of June 1848, had been formed in the colonial war against Algeria, for today there are military chiefs who, as their predecessors of 1871 took revenge for their defeat by the German army by killing workingmen, no doubt look forward to make up for their colonial failures by killing what democratic liberties are left in France.

Finally, when we celebrate March 18, we have in our mind's eye the flag of the Commune unfurled inside the mausoleum on Red Square, in the heart of the country that made a living reality of the ideal that inspired the Communards. In 1924, surrounded by the Moscow crowd, we already said to ourselves, "How far we have come!" It is still more decisive today that the seeds sown by the Commune are sprouting in the building of communism in the USSR.

Faithfulness to the memory of the heroes of 1871, who have been well avenged, includes, as the Declaration of 81 parties recommends, doing everything to consolidate the unity of the Communist Parties of the world on the basis of Marxism-Leninism around their universally recognized *avant-garde*, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

COMMUNICATION

THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN WOMEN

By Shirley Graham

Once more, as I write these lines (early in February) the Security Council of the United Nations is debating the Congo crisis. By radio I have just heard M. Diallo Telli of Guinea make what he termed a "last appeal" to the Security Council. He followed the appeal with a solemn warning of the consequences which would follow ignoring his words. The morning paper informs us that Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Ambassador Stevenson are "considering" a "new approach" to the Congo situation; also that Ambassador Stevenson and Ambassador Zorin of the USSR are now in conference, seeking "accord" in solutions. What ought to be an encouraging picture is strangely out of focus. For what is happening in the Congo is starkly plain for all the world to see. It is neither confusing nor confused. It is not a "cold war" issue. Only those who do not want to see, make it so. Failure of the Suez Aggression marked the beginning of the end of the White Man's Era; what has happened and what will happen in the Congo decisively brings that era to a close. Henceforth no recorder of history anywhere in the world will employ that phrase.

* * *

I have this week returned from a part of the world where facts of life are faced with honesty. Where starvation and gluttony, famine and leprosy are realities; I have been with people for whom exhaustion, prisons and bloodshed are part of the daily preoccupation, whose memories of the valiant dead were often the only flames to light the way. I have been with people who, like the phoenix, have been consumed in fire, and who now rise from their own ashes, beautiful and strong, a ready arm for defense and assistance to the weak. I have been to the Valley of the Nile, ancient cradle of civilization, where incredible heights in man's achievements and incredible depths in man's degradation have been reached, where today, Kipling notwithstanding, East and West do meet; North and South come to barter and sit together beside the serpentine river.

On the morning of January 15th, in Cairo's former Senate Hall of the U.A.R. National Assembly building, the first Conference of African and Asian Women came into being. Two hundred and forty delegates from thirty-five countries filed into the Hall and were seated in alphabetical order of the countries they represented. It happened that at the Gezira Palace Hotel, the Conference headquarters, I had climbed into a conference bus with a group of women from Lebanon. When we alighted before the National Assembly we found ourselves confronting a formidable array of soldiers. My Lebanon friends whispered: "Stick close to us. Nobody will guess you're from the United States and you won't have to answer questions." Since I was the only woman from the entire Western Hemisphere, even though a "certified observer," at the moment following this advice seemed the better part of wisdom. The long corridor leading to the Senate Hall was lined with women soldiers, most of them very young.

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They eyed us with lively curiosity but stood stiffly at attention. At the wide Senate Hall door each woman's hand was clasped by a smiling male official. I passed unchallenged into the hall and sat down at a desk in the "Lebanon" section. Each desk was equipped with earphones which could be tuned in to any one of the official conference languages: Arabic, English, French. Above the podium hung the Conference Emblem: two women standing so close together that their blue and white robes merged into one, the black and yellow profiles formed one face. An attractive formation of small national flags of countries taking part in the meeting and a portrait of President Gamal Abdul Nasser were the only other decorations. Additional guests, press representatives, camera and television technicians and interpreters swelled the assemblage.

Preliminary work of setting up the Conference had been done by an International Preparatory Committee composed of women from Algeria, Aden, Cameroon, China, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Japan, Viet-Nam, Zanzibar and the U.A.R., which was the host country. On the day before the formal opening this committee met at the Conference Headquarters with the heads of all delegations and completed the framework of organization. There was therefore, no delay in Mrs. Karima El Said, unanimously elected Chairman of the Conference, taking her place on the rostrum and calling the meeting to order.

The opening of the First Conference of African and Asian Women contrasted sharply with the beginning of other international conferences I have attended. There was marked absence of ostentation, fan-fare and spectacle. No flying banners, no brass bands, no imposing array of high-ranking officials. Lacking was the confusion of happy excitement. Instead there was quiet and purposeful order, a seriousness of approach which gave evidence of keen awareness and which augured well for constructive accomplishment. This tone sounded clearly in the opening remarks of Miss Bahja Karam, the Conference Secretary:

"Our Conference is meeting at a crucial time, not only for our two continents but for the whole world. It is meeting at a time when the forces of imperialism and colonialism are fighting its last ditch battle, and when the struggle for liberation and independence is at its height. And we, the women of Africa and Asia are playing our part in this great struggle, which I have no doubt, will meet with victory and success."

The telegram of welcome from President Nasser was equally grave. It said: "At this crucial period in the annals of peoples fighting for a better future based on amity, fraternity, equality, peace and universal welfare, at this moment when our peoples have achieved glorious victories in breaking colonialist shackles, fighting their way to freedom and peaceful reconstruction, at this time when your Conference meets to make known to the outer world the views of Afro-Asian woman and the role she has played and is still playing in her country's strife for the liberation of the peoples of the world and for the fulfillment of the ends of justice and universal peace and the creation of a new generation enjoying full sovereignty and prestige, having shaken off the colonialist yoke, I am happy to send to your Conference my heartiest greetings and hope it may achieve complete success."

Greetings to the Conference were read from Heads of State throughout Africa and Asia. These included cables from Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China and Premier Khrushchev. It is sometimes overlooked that the greater part of the Soviet Union is in Asia. Head of the USSR delegation for the Women's Conference was Mrs. H. Z. Thairova, Minister of Construction of the Tadjik Soviet Republic. Head of the Chinese delegation was Mrs. Hao Y-chun, Professor at the Peking Institute of Geology.

After the many cables and messages were read and the Conference had been warmly welcomed to Cairo by the Central Minister of Education and by the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, Chairman El Said called to the platform, as the first Presiding Chairman, the Elder Delegate of the Conference, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, head of the Indian Delegation and Chairman of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of India. This seemingly fragile little lady was given a standing ovation. Her long and courageous efforts to bring the women of India from behind veils and to raise them from chattel to freedom and human dignity were well known to every woman present. With Mrs. Nehru in the chair the serious business of the conference got under way.

For one week, thereafter, morning, afternoon and evenings were filled. Several mornings we were called at six o'clock in order to meet schedules. Delegates sat in committees far into the night. Each country submitted reports and brought in material on the five points which formed the agenda of the conference: The Economic Status of Women; the Social Status and Rights of Women; the Cultural Rights of Women; the Political and Legal Rights of Women; and, the Role of Women in the Struggle for National Independence and the Maintenance of Peace. From reports came discussion and out of discussion came the body of resolutions which were passed by the Conference.

At another opportunity, I shall give a summary of these reports. They were long and often in great detail. Conscientious reporters on the status and role of women found it necessary to present the backgrounds in their various countries. And we received vivid descriptions of living conditions ranging from the most despotic colonial rule, as in South West Africa, in war-torn Algeria and Viet-Nam, through the economic imperialism which holds sway in Japan, to the bright sheen of liberated, though still arduous life in the Republic of Mongolia. Women in "free" Europe and America can hardly conceive of the active role being played by the women of Africa and Asia. The women's military corps of the U.A.R. are duplicated all over the two continents. Wherever National Assemblies of native peoples meet, women will be found in those assemblies. An example of women's active role is just now being reported in the *New York Times*.

"Women's Vote is Heavy in Cameroons Plebiscite" declares the headline. The article from Reuters continues: (*New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1961)

"Newly enfranchised African women led a steady stream of voters to the polls today in the Northern and Southern Cameroons to decide whether the areas will join Nigeria or the Cameroon Republic. In the

Southern Cameroons, most of the early voters were women. . . . Women in the Northern Cameroons, who make up almost half of the 292,965 registered voters, exercised voting rights for the first time."

The delegate from the Cameroons told us at the Conference of the organized registration campaign among women then under way.

A profile of the Head of each delegation attending the Conference would make fascinating reading, but would fill many pages. I shall confine myself to one memorable picture which will always stay with me.

On a warm and sunny afternoon, the Afro-Asian Women's Conference staged a spectacular and colorful public demonstration. Immediately after lunch the courtyard of the National Assembly Building filled with hundreds of visiting women of Cairo and neighboring communities. Then, with heads of delegations in front ranks carrying the flags of all participating nations, we formed a parade and marched together into the downtown district of the city. The streets were cleared of traffic and up ahead a military escort marched to keep them cleared. Stationed on corners were criers who, in Arabic and English, employing the colorful phrasing of the East, announced:

Behold these women of all Africa and all Asia who have come to Cairo! See how they march arm in arm through our streets, expressing their solidarity, their love of freedom and independence, their pride in their countries! See how beautiful they are—their faces unveiled and lifted to the sun! Greet them, people of Cairo! Greet them with cheers and with flowers. Honor these women of Africa and Asia! They are our women—the mothers of our sons. Long live Afro-Asian Solidarity!

And people, crowded on the sidewalks, responded with applause and cheers. From balconies and windows overhead people threw down flowers and little colored streamers. Eyes followed the black, turbaned beauty from Sierra Leone, whose statuesque figure was one of the leaders. Beside her marched a round-faced brown woman from Uzbekistan, her beaded turban set at a jaunty angle on her slick, black hair. Conspicuous was a petite, sparkling-eyed miss from Zanzibar, who tripped along beside the silken-clad, serious-faced leader of the delegation from Ceylon. I linked my arm with a gentle-faced woman from Basutoland, whose limp, and slightly slurred speech were souvenirs of three years in prison camps. On the other side of me marched a member of the Japanese Parliament. We marched together: the delicate women of China with their flower-like little faces—thin refugees from Palestine and from South Africa—women of Guinea—Iran—Indonesia—Kenya—Nigeria—Tunisia—North Korea—Jordan—Cambodia—Libya—Morocco—thirty-five flags fluttered in the breeze and the women of thirty-five countries marched through the streets of Cairo for three hours and then came to the home of President Nasser. He greeted us at the high garden gates and we streamed into the gardens and pavilion where we were served cooling fruit juice drinks. President Nasser went from one group to another, shaking hands, chatting, congratulating us on the Conference. After-

wards, we piled into waiting buses and, tired but elated, were returned to our hotel headquarters.

Had nothing more at this Conference been accomplished than this one demonstration I should have counted my trip to Cairo well worth while. But, as I spread out before me the resolutions adopted at the end of that week's discussion, I know that the results of this First Afro-Asian Women's Conference will be decisive and far-reaching. I glance from these resolutions to a clipping from the editorial page of the *New York Herald Tribune*. It is headed "Feminine Talk in Cairo" (January 17, 1961):

We have no intention of comparing the Afro-Asian Women's Conference currently meeting in Cairo to the suffrage movements which once stirred up so much excitement in the United States and elsewhere in the Western world. Judging by the slogans being paraded before the women gathered in the capital of the United Arab Republic, any resemblance to the days of Susan B. Anthony would be purely accidental.

But any old suffragettes still around will certainly have their memories jogged. And they may wonder why it is that with so much to be done for and by the women of the Eastern World, the delegates at Cairo can offer nothing more than a few tired old anti-colonialist clichés. Four of the main topics on the agenda are concerned with woman's rights, which are notoriously lacking in such countries as the U.A.R.

With so much needed by Eastern women in the way of ameliorated living conditions, improved legal status, and wider social and economic opportunity, the ladies in Cairo listened to discourses on the dangers of Western imperialism, the evils of colonialism, the virtues of Algerian rebels, the menace of Israel, and other favorite subjects of Gamal Abdul Nasser and his associates. Our own suffragettes, thank goodness, had a far more modest program—and they lived to see it all achieved. We doubt whether the ladies of Cairo will be able to say the same.

Such editorial comment on our Women's Conference is not so much malicious as plain stupid. And I pity honest readers who are so misinformed and so lulled in the complacent sleep of their ignorance.

February 13th: I bring this letter to an abrupt close. Patrice Lumumba and his two faithful aides, Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito, have been murdered in Katanga. The Security Council has adjourned. An era is closed! Now begins the hypocritical hand-washing of Pontius Pilates of the United Nations and western Great Powers; now begins the pious regrets and mumblings of frightened old men. But the blood of Patrice Lumumba is on their heads and no amount of bathing or sweet-smelling scents will remove the bright red stains. And, from the trampled ground about his bruised and battered head the blood of Patrice Lumumba will rise and spread and mount and swell into a mighty flood until the last vestiges of Imperialism, which is White Supremacy, is washed from this earth. Selah!

RECENT BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

(This is a new department, in which—from time to time and as space permits—we shall call to the attention of our readers new books, pamphlets, and articles published here and abroad that may interest them—the Editor).

The Soviet Review: A Journal of Translations: This monthly magazine—each issue 64 pages—contains translations from Soviet journals in the fields of social analysis, literature, the arts, science and technology. A year's subscription costs \$6; address inquiries to: International Arts and Sciences Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Theory and Technique of Playwriting, by John Howard Lawson (Hill & Wang, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y., 313 pp., \$1.95, paperback). This is a long overdue republication of the standard work on its theme by the distinguished historian, scenarist and playwright. It contains a new 30-page introduction incisively analyzing the American theatre during the past generation.

Current Thought on Peace and War: This is a quarterly digest of literature and research in progress on problems in the field indicated in the title. It deals with U.S. publications only and tends to omit—not quite altogether—the Left, but it is a unique and useful periodical. Subscription is \$7 a year; address inquiries to: Box 4847, Duke Station, Durham, N. C.

Administration of Teaching in the Social Sciences in the U.S.S.R.: This book contains the syllabi for three courses offered in Soviet Institutions of Higher Learning, in Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Political Economy and the History of the C.P.S.U. Original dates of publication, in the Soviet Union, were 1957 and 1958; these detailed course outlines include extensive bibliographical suggestions. The work, of 136 pages, was published in 1960 by the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, from whom single copies may be obtained without charge.

A Guide to the Study of the United States of America, prepared by Roy P. Basler, D. H. Mugridge, and B. P. McCrum. This contains almost 1,200 oversized, double-columned pages, divided into 32 chapters. It is basically an annotated bibliography in the fields of literature, language, literary criticism, geography, history, sociology, journalism, science, medicine, entertainment, sports, recreation, philosophy, religion, music, art, agriculture, industry, labor, government, law, politics. Very nearly the entire Left is omitted. Though the section on "Biography and Autobiography" contains almost three hundred entries, there was not room for Frederick Douglass. Almost unbelievable is the total omission from this volume of the writings of W. E. B. Du Bois which, for nearly seventy years, have been among the most consequential in American history. On the whole, then, this volume should be entitled, *A Right-Wing Guide*, etc. With this understanding, its value is considerable; it is published by the Library of Congress, Washington, 1960, and is obtainable for \$7 from the Superintendent of Documents.

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