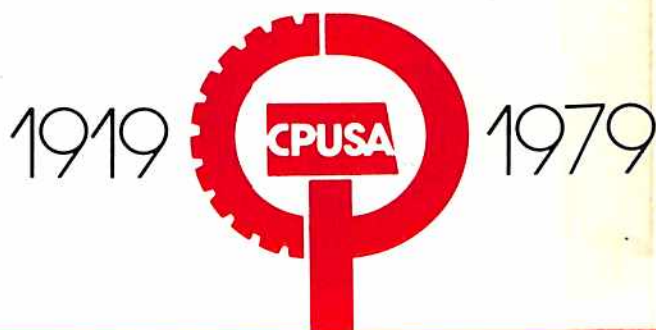


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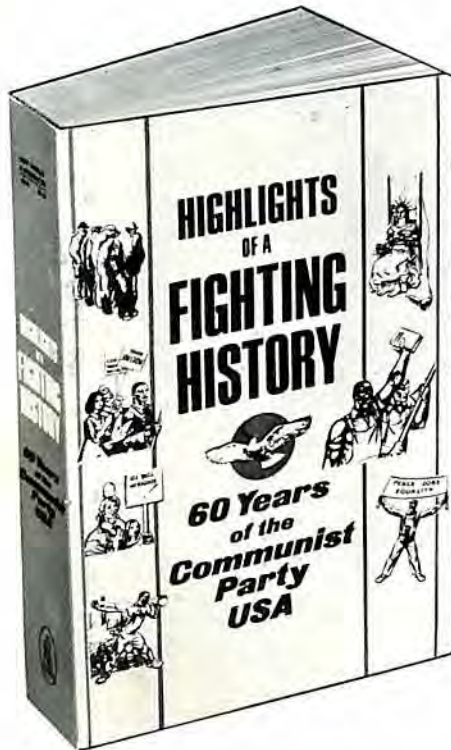
HIGHLIGHTS OF A FIGHTING HISTORY

Sixty Years of the Communist Party, USA

edited by Philip Bart, Theodore Bassett, William W. Weinstone and Arthur Zipser

“History written by the makers of history.”

—Gus Hall



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cloth \$15.00

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016

political affairs

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, USA

Volume LVIII Nos. 8-9 Aug.-Sept. 1979



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Political Affairs (ISSN0032 3128) is published monthly, except for combined August-September issue, by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc. at 235 West 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011, (212) 620-3020, to whom all orders, subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be addressed. Subscription rates: \$10 for one year; \$5 for six months; foreign subscriptions, including Canada, \$11 for one year; single issues, \$1. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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Sixty Glorious Years

GUS HALL

What Marx and Engels, the twin giants of revolutionary thought, said about the theoretical conclusions by the Communists of their day is fully applicable to the theoretical conclusions of the Communist Party, USA today:

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express in general terms actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from an historical movement going on under our very eyes. (*Communist Manifesto*.)

The "existing class struggle," the "historical movements" and the "actual relations" in the United States 60 years ago energized and activated the forces that gave birth to the Communist Party, USA. The founding of the Communist Party was "in no way based on ideas or principles that had been invented or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer."

Incubation by objective forces created the historic necessity for a working-class, revolutionary party. These objective forces prepared and enriched the political and ideological soil. This process was a necessary precondition, because while thoughts and ideas do not recognize national or state boundaries, they do not take root, they do not flourish or endure if the "political soil" is not well prepared.

The birth of the Communist Party, USA was influenced by the cross-pollination of the objective forces and developments on the world scene.

Our Party came into existence at a turning point in the international working-class movement. It was created by the development of imperialism, the catastrophic First World War, but above all by the explosive great revolution that gave birth to the first socialist state, the Soviet Union.

All these developments had their influence. But it was the developments in our own country—the growth of the working class, the sharpening of class

Gus Hall is the general secretary of the CPUSA.

contradictions and the increase in class and racial oppression—that prepared the soil and the forces that came together at our founding convention 60 years ago.

It was in this same formative period that the writings of Lenin found their way to the United States. Lenin's ideas took root here because they were profound analyses and because they gave a lead and a guide to the struggles of the working-class movement. They took root because the objective developments had created the necessary political and ideological climate.

Of course the roots of our Party and of Marxism in the U.S. go back some 120 years. The first organized Marxist groups in the U.S. date back to 1857. Joseph Wedemeyer and Frederick Sorge, refugees from the reaction which followed the defeat of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, took to the stump as agitators and organizers of Marxist groups.

Like air currents, thoughts and ideas can cross national boundaries. But revolutions and revolutionary movements can not. In fact, the concept of "exporting revolutions" is ridiculous and asinine. When the mass media puts forth this idea they are injecting a calculated deception into the minds of the people.

* * *

The Communist Party, USA endures and flourishes because at each moment in history it is a product of and is influenced by the "existing class struggle" and the ever-changing "historical movements." The class struggle is the central furnace that continues to mold and temper the Communist Party.

For the Communist Party, the ideological winds of working-class consciousness are like fresh air that keeps feeding and refreshing its ranks. In turn, the Party adds to class consciousness a revolutionary direction.

From its founding convention, the Communist Party, USA has been a working-class party. But "in the various stages of development which the strug-

gles of the working class have passed through, the Communist Party always and everywhere represents the interests of the movement as a whole.”

From its founding convention on, the Communist Party has based its thought and activities on the great science of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the Party gives the working-class movement a scientific basis for its struggles. It gives the class struggle a direction, a revolutionary direction. It helps to instill in the workers a deeper consciousness of the class nature of capitalist exploitation, a consciousness of the class nature and class solution to the problems workers face.

For 60 years the Communist Party has influenced the character of the class struggle. While leading and taking part in the struggles for a better life, the Communist Party plants and nurtures the seeds of socialism. The significance of this contribution will grow as the struggles of the working class and the people of the United States move towards the historic point of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.

* * *

The injection of Marxist-Leninist ideas has been and will become an ever greater influence on the course of human events.

Because Communists are a revolutionary force and have a deeper understanding of the inner laws of capitalism, they make the best of all fighters for reforms.

When one comes to understand that *all* goods of value are the result of the labor of workers, then any demand of workers for wage increases or for a cut in hours of work without a cut in pay is totally justified. That is why Communists make good fighters for raising the standards of living of workers.

When a trade union leader comes to understand that production and the economic system can operate more efficiently without stockholders, corporate executives and without private profits, he or she becomes a better fighter for the workers' interests. Such a Communist trade union leader will rely on the support of the workers and will not succumb to backdoor agreements and accommodations that are against the interests of the workers.

Communist trade union leaders and generally people who understand that racism is an additional

instrument of exploitation, an instrument for extra corporate profits, and who understand that the struggle against racism is a key factor in the struggle for unity, for people's antimonopoly unity, make the most effective fighters on all fronts.

The latest example of this is the Supreme Court decision in the Weber case. It was the Communist Party that took the initiative to mobilize the trade union movement and other sectors of the people's movements in the struggle to reverse the lower court's decision. The Communist Party made a unique contribution to this victory. The Party correctly exposed the fact that it was a conspiracy to kill the whole concept of affirmative action.

The Party pointed out that while it was in the first place a conspiracy directed against Black and other racially and nationally oppressed peoples, it also had its web out for the working class as a whole. The Weber conspiracy was only the latest attempt to divide the working class.

Communists make good fighters against ever-escalating taxes because we believe that working people should not have to pay any taxes. Banks, big business and landlords should bear the tax burden.

In the struggles of everyday life, Communists are among the very best fighters for reforms and against the monopolies that create the crisis of everyday living.

Today there is developing a very basic crisis in the field of energy. The easy-to-get-at energy resources are slowly being depleted. But the people face two kinds of problems.

There is the longer-range problem of depletion, which our Party discussed some six years ago in a book, *The Energy Rip-Off: Cause and Cure*. It is becoming increasingly clear that we are going to sink into an ever deeper energy crisis because capitalism is not a system that can handle this type of change in the availability of energy resources.

There is also the shorter-range energy problem. This is a crisis created by the oil corporations by simply cutting the shipments of crude oil and the rate of oil refining. This is now causing the lines at the pump. It is a ripoff conspiracy by the oil companies and their government. The purpose of the created shortage is to raise the price of oil, heating fuel and gas. They are now achieving their purpose.

For many years the Communist Party has been advancing the concept of nationalization under democratic controls. It is an idea that is now being accepted by tens of millions.

* * *

Besides being a force in the everyday struggles of the people, the Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism, adds an important and unique ingredient to the mainstream of intellectual life.

Marxism-Leninism provides a science of history. It enables the historian to see the relationship between cause and effect, and to see in their interrelationship the influence of the laws of social development. It gives the historian an approach and a method with which to analyze the political, cultural and intellectual activities of people as makers of history. It gives the historian the ability to see the social relations between individuals and classes as makers of history.

Marxism-Leninism transforms the study of economics from the narrow limitations and restrictions of abstract speculation and statistics.

Marxism-Leninism rescues philosophy from the humiliating and hopeless role of propagandist and defender of capitalism. It liberates all thought from deadening confinements and isolation from real life.

Marxism deepens and enriches our appreciation and understanding of the aesthetic qualities in culture and the arts. It imbues culture with higher and more meaningful humanistic goals.

Marxism-Leninism enriches our sense of commitment and dedication to our fellow human beings in all fields of endeavor. Employed in the service of a dying way of life, intellectual activity itself dries up and dies. Marxism presents an alternative to this decaying process.

Marxism-Leninism rejects the concept of intellectual workers as non-partisan observers. It provides the key with which philosophers, economists, historians and cultural workers can escape from the prison of being merely neutral observers and can become active, partisan fighters for social progress—fighters who can change what they observe.

* * *

The “existing class struggle,” the “historical movements” continue to change. As state monopoly capitalism sinks deeper into the quagmire of its decay, the old contradictions will become sharper. New contradictions will appear. And the antihuman, reactionary character of the capitalist system will come into ever-sharper focus. This gives rise to new historical movements. It is giving rise to new anti-monopoly majorities.

The ever-escalating billions of dollars poured into the military budget are generating new anti-military peace majorities.

The resurgence of the extreme racism of the Ku Klux Klan and the rise of other Right-wing groups is contributing to a new anti-racist majority.

The skyrocketing inflation is giving rise to new majorities in the economic field. These new majorities will tend to coalesce in the arena of independent political action.

The Communist Party, USA will be challenged to fulfill its vanguard role within the flow of these new mass majorities.

Based on 60 years of leadership and struggle, we have confidence that the Communist Party, USA will meet this challenge and fulfill its historic role. The Communist Party, USA is celebrating 60 years of its glorious history. The best years of its life—the most productive and fruitful years—are still ahead.

Sixty Years of Communist Trade Union Work

GEORGE MORRIS

Through its sixty-year history, working to build and advance the trade union movement has always been No. 1 on the agenda of the Communist Party, USA. This flows from the fact that the CPUSA is the party of the working class, and that its fundamental aim is to build socialist society.

The approach of the two Communist parties founded in September 1919 to trade union work was not clearly defined at the outset. The 58,000 members of the Communist Party (CP) and the 10,000 of the Communist Labor Party (CLP) at one time had belonged to the Socialist Party (SP). In a basic sense, this shift of the majority of the old SP to communism was a rejection of the SP's petty-bourgeois orientation; opportunistic support of the class-collaborationist labor leaders; insensitivity to the class interests of the workers; and general aloofness from activity among rank-and-file trade unionists.

A high percentage of the membership of both parties were members of unions, many in basic industries. While these parties were in the process of formation and disengaging themselves from SP policies and practices, the biggest strike wave in U.S. history was in process. The Department of Labor recorded 4,160,000 workers, 20 per cent of the work force of the country, involved in strikes in 1919. As the Communist Parties were meeting, the final stage of preparation for the historic steel strike was under way. That strike of 365,000 workers, led by William Z. Foster, (then not in the CP) came three weeks after the CP convention, on September 22; it lasted until January 8, 1920.

The new parties hardly had a chance to charter branches, issue membership cards, engage in serious unity negotiations and begin to function as organizations before the Palmer Raids occurred on January 2, 1920. In that one night, under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, 10,000 people were hauled out of beds and homes, large numbers handcuffed, and some chained and paraded through

George Morris is a *Daily World* columnist.

streets. The headlines proclaimed that a plot to overthrow the government had been thwarted.

The real purpose, of course, was to deprive the Communist Party of a chance to even get started; to force the CP into immediate illegality and prevent it from developing an effective trade union program at a time when the strike wave was setting a new, high mark in the country's history. Another reason for these actions was to intensify the anti-Red hysteria.

The steel strike, already red-baited, was an object of the attack although Foster was then not a Communist and the strike had the sanction of the American Federation of Labor, including its president, Samuel Gompers.

Two important events occurred in the year that followed that had a significant influence on the development of Communist trade union policy and for turning Communists toward mass work. Lenin's famed book *Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* appeared in 1920 and soon after was published in the United States. Lenin sharply took on the sectarian tendencies in a number of Communist Parties. He showed the fallacy of progressives leaving the established mass membership unions to form "revolutionary" new unions with insignificant membership. Among the organizations he singled out for criticism was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), for playing into the hands of reactionary AFL leaders who were only too happy to be rid of progressive opponents.

Lenin also hit hard the boycott of political elections and the underestimation of the struggles for immediate demands, which was a tendency widespread among some European and U.S. Communists. This book was a shock to sectarians, but it was a powerful force that marked a turning point within Communist ranks and other radical groups in the U.S.

The other important event was the founding of the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU) in the spring of 1921. The U.S. delegation included

Foster and Mother Ella Reeve Bloor. There a program and line of tactics for progressive and democratic unionism was developed. Prior to Foster's trip to the RILU and meetings with unionists in some West European lands, he had set up the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL). The congress made a definite impact on Foster, and on his return he embarked on a very extensive nationwide tour. In his usual popular style, Foster explained the new approach for changing the already declining, craft-union dominated, stagnant labor movement whose bureaucratic leadership had neither the ability nor desire to modernize it. The tour gave the TUEL a fresh impetus and garnered wide support.

Meanwhile within Communist ranks substantial progress was being made towards unification. At that time, political conditions were favorable for open activity although there were still some who hesitated. A new stage was also beginning to take shape for a broader consolidation of Communist forces and their composition. Foster and his associates, experienced and popular trade unionists, joined the CP. Big Bill Haywood and a number of other prominent IWW leaders also joined. However, there was still a sizable part of the Socialist Party that was pro-Communist, who stayed on in the belief that it was possible to win the entire SP to support of the Communist International.

This group, led by J. Louis Engdahl (later first editor of the *Daily Worker*) joined the CP later and were followed by a substantial Jewish group led by Moissaye J. Olgin, an outstanding personality, writer and orator in the Jewish Left. At that time there were still some language organizations, notably the big Finnish Federation, that made the switch, and even some members of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) became Communists.

This fusion, following negotiations, began to jell into a new type of party. The orientation towards mass work and theoretical clarification was the cement that bound these forces. The formal, public unification occurred in December 1921, at the founding convention of the Workers Party.

* * *

The Workers Party did not spell out a clearly defined Communist program, but it steadily showed its Communist nature more emphatically. Within about a year, the last remnants of the underground were liquidated, and in time the Party was renamed

Workers (Communist) Party, and eventually Communist Party.

Following the Workers Party convention, the TUEL took on new vigor. This time there was full and enthusiastic support for it, both in Communist and radical ranks. The TUEL's three main slogans swept across the labor movement like a prairie fire. They were: amalgamation of craft unions into industrial forms; need for a Farmer-Labor Party; and recognition of Soviet Russia. Actually, the TUEL's earlier period was a continuation of the Left-Center coalition that figured in the steel strike. It was the support of the group of trade unionists led by John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, that made possible the AFL's formal approval of the steel organizing drive and the limited support that some of the AFL affiliates gave the steel strike.

In March 1922, after a sharp fight in the Chicago Federation, led by Fitzpatrick and Foster, approval was given to the TUEL's amalgamation resolution. The TUEL then took the Chicago resolution to the entire labor movement and scored as follows: They won passage of the resolution by 16 international unions; 17 state federations; scores of central labor councils and "thousands" of local unions. As Foster observed: "We were well within the truth when we declared at the time that more than 2,000,000 workers, or about half the organized trade union movement, responded to the TUEL amalgamation slogan," (*American Trade Unionism*, International Publishers, New York, page 82.)

The historic significance of the TUEL is that it was the first to develop the concept of organized rank-and-file action *within* trade unions to challenge reactionary domination, and to fight for programs of advanced unionism fully responding to the interests of its members.

In 1922 the TUEL expressed its objectives:

The Trade Union Educational League proposes to develop the trade unions from their present antiquated and stagnant condition into modern, powerful labor organizations, capable of waging successful warfare against capital. To this end it is working to revamp and remodel from top to bottom their theories, tactics, structure and leadership. . . . The League aggressively favors organization by industry instead of by craft. Although the craft form of union served a useful

purpose in the early days of capitalism, it is now entirely out of date. In face of the great consolidation of the employers, the workers must also close their ranks or be crushed. The multitude of craft unions must be amalgamated into a series of industrial unions. The League also aims to put the workers of America in contact with the fighting trade unionists of the rest of the world . . . The League is campaigning against the reactionaries, incompetents and crooks who occupy strategic positions in many of our organizations. It is striving to replace them with militants, with men and women unionists who look upon the labor movement not as a means of making an easy living, but as an instrument for achievement of working class emancipation.

So popular was the TUEL's initiative that even many in top labor circles joined in the cry against the policies of Samuel Gompers. The emergence of rank-and-file groups in many unions, inspired and assisted by the TUEL, was something new. Needless to add, TUEL's success became a source of worry to Gompers' machine.

The Left-Center coalition was taking shape in still another area that affected even broader unity—around the issue of forming a Farmer-Labor Party. At that time it was a broad movement involving Fitzpatrick, as well as other trade union forces and large sections of family farmers whom new technology was beginning to adversely affect.

Those developments climaxed in an agreement between the Workers Party and the TUEL for formation of the Federated Farmer Labor Party. At the founding convention Fitzpatrick, yielding to the intense pressure of the Gompers' forces, backed out of the terms of the agreement, made impossible demands, including exclusion of the Workers Party. These actions resulted in a split and a walkout by the Fitzpatrick-led minority of delegates. Notwithstanding the formal founding of the new party by the majority of the delegates who continued the convention, the major base for the organization was really with the Center forces who now swung far to the Right. The Left's mechanical and unskillful use of the majority was a major error.

"Our failing," wrote Foster, "was that we should have realized more clearly all this rightward trend and, instead of holding Fitzpatrick to his pre-convention agreement, made the greatest compro-

mises in order, if possible, to avoid such an open and sharp break." (*Ibid.*, page 120.)

The Rightward trend was, indeed, getting under way. Most of the strikes of the 1919-22 period were either lost or settled on terms that yielded a great deal to employers. Gompers' line of thinking was that concessions to employers would help save the unions in face of the ferocious open-shop drive and rapid displacement of real unions with company unions and class-collaborative arrangements like the B. & O. plan.* Some union leaders, seeking substitutes for the union's traditional role, promoted labor banking. There were about 35 such banks by the 1929 Crash, when most went up in smoke.

As the Chicago Federation of Labor yielded to the Rightward trend, the Gompers' bureaucracy lost no time in following with an intense campaign to smash the TUEL, falsely claiming it to be a "dual union" movement. The garment union leaders were encouraged to expel the New York, Chicago and several other locals to which nearly 70 per cent of the ILGWU membership belonged. Trade union leaders got in step with "Coolidge Prosperity" and the ideology of a "perpetual" prosperity and no economic crisis.

Such influences even seeped into some circles of the Workers Party under Jay Lovestone's secretaryship, after the untimely death of Charles Ruthenberg. The Lovestone theory was of "exceptionalism"—that U.S. capitalism is different, that basic Marxist principles do not apply. But while such theories were for some an excuse for inaction and stagnation and for a "respite" in the class struggle, the Party and the TUEL during the twenties kept the class struggle fires going intensely in defiance of the top labor bureaucracy, giving proof that workers will respond in defense of their own interests.

Some examples are: The eleven-month strike of 15,000 textile workers in Passaic in 1926 against a wage cut, in face of injunctions, fierce police brutality and maneuvers by the AFL bureaucracy to betray it, "stood out like a lighthouse in the midst of

*The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad plan (B&O) was essentially a union-management co-operation plan whereby union officials assisted employers in driving the workers; the basic theory was that speeding up the workers would increase steady work and result in higher wages, and that strikes were no longer necessary. This plan was agreed to by union leaders after the loss of a strike in 1922.

the prevailing fog of class collaboration in the AFL," wrote Foster. (*Ibid.*, page 149.); the Gastonia, North Carolina strike early in 1929, demonstrated that even in those times Southern textile workers responded to organization with a long, hard-fought strike; and it was the seventeen-week strike of 12,000 New York fur workers in February 1926, one of the hardest fought in that union's history, that won the first contractual agreement providing a 5-day, 42-hour week.

* * *

In response to the AFL bureaucratic mass expulsion of whole unions, districts and locals for supporting progressive policies, the TUEL changed its name to Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) to become not only a movement of rank-and-file groups within unions, but as well a home for the expelled unions and for newly organized workers in fields the existing unions ignored. By August 1929, the TUUL national conference represented 57,000 members in newly-organized unions. Of the 690 delegates from 18 states 64 were Black—an indication that the TUUL's orientation had put more emphasis in organizing Black workers.

The big economic crash was still a year off when two important events took place within the Workers (Communist) Party that affected its history most profoundly. A delegation just back from meeting with Leon Trotsky tried to pursue a course of disruption along ultra-Left and anti-Soviet lines. They were tried and expelled by the end of 1928. Soon after came a showdown with the Lovestonite Right that ended with riddance of their major lights early in 1929. The Party looked to important events in the period ahead and was determined to decisively end the factionalism that had lingered on for years and seriously retarded the Party's progress.

The action was not too soon because the crash came in October 1929, the start of the deepest economic crisis in world history. With the crash the assortment of anti-Marxist theories in Left circles, and the heavy tomes on "perpetual prosperity," also crashed. No longer restrained by factional disruption, the Party threw its entire membership and resources into the organization of unemployed; for public works jobs; unemployment insurance; and cash relief.

Five months after the crash, demonstrations

across the entire country on March 6, 1930, under the auspices of TUUL, the Unemployed Councils and the Communists, brought out a total of 1,250,000 people. That nationwide turnout, unprecedented in size, put the issues emphatically before the country and refuted the false claims of President Herbert Hoover's ideologues that recovery was "around the corner."

In the crisis years that followed, the Party's membership grew largely from the ranks of the unemployed workers and from the Left TUUL unions that also experienced some growth. The unions established were of coal miners, metal, textile, garment, fur, marine, auto, agricultural and cannery, and others. Most were not large, but they were an active force on the existing AFL organizations.

An important characteristic of the composition of the tens of thousands that joined the Unemployed Councils is that a very high percentage were Afro-American. During the period when general unemployment at times reached 17 million, Black people were the most victimized. Black leaders who had already gone through considerable experience in the CP, TUUL and TUEL in the twenties played a leading role in the unemployed movement. The movement of unemployed, the hunger marches and at relief offices activated Black people in mass struggles on a very large scale.

Another major development often ignored by "conventional" histories is the sweeping support received by the AFL Committee For Unemployment Insurance and Relief, headed by Louis Weinstock, a Communist. In 1934, testifying before a government hearing, Weinstock reported that more than 3,000 locals had endorsed the workers bill for unemployment insurance H.R. 2827. The AFL's executive council opposed unemployment insurance until its 1932 convention when it adopted a lip-service resolution.

Opponents of unemployment insurance resorted to numerous schemes to divert attention from real insurance. They sponsored "self-help" movements, or fake farm cooperatives. The CP, TUUL and the jobless councils demanded and eventually won cash relief, in place of baskets of stale surplus items. Jobs on government projects that popularly became known as WPA and PWA, with monthly pay that substantially surpassed the relief standards, were won too. But it took hard struggle, marching and

picketing at local relief stations, state offices and through mass marches on Washington. Sharp struggles also had to be waged against the Rightwing Socialists who usually sided with the labor bureaucracies. The struggle came to a head in the Workers Alliance, within which the Unemployed Councils and Socialist-led organizations had merged. As the Alliance grew to a membership of hundreds of thousands and became more militant, the Socialists left.

The tenseness of the struggles in that period can be judged by the report of the Labor Research Association which records that between 1929 and 1933, 23 persons, mostly Communists and Young Communist League members, were killed.

Contrary to bourgeois history, the "New Deal" reforms were not magnanimous handouts by the Roosevelt Administration. During the first three years the National Recovery (NRS) policy was mainly aimed at making business and profits more viable to provide the "trickle-down" cure. In terms of union bargaining rights, the policy brought forth so-called plant councils that were hardly distinguishable from the Coolidge-era company unions. Consequently, there was a steady escalation of struggles, with the Roosevelt Administration the target.

Consequently, there was a steady escalation of struggles, with the Roosevelt Administration the target.

The key struggle against these fake unions began in 1933-34 on San Francisco's waterfront for abolition of the "Blue Book" union that served the ship-owners well. A small but vigorous group of rank-and-file Communist and other militant longshoremen, headed by Harry Bridges, published a bulletin called *Waterfront Worker*. After a series of demonstrations, including the mass burning of the "Blue Books," the longshoremen stuck, and, in solidarity with them the dockworkers at all West coast ports walked off. Soon the seamen joined the strike and made it so effective that intervention and threats were tried from Washington, the AFL and other sources. But all efforts were futile. Notwithstanding opposition from Central Labor Council leaders, the pressure from San Francisco's unions grew strong enough to force a general strike in solidarity with the striking maritime workers.

A Presidential mediator eventually came to seek a

settlement. The longshoremen won substantial concessions, including the union-supervised hiring hall and the basic 6-hour day. But by far the most significant result of that strike is that it forced the Roosevelt Administration to make good on some of its promised reforms. The wheels of Congress began to move more speedily with enactment by July 1935 of the Wagner Labor Relations Law, unemployment insurance and social security and public housing construction. And especially important was the example set by the West Coast maritime workers.

* * *

The split within the AFL bureaucracy and first steps for establishment of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) by John L. Lewis after the 1935 convention of the federation, led to a change of trade union policy by the Left. Calling for unity to implement the CIO's objectives of industrial unionism and organization of the unorganized, the TUUL began negotiations for merger of its unions with existing mass AFL organizations; for AFL charters of TUUL affiliates where possible; and where reactionary labor leaders rejected any forms of unification, some locals were dissolved, and the members urged to join as individuals. Rank and file movements in unions, of course, were not dissolved.

The perspective was clearly for the Communists to play a big role in the change that was in the making. And the Party carried out an extensive education campaign for that policy. In the months that followed, a new Left-Center unity began to take shape with the rising momentum of struggles and organizing drives. The leaders of the CIO had previous records that hardly placed any of them in the "Center." The new events, urgency of changes, and the growing fear of fascism, then a world-wide threat, moved them towards the Center. As Saul Alinsky, Lewis' biographer, explained it:

When Lewis turned to help the auto workers, he saw that they were being organized and led by the leftists. The leaders and organizers of the UAW group in General Motors were the left wingers, Wyndham Mortimer and Robert Travis. These two built the union inside the General Motors empire. If Lewis wanted to take the auto workers into the CIO he had to take in their left wing leadership. . . . Every place where new

industrial unions were being formed, young and middle aged Communists were working tirelessly. . . . The Communist Party was then operating in a climate of mass disillusion and bitterness. . . . In these receptive circumstances, the Communist Party was welcomed in many quarters. Their issues and action appealed to countless Americans . . . the fact is that the Communist Party made a major contribution in the organization of the unorganized for the CIO. (John L. Lewis, p. 153.)

Most importantly in Alinsky's book, which was published in the cold war year 1949, is its refutation of many of the so-called histories of labor picturing the Communists and others on the Left as "infiltrators" who "conspire" to get into unions. Alinsky, explaining Lewis' view in the interviews with him observed that it was Lewis who sought the cooperation of the Communists, invited them and welcomed their part in the drive that spelled one of labor's biggest historic steps forward. Foster called that rise "the new trade union renaissance." It certainly was. The Left-Center relationship—its key element—continued with Philip Murray after the break with Lewis and extended for about a decade.

Moreover, in the course of the CIO's development, its Left infused it with progress beyond its first-stated objectives: more democratic unionism, the shop steward system, labor internationalism, more aggressive legislative action and far more substantial representation of Blacks in higher union office than any time in the past.

While an organizing drive in steel was drawing the CIO's main attention, manpower and funds during 1936, the historic dynamics of the auto plants were becoming the focal point of the next key struggle. Tensions were mounting. Flash reports of stoppages, brief sit-downs were a daily occurrence. But as yet there were no unions, no contracts and even the enacted Wagner Act was toothless because it was not yet validated by the Supreme Court.

Flint, Michigan, was the heart of General Motors empire yet only the remnants of five UAW locals that had formed out of the plant councils remained. As in most places in the country the plant councils had become skeletons when the workers left in disgust.

Wyndham Mortimer, a Communist, who headed the White Motors local in Cleveland, one of the few unionized auto plants, was chosen by the national union to go to Flint to do what seemed impossible.

On occasions when this author drove with Mortimer from Detroit to Flint he described the existing locals as largely made up of company agents and declared he wouldn't introduce a new member to such locals. He simply went door-to-door armed with UAW literature working for weeks to renew confidence in the UAW. But the first real break came some days after Roosevelt's 1936 re-election. A sitdown action of about 500 workers stopped the line at GM's Fisher No. 1 plant at midnight. But unlike previous times, this time workers came forward as spokesmen for the sitdowners and demanded the reinstatement of four fired workers. The stoppage was settled on the spot, lasting only until the fired workers were located.

Next morning, as the story flashed through Flint, workers began to sign UAW applications openly in front of plant gates. Bob Travis, another Communist union leader, came from Toledo to help. Mortimer was careful not to in any way connect the flood of new members with the stool-pigeon ridden old locals. That short rehearsal in Fisher I was in effect also a rehearsal for the small group of Communist live wires in Fisher I who made up the shop unit. On Dec. 30 came a call from Flint while a meeting was in progress in Detroit, that Fisher I was downed by a sitdown. All at the meeting, as at Toledo and Cleveland, rushed to cars, buses, hot-footed for Flint for the mass picket line in support of the sitdowners. By the time we reached Flint, the workers inside had already organized a well-ordered community-patrol, feeding, maintenance of order, even police duties, with the Communists in the chairmanship and other of the key responsibilities.

As the six-week sitdown continued it became evident that it was the staunch position of the leading group inside that proved most decisive in insuring the great victory. They stood steadfast against injunctions, threats from Washington, state and the courts. They defied the vigilante gangsters GM organized to oust the sitdowners forcefully. They held the plant until Feb. 12, 1937, when Mortimer brought to them the contract GM's president signed earlier that day in a Detroit court. They marched out organized like a victorious army to the cheers of many thousands.

The significance of the Flint sitdown went far beyond the few cents an hour and a form of union recognition won by the workers. It was the strike

that broke through the anti-union wall. In effect it was the strike that really established the CIO. Within days after the Flint victory, U.S. Steel and soon most other steel firms signed contracts. The Supreme Court's validation of the Wagner Act came some weeks later.

The upsurge of new union organization and consolidation in the next several years was phenomenal. Within three years after the Flint victory, national union membership more than doubled to over eight million. By 1945, the figure nearly doubled again to more than 14 million, according to the Department of Labor. The AFL unions, by force of competition or due to the haste of many employers to reach agreements with them because of fear of the CIO, also were in step with CIO growth. Much craft unionism went to the winds during this rivalry.

The tenseness of the struggles did not lessen. There was still the "Little Steel" plants with 200,000 workers and the giant Ford holdout to unionize. They were pulled into line after hard and bloody battles like the Memorial Day massacre of 10 strikers. In those struggles Communists had a very vital role, notably in the main Ford plant where the nucleus for unionism had for many years since the twenties been mostly the Communist Party's shop organization, and its regularly printed and well circulated shop paper.

The much-planned Southern organizing drive of the CIO had a bad start. First because the men Philip Murray placed in charge took the racist approach that it was to be conducted "in the traditions of the South." Secondly it came too close to the Nazi invasion of the USSR and later U.S. entry in the war, when labor organizing generally subsided. The emphasis in the CIO was on all-out production to beat fascism; observance of the no-strike pledge a virtual wage freeze for the duration. Also millions of union workers either were drafted or volunteered for the armed services.

There was, however, one major achievement in the Southern organizing drive that took place during the war. The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. plant of Winston-Salem, N.C., employing 11,000 workers, about equally of Blacks and whites, was unionized by the Left-led Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union. It was then the largest unionized plant in the South and has never yet been

surpassed in size in the South. The shining star in that struggle was Moranda Smith, who became organizer for the FTAWU, eventually rising to district director. She was Black and a Communist. Under the leadership of Moranda Smith and her associates in the plant, Winston-Salem, once a center of the slavocracy, made many advances in the struggle against racism—one such struggle was the election of a Black man to the Winston-Salem city council. And on one occasion Paul Robeson addressed a union-sponsored rally of 12,000.

This outstanding example of Black-white unity and power hardly pleased those in the CIO's leadership who planned a drive "in the traditions of the South." As the cold war got under way in 1947 they raided the union by using the leaders of a much smaller union in the CIO, of Black Transport Service Workers, to vie for the bargaining representation election which also involved the Black Reynolds workers. That trick, combined with an intense racist no-union drive among the whites, left Reynolds Local 22 with just a shade below the needed majority. Reynolds was rid of a bargaining representative. Moranda Smith died in 1950, still a young woman of only 34. The Tobacco Workers Union of the AFL-CIO made a third try recently to win an election at Reynolds and failed again. Stench bombs blow away, but the combination of red-baiting and racism don't.

* * *

During the war there was already the beginning of a movement towards a "cold war" in some of the CIO and AFL unions. Rightwing forces, mostly inspired and led by the extreme Right Social Democrats, joined an assortment of advocates of a peaceful settlement with Hitler to actively agitate for the kind of war they really wanted—a war against the Soviet Union. In that struggle, until 1946, the Left and the Murray Administration of the CIO were allied.

Even before the war's end in Europe, the founding convention of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was held in London. It was sponsored jointly by the CIO, the British and the Soviet trade unions and had the broadest worldwide trade union representation known until that time.

During and immediately after the war, there was much talk in the CIO of making up for the losses; continuing the struggle for more "New Deal" re-

forms that the war sidetracked; resumption of the Southern organizing drive and of the force for world peace that the WFTU was expected to be. But like a lightning bolt from a clear sky, came the cold war. There was screening of workers, mass dismissals, witchhunts, use of the Smith Act to arrest and jail Communist leaders, McCarthyism and all the rest of that now familiar story. The peak of this anti-Communist frenzy came at the 1949 CIO convention where progressive-led unions with a million members were expelled. Some days later, the CIO led a movement for withdrawals from the WFTU.

In the thirty years since the expulsions, the cost of anti-Communism was frightfully high. From the 34 per cent rate of unionization of the non-agricultural work force, the rate is now below 26 per cent. No new major social reforms have been won in the period since. A national health law is still far from reality. Some of the major gains in the Wagner Labor Relations Act have been chewed off by the Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin, right-to-work and other anti-labor legislation. Recent efforts for some modest reforms the trade union movement has been demanding, were rejected by Congress. The 1977 convention of the AFL-CIO, for example, reported a loss of a half million members in two years.

The anti-union forces, never relaxing in their efforts, are currently taking a page out of the 1920s, but in a "modern," computerized way, of course. Supplementing the "traditional" strikebreaking and union-busting methods, a tremendous industry has developed consisting of firms that operate out of oak-paneled offices, whose business is counseling companies on how to get rid of unions.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, surveying the latest threat, voiced loud concern. But looking three generations back when similar concern was voiced, it is hard to overlook some of the similarities. It took a great upsurge by labor to defeat much of the old union-busting system and to get enactment of some legal protection for the rights of workers and unions. The Party today stresses essentially the same basic principle and experience that had their test decades back. The choice is between reliance on the class collaboration game and serving as the "guardians of the status quo," as Walter Reuther once characterized the Meany group in the AFL-CIO, or uniting forces, Left and Center, for an active and militant challenge of the old bureaucracy.

Not since the pre-CIO days has dissatisfaction among workers in the trade unions been as open and strong as it is today.

In fact, there's been a marked increase in the number of trade union conferences, statements of protest, petitions, tractorcades, etc. And the rising wave of strike struggles, many initiated and propelled by the rank and file, are a clear indication that the workers intend to make a steadfast fight for their rights. Also, many top union leaders have in recent times reflected the anger in the ranks, even with sharp denunciations of the ruling AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Communists and other progressives certainly welcome such rising sentiment. But so far, there have been no steps taken for common action, even among those leaders who call for a change.

Part of that process to assist labor's common action is undertaken by such organizations as TUAD. Communists, in unity with other Left forces, supported the founding of the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) at a conference of 900 delegates held in Chicago, June 27-28, 1970. Since its founding, TUAD and such rank-and-file journals as *Labor Today* have inspired and assisted numerous rank-and-file movements, conferences, and union caucuses on a variety of issues that affect the best interests of all workers.

The general direction of the TUAD is toward key changes that will make the U.S. labor movement more democratic, representative, militant and genuinely united so it can more effectively address the new social and economic advances virtually sidetracked since the cold war days.

As I look back to the Party's 60 years in trade union work—remembering where small groups of active Communists, and others on the Left, became the actual founders of powerful plant organization by hard and patient work put in long before there was even a skeleton of a union—the evidence is overwhelming in support of the Party's present emphasis on industrial concentration. The need for rank-and-file organization, as well as for shop clubs, shop papers, and shop distributions is being acknowledged by more and more trade unionists. To that end, the Party has and continues to be a part of the developing rebellion in the unions, assisting the development of organized forms of unity and struggle and influencing the direction of basic, needed changes of the trade union movement.

Communist Theory and Practice for Black Liberation

KENDRA ALEXANDER

In 1867 Karl Marx, in his epoch-making work *Capital*, made the penetrating observation, "Labor can not emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Guided by this great truth, from its founding and throughout its sixty years, the Communist Party of the United States has been dedicated to lifting the noxious brand of oppression placed by capitalism on Afro-Americans and to achieving the complete emancipation of labor in all the many hues in which it exists in our country.

In doing so it has built on a heritage established by pioneer Marxists in the United States. F.A. Sorge and Joseph Weydemeyer, for example, exemplified the abolitionist contributions of early Marxists. They agitated and organized against slavery among Northern workers, particularly immigrant workers. They helped to raise troops for the Union Army in the Civil War, and the latter rose to the position of commander of the St. Louis district during that war. They also strove to organize Black and white workers together in trade unions.

Early socialist parties in the U.S., however, failed to work out a program of demands to end the special oppression of Black people, and did not recognize the significance and give active support to the demands advanced by Black people themselves.

Daniel DeLeon, leader of the Socialist Labor Party from 1890 to 1914, advanced one of the erroneous views behind that failure, denying that Black oppression was anything distinct from the common oppression of all workers. Black people, he said, are "a special division in the ranks of labor. . . . In no respect is he different from his fellow wage slaves of other races." (William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, International Publishers, New York, 1952, p. 87.)

The Socialist Party, in keeping with the oppor-

tunistic domination of its leadership, from its founding in 1901 also pursued a chauvinist policy. To the special oppression of Black people—to lynching, segregation, disenfranchisement, to racist repression and superexploitation—they provided no answer except to vote Socialist. Some sections of the Socialists expounded outright racist views; the SP maintained segregated locals in the South; and in 1910 an SP convention adopted a resolution opposing Chinese, Japanese and other Asian immigration to the U.S. With such views, it is little surprise that the SP remained without mass influence among Black people and with practically no Black members.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a militant industrial trade union center established in 1905, welcomed Black members and denounced lynching and discrimination, and had at least one prominent Black leader, Ben Fletcher of Philadelphia.

The Communist Party was from its earliest days unequivocally in favor of Black equality and Black-white unity. Foster wrote succinctly, "From the beginning the Communist Party had broken with the white chauvinist traditions of the SP and the SLP and recognized that the Negro question was a special one, requiring special demands and special methods of struggle." (*The Negro People in American History*, International Publishers, New York, 1954, p. 462.) The key slogan adopted by the young Party called for "complete economic, political and social equality" for Black people and for united organization of Black and white workers.

These concepts were carried vigorously into action. In the labor field, the wartime meatpacking organizing drive led by Foster and Jack Johnstone, both of whom soon became Communists, brought 20,000 Black workers into unions. The steel organizing drive of 1919, though defeated, also established new bonds of interracial labor solidarity. The Trade Union Educational League carried on in this tradition in the 1920s. In 1925 the American Negro Labor Congress was founded, under Communist leadership. This organization led

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a number of strikes, and advanced the cause of militant trade unionism. It laid the basis for the later National Negro Congress and National Negro Labor Council.

The Party took its forthright challenge to the racists and Bourbons South, including in every election campaign from 1924. Henry Winston, national chairman of the CPUSA and himself a native of Mississippi, wrote of this, "For years, almost alone, it led the struggle in the Deep South, under conditions comparable to those faced in Hitler Germany, for full freedom, for the fight of Black people to vote, to organize, to have equal access to all public places, for the repeal of the poll tax and for an end to lynching. Many of its members, Negro and white, gave their lives in those early bitter battles. . . . Scottsboro, Angelo Herndon, the Martinsville Seven, Willie Mcgee, Rose Lee Ingram, are but a few of the great rallying cries that were later transformed into the battle cries of Selma and Mississippi." ("Unity and Militancy for Freedom and Equality," February 1968 *Political Affairs*.)

In 1929, the Communist Party adopted a resolution which added something qualitatively new to the analysis of this question: a definition of its national character. Pointing out that Afro-Americans were oppressed *as a people*, the Communists called for realization of their national rights, specifically (and this was in addition to the continued struggle for "full economic, political and social equality") the right to self-determination, including the right to statehood, in the majority Black areas of the South. Although later, at the Party's 17th convention, the self-determination slogan was judged to be inappropriate for expressing the nature of the Afro-American national struggle and its goals, the call for realization of *national rights* for Black Americans was an important departure.

In the 1930s the Communist Party was in the forefront of the popular upsurge which brought millions into struggle for unemployment insurance, for industrial organization, for independent political action. Everywhere, Communists, Black and white, distinguished themselves as fighters against all forms of discrimination. The antifascist Abraham Lincoln Brigade, under Communist influence, became the first thoroughly integrated

armed force in U.S. history.

As a result, the Communist Party became an organization which embodied interracial, and especially Black and white working-class unity, differently than any other organization had. It developed a substantial Black membership and mass influence. In its membership and leadership it symbolized that unity—developing such outstanding Black leaders as Henry Winston, Benjamin J. Davis, William L. Patterson, James W. Ford, Louis Burnham, Claudia Jones, Edward Strong, Claude Lightfoot, James E. Jackson, Hosea Hudson, Mildred McAdory, Pettis Perry, Ray Hansborough, Moranda Smith, Ben Careathers, Cyril Briggs and Otto Hall. The Communist Party won the title of "the party of the Negro people."

After World War II, Communists contributed greatly to the work of such organizations as the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) headed by William L. Patterson. The CRC defended many victims of frameup charges, and did much to bring international pressure to bear against the continuing barbaric practices of jim crow by drawing up and presenting to the United Nations a petition, "We Charge Genocide," documenting the brutal treatment of Afro-Americans. This was presented to the UN by Patterson in Paris and by the immortal Paul Robeson in New York City on the same day.

Centrality of Black Liberation

Throughout the various stages of development of the Party's theoretical analysis of the oppression of Black people, there has been a continuous theme, a running thread, that the freedom cause of Black people is absolutely essential to the emancipation objective of the U.S. working class and the democratic development of the nation as a whole. This is how it was put, for example, in 1951 by Gus Hall, then national secretary of the CPUSA, on the occasion of Negro History Week: "One of the most important lessons for the working class is the historically affirmed fact that there can be no major social advance in the United States as long as the masses accept, defend or are passive towards the oppression and subjugation of the Negro people."

The Party then still upheld the position of the right of self-determination for the Black Belt. However, that was by no means the full extent of our

position. The Party advanced the right to self-determination for millions of Black people in areas of the South where they constituted a majority, but also recognized that there were additional millions of Black people living in and subject to special oppression in the urban centers of the South and North.

In the same speech, Hall warned against any position which would place all 14 million Black people as part of the "Negro nation." Any attempt to do so would dilute the struggle for the full economic, social and political rights of Black people in the nation as a whole. He further pointed out, "It does not see the Negro worker as an integral part of the working class." Such views made Communists consistent advocates of Black representation, in public office and in the labor movement. The Left-led unions of the CIO were notable in this regard. When Communists advanced such demands in Right-dominated unions, they were accused by class collaborationist and Right Social Democratic forces of advocating "discrimination in reverse"—and this was thirty to forty years ago!

A major turning point in our Party's theoretical delineation of the nature of the oppression of Black people took place in 1958, with the presentation of a document written by James E. Jackson (then Southern Regional Secretary of the Party and Chairman of the Negro Commission) entitled "New Features of the Negro Question in the U.S." (this and the below-cited discussion were published as a pamphlet under this title)

This document gave rise to intense discussions throughout the Party and resulted in the adoption of a 1959 resolution which has guided the Party's theory and action in relation to the Black liberation struggle for the last 20 years.

It is sometimes charged by opponents of the Party that in this document our Party simply dropped the concept of nationhood in the Black Belt and with it our concept of the national character of Black oppression. Nothing could be further from the truth. The new position more accurately and scientifically defined the national character of the question, and charted a course of struggle against all forms of oppression.

One of the major contributing factors in the

change of policy in 1959 from nationhood and the right of self-determination for the Black Belt to the present position, which characterizes Black people as an oppressed *national minority* within the U.S., was the change in the class composition and geographical distribution of Black people themselves.

In the study referred to previously, Jackson demonstrated that "U.S. capitalism...has transformed the Negro people from primarily an exploited peasantry into the most productive base of super-profit—into basically an exploited and oppressed working people."

Here we see the impact of the objective development of capitalism on the freedom goals of Black people. During the Great Depression, it was a widely held view that U.S. capitalism would be incapable of drastic expansion of its productive forces after that devastating crisis. It was felt that capitalism had reached a period of stagnation from which it could not recover. Consequently, the analysis was that Black people would remain primarily sharecroppers and poor farmers, thus stabilizing "the nation in the Black Belt region of the South." But it became clear during and after World War II that U.S. capitalism was still capable of considerable expansion, and would and did tap the labor supply of the Black Belt to a greater extent than ever before.

This resulted in large scale migration of Black people from the rural areas of the South to Southern cities and to the industrialized cities of the North and West. Thus, between 1940 and 1950 the Black population in Michigan and California doubled. This migratory trend continued, so that by 1958, of the 7,364,000 Black people in the civilian labor force, 5,582,000 were employed in non-agricultural industry and only 758,000 were employed in agriculture. (*Ibid.*)

These figures clearly indicate that by 1958 the class composition of Black people had dramatically shifted from primarily peasant to overwhelmingly working-class.

Did this basic shift in the class composition of Black people mean that the oppression of Black people had shifted from national oppression to "only" working-class exploitation?

The draft document "New features of the Negro question in the U.S." clearly and emphatically

answered this question: "To conclude that Negro people in the U.S. are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in the U.S. is not a national question. It is indeed a National Question. . . . The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for its solution?"

The discussions in the Party prior to the adoption of the 1959 position focused on these questions. In reading the documents of the period, one is struck by the openness of the debate and the depth of the discussion. It was an exciting and challenging debate and represented some of the best Marxist thinking, from both Black and white, in our Party.

For example, Benjamin Davis (Communist Councilman from Harlem) reemphasized the triple aspect of the oppression of Black people. He said, "To me this question has three fundamental aspects: the national character of the Negro question, the racial character of the Negro question, and the class character of the Negro question."

A Black comrade from the South spoke in graphic terms about the changing class composition of Black people: "I was raised in one of those Black Belt counties, a cotton belt county. I can hardly find anybody now in that some county, where there were once hundreds and hundreds of Negro sharecroppers. You ride for hundreds of miles and see only trees and woods. The people are gone. Where are they? I consider they are where the report says they are, in the shops, factories, unemployed—in the Southern cities as well as in the Northern cities."

James S. Allen said, "We made a real and lasting contribution also in seeing the Negro people, as they struggle for freedom today, as an ally of the working class. We saw clearly the strategic importance of this alliance for the Negro people and for the working class as a whole. . . . The Negro-Labor Alliance is the key to progress in this country." A woman from New York placed special emphasis on the particular oppression of Black women. She said, "The Negro women's relation to our social structure is a question of the gravest importance to the Negro people in general, and especially to the Communist Party."

The Civil Rights Decade

Our Party based its 1959 position on solid, statistically proven facts, on a creative application of Marxist-Leninist thought on the national question, and on an open, democratic, collective discussion in the Party. This laid the theoretical base for our Party's participation in the dramatic unfolding movement of Black people for their democratic and civil rights of the mid-1950s through the late 1960s.

It is important to place this development in the context of the colonial-world shattering struggle for national independence, especially on the African continent.

This period witnessed the thunderous uprising of the African masses demanding an end to colonial domination and national liberation for their countries. The U.S. parallel of this historic struggle was sparked when that heroic Black woman, Rosa Parks, refused to move to the back of the bus in 1956 in Montgomery, Alabama.

In the mid-1950s, the center of the storm of Black protest was directed at the brutal, racist barriers of legal segregation in the South. Many of freedom's fighters were murdered and thousands went to jail in the course of this protracted battle.

In the 1958 discussion document our Party had placed the need for a central political demand to emerge from this movement. "At the heart of this political struggle for Negro rights must be the fight for the ballot, for free and universal suffrage rights. Accompanying this central demand and limited only by the advances made in achieving full suffrage rights, is the fight for Negro representation."

As the walls of *legal* segregation began to crumble under the assault of this massive people's democratic movement, led by Black people, but encompassing peoples of all colors and nationalities, a renewed Black consciousness began to emerge. The cry for "Black Power" could be heard across the land. The "Black Power" slogan was given many different interpretations but at its base was the political understanding of Black people that they deserved and would fight for "the right to have a full voice in deciding the affairs which govern the fate of the nation."

The Party's draft document also made clear what it meant by "Negro representation." "In its essence, therefore, the struggle for Negro rights is not a mere 'civil rights' fight, it is a political struggle: a

struggle for majority rule in the localities where they are dominant people in the population; a struggle for genuinely democratic representative government in accordance with their numbers in the nation as a whole."

The basic essence of this concept was embodied in the popularly used slogan of "Black Power." This political understanding and the movement which supported it were directly responsible for the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Another important contribution our Party made to this movement was its understanding of the South's strategic importance to the Black liberation movement as a whole. "In general the large areas of the Negroes' concentrated numbers become the center where mass action of the Negro people is generated, the vortices of the Negro people's movement which draw into the freedom struggle Negroes everywhere." As an outgrowth of this movement Black political formations began to develop. The most notable example was the Southern Freedom Democratic Party, which almost succeeded in unseating the racist, reactionary Mississippi Democratic Party delegation at the National Democratic Party Convention in 1964.

Another important consequence of this movement was an actual increase in the election of Black people to public office, especially in the economically and politically depressed areas of the South. But this trend was also present in the cities with large Black populations of the industrialized North. The nation began to witness the election of Black mayors in such big industrialized cities as Gary, Detroit, Cleveland, Newark and, more recently, Los Angeles. In most cases these elections were made possible by the development of important coalitions between the Black community and trade union and working-class forces. In the words of the 1959 resolution: "the Negro-Labor Alliances."

The civil rights movement had the Communist Party's full and unswerving support. Hundreds of Communists were directly involved in the Freedom Rides and Freedom Summers as well as in building support for the movement in the North. As early as 1958 our young comrades were active in this struggle. Robert Kaufman, who recently lost his valiant struggle against cancer, was one of the first volunteers to take the long and difficult freedom ride to

Houston, Texas, to aid his Black brothers and sisters in struggle. And many young fighters joined our Party as a direct result of their participation in this movement.

I was one of those young people who went South in the summer of 1965 to fight freedom's cause. It was the startling disparity between our assault on the legal barriers of segregation (the fight to integrate restaurants and toilets) and the minimal impact this had on the terrible poverty most Black people were forced to endure which led me to seek more fundamental solutions to the oppression of Black people. I found those solutions in Marxist-Leninist theory and in the Communist Party, USA.

In the decade of the 1930s our Party's personalities led the unemployed struggles and pioneered industrial trade union organizing; in the 1940s it led in the rallying of the young generation under the united front banner of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. But why was our Party not in the direct leadership ranks of *this* movement?

Again we must look at the national context. We were just emerging from the worst effects of the anti-Communist McCarthyite grip on our nation. Thousands of progressives and Communists had lost their jobs and livelihoods. The monopoly capitalist ruling class had attempted, through lies and distortions and outright jailing of Communist Party leaders, to destroy our Party. The anti-Communist hysteria of that period had left its mark on the consciousness of the nation. This was also reflected among Black people. I recall vividly the discussion in the Black community of Jonesboro, Louisiana, in the summer of 1965 about the war in Vietnam. Most of the older Black people were opposed to the war but were also vehemently opposed to leaders of the civil rights movement publicly taking that position. Their argument was simple and to the point: "If we say we're against the war they'll call us Communist and that will destroy the civil rights movement."

The Communist Party was deeply sensitive to this sentiment and consequently was very cautious about interjecting its open role in this movement. This point was made by Robert Thompson: "we must approach the question of Left initiative and Left centers among Negro people with a great deal of caution and deliberation. Certainly, our criteria

for such action and initiative must be that they contribute to those trends and currents which help to unify the Negro people's movement." (*Ibid.*, p. 16)

Whether or not we were entirely correct in this caution will be decided collectively by our Party. However, one thing is clear. That attitude, like our entire tactics and program, was determined by a sincere commitment to help to unify and advance the freedom struggle. Our Party's deliberations on the nature of the oppression of Black people and our program for its solution had and will continue to have a fundamental impact.

A Force for Clarity

Our Party held a special convention in the summer of 1968 which named Communist Party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States. It unanimously named as our standard bearer Charlene Mitchell, a Black woman and member of the Party's Political Committee (she is presently executive secretary of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression).

This nomination represented a first on the U.S. political scene. No party in the history of our country had ever before named a Black woman as its presidential candidate. Charlene Mitchell's nomination was symbolic of the Party's firm and principled position on the Black liberation struggle.

This period is best characterized by the following quote from *Strategy for a Black Agenda*, by Henry Winston, the national chairman of our Party. Statistics alone, he said, "cannot possibly convey the disaster of racism, poverty and oppression affecting every aspect of the lives of Black Americans today. The end of the decade of Civil Rights struggles left the Black masses with a feeling of vast frustration; not only had their condition failed to improve, it had worsened." This was the reason for the wave of urban rebellions which swept across the nation.

A wave of fierce ruling-class repression was unleashed against the Black people's movement.

Angela Davis, a Communist, was framed on a murder charge for her leadership role in the struggle against racism in general and her fight to free victims of racist and political repression in particular. Dozens of militants of the Black Panther Party fell victim to brutal police repressions.

Dr. Martin Luther King, a passionate advocate of

mass militant action in freedom's cause, an opponent of the war in Vietnam, and a fighter for Black workers' rights, was shot down in cold blood by agents of U.S. monopoly capitalism. His murder was the culmination of the ruling class campaign to discredit him because of his developing anti-imperialist views and his developing conviction of the critical role of Black workers in the overall cause of Black liberation.

His murder and the resultant leadership vacuum reinforced and gave rise to many divergent views as to the path of Black liberation. A strong nationalist trend emerged.

Our Party was also engaged in intense discussion about the course of the Black liberation movement. The February 1968 issue of *Political Affairs*, theoretical journal of the Party, entitled "The Battle for Black Liberation" illuminates the nature of this discussion. The major concerns of our Party were how to view the various trends within the Black liberation struggle and our program of action to advance the full economic, political and social equality of Black Americans.

In the opening article, "Unity and Militancy for Freedom and Equality," Henry Winston stated: "We do not claim any special rights for our pioneering efforts, only the right to continue the struggle we will never cease." This statement is at the heart of everything that follows. Our Party was demanding its right to be heard. There had to be a voice which emerged from the confusion, which could offer to Black and white working masses and all exploited and oppressed people a way out of the crisis. Our Party was preparing to meet this challenge.

To play this important role in combatting confusion, it was necessary to clarify certain things within our own ranks.

Our Party was going through a difficult internal situation. There was a faction-like atmosphere due to efforts to use the ideological confusion which existed in all aspects of the mass movement, as well as in the Black liberation struggle, to attack the working-class ideology of our Party.

Many young people, Black, white, Chicano and Puerto Rican, had joined our Party directly out of these movements. They brought with them a militancy and an eagerness for struggle. But they also

carried with them a certain amount of the confusion that was so prevalent. Many basically honest young people were swept up in revolutionary imagery as opposed to being grounded in Marxist-Leninist theory.

In *Strategy for a Black Agenda* (International Publishers, New York, 1973) Winston pinpoints one expression of ideological confusion in the chapter entitled "The Meaning of San Rafael." "Today some radicals point to Frederick Douglass' support of the slave revolts and the many abolitionist struggles that led to confrontations in the North, while ignoring his overall political strategy and overlooking the wide mass character of the non-electoral struggles which influenced the developing political realignment. In this they attempt to justify actions that, within today's context, divert from, rather than reinforce mass struggle."

What was to be learned from this comradely correction of wrong ideas? First, it taught young people who were learning Marxism-Leninism to look deeper into questions and not to base their analysis on momentary and transitory trends, to understand our role as initiators of mass action. They learned not to be applauders of acts of desperation that grew out of racist oppression, but rather to become leaders in the struggle to eradicate that oppression once and for all. These were the guiding ideas of the struggle which dramatically broke the chains of the racist, anti-Communist frameup of Angela Davis.

The main importance of the struggle against wrong ideas in our Party was to equip our members to go forth into movements and struggles where confusion reigned, to do ideological battle and win the understanding that the working class, Black and white, is the revolutionary agent of change.

Our Party entered this battle of ideas with full force. We were not only activists and leaders of movements, but we also produced a body of profound, Marxist-Leninist literature that dealt with the trends, developments and the direction for the Black freedom cause. Notable among these were *Black Power and Black Liberation* by Claude Lightfoot; the special February 1968 issue of *Political Affairs*, "The Battle for Black Liberation"; *Black Workers and the Class Struggle* by Roscoe Proctor, James E. Jackson's *Revolutionary Tracings*, and

Strategy for a Black Agenda and Class, Race and Black Liberation by Henry Winston.

At this turning point of the movement, fair weather friends of the cause of Black equality were abandoning ship right and left, using the excuse of the ghetto rebellions and the emphasis on Black pride as "proof" that Black people were "going too far." They completely failed or refused to see the source of violence—monopoly capitalism's daily assault on every aspect of Black people's lives—and instead blamed the violence on Black people themselves. The coalition which had been so successful during the Civil Rights Decade was being torn asunder by these racist ideas.

This new period required a deeper and more fundamental understanding of the fight for Black equality and against racist ideology. It was necessary for the standards in the struggle against chauvinism among white masses to be raised. The mood in the country was one of tenseness and frustration, and the ruling class was working overtime to create a heightened atmosphere of racism.

It is not possible to make this point without speaking about the electrifying impact of the report delivered to the March 14, 1971, meeting of the Communist Party's National Committee. (The report was later published as the pamphlet *Racism—The Nation's Most Dangerous Pollutant*.)

In that report General Secretary Gus Hall stated, "Today's discussion is intended to serve as the beginning of a series of booster shots to raise the immunity and the resistance level against the penetration and seepage of the influence of white chauvinism in the Left and within our Party. The level of penetration of any enemy ideological current is directly related to the struggle against it. There are no permanent lifetime shields."

He went on to explain in class terms the meaning of chauvinist ideology: "It is the main obstacle on the path to working-class unity and therefore an obstacle to working-class victories. . . . But above all, white chauvinism is the ideological polluter that makes it possible for capitalism to sustain and continue the special system of oppression and exploitation of 25 million Black Americans. It is the most effective instrument of monopoly capital for extracting superprofits."

Our Party was called to action on two fronts.

First, against the seepage of chauvinist ideas into our ranks. This was critical, because, as the report so passionately stated, "In our Party, and especially on the leadership level of our Party, the question of Black-white oneness must be on a different level than is the case in other organizations. It is a different level because of our ideological oneness. It is on a different level because we are the leadership of a revolutionary, working-class Party. We are the embryo, the prototype of the coming society that will clean up the pollution from the ideological environment, and eradicate the basic source of the contamination. On this level the words 'equal' or 'equality' somehow fall short of giving the essence of the inner oneness of our Party. To meet these standards is a challenge. It demands an unrelenting struggle."

Second, we had to go directly to the working class and convince them, especially white workers, that their self-interest lay in their unity as a class. We had to find the ways to help white workers understand the imperative necessity of Black-white unity. Comrade Hall put it plainly and clearly, "To say that struggle against racism must be related to issues involving the self-interests of the workers is in a general sense correct. But that, of course, is not the whole story. A white worker who gets some immediate advantage because a Black worker is discriminated against may see it from the viewpoint of *his* individual self-interest. We have to be able to show the short-sightedness of such a viewpoint. We must be able to show such a worker that he can not separate himself from his class or his class interest. We must be able to show him that such actions are in the best interest only of the capitalist class."

What is the status of Black people today? Tommy Dennis, chairman of the Nationalities Department of the CP, in his article, "Affirmative Action Under Siege" (April 1979 *Political Affairs*), presents some of the grim statistics of oppression. "[T]he economic spread between white and Afro-American people has become wider since 1967." Recent census Bureau statistics clearly support this claim. In 1969 the median income of Black families was \$5,999 as compared to \$9,794 for white families; the ratio of Black income to white was 61 per cent. However, by 1977 this ratio had dropped to 57 per cent, with Black families earning an average

\$9,563 as opposed to white family earnings of \$16,740.

The most shocking and heart-rendering statistic of all, Dennis charges, "57 per cent of all Afro-American teenagers are jobless," adds up to "a pattern of genocide against Afro-American people."

As our Party approaches its 22nd National Convention and its 60th anniversary celebration, these are the hard, cold facts which we carry in our consciousness as we prepare to adopt a new basic resolution on Black liberation.

Basing itself on previous analyses, the new resolution will update the Communist position. As a major consequence of the special web of monopoly capitalist oppression, Black people today, in their 90 per cent majority, are working class. The draft document states, "The high proportion of workers to the total Black population points to the basic class source of Black oppression and indicates the monopolists' super-profit-making objectives of that oppression."

This is central to understanding the role Black workers are now beginning to play. As the draft so eloquently states, "Black workers bind the national liberation cause of Black people to the anti-monopoly, class emancipation objectives of the working class as a whole."

Our Party clearly saw this process of development at the same time we took note of the changing class composition of Black people in 1958.

What is new today in the struggle for Black liberation is that the crisis-level needs of Black people can not be met without a direct challenge to the stranglehold of monopoly capitalism on the nation. The only class capable of leading and winning that challenge is the working class in alliance with all popular forces suffering from monopoly's grip.

The struggle for real and genuine equality for Black people, and all oppressed people, is therefore integrally and inextricably linked to the struggle against the monopolists.

This must be a continuous and uncompromising struggle. Monopoly capitalism is in severe crisis, and as the economic situation worsens, monopoly's determination to maintain its huge profits increases. This drive is at the expense of the very lives and liberty of Black people.

This is a period when the U.S. ruling class is determined, not simply to maintain the status quo, but to take away gains already won, particularly from Black people. This is the meaning of the attack on affirmative action and the vicious, racist notion of "reverse discrimination."

Our Party's understanding of the multiracial, multinational character of the working class is the *key link* to breaking the racist, oppressive hold of monopoly capitalism on the lives and aspirations of Black people. For we know that it is the power of a united working class in all its racial and national component parts which draws together and binds the needs and struggles of all oppressed peoples to the basic goals of liberation of the working class as a whole.

This fundamental understanding is at the center of our strategy of building a powerful antimonopoly coalition. This strategy is the only course to take; it is the only way out of this crisis; it is the only path to victory.

The impact of this strategy on the Black liberation struggle has been expressed in the important development of Black workers' formations such as the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. We also see its impact in the crucial victory won against the racist, anti-working class challenge to affirmative ac-

tion at Kaiser Steel in Gramercy, Louisiana. Our Party pointed out that Brian Weber's law suit was aimed not only against Black workers and their right to upgrading, but was also aimed at the right of all workers to negotiate collective bargaining agreements. We fought for the understanding that the affirmative action agreement at Kaiser Steel was in the interest of all workers. For it opened the door of advancement not only to Black and other oppressed and women workers, but to white, male workers as well.

There is an ever-growing appreciation of his process of unification of the working class and the critical role it plays in the battle against monopoly capitalism due to our participation in movements.

The Communist Party has played a consistent and important role in the struggle for Black liberation. We are proud of our past contributions to this movement and are confident of our indispensable role today. In a basic sense the history of the Communist Party is also a history of our unrelenting commitment to the freedom cause of Black people.

It is "the struggle we will never cease" as long as any Black person is denied his or her full economic, political or social equality or dignity as a human being!

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

*Published by the South African Communist Party, quarterly,
as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought in Africa.*

\$4.00/year surface mail

\$10.00/year air mail

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The Power of a Vanguard Party

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

What is a vanguard party? Why is it essential to the successful conduct of the class struggle and the victory of socialism? Clear cut and substantiated answers to these questions were first put by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the historic *Communist Manifesto* of 1848. The theory and practice of a revolutionary working-class vanguard was greatly developed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in the twentieth century, and has been elaborated over the decades by the persevering work of Marxist-Leninist parties of many countries, including the Communist Party, USA. This is the theory that has guided the CPUSA since its inception, and which has determined its ineradicable contribution to the interests of the U.S. working class and people, to the struggle for peace, democracy, racial equality and socialism.

The *Communist Manifesto* was issued as the program and statement of principles of the Communist League, an organization of some 300-400 individuals—workers in the main—from various European countries. The League played a leading role in the German and French revolutions of 1848, but dissolved in 1852, in the severe reaction which followed the defeats of these revolutions. Its demise was also due to the fact that the proletariat was as yet too small in number and ideologically and organizationally immature because of its journeyman, instead of big large-scale industrial, character. But, as Marx stated, the Communist League was the first proletarian party. It was an excellent revolutionary school for Marx and Engels and others of its members; its immortal program is still read and studied nearly a century and a half later; and it was the forerunner of the large-scale revolutionary workers' and Communist organizations which were set up later.

Marx and Engels painted the following, broad strokes concerning the nature of the party in the *Manifesto*.

It is a *party of the working class*, based on "actu-

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al relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes." The emancipation of the workers from exploitation, they assert, must be their own doing. The workers' movement is the "self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority."

Workers' parties emerge in each country based on its particular conditions, stage of development and historical traditions: "in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie." At the same time, through the development of a world market capitalist relations conquer all countries without exception, uniting the capitalists of all countries in one camp and ranging against them the workers in an opposing camp.

The party upholds the banner of the liberation of oppressed nations. "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put to an end," says the *Manifesto*.

The Communists, they assert, help to chart for the workers' movement a line of march linking the achievement of short-term objectives with the central aims of winning political power and the socialist reorganization of society. The basic objective, they insist, is not this or that limited concession wrung from a resisting exploiting class, but "to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

Lastly, the Communists believe that unity and organization of the workers is their main weapon in the class struggle, and they do everything to promote the cooperation for immediate aims of various trends: "they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."

The Communists, [Marx and Engels asserted], have no interests separate and apart from those

of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interest of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement. . . . The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.

* * *

Marx' analysis of capitalist economy revealed how, with the development of capitalism, the number of workers is constantly increasing. But the growth of numbers alone does not give the working class sufficient economic, social and political power to overcome the bourgeoisie. Unity of will and action, *organization*, are required in addition. In arguing the need for a party, Lenin advanced this idea forcefully:

The party is the politically conscious, advanced section of the class, it is its vanguard. The strength of that vanguard is ten times, a hundred times, more than a hundred times, greater than its numbers.

Is that possible? Can the strength of hundreds be greater than the strength of thousands?

It can be, and is, *when the hundreds are organized*. . . .

The political consciousness of the advanced contingent is, incidentally, manifested in its ability to organize. By organizing it achieves *unity of will*

and this united will of an advanced thousand, hundred thousand, million *becomes* the will of the class. The intermediary between the party and the class is the "broad section" (broader than the party but narrower than the class), the section that votes Social-Democrat, the section that helps, sympathizes, etc. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 406.)

This is Marx, Engels and Lenin's conception of the vanguard party: it is comprised in the main of members of the working class; the advanced section of the class. The advanced section, aided by a broad section of sympathizers, in turn reaches wider masses, and together with these unorganized masses guides the conduct of the class struggle.

The Communist Party, USA was formed in 1919. The largest section of its founders, including its first general secretary, Charles Ruthenberg, John Reed and Alfred Wagenknecht, came from the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. In general, the Left Wing was more strongly based in the rank-and-file working-class sections of the Socialist Party, and was only denied the leading role in the SP by the despotic maneuvers of the Right opportunist group of Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger. The CP also attracted the most militant, revolutionary-minded members of the industrially-based, though syndicalist, Industrial Workers of the World, including its most prominent leader, "Big Bill" Haywood, and, later, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Several prominent members of the Socialist Labor Party joined. In its formative years, the Party was joined by such Black leaders as Cyril Briggs, Otto Huiswood and Richard B. Moore. And a few years after its founding the CP was joined *en bloc* by the most advanced elements in the American Federation of Labor, organized in the International Trade Union Educational League. They were previously syndicalist, anti-political action, anti-war and pro-industrial unionism in orientation. This group was headed by William Z. Foster, and included Charles Krumbein, Jack Johnstone and others. Thus the young Communist Party was solidly based in the socialist and labor movements in the U.S. A second left group of socialists split from the SP in 1920 and formed the Workers Council. Together with the CP they formed the Workers Party, which in 1925 changed its name to Workers (Communist) Party.

The Workers Council group had many prominent members, including Alexander Trachtenberg, Jewish leader M.J. Olgin and J. Louis Engdahl, later secretary of the International Labor Defense and an energetic fighter for the Scottsboro frameup victims and others.

It is true that the impetus for the formation of the CP was given by the crisis of social democracy—which was infected by chauvinism—in the face of World War I, and by the successful Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. But this can not be twisted around to mean, as Draper and others attempt to do, that it was an export from Russia. Its origins date back to circles of Marxists such as Joseph Wedemeyer and Frederick Sorge who had emigrated to the United States prior to the Civil War. They made courageous contributions to the democratic movement of this country, especially for the organization of trade unions and the abolition of slavery. Joseph Wedemeyer, who had training as an artillery officer, was appointed a colonel in the Civil War and commander of St. Louis, Missouri. The first socialist party in the U.S., the Socialist Labor Party, was formed in 1876.

There were many foreign born in the organization at the outset in 1919. That is only natural. So were there in the Socialist Party. How could it be otherwise? In 1920, 60 per cent of the workers in heavy industry in the U.S. were foreign born. William Z. Foster, leader of the Great Steel Strike of 1919, describes how it was necessary to print strike leaflets in a dozen languages in order to communicate with the employees of the Steel Trust. Vast waves of immigrants arrived on U.S. shores with the rise of imperialism in the early years of this century, and they were employed mainly as unskilled labor, working twelve-hour days, doing the dirtiest work in the huge factories. It is a credit to the young Marxist party that it quickly rallied substantial support from among these immigrant workers. But it also counted among its members and supporters native-born workers, farmers and advanced intellectuals. It defended the interests of and quickly also drew into its ranks Black and other nationally and racially oppressed people.

Anti-Communists falsely claim that adherence to sectarianism was the main feature of the Marxist and Leninist movement in the U.S. There was, in

fact, a sectarian current which had grown up in the thinking of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party in the course of its struggle against the reformist and social-chauvinist, middle-class-dominated leadership of the SP. The existence of such “Left” tendencies has long characterized the U.S. socialist and labor scene. Frederick Engels, in his preface to the 1887 American edition of his *Condition of the Working Class in England*, had felt compelled to criticize the Socialist Labor Party for its sectarianism and aloofness from the masses, and its insistence upon working with others only on the basis of the SLP program.

In a letter to Florence Kelly Wischnetsky, Engels wrote in 1886, “I think that all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake.” This is the line of policy which enabled Marx and Engels to work with non-Communists in the course of 40 years of revolutionary activity, and to aid in the birth of influential Marxist parties and mass trade unions. They did not regard as an enemy everyone who was critical on one or another issue; they did not even consider everyone who was anti-Marxist unworthy of common action.

The departures from such united front principles by American Marxists in certain periods is not surprising. The United States is the only major capitalist country in which the working class has not yet established its own mass electoral instrument against the openly capitalist parties. Under such conditions strong pressures toward errors of a Right or Left nature exist (after all, Communists are not saints or angels; they are ordinary people, with substantial experience in the class struggle and in matters of theory).

* * *

Sectarian trends among basically sound and revolutionary sectors were given new impetus in the latter part of WW I and the early post-war years, when many Left Wing Socialists, both American born and language group, overestimated the pace of world revolution. The Communist Party, however, was able to openly discuss and identify these errors

and to correct them. Lenin's writings against Leftism gave important guidance in this. The contributions of the CP to the U.S. progressive movements, even from the first period of its existence, and in the face of severe repression and semi-legality, refute the canard that it was an essentially sectarian organization.

The unprecedented destruction and slaughter of the world imperialist war and the Russian Revolution shook European capitalism to its foundations. A revolutionary wave toppled monarchies in Austro-Hungary and Germany and lapped all the shores of the continent. In this situation the opportunist leaders of the Second International, who had mobilized social democracy in support of the imperialist war effort, came to the rescue of capitalism and proceeded against the revolutionary movement with fire and sword.

In the United States there was no revolutionary situation, but a popular upsurge occurred. A big organizing and strike movement, the largest since the eight hour day movement, spread among the workers. It amalgamated the clothing workers union, organized the stockyards, and made the first united nationwide assault on the open shop in the steel industry. The movement for Black equality and against lynching grew rapidly. Also in this period, farmer-labor independent political action blossomed, culminating in the LaFollette campaign of 1924. The leadership of the Socialist Party, however, slid even further to the Right. They became a tail to the pro-capitalist, class collaborationist Gompers leadership of the American Federation of Labor.

The Communist Party charted an independent political line. In the trade union field, it vigorously promoted the class struggle trend embodied in the Trade Union Educational League, correcting both the tailist policy of the SP and the dual unionism which had been endemic to the old Left Wing. The CP sharply broke with the neglect or outright chauvinism evinced by the SP on the status of Afro-Americans. The Communists delineated for the first time the national and racial aspects of this question and came out unequivocally, in word and deed, for complete economic, social and political equality. They combined mass action in the non-parliamentary fields with support for the growing farmer-labor political action and the fielding of

Communist candidates for public office. And, not least, the Communists maintained their internationalist solidarity with Soviet Russia and the workers' movement in other countries against the bitter anti-Bolshevik hysteria and witch-hunting Palmer Raids unleashed by a frightened ruling class. All of this, though not without some stumbling, exhibited the molding of a Marxist-Leninist party.

In the thirties and forties, as a result of militant mass activities, the Communist Party became a party with considerable mass influence. It gained a relatively large membership and readership for its press, an important youth organization, and it had considerable influence among trade unionists and progressives. The Party, as admitted even by its opponents, was the most influential organization of the Left. Though space does not permit enlargement of this point, no honest historian can deny the critical role played by the CP in the unemployed movement, the formation of the CIO, the great anti-fascist campaigns, the breaking of Jim Crow barriers and defense of victims of racism, the burgeoning of a people's trend in the arts, the campaigns for social security and unemployment insurance and a host of other activities.

This influence declined in the post-World War II period due to the monstrous, all-sided cold war assault lasting for more than a decade and directed most brutally against the CP, though it was intended to victimize all progressive and even mildly liberal elements as well. U.S. capitalists, especially in periods of growing class struggles, have frequently resorted to violence and reaction to halt the militancy of the working class and particularly its socialist sector. This reached extreme heights after the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917-19 and especially after World War II. Due to the enrichment which U.S. imperialism had enjoyed during the course of the anti-fascist war, it was able to combine the granting of concessions with the use of repression on a vast scale in a campaign intended to first isolate and then wipe from existence the Communist Party. This was because the ruling class realized that the working class, which was growing in militancy, can not become an independent political force in the country, much less a revolutionary force, without the guidance and leadership of the Communists.

However, the ruling class was defeated in its aim of destroying the Party. This has been revealed in recent years by the exposure of documents of the antidemocratic, stoolpigeon and sabotage COIN-TELPRO campaign of the FBI. The Party leadership, national, state and local, and large sections of the membership, as well as thousands of non-Party progressives, courageously fought the cold-war inquisitions, many suffering jail sentences and even worse fates. Even under these difficult conditions, the Party continued to press for peace, civil rights and labor advance, and it stood on the front lines of the defense of democratic rights for all.

* * *

Such sharp turns have also taken place in the life of other parties. They are not inevitable, but they do occur at certain junctures in the worldwide class struggles.

Lenin wrote in 1916 that history develops unevenly and that in individual areas development can slow down for a definite period or even take great leaps backward due to the activities of reactionary forces. In April 1917, referring to the small numbers that fought the imperialist war, Lenin stated that "Good people often forget that brutal and savage setting of the imperialist war," and he added, "the thing is that it is not easy to be internationalist, indeed during an imperialist war. Such people are few, but it is upon such people *alone* that the future of socialism depends; *they are the leaders of the people* . . . and if such socialists of such type are few, let every Russian ask himself whether there were many class conscious revolutionaries on the eve of the February-March revolution of 1917." (*CW*, Vol. 24, pp. 80-82.)

Palmiro Togliatti, in his article in *World Marxist Review*, "History of the Communist International: Some Problems," observed, "It may seem strange to some that the considerable influence wielded among the masses in some countries in the past, has now been lost or nearly so. Further study is needed to establish the reasons for this. What can not be denied is that this disparity in the developments of industrial countries has always existed, and while it can be explained in part by shortcomings in orientation and in the work, the basic reason points to the *objective changes* which first of all we

should be able to understand."

Of course, life and movements do not stand still. With the establishment and recognition of mass industrial unions and other developments, the political landscape differs from what it was in the 1930s and before. Some, for example Michael Harrington, leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, contend that these changes already add up to the achievement of independent class organization by the working class: the "invisible mass movement" he terms it.

The major change in the tactics of the class struggle of the 1935-39 period was that Roosevelt introduced greater elements of bourgeois reform under pressure of the working class in order to hold the masses within the existing political framework and prevent their going for a labor party and developing greater socialist sentiment. Roosevelt wanted to be able to give something to the underdog, though not at too great an expense to the top dog. With greater or lesser force, depending on conditions, the policy of limited concessions to organized mass pressures has been followed by the ruling class up to this day. And in return, the bourgeois parties have been able to garner support, though on a gradually eroding basis, from the unions and other mass organizations of the people. One should know better, however, than to confuse this with independent class politics of the working class. Communists realize that there are two basic methods of bourgeois rule—conservative and liberal—and that these may be applied in various combination and in different succession.

Roosevelt, for example, after the San Francisco General Strike and other militant struggles, did accede to the Wagner Act, social security, unemployment insurance, public works projects and various other social relief projects. At the same time, he made only one speech for quarantining the fascist aggressors, but did nothing about it. He sent arms to Japan, notwithstanding the occupation of China; embargoed Republican Spain; and approved the Munich sellout. During World War II, Roosevelt held off the Second Front until 1944, while the Soviet Union was losing millions of people—in the final count twenty million.

Gil Green, in his book *What's Happening to Labor*, criticizes Harrington's assessment of the

changes which have taken place in the country's politics. Green states:

Harrington is right when he points to greater social and political consciousness arising from class positions and not merely from instinct. But he errs when he reads into this the existence of a working class "for itself." This phrase, borrowed from Marx, describes a working class conscious of its position in society, its relationship to other classes, its own class interests, and its historic role. To say this is where the labor movement is today is wishful thinking. It confuses a greater consciousness of the need for social reforms with a consciousness of the need to replace the capitalist system. This also raises the question of what Harrington means by socialism and whether he does not limit this to mere reforms within the system. . . . Social reforms are needed and can be won on the road to socialism but a socialist society can only result from a revolutionary replacement of capitalism. (*What's Happening to Labor*, p. 262.)

Green is right in drawing a sharp distinction between reformism and socialism. Even where social reformist parties have been in power for decades, they have never abolished the domination of big capital and established socialism. Under such conditions, even modest improvements in labor and social conditions are vulnerable to reversal, as current developments graphically show. And Harrington is wrong in implying that the stage of independent working-class politics has been achieved.

Socialism can not be realized without all-sided economic, social, political and ideological struggle. It does not come spontaneously. In particular, it will not come without the vanguard functioning of a Marxist-Leninist party. As Lenin wrote,

[If socialism is to be achieved, the workers must] learn to understand their own interests and learn to conduct their own policy. There must be an organization of the advanced elements, immediately and at all costs, even though at first these elements constitute a tiny fraction of the class. To do service to the masses, to express their interests, having correctly conceived those interests, the advanced contingent must carry on its activity among the masses . . . directing all the activities of the masses along the path of class politics. (Vol. 19, p. 409)

This means propaganda and action for independent political action and eventually for an antimonopoly labor-based party. Of central importance is the formation of coalitions for SALT II, mutual disarmament, for affirmative action, for expanded social programs, in defense and for extension of democratic rights and other important issues. It requires united front coalitions on issues at the neighborhood, state and national levels. It demands work in a wide front, with flexible tactics, of Communists, Left socialists, trade unionists, rank and file, democrats of all sorts. Continuing differences of this or that question of a pronounced character are inevitable in the course of the formation and functioning of such broad coalitions, and can never be considered an excuse for hesitating to press firmly for their formation and consolidation. As the June 1976 Berlin conference of European Communist Parties stated, "The Communists do not consider all those who are in disagreement with their policies or who take a critical attitude toward their activities as being anti-Communist."

Marx, Engels and Lenin many times stressed the need for a distinct and independent party of the working class. With the sharpening of the class struggle and the growing role of the masses, this need is even more acute under conditions of imperialism. But they also stressed that the party is a component part of the working class, and the imperative need for the party to work in the midst of the masses, particularly the unions, as well as in the neighborhoods.

It is vital for the clubs of the party, to fulfill its vanguard role, to give the matter of the closest contact with the people their utmost attention, ensuring that they are active members of trade unions and other working people's organizations, particularly organizations of the most oppressed people, taking energetic and diligent part in their work and striving with all their might to win gains for the organizations, even if the leadership of the organization is conservative. They must systematically reach the people with the *Daily World*, which is our main instrument of agitation and propaganda. Lenin, in *Left Wing Communism*, wrote that Communists must make every sacrifice in order to maintain closer relations to the masses, and particularly to the organized workers. This is why our Party has

historically adopted a policy of industrial concentration. While space does not permit elaboration of this question, suffice it to say that our entire experience proves that even in the midst of mass struggles, and with an evident leadership role of the Party in them, the growth of Party organization in the factories, which is the basis for the independent role of the working class, will lag badly without a well-conceived and assiduously implemented plan of giving priority deployment of available forces to working-class concentration in basic industries and key factories. This requires direct national and district leadership.

It is a particularly beguiling slander against the Communists, especially the CPSU, intended to trap inexperienced Leftward moving youth especially, that the Communists have become "conservative" and have lost their ideal and practical goal of fundamentally transforming the social order and achieving a communist society. In response, this is the testimony of George Kennan, the famous "Mr. X" of 1947, who first outlined basic cold-war policies against the Soviet Union:

In creating a new order . . . in clinging to power successfully for half a century in a great and variegated country where the exertion of political power has never been easy; in retaining

its own discipline and vitality as a political instrument in the face of the corrupting influence that the exercise of power invariably exerts; in realizing many far-reaching social objectives; in carrying to the present level the industrialization of the country and the development of new technology; in giving firm, determined and in many ways inspired leadership in the struggles against the armies of German fascism; in providing political inspiration and guidance to many radical-socialist forces of the world . . . in these achievements the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has not only stamped itself as the greatest political organization of the century in vigor and will, but has remained faithful to the quality of the Russian Revolution as the century's greatest event. ("The Russian Revolution Fifty Years After," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1967, p. 19.)

Kennan, of course, was no less an opponent of Communism in 1967 than in 1947. The tribute he accords is the grudging recognition of a foe that the anti-Communist myths which ideologically underlay the cold war, externally and internally, are being discredited in the minds of tens of millions. It is a tribute, not to the Soviet Union alone, but to the working class of all lands, which is coalescing its forces and, with the guidance of scientific socialism, marching confidently toward its "singing to-morrows."

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Communist Women: Three Examples

DOROTHY LUMER

The women who have held leading positions in our Party have been distinguished by their participation in all the struggles of the people for liberation. They have been leaders in the trade union organizing movement, in the movement for political freedom, in the movement for peace and in the movement for an end to racial oppression. All have been involved in one way or the other in the movement for women's equality and have been truly dedicated to the struggle for equality and freedom for women on all fronts. They have brought to these movements a deep understanding of the relationship of the women's movement to the basic struggles of the working class for complete liberation from capitalism.

These women who have spent their lives in the building of a working-class movement are revered for their passion for justice and truth, their deep understanding of the special problems of women and their ability to wage a continuing and consistent fight for clarity and a Marxist interpretation of the phenomenon of the exploitation and oppression of women.

The work of Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Claudia Jones is typical of the women leaders of our Party.

One reads with awe and admiration about the life of Ella Reeve Bloor, one of the founders of the Communist Party of the United States. She came into the struggle for socialism as a young girl and remained an active participant until her death—a period spanning over sixty years.

As the young mother of small children and the wife of a worker, she became convinced that only through the organization of the working class would it be possible to end unemployment, starvation wages, backbreaking toil and the exploitation of women and children in the factories, the mills and on the farms. She joined and was an organizer for the Social Democratic Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the Communist Party. She went wherever she was

called and helped to organize workers into unions and persuade them into the struggle for socialism from New York to Colorado. The earliest recollections of her children are of joining their mother on the picket line or listening to her speaking to striking workers.

She was a powerful speaker and dramatically interpreted the issues of the strikes both to the workers and to the public. Whenever she mounted the platform, she spoke not only on the issues of the particular strike, but she also spoke passionately about changing the system which deprived the workers of their just wages, starved them and their children and condemned them to lives of poverty and early deaths.

As a woman with children to support and care for, she understood the special concerns and responsibilities of women. Wherever she was called to organize, she met with the women workers and strikers, and with the wives and children of the workers. She encouraged the women to voice their special needs and problems. She organized the women to get on the strike committees, to get on the picket lines and to participate to the fullest in all the necessary activities. She won them over to trade union consciousness and recruited them into the party of the working class. From 1932 to 1948 she chaired the Women's Commission of the CPUSA.

Her deep involvement with the trade union movement did not prevent her being an active participant in the fight for women's right to vote and hold political office. She was the first woman to run for political office in Connecticut in 1908; ten years later she ran for lieutenant governor in New York State; and for governor of Pennsylvania in 1938.

She clearly saw the need for the Socialist Party to be involved directly in the women's suffrage movement. In 1910, speaking at the Socialist Party Congress she said "We should heartily support the general movement of the women of America for their enfranchisement. In this case, as in many similar cases, socialism must penetrate into the masses

of the people as a living and vivifying social force.”

As a conscientious Party person she fought to combine theory and practice. She spoke extensively across the country, to large and small working-class audiences, speaking on immediate and pressing issues and explaining the ideas of Marx and Lenin about the class struggle.

She not only wrote for the *Daily Worker*, but she also went out and sold it. At one time, at the age of 63, she traveled across the country, speaking and selling the paper from city to city and on farms.

Speaking on the occasion of her 45th anniversary in the Party, Mother Bloor said, “My faith in the workers’ final victory has never faltered. I have absolute confidence that the great united front of all kinds of workers, all nationalities, all creeds and all colors is now forming. The great mass movement is now moving forward with great power uniting to conquer the rising forces of war and fascism with the leadership and guidance of a strong Bolshevik Communist Party, the party which I have the honor, the greatest honor of all my life, to be a charter member.”

* * *

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn’s life was similarly marked by extraordinary efforts aimed at the organization of working men and women. Gurley Flynn left school at age 15 to travel the country organizing workers for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Going into the mill towns of Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Patterson, N.J., she became acutely conscious of the special problems of women workers—unemployment, discriminatory hiring, unequal pay and the double burden of working long hours and having the household tasks to do in addition. She learned from her earliest days in the workers’ movement that the workers’ committees must address these special problems in their organization in order to wage a successful fight.

Gurley Flynn was an extraordinary speaker and organizer. She worked to perfect her skills, learning how to address workers and women on subjects in which they were vitally interested and in language they could easily understand.

Her vivid descriptions of the life and conditions of the women and children she met at the strike-torn factories moved both men and women wherever she went to support the workers. Her under-

standing that the special problems of the factory women and child workers were a particularly vicious manifestation of the general exploitation of the mill workers was movingly conveyed to her audience.

At the time of the Lawrence mill strike, Gurley Flynn and the leaders of the IWW made a special appeal to the women of the country. The mill owners had tried to bring the strikers to their knees by starving them and their families. With the consent of the strikers, the committee gathered the poverty-stricken children and took them to the homes of sympathetic women in New York for the duration of the strike. The resulting newspaper publicity about the condition of the children won most valuable support for the strike from women all over the country.

Gurley Flynn joined the Communist Party in 1937. Her contribution both to the theoretical understanding of the workers’ and women’s struggles as well as her active involvement in the day-to-day work continued as she spoke around the country and contributed her column to the *Daily Worker*. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was the National Chairperson of the Party from 1961 to 1964.

Both of her books, *I Speak My Own Piece* and *The Alderson Story*, have become a part of the literature of the movement for women’s equality. Both Communist and non-Communist women are deeply moved by Gurley Flynn’s selfless dedication to the liberation of the working class and see in her books the historical contribution she has made as a Marxist to building a strong trade union movement, as well as the movement for women’s equality.

Gurley Flynn also played a prominent role in defense work dating back to the defense of the rights of striking IWWers, the free-speech fights and the Sacco-Vanzetti case. As well she was chairwoman of the Gus Hall-Ben Davis defense committee when they were indicted under the McCarren Act for “failure to register the Communist Party as a foreign agent.” She was a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union and a member of its National Board until, caving in to McCarthyite pressure, it expelled her. (She was reinstated, posthumously, in 1976.)

Flynn was also active in the defense of the 12 original Smith Act victims up until her own frame-

up arrest under this same law for *conspiring* to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Excerpts from the statement she read at her trial give a brief glimpse of the eloquence, passion and understanding from which she spoke:

...In spite of a sense of futility which grew with every passing day of this frustrating trial, I must speak out. . . Silence might be construed as acceptance of a verdict which is justified neither by the so-called evidence of a motley array of bought and paid-for informers, stoolpigeons and renegades, as unworthy of belief as a Judas Iscariot or a Benedict Arnold, nor by the law as expounded in your charge to the jury. Therefore I say again, your Honor, that I and none of my comrades are guilty of any conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. . . . My body can be incarcerated but my thoughts will remain free and unaffected. All human history has demonstrated that ideas, thoughts, can not be put in prison. They can only be met in the forum of public discussion.

Someone sent me a picture of Thomas Jefferson which now adorns my cell in the House of Detention. It says: "*Difference of opinion leads to enquiry of truth. We value too much freedom of opinion not to cherish its exercise.*"

The political, industrial and social conditions under capitalism which created our ideas remain. They will produce similar ideas in the minds of countless others and further strengthen them in ours. Never did prison affect resolute people who live and work and die if necessary by their ideas. We Communists are such people. . . . It is no illusion, however, for us to say confidently, your Honor, we are on the winning side. We have the welfare of our country and its people at heart. We know that millions of Americans hate fascism and want peace, that the working class of our country moves forward, that the Negro people are on the march for their full democratic rights and will not turn back.

Time was when the Communists alone raised slogans for peace, for security, for jobs, for democracy, for unionism, which are on the minds and lips of millions of Americans today. Our lives, our work, our aspirations are part of the American scene for the past half century. Our predecessors go back a century and more. Somewhere and soon the Smith Act will go into the

discard as did the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1800, the Fugitive Slave Laws of the '60s, the Criminal Syndicalist Laws of the 1920s. . . . A people's movement is arising in our country like a strong fresh prairie wind against repressive legislation, loyalty oaths, congressional investigations, witch-hunts, political trials and the like. The people will repeal the Smith Act and see that its victims are released, and that will be long before a transition to socialism, your Honor. . . . (From *13 Communists Speak To The Court*, New Century Publishers, New York, 1953.)

In *The Alderson Story*, Gurley Flynn gives a devastating picture of prison life. Jailed when she was over 60 years old, a political prisoner under the Smith Act, she was given and claimed no special privileges because of her age. She experienced first hand once again how the capitalist system treats working-class women who have the misfortune to get caught up in the criminal justice system. There were many Black women in the prison and her association with them brought a new depth of understanding to her on the struggle for women's equality and of the liberation of Black women. She introduces her readers to her fellow inmate and comrade, Claudia Jones, who had undoubtedly a great deal to do with her growing understanding of the Afro-American question in the United States.

* * *

Claudia Jones was also a victim of the Smith Act and a political prisoner for two years at Alderson Prison. She had started her life in the Communist movement in the 1930s. As a young girl she joined the Young Communist League (YCL) and worked tirelessly with unemployed and underemployed Black youth, organizing them in the struggle for jobs and political rights. Claudia was also a member of the National Committee and a member of the Women's Commission of the Party.

Growing up in Harlem, she knew only too well the conditions under which Black women, unemployed and domestic workers lived. They responded to her call to organize and hundreds joined the unemployed councils and the Young Communist League. Like Mother Bloor and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Claudia Jones was a Marxist student and her articles and speeches provided clear analyses of the class forces at work in the oppression of Black

women.

In an article which appeared in *Political Affairs* in 1949, Claudia Jones declared: "A developing consciousness on the woman question today, therefore, must not fail to recognize that the Negro question in the United States is *prior* to, and not equal to, the woman question; that only to the extent that we fight all chauvinist expressions and actions as regards the Negro people and fight for the full equality of the Negro people, can women as a whole advance in their struggle for equal rights. For the progressive women's movement, the Negro woman is the vital link to this heightened political consciousness. To the extent, further, that the cause of the Negro woman worker is promoted, she will be enabled to take her rightful place in the Negro-proletarian leadership of the national liberation movement, and by her active participation contribute to the entire American working class, whose historic mission is the achievement of a Socialist America—the final and full guarantee of woman's emancipation."

After her release from Alderson Prison, Claudia Jones was deported to London. She identified herself there with the struggles of the Black Caribbean and Indian migrants who were fighting to survive racism. She made her contribution to the movement there against discrimination in jobs, housing, and schooling. In spite of failing health she continued with her speaking and writing, giving the leadership which was based on a solid Marxist understanding

of the problems of the immigrant working class.

All three of these women came into the movement for socialism as very young girls, with the overwhelming enthusiasm of youth who see and resent poverty and oppression and are determined to change the system and overthrow the oppressors. Mother Bloor and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn died at advanced ages, both still characterized by the same passion and determination to win the victory for socialism. Through arrests, trials and imprisonment and setbacks for the movement their dedication was steadfast.

These three women built solid working-class ties with women throughout the world. Their ties with the socialist women's movements were vital to maintaining their faith in the cause in which they were involved. For the socialist women demonstrated that in a society where imperialism and working-class oppression was ended, the oppression of women also was ended and women in those lands could make genuine progress towards full equality.

Mother Bloor, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Claudia Jones have become an inspiration to the women's movement in our country and throughout the world. In honoring them we honor also the countless other women leaders of all races and nationalities of our Party, who have been and are dedicated to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the movement which leads to lasting victory for the whole working class.

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Youth and the Party of the Future

DANIEL ROSENBERG

We are the Party of the future and the future belongs to the youth. We are the Party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators. We are a Party that is waging a self-sacrificing struggle against the old rottenness, and youth is always the first to undertake a self-sacrificing struggle.

Friedrich Engels

What will the future hold, what will tomorrow's world be like? These are questions pondered by all young people. But youth have more in common than their questions. They also share much of their social conditions. To working and nationally oppressed youth, capitalism offers less and less. It is increasingly incapable of giving anything but negative answers to their questions. Monopoly capitalism offers no hopeful perspective. Instead, chronic unemployment and budget cuts slice at the very fabric of social existence, threatening to crush aspiration, talent and creativity and to condemn the present generation to a vacant adulthood. These are its answers because it judges everything by the standard, "What does it profit me?"

Marxism-Leninism takes the people's needs as its starting point. What, it asks, are the special needs of young people? How can they be fulfilled? And it answers: young people need peace, jobs, a society free of racism; they need democracy, education, culture, sports.

It is because it has been guided by Marxism since its inception that the Communist Party, USA has for sixty years ably assisted young people in their struggle for a brighter future.

* * *

Young people constitute an important potential component of the antimonopoly and anti-state monopoly movements headed by the working class. For this potential to be fully realized, there must be a distinct organization of youth that champions their needs and works in a youthful style; it requires an organization that maintains fraternal ties with the Communist Party and shares with it class out-

Daniel Rosenberg is a member of the National Council of the YWLL.

look and ideology, while maintaining its organizational independence. This independence is needed, wrote V.I. Lenin, the most prominent revolutionary leader of this century, because:

The middle-aged and the aged often do not know how to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers. Incidentally, that is why we must decidedly favor organizational independence of the youth league, not only because the opportunists fear such independence, but because of the very nature of the case. For unless they have complete independence, the youth will be unable either to train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism forward. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 164.)

"We don't need," Henry Winston (then administrative secretary of the Young Communist League) told the 1939 YCL convention, "a Young Communist Party; nor do we need a new organization of social clubs. We need an educational organization, one that will teach the young people to understand the world about them, to live a life with a purpose dedicated to their generation and their people."

Young people need a fighting organization that is committed and that lives and breathes as they do. In the words of James Steele, national chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) to the Fourth National Convention in 1977, the YWLL's purpose is

to educate, mobilize and lead our generation into

the battle for peace, jobs, equality and progress, to help it be a reservoir of support for the working class, a reserve of strength for the movements of the oppressed peoples, and to help prepare the youth as trade unionists, peace activists, community leaders, elected officials, artists, athletes, scientists and professionals, to build a country free of exploitation, poverty, racism and oppression so that our generation and the ones which follow can eternally be the flowers and enjoy the fruits of a better life—a socialist life in which the working people are the collective masters and determiners of their own destiny.

The Communist Party, USA shares the triumphs of the science of Marxism-Leninism with youth and uses that science to examine youth's problems. Key areas of struggle emerged in the Party's approach to youth: the development of the concept of the united front and democratic youth unity; the indispensability of proletarian internationalism; the recognition of youth's special needs; the necessity of a youth organization, in which the leading ideology is Marxism-Leninism; the understanding of Black-white unity as the pivot of youth struggles; the special role of working-class youth; the role of youth in the class struggle; the promotion of youth demands among adults; and the place of youth in anti-monopoly endeavors.

In 1919 with the publication of Lenin's "Youth International" article in the U.S. and the assertion at year's end that "working youth shall fight on the foremost barricade" for democracy and socialism, U.S. Communists demonstrated early awareness of the special character of youth struggles. The Party perceived that "the struggle of the young workers is indissolubly bound up and is part of the struggle of the proletariat as a whole," but that young workers are faced with various and serious immediate problems which require an organization of their own. For young workers suffer special problems of oppression. Hence the Party assisted in the creation of the first Marxist-Leninist youth organization in 1922, the Young Workers League, resolving that it was a Communist responsibility to help build this new youth organization.

With such outstanding leaders as John Williamson, Charles Krumbein, Harry Gannes and James Ford, the Young Workers League, aided by the Party, launched campaigns against youth unemployment and child labor, for the unionization of young

workers and independent political action. The League worked closely with the Party-led Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) which became a firm exponent of the rights of young workers and of labor-youth solidarity.

Young Workers League—YCL

Youth unity has always been the apple of the eye of the Party's youth work and no better example of this is afforded than by the Party's activities in the Depression. In the year of the Wall Street collapse, 1929, the Young Workers League (YWL) changed its name to the Young Communist League, for the period of repression hitherto preventing this change had concluded. Into the ranks of the Young Communist League (YCL), which was invested with the Party's heightened understanding of united front work, came militant young workers, among them, Gus Hall, Henry Winston, Helen Winter, Gil Green, Claudia Jones, Dave Doran, Angelo Herndon, Carl Winter and Betty Gannett. For the majority, life itself directed them to Marxism-Leninism and the YCL. Many, like Winston, had also been influenced by Marxist literature published by the Party (in Winston's case, Lenin's *Letter to American Workers*). The Party further extended another dimension of its youth work during the Depression: fighting in the labor and other adult mass movements for recognition and support of young people's needs and rights.

The Party and the YCL set the pace in mobilizing the young generation, Black and white: in 1931, to defend the nine Black Scottsboro frame-up victims; to free the railroaded Angelo Herndon in 1932; to struggle unitedly for jobs, unemployment compensation, public works, cultural and recreational facilities for young people; and in the fight for peace and against fascism. The YCL, like the YWL before it, obtained from the Party a developing Communist comprehension of Black-white unity. This was and remains a cornerstone of the Party's work among youth.

The Young Communist League was instrumental in helping to organized unemployed youth and young workers. It undertook organization in certain industries and shops with many young workers. It evolved a sports program which helped lay the basis for bringing youth into the labor movement and the CIO, especially in steel and auto. In this period of fierce struggle the YCL pinpointed

the indispensable role of young workers and young people. Many outstanding YCLers sacrificed their lives, among them Joe York, murdered by Ford thugs in the Detroit hunger march, and miners' organizer Harry Simons, slain in Brush Creek, Kentucky.

The Young Communist League applied the new lessons of struggle enriched by the Party and the world Communist movement: these were the theory and practice of united front, of joint action by all democratic forces and movements. Georgi Dimitrov, eminent leader of the international working-class movement, highly assessed the work of the YCL in 1935 at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

Forging Democratic Youth Unity

The YCL's working-class base enabled it to work with the mass organizations of youth whose members bore the brunt of crises. The YCL helped forge powerful coalitions, particularly the American Youth Congress (AYC) which had 64 national and 1,000 local affiliates totaling 2.5 million members. The AYC fought creatively for the National Youth Act and was successful in wresting from the Roosevelt Administration a National Youth Administration headed by a progressive. The AYC was also an active participant in trade union organizing among young people; it fought for improved conditions in the Civilian Conservation Corps youth relief camps; and condemned all discrimination against Black people as well as fighting for peace and against the rising danger of fascism and war.

A key affiliate to AYC was the broadly-based Southern Negro Youth Conference (SNYC), which was *the* fighting organization of Southern youth from 1936 to 1948. SNYC successfully undertook widespread educational work, supported strikes, popularized the National Youth Act and waged a relentless struggle against racism and Jim Crow.

By 1939 the Southern Negro Youth Conference and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare represented at least 500,000 Negro youth in the South. (See *History of the Communist Party, USA* by William Z. Foster, International Publishers, N.Y.) SNYC also had a strong position against fascism; among its outstanding leaders were Edward Strong, Louis Burnham, Henry Winston, Esther Cooper, James Jackson and Augusta Strong. Young Communists were very active in the

work of both these organizations.

Moreover, the contributions of young Communists to the student, peace and anti-fascist, particularly anti-Franco, movements were unmatched by any other component of the youth movement.

Nourished by the advance of Marxism-Leninism as a whole, the Party's youth policy acquired new mass features. Young Communists had to learn, in then YCL General Secretary Gil Green's words, to "speak to the youth in their own language," "to extirpate sectarianism root and branch." The League sought to build character. "Let us take a small thing such as a dance," suggested Henry Winston in 1939:

Through our dances we help young people to meet each other, to meet young people of other national groups, to meet Negro youth and thereby help to destroy race prejudice.

Many of our comrades run dances and see only the dollars and cents that will come out of them, not their educational value. And is it not true that those of us who run dances learn how to plan, how to keep records and books, and how to organize? Today a modest dance, tomorrow a great mass meeting. And through even such small matters we have trained hundreds of active functionaries for trade union, fraternal organizations and cultural groups. But we do not view dances as bait to catch fish. That is the approach of Tammany Hall, of Bruce Barton, Herbert Hoover and others of their like. Ours is a social purpose, to help win the youth for progressive action.

Struggling for Youth Rights in the '40s and '50s

The 1930s and early forties saw the emergence of a strong youth league and the elaboration of Marxist-Leninist concepts of what such a league is and must become.

But this period also saw the sprouting and growth of Browderism, whose attack on the YCL was second only to its assault on the Communist Party. As with the latter, so did it propose for the former the policies of class collaboration and then dissolution. The concept of a mass YCL and a mass youth movement suffered grave distortion. The effort to overcome sectarianism evaporated in the classless conclusions that a Marxist-Leninist youth league was unnecessary, that struggle was unneces-

sary, and that capitalism would fulfill youth's rights. The YCL's dissolution in 1943 preceded that of the Party by one year. In its place was proposed a "non-partisan" organization with Marxism as only one of numerous "democratic" trends to be studied.

With the Party's repudiation of Browder, its approach to youth returned to more sound footing. The American Youth for Democracy (AYD), the broad anti-fascist organization established after the YCL's disbanding, campaigned for youth rights, against racism, cold war and anti-Communist repression. In the early days of the AYD, Marxism-Leninism was one of several ideologies explored; later it became the dominant ideology. The work of the AYD helped prepare the way for the establishment in 1949 of the Labor Youth League (LYL), an independent organization based on Marxism-Leninism and fraternally related to the Party.

During the worst days of McCarthyism the Party reinvigorated the tested principles of its youth policy. The Labor Youth League tightened up the class principles loosened and broken by Browderism, and was able to make significant contributions to the building of democratic youth unity against McCarthyism, for academic freedom and against the Korean War. It fought for peace, equality and democracy and recognized "the working class as the source of progress in the modern world, as the defender of the democratic traditions of our country, as the force capable of assuring lasting peace."

At its founding the LYL predicted that "witch-hunters will try to distort this relationship, to distort the character of our organization, to distort the fact that thousands of non-Communist youth will join in building and leading our organization." Indeed, the U.S. Attorney General petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1953 to ban the LYL under the McCarran Act as a "Communist front."

The Party's youth work in the fifties felt strongly the effects of McCarthyism. With many leaders imprisoned and reaction prevailing, the Party was weakened. In 1956-7, the theory of the youth question again came under attack by those who questioned the need to struggle and the necessity of the Party's existence. There was a whole section of the Party and youth who resisted this course, who

saw the need for a youth organization, but revisionism charged that youth would not join a Marxist-Leninist youth organization and proposed establishing "socialist clubs" on campuses, in which Marxism would be, as in Browder's vision only one of several currents. The proposal for the high school branches was to undertake a form similar to AYD and no special form was offered for young workers.

Emerging from McCarthyism and consolidating itself in the late fifties and early sixties on firm Marxist-Leninist principles, the Party again helped to prepare the conditions for mass movements of young people. Communists played a tremendous role in the civil rights, free speech and peace movements of the period. The free speech actions on hundreds of campuses stemmed in great part from the very issue of the freedom of Communists to speak in public and the freedom of students and youth to hear them. Hundreds of thousands of students, amidst cold war and anti-Cuba hysteria, overflowed countless stadiums, gyms and auditoriums to hear Communists speak in the early sixties. In a twelve-day span in 1962, Gus Hall made 37 speeches on West Coast campuses. He pointed out: "The right to probe freely is a necessity for youth, if they are to achieve answers to their problems, which are actually the problems of mankind."

Radical Upsurge of the 60s and 70s

Continuing to study the youth question, the Party helped in the early sixties to organize youth in struggle, assisting every movement in which youth were active. Daniel Rubin, then the Party youth secretary, wrote in 1963 that the building of democratic youth unity was the "central expression of the anti-monopoly strategy" among young people. Calling attention to the leading role of young workers, Rubin stressed the struggle for jobs, against racist discrimination, for the shorter work week and for integrated schools as the main arena for youth action. Preliminary steps to reorganization and to establishing a new national youth organization were setting up organizations like Advance in New York which affiliated to the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC) headed by Alva Buxenbaum (now chair of the Party's Women's Rights Section) and the establish-

ment of *New Horizons for Youth* magazine.

This was a period of new, radical upsurge. It was a period when many struggles took a Left direction, although most youth had not arrived at the conclusion that socialism and Marxism-Leninism were the path. With the assistance of the Party it was this period that witnessed the birth of the DuBois Clubs in 1964. No other youth organization contributed as actively to the anti-war, civil rights and youth and student struggles as the Marxist-oriented Du Bois Clubs. In New York and elsewhere it campaigned for state youth acts mandating lower tuition and quality integrated education, and in the mid-sixties it combatted rising youth unemployment. The Du Bois Clubs, declared National Chairman Jarvis Tyner in 1967, strove for Black-white unity "because history has destined that our emancipation will be a common one." The Du Bois clubs defended and advocated youth's interests, seeking to win youth's support for the working class and socialism. Tyner noted that the clubs suffered numerous "identity crises," that its ideology, commitment, and goals had been ill-defined. The Du Bois Clubs explored Marxism-Leninism as an alternative but did not have fraternal relations with the Party.

At the Party's 18th Convention in 1966, a youth report was presented detailing youth's deteriorating conditions. The report noted the absence in the youthful "New Left" of a working-class approach, of a recognition of "the special character of youth problems." Drawing attention to the youth movement, Gus Hall assessed its participants as "pace setters in every field of struggle," observing that "one of the difficulties of inexperience is the inability to pinpoint the enemy, a tendency to scatter one's shots."

By the end of the sixties many youth, both in and out of the Du Bois clubs, had concluded that the working class was their key ally and that socialism was the answer to the problems of society. Against the backdrop of this radicalization of youth as well as the militant mass contributions of youth to the Black liberation and to the anti-Vietnam War movement, emerged the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) in 1970. The YWLL proclaimed Marxism-Leninism as its ideology, fraternal relations with the CPUSA, young workers as the youth movement's spearhead, and the special strug-

gle against racism as fundamental to the realization of youth's rights for all. The YWLL had no "identity crisis."

The YWLL—Leading Today's Youth in Struggle

To the YWLL's founding convention Gus Hall declared: "This is the time for a Marxist-Leninist youth organization." He pointed out the rising anger of youth, their growing rejection of "the values and sets of priorities created by U.S. imperialism. . . . In today's reality a Marxist-Leninist youth organization need not be narrow or small. Don't be selfish. Don't keep this science of sciences to yourselves. Share it with the millions."

The Young Workers Liberation League gave new life and new content to the struggles of youth and Marxist-Leninist direction elaborated in the work among youth since 1919: the League as a center for educating youth, as a builder of unity. The YWLL immediately became involved in the anti-war, youth jobs, anti-racist and other endeavors of young people on the move.

With the Party's assistance the YWLL has assimilated the "science of sciences" ever more fully and creatively. Through the decade of its existence the YWLL has become indispensable to the youth movement. It combats sectarian influences which would remove it from and had early tended to hinder its involvement in the mainstream of struggle. The Party's work with the YWLL is in the finest tradition of its sixty years of battle for the rights of young people. The Party takes special measures to help the League develop leadership and cadre, to support youth issues. To this day, the Party derives its approach from the knowledge that the youth question is a special one.

The YWLL, in conditions of capitalism's decay, of brutal monopoly attack on the younger generation and particularly on Black and other nationally oppressed youth, is part of a youth movement whose growth and cohesion can and must eclipse that which the Young Communist League helped to build. The youth movement today is drawing the connection between jobs and peace, social needs and SALT II, racism and budget cuts.

The YWLL fights for the endorsement and support by the most diverse youth organizations of affirmative action, the concept pioneered and consistently championed by the Party. The youth

movement becomes broader. Youth organizations representing hundreds of thousands, including the YWLL, have participated in the initiatives of the Youth Council of the National Coalition for Economic Justice. The YWLL played the pivotal role in the broadest-ever U.S. delegation to the Eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students in 1978. Like its predecessors, the YWLL practices its solidarity with the youth of all countries in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. "Graduates" of the YWLL have become important trade union and mass leaders and many are leaders of the CPUSA.

The Party perceives today that the significance of youth's particular problems and special role has not faded. Daniel Rubin, recently commented that problems affecting young people "are becoming even more intense and special," while at the same time "less separate from the problems facing our multinational, multiracial working class, Black people as a whole and all anti-monopoly strata."

The YWLL, stated National Chairman James Steele, "is helping to set the basic rhythm of the pulsebeat of the young generation." The Party has helped the League to set this rhythm, encouraging creativity and flexibility, cautioning against narrowmindedness. James Steele wrote: "...The YWLL is a mass school of struggle. And we also declare that this school has an open admissions policy. There must be absolutely no barriers, no criteria of a certain level of ideological or theoretical development for youth who are honest and sincere and want to struggle for a better life for young people."

The YWLL stresses the importance of having young workers—especially those in basic industry—in its ranks. In recent years the YWLL has paid close attention and devoted much energy to the struggles of high school students and teenagers whose horizons are threatened with genocidal unemployment, merciless budget cuts and the renewal of the draft. Moreover, the YWLL is playing an ever-more effective role in the endeavors of college students.

The YWLL arises out and is part of young people in all their diversity of pursuits and interests, but it represents their common needs, explains the class forces and trends, pinpoints the main enemy, and shows how to solve youth's conditions. The YWLL is not an elite, not a cadre organization admitting

only "the qualified." The YWLL includes all healthy instincts and interests of young workers and young people. The Party recognizes that the YWLL is an independent youth organization, that its purpose is to help youth to struggle, not to provide cadre for other organizations. Because the youth question is special it demands a single-minded devotion to its resolution.

The Party affirms the YWLL's ineradicable youthful character. Gus Hall's words to the League's (1977) Fourth National Convention are noteworthy:

To meet the challenge as a youth organization you have to simultaneously deal with serious problems while at the same time retaining a youthful spirited and enthusiastic attitude toward life and struggles. You have to be able to creatively combine activities of a social, cultural and political nature. You should march on picketlines, but you should also know the latest dance steps. You should know the size of corporate profits, but you should also know the latest baseball scores. You have to speak and raise hell at mass demonstrations, but you must also sing. Your club and branch meetings should be educational and inspirational, but also light and lively.

Why should you develop the ability to do all these things? Because you are dealing with young people. But also because you are young.

The recently issued "Guidelines on How Best to Assist the League" constitute the fullest expression of the Party's six-decade development and application of the Communist estimate of the role of the youth league. Noting Party guidance to be ideological and political, the Guidelines emphasize that the Party appreciates the League's responsibilities; the Guidelines stress support for the main demands of youth and for the YWLL's activities. The Party seeks to help build the League in terms of its numbers, social composition and age level. This is a task for all levels of the Party. The Party perceives that, though linked to it by ideology, the League is a different organization, not a Party "sub-committee." As the leader of anti-monopoly struggle "the Party considers it to be its duty to lead the fight for the vital needs of the youth among the population as a whole, seeking support of labor in the first

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The Marxist Press—Fanning the Fires of Change

DANIEL MASON

In 1835, Edgar Allan Poe wrote a story entitled, "The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaal." The hero, Hans Pfaal, a mender of bellows used in fanning fires into flame, had fallen on evil days. Obviously reflecting Poe's own views, Pfaal blamed his downfall upon "the effects of liberty, and long speeches and radicalism, and all that sort of thing. People who were formerly the very best customers in the world, had now not a moment of time to think of us. They had as much as they could do to read about the revolutions and keep up with the maid of intellect and the spirit of the age."

And, undoubtedly expressing Poe's own fears, Pfaal warned that "if a fire wanted fanning it could readily be fanned with a newspaper."

How true! Indeed the fires of change can be fanned into great flames by newspapers, leaflets, pamphlets and books, if such bellows are in the hands of a class ready and eager to press them. In our country, such a bellows has been and is the Marxist press, the reporter, the educator, the mobilizer and organizer of the masses for the struggles to change our society under the banner of scientific socialism.

How effective the Marxists and their press have been is indicated by Clinton Rossiter, a well-known anti-Communist political philosopher, who wrote: "A pervasive Marxist influence has spread all through the American intellectual community in the Twentieth Century and many who would deny flatly any debt to Marx have thought in Marxist categories and employed Marxist language." (*Marxism: The View From America*, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, N.Y., 1960, pp. 25-26.)

The history of the Marxist press is imbedded in the history of the struggles of Marxists in the United States to develop, on the theoretical basis of scientific socialism, a revolutionary party that would be able to raise the class consciousness of the workers and to lead them in the struggles to abolish capital-

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ism and establish socialism in the United States. To achieve these objectives, there has been a constant theoretical battle over the past century and a half against the enemies of the working class and the common people over such questions as: the structure of the working class; the form of organization of the working class; how unity of the working class is to be achieved; the relationship of the revolutionary socialist party to the working class; the relationship of the working class to the other sections of U.S. society; the political role of the working class; the solution of the national question.

The first appearance of Marxist theory in the U.S. was the publication of Sections I and II of *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the New York German language weekly, *Die Republic der Arbeiter* in October and November 1851. Wilhelm Weitling, the utopian socialist, who was an opponent of Marx, was an editor of the weekly. He was away on a tour when these sections of the *Manifesto* appeared. Indications are that when he returned to the newspaper's office, he suppressed further publication.

The first purely Marxist newspaper in the U.S. was *Die Revolution*, established in 1852, by Joseph Weydemeyer, a close associate of Marx and Engels, a refugee from the German Revolution of 1848, who migrated to the U.S. in 1851.

Unfortunately, *Die Revolution* lasted for only two issues. But that newspaper had the great distinction of publishing for the first time anywhere Marx's magnificent historical essay, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

With the demise of *Die Revolution*, Weydemeyer and his fellow-Marxists had to turn to other German language newspapers and those printed in the English language for propagation of scientific socialism. Some German-language newspapers were receptive to the Marxist contributions.

It was from the German immigrants that the first U.S. Marxists emerged, to wield a tremendous influence through their writings and actions upon the

history of the working class and the U.S. itself.

In the period between 1850 and the end of the Civil War, Marxist writings appeared mainly in journals not committed to Marxism. Among these were, in the German language, the *New England Zeitung*, the *New York Turnzeitung*, the *New York Belletrische Journal*, and, in English, the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Democrat* and the *Washington National Workingman's Advocate*. Marx himself was European correspondent for the *Tribune*, then published by Charles Dana.

In this period, the Marxists, utilizing the newspapers and other periodicals open to them, pressed for unity of the German immigrants, for unity of these with the Irish and native-born workers, for organization of the workers into unions. And, above all else, the Marxists used the press to mobilize the people for the abolition of slavery.

The decade before the Civil War saw the German-American Marxists as the leading force in the working class in the struggle for the abolition of slavery. They went South, where they established Abolitionist newspapers. They utilized the German-American press to mobilize their fellow-citizens for the coming struggle. Indicative of their journalistic activity was a series of articles published in 1859 in the Illinois *Staats-Zeitung*, in which Weydemeyer showed that the struggle against Black chattel slavery had its roots in the long-developing battle between the industrial capitalists of the North and the Southern slaveowners.

Weydemeyer stressed that victory over the slaveowners would clear the way for the growth of free labor and establish the conditions for the emancipation of the working class.

During the Civil War, the Marxists concentrated on writing, mobilizing and organizing the masses for the defeat of the Southern slaveowners and the abolition of chattel slavery.

We have devoted this much space to the beginnings of Marxist writing and activity in the early period to show how the firm foundation of scientific socialist theory for the development of a Marxist press was built. How the structure was erected upon this foundation we can only develop much more sketchily.

* * *

The decade following the Civil War was a turning

point in the history of the U.S. working class and Marxism. The period was epitomized later by Marx in the magnificent, eloquent paragraph:

In the United States of America, any sort of independent labor movement was paralyzed as long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor with a white skin can not emancipate itself where labor with a Black skin is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new and vigorous life sprang. The first fruit of the Civil War was an agitation for the eight-hour day—a movement which ran with express speed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California. (*Capital*, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p. 287.)

The formation of the International Workingmen's Association (later known as the First International) under the leadership of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, which lasted from 1864 to 1872, played a most important role in the development of the labor and socialist movement. An important vehicle in this was the establishment of a newspaper, *Arbeiter Union* (Workers' Union) by a group of German-American trade unions in New York City. Under the editorship of Adolph Douai, a Marxist, that newspaper published reports of the proceedings of the International and other Marxist and socialist writings.

Between 1868 and 1872, a number of local organizations were organized as affiliates to the International. The International established in this country an official organ, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Workers' Times) which became an influential newspaper for mobilizing the working class in the U.S. for struggle against its capitalist oppressors.

In 1874, the Workingmen's Party of North America was organized, bringing together a number of the local parties espousing socialism. That party established an English-language newspaper, *The Socialist*, perhaps the first of its kind in the U.S. It also published a newspaper in the German language, *the Sozial Demokrat*.

On July 22, 1876, the first truly socialist party was organized under the title of Working Men's Party of the United States. The *Socialist* and *Sozial Demokrat* became the official organs of the new party. In 1877, the name of the new party was

changed to Socialist Labor Party of America.

The birth of the new party inspired the birth of many newspapers espousing its cause. Between 1876 and 1877, twenty-four were established. Among these, eight were in the English language: *The Star*, in St. Louis, a daily; the *Labor Standard*, in New York; the *Workingman's Ballot* and the *Echo* in Boston; the *Social Democrat* in Milwaukee; the *Emancipator* in Cincinnati; the *Socialist* in Detroit and the *Times* in Indianapolis, the last seven were weeklies. In the German language there were fourteen newspapers, seven of them dailies.

However, the enthusiasm for these newspapers died swiftly because of the revival of the U.S. economy and the inability and immaturity of the leadership of the party. By 1879, none of the English-language newspapers existed. A new paper in the English language, the *National Socialist*, was established in 1878, but it lasted only a year. In the German language, only the *Philadelphia Tagesblatt*, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and *Verbote* survived.

But in 1878, the New York *Volkszeitung* was established. It became for the next quarter century the leading exponent of socialist theory and practice in the United States.

In the early period of the Socialist Labor Party, the first theoretical struggle of the Marxists against the anarchists for hegemony of the socialist movement took place. At first, the Marxists sought grounds for unity with the anarchists, but it soon became obvious that this was impossible.

That debate was tragically concluded with the Haymarket Affair in 1886 and the consequent frameup trial of the anarchists, who were unjustly blamed for it. That ended the influence of the anarchists in the labor movement.

The second ideological conflict in which the Marxists were involved was in the Socialist Labor Party itself. When the Socialist Labor Party was formed, it was composed of two groups, the followers of Marx and Engels and those who espoused the doctrines of the German Ferdinand Lassalle. Lassalle propounded a theory of "the iron law of wages," which assumed that the average wages of workers, always down to minimum levels, could not be raised by economic action. Therefore, it was useless to organize labor unions and fight for immediate betterment of their conditions. Lassalle's

program called for universal suffrage to enable the workers to vote for state credits for producers' cooperatives.

At the 1887 convention of the Socialist Labor Party, the struggle between the Marxists and Lassalleans broke into the open. The Lassalleans proposed that the party abandon its activities in the labor movement and limit itself to political action by the Socialist Labor Party. The Marxists advocated continued activity in unions and support for any valid political action of labor and farmer groups. The debate was carried on in the newspapers of the Party, with the Marxists using the *Volkszeitung*, and the national officers of the SLP, who were Lassalleans, used the official party organs, the *Workman's Advocate* and *Der Sozialist*. The ideological conflict was concluded with victory by the Marxists.

The downfall of the Socialist Party began with the emergence of Daniel DeLeon, who joined the party in 1890, and almost immediately captured its leadership. He became national leader of the party that same year, and, in 1892, he became editor of *The People*, the national newspaper of the SLP. Using that paper as his personal organ, he isolated the SLP from the American Federation of Labor and initiated a struggle against the AFL. As Philip Foner wrote:

To Daniel DeLeon the work of the Socialist unions in leading the workers in their day-to-day struggles was of slight importance. DeLeon insisted that the aim of a trade union of workers must be "the abolition of the wage-system of slavery." Unions which concentrated on immediate demands—"pure and simple" unionism—were impeding the historic mission of the trade unions—the overthrow of capitalism. Hence no matter how militant a union was, no matter how progressive it was in its approach toward the organization of the unskilled and the semi-skilled, the Negro workers, women and foreign-born workers, unless it endorsed a socialist program, it was a reactionary organization. (*History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Vol. II, International Publishers, New York, 1955, p. 280.)

As a result, DeLeon advocated "dual unionism" and placed the SLP in opposition to the AFL. He was also opposed in the SLP by the Marxists, who

advocated "boring from within" the AFL to oust its conservative, class-collaborationist leadership and to bring about a progressive, militant policy in its unions. How effective such a policy could be was indicated at the 1894 convention of the AFL, where the socialists united with other delegates to defeat the reactionary Samuel Gompers in his bid for reelection as president, and elected instead John McBride of the United Mine Workers. But after the convention, the Socialists, influenced by DeLeon, refused to continue the united front, and plunged every deeper into isolation and sectarianism. At the end of the nineteenth century, the time was ripe for a new socialist party.

* * *

A true Marxist press was limited in the period from 1852 to 1900. The expression of Marxist thinking was channeled at first through broader working-class and "language" papers, and later, mainly in the newspapers and journals of the various socialist parties which did not have themselves a firm, single line and therefore presented to their readers a multiplicity of views and theories.

The struggle within the Socialist Labor Party and the formation of the Social-Democratic Party in the last three years of the nineteenth century resulted in a split off from both parties and the formation of the Socialist Party in 1901. Involved in the organization of the new party were the Marxists, the revisionists of Marxism, the backers of industrial unionism and the socialists who had personal ties and a personal interest in the AFL. Almost from the beginning, the Socialist Party was controlled by the revisionists of Marxism and the backers of the AFL leadership. Also a new group had moved into the party, middle-class reformers, who thought of socialism only as a far-distorted dream. They joined with the other groups in the leadership to give a Right-wing direction to the Socialist Party.

As a result, a Left wing developed in the Party, consisting of the Marxists and the advocates of industrial unionism. They had no real organization for many years, and could express their views only in the columns of socialist journals not under their control. In the period after 1901 and until 1917, the press of the Socialist Party expanded tremendously, not only nationally, but regionally. Almost all of these operated either with a Right-wing line, or were

forums for debate between the Right-wing leadership and the Marxists.

The main journals in which the Marxists and the other Left-wingers were able to present their views until about 1915 were the *Socialist Review* and the *New Review*. While these journals had a Left-leaning, some very violent Right-wing views appeared in their columns, particularly on the Black liberation struggle.

From 1915 on, the Left-wing began to establish its own newspapers and magazines. This is dealt with later in the section concerning history of *Political Affairs*.

The establishment of the Communist Party in 1919 brought a new type of socialist press, one with a continuous line, based upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism, one upon which to unify, one from which to go forth in battle against the enemies of the working class and the common people. Many of them, while not affiliated to the Party, spread the ideas of scientific socialism, because they were established and led by people who espoused scientific socialism.

Among those were the newspapers of the "language" groups, which became a powerful force in the organization of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. There were the shop papers, the industry papers, which rallied the workers for struggle against their bosses, for organization into unions, and which showed the workers the possibilities of socialism. There was the *Labor Defender*, which fought for the freedom of political and labor prisoners and against the oppression of the Black people. There were the cultural magazines, such as the *Liberator*, *New Masses*, *Masses and Mainstream* and *American Dialog*, in all of which many writers and artists got their start, and which were a tremendous influence on the cultural life of our country.

There are so many of these that lack of space makes it impossible to even list them. But we would like to single out one of them before we proceed to a more elaborate view of the *Daily Worker*—*Daily World* and the *Communist-Political Affairs*. That newspaper is the *Young Worker*, which was established in 1922 by the Young Workers League, which later became the Young Communist League, and whose direct descendant is the *Young Worker*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Workers Libera-

tion League.

The files of the *Young Worker*, which lasted until 1936, are worth reading by anyone interested in learning how a newspaper for young people should be produced. Instead of presenting our own evaluation, we shall quote a few sentences from an outside viewer. In an essay in *The American Radical Press 1880-1960* (Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn., 1974), Dale Riepe writes:

For réportage of then-existing conditions, *Young Worker* is probably unmatched. It had a wide range of correspondents who covered every section of the country. They were devoted to bringing the poignant facts of the suffering youth to the attention of the readers. Theoretical issues such as the relation of labor power to wages and surplus value are encapsulated in headlines such as "You Give Your Boss Free Six Hours of Labor Daily." (Vol. 1, p. 245.)

* * *

One of the greatest accomplishments of the Communist Party was the establishment of the *Worker* and its successors, the *Daily Worker* and the *Daily World*. The *Worker* is undoubtedly the longest-lasting socialist newspaper in the capitalist world. And as Harold A. Levenstein, an anti-Communist historian, had to admit, it became "probably the most important single publication in the history of radical journalism in the United States." (*Ibid.*, p. 226.)

The struggle to establish it, maintain it and advance it has been long and arduous, but it has been worth it. For it has been the lone newspaper spokesman for most of its history of the course of the working class, for the liberation of the Black people, the Chicanos, and all the oppressed peoples of the United States, for propounding the ideas of scientific socialism and for reporting to the people of our country how socialism works in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The *Worker's* first ancestor was the *Ohio Socialist*, weekly newspaper of the Ohio Socialist Party, which espoused the views of the Left-wing in the Socialist Party between 1917 and 1919. With the formation of the Communist Labor Party in 1919, it became one of that Party's organs, changing its name to *The Toiler* in the issue of November 26, 1919. After the Communist Labor Party and the

Communist Party merged to form the United Communist Party in 1920, and later when the Communist Party of America was established in May 1921, uniting all the Communist groups, it became the newspaper of that party. The *Toiler* moved from Cleveland to New York in October 1921, and in February 1922 it changed its name to the *Worker*.

But the Communists, from the very birth of their party in 1919, had always projected the idea of a daily newspaper in the English language espousing scientific socialism, just as had the Marxists in our country from 1851 on. At the May 1921 convention which established the Communist Party of America, the former United Communist Party reported that it had thirty-five journals with a total monthly circulation of 1,642,000; the former Communist Party reported nineteen papers with a monthly circulation of 990,000. The great majority of these were, however, in the languages of the language federations, which were affiliated to the Party. Of these "language" newspapers, ten were published daily. There was no daily in the English language.

So, in the August 18, 1923, issue of the *Worker*, there appeared the announcement of a drive to raise \$100,000 for the establishment of the *Daily Worker*, with the drive to end Dec. 22, 1923. The drive did not really begin until Sept. 6, 1923. By the end of 1923, a total of \$90,000 was contributed, with the rest collected very quickly after that. The language federations were especially zealous in the efforts to provide the funds for establishing the *Daily Worker*. In his Dec. 1923 report to the Third National Convention of the Workers Party of America (the name, at the time, of the Communist Party) John J. Ballam, manager of the fund drive, reported that "our foreign-born comrades have supported the drive for an English daily magnificently, and especial credit is due them when the fact that most of the language sections carry the burden of maintaining dailies and weeklies in their respective languages is taken into consideration."

Announcing to the convention that the first issue would appear January 13, 1924, Ballam declared:

The *Daily Worker* will be the chief instrument through which our Party will popularize all its slogans, and mobilize all its forces for action in

every field . . .

We are convinced that our daily will be supported by tens of thousands of workers and farmers and become a tremendous power in the coming nationwide elections, developing the political consciousness of the workers, rallying them in support of the labor party at the polls, becoming an institution in the life of the workers and exploited, and setting up another milestone on the path of our Party toward the realization of its final goal.

From that first issue of January 13, 1924, the *Daily Worker* and its successors, the *Worker* and the *Daily World*, have not only fulfilled that perspective, but have broadened it.

In 1926, the circulation of the *Daily Worker* was 28,500; in 1935, it was 30,954; in 1944, it reached its peak of 48,601. In 1936 the *Sunday Worker* was established and that weekend edition at its high point had a circulation of about 90,000. Regional editions of the *Sunday Worker* were also established at a later period and were successful for some time.

But, in 1944, after the dissolution of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association, at the behest of Earl Browder and his associates, the circulation dropped to 22,000, as the readers showed their disapproval of the liquidationist policies of the Browderites.

The reestablishment of the Communist Party in 1945 stemmed this drop for a short period. But the beginning of the Cold War and the anti-Communist drive after World War II prevented any increase in circulation. And the drop in circulation was accelerated with the appointment in 1947 of John Gates as editor-in-chief.

Gates and his allies conspired to isolate the paper from the mainstream of the Communist movement and to make it an anti-Soviet and antisocialist organ. On December 22, 1957, as a result of the Cold War anti-Communist pressures and the actions of the Gates clique, the Party was forced to suspend publication of the *Daily Worker* and continue only with a weekend edition of the *Worker*, but with the pledge that the daily would return.

In 1963 the *Worker* resumed twice weekly publication, then the pledge to return was fully redeemed in 1968, when the *Daily World* was established. The *Daily World* carries on admirably to this

day the responsibilities of the true Marxist press.

The pages of the *Daily Worker*, its predecessor and successors, reveal the history of the working class, the Black liberation movement, the struggles of the masses in the last sixty years in all their glory. Nowhere else can one find the real record of the battles for industrial unionism, the strikes of the workers. Where else were the workers mobilized for organization into the Congress of Industrial Organizations? Where else was the oppression of the Black people delineated so clearly in all its horror? What other newspaper aroused the people of the nation to save the victims of the Scottsboro frame-up? What other newspaper was in the forefront of the struggle to succor the unemployed, to relieve the suffering of the aged?

In the 1920s, the *Daily Worker* was the first newspaper to warn against the danger of fascism. It was in the lead of the battles against imperialism, backing the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the revolutionaries in Mexico. It fought the exploitation of Latin America and the West Indies by the U.S. monopolies. It called for recognition of the Soviet Union.

It was the first to warn the nation of the horrors of the coming Great Depression, and the first to propose ways to alleviate the sufferings caused by that economic cataclysm through unemployment insurance and social security. It mobilized the unemployed for immediate relief and jobs.

In the 1930s, it rallied the people for support of the Spanish people in defense against the Spanish fascists and Hitler and Mussolini. It warned about the plans of the Nazis for a new world war and worked for a national and international peoples' front to beat back the war moves of the Nazis.

In the early 1940s, the *Daily Worker* devoted itself to the winning of the war against the German Nazis, the Italian fascists and the Japanese militarists.

In the late 1940s, and 1950s, it was the first and, at times the only, newspaper that fought bravely and consistently against the insidious poison of McCarthyism and the Cold War, which almost destroyed freedom of expression and assembly and debilitated the whole society for a generation.

In the later 1950s and the 1960s, it was involved in the resurgence of the Black liberation movement, and the bursting out of the nation's students. It was

in the forefront of the struggle to halt U.S. imperialism's war against the peoples of Indochina.

In the 1970s, it has continued the struggle for world peace, for detente with the Soviet Union, for the independence of the formerly colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia.

And it has done all this, always with the recognition of its responsibility to the working class, the Black people, the Chicano, the other oppressed peoples and the masses of the nation, and always with an eye to the future of socialism for the United States.

* * *

Political Affairs is undoubtedly the longest-lasting theoretical Marxist periodical in the history of the United States. It bears witness to the stability, vitality and growth of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party in this country.

Of Homer, it has been said that he was claimed by three thousand Grecian cities. Of *Political Affairs*, it can be said that it had numerous antecedents. It was born in the period of the imperialist World War I, of the great October Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

At first, the Left wing sought to achieve its aims through the Socialist Party. But this was nullified by the middle-class leadership of the Socialist Party by means of mass expulsions. The forces of the Left wing were split on the next steps to be taken. Some advocated remaining in the Socialist Party. Others were for an immediate break and organization of an American Communist Party. But among these, too, there was a split concerning tactics and program. All these groups based themselves on Leninism, but with varying interpretations and rivalries.

To enlighten the advanced workers concerning Leninism and to carry on the ideological struggle among themselves for the development and unification of a Communist Party, these various groups established periodicals.

Among these periodicals can be found the progenitors of today's *Political Affairs*. Some of them were a cross between newspapers and magazines; others were full-fledged magazines.

One of the earliest of the ancestors of *Political Affairs* was the *Ohio Socialist*, the organ of the Ohio Socialist Party and other Midwest state parties in the struggle of the Left wing within the Socialist Party before the Communist Party was organized.

It was started in 1917 and its last issue was dated November 19, 1919.

Another was *Revolutionary Age*, which was published in Boston and New York between November 16, 1918 and August 23, 1919. Originally it was the spokesman of the Left-wing Socialists of the Northeast. With the formation of the Communist Labor Party in September 1919, it became that party's organ until it merged with the Communist Party of America to become the United Communist Party. The *New York Communist* was another organ of the Left wing in the Socialist Party, which existed only from April 19 to June 21, 1919 and then became a part of *Revolutionary Age*.

Class Struggle was another of these early periodicals, published in New York between May, 1917 and November, 1919. In this magazine appeared for the first time some of the significant theoretical writings of Lenin. Originally, it proclaimed itself to be the theoretical organ of the Socialist Party. In its last issue it had become the "organ of the Communist Labor Party."

The *Voice of Labor*, which existed between August 15, 1919 and July 10, 1920, originally was published by the Labor Committee of the National Left Wing of the Socialist Party. Later it became the organ of the Communist Labor Party. Its last few issues were under the aegis of the United Communist Party.

Another was the *Workers Council*, which came out somewhat later—between April 1 and December 15, 1921—and was published by the Committee for the Third International.

Communist Labor, which appeared irregularly between December 6, 1919, and May 15, 1920, was also an official organ of the Communist Labor Party.

In this first period of the development and unification of the Communist Party there were a number of periodicals that had the name *The Communist*. Bringing order out of confusion concerning these is difficult, because rival groups within the Communist parties of the early period published organs under that name and also because the governmental reign of terror which began at the beginning of 1920 forced the publication of these periodicals underground.

Three other magazines must be listed here, even though they had no official connection to the

various Communist parties and groups, because they played a significant role in the history of what is now *Political Affairs*.

The first of these was the *Liberator*. This was established by a group of writers and artists in March 1918, following the suppression in December 1917 of the *Masses* for its forthright struggle against the imperialist war. But while the *Masses* had been primarily a magazine of literature and art, the *Liberator's* emphasis was more political. It became at first a sort of unofficial organ of the Left wing in the Socialist Party and later of the Communists. Peak circulation of the *Liberator* was 60,000.

Another was the *Labor Herald* which was established in March 1922 in Chicago as the organ of the Trade Union Educational League, led by William Z. Foster.

The third was *Soviet Russia Pictorial*, which was the organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

All these early periodicals displayed varied forms of immaturity, sectarianism, opportunism, misunderstanding. Yet they all played a determining role in the development of the theory and practice of Marxism and its spread among the American masses; and they helped to set the foundations for the growth of the Communist Party.

By 1923, the activities of the Communists, the broadening of their ties among the masses and the pressures of the times had changed the political climate in the United States, making legality possible. As a result, the underground Communist Party was dissolved in April, 1923, and the Workers Party became the only Communist organization in the United States. (In 1925, the party name was changed to Workers [Communist] Party, and in 1929 to Communist Party.)

A reflection of the unity of the Communists in this period was the establishment of the *Workers Monthly* in New York in November 1924, as a consolidation of the *Labor Herald*, the *Liberator* and *Soviet Russia Pictorial* as the "official organ of the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League."

This first issue of the *Workers Monthly* is numbered Volume IV, Number 1. Apparently this numbering was taken from the *Labor Herald*, whose Volume I, Number 1, was dated March 1922 and its last number was Volume III, Number 8, for October, 1924. Therefore, *Political Affairs'* serial

lineage appears to have its beginning in the *Labor Herald*.

In its first period, the *Workers Monthly* still reflected the contents of its three progenitors. It contained poems, cartoons and travelogues. But by its last issue, that of February, 1927, it had become completely the theoretical organ of the Workers (Communist) Party.

In March, 1927, the name of the magazine was changed to *The Communist*, which proclaimed itself as "a theoretical magazine for the discussion of revolutionary problems published by the Workers (Communist) Party."

With the January 1945 issue, Volume XXIV, Number 1, the name of the magazine was changed to *Political Affairs*. This occurred in another very difficult period for the Party.

During World War II, the revisionist concept of "American exceptionalism" and illusory notions about a new type of capitalists were brought into the Communist Party by Earl Browder. Unfortunately, they were widely accepted—even if reluctantly by some. As a result, in 1944 the Communist Party became the Communist Political Association and the Party was completely liquidated in the South. In 1945, the Party recovered from this madness and the first task of *Political Affairs* became that of carrying on an ideological struggle against these revisionist distortions of Marxism-Leninism and to rebuild the Party for the pressing political battles that followed World War II.

The years since World War II have been strenuous years for *Political Affairs*. It has been a time of witchhunts, of repression and intimidation, of drives to destroy the Communist Party. It has been a period of cold war and hot war carried on by U.S. imperialism at the head of the world imperialist forces.

It has also been a period of increasing struggle by the working class, of the advance of the Black liberation movement to a qualitatively new level, of the rising struggles of the Chicano and Puerto Rican peoples, of the mushrooming of the student movement, of the upsurge of the struggle for women's liberation.

In all these struggles, *Political Affairs* has always sought to be a motivating force, to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism to them, to gird the Communist Party and the Left for participation in them.

CPUSA: SIXTY YEARS IN ACTION

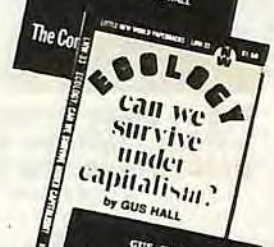
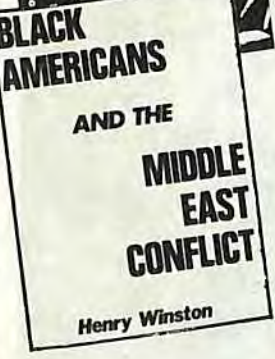


Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA since 1966, was born in Mississippi in 1911. His grandfather was a slave. At the age of 19 he joined the Young Communist League and entered the struggles of the unemployed, aided the defense of the Scottsboro Boys, and took part in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. During World War II he served in the Army Engineers. In 1956 he began an 8-year prison sentence under the Smith Act. While in prison he became blind as a result of neglect by the prison authorities. World-wide protests brought about his release in 1961. Henry Winston is the author of numerous articles, pamphlets and books.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA since 1959, was born in Minnesota. He was one of the founders of the United Steelworkers of America, and a leader of the Little Steel Strike in 1937. He served in the U.S. Navy in World War II. In the 1950s he served eight years in Leavenworth Federal Prison, a victim of the notorious thought-control Smith Act. He is an internationally recognized authority on the social science of Marxism-Leninism and the author of scores of books and articles. Gus Hall was the Communist Party's candidate for President in 1972 and 1976.

Henry Winston was awarded the Order of the October Revolution by the Supreme Soviet for his work in the struggles of the working class, for national liberation and against racism, on April 6, 1976.

Gus Hall was awarded the Order of Lenin, one of the Soviet Union's highest medals, by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on November 9, 1977.



FORERUNNERS OF THE CPUSA



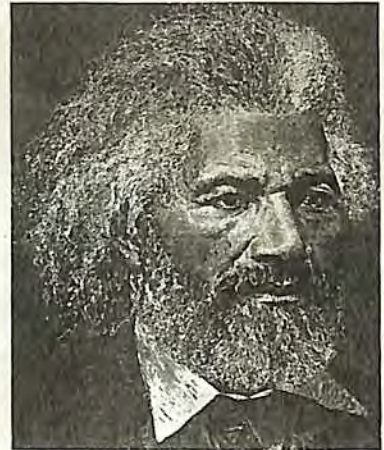
Karl Marx and Frederick Engels founded scientific socialism.



Joseph Weydemeyer, friend of Marx, was colonel in Union Army.



William Sylvius founded National Labor Union.



Frederick Douglass, Black leader in anti-slavery struggle, founded Colored National Labor Union.



Robert Owen, British manufacturer, founded utopian socialist colonies in U.S.



Haymarket Martyrs, framed in Chicago, 1887, commemorated in International May Day.



Albert R. Parsons, a Haymarket victim.



Joe Hill, IWW songwriter. Framed and executed in Utah, 1915.

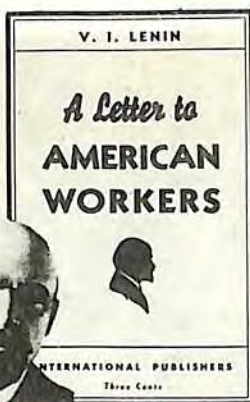


Eugene Victor Debs, greatest of the SP agitators.

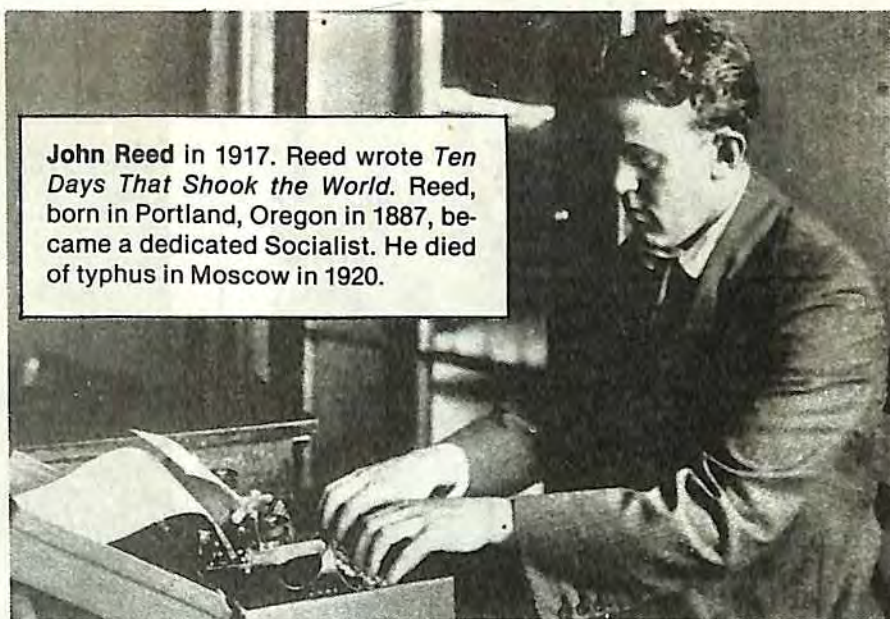


Benjamin Fletcher, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, leaders of Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Flynn and Haywood joined CP.

FOUNDERS OF THE CPUSA



V. I. Lenin's pamphlet explained Russian Revolution to American workers.



John Reed in 1917. Reed wrote *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Reed, born in Portland, Oregon in 1887, became a dedicated Socialist. He died of typhus in Moscow in 1920.



Anita Whitney and "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor were Socialist Party veterans by 1919.



Alfred Wagenknecht, jailed for opposing World War I.



Sen Katayama, veteran of Japanese socialist movement and of SP of America.



Rose Pastor Stokes, one of many women founders of CPUSA.



Robert Minor, "America's foremost political cartoonist," a top Party leader.



William Z. Foster, outstanding labor organizer and party leader, with Charles E. Ruthenberg, first secretary, CPUSA.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION



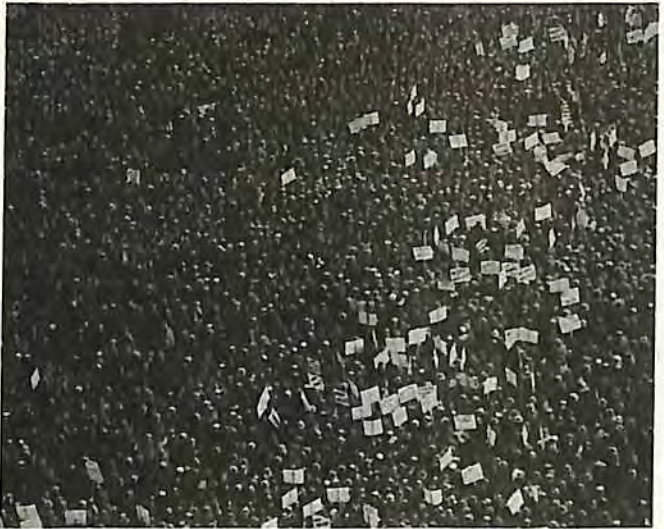
"Bricks and Bullets Will Not Stop Our Fight For Bread" and "Workers, Close Ranks" are among slogans calling unemployed to mobilize for Hunger March on Washington.



Artists, musicians, cultural workers joined battle for jobs and relief.



Communists Joe York and Joe Bussell lie in state in Party's Detroit headquarters alongside Coleman Leny and Joe Di Blasio, victims of Ford goons during Hunger March of Ford workers in 1932.



Union Square demonstration of 100,000 unemployed, March 6, 1930, as club-wielding cops moved in to break up meeting.



Emil Nygard, Communist mayor of Crosby, Minnesota.



Israel Amter, Communist leader, rallies unemployed for fightback.

Official Organ of the Unemployed Council of Greater New York

THE HUNGER FIGHTER

VOL. 2 - No. 2 NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY, 1933 - 24 PAGES - TWO CENTS

Win New Victories In Rent Strikes

Conference Maps Relief Fight

TENANTS IN 14 HOUSES WIN THEIR DEMANDS

The recently adopted struggle against both rent and evictions in New York City led by the Unemployed Council and Work Committees and Work Committees affiliated with it has resulted in a number of spectacular victories in the last few days. All the rent strikes have been won by the intervention of the Unemployed Council and Work Committees. In many cases the rent was reduced to the level of the market and the tenants' interests were fully protected.

DELEGATES OF 65 ORGANIZATIONS PLEDGE SUPPORT IN RELIEF FIGHT

Calling in response to the appeal from all of the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployed Workers, 65 delegates representing 65 organizations met at the preliminary conference at the Plaza Hotel in New York City, Jan. 22, and pledged concerted support both financially and in kind, to the State-wide Conference which will meet at Atlantic City, February 24-26, 1933. The Conference will be the first representative of the Unemployed Council of A. F. of L. in the United States. It will discuss and coordinate relief measures including relief projects, strikes, boycotts, picketing, and other work to support the relief fight of the rank and file against the Unemployed Insurance and other attacks of the workers.

Proposals of Unem. Council For Relief

Hunger Fighter, official organ New York Unemployed Council, January 1933 issue.

AGAINST RACISM

For Black Freedom, Justice and Equality



Nine Scottsboro youths framed on rape charge, in photo taken March 20, 1931. The Communist Party sparked nationwide campaign to free Scottsboro Nine.



Angelo Herndon, for whose freedom a successful national campaign was waged, visiting Tom Mooney in San Francisco Jail.



International struggle saved Angela Davis.



Communist leader Benjamin Davis speaking under auspices of the New York Civil Rights Congress for freedom of the Trenton Six.



William L. Patterson (author of *Genocide*) with James W. Ford, Communist vice-presidential candidate, 1940.



Daily Worker campaign for Jackie Robinson broke Jim Crow in sports.



W.E.B. Du Bois joined CPUSA in October 1961 and was welcomed by Gus Hall.



Victory in Weber case spurs hope for reversing Bakke.

BUILDING THE UNIONS-ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED



Communists led textile strike in Gastonia, N.C., 1929.



Newspapers headline San Francisco general strike, July, 1934. Harry Bridges, elected chairman of rank-and-file committee, later became president of the Longshoremen's union and, under John L. Lewis, West Coast director of the CIO organizing drive.



"Memorial Day Massacre," May 30, 1937. 10 workers were killed and 40 injured at Republic Steel in "Little Steel" strike.



General Motors strikers celebrate their victory at Flint, Michigan, after their historic sit-down strike to which Communists gave leadership.



Communist seamen were driving force in organizing National Maritime Union.



ANTI-FASCIST WAR

From Madrid To Stalingrad To Victory



Robert Minor, James Ford and British Marxist Ralph Bates visit quarters of 2nd Squadron, Transport Regiment, Spain.



Black Americans, vets of Spanish Civil War, aboard ship on way home.



Olive Law, first Black commander in Spain.



U.S. and U.S.S.R. soldiers shake hands after link-up at Elbe, WW II.



Soviet soldiers with captured Nazi banners after Soviet-Allied unity defeated fascists.



Communist veterans of anti-fascist wars in Washington, D.C. at National Veterans Encampment, May, 1947, are addressed by William Z. Foster.

COLD WAR AND McCARTHYISM



Framed under the Smith Act were (l to r) William Z. Foster, Benj. J. Davis, Eugene Dennis, Henry Winston, John Williamson, and Jack Stachel. Also (not shown) Gus Hall, Gil Green, Carl Winter, Robert Thompson, Irving Potash, and John Gates.



Paul Robeson sings freedom songs at Peekskill, N.Y., despite attacks in 1949.



Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, victims of legal murder during McCarthyite hysteria. Despite worldwide pleas, Pres. Eisenhower sent them to electric chair.



Peter V. Cacchione (l) and **Benjamin J. Davis**, New York City's two Communist councilmen. Davis was indicted under Smith Act while a City Council member.



Fourteen Communists, among them Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Claudia Jones, and Alexander Trachtenberg, were indicted in the second New York Smith Act case.



Eugene Dennis with protesters during **Dennis Case**, first Smith Act trial of CP leaders.

FIGHT U.S. IMPERIALISM-DEFEND VIETNAM



Young Workers Liberation League called for halt to bombing in North Vietnam. ▶

◀ Fifth Avenue Peace Parade in New York, April 15, 1967, marked a big advance for unity in struggle against Vietnam war. Here's part of CP contingent.



◀ Muzorewa visit protested by friends of Zimbabwe freedom.



Independence for Puerto Rico: another YWLL demand.

ALIANCE AGAINST RACIST POLITICAL REPRESSION



Ho Chi Minh meets James E. Jackson, member CP political committee, in Hanoi.



Cuban "missile crisis" brought out protesters in 1962.



U.S. youth demonstrate for disarmament.

ELECTORAL STRUGGLES

And The Crisis of Everyday Living



In 1968 the CP candidates for president and vice-president were Charlene Mitchell and Mike Zagarell (shown with Gus Hall).



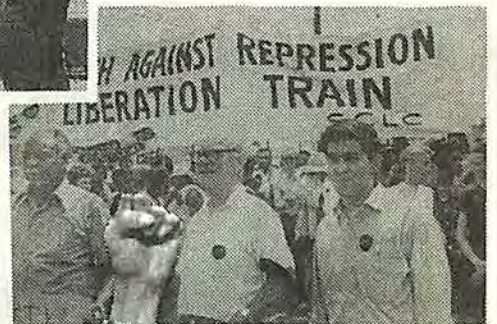
Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner were the CP team in '72 and '76 elections.



Vast petition campaign put Party on ballot.



Hall and Tyner made the race in '72.



Communist leaders join in repression fight.



Angela Davis shows confidence in "singing tomorrows."



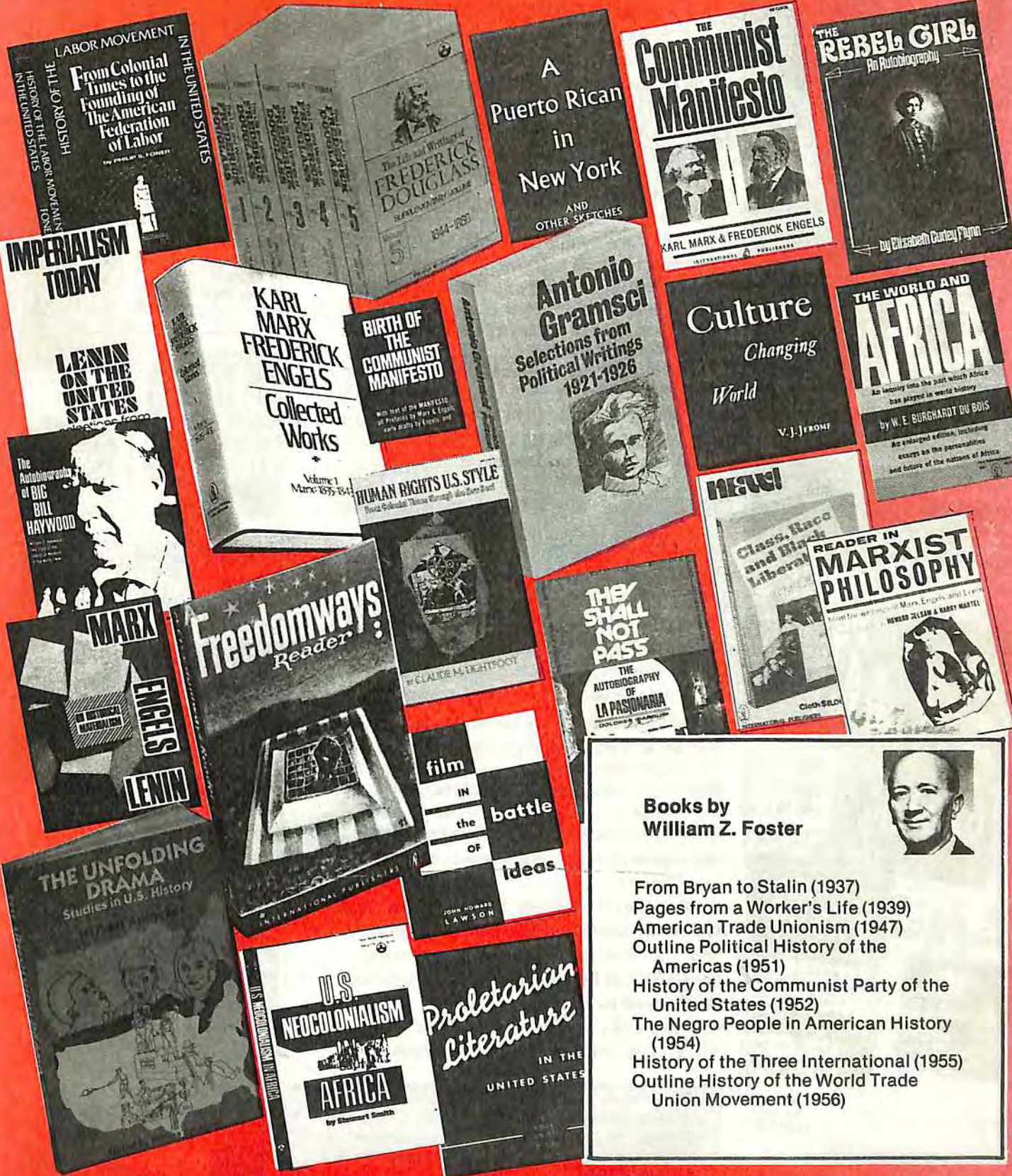
College Students demonstrate against racism.



Signing to place Party on ballot in New York.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS FOR PEACE, PROGRESS AND SOCIALISM

From International Publishers and Other Publishers



Books by William Z. Foster



- From Bryan to Stalin (1937)
- Pages from a Worker's Life (1939)
- American Trade Unionism (1947)
- Outline Political History of the Americas (1951)
- History of the Communist Party of the United States (1952)
- The Negro People in American History (1954)
- History of the Three International (1955)
- Outline History of the World Trade Union Movement (1956)

CLASSIC BOOKS BY MARXISTS AND PROGRESSIVE AUTHORS

- Reconstruction by James S. Allen
 The Morning Breaks by Bettina Aptheker
 Heart of Spain by Alvah Bessie
 Tijerina and the Land Grants by Patricia Bell Blawis
 History of the American Working Class by Anthony Bimba
 Allende's Chile by Edward Boorstein
 We Are Many by Ella Reeve Bloor
 Iron City by Lloyd L. Brown
 Program Communist Party U.S.A. by Central Committee
 Communist Councilman from Harlem by Benjamin Davis
 The Heritage of Gene Debs by Eugene Victor Debs
 Ideas They Cannot Jail by Eugene Dennis
 Organize! by Wyndham Mortimer
 The Negroes and the Democratic Front by James W. Ford
 Pete - Story of Peter V. Cacchione by Simon W. Gerson
 Jews Without Money by Mike Gold
 Revolution Cuban Style by Gil Green
 Women Who Work by Grace Hutchins
 Revolutionary Tracings by James E. Jackson
 The Day is Coming - The Life and Work of Charles E. Ruthenberg by Oakley C. Johnson
 The Hidden Heritage by John H. Lawson
 Collected Works by V. I. Lenin (42 volumes)
 Racism and Human Survival by Claude M. Lightfoot
 Zionism - Its Role in World Politics by Hyman Lumer
 CIA and American Labor by George Morris
 Watergate - Crime in the Suites by Michael Myerson
 No Men Are Strangers by Joseph North
 We Charge Genocide by William L. Patterson
 The Empire of High Finance by Victor Perlo
 Ten Days That Shook the World by John Reed
 Here I Stand by Paul Robeson
 The Lincoln Battalion by Edwin Rolfe
 Women Against Slavery by Samuel Sillen

This visual section prepared and edited by Joseph Brandt, Managing Editor and Arthur Zipsar, member Historical Commission, CPUSA. In cooperation with Workshop for People's Art.

SPAIN AND VIETNAM
THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

What happened in Chile...

WHY COMMUNISM?
PLAIN TALK ON VITAL PROBLEMS

By AL J. OLSON

On Certain Aspects of Bourgeois Nationalism



JAMES E. JACKSON

CONSTITUTION of the COMMUNIST PARTY of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Name of Life!
STOP THE ARMS RACE

ALEXANDROV

PEKING'S POLICY - A THREAT TO PEACE

I take my stand FOR peace

UNITY OF WORKERS WILL WIN

W. E. B. DUBOIS

GUS HALL

LABOR KEY FORCE

FOR PEACE, CIVIL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC SECURITY 1966 -

THE COLD-WAR MURDER

The Frame-up Against Ethel and Julius ROSENBERG

BY RICHARD O. ROYCE

JEW'S in American History

1654 - 1867

BY PHILIP FOSTER

International Publishers, New York

COMMUNISTS and the PEOPLE

Documentation Speeches by the Party in the Second Party Square South Ave. Trail of Thomas Communist League

By ELIZABETH GUSLEY FLYNN

34

the struggle ahead:

time for a radical change!

GUS HALL
COMMUNISM

HANKINS BRIGHT HORIZON

History of May Day

Alexander Trachtenberg



Sedition
WAR HUNGER, UNEMPLOYMENT

LATIN AMERICA IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

AFRICA AND THE USA



BY HENRY WINSTON

Marxism-Leninism vs Revisionism

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

BY HYMAN LUMER

RACISM

THE GREAT SIT-DOWN STRIKE

The Great Sit-Down Strike

GUS HALL

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

The Meaning of this Anniversary

JAMES E. JACKSON

The working class of the United States is charged by history with fulfillment of the role of final emancipator of the peoples and liberator of the toilers of our nation from all manner of economic exploitation, political oppression, social deprivation and racial and national discrimination. It is destined by the laws of social development to displace the reigning class of the exploiters and violators of the liberties of the peoples—the class of the capitalist monopolies—which now dominates the economy and rules the state. When the real producers of the wealth of the nation take political command of the country's affairs they will, in the process, sever all the imperialist chains which the monopolists have imposed upon other peoples and countries.

But long before that point in political development is reached in our country, long before our working class and its allies come to power and replace capitalism by the rational, scientific and humanistic system of socialism, our working class is called upon to accomplish great immediate tasks, whose fulfillment is a vital and indispensable step in the transition to revolutionary social change.

First and foremost among these urgent undertakings is the imposition upon the existing Administration and Congress of such a course in foreign policy as will make irreversible the SALT II agreements entered into with the Soviet Union and each of the steps taken toward compliance with the further development of detente and peaceful co-existence.

Together with this overall issue of world peace, with the struggle for establishing safeguards against the outbreak of war and toward progressive disarmament, the working class faces other important tasks. It has to be the initiator of massive popular struggles against the monopolists on the economic and political fronts, where the capitalists are imposing skyrocketing consumer prices, inflation, onerous tax loads, cutbacks in social services, mounting joblessness and other burdens on the

James E. Jackson is national education director, CPUSA.

backs of the working people.

There is also the urgent task of raising the level of the struggle to eliminate racial discrimination and national oppression of Black Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native American Indians and Asians. And in the course of these struggles, the working class must strive to continue strengthening the class outlook and democratic control of the mass organizations of the working people—of the trade unions, the organizations of the Black liberation movement, of the youth, the women, of the fighters for peace, of the students and cultural workers, etc. In sum, the working class is charged with the responsibility of leading the struggle to unite all sections of the people in a powerful anti-monopoly alliance.

* * *

To respond adequately to the deepening crisis of the system calls for the working class to enter the political-electoral arena on a really broad front and under the independent banner of an antimonopoly party in which it is the leading force. It requires a struggle to replace the corporation spokesmen in Congress and government at every level with genuine representatives of labor, Black Americans and other sections of the people.

For the working class to wage a winning fight for its immediate needs and to fulfill in good time the epoch-making role which has been mandated it by history, the class itself must have a special instrument of guidance and leadership. It must have a vanguard party which attracts to itself the best, most far-sighted and broadvisioned, thoughtful and hard-fighting sons and daughters of all nationalities from within the ranks of the masses. It has need of a vanguard party skilled and experienced in the art and science of leadership of class battles, in the tactics and strategy of struggles on a broad front. It has need of a science of society and social development capable of accurately assessing moving reality and pointing the way for the formulation of pro-

grams for advancing the struggle of the masses toward particular immediate goals and toward the coming historic victory over its exploiter-class adversary.

There is such a party. It is the Communist Party of the United States of America.

"The Communist Party is a working-class party. The Communist Party is a party of Marxism-Leninism. There are no other Marxist-Leninist parties in our land."

These statements affirming our Party's essence appeared in an article by Gus Hall, general secretary of our Party, written a decade ago on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Party's birth. Contrary to what some may say, our Party, wrote Gus Hall, "has given the working class a scientific basis of struggle. It has given the class struggle a direction—a revolutionary direction. It has helped to instill in the workers a consciousness of the class nature of capitalist exploitation, a consciousness of the class nature and class solution of the problems of the individual workers. This has influenced the character of the class struggle. The Communist Party has nurtured and planted the seeds of socialism among American workers. The significance of this contribution will grow as the struggles of the working class move toward the historic point of a revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism." ("The Party of Marxism-Leninism," *Political Affairs*, September 1969.)

What Gus Hall said at that time is attested to by ever wider circles now. The most earnest fighters in defense of the living standards and the liberties of the people, the most militant battlers against racism and discrimination, the crusaders for world peace and disarmament—all who want a future for themselves with a higher quality of life, have reason to note with satisfaction this attestation of Gus Hall that the Communist Party of the USA is no mere wish, hope or aspiration, but an important and ever-growing dynamic presence on the U.S. political scene. It is the vanguard of our class and a leadership force for the future progressive development of our nation.

* * *

During this period of preparation for our 22nd Convention, when we mark the 60th anniversary of

the founding of our Party, every Communist has reason to feel a special pride in being a Communist. To Communists, these days are aglow with a sense of historic accomplishments for the cause of peace and progress on a global scale. The peoples of the world are more and more coming to see that the ever-growing strength of socialism, as represented particularly by the Soviet Union, is a power for the promotion of peaceful relations between countries of different social systems, and constitutes a mighty bastion of support to all who stand forth in the struggle for peace, freedom and social progress.

The struggles of the peoples of Africa to consolidate their victories over colonialism by developing their national life in progressive social directions goes forward, while aid to the ongoing, unfinished national liberation battlefront in Southern Africa—Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa—increases. In Cuba the torch of socialism glows brighter from year to year. Its torch of liberty illuminates the thunderous path of revolutionary struggle which the heroic patriots of Nicaragua have taken under the banner of the Sandinistas.

In the Middle East, the boots of the Israeli aggressors still tramp the occupied territories of Israel's Arab neighbors and there is no peace there. United under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the people of Palestine are ceaselessly struggling for self-determination and the formation of their own state. Only this will bring peace and justice to the Middle East.

Chile is at war with Pinochet's fascism. The best people in Paraguay are held in the jails of the dictator Stroessner. Our heroic sister parties fight valiantly in Brazil and Guatemala against savage reactionary regimes which count on Washington's aid. Uruguay's working class and popular forces fight on against the tyranny.

We Communists, who feel a special kinship with the workers and toilers of the whole world, experience the sense of optimism that flows from the achievements registered by our brothers and sisters in the socialist countries and the unrelenting and often victorious battles of our comrades struggling against imperialism and its reactionary appendages abroad. The present is overflowing with opportunity to join in great struggles of the masses, and the future is bright with promise for ever new

victories.

* * *

Our Party comes to its tasks at this critical juncture in our national history well equipped to become a signal factor in providing leadership to our class and peoples struggling to find a way out for the nation from the deepening crisis. Approaching the age of 60, our Party has experienced much, struggled long on a wide front of confrontation with the class enemy. In theory and practice it has gained a maturity that fits it for an ever greater responsibility of leadership of the working class and the unfolding mass struggles. The history of our Party embodies the richest experiences and many of the most significant personalities in the history of the modern labor, Black liberation and other social movements of the past 60 years.

Our Party was born in the period of the first major struggle to organize the mass-production industries on the part of the more far-sighted trade union leaders. William Z. Foster, the outstanding leader of the great steel strike of 1919 and already a well-known political personality at that time, joined our Party and played a leading role in its history until his death in 1961. Our Party's role in the growth of the modern trade union movement is acknowledged to be of major importance by friend and foe. The initiative our Party displayed in the Great Depression of the 'thirties in organizing the unemployed and leading great struggles for relief and welfare paved the way for compelling the enactment of social welfare programs.

Our Party was the first political party to elevate the question of the struggle for securing full, equal rights to Black Americans to the level of a principle. It did much to win white workers to the concept of building class unity through organizing struggle against the color bar. The slogan "Black and White Unite and Fight" rang through the streets of the country during great struggles for jobs, civil rights, the defense of victims of lynch terror, etc.

Our Party was in the vanguard of the struggle to democratize the South and led in organizing the struggles of Black Americans and of white working people for attainment of their economic, political and human rights against the reactionary racists in the cities and in the countryside. From the thirties

on we were in the forefront of the fight against the frame-ups and legal lynchings of Black Americans. Our Party was instrumental in the outstanding victory won over the forces of racism and reaction in the freeing of our comrade Angela Davis. Today we fight for the freedom of Rev. Ben Chavis as well as for other political prisoners and victims of police brutality and legal injustices.

In the 'thirties our Party helped to build a powerful youth movement in the United States. And today, in conjunction with the Young Workers Liberation League, it works actively to build a mass youth movement, particularly among working-class and Black youth.

Our Party played a distinguished role in the great world-wide mobilization of all national and democratic forces in a broad phalanx, political and military, which rallied to the call of the Soviet Union to fashion a common front to smash the rampaging armies of Hitler and his Japanese and Italian fascist partners. Many young Communists gave their lives for revolutionary Spain as members of the International Brigade. Communists were outstanding anti-fascist fighters at home and abroad during World War II. In the postwar years the Party maintained its role as a vanguard fighter for peace. It led in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina and made a signal contribution toward compelling the withdrawal of U.S. military forces. And today it leads in the struggles against the menace of war in the Middle East and in Africa.

From the time of its founding our Party has been a staunch champion of working-class internationalism, an unflagging fighter for world working-class unity. In particular, this has found expression in its unwavering defense of the first land of socialism, the Soviet Union, and in its constant struggles against anti-Sovietism in all its forms. These struggles have contributed significantly to the new improvements in U.S.-Soviet relations and the advances toward peaceful coexistence.

Our Party has also fought for the unity of the world Communist movement and against the divisive, splitting activities of the Maoist Chinese leaders, and not least against their rabid anti-Sovietism. We were, in fact, among the very first to challenge Maoism as an abandonment of Marxism-Leninism, as a dangerous "Left" revisionist,

nationalist trend.

Our Party was the center of the resistance to McCarthyism in the post-World War II period. For its organized opposition to this neo-fascist thrust and its energetic challenge to the atom-bomb blackmailing policies of the government, and for its denunciation of the Korean invasion, every effort was made to destroy our Party. Under the provisions of the notorious Smith and McCarran acts, most of the Party's leaders were either jailed or forced to live the hunted and harried existence of outlaws. An anti-Communist hysteria swept the country, thousands lost their means of livelihood and suffered every form of persecution and defamation. McCarthyism was ended but our Party lived. It gradually restored itself on an even more solid foundation of principled policies and a creative program fashioned to meet the needs of our reality in firm accord with the scientific guidance of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Our Party has confronted and defeated every effort of the enemies of the working people and of socialism to destroy it. It has gained great experience in leadership through participation in, and in initiating, big and small struggles in the furthering of the people's immediate and long-range working-class interests.

In the course of its proud history it has also had to contend with diversionists, deviators, Right and "Left" revisionists, liquidationists, cowards and traitors. But always the internal intrigues of the class enemy were countered by the rallying of the main forces of the membership behind those honest and steadfast comrades who provided the leadership required to restore and retain our Party on the Leninist course. Those misleaders who sought to wreck the Party, such as Jay Lovestone and Earl Browder, met with expulsion.

Youth and the Party...

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place for their demands." And, states the 22nd Convention's Draft Main Resolution: "The struggle for working class unity must include attention to the special problems of the youth."

As in the present, so too in the past sixty years has the Party continually upheld the Marxist-Leninist theory of youth, bringing to young people the

In the 60-year history of our Party there emerged as fighters, builders and leaders of our Party and class, Communists who will deserve lasting honor in the pantheon of our nation's history. They are too numerous to name here with acknowledgement of their particular contributions. Suffice it to say that we take pride in the outstanding roster of Communists of the Lenin mold which our Party has produced, and who in their turn have helped to ensure a great prospect for the spreading influence and growth of our Party. Henry Winston fills with the highest honor the office of National Chairman, the position formerly occupied by the legendary Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and earlier by William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis. Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the Party, had worthy predecessors in Eugene Dennis and earlier Charles E. Ruthenberg.

Comrade Henry Winston has called for "an accelerated tempo of work" on the part of all Communists of every level of responsibility to do those necessary things for further building the Party. "We live in times," says Henry Winston, "in which class and revolutionary consciousness can mature in days and weeks where it would take months and years in so-called normal times. . . . We live in times in which the Communist Party can and must be built quickly, particularly in the shops, and this is the most important organizational imperative before us. . . . We can undertake this work because we have justifiable faith in our Party. We have faith in our Party because we have faith in our class, and because we have that faith in our class, we have unbounded faith in the future!"

Facing the 60th anniversary of the birth of our Party, we express our deep pride and confidence in its capacity to fulfill every need in qualifying itself to lead our class along the historic road to the victory of socialism in our country.

principles of solidarity and Black-white unity, the primacy of labor, the specificity of youth demands and the role of youth in the movements for justice, peace, equality and progress. Over the past sixty years the Party has been the outstanding protagonist of youth's rights, helping young people to act and fight at critical moments and to build youth organizations of struggle, showing youth the path of contemporary battles and the reality of the promise of socialism.

Correct Strategy Makes the Difference

MIKE ZAGARELL

“The anticorporate sentiment is now the broadest spontaneous mass current” in the U.S. So states the general political resolution being presented to the 22nd National Convention of the Communist Party, USA.

The fact that such thinking is sweeping the U.S. can not be denied. Each day, developments pound this fact home. Despite the massive propaganda designed to cover over this most important factor in public life, headlines are almost daily forced to reflect this new reality of growing antimonopoly consciousness.

- One quarter of a million signatures are collected by the International Association of Machinists demanding that Congress vote against the oil companies and for the people on oil decontrol.

- Over 125,000 people trek to Washington, D.C. to demand a halt to unsafe nuclear plants as more and more unions demand nationalization of the energy industry, including many utilities.

- Unions, rejecting the line that workers' wages are the cause of inflation, increasingly defy President Carter's wage curbs. This includes the coal miners, who defied the President's Taft Hartley injunction.

- Farmers organize massive tractorcades to protest government and monopoly policies which are forcing them out of business.

- Independent truckers halt traffic and refuse to work until government regulations and monopoly prices are changed.

- Unions like the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the United Automobile Workers, the International Association of Machinists, increasingly play a leading role in organizing independent political action at various levels with Black and other people's movements. Among some of these forces there is increasing discussion of the need for a new political party of the people which is anti-monopoly.

In general, the two political parties of Big Business are at the lowest point of popularity in many decades.

In general, the two political parties of Big Business
Michael Zagarell is the associate editor of the *Daily World*.

While the headlines tell some of the story, the antimonopoly sentiment reported is only the surface.

More fundamentally there is a deep belief among masses of people that the monopolies are running the government—and that through the government they are running the country to hell.

Among those hit by monopoly policies, there is also a growing understanding of the need to unite.

Increases in Black-white unity in shops—which played a role in the defeat of the Weber case—which was a racist challenge to the whole Constitutionality of affirmative action—reflect this understanding. Mutual support between trade unions and farmers reflects it. Truckers' characterization of themselves as “workers who own their own tools” also reflects this desire for unity.

Below the confusion of everyday propaganda designed to derail these developments, there is emerging in the U.S. both a mass trend of antimonopoly sentiment and the beginnings of an anti-monopoly alliance.

Antimonopoly Movement Foreseen

To some, the mass upsurge of antimonopoly sentiment and the unity which is emerging from it are a surprise. For the Communist Party, it is a natural development, foreseen decades ago, and inherent in the objective conditions of our time.

Having analyzed the contradictions between the big monopolies and the mass of people, the Party was able to predict years before it happened the rise of the present antimonopoly trend, including the antimonopoly movement among middle strata and even small and medium-sized capitalists, such as many of the farmers who are currently involved in the struggle.

Even more importantly, basing itself on the Marxist theory of surplus value, the Party was able to foresee that this upsurge would take place most

sharply and in its clearest forms among basic industrial workers.

Because of this the Party was able to prepare for this development before the upsurge in the steel industry began, several years ago.

Concepts like antimonopoly alliance, industrial concentration, Black-white unity, have been part of the strategic concepts of the CPUSA for a long time—and these concepts have made the difference between being able to affect these mass developments and being a small isolated group of propagandists—like some of the “Leftist” sects which prefer to talk about developments rather than affect them.

The concept of the antimonopoly alliance, as a necessary stage of development on the road to socialism, today seems a simple and natural idea. Yet this concept, which is among the most fundamental points setting our Party aside from various opportunist trends on the Left, took many years to develop. Like all basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism, it could emerge only after long and often sharp struggle.

The Formative Years

The year 1919 has already gone down in history as the year of the formation of the Communist Party—the U.S. working class’ greatest achievement.

But the Party’s concepts of strategy did not come quickly or easily. Arising as it did from the Left currents of the Socialist Party, the Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World), the radical syndicalists, the forces that formed the new Marxist Party often reflected misconceptions of Marxism which were common in the U.S. Left at the time. Indeed much of the early Left had little opportunity to study much of Marx himself, and little of Lenin’s work was known in the U.S. during that period.

Further, the new Party arose in the course of a struggle against the Right opportunism of the dominant SP leadership, and sectarianism developed as part of an overzealous “correction” of opportunism. Because of these weaknesses, the early formers of the Party, like the Left from which they emerged, tended toward sectarianism.

The *Left Wing Manifesto*, issued by the Left Wing Conference (the revolutionary grouping in the Socialist Party) in 1919, shows both the strengths

and weaknesses of the Marxist movement at the time.

Correctly charging the SP leadership with basing itself on narrow interests of the most skilled workers and the petty bourgeoisie, the *Manifesto* urged a program of industrial unionism, support for the Russian Revolution, affiliation to the Communist International and the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. These were great accomplishments.

Yet despite these important steps toward a full Marxist approach, the movement which was to build a new Marxist-Leninist Party also expressed important weaknesses in strategic line.

The *Manifesto*, for example, supported the policy of dual unionism, thus keeping Communists isolated from the unions which were under Right-wing control.

It also rejected alliances between workers and other classes, thus separating workers from farmers and other oppressed strata. It rejected partial political demands, keeping the Party from showing the path to socialism through experiences learned in struggle as well as through propaganda.

Most critical, but not unrelated to the other weaknesses, the *Manifesto* did not pose a fighting program for the liberation of Black people.

Seeing only the class struggle of workers against capitalists, rejecting the need for intermediate objectives, these early founders of the Communist Party did not see the all-class, national character of the oppression of Black people. Likewise it was inherent in other strategic errors that they would also shrink from projecting a program for the immediate abolition of all special forms of oppression. This weakened the fight for Black-white unity.

Along with experiences gained in mass struggles, an important factor changing this situation was the arrival in the U.S., in 1920, of an English translation of Lenin’s *Left-Wing Communism*. Those present at the time have described its arrival as “lifting a great cloud” and like “opening a window and letting the air in.”

Built on the experiences of the world’s most successful mass working-class battle, this work enumerated basic concepts for a mass Communist approach.

Lenin pointed out:

To throw only the vanguard into the decisive battle before the entire class, the broad masses, have taken up a position either of direct support for the vanguard, or at least of sympathetic neutrality toward it and of precluded support for the enemy, would be not merely foolish but criminal. Propaganda and agitation alone are not enough for an entire class, the broad masses of the working people, those oppressed by capital, to take up such a stand. For that, the masses must have their own political experience. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 93.)

To lead masses, said Lenin, Communists must be with them. He urged Communists to join mass unions and not form isolated dual unions. He urged Communists to participate in elections and make alliances with all those who have any interests, even if only temporary and partial interests, in opposition to the ruling class.

By 1922 the new Marxist-Leninist Party called for a broad labor party (an idea soon expanded to a farmer-labor party), seeing it as an important step for masses on the road to full revolutionary consciousness.

During this period the Party not only urged the formation of such a broad party, but included the fight for it as part of its activities within the labor movement. In conjunction with the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), the Party campaigned widely in the labor movement in favor of this step. When the Conference on Progressive Political Action (CPPA), a political action alliance of labor unions, was formed in 1922, the young Party both hailed it and participated in its work. In December 1922, when the CPPA convened its second conference, Party leaders actively participated, urging unity and a labor party.

Despite this, the Workers Party (early name of the Communist Party) refused to endorse the independent presidential candidacy of Senator Robert N. LaFollette in 1924. Though LaFollette ran with wide support from both labor and farmers, the Workers Party did not support him, charging that he was for breaking up the monopolies instead of nationalizing them. The weakness here was in not seeing the steps toward building a labor party.

The Party also quickly began to correct its early omission of a program for Black liberation. In

1921, the Party adopted the slogan of complete and unconditional "economic, political and social equality" for Black people. During its 1924 presidential race (William Z. Foster was the candidate), the Party campaigned nationwide, including through the South, urging a program of full equality for Negro people.

Through its work in the Trade Union Educational League, the Party fought against jim crow and for equal pay for equal work and for social equality in all walks of life.

In addition, the Party helped form the Negro Labor Congress in 1925, an organization which united Black and white workers in the fight for Negro rights.

In 1928 the fight for equality took a new historic turn. During this period the Party adopted a resolution which for the first time characterized the Negro question as a national question. It saw Black people as being oppressed not only as working people, but as a nationality. Thus the Party was able to more fully develop its work for equality, emphasizing concepts of national unity among Black people, as well as the fight for the full blossoming of Black history and culture. While this resolution also projected the concept of a Black nation in the Black Belt (a compact area of Black majority in the South), a concept which was later withdrawn—the national concept was undoubtedly a historic contribution to the fight for full equality.

While the Party urged increased work among all Negro people, it especially emphasized Negro workers. It urged a struggle to bring Negro workers into the leadership of all sections of the Negro movement. Lastly, it projected work among Negro people as a task of the whole Party, and not just of its Black members. The Party projected the struggle for Negro equality as a fundamental democratic task of the entire nation.

Lenin urged Communists to not fear carrying out revolutions in stages. If a pile of rubbish can not be moved in one trip, he argued, then you must make two.

To unfold a mass approach, Lenin also called for Communists to work to find the proper approach to the revolution, one which can aid the masses in finding their way.

Basing their work on these important concepts,

the new Communist Party began to merge its work more closely with the masses in struggle. In the 1920s the still young vanguard Party began to develop more fully its concepts of strategy for the U.S.

In projecting a multiclass unity of a section of the people for democratic goals—short of socialism—the Party also laid important concepts, some of which would later be employed in the antimonopoly strategy.

In 1928 there also appeared articles in the Party's theoretical organ, the *Communist*, which described the South as an area from which were drawn superprofits which qualitatively fed the power of the ruling class.

Also argued was the fact that racism had become a world tool of imperialism, thus placing the Afro-American struggle as part of the international battle against imperialism. All of these were new revolutionary concepts for the U.S. Left.

In the way of immediate results, this clearer outlook laid the basis for the great struggles for organization of the unorganized, for which Black-white unity was key. In other areas, the Party became a key force in anti-segregation movements and organizations of Southern tenant farmers.

Due to the advances in strategic outlook, the Party was able to take advantage of the improved objective conditions for mass struggle in the early 1930s. In 1930, according to William Z. Foster's book *The Negro People in American History*, the Party registered a Negro membership of 1,500. According to a report delivered by the U.S. representative to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International in 1935, this figure had grown to 2,500.

However, the concept of multiclass alliances was still limited, and therefore impinged on the possibilities for broad united front. Despite the fact that the Party waged militant battles for democracy, it did not yet see and fully recognize the inherent drive of monopoly capital for the undermining of democracy, and therefore did not yet place this as a central task.

This situation shifted during the last half of the 1930s with the concept of the people's front against war and fascism.

As a participant in the Third International, the

Communist Party, USA contributed to the world Communist thinking as it also learned from others.

Synthesizing the experiences of Communist Parties around the world, the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, held in the summer of 1935, in which U.S. Communists participated, developed the outlook of the peoples' front against war and fascism. This strategic concept was based on the principle that capitalism knows two forms of state rule: bourgeois democracy and fascism. Fascism, the Congress noted, is the "open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." Thus the defeat of fascism was placed as a fundamental strategic task for the world working class.

In this way the historic gathering recognized an important division within the ruling class, and noted the importance of taking advantage of it. Even where the question of the takeover of the U.S. by fascism was not immediate, the main blow of attack by the working class would be aimed at the most reactionary sections of the ruling class.

In the U.S., where racism has been a key building block of ultra-reaction, this concept meant a further elevation of the struggle against white supremacy, as a critical question for the future of the nation.

To defeat fascism, the Communist parties called for all democratic forces to unite, including democrats of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

While calling for broad multiclass unity of democratic forces, Communists also stressed the leading role of the working class and especially basic industrial workers. Class unity and working-class leadership were stressed as a key to the advance of the unity of all the anti-fascist forces.

Thus the working class was, in practice, placed in its full historical role, as the leading force of all democratic and progressive forces.

The results of this policy were important concrete gains. Because of the antifascist front the U.S. was kept from aligning with Hitler as a section of capital wanted to do. In addition great strides were made in the organization of the people. These two accomplishments have fundamentally affected all struggles in the U.S. ever since.

The fight to defeat fascism was a defensive strug-

gle in most cases. But the Communist parties pointed out that this struggle could also serve as the basis for the offensive, including the transition to socialism. Thus Dimitrov, Secretary of the Communist International, took Lenin's concept of finding the "approach to socialism" and applied it to the anti-fascist struggle. Said Dimitrov:

Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on "searching out forms of transition and approach to the proletarian revolution." It may be that in a number of countries the united front government will prove to be one of the most important transitional forms.

On the basis of these concepts the Communist Party played a leading role in struggles involving millions of people.

Working among youth, for example, the YCL aided in the formation of the American Youth Congress and the Southern Negro Youth Congress, movements which united groups representing the whole generation.

Applying united front policies to the trade union movement, the Party helped the formation of rank-and-file movements. Building unity between Left and Center forces, it played a key role in the formation of the CIO, itself a formation uniting masses of industrial workers, Black and white.

In all aspects of life the Party worked and grew as a recognized leading force, not only for socialism, but for the preservation and extension of democracy in the battle against fascism.

Challenges to Democratic Front

Not surprisingly, the policy of broad democratic front has been attacked by those who oppose the leading role of the working class. Some of these challenges originate from opportunists on the Left, but in all cases soon attract the support of the ruling class, which wants to keep Communist ideas isolated from mass struggles of the day.

From the earliest days of the Party, ultra-Leftism attempted to separate the Party from the spontaneous mass movement.

This included a small group of Trotskyites who became part of the Party in its earliest years. Under the leadership of James P. Cannon, this group

worked to keep the Party out of the mass unions, and attempted to block united fronts with mass movements. In 1928, as the Party moved to a more mass outlook, this battle finally came to a head. Cannon and a small group of followers were expelled from the Party.

In addition to sectarian policies within the U.S., Trotskyites also opposed the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, and instead called for "permanent revolution" around the world. This abandoned the defense of one of the most fundamental forces influencing the improving strategic outlook in the capitalist nations, the growing power of the new workers' state that was constructing socialism in the USSR.

To the Trotskyites, alliances with other forces for democratic objectives only weaken revolutionary consciousness. They oppose democratic alliances and see the fight against fascism as synonymous with the fight for socialism.

With such a concept of strategy, Trotskyites became, and continue to be, splitters and factionalists, joining democratic movements not to advance them, but to convert them into narrow groups agitating for socialism.

The logic of their position was fully revealed during World War II, when they opposed the united battle against Hitlerism and called instead for world revolution—a slogan helpful only to the Nazis.

While Trotskyism was the main current attacking the Party's line from the "Left" in the 1930s, other opportunist trends later emerged to continue the struggle against unity under the guise of revolutionary slogans.

Maoism played this role in the 1960s. As a result of Maoism's splitting influence, much of the U.S. student movement's dramatic upsurge was undermined.

It is now possible to gauge the damage done by Maoism to the youth movement of the past period. In addition to destroying one of the largest student groups, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Maoists worked daily to isolate the Left from the mass of workers. While they argued to intellectuals that workers need not wait for other strata to support them before taking "advanced" actions, what they really meant was that intellectuals need not be concerned about what workers

thought about their actions.

In the end those who followed such concepts only ended up as little grouplets, many now openly supporting Trotskyite ideology.

At the heart of the concept of democratic unity is the question of the relationship between bourgeois democracy and socialism.

Lenin many times pointed out that the fight for the expansion of democracy under capitalism creates the best conditions for the preparation of the working class and its allies for the battle for socialism. Yet Lenin also repeatedly pointed out that the line between even the most democratic bourgeois state and a socialist state is qualitative. Capitalism can not be transformed into socialism merely by expanding democratic rights.

This Leninist concept guided the CPUSA throughout the 1930s. However during the 1940s, under the leadership of Earl Browder, a different concept was injected into the Party—a concept that the fight for democratic reforms replaced the fight for socialism. Browder denied that he was for revolutionary change and offered to “cooperate in making this capitalism work effectively . . . with the least possible burdens upon working people.”

Browder developed the idea that Communists were continuing the concepts of such bourgeois democrats as Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine, instead of seeing that we are continuing their democratic traditions by adding something qualitatively new to them—the concept of working-class state power. According to Browder, there was no need to fight for workers’ power since capitalism would dig its own grave as objective conditions matured. Thus the tasks of the vanguard party were reduced to fighting for democracy only.

Browder, of course, forgot one critical point—the class struggle—which exists in all aspects of life under capitalism, including the battle for democratic rights.

The democratic rights of workers are in contradiction with those of the bourgeoisie. Freedom of the press for the mass of working people can be obtained only by the democratization of the press, by taking it out of the hands of the monopolists. Likewise, freedom from racism can be won only by limiting the rights of capitalists and reactionaries to spread racism. Thus the fight for democracy

makes more, not less, sharp the class struggle.

Seeing the fundamental error of his views, the Communist Party expelled Browder soon after World War II. Yet reflections of his views can be found elsewhere even today.

Ideas like “socialism with a human face” and the alleged need to “democratize socialism” are reflections of these concepts.

Browderism and Trotskyism appear to be at opposite poles yet they have much in common. In addition to each trying to liquidate the Party—one by making it into a sect and the other by making it into a political association—both also hold some common concepts on the relationship between democratic and class struggles. To Trotskyism and Maoism, democratic struggles should be feared because they can coopt the class struggle. Browderism agrees, only it responds to this idea positively.

Antimonopoly Concept Today

While the antifascist peoples’ front concept reflected the strategic situation of the 1930s and early 1940s, today the situation has changed, requiring an expansion of the concept.

Today the fight against fascism, while still important, is no longer the central thread of the mass struggles.

This is because, with the defeat of fascism in World War II and further shift in the world balance of forces against imperialism, the ruling class in most advanced capitalist countries is no longer able to consider fascism as an immediate alternative to bourgeois democracy.

Today, while always guarding against the threat of fascism, the working class is more on the offensive and must design its policies accordingly.

This fact is reflected in the spontaneous mass movement which sees the fight to curb monopoly as the main thread of struggle.

Thus, following the end of the war, the Party continued the concept of fighting the fascist danger, but increasingly it emphasized the central role of monopoly in the ultra-Rightist danger.

As the McCarthyite reaction was gradually defeated the anti-monopoly side of the battle came to the fore.

As in the period of antifascist struggles, the Party continues to utilize differences within the ruling

class, putting its sharpest edge against the most reactionary capitalists.

But along with this, the Party also places increased emphasis on the differences between the big monopolists and the small and medium capitalists, which include many farmers, truckers, store owners, etc.

In the earlier period the Party put the role of the working class as central to the building of democratic unity. Today, if anything, this role is even more central.

The working class since the antifascist period has grown further in size while other classes have diminished. At the same time, owing to the deeper crisis of monopoly capitalism, many problems of this or that class are becoming more interwoven with the problems of the whole system. Thus each class finds it must present more deep going radical reform demands to solve its problems. As these radical reform demands grow in importance the leadership of the one class which has nothing to lose from these radical measures—the working class—also grows in importance.

Flowing from this is also the heightened importance of the Afro-American question to the future of the nation.

Through our history, the struggle for Black-white unity on the basis of the fight against racism has always been central to the fight for progress and against reaction. Today, when 90 per cent of Black people are in the working class, many in basic industry, this centrality is greatly expanded. Not only the broader antimonopoly front, but the working class itself, the engine of all broader unity, can never be united without relentless struggle against racism in all its forms.

Lastly, while in the past the concept of an anti-fascist government as a way station on the road to socialism was considered a possibility, today an antimonopoly government is considered a likely path.

With the advent of nuclear weapons and armies of mass destruction, it is necessary to find an approach to socialism which unites the broadest number of people to break the main forms of power of the ruling class, before the actual taking

of full state power by the working class.

While this can not be done fully without socialism, steps in this direction can be achieved in the antimonopoly struggle and especially through an antimonopoly government.

Thus the Party today has placed the strategic concept of the antimonopoly alliance—a coalition of broad forces which includes not only the working class and the Black people, but all oppressed nationalities in the U.S., as well as the urban petty bourgeoisie, farmers, the intellectuals, the women and youth, and sections of the nonmonopoly bourgeoisie. The task of this alliance is to break the stranglehold of the big monopolies on the nation. By doing this, such a coalition not only expands rights for all its participants, most importantly for the working class, but also creates the best conditions for the struggle for socialism.

This is because breaking the stranglehold of monopoly on the nation weakens the main, most powerful and reactionary section of capitalism—monopoly capital.

While ultra-Leftists have argued many times that such an antimonopoly movement creates obstacles to class consciousness, experience shows the opposite.

Struggles against the biggest monopolies are often the first link in a chain of radicalization leading to a general anticapitalist understanding.

In addition the broad unity which is being forged is giving working people greater confidence and organization to battle more militantly against the ruling class.

During the last 60 years many heroic battles have been fought. Many times there were both difficult periods and periods which were advantageous to building mass struggles. Yet during all these periods, only one party on the Left has succeeded in consistently weathering the storms and growing when the opportunities arose—that is the CPUSA.

What is the difference? In great part it is the strategy of the Party, because that strategy has been based on the class outlook of Marxism Leninism and has been drawn from long experiences among the masses in the struggle.

Communists on the Peace Front

ARTHUR ZIPSER

It may be said that the Communist Party was born in the struggle for peace. It came into being as a direct result of a split in the Socialist Party (SP) between a Left Wing of working-class revolutionary orientation and a Right Wing swayed by petty-bourgeois opportunism.

An amorphous Left-Right division had existed in the SP almost from its beginnings in 1901. But it was attitude toward the imperialist World War I which began to freeze this split into organized form. Clearly, the same forces were at work here as in Europe, where Socialist parties experienced splits over whether or not to support their "own" governments in the war. Most prominent of such divisions was that between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in Russia where, even before the war, the Social Democrats had formed into two parties, respectively revolutionary and reformist.

In 1915 the Left Wing of the SP began to take structured form with the organization in Boston of the Socialist Propaganda League. The League issued a four-page leaflet dated October 9, 1915, in which it said:

The war now raging has had the effect of rending the [Socialist] International into shreds and it should never be reconstructed upon its former foundations. The war has revealed to us how extremely nationalistic were its various component parts, and has taught us that in the future Internationalism must be preached with tremendously greater emphasis. . .

To summarize briefly: Every possible effort should be exerted to have the Socialist Party declare emphatically and work uncompromisingly for Revolution, Democracy, Industrial Unionism, Political in the full acceptance of the term, Unity of Socialist Parties, True Internationalism and Active Anti-Militarism.

V.I. Lenin's work was hardly known in the United States at the time the Socialist Propaganda League's leaflet was issued, but somehow a copy soon came into his hands. Lenin was most favorably impressed. By mid-November he had com-

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posed a lengthy reply—in English—in which he stressed:

Our Central Committee quite at the beginning of this war, in September 1914, has directed the masses not to accept the lie about "the war of defense" and to break off with the opportunists and "the would-be-socialists-jingoes" (we call so the "Socialists" who are now in favor of the war of defense). (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 423)

(Lenin's letter was first published in 1924.)

Those who had fought against the imperialist war and against U.S. participation in it were also those who welcomed the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, a revolution which marched under the banner of "peace to the peoples"—and which plunged capitalism into its general crisis, from which it has never recovered.

It was in the ranks of the Left Wing that the SP's anti-war forces were to be found. They were in the Socialist Propaganda League and among the supporters of the *International Socialist Review*. They were exemplified by such leaders as Charles E. Ruthenberg and Alfred Wagenknecht, who served terms in the Canton, Ohio, prison (1917-18) for denouncing the war as an imperialist war and for speaking out and organizing against it.

It was militants such as these who sought to implement the anti-war resolution adopted at the Emergency Convention of the SP in St. Louis after the United States entered World War I in April 1917. And it was such Socialists who in 1919 (by which time they had become the majority of the party) took action to form what is now the Communist Party (CPUSA).

From its formative years to the present day, the CPUSA has followed a Marxist-Leninist policy on the question of peace and war. That is to say, it has viewed it as a class question and has chosen the side of the working class.

Doing this it has at all times placed itself on the side of the vast majority of the people by distinguishing between just and unjust wars. "Just" pertains to wars of liberation, democratic wars, revolutionary wars, wars against fascism and

colonial oppression, wars to achieve and preserve socialism. It has been the enemy of imperialist wars—wars in which the people do the fighting, starving and dying under the false slogans and for the benefit of the capitalist class.

The struggle for peace in the 1920s took place in a world where, with a single exception, the principal powers had been ruined by the World War, in varying degrees. The exception was the United States, physically intact and creditor to the rest of the capitalist world.

The Socialist Soviet Union had come into existence and survived, frustrating the wishful thinking—and the aggressive connivance—of the imperialist sector of the world.

Later Winston Churchill was to say: "We should have strangled the baby in its cradle." Well, they tried! Allied intervention in Russia lasted from 1918 to 1920 and was largely thwarted by a combination of the people's resistance and the mutiny of the Allies' troops. But intrigues against the Russian Revolution became a new source of danger of anti-socialist war. Socialism's existence was not accepted by Wall Street, Bond Street and Unter den Linden. As atomaniacs still dream even today of destroying its Soviet incarnation. Peaceful co-existence—the historic policy of the socialist world and of the advanced peace forces in all countries—is not to the liking of reactionary circles.)

The United States showed its hostility to the Soviet Union by failing to accord it diplomatic recognition. U.S. recognition of the Soviet government, a first step toward peaceful co-existence, remained a goal of the CPUSA until it was finally achieved in 1933.

A typical slogan of the Communist Party was that put forth in the election campaign of 1924 by the Workers Party—as the Communist Party was then called—opposing "militarism and imperialist wars." And in its 1926 Congressional program it used language which is not without pertinence for today:

The workers and farmers must fight for the immediate reduction of the army and navy. . . . Withdrawal of all American soldiers and marines from foreign territory. Immediate independence for the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico (sic) and the right of self-determination for all other American colonies. Non-interference in the affairs of Mexico, Cuba, Central and South Ameri-

can countries.

More than fifty years ago, in accordance with this policy, the Party supported Augusto Cesar Sandino in his struggle against U.S imperialism and its marines and lackeys in Nicaragua. It has consistently followed this policy—manifested today in its wholehearted solidarity with the Sandinistas and other liberation forces.

The activity of the CPUSA in organizing demonstrations and other forms of protest against the Central American intervention of the U.S. armed forces spurred the formation of the Anti-Imperialist League, in which such prominent Communists as Emanuel Gomez and Alberto Moreau played a leading role. Also active in the League was Otto Huiswood, a native of the Dutch colony in Guiana, who had emigrated to the United States and was one of the first Black workers to join the newly formed CP.

In 1929 James W. Ford, an outstanding Black leader of the Party, was present at the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism at Frankfurt, Germany. An important section of his report to that congress dealt with "The Negro and the War Danger."

World War II, still ten years away, was presaged by growing inter-imperialist rivalry and anti-Soviet hostility. With Hitler in power in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, and Emperor Hirohito presiding over an expansionist Japan, a new international situation arose. These three fascist powers constituted an aggressive bloc (which became known as the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis). There was also an objectively peaceful camp consisting, on the one hand, of the Soviet Union and, on the other, of those of the great capitalist powers that had emerged victors in World War I and sought no immediate territorial expansion.

With the main danger clearly coming from the camp of fascism, the Soviet Union tried for many years to create a front of "collective security" among the non-aggressor states. The Communist Party, USA also recognized the merits of such a policy and actively fought for it. Events demonstrated its correctness. Failure of the Western powers to agree to present a collective front against the fascist warmaking bloc doomed the people of the entire world to the tragedy of a global war.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist

International (CI) was held in July-August, 1935. The CPUSA was represented prominently at the Congress and participated actively in its discussions and its decision-making process. Its "programs took the shape of a development of the policies of the international peace front and the national united front against fascism and war. . . ." (William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals*, International Publishers, New York, 1955.)

In the 1930s the general crisis of capitalism became more acute: socialism in the Soviet Union was consolidated, capitalism was mired in the Great Depression, and there was a rapidly rising movement among the working class. But the victory of the Nazis in Germany in 1933 encouraged the fascists of other capitalist countries. The United States witnessed a proliferation of fascist organizations. Fascism became the striking force of imperialism. Its blows were aimed not only against the Soviet Union, but against all forces of peace and democracy. The CI Congress said: "the central slogan of the communist parties must be: struggle for peace." Unity of the working class and united action with allies of the working class were declared indispensable elements of a successful fight against fascism.

The CPUSA and the Young Communist League played leading roles in the ceaseless struggles of the thirties to keep—or restore—peace. "Hands off China!" was the cry in 1931 and subsequently, after Japan had seized Manchuria. Tens of thousands called for a boycott of Japanese goods and a ban on the shipment of scrap metal and other war materials to Japan.

More thousands took to the streets to cry out against Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935.

In 1936 Francisco Franco began the fascist overthrow of the republican government of Spain with the aid of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. The CPUSA waged a struggle against President Roosevelt's policy of phony "non-intervention" and the resultant arms embargo against the democratic Spanish government. Thousands of young Americans, men and women, spurred by the Communist Party, offered their lives in what was essentially a struggle against the fascist aggressors. They joined the International Brigades in the doomed but heroic war to save democracy in Spain.

Numerous mass organizations, generally under Communist leadership, sought to block the path to war. As James West wrote in *Political Affairs*

(September-October 1969):

Great united movements of the American people arose in the struggle to halt the fascist aggressors and prevent the outbreak of a world war. Especially notable were the League Against War and Fascism (later to become the League for Peace and Democracy) and the American Youth Congress. The activity of such movements, in which Communists were acknowledged leading forces, helped clarify the great world and national issues for large sections of the public and helped prepare the climate and conditions which later finally determined the overall role of the U.S. in the Second World War.

Throughout these pre-war years, the forces of peace and democracy had to wage a ceaseless struggle against the forces of appeasement in the United States, against those in the ruling class and their representatives in government who, like Minister Chamberlain of Britain, gave in to Hitler's aggression and sought to push him into war against the USSR.

As indicated by the Munich sellout of Czechoslovakia to Germany in 1938, the forces led by Chamberlain and by Daladier of France were interested mainly in appeasing Hitler, buying immunity for themselves by turning the Nazis eastward against the Soviet Union. This unscrupulous policy was thwarted by the German-Soviet pact of non-aggression of August 1939.

Hitler soon overran Western Europe, and the war then entered its "phony" stage, during which neither side made a major move against the other. The war at this time was principally imperialist in character. Meanwhile Right-wing elements in the United States worked to involve this country in the war and to turn the conflict against the Soviet Union. The Communists during this phase raised the slogans: "Keep America Out of the Imperialist War" and "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

From its start, however, the war had a measure of national liberation and anti-fascist content. And the war's main character was fully reversed when, on June 22, 1941, the Nazis invaded the USSR. It now became an all-out war against fascism.

The collective security pact which was never achieved for the maintenance of peace was now, in the form of a Grand Alliance, achieved for the winning of the war against the fascist axis. The CPUSA now made the struggle for a democratic victory in the war its single-minded goal.

The defeat of the Axis powers was a triumph of the line adopted by the CI Congress in 1935, which had foreseen the necessity for anti-fascist unity transcending class lines. It was a costly victory in terms of human and material costs, for the victors as well as for the vanquished. A particularly heavy price was paid by the Soviet people, who received the brunt of the initial fascist advance and made the greatest sacrifice in expelling and defeating the invaders.

The victory of the democratic camp did more than administer a smashed blow to fascism. It also paved the way for the expansion of the socialist world in Eastern Europe and for the people's victory in China.

But further, the Allied victory strengthened the revolutionary forces in all countries. This was particularly true of the countries which had been subject to the rule of colonialism. They were in a vastly stronger position to wage successful battles for independence.

But hardly had the anti-fascist war been brought to a successful conclusion than the capitalist allies began what soon was known as the cold war.

Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945. He was succeeded by Harry S. Truman who, as a U.S. Senator, had said in 1941: "If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany."

The opening gun of the cold war was soon fired. At Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946, at the invitation of President Truman, Winston Churchill delivered his famous "Iron Curtain" speech. With the United States in possession of a monopoly of the atomic bomb, which had already been used demonstratively against Japan, the English-speaking allies now took a warlike posture toward their recent Soviet ally.

The response of the CPUSA to this turn in the international situation was prompt. Forty-eight hours after Churchill spoke at Fulton, the Party mobilized thousands of its members and followers for a rally at Union Square, New York, at which William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Party, spoke on "The Menace of a New World War." He said: "The nation faces a grave danger. The warmakers must be defeated. The Communist Party pledges its everything to help arouse the American people and to organize them against the war danger."

The Cold War did not affect only the diplomatic sphere and the relations between the socialist countries and the imperialist camp. It also had a chilling effect, particularly in the United States, on the rights of the people. Through legislation and employment controls it gravely hampered the functioning of the Party and the progressive and democratic movements; it placed a pall of fear and silence over great sections of the people; and it disrupted the labor unions by such means as the Taft-Hartley Act and other anti-labor legislation and by fomenting witch hunts.

The CPUSA did not flag in its fight for peace. Eugene Dennis, who had been elected general secretary following the end of WW II, took personal leadership of the Party's peace activities. An important framework for such activity was provided by the presidential election of 1948, when the Party threw its support to Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party and worked to strengthen the campaign for peace and the rights of labor and minority peoples.

In 1948 Dennis and ten of his fellow members of the Communist Party Political Committee were indicted and sentenced to prison for terms up to eight years under the thought-control Smith Act. Despite this fierce repression and the thunderous beating of war-drums which accompanied the U.S. intervention in Korea, the Party took a firm stand against this dangerous adventure. It was an aggressive war, the Party charged, and threatened to bring us all to the brink of World War III. As the Party persisted in its efforts to end the Korean War, some 150 more were indicted and many were tried and convicted—a palpable response by the government to the Party's peace stand.

The threat of world war remained real, though the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons soon proved to be temporary. In 1950 the World Partisans of Peace, meeting in Stockholm, adopted a "ban the bomb" statement. This was circulated in the form of a petition known as the Stockholm Appeal. The Party plunged into the circulation of the appeal and its backing was vastly helpful in the collecting of 2,500,000 signatures in this country, part of half a billion collected worldwide. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois headed the Peace Information Center which handled the petition drive. For this the eminent Black scholar was indicted as a "foreign agent" and

faced heavy penalties. (Some years later he joined the Communist Party.)

One of the greatest chapters in the Party's commitment to peace was its opposition to the Korean war which broke out on June 24, 1950. The United States, which instigated the conflict, promptly intervened on the South Korean side. A full-scale war ensued involving many hundreds of thousands of troops. Truman inane defined the operation as a "police action"! The war lasted until an armistice was signed on July 26, 1953.

This grim and vicious war was opposed by the Party, despite crushing repression by the government and employers against those who took a stand for peace during this costly U.S. imperialist venture.

One of the early demonstrations, called through the leadership of the Communist Party, was notable not only for its size but also for the degree of violence used by the police in an effort to disperse it. The police brutality did not prevent the demonstrators from resolutely reforming their ranks as they were driven from one area only to appear each time in another. *Labor Fact Book 10* (International Publishers, New York, 1951) records:

Negro workers were singled out for special violence at the demonstration. Police rode down unarmed men and women with their horses, trampled, clubbed and kicked those who lay helpless on the street or pavement. One Negro who had no part in the demonstration was savagely beaten and then arrested.

William J. McCarthy, a merchant seaman, climbed an electric light pole to display a banner reading: "War-mongering, Jim Crow and Anti-Semitism go hand-in-hand." He was dragged down, punched in the face and groin by police and detectives, and taken to the hospital with internal injuries and a serious eye injury. But McCarthy, not the police attackers, was arrested and found "guilty of disorderly conduct." He was sentenced... to 30 days in the workhouse. Four other demonstrators were found "guilty."

Demonstrations and other actions took place across the country—in Milwaukee, Houston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Linden, N.J., Brooklyn, and elsewhere. Often the activists encountered fierce police and vigilante-style hostility. But as the war went on, the American people came more and more

to recognize it for the futile, criminal slaughter that it was. Then the cry went up to "bring our boys home from Korea" as the advocates of peace had all along been demanding.

The Korean War and the awesome menace of atomic warfare served to increase the mobilization of the world's peace supporters. This was true in the United States no less than elsewhere, and the Communist Party's members were extensively involved in the peace movement. The World Peace Council was founded in April 1949. The Second World Peace Congress was held in Warsaw in November 1950. Sixty-five Americans attended. The congress set up World Peace Council offices in Prague.

With Communists participating, many local and national organizations came into being in this country such as American Women for Peace, the National Labor Conference for Peace, Peace Information Center, National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives and the American Peace Crusade.

In the ten years following the end of World War II the U.S. government developed a whole range of schemes and organizations for spreading its imperialist clout and, with the help of allies and lackeys, "containing Communism" and policing the world: Marshall Plan (1947), Truman Doctrine (1947), Central Intelligence Agency (1947), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (1949), South East Asia Treaty Organization (1954), Central Treaty Organization (1955).

Even as the Korean War was being brought to a peaceless truce a new major United States venture was maturing in another part of Asia—Vietnam.

Actually it was a hand-me-down from the failing hands of the French imperialists whose Asian and African empires were slipping from their grasp. Speaking of Vietnam, President Roosevelt had said: "France has milked it for one hundred years. The people of Indochina are entitled to something better than that."

After World War II the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh and General Giap, having supported the allies fighting against Japan, expected to assume leadership in a liberated democratic Vietnam, freed from both the Japanese oppressors and the French who had preceded them. The emperor, Bao Dai, was deposed and the independence forces, prevailing in the North, sought to liberate the South.

But first the British and then the United States

proceeded to aid the French in their determination to deny freedom to the Vietnamese people. On June 27, 1950, President Truman, having just launched the United States into the Korean War, ordered the supply of military and economic aid to France in Indochina. Between 1950 and 1954 this aid had a value of 2.6 billion dollars. Nevertheless, at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954, the French were crushed and had to sue for peace.

In July 1954 a conference at Geneva brought about a settlement which temporarily divided Vietnam into a "north" and a "south." Unification was to be accomplished by elections to be held in 1956. These elections were never held, owing to U.S. manipulation of its puppets in South Vietnam. Instead, the United States backed the dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem and his war against his own people. Thus began the 20-year involvement of the United States in Vietnam, which led to its humiliating defeat and hasty evacuation on April 29, 1975.

The opposition to the Korean War and the Vietnam War—and to the ever-present threat of nuclear warfare—furnished the principal framework of peace struggles following World War II. But other crises constantly called for responses from the Communist Party and the many peace advocates with which it maintained ties.

The expansionist policies of Israel became the source of repeated conflicts through its violation of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and its occupation of the territories of its neighbors. With the United States maintaining a "special relationship" in that area, Communists have striven to convince the U.S. peace movement that it has a key responsibility to fight against the repeated outbreak of hostilities and for a just peace.

Apart from the major wars of Korea, Vietnam and the Middle East, U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy and the "brinkmanship" practiced by John Foster Dulles and his successors, kept the peace movement in a constant state of alert.

In the summer of 1958, under the pretext of a non-existent "Communist threat," Eisenhower and Dulles sent 9,000 men, 70 war vessels and 420 fighter planes to Lebanon.

In April 1961, after only three months in office, President John F. Kennedy unleashed a force of Cuban exile mercenaries against Cuba in the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

In October 1962 there was the "Cuban missile crisis."

In 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson sent the Marines to prevent Juan Bosch from assuming the presidency of the Dominican Republic.

Among the gravest of these imperialist adventures—all of which were related to the government's proclaimed mission of "containing and rolling back Communism"—was the 1962 missile crisis. The Soviet Union was supplying Cuba with defensive missiles. The U.S. response to this information included a naval blockade of Cuba and a threat of imminent invasion of the island.

The *Worker* (predecessor to the *Daily World*) carried an editorial with a five-point program to defuse the situation; thousands demonstrated in United Nations Plaza against the Kennedy administration's course. The world spent three tense days until the confrontation was resolved by the agreement of the USSR to remove the missiles and a pledge by the United States not to attack Cuba.

The demonstrators were still at the UN when they received word that the crisis had been ended. And on October 30th the headline of the *Worker* read: "'Glad To Be Alive,' Say 10 Thousand in Front of UN."

Above all else it was the struggle against the Indochina war that molded the shape of the Party's fight for peace during the sixties and into the seventies. In June 1954 an article in *Political Affairs* warned that the Eisenhower administration was prepared to scrap its "no more Koreas" pledge and was ready "to send American GIs to Indochina." And an article in July 1954 warned that "the keenest vigilance of the American people, and ever-increasing exertions of the peace forces, are required to meet and defeat new attempts to carry out the policy of intervention and force."

On May 15, 1962, the Communist Party, USA, issued a call for "Hands Off Southeast Asia!" This was to be a constant refrain as U.S. peace forces—some sections more slowly than others—came to recognize the criminality and futility of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

As the engagement of U.S. military forces in Vietnam escalated, so did the people's resistance to the war. The Communist Party, despite continuing cold war encumbrances on its activities, was consistently at the forefront in mobilizing public

opinion against the aggression. It played an important role in the formation of a series of coalitions, locally and nationally, which brought together the diverse strands of opposition to the war by students, pacifists, religious and other forces, and contributed substantially to the steadily growing mass demonstrations and other forms of action against the war.

Typical of the heightening levels of anti-war action was the great procession which took place in New York City in mid-October 1965. More than 20,000 people moved down Fifth Avenue into Central Park, rallying around the single slogan of "Stop the War in Vietnam." A broad spectrum of political views was represented among the sponsors of this event and the throng was shocked and saddened when it was announced that Robert Thompson, a Party leader who represented the Communists among the peace parade's sponsors, had died suddenly early that morning.

This stream of protest developed into a mighty torrent over the next years, culminating in the half million who demonstrated in Washington on November 15, 1969, the millions who participated in the Vietnam Moratorium, and the national student strike against the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of anti-war students at Kent State University.

Marxist youth, organized first in the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and then in its successor, the Young Workers Liberation League, made a special contribution to the anti-war movement. They were among the initiators of the first National Student Strike Against the War, were associated with the beginnings of GI opposition to the war, symbolized by the Fort Hood Three, the first soldiers to refuse orders for Vietnam, and generally brought a spirit of unity and militancy and a clear anti-imperialist orientation to the movement.

There was anti-war sentiment in the ranks of organized labor, just as elsewhere amongst the American people. But one would hardly have known this, judging by the conduct of the Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO. They were among the worst of the hawks.

In November 1967, however, labor leaders—most of them, but not all, below the top echelon—convened in Chicago a National Labor Leadership Assembly with the purpose of expressing labor's

opposition to the war. This event was the result of cooperation of Left—including Communists—and Center forces. They were hailed in a speech by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who said that "no matter what the formal resolutions of higher bodies may state, the troubled conscience of the working people can not be stilled. This conference speaks for millions." Afro-American representation at the leadership assembly included Cleveland Robinson, a delegate from District 65, who spoke as president of the Negro American Labor Council.

The first conference of the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) was held in Washington, D.C., on May 27-28 in 1969. It represented an attempt by two of the nation's largest unions—Teamsters and Auto—to differentiate their positions on a number of questions from those of the AFL-CIO top brass. With Frank Fitzsimmons (Teamsters) and Walter Reuther (Auto) taking the lead, the conference adopted a resolution strongly opposing the war and also condemning the high level of military spending and the costly anti-ballistic missile system. This important display of independence on the key question of peace showed the growing tendency among workers to adopt positions long advocated by the Communist Party.

While the Vietnam War ground on, taking the lives of tens of thousands of young Americans and the lives of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese men, women and children, other questions of war and peace also confronted the world's peoples. "Vietnam; European Security; Middle East; Colonialism, Neocolonialism and National Independence; Disarmament." In that order the Organizing Committee, World Assembly for Peace, listed the main questions when it met in Berlin (GDR) in February 1969, and sent out a call for a World Assembly to be held in Berlin June 21-24, 1969. Mrs. Martin Luther King told the preparatory conference: "The work to be done by the Assembly is monumental; but no force on earth can deter people of goodwill who are working for the betterment of humanity."

The prominence of Vietnam and the Middle East on the agenda of the Peace Assembly remind us of the continuing importance of these two troubled areas in the peace struggles over the last several decades. In 1967 Israel had seized the strategic territories of her neighbors—Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

In *Political Affairs* of May 1970, Hyman Lumer, the magazine's editor, wrote on the question: "The Middle East: War or Peace?" Lumer stated the Communist answer when he said: "Of course, there can be no *military* solution. . . . The solution can only be a political one." As a basis for such a solution Lumer cited the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which would require withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from the occupied territories. But Israel has consistently refused to comply. This led in 1973 to a fourth war between Israel and Egypt and to the continuing unsettled condition in the Middle East.

When Gil Green reported to the Central Committee, CPUSA, on December 3, 1977, on the peace movement, he was able to begin from the premise that "the past decade has witnessed a gradual reduction in world tension and an improved political climate for detente between the two competing world social systems." But he had to add: "It is too soon to celebrate. The danger of world war is far from over."

A year or so later the principal trouble spots of post-World War II—namely Vietnam and the Middle East—were again the sites of hot and cold war. That Vietnam should again be the victim of invasion, death and destruction was a shocking fact. That the invasion should come from that same China which, thirty years ago, had been hailed as a mighty addition to the growing camp of socialism seemed incredible.

The intention of the Chinese leaders to cow their victim into submission foundered on the rock of Vietnam's determination to defend her independence. But great damage was done—not only to life and property in Vietnam but also to the cause of peace itself as the once-respected People's Republic of China moved toward an alliance with the United States, the capital of the imperialist camp. The threat to peace stemming from China's role in international affairs is dealt with fully in Gus Hall's "A Letter to the Chinese Communist Party," which appeared in *Political Affairs*, January 1979.

There exist in this country many peace groups working against the unthinkable war toward which the warmongers are always striving. Among them are groups like the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy and the Mobilization for Survival.

Of particular importance is the relatively new U.S. Peace Council with headquarters in New

York. This group, which draws inspiration from the great World Peace Council with its 120 associated national movements, has the distinction of having an advanced position which makes it both anti-war and anti-imperialist. The existence of this group facilitated the calling of two dramatic outdoor demonstrations, in bitter weather, at the headquarters of China's UN mission in the first week after the invasion of Vietnam in February.

The Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League were well-represented at these "Hands Off Vietnam" rallies.

The struggle for peace takes many forms and is not merely a matter of taking correct positions. Communists have always shown their readiness to organize and participate in the mass activities of the struggle. Supporting peace is supporting internationalism against imperialism.

As the Party starts its sixty-first year there is no lack of peace tasks confronting it. Awakening sections of the labor movement are rallying to the Transfer Amendment as they see billions of armaments dollars destroying their jobs and taking the butter off their tables.

We live in the epoch of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the October Revolution of 1917. It is this which defines the framework of all struggles today, including the struggle for peace. That is why at the heart of the question of war and peace is the task of tying the hands of the imperialist forces who are constantly preparing for a war of annihilation against the Soviet Union, and forcing upon them adherence to a policy of peaceful coexistence. And in our day, this is a realizable task, for any other course will surely lead to a nuclear holocaust of unimaginable proportions. The recently signed SALT II treaty is an important landmark on the lengthy journey toward a secure peace and, eventually, mutual disarmament. To win its ratification by the U.S. Senate is the most urgent challenge before all peace forces, for the failure to adopt it will markedly set back the process of detente and make the world a much more perilous place for us all to live.

The Communists' proud record of sixty years—of steadfastly maintaining an anti-imperialist stance, contributing brain and backbone to the people's fight for peace and democracy on the road to socialism—is an earnest of their will to see these struggles through to victory.

Communists in Farm Struggles

LEM HARRIS

During the past sixty years, 1919-1979, *Political Affairs* and its predecessor journals have recorded how Communist Parties of many countries have fought to free mankind from bourgeois oppression and show the way to a socialist society. Though emphasis has always been placed on the organized section of the working class, the people of rural America have not been forgotten. And the back files of those journals include articles on rural questions such as the organizing activities of Black farmers of the South against the semi-feudal plantation system, or the farm revolt of the depressed thirties when forced sales of farms and evictions of farm families were stopped by mass action of whole communities. This militant tradition has been renewed in 1978 and again in 1979 by tractorcades of protesting farmers crowding into Washington. Great changes in the rural areas have taken place during these sixty years. They are worth recording.

An entire book could—and should—be written about the role of the Communist Party, USA and its allies in the struggles of the farm and rural population. No single article can encompass it, for it has touched every major farming region, from New England truck farming to Alabama cotton to Wisconsin dairy to Kansas wheat to Imperial Valley grape and citrus and vegetable agribusiness. There are also contributions to every facet of these at times extraordinarily complex movements. Communists have always dealt with the farm question within the general context of striving to form a people's alliance headed by labor, in which farmers would play a major role. This was reflected in the slogan—and, at one time in some states also the reality—of a farmer-labor party. Members of the Party have worked for programs to save farms and keep farmers on the land, to reduce taxes on family farmers, to build militant farm organizations. They have played a special role in helping to organize and

in defending the interests of Black tillers of the soil, especially in the South, and in educating against racism, historically the Achilles heel of rural progressivism, among the white farmers. A less tangible but also notable contribution is the clarification they have been able to bring to rural problems through the application of Marxist political economy, and the popularization of socialism, including its living example in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, as the best means of ending the chronic crisis of agriculture under imperialism. This article will attempt to cover a few episodes in this saga.

World War I ended in 1918 and for a few post-war years when famine threatened war-torn areas, U.S. farmers received prices for their commodities which provided a satisfactory living. But beginning with the early 1920s, the farm population was the first to experience a collapse of living standards as the grain trade and other food industries drove down the price of farm commodities. Distress in the rural areas proved to be the opening phase of the general depression which hit the rest of the nation in 1929.

Farm prices sank to unbelievably low levels. Cotton dropped from 15¢ to 5¢ per pound at the gin; wheat from over \$1.00 to under 25¢ per bushel at the elevator. Ruinous price levels for these and all the other farm staples bankrupted hundreds of thousands of farmers, confronting them with forced sale of their farms and eviction for non-payment of debts and taxes.

These conditions sparked a farm revolt of massive proportions. The first eruption was a strike by dairymen who refused to ship milk and blockaded highways to prevent all milk trucks from delivering. This action, which began in Wisconsin, spread to Minnesota and Iowa and was soon followed by the New York milkshed. The governors of nine mid-western states met in Sioux City, Iowa, to decide how to handle irate farmers faced with the loss of their farms.

* * *

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Even before the outbreak of the farm revolt, the Party had sent Mother Ella Reeve Bloor and her son, Harold Ware, to the Midwest. Mother Bloor had for many decades been in the thick of labor's strike struggles, especially with the Pennsylvania miners and New England's textile workers. When Eugene Victor Debs campaigned for the presidency, Mother Bloor was one of the orators who toured the country on the special campaign train known as the "Red Special." And in a hundred towns and cities, she raised her eloquent voice in the defense of the martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti.

She set up her "headquarters," a furnished room, in Minot, North Dakota, in the western part of that state where farm distress was especially acute. As was her custom, she hung up her pictures of labor's heroes, Marx, Lenin, Paul Robeson, Tom Mooney, Big Bill Haywood, and always had tea and cookies ready for whoever might come. Quickly her room became a social center for local unemployed workers and neighboring farmers. She hit it off so well with one of Dakota's pioneer farmers, Andrew Omholt, that they married and became a great organizing team.

Hearing of the conference of governors in Sioux City, she and Andy drove all night to Sioux City and were joined by her son, Harold. They decided that their place was not with the governors in City Hall but with the ten thousand farmers massed in the city park.

Mother Bloor circulated among the farmers. "Where are your leaders?" she asked. She learned that the leaders were up with the governors. "Don't you have any speakers?" One farmer replied: "Can you speak?" "A little," she said. Whereupon they put her up on a farmer's truck and she began to talk about conditions, about how they must take action themselves and not depend on any governor.

When she suggested that instead of waiting there, they should make their presence known by parading through the city and especially around City Hall, her proposal was greeted with a great shout. She was hoisted on top of a truck cab, with a big farmer holding her tight so she would not fall off, and the parade began. Their presence was felt in City Hall and echoes even reached Washington.

That night Harold Ware met with several Nebraska farmers who had succeeded in stopping

some forced sales by massing hundreds of farmers for the auction and physically preventing anyone from making a bid of more than a few pennies for any item. The result was the sale of everything on a farm for something like \$15, after which the money was raised, paid to the auctioneer and everything returned to the farmer being sold out. The farmers called it "Sears Roebuck Sales."

That same evening the farmers decided to call a march on Washington to place farmers' demands for relief and the stoppage of foreclosures and evictions before President Hoover and the Congress.

That December 1932, three-hundred farm delegates, each one elected by his or her local community, held the Farmers First National Relief Conference. These delegates came from all over the country—New England, the Eastern seaboard, the Midwest, the Plains States, Oregon and California and the Deep South—and included a delegation of Black farmers from the Alabama Sharecroppers Union.

Following the Washington Conference the farm revolt moved into high gear. The conference approved Ware's proposal to launch a grassroots weekly farm paper which became known as the *Farmers National Weekly*. It was able to publish regularly for the five-year period marking the depth of the Depression, and carried the news of farmers' actions to stop foreclosures; the mass gatherings of farmers at state capitols; of the strikes by croppers and tenant farmers of Alabama, Louisiana and Arkansas—some led by Communists, some by the Socialists—all of whom put their lives right on the line when they stood up against the Southern Bourbon hierarchy. The full contributions of the Communists to the struggles of the Southern Black sharecroppers (a story brought to recent public attention by Theodore Rosengarten's *All God's Dangers*) still have not been told.

* * *

All this action brought results. President Roosevelt pushed through a worried Congress a series of measures under what was called the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). These measures included crop loans, and payments for reducing crop land—even for plowing under every third row of already planted cotton.

Though some of the Roosevelt measures were intended to restore buying power to small farmers and tenants, in actual practice the larger landowners and especially the plantation owners of the South absorbed the benefit payments that were supposed to go to those working in the fields.

In 1934, at the conclusion of a farm conference in South Dakota called to organize relief from the effects of prolonged drought and consequent dust storms, I was part of a delegation sent by the Drought Conference to Washington. In addition to testifying before the House Committee on Agriculture, we were received by Secretary of Agriculture, Henry Wallace. Wallace outlined some of the New Deal farm measures and asked if they had not helped some. John Walz, a tenant farmer from North Dakota replied in a high, piping voice: "Not a damn bit." This ruffled Wallace who said: "That concludes the interview." At that point I jumped in to say: "Mr. Wallace, what Mr. Walz has just said, though maybe unpleasant for you to hear, nevertheless is important. Our main point in coming all the way from Dakota to Washington is to tell you that the benefits of your AAA measures are not reaching the grassroots. This is a general condition, bad in the North, worse in the South." The interview continued.

Possibly resulting from this and many other pressures on Washington, the Farm Security Administration (FSA) was launched to deal directly with the smallest and poorest farmers. This agency was directed first by Dr. W.W. Alexander from Atlanta, who had set up an interracial center at a time when such activity was anathema to the Dixiecrats, and then by C.B. Baldwin, Virginia-born friend of the President. During seven of the nine years that the FSA existed, Baldwin directed it ably with sincere concern for the small farmer, Black and white.

Under Baldwin's direction, close to one billion dollars was furnished in a myriad of tiny loans—every one of them was what banks would describe as "bad security." Before the FSA was terminated, nine hundred million of these "bad" loans had been repaid. Hundreds of these loans were in amounts of \$1,000-\$1,500 and enabled croppers to do such things as buy a cow, fence their garden, enclose the well, pay the fee for a short course in home canning, etc. At its peak in 1942, the

FSA had made loans or other contractual relationships with about 800,000 low income farm families. (See *Poverty and Politics, The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration*, Sidney Baldwin, p. 296, Univ. of Carolina Press, 1968.)

Such homely measures helped the rural poor to become somewhat self-sufficient but provoked a growing hostility from racists and conservatives in and out of Congress. Typical was a Republican congressman from Vermont who described the FSA and some of the other agencies as "the largest group of blood-sucking barnacles on the ship of state." FSA underwriting of some rural cooperative communities was seized upon as proof of a Communist conspiracy against American "free enterprise."

Baldwin was forced out and soon after FSA was eventually replaced by the Farm Home Administration, an agency which makes only "sound" loans to commercial-type farmers. Upon his resignation, Roosevelt sent a warm letter to Baldwin which said in part:

I learn with regret of your leaving the Farm Security Administration. Criticism and resistance you have expected and received, but we know that the extension of democratic opportunity to those who do not have it inevitably faces the bitter opposition of selfish and short-sighted persons who fear the people. . . . I hope there will never be a time when the people of this country will fear to seek new answers to old and unsolved problems. (Ibid, p. 395, from the papers of C.B. Baldwin.)

With the demise of FSA, little further concern with the fate of the rural poor was discernible from Washington. The United States Department of Agriculture and its alter ego, the National Farm Bureau Federation, concerned themselves primarily with the largest, most productive farmers. Official attitudes, while giving lip-service to the family farm, have in reality served the interests of agribusiness. Agriculture is among the largest industries in our country.

* * *

Agriculture has been industrialized. No one can become a successful commercial farmer who can

not command an investment of \$200,000 or more. The door for young couples wishing to farm has slammed shut unless one has inherited either a farm or a fortune. Year after year during the past decades small farmers with limited capital have been absorbed by their larger neighbors—the normal capitalist process. In 1935, in Roosevelt's first administration, there were 6.8 million farms. The census of 1974 showed just 2.34 million operations counted as farms. Of these, 1.7 are considered commercial, selling over \$2,500 of farm commodities.

Earl Butz, Nixon's Secretary of Agriculture, advised farmers: "Get big or get out." So farmers that could, got big, and some of them very big. But the same consolidation and conglomeration was taking place in the food processing and distributing monopolies. As has happened in all the rest of industrial America, the food industry is controlled by a few giants. As always, the monopolies have manipulated pricing so farmers, including the big ones, are squeezed and consumers are gouged. Recent reports of corporation profits show food industries are second only to the oil companies.

Meanwhile America's surviving farmers—even the largest ones—are in sight of bankruptcy as in the days of Herbert Hoover. World War II and Roosevelt's policies of guaranteeing a minimum floor under major commodities kept farmers solvent until 1952. But from that point until today, with but slight variations, the buying power of farm prices has steadily slipped. Just as workers through their trade unions gain some wage increases, it always turns out that the cost of living goes up faster. Therefore with farmers, their bushel of wheat, or bale of cotton or hundredweight of beef buys less and less.

This is what farmers mean when they demand parity prices: the buying power of major farm commodities should equal that of 1910-14, a period during which that buying power was considered equitable. We have seen that farm prices have sunk

lower and lower below the 100 per cent parity mark. In 1977 there was 68 per cent of parity, a ruinous level, and in 1978 it was 77 per cent.

This means that the current average indebtedness of farms has reached staggering heights. The latest USDA report on average indebtedness per farm for 1977 shows:

	Cash Grain Farms	Livestock Ranches
Small Farms	\$ 21,000	\$ 20,000
Medium Farms	61,000	87,000
Large Farms	338,000	725,000

Farmers who owe this kind of money know that they can never pay out if parity price levels remain under 90 per cent. They are confronted by bankruptcy. For two years now it is the large farmers with the big debts that have driven their \$50,000 tractors to Washington in protest. And for two years running they have gotten the brushoff from President Carter, Secretary of Agriculture Bergland (who yelled for parity with the loudest when he farmed in Minnesota), the Congress, the Department of Agriculture, and of course the farm organ of agribusiness, the Farm Bureau.

There are healthy signs that farmers are beginning to look elsewhere for solutions. They are approaching trade unions, consumer groups, religious organizations and Black leaders such as the Congressional Black Caucus. There is an additional section of the working class which has every reason to join the fight against agribusiness: the agricultural workers, permanent and migratory, including the undocumented. Family type farmers, who normally do not hire field labor by the hour, stand to gain by supporting the wage demands of farmworkers employed on the huge corporation farms.

In short there are clear signs that the time is ripe for all sections of the city and rural working population to find common ground, build a popular coalition and turn the country around.

In Struggle for a People's Culture

MIKE DAVIDOW

For six decades, almost one-third of our country's history, Communists and the Left have been in the forefront of the struggle for a people's culture. Yet this is an "unknown struggle" just as the decisive Soviet front in the war that saved the world from fascism has been made into the "unknown war" for tens of millions of Americans by bourgeois rewriters of history. The "rewriting" and distorting of history is one of the most destructive weapons employed by a dying ruling class in the ideological struggle. Thus, the struggle to set our history straight involves much more than defending the Party against unceasing slander. It is a fight for our democratic, humanistic and revolutionary heritage which can be a source of great strength in the struggle against moral decay threatening our country today.

The *Masses* Tradition

The roots of this cultural heritage can be traced to that pioneering magazine *Masses*, which was founded in 1911. It was *Masses* which introduced Mike Gold, the father of proletarian literature, to the revolutionary movement. For Mike, *Masses* became "guide and teacher, as it was to a whole generation of youth." (The *Masses* Tradition," Mike Gold, *Masses and Mainstream*, August 1954, page 45.) A list of its contributors reads like a *Who's Who* of U.S. literature. It includes Ernest Hemingway, Sherwood Anderson, Eugene O'Neil and Edna St. Vincent Millay. The outstanding Black poet and writer Claude McKay served as co-editor with Mike Gold when it changed its name to *Masses—Liberator*. Among the famous artists who contributed cartoons which to this day are reprinted are Robert Minor, Fred Ellis, Maurice Becker, Art Young, Hugo Gellert, and Bill Gropper. The most significant of the *Masses'* contributors was the immortal John Reed (a founder of the Communist

Party, USA) who served as the magazine's Moscow correspondent during the Russian Revolution. Reed's deathless dispatches, first published in *Masses*, were later compiled into the revolutionary classic *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

New Masses—Tribune of the Stormy Thirties

The *New Masses* continued and developed the *Masses'* tradition. Appearing in 1934, in the midst of the Great Depression, it tremendously enriched it. It nourished and produced a bumper crop of talented writers, poets, dramatists and artists. Never was the historic gap between manual and mental labor, between word and deed, narrowed as in these turbulent but inspiring years of social upheaval. The great hunger marches, the fierce eviction struggles, the battles against farm foreclosures, the fight for the right to work, all of which witnessed the first truly united struggles of Black and white, found their expression in the most exciting and meaningful literary and artistic works. Writers, poets and artists were themselves active participants in the militant struggles. Their pens and brushes were aflame with the spirit of the times. *New Masses* inspired, organized and recorded the works of the most truly people's culture in our history.

All this is most vividly described by that unforgettable fighter-writer, Joe North, who was for many years the editor of *New Masses*:

The Thirties began with the cold hell of hunger, the unparalleled assault of starvation. Then it passed into a time of unparalleled counterattack. It is this latter aspect that troubled the authorities in the following decades—the Forties and especially the Fifties, the era of incipient domestic Hitlerism, Senator Joe McCarthy. Something stamped the Thirties as historically different from the other times of mass hunger in America. (*New Masses, An Anthology of the Rebel Thirties*, International Publishers, New York, 1973, p. 23).

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And what was that difference?

As North stated, it lay in "the scope and depth of the counterattack, the movement against hunger, that had a sweep, a daring, an imaginativeness, a gallantry and a program—and yes a leadership that transcended that of any other time. It was the time of the Reds. The Marxists, the Communists' idea had produced the revolution in October of 1917 that shook the world." (Emphasis added.)

In the brief decade and a half since Reed had hailed it, October was transforming the New World. Though it still lagged far behind the older and more economically developed but decaying world, the Soviet Union was moving forward with seven league boots. It worked while 17 million in the U.S. and tens of millions in the West walked the streets. It had done away with the perennial curses of capitalism—crisis-living, mass unemployment, and inflation. The First Five Year Plan, ushering in an era of scientific planning and utilization of natural resources and labor power for the benefit of the people, presented a devastating contrast to the human suffering, massive breadlines, mass unemployment and brutal police attacks upon millions of Americans fighting for the right to work and live.

The contrast of the two worlds had a profound impact on the literature, theater, art and culture of the thirties. For the majority of Americans that contrast was not yet evident enough to offer an alternative. But for large numbers it pointed the way to the future. That eye on the future was forcefully expressed in the "Call for an American Writers Congress" issued on January 22, 1935, signed by many prominent U.S. writers. The call noted that "A new Renaissance is upon the world; for each writer there is the opportunity to proclaim both the new way of life and the revolutionary way to attain it." It proclaimed a program that would include: "fight against imperialist war and fascism; defend the Soviet Union against capitalist aggression; for the development and strengthening of the revolutionary labor movement, against white chauvinism (against all forms of Negro discrimination or persecution), solidarity with colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom." (*Ibid.*, p. 314.)

Among the signers were: Theodore Dreiser,

Langston Hughes, John Howard Lawson, Lincoln Steffens, Ella Winters, Richard Wright and Erskine Caldwell. A similar broadly-based appeal was issued October 1, 1935, for the convening of an American Artists Congress. *New Masses*, as the literary critic and historian Maxwell Geismar noted in his introduction to the anthology, was the magazine of the period. Among its contributors were (in addition to the above writers): Thomas Wolfe, Dorothy Parker, William Saroyan, Joseph Agee, Jack Conroy, Michael Gold, V.J. Jerome, Maxwell Bodenheim and Edwin Rolfe. Rolfe's poem "These Men Are Revolution" expressed the spirit of fighting America which not only struggled at home for democracy, but also on the frontlines against fascism in Spain:

Come brother, come millhand, come miner,
come friend—
we're off and we'll see the thing through to the end.
There's nothing that can stop us, not cannon not
dungeon
nor blustering bosses, their foremen and gunmen
We will return to our books some day,
to sweetheart and friend, new kinship and love,
to our tool, to the lathe and tractor and plow
when the battle is over—but there's fighting on
now.
(*Ibid.*, p. 25)

The cultural uprising compelled the Roosevelt New Deal government to establish federal theater, dance, music, arts and writers' projects. For the first time, thousands of talented young men and women, including many Blacks, were provided an opportunity to put their skills to work. Millions of American workers never before inside a theater came in contact with the magic of the stage. And they liked it!

The Living Newspaper, the U.S. equivalent of the epic theater developed by that revolutionary German genius, Bertolt Brecht, gave dramatic expression to the most urgent questions of the day: *Triple A Plowed Under* was a scathing commentary on the insanity of food scarcity and profiteering in the midst of plenty; *One Third of a Nation* denounced monopoly concentration of real estate which resulted in one-third of the nation living in slums. Theater was not only brought to the people; it was

part of the strike picket line, the demonstration against racism and war. Is it any wonder then that reaction launched a fierce attack against the rising people's culture? The attack was bitterly resisted by audience and artists in a militant united struggle to keep the lights on in the theater. Our country is still paying a costly price since the lights were put out.

The Struggle for Proletarian Literature

Marx long ago pointed out that the dominant ideology of every society is that of the ruling class. This is pronounced in the field of culture. Anatoly Lunacharsky, the Soviet Republic's first People's Commissar of Education, devoted his vast store of culture to develop the talents of tens of thousands of workers and peasants, many of whom had just emerged from illiteracy.

"Literature is the art of the word" Lunacharsky wrote in his remarkable book, *On Art and Literature*. He also noted that it is the "art which is closest to thought—is distinguished from other forms of art by the significance of the content as compared to the form." Lunacharsky well understood the content which the great October had placed at the disposal of talented but unschooled writers. To guide them, Lunacharsky stressed this "basic criterion": "everything that aids the development and victory of the proletariat is good; everything that harms it is evil." At the same time, Lunacharsky warned that "literature is the art of images and every invasion of naked ideas or propaganda is always detrimental to the given work."

Perhaps one of the most significant contributions made by the CPUSA and the Left is that it for the first time inspired talented working-class writers, Black and white, as well as established writers, to challenge the dominant culture of a decadent society. For the first time, serious attention was given to the lives, the problems and above all the struggles of those who produce the wealth of our country. Mike Gold particularly devoted himself to achieve this goal, but it required the titanic social upheaval of the Great Depression to impart a powerful impulse to this pioneering effort. As Mike noted, "Thousands of intellectuals were sharing the hunger; the great social ferment in America's history now changed everything." (*The Masses Tradition*, page 55.)

It was this new and (for some) menacing content which began to make its appearance in our theater, on our screen and in our literature that alarmed the ruling class. And on this front it fiercely attacked. The fire of the bourgeois critics (aided by renegades who saw the McCarthyite "light") was centered on this dangerous content, though much was made of allegedly crude and propagandistic form. As Joe North so well described it, Communists and the Left were accused of "laying hairy hands on the literature, the culture of the day. . . . We were the despoilers." (*Ibid.*, p. 20.)

The literature, theater, cinema and art of the thirties can best speak for this, one of the most creative periods in our history. One can draw up a long list of literary works that dealt artistically with working-class themes. Among them are: Mike Gold's classic *Jews Without Money*, Paul Peter's *Stevedore*, Clifford Odets' *Waiting For Lefty* and *Awake and Sing*, Jack Conroy's *The Disinherited*, Ruth McKenny's *Industrial Valley*, Lloyd Brown's *Iron City*, the novels of Philip Stevenson, Philip Bonosky and Meridel Le Suer, Charles Friedman's and Harold Rome's *Pins and Needles*, the poems of Langston Hughes and Walter Loewenfels, the folk songs of Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger and Earl Robinson, the probing critiques of Sidney Finklestein and Charles Humboldt. True, in these pioneering efforts there were works that fell into the error against which Lunacharsky warned, but in a sense that was almost inevitable. However, the distinguishing feature of this literary ferment was that it produced significant contributions toward the development of a people's culture. That is why so much effort has gone into erasing and distorting these chapters in our history.

The Struggle for Black Culture

If the effort to create a working-class literature faced great obstacles, what can be said about the struggle to recognize and develop Black culture, to open the doors of the arts to talented Black men and women? Black culture is not only Black; it is largely working-class by its very nature (the composition of the people). Some of the most glorious chapters in the six decade history of the Communist Party were written in the fires of the struggle to break down the Jim Crow barriers that made our

stage, screen and publishing houses lily white. That, today, shades of Black (as yet far too pale) have been added to our cultural color, is possible because of the pioneering struggles led by Black and white Communists. The towering figure of Paul Robeson stands as a permanent reminder of that struggle. "Roots" (its serious limitations aside) has its roots in that struggle.

An important article on this vital question was "Negro Culture: Heritage and Weapon" by Doxey A. Wilkerson (*Masses and Mainstream*, August 1949). Wilkerson's article reflected the deep thinking that had gone into the question in the ranks of the Party. "Negro culture," he stressed, "emerges from and develops as an expression of the struggles of the Negro people for freedom from oppression. It reflects, therefore, the problems and achievements of the developing national liberation movement from whose womb it springs." He went on to add: "Just as the Negro people are an interacting segment of American economic and political life, affected by and in turn helping to shape the whole, so the Negro arts constitute an interacting segment of American culture, greatly influenced by trends in American life and in turn helping to enrich and to shape the development of American culture."

Polemizing against those who would ignore the distinct characteristics of Black culture, Wilkerson stressed: "But to say this alone is to ignore the most essential characteristics of Negro culture"—that it is the "expression of a distinct people within the general population of the United States." Wilkerson pointed to the Negro spirituals as "the creations of a particular people with a special relationship to a society of which they are part." Perhaps one of the most significant points made by Wilkerson is the following: "But Negro culture is much more than a mere reflection of the liberation struggles of an oppressed people; it is a social force which can do much to advance the freedom struggles of which it is an integral part. The Negro artist is an educator of the Negro people; and in a different but most important way, he is an educator of the entire American people."

Another important contribution to the clarification of the role played by Black writers and artists was the two part article, "Which Way for the Negro Writer?" by Lloyd Brown (*Masses and Main-*

stream, April 1951). Brown polemized with the view which not only disputed the concept of a Black literature, but considered it harmful. Brown warned: "But there are some writers who confuse the essential and all-important struggle to break out of the ghetto with a false idea of breaking away from the people who are confined to the ghetto."

The creative power of a writer is linked with the creative power of his people, Brown concluded. "A giant figure in our country exemplifies this concept in another field of arts—Paul Robeson. Here is a man who is the foremost people's artist of America and a world artist... And what is the primary source of his universal art? His people."

Alice Childress carried the debate into the field of theater. In words that can only be described as poetry at its best, she pointed to the link that must exist between Black theater and its people:

My people walk in beauty, their feet singing along the pavement; my people walk as if their feet hurt, in hand-me-down shoes... and the children walk on feet that are growing out of their shoes; and my people walk without shoes... I love them all but I love most those who walk as they would walk, caring nothing for impressions or fears or suppressions... those who walk with a confident walk. These things we must learn to duplicate.

The Black theater Alice Childress envisioned is expressed in part in her own plays, in Theodore Ward's *John Brown*, Langston Hughes' *Just A Little Simple*, Paul Peter's *Nat Turner*, Lorraine Hansberry's *Raisin In The Sun*, the work of the Negro Ensemble Theater, the Committee for the Negro in Arts, Harlem Unity Theater and the numerous Black theater groups that sprung up in the wake of the upsurges of the 1960s and early seventies. The appearance of the magazine *Freedomways* marked a significant advance. It is indeed the inheritor of the Robeson tradition.

Theodore Dreiser, W.E.B. DuBois and the Cold War

The bourgeois press and critics ignore or belittle the fact that two of the most outstanding men of culture in the United States, Dreiser and DuBois, proudly proclaimed their membership in the Communist Party, USA. In a letter, July 20, 1945, to

William Z. Foster, the Party's national chairman, Dreiser applied for membership, stating that he considered that step "the logic of my life." Dreiser died on December 28, 1945. On February 3, 1946, Winston Churchill officially launched the cold war at Fulton, Missouri. As if foreseeing the dangers ahead Dreiser warned: "The unity of our country with the great Soviet Union is one of the most valuable fruits of our united struggle and dare not be weakened without grave danger to America itself." And he particularly cautioned U.S. intellectuals: "Irrational prejudice against anything that is truly or falsely labeled 'Communism' is absurd and dangerous in politics. Concessions to Red-baiting are even more demoralizing in the field of science, art and culture. If our thinkers and creators are to fulfill their responsibilities to a democratic culture they must free themselves from the petty fears and illusions that prevent open discussion of ideas on an adult level. The necessities of our times demand we explore and use the whole realm of human knowledge."

The full fury of the cold war descended upon Dr. DuBois. It is to the eternal shame of our country that at the age of 83 this dean of U.S. letters was handcuffed, mugged and indicted as a "foreign agent" under the Truman Administration because he fought the cold war. Dr. Du Bois replied with a ringing courageous statement, "I Take My Stand," that was a clarion call for resistance to U.S. imperialist aggression. (*Masses and Mainstream*, page 11, April 1951). Dr. Du Bois prophetically warned that the path of aggression would lead to a "literal descent into Hell." It proved to be an accurate description of the dirty wars against the Korean and Vietnamese peoples. Proudly and defiantly this old man with the spirit of a young fighter declared: "I take my stand besides the millions in every nation and continent and cry PEACE—NO MORE WAR."

John Howard Lawson, the author of some of our most outstanding films, whose *Theory and Technique of Playwriting* is a classic work on the art of drama, took his stand on May 21, 1948. Indicted under the Nixon-Mundt Bill, infamous forerunner of the McCarthyite witchhunt, Lawson warned U.S. intellectuals that his trial was "your trial." (*Masses and Mainstream*, July 1948). "The intellec-

tual who accepts Red-baiting today is betraying his inheritance. . . . The scholar and writer are entrusted with a fateful responsibility as guardians of culture. No threat of thought control, police censorship or prison can absolve them from their responsibility." And Lawson asked questions which to this day need to be answered: "Are you faithful to your trust? Are you defending your heritage?"

The 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, December 28-31, 1950, sounded the call for an all-out struggle against McCarthyism and the war danger. Its central slogan was "Organize the Peace Front of the People." It was in this spirit that V.J. Jerome, head of the Party's cultural work, urged the Party to "Grasp the Weapon of Culture." (*Political Affairs*, Feb. 1951.) Jerome noted "the shameful degradation of culture now taking place" in the U.S. and denounced the blacklisting of progressive artists, and the persecution of the Hollywood Ten. He pointed to the courageous resistance organized by the Communists and progressives and declared: "Peekskill stands as a landmark of struggle against the dangers of war and fascism."* In rallying around Paul Robeson, the people were defending our progressive cultural heritage, Jerome stressed. It was this heroic struggle, led by the Communist Party, often against the stream, that helped defend our culture from the ravages of McCarthyite hysteria.

Moral Health of our Country—Socialism for Survival

This brief look back on the Party's long, hard and noble struggle for a people's culture is needed not just for Communists. If Jerome could point to the "shameful degradation of culture" in 1951 what can be said of the moral decay today engulfing every aspect of life? As far back as 1916 Lenin characterized imperialism as the "moribund" stage of capitalism. And indeed, moribund describes life in the U.S. today. For millions of Americans life has become a nightmare. It is even a nightmare for those who still manage to retain some dwindling comforts. But for a large and growing number it is unrelieved misery, materially as well as spiritually. The much vaunted American standard of living is fast disappearing in the wake of ever-deepening crisis.

Life in the U.S. is existence in the midst of mind-

boggling contradictions: great wealth in the midst of dire poverty; a highly developed culture co-existing with booming business in pornography, prostitution, perversion and drug addiction (our third largest industry).

To encompass and to interpret this complex and contradictory reality is the great challenge confronting U.S. writers and artists. Above all, they are called upon to combat the moral as well as physical decay eating away at our very vitals. To do this effectively, the "heritage" of McCarthyism and the cold war which still clings to many needs to be eliminated. Dreiser's warning that our intellectuals must discard their anti-Soviet, anti-Communist blinders, has to be heeded. For these blinders not only conceal the human world of socialism that stands in such stark contrast to our own, but they also hide and distort our own humanist, democratic and working-class traditions.

In no small measure, this heritage is linked to the positive influences of Marxist-Leninist thinking of our writers and artists. It was to exorcise and expunge this progressive and revolutionary influence on our cultural life that the McCarthy witchhunt

directed its fire against those writers and artists identified with this trend. The loss which resulted will be felt in our cultural life for a long time. To overcome the disastrous effects of this "heritage" the spirit of McCarthyism must be fully and finally laid to rest. Among other things this calls for a correct appraisal of the 30s (and an honest recognition of the creative and courageous role played by Communists and the Left) and a struggle to rescue its rich cultural contributions.

Present conditions of rapid material and moral decay, the threat of nuclear disaster in peace time as well as war, raises the need for socialism to a new level. Today our country needs socialism not only for a more human life but for survival itself.

Socialism today is a six decade reality—a reality that offers the only rational alternative. At the very least, our men and women of culture must look that reality in the eye without the distorting prism of anti-Soviet blinders. Not only because they owe this to a people who saved the world from fascism and pioneered the untried path to a new world at such cost to themselves. They owe it to the American people and to themselves.

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A New Source Book on Communist History

RAY ELLIS

Highlights of a Fighting History, Sixty Years of the Communist Party, USA, edited by Philip Bart, Theodore Bassett, William W. Weinstone, and Arthur Zipser, International Publishers, New York, Cloth \$15; Paperback \$5.25.

This reviewer has long wished to ask a thousand randomly-selected persons: What do you think Communists advocate? Certainly the replies would be fascinating in their variety, some incredible, some knowledgeable, others shrewd, many springing out of an absence of valid information.

Why such a muddled response? Is it so difficult to grasp and define the program of a political party? No one can say that the subject of communism is absent from today's media.

When the two major parties hold their presidential nominating conventions their platforms are duly detailed in the newspapers. However, you will not find the text of the Communist Party platform in this peculiar "free press," although the Communists, unlike the Republicans and Democrats, have a very firm commitment to their announced objectives.

To get at the essence of this bizarre phenomenon it is helpful to go back to the year 1848, when the *Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, was published with this opening declaration: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism." Sixty-nine years later that ghost was transformed into reality with the birth of the first socialist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. A shocked world of private property retaliated with violence—civil war, invasion, starvation and subversion.

It was as if a mental bacillus had been let loose, and to counter this plague of ideas it was necessary to isolate the public from contagion. The preference was for a capitalist *index liborum prohibitorum* (list of forbidden books); but when that proved impossible every vehicle of information was employed to misrepresent the ideology and program of Communism and thereby arouse a dread of this revolu-

tion. The press, books, schools, the pulpit and later films, radio and television were drafted for this purpose. Along with this barrage upon the brain was the denial and restriction on the outlets of information to the partisans of the new-born socialism, who were frequently harassed, ostracized, arrested and imprisoned.

But in the long haul, suppression or misrepresentation loses out against truth. It is not possible, for example, to ignore the evidence that the Red Army and the Soviet people struck the decisive blow against Hitler's Germany. Nor can the fact be concealed that the receding world of capitalism is deep in crisis while the enlarging world of socialism rises from stability to the enrichment of life. Fresh in memory is the swell of outrage of our citizenry against U.S. intervention in Vietnam, which found Soviet and U.S. public opinion running in the same stream. Add to that this contrast: Today the principal socialist state promotes peace and sustains national liberation while its capitalist counterpart is associated with military aggression and neo-colonialism.

What other country has matched the breadth of anti-Communist indoctrination of the United States, where it ranges from the blunt lie to the more subtle theses of academics who explain "what Marx really meant"?

This ceaseless campaign peaked twice in our country, once in the aftermath of World War I (the Palmer Raids) and again (McCarthyism) after World War II. During the latter phase the domestic manufacture of red-baiting was enlarged by an export business to provide "enlightenment" to other continents. Our schools suffer from lack of funds but Congress has been and continues to be a generous provider for the "educational" budget of the Central Intelligence Agency.

There are many roads to the Communist Party. My own experience began in a haphazard way, in a branch library (funded, ironically, by the millionaire Andrew Carnegie).

Not long after World War I, I stumbled across a book there purporting to be a history of the rise of the Bolsheviks in Tsarist Russia. Profusely illustrated (by drawings, not photographs), the book contained a picture of an unkempt and bearded Bolshevik soldier who had skewered four babies on his long bayonet. My reaction was one of horror, but along with that a spark of curiosity. What kind of people were these who paraded with slaughtered infants?

Time passed. I thought little about this distant revolution until I later found a slender book which reproduced secret documents of European diplomats exchanged on the eve of World War I. These papers had been made public by Lenin's government, to the considerable embarrassment of the Allied powers. There was no doubt about authenticity, an American scholar asserted in the preface. The dispatches exposed the connivance among the warring powers to spread the cloak of patriotism over their greed for possessions and power through war. Most of the documents were received or sent by Alexander Izvolski, once a foreign minister of the Tsar and later an ambassador to France. He had bought off most of the Paris newspapers and was a master at the art of corruption.

I became puzzled by what seemed to be a contradiction. Who was the villain? The brutal soldier or the slippery diplomat? I was inclined to indict the ambassador. Thus I had gotten a fleeting peek into the land first to move into socialism, but it was some years later before I found anything of substance. In the meanwhile there were available publications considered radical, such as the little Blue Books of Haldeman-Julius (I believe they sold for five cents), pamphlets issued by the Farmer-Labor Party and the Nonpartisan League of Arthur C. Townley, agitation in the Minneapolis Gateway district where migratory workers gathered to hear IWW spokesmen, lectures by Clarence Darrow, speeches by Victor Berger, the Socialist Party Congressman from nearby Wisconsin, and the fiery oratory from Senator Bob La Follette, also from Wisconsin, who ran as a third party candidate for the presidency. Unlike other areas, the Democrats were a feeble force in the Midwest. It was Republicans against a mishmash of populism.

At the beginning of the Great Depression, during

Herbert Hoover's presidency, I found the Party in Cleveland, Ohio. This discovery came as a consequence of my part in union organizing. I discovered that Marxism provided many answers to difficult problems.

This personal history has been inserted because it provides a background for my interest in a new and extremely welcome book, *Highlights of a Fighting History*, which reproduces a wide and varied selection of articles from the press, pamphlets and publications of the Communist Party, USA spanning 60 years since its founding. It can not be ignored by any reputable historian. Although it does not pretend to be an exhausting political history, much spade work has been done with this completed project. It draws upon some documents not easily available to the scholar.

The attraction of this anthology for the reading public is that it provides a kaleidoscope illuminating how the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) met its responsibilities in the heartland of imperialism. There is a strong interest for the shop worker, with a profusion of articles on labor struggles.

Successes and setbacks, strikes, agitation, campaigns—they are here with what constitutes a teaching text, especially for those of younger years. The narratives revive recollections for veterans; it is a manual of creativity for the activist. And the total is a monument to fidelity to class without which we can not eradicate the injustices that are woven into the present system.

Shakespeare, the poet and playwright, wrote that "What is past is prologue." Lenin elaborated on this in his precise fashion:

That in any given society the strivings of some of the members conflict with *the strivings of* others; that social life is full of contradictions; that history discloses to us a struggle among people and societies, and also with each nation and each society, manifesting in addition an alternation between periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline—these facts are generally known. Marxism provides a clue which enables us to discover the reign of law in this seeming labyrinth and chaos: the theory of the class struggle. Nothing but the study of the totality of the strivings of all

the members of a given society, or a group of societies, can lead to the scientific definition of the result of these strivings. Now, the conflict of these strivings arises from the differences in the situation and modes of life of the *classes* into which society is divided.

It is in the spirit of these words that the editors and researchers of this collection extracted pertinent material from the publications of the Communist movement. There are shortcomings, often dictated by space requirements and difficulty in searching out source material of early years, but the essence is there: a living, vibrant association where joy arises out of effort and dedication overcomes adversity.

This compilation poses an interesting comparison between the two parties of capitalism and the party of the Left. The Communist vanguard on such issues as racial discrimination, unemployment insurance and social security preceded the New Deal of Roosevelt. The Communists strove for the independence of labor as a class, while the White House viewed unions as a force to be manipulated, restrained, controlled.

The character of a political party can be measured with considerable accuracy by the leadership it produces. Compare, for example, the noxious Richard Nixon of the Republicans and the sanctimonious Jimmy Carter of the Democrats with National Chairman Henry Winston and General Secretary Gus Hall of the Communist Party. The latter two were imprisoned, in violation of the Constitution, for their unconcealed beliefs. Yet much of the public argues that Nixon deserved a penal sentence for his misdeeds and there is no end to the hanky-panky today at the White House. Was it not criminal to lend aid and comfort to the Shah of Iran and to Somoza in Nicaragua? If giant corporations are permitted to steal from the consumer isn't the U.S. government aiding and abetting theft?

Readers of the anthology will appreciate that the threads stitching together the considerable variety of the contents in *Highlights of a Fighting History* are of many strands, but there is one that is ever present: the fibre of the working class. From the very early days of the Party to the present this element was found to be indispensable. Objective factors have their bearing on outcome but gain or

loss, advance or retreat, depended in substantial measure on the degree the Party was a part of and had earned influence with the mass of workers. The decline and collapse of the Socialist parties stood as a warning that once the worker base is ignored or adulterated the entire movement deteriorates.

Here, too, one will learn—or be reminded—that the Party from the start had the handicap of hammering out the complex problem of theory and program while it was being battered by government agencies. The struggle for legality, both *de facto* and *de jure*, had to be maintained while remnants of social democracy, sectarianism and fraudulent Leftism had to be swept out. It was no simple task.

Perhaps from 1919 to the beginning of the Roosevelt Administration the title best fitting the Party's work would be The Great Rehearsal. For this was a time of testing, of experiment, of learning, of gathering the fruits of experience into a cohesive body of knowledge. Along with this was an accumulation of accomplishments that invigorated the Party and reinforced conviction. Examine the writings of Pat Toohey and Tom Myerscough against the dictatorial rule of John L. Lewis in the coal fields; the depiction by Rose Wortis of the difficulties in the needle trades with the trend toward dual unionism; Carl Winter's narration of the National Hunger Marches; and the account of the Bonus March by Jack Douglas.

* * *

The collapse of the economy in 1929 came as no surprise to Marxists. It found them prepared to launch the working class into motion in the areas of employment, cash payment for welfare instead of the dribbles of "charity," social security, and the unionization of the basic industries on a vertical plane instead of the fragmentation of craft unionism. Along with this was the push to break the practice of class collaboration which had deeply penetrated the AFL leadership and more highly paid workers.

Many contemporary historians, including a number with pretensions of belonging to a "radical" school, have displayed considerable diligence in masking—or denying—the Communist contribution in these years of upheaval. If this anthology does nothing else it establishes by chapter and verse

the significant and very often vanguard role of the Party. Here is first-hand testimony from the waterfront of San Francisco, the steel mills of Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania, the auto plants of Michigan, the rubber factories of Akron, the coal mines of West Virginia and Kentucky and a hundred and one other industrial centers. And this upsurge went well beyond wage and unionization struggles in many instances.

The accumulative effect made possible the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), promoted an advance in independent political action, joined the employed with the unemployed and challenged divisiveness by race, nationality, sex and religion.

Then came the Second World War. In the stages leading to the conflict the Communists in all lands sought to prevent its outbreak by rallying behind the Soviet proposals for collective security and by striving to create popular fronts of peace and anti-fascism in Western Europe. When Franco, with the open aid of military forces from Hitler and Mussolini, began the drive to crush Spanish democracy, Communists initiated mass campaigns in support of the Republic and many went abroad in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to take up arms against fascism. Today it is widely accepted that these activities, had they been successful, could have averted the greater conflict that followed. But then many Communists and non-Communists who supported freedom for Spain were branded as untrustworthy citizens.

This patriotism in the national interest stood in marked contrast to that of the corporations, who insisted that their "patriotism" be bought and paid for. They demanded and secured lush profits for armaments and military supplies and refused limitations on executive salaries. Roosevelt's Administration bowed in compromise before personalities who had been strong advocates of appeasement and had outright sympathy with Hitlerism.

As the world conflict moved toward its conclusion, the captains of industry and finance unfolded a grandiose scheme of a Pax Americana designed to embrace the globe. The factories at home were intact. The demand for postponed domestic production would be brisk. Where the war had been fought the devastation was immense. A bankrupt Europe

and Japan would be forced to go hat in hand to solicit loans and "gifts" from Wall Street and the federal treasury to reconstruct their economies and stave off revolution. The colonial empires of Great Britain, France and the Netherlands could never be returned to their pre-war status and the prospect was opened for U.S. penetration and the accumulation of further riches. The atom bomb was a monopoly.

Obstacles clouded this ambitious dream: the existence of the Soviet Union and the emergence of other socialist states; the passion of colonized peoples for national independence and the respect Communists had earned on the battlefields and in resistance movements and among exploited millions who yearned to break from the misery of poverty that seemed eternal.

The home front had to be secured, and employers concerned themselves with what was to be done with respect to the labor movement. With peace attained they viewed with apprehension the possibility of a revival of militancy that had been muted by the overriding demands of war. The seed bed from whence that militancy arose was class consciousness and its protagonist was the Communist Party of the United States. This, to corporate power, had to be uprooted and *Highlights* contains in detail that sordid story. It was a time of enormous difficulty, of attacks from within and without. The Party resisted and emerged with its ideology preserved and its fortitude intact. Hand-in-hand with this scheme to exclude its members from the labor movement was the concentrated intervention in the CIO to demolish a wide coalition including the Left which had been responsible for a host of achievements.

The party explained this in an analysis distributed to steel workers in 1953:

So long as the coalition was maintained, the CIO was on the upgrade, growing in strength and prestige and building up a superb record of improved working and living conditions for its members from year to year.

At the peak of its power, the CIO had over 6 million members. That was when the coalition was at its strongest. Then came the breakup of the coalition.

The Big Business interests launched their anti-Communist offensive, McCarthyism was let

loose on an unsuspecting public and there were those in the CIO who joined the chorus of anti-Communist hysteria. Eleven unions were expelled from the CIO as "Communist-dominated," war was declared on Communist and militant workers in the remaining CIO unions; the CIO membership dropped to around 4 million members.

Big Business always hated the CIO. It always dreamed of destroying it. The Taft-Hartley Law, the present efforts to ban industry-wide bargaining (which is a source of strength for the CIO and especially the steel union), and new anti-labor legislation, are aimed at the destruction of the unions. You can imagine the joy in Wall Street when the financial tycoons saw the break-up of the grand coalition within the CIO instead of an even stronger unity against ruling class attacks.

What happened in that dark period merits a volume of its own. *Highlights* includes many episodes, such as the activities of the Un-American Committee, the Smith Act trials, the murder of the Rosenbergs, the persecution of Paul Robeson, dismissals from employment, the virtual annulment of the First Amendment to the Constitution, requirement of loyalty oaths, deportation, the wire tap, and the manufactured testimony arranged by the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover.

* * *

Unlike previous socialist movements, the Communist Party from its founding directed attention to the thorny problem of racism, the ugly inheritance of chattel slavery. It is by no means accidental that the 60th anniversary convention of the Party has, along with the main political resolution, a companion declaration on Afro-American liberation.

The anthology details how the Party from its beginning pressed for the cleansing of white chauvinism from its own ranks to enable it to move against pervasive national discrimination imbedded in every area of social and economic circumstances. This early concern is expressed in articles from *The Daily Worker*, including an account by Bob Minor, the moving memoirs of Hosea Hudson, the proceedings of the Yokinin Trial and the large-scale drama of the Angelo Herndon Trial and the Scottsboro Case. We get a picture of the rise of people's

advocates in the persons of Ben Davis and William L. Patterson.

The totality of all these activities contributed to the evolution of a correct theoretical analysis of the condition of Black people. The Party arrived at this out of life experiences, not from cloistered towers of ivory.

This political chronology unfolds a consistency of Party policy in the field of international solidarity. The steadfastness to fraternal bonds have never been ruptured, not even in the face of repeated charges of "foreign agent" and "international Communist conspiracy." These fabrications continue and it is ironic that the inspiration for this slander stems from the powerful multinational corporations whose allegiance is to the cash register rather than to the nation.

As far back as 1924 C.E. Ruthenberg, first secretary of the Communist Party, called for support for "natural allies" in the West Indies, Central America, Hawaii and the Philippines and urged mass movements in support of their independence. In 1933 twenty-three thousand workers answered the call of the Communist Party in New York to protest against intervention in Cuba. Earlier in 1926 the Anti-Imperialist League, whose secretary was a Communist, denounced the Marines' invasion of Nicaragua to destroy the rebels led by General Augusto Sandino. Communists were supporters within the one hundred thousand who gathered in Harlem to protest Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. The Communists also joined with broad forces in the founding of the American League Against War and Fascism in the attempt to stave off the unmistakable trend toward a second world conflict.

Opportunism is a distortion within the Marxist movement which inevitably moves toward the severance of international working-class ties. Without its elimination the consequences send a party down a blind alley or, at the worst, culminate in catastrophe. In 1969 Gus Hall, the general secretary of the CPUSA, spoke on this subject at a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Following are some excerpts from the anthology which have particular relevance to the China of today.

There are two opposite approaches to the

question of relationships between internationalism and national interests. Whenever there are momentary differences between one's class, international responsibility and some specific national interests, opportunism will in all cases lead to the discounting of internationalism. Opportunism leads to an emphasis on difference and on seeming contradiction by its emphasis on nationalism. A working-class revolutionary concept will lead to a search for the points of unity. Opportunism will seek to widen the points of difference. A revolutionary concept leads to the elimination of the differences. The struggle for concepts of internationalism is a struggle against opportunism.

We . . . reject the concept that silence can disperse ideological differences and thus create the basis for unity. U.S. imperialism has never for a moment given up its drive to chip away at the unity of the socialist world. For it, the focus of the class struggle on the world scale is the Soviet Union. For it, the Soviet Union is the political and military power base of the world's working class. It views the Soviet Union as the main roadblock to its plan of world conquest. This has

been and remains the pivot of its imperialist policies.

Thus its main ideological attack is on the Soviet Union. U.S. capitalism is ready to make significant short range concessions to any group, party or state, if these concessions fit into the tactical or strategic plans of U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, into its plans of dividing the socialist sector and other forces of anti-imperialism.

At a time when the United States is being shaken by ever widening crises, it is profitable to read the history of the Communist Party of the United States. The deeds recounted give a portrait of a party that, for sixty years and up to this very moment, fights for the rights and needs of the working class. Indeed, *Highlights of a Fighting History*—although not an exhaustive political history of the CPUSA—is a must for all serious students of U.S. history, labor struggles, etc.

Highlights is truly "a history written by the makers of history"; and helps one to see a bit more clearly that "A better world's in birth."



BOOK ENDS



More Foster Stories

ART SHIELDS

William Z. Foster was the very best that the U.S. working class has produced. He was an American of a special mold. In many ways he was true to form as an average U.S. worker. But there was an important difference. He was very much part of his times. He was an American, but he was also a world citizen. He was a militant fighter for reforms, but he was, above all, a revolutionary. He was a keen student of history, but he left his footprints in the sands of history. He was a worker, but also an intellectual; an organizer, but also a student and teacher.

(Gus Hall in *Political Affairs*, February 1961, on Foster's ninetieth birthday)

More Pages From a Worker's Life, by William Z. Foster, edited and with an introduction by Arthur Zipser. American Institute of Marxist Studies, Occasional Paper No. 32 (1979), \$1.50.

"Bill" Foster was also a master storyteller. This side of his genius is reflected in the 117 autobiographical tales in *Pages From a Worker's Life*. These dramatic stories came out of his rich experiences like water from an overflowing dam. And each tale is a lesson in itself.

I was happy in getting many of these lessons from Foster's own lips before the *Pages* came out. I enjoyed this privilege during the CIO steel drive of 1936, which I reported for the *Daily Worker*. Foster—the best U.S. labor organizer, the leader of the first national steel strike, a chairman of the Communist Party and a cultured Marxist-Leninist—had come to Pittsburgh to meet with his comrades, who were the core of the CIO organizing staff. I stayed at the same place with Foster, and every morning I got another dramatic *Page* at the breakfast table.

Each story illustrates a political or tactical point that Foster, a fine teacher, was emphasizing. And the point often came at the end like an O'Henry climax.

Twenty-four more Foster stories have now been published by the American Institute for Marxist Studies. They come from the files of the late Sylvia Kolko, Foster's stepdaughter, whom he loved very much. She was his secretary during the 1919 steel strike when the storms of the Steel Trust beat upon them for three and a half months.

There are heroes and villains in these new *Pages*. We find fascinating word portraits of good and bad labor leaders and other public figures. We enjoy his travel stories and exposes of labor spies and we discover more dramatic incidents from Foster's dramatic life.

These stories indicate the wide variety of Foster's experiences. In one, called "Police Work," he is serving a sixty-day sentence in the Spokane jail for taking part in the I.W.W. free speech fight. In the cell with him was Jack, a tough-looking robber, who could not sleep. Jack tramps up and

down all night as he worries about a suitcase full of jewelry and other loot. He had stashed the stuff with an express company in a nearby town, and he was sick with fear because the express check was in his pocket when he was arrested and given a month's sentence on a vagrancy charge.

It looked as though Jack would have to spend several more years in prison. He had nothing to worry about, however. The jailers returned the check to Jack when his time expired. They did this because "Jack happened to be one of the most notorious undercover men and scabherders in the nearby Coeur d'Alene mining district." The jailers got the word and knew what to do. And Foster commented:

"Of such material as Jack do the employers build their strikebreaking forces. And the police give the bosses full cooperation in their alliance with the criminal underworld."

That's still true today.

One experience nearly cost Foster his life. He was firing an oil-burning locomotive on the Portland-Umatilla line in Oregon in 1907. The engine's flues and oil-feed valve were leaking. There was danger that the fire would be sucked out by the engine exhaust and the train would be stopped. To avoid this time loss the master mechanic expected firemen to disregard company safety rules and start the fire by a certain quicky device that might cause an explosion.

A violent explosion followed Foster's first use of this quicky device. The young fireman was knocked out. His face was badly scorched. He narrowly escaped blindness and spent days

under medical care.

But when the injured fireman appeared before the master mechanic he was soundly rebuked for violating safety rules. And Foster would have been fired for "impudence," when he talked back, if the union grievance man had not saved him.

This story is timely today. "Safety rules" are still dead letters on many jobs. They give bosses an opportunity to blame the workers, not the company, for accidents caused by speedup.

Foster's sketches of workers and leaders are fascinating. I relish especially the story of Ole Swanson, a logger, whom Foster worked with in the Oregon woods. He came from Sweden with Socialist ideas, which he stuck to while he worked for exploiters. Then came a dream of riches. He acquired a little cutover land, pulled out the stumps with endless labor and lived in poverty from odd jobs in logging camps, saw mills and fishing fleets. And after years of suffering, his labor was rewarded.

Ole built a farm, branched into chickens, prospered on high prices and expanded. In time a lovely Swanson bungalow was built with gorgeous flower beds; a spouting fountain; a well-stocked fish pond; and a big automobile.

The Swanson home was a sight-seeing spot in the forlorn cutover lands. Ole was planning to send his children to college. He was a shining American success. But he lost something precious—his Socialist ideas.

Then came the terrible economic crisis of 1929-1933. Swanson's

chickens, cows, bank account, bungalow and automobile were swept away. He told Foster about this at a Portland mass meeting in 1932 where Foster was speaking as the Communist Party's presidential candidate.

But Ole had one consolation. His troubles taught him, he said, that the Socialism he learned in Sweden was badly needed in the USA.

One of the pleasures I find in Foster's new *Pages* comes from meeting some great labor heroes and heroines again. Thus "Mother" Mary Jones, whom I met in the West Virginia coal fields, comes to life in a story of the 1919 steel strike.

"Mother's prestige was enormous," said Foster. Her "fiery militancy and homely oratory were highly stimulating to strikers facing terrorism and starvation." Above all she was an agitator of "tremendous vitality." "Although she was eighty-nine...she insisted on becoming one of the regular staff of organizers, facing all the work and danger that the others did."

And when "Mother" was arrested she was too hot to hold, as the cops found out in Homestead, Pa., on the eve of the strike. They pulled her in as she began speaking, but they soon found that they had a "hornet's nest on their hands."

A big throng of workers followed, "yelling and hooting indignantly." Movie houses emptied. Thousands of steel workers swarmed round the jailhouse. The cops wired for state police, but they had no time to wait. The workers were threatening to break down the doors. So the "stormy

petrel" of labor was soon talking unionism on the street again. And the meeting was triumphantly concluded before the "murderous state police came roaring into town."

In another *Page* we meet Tom Mooney, the iron molder. Tom was then a "fine, upstanding, powerful figure," whose body was not yet broken by twenty-two years behind the bars. This was in 1913, long before I visited Tom in San Quentin Prison, where he was serving a life term. Already in 1913 Tom had a "growing reputation as a militant fighter." He was framed on a murder charge in 1916 after a bomb explosion when he was leading a street car strike in San Francisco. An international defense campaign—in which Moscow Bolsheviks participated—saved Tom from the gallows. He was finally pardoned as an "innocent" man.

One fine story follows another as you turn the *Pages*. We see a Soviet Communist Party meeting through Foster's eyes in 1929. We watch the gaudy German emperor riding through Berlin in all his "barbaric finery" in 1911. We hobo to an international labor conference in Budapest that same year. And at home—in 1920—we find a reactionary labor leader outsmarting himself at a convention and losing the chance to become president of the American Federation of Labor. This was Matthew Woll, president of the Photoengravers, who was known as President Samuel Gompers' "Crown Prince."

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