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# political affairs

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**A Magazine Devoted to the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism**

Editorial Board: V. J. JEROME, Editor, ABNER W. BERRY, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN,  
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# Halt Wall Street Aggression In Asia!

A Statement by the Secretariat of the National Committee,  
Communist Party, June 27, 1950

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

Atomic war threatens the people of the world.

President Truman precipitated the danger of that catastrophe yesterday when he ordered hostilities against the peoples of Asia without an official declaration of war.

His orders speeding our bombers and warships to intervene against the Korean people are the adventurist, ruthless, aggressive, imperialist operations of Wall Street for domination of all Asia and the Pacific.

Look behind the manufactured headlines for the truth, fellow-Americans. For your lives, your children's lives, our country and the world are in danger.

The military provocation in Korea is planned as a smokescreen behind which to intervene against the struggle for independence of the peoples of Korea, China, Formosa, the Philippines, Viet Nam, Indonesia and Malaya.

They want the right to determine their own destiny. They have that right. In a few days, we Americans shall celebrate the day of our own independence, July 4, and Americans, of all peoples, know how dear that right is to the plain people of the world.

But the huge monopolies of Wall Street think otherwise. They would turn the clock back on the march of the world's peoples to freedom, to independence. Wall Street's puppet governments in Asia are crumbling fast because the proud peoples of the Pacific are on the march to liberation. They are at their Valley Forge. Hence the imperialists of this country have decreed armed intervention to bolster the crumbling positions of Asia's Syngman Rhees, Chiang Kai-sheks, Bao Dais—the corrupt, traitorous hirelings who have drenched their nations in blood.

These war moves of Wall Street's armed intervention are only in the interest of the big industrialists, the powerful bankers who mint their profits from the lives of plain people here and throughout the world. The interest, the will of the American people is for peace!

The bipartisan war coalition has solely one aim: to conquer the peoples of Asia, to rob them of their natural resources, to multiply Big Business' profits from a subjugated world.

This policy is catastrophic to the American people. It is not in our interests.

It was not to the benefit of the

German people when Hitler and the Krupps dreamed the same dream of world conquest. It was not to the world's interest when they moved in their aggressions under the guise of an anti-Communist axis, a slogan which President Truman yesterday dug out of the ruins. Where Hitler failed, Wall Street will not succeed.

Truman's effort to blame the socialist peoples of the Soviet Union flies in the face of history. The Soviet Union had withdrawn its troops from Korea a year and a half ago. Its policies are based upon the fact that a workers' and farmers' government wants peace; their nation has no Wall Street that plots war for the sake of profits. The American people must demand not a policy of hostility but that negotiations should take place between our Government and the Soviet Union for peace and friendship.

Truman's ruinous policies can only mean oceans of suffering for the American people as they already have to the peoples of Korea, of Asia. Those policies are not only catastrophic to our people, they endanger the entire world.

Hence those representatives on the United Nations Security Council who shamelessly hastened to do the bidding of Wall Street's representative merit the censure of the world.

Why did they hasten to place the "guilt" upon the people's government of Northern Korea? Why did they not investigate the facts, seek the truth?

Why did they ignore well-known facts about the Syngman Rhee government and its bloody tortures and imprisonment of all Korean patriots from left to conservative?

Why did they not ask the facts from a representative of the people's government of North Korea?

Why did they not ask what John Foster Dulles—spurned as senator from New York—was doing in Korea, standing in the front lines of the puppet government trenches, giving them their marching orders?

Why did the United Nations Security Council promptly rubber-stamp the demand of the United States imperialists? Why did they act without the presence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese representatives?

Think clearly, fellow-Americans, consider the facts deeply. The action of the United Nations Security Council was an additional smoke-screen behind which the Wall Street bipartisan coalition moved. The puppets who jerk to the pull of American Big Business acted as they did to further conceal the truth, to befuddle you and the peoples of the world so that the banker-generals can get away with murder.

Fellow-Americans: workers, trade-unionists, the Negro people, veterans, women, youth, do not be misled by these smokescreens.

Wall Street, which robs you of your hard-earned rights, which cuts your wages, which dangles the Taft-Hartley sword over your head—is the aggressor in Korea, China, Formosa,

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the Philippines, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya.

Our country, our sons and daughters, are in grave danger.

Demand a halt to the aggressive military adventures of our Administration before they touch off worldwide atomic war.

It is in our interest, posterity's interest, to demand full support to the peoples of Korea, China, Formosa, the Philippines, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, in their brave struggle for unity, for independence, for liberation.

Hand off Korea! No interference with the Korean people's right to a free, united and independent Korea.

Hands off Korea! Demand the immediate withdrawal of United States warships and air force and an end to shipment of arms to the puppet Rhee government.

Not a cent, not a gun, not a plane

for Wall Street's puppet regimes in Korea, Formosa, Viet Nam.

Demand the seating of China's new democratic government in the Security Council so that the Soviet Union can participate and make the United Nations a functioning body.

Ban the atomic bomb and declare that government an enemy of mankind that first uses it.

For direct negotiations between the United States, the Soviet Union and China for peace.

We must—all of us who cherish freedom, who abhor atomic death for hundreds of millions—unite our ranks, combine in a solid front of the peoples for peace.

GUS HALL  
HENRY WINSTON  
JOHN WILLIAMSON

*National Secretariat of the  
Communist Party*

## KOREA MUST NOT BECOME ANOTHER HIROSHIMA

*A Statement issued by William Z. Foster, National Chairman; Gus Hall, National Secretary; Henry Winston, Organizational Secretary; and John Williamson, Labor Secretary, in behalf of the National Committee of the Communist Party, June 30, 1950.*

ON THURSDAY, President Truman refused to say that American land troops or atomic weapons would not be used in the attempt to conquer the heroic people of North and South Korea.

Friday, he announced that land troops are being thrown into action

and that bombing of Korean civilians is no longer confined below the 38th parallel.

What assurance have we that tomorrow the President of the United States will not tell us that he has ordered the atomic destruction of Seoul, and that all Korea has been

reduced to the ashes of another Hiroshima?

Wall Street's government is carrying us, step by step, toward total disaster. Now the steps are those of seven-league boots.

The Korean people have demonstrated their determination to win a united and democratic country, and refuse to murder each other at the command of Gen. MacArthur. This in itself is a compelling reason for calling a halt to all U.S. imperialist intervention in Korea. Certainly it is no excuse for committing American land forces to a criminal and reckless adventure that can only endanger the national security of our country, bring national dishonor upon us all and wreck world peace.

### A LETTER TO TRYGVE LIE\*

Hon. Trygve Lie,  
United Nations,  
Lake Success,  
Long Island, New York.

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Reports coming from Washington today demand from you immediate assurance that the United Nations has not sanctioned, and will not sanction, the use of atomic weapons against the people of Korea.

Emergency action on your part is urgently required now. Tomorrow it may be too late.

\* Addressed on July 12, 1950.

Every American who values his own life and all human life should vigorously protest today's action to President Truman and Congress and demand an end to the undeclared war against the colored peoples of Asia and the Pacific.

All peace-minded Americans, and in the first place labor and the Negro people, should make the July 4th weekend an all-out people's mobilization for hundreds of thousands of signatures to the Stockholm World Peace Pledge.

Hands off Korea!

Not a man, not a gun, not a plane for mass murder!

Outlaw the A- and H-bombs by international agreement!

by William Z. Foster and Gus Hall

The reports which convince us that plans are afoot for the early use of atomic weapons by the United States are as follows:

1) In tonight's New York *Post* Robert S. Allen reveals that President Truman told a congressional group that the military situation in Korea is serious, and added that Gen. MacArthur has a "Sunday punch" up his sleeve.

2) Senator Brewster of Maine urged that Gen. MacArthur be given full authority to use the atom bomb. Rep. Bentsen of Texas today called for an atomic ultimatum—and was

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applauded by the House of Representatives.

3) In his press conference today, Secretary of State Acheson gratuitously blasted the World Peace Pledge, which brands as a war criminal any government that first uses atomic weapons, and calls for outlawing the atombomb through international agreement and inspection. Asked about the use of atomic weapons, Mr. Acheson replied that the choice of weapons is "incidental," and that what counts is that an "act of aggression" has been committed.

4) In the last few days, MacArthur's headquarters have obviously been attempting to create the psychological climate for such mass murder. This is the only explanation for the fake atrocity stories to which we are being subjected, and the efforts to portray the Korean people as "bandits" and "yellow-eyed animals."

5) The American imperialist interventionists have already suffered serious military and political defeats in Korea. It is not surprising that in desperation they now yearn to put into practice the threats with which they have vainly sought to terrify all humanity.

The United Nations suffered grave loss of prestige when it surrendered its moral and legal authority to the American State Department three weeks ago. Now peace-loving peoples everywhere will demand more than an assurance that the U.N. has not already sanctioned atomic war in Korea. They will demand guarantees

that the U.N. is doing more than wait again until the damage has been done in order to give its blessing to disaster.

At this critical hour, the existence of the human race as well as that of the United Nations hangs in the balance. Your high office and obligation to all nations places a heavy responsibility on your shoulders. The fact that your acquiescence shielded the U.S. invasion of Korea now makes it mandatory that you act before your silence can be taken to mean U.N. assent to atomic war.

We, too, feel a special responsibility which is imposed on us and on all Americans of all political and religious beliefs. For the people of our country can only purge themselves of war guilt if they act together now—with resolute determination to stay the hands of those who in their name would bring atomic disaster upon all humanity.

Therefore, Mr. Secretary General, we urge that you at once declare that the United Nations will not lend itself to any maneuver designed to permit the use of atomic weapons in Korea, but will on the contrary brand such action as a crime against mankind. We urge also that you renew your earlier efforts to secure the outlawing of atomic weapons through international agreement, and initiate new U.N. endeavors to end U.S. intervention in Korea now.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, *Chairman,*  
GUS HALL, *National Secretary,*  
*Communist Party of the U.S.A.*

# Wall Street's War Against the Korean People

(An Editorial Article)

by Betty Gannett

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM has unleashed war—a reckless adventurist war of annihilation—in order to drown in blood the struggle of 30,000,000 people on the Korean peninsula for national unification and independence, for a free and democratic life. American planes rain bombs on Korean cities and villages, pulverizing Korean factories, murdering and maiming Korean men, women and children. American troops die in agony, thousands of miles away from American shores—not to promote the cause of freedom and liberation, but to perpetuate colonial enslavement and further to enrich the handful of bloated Wall Street billionaires.

In the early mist of June 25, the troops of Syngman Rhee, the United States-trained tyrannical puppet imposed on the people of South Korea, crossed the 38th Parallel, dividing line between North and South Korea, to fulfill the mission of bringing all Korea under the heel of Wall Street. This fact the imperialist press and radio “discreetly” keep from the people of our country. Promised the support of the full military might of the main imperialist power in the world today, the reactionary Syng-

man Rhee clique felt the day had at last come to regain the “lost land” of the North and thus repay the debt to their Wall Street patrons and backers. And Syngman Rhee was not left stranded. U.S. sea and naval forces, followed by ground troops, were rushed to Korea to “save the democratic state” of Syngman Rhee.

## “OPERATION DESPERATION”

It is not concern for Korean “democracy and independence,” but the strategy of world expansion and domination, that explains the present Far Eastern venture of the American war-makers, who have now replaced the Hitler gang as the chief instigators of wars of conquest. All the high-sounding phrases of “pacific” objectives, protection of “democracy and independence” from “aggression and invasion,” cannot hide the undeniable truth that Wall Street is warring against the people of Korea, against the peoples of all Asia.

American imperialism, bent on establishing its sway over the entire world, has now entered the open military phase of its intervention in the affairs of nations and peoples, to

defeat and strangle the resolute and heroic national liberation movements spreading throughout the colonial world.

To unleash World War III, war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the main obstacles in their path of world conquest, the Wall Street imperialists aim first to crush the national liberation movements in all parts of the world. The brutal aggression against Korea opens the military phase of the cold war, the phase of armed imperialist attack against the great and heroic liberation movements of the colonial peoples in Asia.

The war in Korea is not a civil war. It is not a war between the people of the North and the South. It is not, as the Truman-Acheson-Dulles bipartisan combination would have the American people believe, a war to "repel the Communist invasion of South Korea" and to stop "aggression against a democratic republic." It is a war of imperialist aggression. It is Wall Street's war!

American dollars and arms have poured into Asia, the Near East and Western Europe, ever since the end of World War II, to prop up every reactionary regime maintained in power against the will of the majority of the people in these lands. But American imperialism needed the Korean "incident" to speed up its war drive, to intervene *openly* in the countries of the Pacific where the imperialists have not succeeded in

"containing" the liberation struggles under the guise of "containing" Communism.

Thus, in violation of the Cairo and Potsdam agreements, the 7th Fleet of the U.S. Navy has been dispatched to Formosa to prevent its restoration to China. Arms are being rushed to Indo-China to save the doomed regime of the French imperialists and their traitor-puppet Bao Dai and to re-enslave the valiant Viet Nameese people who are being liberated under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. Further military aid is rushed to the corrupt quisling Quirino government in the Philippines to tighten American imperialist control of that island which is virtually a colony of the United States, despite nominal independence, to transform the country into a vital base of operations for World War III, and to destroy the indomitable courageous fight of the Hukbalahaps determined to wrest true independence from their American enslavers. And in this whole strategy, Dictator MacArthur's "democratic Japan" is to play again the role of gendarme of the Far East and serve as the main base of the U.S. war offensive against the peoples of the colonies, against China and the Soviet Union.

More than one-third of world humanity has been wrested from the orbit of imperialism. Hundreds of millions more are determined to make *their* lands *their own*—and to sweep away the centuries-long colonial oppression. Every move of in-

tervention by the American imperialists to turn back the clock of history can lead only to their disaster and hasten the crash of imperialism throughout the world. But, like the Hitlerites, the frenzied rulers of America are determined to gamble, to gamble with the lives of other people, with the lives of American men, women and children. "Operation Desperation," as Congressman Marcantonio aptly dubbed American foreign policy, characterizes the reckless, adventurist actions of the ruling circles of our land. For imperialism is panicked with fear—fear of the people. As Mao Tse-tung states: "Imperialism is outwardly strong but feeble within, because it has no support among the people."

#### WALL STREET'S "FREEDOM CRUSADE"

With the most cynical of lies and maneuvers the Wall Street robber barons camouflage their true aims and pose as champions of the long-cherished aspirations of the colonial people for democracy and independence. Thus, the suave head of our State Department, addressing the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on March 15, declared in a speech couched in the most hypocritical language:

So far as we are concerned, we know that we are interested in the peoples of Asia as people. We want to help them as people. We do not want to take anything from them for ourselves. We do

not want to use them for any purpose of our own.

We must understand that a new era is in full course in Asia. That the whole great region, containing more than half the population of the world, is changing profoundly. The significance of that change, the reason the change is irrevocable, is that it is brought about by a deep and revolutionary movement of the peoples of Asia . . . revulsion against misery and poverty as the normal condition of life . . . revulsion against foreign domination. . . . The desire for national independence is the most powerful spontaneous force in Asia today.

To reconcile these noble words with bloody imperialist deeds, the military intervention in Korea must needs be turned into a "peace mission" to protect the people's "right to independence," while the heroic fight of the Korean people for independence becomes a "Communist invasion" incited by "Soviet imperialism." American troops are sent to Korea ostensibly, not as mercenaries of Wall Street, but as "liberators." American bombs are not really devastating Korean cities, they are protecting Korean "freedom." The benevolent monopolist rulers of America are not at all interested in the vast colonial markets. They have no intention to rob these lands of their rich natural resources. They do not seek the "cheap labor" of the colonies from whom to squeeze out super-profits. Their aims are purely "altruistic," "humanitarian."

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man" fifteen million American Negroes, and whose vile white chauvinism poisons the very air of the country have miraculously become the true champions of the liberation of the colored colonial masses. How symbolic of Wall Street's "freedom crusade" is the fact that the strains of "Dixie"—the hymn of the Southern lynchers—greeted the arrival of the U.S. troops in South Korea!

This despicable deception is echoed by the labor reformists, by the Social-Democrats and by liberals with few exceptions indeed. Thus, that great "liberal" Dr. Frank Kingdon tries to convince the readers of the Social-Democratic *New York Post* (July 6), that imperialism is really not imperialism and that murderous imperialist aggression is its very opposite. He writes:

We are in Korea to prevent international Communism from swallowing it, and to prove to all nations of Asia that we are ready to defend them also.

And he ends by rolling his eyes to heaven:

This is not imperialism in any sense.

But Wall Street and its Social-Democratic lackeys have a hard time explaining why it is that not Soviet troops, but American, British, French, and Dutch troops carry on imperialist war against the colonial peoples. They have a hard time explaining why there are no Soviet "profiteers" who rob these lands of their rich natural resources and doom the pop-

ulations to pauperism. They have a hard time explaining why the colonial peoples show no fear of the Wall Street-manufactured "Communist menace," but vent their hatred against their imperialist colonizers and their running dogs, the national betrayers. They have a hard time explaining why colonial peoples do not embrace the "gift-bearing" imperialists, but instead rally to the cause of national liberation, under the leadership of their Communist Parties.

This perplexes the top press agents of American imperialism. Thus, Walter Lippmann writes in the *New York Herald-Tribune* on June 29:

A measure of the difficulties is that in the disputed areas—China, Korea, Formosa, Indo-China, Malaya—Soviet influence and power have expanded without the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. being committed. On the other hand, nowhere on the mainland of Far Eastern Asia has Communism been contained except by committing French, British or American forces.

The expansion of the Communist orbit is being carried out by Asiatic forces. The containment of Communism involves everywhere European or American forces. Nowhere have the Asiatic anti-Communists, even with Western backing, been able to withstand the Asiatic Communists with their Russian backing. Always it is necessary for the Westerners to participate in the fighting itself. Yet, never has it been necessary for the Russians to do that.

What have we here but an ad-

mission that the peoples of Asia fight with their *own* forces for their *own* liberation against the violent resistance of the imperialist powers who desperately strive to maintain their slipping hold on their colonies? Is not the Lippmann statement a clear admission that stemming "Soviet aggression" is in actuality stemming the tide of national liberation? All the lies of "Soviet aggression" cannot destroy the great prestige of the Land of Socialism among the colonial peoples.

#### THE ROLE OF THE U.S.S.R.

But what explains the great moral leadership of the U.S.S.R. among the colonial masses? Comrade Gus Hall, speaking at Madison Square Garden on June 28 stated: "There is no mysterious 'Asiatic blood tie' that turns these people toward the Soviet Union as toward the rising sun."

The victorious Socialist revolution of 1917 and the triumph of Socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface transformed the Tsarist prison-of-nations into a fraternal union of free and equal Socialist nations. The Tsarist-bred poverty, misery and tyranny have been replaced with a life of growing abundance, equality and flourishing national cultures. The colonial peoples have learned in the past thirty years that the Soviet Union points the road to the elimination of the oppression of one nation by another, to the abolition of the ex-

ploitation of man by man. They have seen the land of Socialism as the foremost champion of the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples and dependent nations, and as a respecter of the national rights and dignity of all peoples. They know that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union shows no disparity between words and deeds; and that in words and deeds it is a policy of defending the sovereign equality of small nations, of supporting the liberation struggle of the colonial masses.

In Korea the people have had the opportunity to witness the liberating role of the Soviet Army as contrasted with the chauvinist enslaving role of the American military authorities.

It was the Soviet Army that routed the Japanese usurpers of Korea, when, on August 15, 1945, it marched into the peninsula. In the very first days of liberation the Command of the Soviet Army issued the following address to the people of Korea announcing their liberation:

Citizens of Korea! Your country is now free. But this is only the first page in the history of Korea.

Just as a flowering garden is the result of the work and care of Man, happiness also can be achieved by the heroic struggle and tireless work of the Korean people.

Citizens of Korea! Remember that happiness lies in your hands! You now have your freedom. Everything now depends upon you, yourselves.

The Soviet Army has created all the conditions to enable the Korean people

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to embark upon free creative work.

You, yourselves, must now become the creators of your own happiness.

These were not only eloquent words. These words were translated into deeds. Immediately, People's Committees, representative of all sections of the population, as organs of power of the liberated people, sprang up throughout all Korea. Broad democratic reforms were introduced, including universal suffrage, the secret ballot and the equal status of women. A sweeping land reform was carried through and over one million hectares of land which had been stolen by the Japanese authorities were distributed among 725,000 land-hungry peasant families. Industry that had been owned by the Japanese and their collaborators was nationalized, with the benefits accruing to the people. The eight-hour day, provisions for social insurance, and elimination of child labor became the law of the land. The Korean language, which had been forcibly supplanted by the Japanese language, once again came into its own, and a system of public education was developed to overcome the widespread illiteracy imposed by imperialist Japan. The people became their own rulers!

Owen Lattimore, in his book *The Situation in Asia*, which is strongly marked by an anti-Soviet bias, acknowledges the changes in Northern Korea. Thus he writes:

When 80 per cent of the wealth of a country, including not only the facto-

ries but all the farming land worth owning, is in the hands of hated conquerors, and the conquerors are suddenly removed, the people who get their hands on most of the property formerly owned by the conquerors automatically become a ruling class. It is as simple as that. . . . To make sure that the land stayed with the peasants to whom it was given, the Russians had to do two things. They had to organize peasant unions, so that farm labor could be co-operatively organized, thus making up as far as possible for the deficiency of capital; and they had to deprive of power those Koreans who knew the legal and political tricks of getting peasants into debt and out of their land. The problem largely solved itself: Koreans of this kind made for the border as fast as they could, in order to join up with the similar Koreans who were already getting the key political and economic jobs with the Americans.\*

#### WALL STREET OVER SOUTH KOREA

But what was the role of the American military authorities? How did the people fare in South Korea? As is known, American troops landed in South Korea on September 8, 1945, when Japan had already signed the act of surrender, and Korea was temporarily divided into two zones along the 38th Parallel. The MacArthur "liberators" issued an order to the people of South Korea which is a study in contrast to the cited order issued by the Soviet command. MacArthur's ukase read:

\* Boston, 1949. pp. 93-94.

The entire administrative power on the territory of Korea, south of Parallel 38, is under my jurisdiction. The population should unreservedly obey the orders issued over my signature. Those acting against the occupation troops or violating order and tranquillity will be mercilessly and severely punished. For the period of the military occupation, English is introduced as the official language.\*

This chauvinist arrogance and brutal contempt for the Korean people was soon to become a hellish reality. The People's Committees were quickly dispersed; for the "democracy-bearing" Americans did not consider the Koreans "ready" for self-government. In fact, General Hodge kept the Japanese Governor-General Abe in his post "to prevent the chaos" that would result if the Japanese were ousted. Only after a veritable tempest of public indignation was Abe finally removed, and pro-Japanese elements, landlords and exploiters brought into leading posts.

Under that type of administration, anti-Japanese resistance leaders and Korean patriots were persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and murdered. The South Korean Federation of Trade Unions, with a membership of 500,000, was broken up, strikes were outlawed and workers attending "unauthorized" meetings were jailed. Land was denied the landless peasants, but was grabbed up by the Japanese collaborators and the Amer-

\* The texts of both the Soviet and U.S. pronouncements are contained in the article by Kim Ir Sung, published in this issue.

ican authorities. Wall Street "bought into" the rich ore deposits, the industries and land of the country. Child labor was rampant and workers were compelled to work 80 to 90 hours a week. Even the U.S. dominated U.N. Commission in Korea had to report that between December 1945 and January 1948 prices had jumped twenty times.

Then the American military authorities put into power the national traitor Syngman Rhee in an election carried through at the point of the bayonet. With the aid of American dollars and arms he wreaked vengeance on the Korean people, subjecting them to hunger, torture, slavery and murder. There was a shortage of jails and cemeteries. Small wonder that his regime evoked the hatred of the Korean people.

Lattimore states further:

The [South Korean] army cannot be trusted to fight; the people do not trust the government; the government cannot be depended on, and does not depend on itself: it appeals for continued American occupation and protection. . . . America, which has in China complained of the bad luck of having inherited the Koumintang through no fault of its own, has in Korea manufactured its own Koumintang. To support our proclaimed policy of world-wide opposition to police states, we have in South Korea created a weak and unreliable police state of our own.\*

This is the democracy the United States brought to Korea! Only an

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

outright warmongering Social-Democrat like David J. Dallin can demagogically write:

Here were two Koreas—one a Soviet colony, oppressed and impoverished; the other twice as populous, backed by America, recognized by the United Nations, and on its way to democratic statehood.

And this "socialist" war incendiary becomes hysterical in unrestrained anticipation of World War III:

A victorious Southern army, aided by American forces, would not think at halting at the Thirty-eighth parallel; it would smash all artificial barriers and sweep across the country to the Northern frontiers where Korea meets Manchuria and Russia. For the people of Korea, the hour of liberation and unification has struck. . . . (*New Leader*, July 8, 1950.)

There are no words to express the mire of degradation and inhumanity in which this anti-Socialist scum that calls itself "Socialist" wallows. The whole existence of this pseudo-socialist camp is to furnish signposts to imperialism for its war of world conquest.

But fortunately the Korean people spurn the advice of the Dallins. They have repudiated Syngman Rhee's "democracy." The Southern Korean troops are not marching "victoriously" through Northern Korea. They have just "melted away," scrambled to the hills. The people of South Korea refuse to fight their Northern brothers,

with whom they feel themselves as one. Not "infiltrating agents" but Southern Koreans constitute the guerrilla fighters against the American interventionists. Indeed the hour of liberation has struck for the Korean people!

Since the Korean fighting began, the monopoly-controlled press and radio have been dinning into the ears of the people that the disintegration of the Southern Korean army is "proof" that it was caught by "surprise" when the "Soviet-inspired North Korean Reds attacked."

The aggression against the people of Korea was indeed prepared long in advance—however, not by the Socialist Soviet Union, not by liberated China, not by the Korean People's Democratic Republic—but by the Wall Street imperialists as a phase of their entire world war strategy. Their plans rested on the premise that the "rigorously trained" Syngman Rhee troops could readily overrun the area of North Korea, encounter little if any resistance from the people "living in distress," and then confront the world with a *fait accompli*—a "united Korea"!

This aggressive step by U.S. imperialism was clearly dictated by the unfolding within all Korea of an overwhelming movement for peaceful unification and for an end to the Rhee tyranny. That the impending peaceful unification could be forestalled only by force of arms was evidenced in the fact that as late as June 7, the Central Committee of

the United Democratic Fatherland Front called for a conference of all democratic and public organizations of South and North Korea to discuss conditions for the country's peaceful unification and the carrying through of a general election on August 5-8 to elect a governing body.

Wall Street could not afford to lose face again. It could not allow this further blow to its expansionist foreign policy. It had to act quickly and decisively. Secretary of Defense Johnson, Chief of the General Staff Bradley, and the Republican consultant John Foster Dulles met in Tokyo with General MacArthur and mapped out the grand strategy. Dulles was dispatched to South Korea, where he implemented the plan and assured the Southern Korean traitors that they would be backed to the hilt for playing "worthily" their part "in the great design of human freedom."

When the Syngman Rhee troops crossed the 38th Parallel they moved in accord with a plan, knowing full well they could count on the military support of their Wall Street creators.

But the imperialists miscalculated. The "liberty-bearing" Syngman Rhee troops did not get very far—only five miles beyond the 38th Parallel. And, in a matter of hours they were repulsed and driven back. The liberation forces of North Korea launched a counter-offensive, to smash the troops of Syngman Rhee who had no support among the people, in order to create the conditions

for the establishment of a united democratic state.

What better way for the Truman-Dulles bipartisans to cover up their criminal plan than by claiming innocence and charging the victim with aggression? Why not allege aggression now against the very people who were forced to take up arms to defend their independence and prevent enslavement? And this fable of North Korean "aggression" is repeated as gospel truth by labor lieutenants of Wall Street, weak-kneed liberals, Social Democrats and the Trotskyite and Titoite scum.

#### U.S. OVER U.N.

Wall Street also tries to mask its military intervention in Korea as a fulfillment of the behests of the United Nations, as an action that has "universal support." In actuality the United States acted first and then received sanction from the United Nations. To put it bluntly, not the United States carried out the behests of the United Nations, but the United Nations carried out the behests of the United States.

The fact is that the hurriedly assembled session of the Security Council on June 25, obedient to the U.S. delegation, placed the "guilt" for the war not on the real aggressors but on the North Korean People's Government. But this meeting did not call for military sanctions; it issued a cease-fire order and called for the withdrawal of North Korean troops

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to the 38th Parallel. On June 26, in prompt defiance of the U.S. Constitution, Truman ordered American planes and ships to Korea. After the fact, on June 27, the U.S. delegation sought and, of course, secured passage of its resolution in the Security Council calling for military sanctions. Thus, the U.N. was reduced to a rubber-stamp for U.S. imperialism.

The United Nations, by allowing itself to be thus used by American imperialism, went even further than the old League of Nations in the early 'thirties. The latter aided Hitler aggression by paralyzing the actions of the non-aggressor states under the guise of "non-intervention." The United Nations, by O.K.'ing Wall Street's war on Korea, as well as by refusing to condemn its intervention in Formosa, the Philippines, and Viet Nam, cynically *endorsed* aggression.

What is more, the Security Council has reduced the U.N. Charter to a scrap of paper, brazenly violating its provisions, and arrogantly speaking in the name of a Security Council illegally constituted.

Before the ink on its cease-fire order had dried, the Security Council called for military sanctions. But the U.N. Charter specifically demands that military sanctions be applied only after the Council has exhausted every other possible measure to stop aggression.

One of the fundamental principles on which the United Nations was created was the unanimity principle of the five permanent members of

the Security Council — the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and France. The U.N. Charter provides that decisions on such decisive questions as military sanctions shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members of the Security Council, and *must include* the vote of five permanent members. But the Security Council acted without the presence of the Soviet Union, without the presence of China, who to this day has been deliberately barred by American imperialism from its rightful seat in the Security Council. By the fact that this basic provision of the U.N. Charter was violated, the Council's decision, as the Soviet Government has charged, is clearly illegal and has no validity.

The bipartisans in the Pentagon may glory in the "universal support" they have received for their venture. But this "universal support" is a mere sham. Universal are the peoples of the world—and the peoples of the world are not behind the dastardly pledges of their governments.

In the very countries, whose governments endorsed American imperialist intervention, the people have spoken out in entirely different terms.

With renewed energy, the partisans of peace continue to sign up hundreds of millions of men and women, young and old, for the World Peace Appeal calling for the outlawing of atomic weapons. Thousands upon thousands of peace committees, embracing millions, are at work in the shops and mines, the cities, villages

and hamlets. The peoples of the world, in their overwhelming majority—see in the courageous struggle of the Korean people for liberation a fight that is their own—a fight to maintain peace. Solidarity movements with the peoples of Korea have emerged in country after country. Demonstrations, relief and medical aid, actions to stop the shipment of troops and ammunition to Korea and Asia, resolutions demanding the withdrawal of U.S. imperialist troops from Korea, give the lie to Truman's claim of "universal support."

#### THE PEOPLE MUST ACT

But the people of the United States, in the first place the working masses of our country, bear the greatest responsibility in the present critical days. It is "our" imperialism that has launched this suicidal war against the people of Korea. It is "our" imperialism that has sharpened the danger of a new world war. It is "our" imperialism that brandishes the threat of the atom bomb over the Korean people and over all peoples.

The million signatures secured to date in the U.S.A. for the World Peace Appeal shows that the common people—the workers, the Negro people, the farmers—in our own country, want peace not war. The fact that the majority of these signatures were secured after the war in Korea had begun is confirmation of the strong will for peace that is rising in the country. It is the growing desire for

peace which explains the offensive launched against the peace movement as a "Soviet plot," and the arrest and harassment of peace signature collectors.

Among the Negro people especially a veritable tide of anti-imperialist opposition to the war designs of Wall Street imperialism is rising. The Negro people have not been beguiled by Wall Street's "freedom crusade." They know with what brutality and cynicism the rulers of our land deny the Negro people even the most elementary democratic rights, how they use the lyncher's faggot and the policeman's gun to keep the Negro people in subjection. They know that the Wall Street-Bourbon oppressors of the Negro people want to spread peonage, the chain-gang, disfranchisement, the murder and terror of the Black Belt of the South to the colored peoples the world over. In the spreading colonial liberation movement, in the free China, the Negro people of the United States gain new inspiration and courage to unfold their own struggle for liberation.

The misleaders of labor—the Murrays, Greens, Careys, Reuthers and Dubinskys—have said Amen to Wall Street's war of aggrandizement. Having betrayed the interests of the American workers to the Truman war program, they have organized a war of their own to silence opposition to the imperialist war drive, to bind the workers to the bipartisan war chariot. Expelling the Left and Communist forces from the C.I.O., foist-

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ing upon the workers long cold-war contracts, joining in the F.B.I. witch-hunt against Communists—they have now taken a further step. Recently they held counsel with government officials; without permission of their membership they pledged support to Wall Street's war on the Korean people; they asked for leadership in the task of regimenting the ranks of labor for the war program of the men of the trusts.

Do these men speak for the millions of workers in America? Do these men reflect the concern and troubled minds of the workers who in the five short years since the end of the last war have seen one gain after another whittled away and replaced by a brutal speedup, lower wages, worsened working conditions and repressive legislation to limit labor's rights? Do these men speak for the Negro workers, most of whom having been driven out of industry and subjected once again to the white chauvinist pattern of "first to be fired and last to be hired"? Do these men speak for the fathers and mothers whose sons are to be sent to battle to die for Wall Street's profits—for an unjust cause—for a cause that can only increase the miseries of the working masses at home?

These men do not speak for the interests of the working masses—they speak for the interests of the exploiters—the hated men of the trusts.

The American working class must not heed the words of their misleaders. They must rise up to their

international responsibility. They must realize that the aggressive policies of the bipartisans do not arise from the interests of the people but correspond to the rapacious greed of the handful of monopolists who exploit the working people at home and who seek to subjugate the peoples of the entire world.

To support Wall Street's drive for world conquest is to bear the onus of responsibility before the world working class for the crimes of Wall Street. That was the historical responsibility of the German working class when it failed to resist Hitler's maniacal war plans for aggression.

Not as mercenaries *for* Wall Street—but as active fighters *against* Wall Street—that is the path the workers of the United States must choose, in their own interests, in the interests of peace, in the interest of social progress. The struggle of the colonial masses for independence against imperialist oppression is bound up with the struggles of the working class everywhere for peace, democracy and Socialism. The enemy of the colonial people is simultaneously the enemy of the American working class, of the Negro people, of all oppressed and exploited.

The American working class in its millions, together with the Negro people, the exploited farmers, the city middle classes—must speak out and act for peace before it is too late.

Demand Wall Street get out and stay out of Korea. For the imme-

mediate withdrawal of American troops, planes and ships from Korea, Formosa and all of Asia. Support the right of the Korean people to independence.

Rebuild the U.N. in the spirit of the U.N. Charter. Demand the seating of People's China. Make it possible for the Soviet Union to resume its place in the Security Council. No Hoover-type U.N. to serve as a tool of Wall Street!

Stop the fascist assaults on the democratic rights of the American people. Defeat the police-state Mundt-

Ferguson Bill and Hobbs Concentration-Camp Bill. For immediate amnesty for Eugene Dennis, foremost champion of peace, and for all political prisoners of Wall Street's cold war.

For the unbreakable unity of Negro and white to defend the rights of the Negro people. For the immediate passage of F.E.P.C.

Outlaw atomic weapons. Roll up 5,000,000 signatures of American men and women, young and old, to the World Peace Appeal!

by Kim  
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# To the People of Korea\*

by Kim Ir Sung

Chairman, Party of Labor of Korea

ON THE MORNING of June 26, Kim Ir Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, made the following statement over the radio to the people:

Dear countrymen! Dear brothers and sisters, men of our People's Army and partisans operating in the southern part of our Republic! On behalf of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic I address you. On June 25, the army of the puppet government of the traitor Syngman Rhee, began an offensive against the territory to the north of the 38th Parallel. In fierce battles, the border guards, fighting courageously, parried the blow and stopped the offensive of the troops of the Syngman Rhee puppet army. Having discussed the situation, the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic gave an order to our People's Army to begin a resolute counter-offensive and to rout the armed forces of the enemy. Carrying out the order of the Government of the

Korean People's Democratic Republic, the People's Army threw back the enemy from the territory to the north of the 38th Parallel and advanced 10-15 kilometers to the south, liberating the towns of Ongjin, Einang, Kaesong, Pochon and a number of other towns and populated centers.

The treacherous Syngman Rhee clique unleashed the anti-people's internecine war despite the fact that the patriotic democratic forces of our country fought for the unification of the country in a peaceful way. The whole world knows that the Syngman Rhee clique, which opposes the peaceful unification of the homeland has, for a long time, prepared for fratricidal war. While the people of South Korea were starving, the puppet Syngman Rhee Government spent a great part of its budget funds, forcibly extracted from the population by unbearable taxes, for armament and preparations for fratricidal war. Striving to unleash internecine war the reactionary Syngman Rhee clique hastened to prepare its rear for this. It established a reactionary police regime in South Korea. To justify the preparations for inter-

\* Kim Ir Sung's address to the people of Korea and his article which follows are reprinted from *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy!*, June 30, 1950.

recine war, the Syngman Rhee clique constantly provoked military clashes along the 38th Parallel, creating an atmosphere of disquiet in the country and seeking to place the responsibility for these provocations on the authorities of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. In the course of the preparations for the "march to the North," the traitors, acting on the orders of the American imperialists, were not ashamed to enter into a conspiracy with the hateful enemies of the Korean people—the Japanese militarists.

Kim Ir Sung then dwelt on the extremely difficult economic situation of South Korea into which it was plunged by the anti-people's Syngman Rhee clique.

Dear countrymen, Kim Ir Sung continued, the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, together with all patriotic democratic parties and public organizations, together with the people of the whole of Korea made every effort to avoid the calamity of fratricidal war and to unite our country in a peaceful way, without bloodshed. As far back as April 1948, the joint meeting of the representatives of parties and public organizations of North and South Korea made the first attempt to ensure the peaceful unification of the country. However, this attempt was frustrated by the Syngman Rhee clique who, in May 1948, by carrying out, with the help of the American imperialists and

their instrument—the U.N.O. Commission for Korea—separate, falsified elections in South Korea, intensified preparations for an armed attack on the northern part of the country.

To achieve the peaceful unification and full independence of the country, 71 patriotic parties and public organizations rallied in the United Democratic Fatherland Front of Korea and, in June last year, advanced a proposal concerning the peaceful unification of the country by holding a general election. This proposal was warmly supported by the entire Korean people. However, the realization of this proposal was again frustrated by the perfidious Syngman Rhee clique.

Expressing the opinion of the people striving for a peaceful unification of the country, the United Democratic Fatherland Front, on June 7, 1950, advanced a proposal to effect the unification of the country in a peaceful way. However, the treacherous Syngman Rhee clique prevented the realization of this proposal by the United Democratic Fatherland Front also, declaring that it would regard as traitors all those who participate in measures aimed at carrying out the proposal concerning peaceful unification.

Taking into account the firm will of the Korean people for unification, independence and democratic development of the country and also taking into consideration the desire of democratic political parties and or

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ganizations, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea proposed on June 19 to effect the peaceful unification of the country by uniting the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the so-called National Assembly of South Korea into a single legislative organ for the whole of Korea. But the Syngman Rhee clique, to whom the interests of the Korean people are alien, replied to the proposal for the peaceful unification of the country, for which the entire people are waiting, by starting a fratricidal war. By means of fratricidal war, the Syngman Rhee clique is seeking to establish in the northern part of the Republic, the reactionary anti-people's regime which existed under the Japanese and which exists at present in the southern part of the Republic; to liquidate the Korean People's Democratic Republic and take away from our people the successes achieved by them in the matter of democratic transformations. The Syngman Rhee reaction seeks to take away from the peasants the land received by them free of charge in the northern part of the Republic as a result of land reform, and to give it back to the landlords. The treacherous clique seeks to abolish all democratic liberties and rights gained by the Korean people in the northern part of the Republic. The treacherous Syngman Rhee clique wants to turn the whole of the country into

a colony of the American imperialists, and the Korean people into slaves.

Dear brothers and sisters! A great danger hangs over our homeland and the people. What is needed in order to end this danger? In this war waged against the Syngman Rhee clique, the Korean people must defend the Korean People's Democratic Republic and its Constitution, liquidate the anti-people's fascist puppet Syngman Rhee power established in the southern part of the Republic, liberate the southern part of our country from the domination of the Syngman Rhee clique, and restore there People's Committees—real organs of power. We must, under the banner of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, complete the unification of the country and form a united independent democratic state. The war which we have been compelled to wage is a just war for the unification and independence of the homeland, for freedom and democracy.

Kim Ir Sung then called upon the People's Army and the border guard detachments boldly to defend the gains of democracy. Our People's Army, he said, is reared in the spirit of respect for the people and the country. It is equipped with modern technique and is fighting for the interests of the people and of the homeland.

Further, Kim Ir Sung called upon the people in the northern part of

the Republic to switch all work to military rails, to mobilize all forces for a merciless and rapid destruction of the enemy. It is necessary to subordinate all work to war needs and the task of smashing the enemy, to organize all-out aid for the People's Army, secure constant reinforcements for its ranks, to supply the front with all necessary materials, to ensure speedy delivery to the army of armaments and munitions and to arrange for help on a wide scale to wounded soldiers. It is necessary to organize work for strengthening the rear-lines of the People's Army in order to meet fully all the needs of the front.

Addressing the men and women partisans in South Korea, Kim Ir Sung called upon them to give active aid to the People's Army, to widen the common national struggle, to annihilate the enemy, disrupt his communication lines and to restore the people's committees.

Kim Ir Sung called upon the workers, peasants, owners of enterprises and the intelligentsia of South Korea actively to help in liberating South Korea.

Addressing himself to the officers and men of the so-called army of national defense, Kim Ir Sung urged them to turn their guns against the enemies of the Korean people—the perfidious Syngman Rhee clique,

and, by doing so, to take their place in the ranks of the fighters for the unity and freedom of the Fatherland.

Dear fellow citizens, said Kim Ir Sung in conclusion, the Government addresses itself to all the people of Korea with the call to rally still closer around the Government of the People's Democratic Republic in order the more quickly to smash the armed forces of the puppet Syngman Rhee clique and its police regime, to win a glorious victory and ensure the unification and independence of the country. History shows, he continued, that a people resolutely taking to struggle for freedom and independence is invincible. The cause of our people is a just cause. Victory must be ours. I am confident that this just struggle for our country and people will be crowned with victory. The time has come to unite our native land.

With confidence in victory we go forward boldly!

All forces to the aid of our People's Army and the front!

All forces for the defeat and destruction of the enemy! Long live the people of Korea who have risen in an all-people's just war!

Long live the Korean People's Democratic Republic!

Forward to victory!

# The Struggle of the Korean People For a United, Independent, Democratic State

by Kim Ir Sung

NEARLY FIVE YEARS have passed since the great Soviet Army, having routed the Japanese militarists and having liberated our country from years of colonial yoke, opened the road to the regeneration of the Korean people, to the formation of an independent democratic State, to a radical improvement in the life of the working people. Korea became a free country. For the first time, the people established their own power in the country.

During the first few days following the liberation, local People's Committees were set up throughout Korea. These committees, composed of representatives of various sections of the population—workers, peasants, cultural workers, small traders and employers—were real organs of people's power. Under their guidance, our people began the democratic construction of the country.

However, the hope of the liberated Korean people to see their country united and independent was not fated to be realized. One month after the Soviet troops had routed the Japanese army, United States

troops landed in the Southern part of our country. As soon as the American troops entered Korean soil, reaction began to raise its head in South Korea. It soon became clear that the American imperialists did not want to allow the formation of an independent Korean State, and that they intended to turn Korea into their colony.

Even in those first few days after the liberation, the opposite paths taken by North and South Korea became clearly visible.

The Command of the Soviet Army, the Army brought up by the great Party of Lenin-Stalin, wrote in its Address to the Korean people in August 1945:

"Citizens of Korea! Your country is now free. But this is only the first page in the history of Korea.

"Just as a flowering garden is the result of the work and care of Man, happiness also can only be achieved by the heroic struggle and tireless work of the Korean people.

"Citizens of Korea! Remember that happiness lies in your hands! You now have your freedom. Every-

thing now depends upon you, yourselves.

"The Soviet Army has created all the conditions to enable the Korean people to embark upon free creative work.

"You, yourselves, must become the creators of your own happiness."

In keeping with its pledges, the Soviet Command rendered every support to the people's committees, and, in this way, enabled the Korean people to carry out democratic changes with their own hands and to build a new happy life.

The course of events in South Korea was very different. As soon as American troops landed there, MacArthur issued the following order:

"The entire administrative power on the territory of Korea, south of Parallel 38, is under my jurisdiction. The population should unreservedly obey the orders issued over my signature. Those acting against the occupation troops or violating order and tranquility will be mercilessly and severely punished. For the period of the military occupation, English is introduced as the official language."

Carrying out this order, the American military administration dispersed the people's committees formed by the will of the people, deprived the people of freedom of speech, press, assembly and organization, imprisoned and exterminated Korean patriots. The U.S. carried out, in the South of the country, a

reactionary policy, aimed at turning South Korea into a colony of American imperialism.

In conformity with the decision of the Moscow meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Three Powers, arrived at in December 1945, the Soviet delegation in the Joint Soviet-American Commission persistently sought to secure the formation of a united democratic government of Korea. However, aware that if such a government were to be formed, the realization of their aggressive plans in Korea would be impossible, the American imperialists refused to accept this just proposal of the Soviet Union and frustrated the realization of the Moscow agreement.

Playing the ignominious role of traitors to the country and to the people, the pro-Japanese and other reactionary elements, headed by that rabid enemy of the Korean people, Syngman Rhee, carried out the orders of the American authorities and, under cover of the slogan, "against trusteeship," they opposed the putting into practice of the Moscow decision. They helped the American imperialists to wreck the work of the Joint Soviet-American Commission and the fulfillment of the Moscow decision—a decision which corresponded to the interests of the Korean people.

As a result of this, the people of South Korea, liberated by the Soviet Army from the yoke of the Japanese invaders, once again found them-

selves in the grip of foreigners—the American imperialists—and Korea was artificially partitioned at the 38th Parallel into two parts.

## II

Under these conditions the people of North Korea were faced with the task of rallying all democratic forces in order to create a political and economic basis for a united democratic state. This was a most important task in order to secure the unity of the country.

The following tasks confronted the Korean people:

1. To consolidate the people's committees which relied on the united democratic national front uniting all democratic parties and public organizations, all democratic forces.

2. To eliminate the result of domination by Japanese imperialism, results which formed the first obstacle to the building of a democratic state; to secure freedom of speech, press, assembly and organizations; to form and consolidate trade unions and other democratic public organizations.

3. To carry out land reform; that is, to confiscate the land of Korean landlords and Japanese colonizers and to distribute it without payment to landless peasants, which would abolish forever the feudal-lease system of land ownership. To nationalize enterprises, factories, transport, banks, mines, ore-workings and forests which belonged to Japanese

imperialists and to the national traitors; to rebuild factories and railways destroyed by the Japanese invaders; to improve the life of the people.

4. To train national cadres who are essential for running the state; to introduce a democratic system of education and to extend the school network.

This was the militant program for the democratization of the country, a program corresponding to the interests of the broadest sections of the population in Korea. The Party of Labor took its place at the head of the people in the struggle for the realization of this program.

In order that the People's Committees might successfully solve the tasks set them by the people, and to strengthen them as organs of popular administration, the elections to the local People's Committees, in 1946, were held on a broad democratic basis and, following this, the People's Committee of North Korea was elected as the Central organ of power.

The elections to the People's Committees were carried out on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. They took place in conditions of a genuinely free expression of the will of the broadest masses and were the first democratic elections in the history of Korea.

In the elections to the local committees, 99.6 per cent of the electo-

rate participated. Only 4,387 people were deprived of the right to participate in the elections on the basis of the "Election Regulations." These were pro-Japanese elements, the mentally unfit and persons deprived of electoral rights by decision of the court.

Of the 3,459 deputies elected to the provincial, city and district committees, 510 are workers, 1,256 are peasants; 1,056 are office employees, 311 are workers in art and literature, 145 traders, 73 industrialists, 94 clergy and 14 others. Therefore, the People's Committees represent organs of power, composed of representatives of various sections of the Korean people and founded on a solid alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class. They were created by the people themselves.

The election of the local People's Committees and of the People's Committee of North Korea gave them legal force as a State form of administration.

In all their activities, the People's Committees rely on the broad mass of the people; they carry out their demands, enjoy the support of the whole people and are closely linked to the people.

Successful construction of an independent democratic State was impossible without democratic changes. Without them it was impossible to restore and develop the devastated national economy; it was impossible

radically to improve the welfare of the working people; impossible to establish a popular democratic regime in the country.

The first of these democratic changes was the liberation of the peasants from the feudal-landlord yoke—peasants who comprise about 80 per cent of the population of the country.

In accordance with the law on land reform, announced by the People's Committee of North Korea in March 1946, 1,000,325 tenbo (1 tenbo=0.992 of a hectare) of land owned by Japanese colonizers, landlords and national traitors, were confiscated and turned over free of charge to the landless peasants and small plot holders.

As a result of the agrarian reform, the feudal system of agriculture, which hampered the development of agriculture in Korea, was eliminated. The landlords and the land usurers, who constituted a hotbed of reaction in the countryside, were deprived of their economic base.

The land reform realized the age-long dreams of the peasants, freeing them for all time from feudal exploitation and landlord oppression. It made the peasants the masters of the land, enhanced their political activity and patriotism, raised the labor enthusiasm of the peasants and created the essential conditions for improving their material welfare and cultural level. In this way, the cause of the poverty and ruin of the

Korean peasantry was destroyed. The agrarian reform opened new ways for the development of the Korean countryside. It strengthened the ties between town and countryside and created the conditions for the solution of the problem of providing food for the population and raw materials for industry.

Following the land reform, the nationalization of the most vital branches of industry, transport, communication and banks—which belonged to the Japanese and the traitors of the people—was carried out.

Acting on the instructions of its government, the Soviet Army Command, without compensation, placed the Korean people in possession of all the enterprises, railways, means of transport, communication and the banks, which formerly belonged to the Japanese imperialists.

On August 10, 1946, the People's Committee of North Korea issued a law on the nationalization of industry by which all the mills and factories, the railways and banks, means of transport and communication which had belonged to Japanese imperialists, to pro-Japanese elements and to national traitors, passed into the possession of the people and the State.

All these enterprises were built by the sweat and blood of our people; at the expense of brutal exploitation of the Korean population and the plunder of the country by Japanese

imperialists. For almost half a century, the Korean people, living in poverty and hunger, had been forced to toil for the Japanese invaders and their watchdogs—the pro-Japanese elements and national traitors.

As a result of nationalization, the industrial enterprises and equipment became the property of the Korean people. They are now used in the interests of the working people and have become the basis for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

Nationalization of industry, which deprived the reactionary and pro-Japanese elements in North Korea of their economic base, is one of the most important victories achieved by the popular masses. It ensured for the State sector a dominating position in the national economy.

As a result of nationalization, the essential conditions were created for the planned development of the national economy. A patriotic movement, unprecedented in the history of Korea, developed for increased production.

The law on the nationalization of industry was accompanied by labor legislation.

During the years of Japanese domination, the Korean workers were cruelly exploited; they worked 12-14 hours a day. Conditions were especially hard for women workers and juveniles. Labor protection and social insurance did not exist at all.

The labor legislation, adopted by

the People's Committee of North Korea, radically improved the material and legal position of factory and office workers. In accordance with this law, an eight-hour working day has been introduced for factory and office workers, and a seven-hour working day for workers employed in dangerous trades. Young people of 14-16 now work 5-6 hours a day and child labor up to the age of 14 is prohibited. Factory and office workers are given a two weeks paid holiday and workers employed in dangerous trades and juveniles—one month's paid holiday. A number of measures have also been taken, in regard to social insurance and labor protection.

As a result of the realization of the law on the equality of women who constitute half the population of Korea, our women now participate in the political, economic and cultural life of the country on an equal basis with men. For example, 11,509 women are now deputies of People's Committees and 69 are deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly.

Hence, the major democratic changes in the political, economic and cultural sphere were already carried out in the Northern part of the country in 1946. The Korean people were faced with the task of consolidating the results of these vital transformations and, in the shortest possible time, restoring and developing national economy and raising the material and cultural

level of the population. In the five years which have elapsed since the liberation, tremendous work has been carried out to ensure the solution of these tasks.

There were many difficulties which stood in the way of the rehabilitation and development of industry in our country. Leaving Korea, the Japanese imperialists destroyed the main industrial enterprises and transport, and flooded the mines. We had no trained technical cadres for industry, no skilled cadres to run enterprises. The Japanese imperialists had deprived the Korean people of the possibility of having their own national administrative-technical cadres.

Under the domination of Japanese imperialism, all branches of the Korean industry were subordinated to, and became the appendage of, Japanese economy. As a result, we could not produce essential equipment and materials in our country; the technical equipment of industry was obsolete and worn out.

These difficulties were overcome only to the assistance of the Government of the Soviet Union and thanks to the patriotic struggle of the entire Korean people. Our liberator—the great Soviet Union—extended selfless aid to the Korean people.

Thanks to the labor enthusiasm of the Korean people, we overcame the difficulties and successfully carried out the 1947 and the 1948 State plans.

This made it possible to set about realizing the 1949-1950 Two-Year Plan for the rehabilitation and development of the country's national economy. This Plan, adopted by the Second Session of the Supreme People's Assembly, set the following tasks of exceptional importance before the Korean people:

1. Considerably to increase the rate of the growth of production in order not only to restore, but to surpass the pre-war level of industrial production.

2. To eliminate the lop-sided nature of industry which is a bad legacy of Japanese domination, and to lay the foundation of an independent national economy.

3. To prepare all necessary conditions so that when the country is united, to restore as soon as possible the economy of South Korea which is being destroyed by the Americans.

4. To secure an abundance of all main consumer goods and to raise the level of the material and cultural life of the people.

The working people of North Korea enthusiastically began to carry out this Plan. On the initiative of leading workers, labor emulation to fulfill the Two-Year Plan ahead of schedule and to over-fulfill it, developed extensively at enterprises and construction sites. More than 250,000 workers and engineering-technical personnel are taking part in emulation.

Many enterprises and whole

branches of industry completed the 1949 targets far ahead of schedule. On the whole, the Plan for the first year of the Two-Year Plan was carried out by 102.8 per cent. The State industry fulfilled the Plan by 103.1 per cent.

At present, the 1950 Plan is being successfully fulfilled. Following the call of a group of workers in the Hynnam Chemical Works and of three other leading enterprises in the South Hamgen Province, emulation in honor of the fifth anniversary of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army has started throughout North Korea. Many enterprises have pledged themselves to complete their plans by this day, and the Ynjur mine, the Hamhyn managerial board of the motor and horse transport and some other enterprises had already fulfilled their two-year plans by the end of February this year.

During these years, industry—the leading branch of national economy in North Korea—developed considerably. Taking the gross industrial output in 1946 as 100 per cent, in 1947 it was 189.3 per cent; in 1948, 263.3 per cent; in 1949, 371.1 per cent.

We succeeded not only in rehabilitating industry but also in building many new enterprises and mines; in equipping them with modern machinery.

In 1949, the construction of a glass-works—the first in Korea—was com-

pleted in Nampho; this factory will produce glass of home production, for the building industry and for the population. Additional machines have been installed at the paper mill in Kilchu, and the electric-lamp factory in Phyongyang was extended. The construction of the Munphen zinc factory is proceeding successfully and will be one of the biggest factories in our non-ferrous metallurgical industry. Of great significance for the national economy of our Republic will be the Kansan electrical-equipment factory now under construction, and which will be in operation by the end of the year.

New powerful hydro-electric power stations, metallurgical and engineering work and textile mills are being built. The Phyongyang textile mills are being built. The Phyongyang textile mills, whose construction will be completed this year, will produce four times more than the entire textile industry of North Korea under the domination of Japanese imperialism.

The output of certain branches of our industry has already exceeded the highest level reached by the Japanese imperialists in 1944. For example, output of the engineering industry rose to 146.9 per cent compared with the 1944 level, and light industry, by 52.7 per cent.

The lop-sided nature of industry is gradually being eliminated. Industrial output is growing daily. The accumulations of our industry

are increasing, the shortcomings still observed in work are being eliminated and the basis of national economy created.

However, it should be pointed out that an artificial division of the country by the 38th Parallel not only brings sufferings to the Korean people but also hampers the development of the economy of Korea. It affects particularly the economy of South Korea which is steadily falling into decay as a result of being enslaved and plundered by American capital which, with the assistance of national traitors, is acting the master there as though on its own estate. South Korea does not receive the electricity, coal and many other things which are produced in abundance in North Korea. On the other hand, South Korea could supply the factories of the North with raw materials and the population with food—which is now being exported.

During the past five years we have also achieved great successes in agriculture. The production activity of peasants, who became masters of the land as a result of the land reform, has increased. A popular movement for the construction of irrigation undertakings, which are one of the links in the struggle for bumper and stable crops, has developed among broad masses of peasants.

The Northern part of our country which has a more developed in-

dustry was, in the past, always dependent on the Southern part of the country—the granary of Korea—for food. But as a result of the aggressive policy of the American imperialists, a reactionary regime was established in South Korea, and we could not and, as yet, cannot get food from the South.

That is why our people were faced with the task of turning North Korea into a country capable of supplying itself with food and raw materials for industry.

As a result of the correct policy of the Republican government and the patriotic struggle of the peasants to increase agricultural production, we have, in the main, solved the food problem.

The gross crop of cereals in the Northern part of the Republic considerably exceeded the maximum 1939 crop in Korea. Taking the 1944 harvest of cereals as 100 per cent, it was, in 1948, 129.6 per cent and in 1949, despite drought, 129.8 per cent. The gross harvest of cotton was, in 1948, 107.5 per cent more and in 1949, 236.5 per cent more than in 1944.

As a result of the land reform, the material and cultural level of the peasants rose considerably. The enormous growth in the well-being and culture of our peasantry is vividly shown by facts, particularly, by the result of the investigation carried out in 1949 in 42 villages (2,466 peasant farms) in the Northern part

of the country by the Ministry of Land and Forests of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The number of elementary schools in these villages increased seven times, compared with 1944; clubs and reading-rooms, 48 times; the number of pupils in elementary schools rose 2.5 times; in secondary schools, ten times; students in higher schools, six times.

In 1944, the peasants in these villages harvested 117,000 sacks of grain and in 1949, 150,000 sacks (one sack equals 50 kilograms).

Whereas in 1944, these peasants, after paying rent, had to borrow, on onerous conditions, 8,000 sacks of rice from landlords, in 1949 they, having paid 37,000 sacks of tax in kind, having left 81,000 sacks of rice for food for their families and having sold 22,000 sacks of rice on the market—still had more than 10,000 sacks of rice in reserve until the new harvest.

Eighteen per cent of all the houses in these villages have been built during the past three years. Peasants bought 628 draught oxen.

This example shows vividly how our agriculture has grown, how the well-being of the peasants in the Northern part of our country has improved during the five years which have passed since the liberation.

State farms are beginning to play an important role in the development of agriculture in Korea. The

twelve State farms and the nine experimental seed stations formed in the Northern part of the country, help the peasants to master the new, advanced agrotechnics and zoötechnics, teach them how to run large-scale mechanized economy and enable them to secure seeds of high quality and pedigree cattle for peasant farms.

In 1950 the first machine-hire depots—whose machines will help to improve soil cultivation and accelerate the introduction of modern farming methods in our agriculture—were set up in the Northern part of our Republic following a decision of the government.

The example of the work of the machine-hire depots provides visual proof to the peasants of the advantages of mechanized agriculture.

One of the most urgent tasks of our government is to train national cadres, for, as Generalissimo Stalin teaches, cadres are decisive. The further development and prosperity of our country is only possible if we have well-trained cadres capable of administering the State, and of developing economy and culture.

We are devoting serious attention to public education and to cultural development in the Northern part of the Republic and have already achieved considerable successes in this field.

In 1949 there were 1.8 [times] more primary schools and 1.7 [times] more scholars in the Northern part of the

Republic than in 1944. The number of intermediate schools has increased 20 times and the number of school-children 23 times. The number of the various technical schools, which are now attended by 10 times more students, has increased twelvefold. During the period of Japanese domination, not a single institute existed in the Northern part of Korea. We now have 15 institutes, attended by 10,000 students.

Our country, which had no technical cadres of its own, is, this year, sending engineers and technicians into production who were trained in Korea. Over 4,000 people graduated from the technical schools in 1949 alone. More than 1,400 specialists with a higher education have graduated from our institutes. On top of this, tens of thousands of skilled workers are being trained by factory technical schools and by advanced qualification courses.

The work aimed at eliminating illiteracy among the broad masses has, in the main, been completed. Elementary and middle schools, attended by more than 140,000 pupils, have been set up in over 3,700 places.

Considerable successes have also been achieved in the public health services in the Northern part of the Republic. Medical institutions have been established in all parts of the country. Rest homes and sanatoria have been built for workers. Endemic diseases, the evil consequence of Jap-

Japanese imperialist domination, have been eliminated.

Therefore, it can be seen that we have achieved tremendous successes in the struggle for the building of an independent democratic State in the five years since our liberation.

These successes have been possible, in the first place, because the great Soviet people freed our country from the domination of Japanese colonizers.

Secondly, because the people's democratic system established in the Northern part of the country and the democratic transformations we have carried out fully accord with the interests of our people and ensure the successful democratic development of our country.

Thirdly, because our Government has the support of the people who have rallied round the United Democratic Fatherland Front, the unifying and leading force of which is the Party of Labor—the most powerful Party in Korea, which enjoys the trust of the broad mass of the people.

Fourthly, because in our work we relied on the extremely rich experience of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

All this secured the victory of the people's democratic system in the Northern part of our country, whose people are confidently marching forward on the road to create a united, independent and democratic State.

### III.

Conditions are very different in the Southern part of our country.

Having taken the path of rejecting the Moscow agreement of three Ministers on Korea, the American imperialists have deliberately disrupted the work of the Joint Soviet-American Commission. They strove to transform and are now transforming the Southern part of our country into a military base for the realization of their aggressive designs in the East; into a source of raw materials and a market for Wall Street monopolists. That was why they refused to accept the just proposal of the Soviet Government about the simultaneous withdrawal from Korea of Soviet and American troops early in 1948, and of granting the Korean people the possibility of deciding their own fate.

The American imperialists illegally placed the Korean question on the agenda of the General Assembly and, utilizing the obedient "majority," created the so-called "U.N.O. Commission on Korea" with the assistance of which separate elections were held in South Korea on May 10, 1948.

Patriotic political parties, public organizations, and the whole Korean people developed a courageous struggle against the separate elections in South Korea and against the formation of the puppet government.

In April 1948 a joint conference

was convened on the initiative of the Party of Labor, attended by representatives of 56 Left, Right and Center political parties and public organizations of South and North Korea which, between them, unite more than ten million of the adult population of Korea. Only out and out reactionaries like Syngman Rhee, Kim Song Su and other traitors of the country did not participate.

The April joint conference of representatives of political parties and public organizations in North and South Korea exposed the "U.N.O. Commission on Korea" as an instrument of the colonial policy of American imperialism. This conference decided to boycott the separate elections of May 10 and published a declaration which stated that our people would regard as illegal any government formed as a result of these "elections" and that such a government would not represent the people of Korea.

Despite this, South Korean reactionaries and the American imperialists, resorting to arms, terror and threats, staged the disgraceful elections to the so-called "National Assembly" and then created the reactionary puppet government of Syngman Rhee, composed of traitors, former agents of Japanese imperialism and American agents.

Among the deputies to the "National Assembly" not one comes from the workers and peasants who, between them, constitute the over-

whelming majority of the Korean people. This fact alone confirms the anti-popular character of the reactionary puppet "government."

The separate elections in South Korea and the formation of the puppet government consolidated the artificial division of Korea into two parts. Therefore, in June 1948, more than 70 patriotic political parties and public organizations again met at a joint conference at which the separate elections were declared illegal and a decision was taken to hold general elections in both South and North Korea, to proclaim a united Democratic Korean Republic and to form a central democratic government.

The all-people's election of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea was held both in the South and North of the country on August 25, 1948.

Despite the rabid, reactionary terror of the pro-Japanese elements and national traitors, who relied on the armed assistance of the American imperialists, 77.52 per cent of the electorate took part in the elections in South Korea. In the North, where the elections were held in an atmosphere of freedom, 99.98 per cent of the electorate participated.

Hence, the Supreme People's Assembly is the highest legislative organ, created as a result of elections carried out on the territory of the whole country. The first session of the Supreme People's Assembly pro-

claimed Korea to be a People's Democratic Republic, adopted a Constitution and formed the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The Constitution of the Korean People's Democratic Republic legislatively consolidates the results of the democratic transformation carried out in the Northern part of the country, secured wide political rights for the working people, and has opened up great prospects for the creation of a united, democratic State. This Constitution embodies the age-old aspirations of our people.

The Government formed at the first session of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea, is a coalition Government. The main political parties and public organizations in North and South Korea are represented in it.

The Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, formed after a general election, is the only lawful Government; it enjoys the support of all the people of Korea.

The Soviet Government, at the request of the first session of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea, withdrew its troops from the territory of our country, recognized the Korean People's Democratic Republic and established diplomatic relations with it. This was a new manifestation of the Stalin foreign policy of the Soviet Union—a policy of friendship and equality between

peoples. The Soviet Union gave one more vivid example of respect for sovereignty and national independence of small nations.

The proclamation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic marked the beginning of a new phase in the struggle for the building of a united, independent state. The patriotic political parties and public organizations, the Korean people, rallying ever more closely around the Democratic Government, reinforcing the political and economic base of the Republic, are resolutely struggling to hasten the unification of their country.

The heroic people of South Korea are extending, ever more widely, the common struggle of the people for the liquidation of the Syngman Rhee puppet "Government," set up contrary to the will of the people by the American imperialists.

#### IV.

As yet, North and South Korea are going their different ways. The political and economic situation of the two parts of our country shows daily, with ever-growing clarity, which of the two paths is leading the country and the people to prosperity.

American troops remained in South Korea long after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Korea. The U.S. imperialists, having signed a "Korean-American military aid agreement" and a "Korean-

American economic agreement" with the anti-popular, reactionary puppet "Government," turned the Southern part of our native land into a colonial dependent country.

South Korea, dominated by the perfidious Syngman Rhee clique, is a country of terror, reaction, ruin and violence.

The terror and repression wielded by the Syngman Rhee gang of traitors who enjoy the protection of the American imperialists and their agency "United Nations Korean Commission," are directed not only against the Lefts, but against Right elements, should they display even the slightest sign of discontent with the reactionary regime.

Contrary to the law of immunity for members of the so-called National Assembly, the Syngman Rhee police arrested and imprisoned 12 members of the "National Assembly." Kim Hu, one of the leaders of the Right-wing camp, was murdered on Syngman Rhee's orders, merely because he advocated the peaceful unification of the country.

The Syngman Rhee clique is deliberately destroying progressive personalities in culture who refuse to declare support for the puppet "Government."

By means of the arms supplied by the American imperialists and by means of terror, prisons and violence, the Syngman Rhee clique seeks to maintain its domination in Southern Korea, and, with this aim in view, is

ready to indulge in the mass annihilation of the people.

The intolerable situation in South Korea, caused by the domination of the U.S. imperialists and their agents—the Syngman Rhee clique—has evoked anger and courageous resistance on the part of the working population. And it is not fortuitous that everywhere in South Korea an ever-growing partisan struggle is being waged by the people against the colonial policy of the American imperialists, for the overthrow of the reactionary Syngman Rhee regime.

Naturally, in such circumstances, all the patriotic political parties and public organizations in Korea are faced with the question of concrete measures to restore the territorial integrity and unification of the country.

After the proclamation of a People's Democratic Republic in Korea, and with the patriotic political parties and public organizations in the South of the country deprived of a legal existence, driven underground, it became necessary to rally all patriotic, democratic forces for the struggle against reaction. As a consequence, at the end of June 1949, a United Democratic Fatherland Front (U.D.F.F.) was formed, uniting 71 political parties and public organizations of different political trends.

The inaugural Congress of the U.D.F.F., upon discussing the situation that had arisen in the country, put forward a number of measures

aimed at bringing about the peaceful unification of the country, at saving the people of South Korea, groaning under the terror regime of the Syngman Rhee puppet "Government," at saving the country and the people from a disgraceful, fratricidal civil war, which the Syngman Rhee gang, armed with American weapons, seeks to kindle.

The proposal advanced by the U.D.F.F. was brief, clear and just. It was as follows: immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southern Korea, immediate departure of the so-called United Nations Korean Commission, which is an instrument of the U.S. imperialists for meddling in Korean affairs, legal guarantees for all democratic political parties and public organizations to function and freely carry on their work, a general election to be held in South and North without any foreign interference, peaceful unification of South and North Korea, the matter of the State system to be decided by the Korean people themselves, etc., etc.

This proposal was warmly supported by the entire people. But a proposal for the peaceful unification of the country ran counter to the aims of the American imperialists, pursuing a colonial policy in South Korea, and likewise to the policy of their agents in the ranks of Korean reaction. Consequently, it was rejected by the Syngman Rhee clique, a clique which fears the Korean people, and which knows that it can-

not exist without the support of U.S. armed forces. The rejection of the U.D.F.F. proposal again confirmed the anti-popular nature of the Syngman Rhee clique.

The Korean people launched a struggle for the peaceful unification of their country, for the liquidation of the puppet "Government"—the main obstacle in the way of unification. This struggle alarmed the U.S. imperialists. In consequence, they, on the one hand, incite the Syngman Rhee gang to provoke armed clashes at the 38th Parallel with the aim of creating a pretext to interfere in the internal matters of Korea. On the other hand, they again submitted, unlawfully, the question of Korea to the Fourth Session of the U.N.O. General Assembly where, by means of their obedient "voting machine" they got a decision to send a third "United Nations Korean Commission" to South Korea.

The Korean people are perfectly well aware of the aims pursued by this "United Nations Commission."

If the first "United Nations Commission," being a tool of American imperialism for realizing its colonial policy in Korea, brought misfortune to the people of Korea by recognizing as lawful the separate elections held in South Korea and the formation of the Syngman Rhee puppet "Government"; if the second "United Nations Commission" added to this misfortune, shielding the policy of terror and repression against the

democratic elements and the betrayal of the interests of the people and the country by the Syngman Rhee "Government," a policy which brings grist to the American imperialists, then the third "United Nations Commission" seeks to save the Syngman Rhee "Government" from destruction and to transform Korea into a colony of American imperialism for all time.

It is not fortuitous that of late, in connection with the so-called third "United Nations Commission for Korea" beginning its work, the Syngman Rhee clique, acting on orders of the American imperialists, have begun to scream about the need to dispatch to South Korea the so-called United Nations police forces, and, under the leadership of MacArthur, are intensifying preparations for entering into an alliance with Japan.

But the aggressive designs of the American imperialists will not be realized. The Korean people haven't the slightest desire for uninvited guests who encroach on the freedom and independence of our country. Clearly, the American imperialists still fail to understand that today the people of Korea are not what they were yesterday, that our people are not a docile flock of sheep meekly allowing themselves to be devoured by hungry wolves.

The Korean people today are people who possess their People's Democratic Republic, who have a powerful

political-economic base, who, in the course of the five years that have passed since the liberation, have become convinced from their own experience in the Northern part of the Republic of the meaning of freedom, of people's power and the genuine rights of man.

The U.S. imperialists should understand that the Korean people will not relinquish their gains and their freedom to anyone; never again will they be colonial slaves.

The Korean people are not alone in their struggle against the colonial plunderers, for the complete independence and freedom of their native land.

Our people never will allow the American imperialists to enslave and plunder Korea. They are unfolding a struggle for the realization of the measures advanced by the United Democratic Fatherland Front; measures designed to secure complete independence, to ensure the democratic development of our country, the peaceful unification of Korea.

This struggle is the great struggle of the people in the North of our country for democratic construction, for the continued strengthening of the political, economic, and cultural bases of the Republic; it is also the great struggle of the people of Southern Korea against the American imperialists and their agents—the "United Nations Commission" and the Syngman Rhee clique—it is the

partisan movement which is growing day by day.

We are firmly convinced that our just struggle will be crowned with final victory. The Korean people will secure restoration of the territorial integrity, unity and independence of their country and will go forward confidently along the path of peace and democracy.

All the people of Korea are participating in this struggle, all the patriotic political parties and public organizations are rallying around the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the United Democratic Fatherland Front, of which the Party of Labor is the helmsman and cementing force.

Phyongyang, May, 1950.

# War on Korea: Point IV in Action

by John Pittman

IN WASHINGTON, last June 28, while B-29's and jet-propelled fighter planes under command of General Douglas MacArthur bombed and strafed Korean cities and villages, President Truman told the convention of the American Newspaper Guild that newspapermen should help sell the Point Four program to the American people. "We seek a peaceful world and a free world, where all men can live as good neighbors," Truman said. "All our citizens must play a part in making the Point Four program a success."

Truman specified that he meant by this that "in the underdeveloped areas of the world we must work cooperatively with local governments which are seeking to improve the welfare of their peoples." Yet, less than twenty-four hours earlier, Truman had: (1) ordered U.S. sea and air forces to attack the Korean people in an attempt to impose the puppet Syngman Rhee regime on the entire country, although in the policed and rigged South Korean elections of May 30, 1950, opponents of this regime had won 162 seats, reducing Rhee's stooges to 48 seats in the parliament; (2) rushed the

U.S. Seventh Fleet to defend Chiang Kai-shek and prevent Formosa's restoration to China, thereby violating the provisos of the Cairo, Yalta and Potsdam agreements committing the U.S. government to China's sovereignty over Formosa; (3) sent U.S. reinforcements to bolster the corrupt and unpopular Quirino government and suppress agrarian rebellion in the Philippines; and (4) hurried a military mission and additional arms aid to French imperialists and their puppet Bao Dai regime, engaged in a colonial war to destroy the independence of the Republic of Viet Nam.

Thus, Truman's words said one thing; his deeds were the opposite. He spoke of "local governments . . . seeking to improve the welfare of their peoples." His deeds attempt to bolster and impose on the peoples of Asia satellite regimes they have already discarded or are in the process of discarding, in order to effect the Wall Street enslavement of Asia.

Such a contradiction between word and deed gives rise to the question: What is the real Point Four program, Truman's words or Truman's deeds?

## TRUMAN'S WORDS vs. HIS DEEDS

Truman's presentation of Point Four to the Newspaper Guild came eighteen months after he had first proposed this program in his Inaugural Address of January 20, 1949. But it differed hardly at all from the first version in demagogic assertions of peaceful, non-imperialistic aims. In January 1949, Truman said: "The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans." In June 1950, he said: "Point Four is a successor to the old colonialism idea, the exploiting idea of the middle seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."

Yet, if the demagogy of his June 1950 speech was exposed by the brutal aggression against the peoples of Asia, the unctuous platitudes of his Inaugural were also laid bare by the deeds of his Administration at that time. Point Four itself—the fourth of a four-point foreign policy—came as if by after-thought to Truman's proposal for continuation of the Marshall Plan and more military and financial aid to Chiang Kai-shek, Greek monarcho-fascism and Turkish feudal-fascism. It was tacked on after Truman had announced the formation of the Atlantic military alliance and the policy of arms-to-Europe as the major keystones of his Administration's foreign policy.

Moreover, this first presentation of Point Four came three days after the opening of the trial of the U.S. Communist leaders at Foley Square,

New York City. It was delivered after Truman had proposed a budget of \$42 billions, 76 per cent of which was to be spent for armaments, "international aid," services and benefits for veterans of past wars and interest on a national debt incurred chiefly as a result of past wars; and only six per cent for social welfare, health and education!

Notwithstanding this glaring gap between Truman's words and the deeds of his bipartisan Administration, a number of organizations enjoying public confidence, including some genuinely interested in peace, were deceived into endorsing Point Four. On the other hand, opposition to Point Four has come from unexpected quarters — from powerful sections of Big Business. Certain Wall Street interests, whose views are reflected by the *Wall Street Journal*, expressed hostility from the first. Then, in the Senate debate on the plan last May, a number of Republican spokesmen, headed by Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, attacked Point Four, claiming that it would result in a "global W.P.A.," an "international boondoggle." Finally, the National Association of Manufacturers shifted its position from one of strong endorsement, provided Point Four include guarantees for private capital exports, to one of unqualified opposition. The N.A.M. statement argued that U.S. Government guarantees of private investments abroad "would tend to remove the incentive for foreign nations to correct errors of finan-

cial and economic policy."

This turnabout of one of Wall Street's most influential organizations in relation to Point Four helps to explain the difficulties which Truman's proposal has encountered in the Eighty-first Congress. For while Congress undoubtedly noted the attempts of pacifists, liberals and labor officials to sell Truman's demagoguery about "industrializing the backward areas," it was characteristically more sensitive to the views of Wall Street, which was intensifying its drive to take over the colonies and dependencies of other imperialist countries more by political intimidation and direct military intervention rather than by means of dollar imperialism. This is also Truman's program, but it is Truman's demagoguery that the N.A.M. fears.

At this writing, the final Point Four authorization has not yet won Congressional approval. However, it seems likely to become law in a form far removed from earlier Administration versions. Indications so far point to its being placed in the hands of the Export-Import Bank, which would charge fees for the guarantees to private capital exported abroad, and would limit the guarantees to a total of \$250 millions at any one time. The guarantees will cover such risks of Wall Street capital as the inability to convert profits in foreign currency into dollars; expropriation, confiscation or seizure of investments by action of public au-

thority. Most important, the governments of capital-importing countries would be required to make pledges that they will protect, encourage and virtually insure Wall Street's investments. However, the technical aid expenditures intended to create a "favorable climate" for investments will be strictly defined. There will be no iota of "do good-ness" in the final Point Four program.

But a number of points about the Point Four program, when finally put into operation, require clarification. Why did decisive sections of Wall Street, as represented by the N.A.M., change from support to opposition to Point Four? Does this mean that the sales-campaign for Point Four carried on by the pacifist, liberal organizations and the trade-union bureaucracy objectively serves the interests of peace, the independence-aspirations of colonial peoples, and the working men and women of the United States? To answer such questions, it is necessary to view the Point Four proposal in its world economic and political context.

#### VERSION OF CARROT AND CLUB

The world economic and political conditions in which Truman put forward the Point Four program were characterized by an intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. The capitalist world orbit had shrunk considerably as a consequence of the

military destruction of the fascist Axis and the powerful upsurge of both the proletarian and colonial revolutions. Within the remaining capitalist countries, a notable sharpening of the class struggle had occurred, while the struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for national independence, sparked by the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, had risen to a new high stage. Thus, the "climate" of the entire world had become "unfavorable" for imperialist expansion.

But at this precise historic moment, U.S. imperialism was bursting at the seams with "surplus" investment capital (about three-fourths of the capitalist world's) and with a productive capacity two-thirds that of the capitalist world. And at the same time, the U.S. economy manifested symptoms of a cyclical crisis of overproduction. This developing crisis greatly increased the urgency of expediting capital exports as a means of checking the fall in the rate of profit.

To counteract the effects of the intensified general crisis of capitalism, as well as to prepare for a new offensive against the colonial peoples, the big imperialists generally adopted a tactic of seeming retreat from the old colonialism. Grants of fake nominal independence were "reluctantly" handed out, with much fanfare about the donors' benevolence and democratic intentions, to a number of colonial peoples, viz., India, Burma,

Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia. But these gestures ineffectually concealed the real relations of the imperialists with the bourgeoisie, feudal nobility and landowners of the colonial countries, being fundamentally alliances between these for the joint oppression and super-exploitation of the masses in the colonies. In essence, therefore, the postwar imperialist tactic was a more liberal use of the "carrot," the better to administer the "club."

Point Four was one of the Truman Administration's versions of the "carrot." Like the Marshall Plan, its objective was to establish a bridgehead by economic penetration disguised as "assistance," from which political and military domination could be achieved. Significantly, it was proposed at a time when the Marshall Plan's failure and coming termination was beginning to worry Wall Street's spokesmen. Hence, its friendly, even welcome reception by Big Business as a whole, with certain exceptions as already noted.

However, while more frequently tendering the "carrot," the imperialist powers simultaneously stepped up their use of armed force and violence against the colonial peoples. British troops were soon fighting in Malaya and Burma; French troops in Madagascar and Viet Nam; while the Truman Administration, using the anti-Communist crusade as a pretext, took over the armed restoration of monarcho-fascism in Greece, bolstered

feudal-fascism in Turkey, formed the Atlantic alliance of imperialist powers, armed monopoly reaction, and wove a network of aerial and naval military bases over the entire world. At home, the imperialist powers consumed the major part of their budgets for war preparations. And the Truman Administration geared the U.S. economy more and more securely to arms and military plans.

The growing and deepening cyclical crisis of U.S. capitalism, however, is undoubtedly a major dynamo of U.S. foreign policy. This crisis, though blurred by the increasing shift to a war economy, and manifesting in zig-zag fashion intermittent phases of slump and upturn, nevertheless impels Wall Street to act more swiftly and aggressively. Hence, the turnabout of the N.A.M. in relation to Point Four and Wall Street's armed aggression against the Korean people are not unrelated events. Their coincidence in time indicates a decision by Wall Street to restrict the use of the "carrot," and to rely more completely on open force and violence to achieve its aims. Wall Street's greed for profits, when translated into politics, means that the U.S. imperialists have passed over from the phase of war preparations into actual acts of war.

In the light of this development, the N.A.M.'s pretentious concern for allowing "foreign countries to correct errors of financial and economic policy" is pure hypocrisy. The Rockefeller's Chase National Bank presi-

dent, Winthrop Aldrich, was more forthright when, in his testimony favoring investment guarantees in Point Four, he told the Congressional committee: "The more closely a foreign country reaches the point where it is on a parity of risk with, say, the State of Massachusetts, the more apt private American capital is to make an investment in that country." Clearly, Wall Street intends to convert other countries into "states of Massachusetts" by force and violence. Then, having done that, it could be certain of correcting "errors of financial and economic policy."

But if this is true, will Wall Street not now discard Point Four? On the contrary, the shift of imperialist policy toward a great use of armed violence and military intervention does not thereby relegate other imperialist stratagems to the scrap-heap. Point Four can be used by U.S. imperialism to penetrate colonial countries and soften up the governments of semi-colonial countries. It can be used to secure a foothold, to open the door into areas where entry by other means might prove unsuccessful or premature.

Finally, the Point Four program has achieved a measure of success as demagoguery for the Truman Administration. Like Truman's hypocritical Civil Rights program, the Point Four program has won support of sections of the American people for the Truman "cold war" and arms production measures. For this reason the Point Four program deserves a closer

scrutiny than has heretofore been given it.

#### PROGRESSIVE CAPITALISM — A REACTIONARY ILLUSION

Certain propagandists of Wall Street whose special task is to spread confusion regarding the nature of U.S. capitalism argue that Wall Street's investments overseas can only benefit the "fortunate" peoples there and redound to the benefit of the American people. Like Harold Stassen and Earl Browder, these persons spread notions about capitalism being inherently "progressive." And Henry A. Wallace has contributed to this confusion with his naive proposals for a return to "progressive capitalism," as if the development of parasitism, retrogression and decay of capitalism in the stage of monopoly domination of the economy is merely a "governmental policy" and not an integral stage of U.S. capitalism. Such arguments contend that Point Four will benefit other peoples, promote the cause of liberty and peace throughout the world and bring prosperity to the American people. Moreover, many liberal and pacifist spokesmen backing Point Four identify this program with the United Nations project for technical assistance, and still holding to their faith that the U.N. is truly an independent world organization for achieving peace, persist in labelling Point Four a U.N. program.

First, it is important to notice that Point Four is not the United Na-

tion's program, though, in view of the U.N.'s position since the U.S. aggression against Korea, the distinction is chiefly academic. But it is useful to know that in the U.N. General Assembly, where the Point Four proposal was discussed in November 1949, delegates from the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, and many semi-colonial countries spoke at length against any identification of the U.N. program with the Truman Administration's Point Four. The fear and suspicion of the delegates from the semi-colonial countries centered on the fact that capital-exporting countries inevitably subordinate the industrial development of capital-importing countries, inevitably assume political domination of the colonial countries and inaugurate regimes of intensive exploitation. This view of some U.N. delegates found confirmation in Dean Acheson's remark, in his testimony for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Point Four: "I think there is a pretty widely held idea that we are going to build large mills, mines and factories for these underdeveloped peoples. This is not true."

The U.N. program for so-called technical assistance was finally approved unanimously after its differentiation from Point Four had been clarified. But in June 1950 when a conference of the U.N. sought to raise funds to carry through its initial projects, the Soviet Union and People's Democracies were absent, having been forced to abstain from

U.N. bodies because of the U.S. insistence on refusing a seat to China, allowing the Chiang Kai-shek delegates to remain. Since then, with the total subservience of the U.N. to U.S. imperialism, the U.N. technical assistance program can be expected to serve the aims of Wall Street.

As for the arguments of Stassen, Browder and other apologists for Wall Street that U.S. capital exports can only contribute to peace and the economic well-being and political independence of colonial peoples, nothing is further from the truth. Attempts to implement Point Four will lead inevitably to efforts by Wall Street further to suppress the colonial movements for liberation and the struggles of the peoples against hunger and exploitation.

For evidence that such consequences will follow attempts to implement Point Four, observe the current experience of U.S. finance capital's adventures in underdeveloped areas, viz., Korea, Iran, South Africa, Guatemala and Venezuela, Indonesia and Viet Nam. In each of these countries, penetration by Wall Street capital has been followed by the witchhunt, bloody violence against the people's liberation movements, suppression of militant trade unions, the establishment of oppressive police measures. In Korea, the consequence has been all-out military aggression to impose on the people by force of arms a regime subservient to Wall Street's will.

Or observe the record of U.S.

imperialism in areas which it has long subjected, viz., Puerto Rico, Liberia and Panama. In these countries, after from 30 to 50 years of U.S. domination, industrial development is still in the embryonic stage, the conditions of the masses of the population have deteriorated and the full power of the state is employed against the national-liberation movements and the militant organizations of the workers and peasants.

As for the Philippines, that "jewel in the Wall Street crown," the *Foreign Policy Report* of April 15, 1950, contained the following excerpt: "During the period of U.S. rule from 1900 to 1946 it is doubtful whether the living standards of the tenants and agricultural laborers (the overwhelming bulk of the population) registered any marked improvement over the miserable conditions of the nineteenth-century Spanish colonial regime. The groups which did gain during American rule include only a tiny fraction of the total population . . . a small group of landowners and businessmen, mainly American, Chinese, Spanish and part-Spanish. Immediately below them were the compradors, the bureaucracy of government employees, and a negligible middle class. From this tiny fraction come the groups which wield power in the Philippines today. They form an entrenched oligarchy, antagonistic to reform and zealous in the maintenance of their wealth and privileged position. . . . The fact appears to be that the Bell Act . . . has inhibited

the growth of local business. . . . Urban and rural workers are restive, since real income is low, perhaps even lower than pre-war. The government is not popular and all branches of the armed forces are being deployed to keep it in office" (pp. 21-22). And it can now be added, after the attack on Korea by Wall Street, U.S. troops are now being employed to keep the Philippine government in office.

The propagandists for Point Four who predict that it will bring about an expansion of foreign trade and the resumption of amicable relations among the peoples also ignore the actual experience of U.S. capital exports. The failure of the Marshall Plan, the further disorganization and restriction of the world market, the sharp antagonisms between U.S. imperialism and its rivals—as reflected in the currency devaluation of European countries and the Schuman plan for the U.S.-German-French steel cartel, the Atlantic Alliance—all these attest to the destructive and war-breeding consequences of Wall Street's investments abroad. Not more trade, but less trade; not amicable relations, but a conspiracy for joint aggression against the colonial peoples—these are the realities of U.S. capital exports. These are the objectives of Point Four.

As for promoting the prosperity of the people of the United States, the very concept of Point Four suggests that Wall Street and the Truman Administration have other aims in

view. Point Four is a confession by U.S. finance capital that its prime concern is super-profits, not the well-being of the people. If this were not so, finance capital could find in the United States abundant opportunities for unselfish investment, and at the same time extend aid to the needy peoples overseas. If Truman really wanted to extend assistance to the people of underdeveloped areas, he could find adequate sources of capital to do so. He could help the Africans, Latin Americans, Asians, and here at home he could begin with the South, especially with those 470 counties known as the Black Belt, where a nation of five million Negroes is suppressed, exploited and denied even the most elementary democratic liberties. In addition, there are the American Indian people, the Mexican-American people of the Southwest, the Chinese-Americans huddled into tuberculosis-ridden ghettos. And what about the millions of unemployed and part-time workers, the millions of destitute aged, blind, disabled? What about gigantic public works projects to create a "favorable climate" for the American people? Such assistance could easily absorb from \$150 to \$200 billions of "surplus" capital.

As Lenin wrote three decades ago, if capitalism did these things there would be no "surplus" capital, no superabundance of capital. But then, "if capitalism did these things it would not be capitalism; for uneven development and wretched condi-

tions of the masses are fundamental and inevitable conditions and premises of this [the capitalist] mode of production. As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will never be utilized for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country . . . ; it will be used for the purpose of increasing those profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries.\*

However, Point Four's implementation will not prevent the further development of the economic crisis, but will, on the contrary, deepen its development. The export of capital by the huge monopolies and great banks increases their power in relation to the workers, farmers and small business. It will cause a further concentration of production and centralization of wealth, which in turn will result in greater speedup, more layoffs and unemployment, and a more intransigent position in relation to the demands of the trade unions. It will have a tendency to widen the "price scissors" for the farmers. It will shift a greater proportion of the tax burden to the working people. Such consequences cannot fail to widen the growing gap between production and consumption, thus aggravating one of the main contradictions of capitalism, the appropriation by a few billionaires of the production of society as a whole,

\* V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, International Publishers, 1939, New York, p. 63.

and the growing impoverishment of the masses of the people.

In addition, the implementation of Point Four will require ever greater expenditures for armaments, munitions and political bribes. This will increase the domination of war-industry monopolies in the economy, while simultaneously speeding the growing one-sidedness of the economy.

As for the political consequences of Point Four, the increased domination of the financial oligarchy over every aspect of American life is accompanied by the growth of state monopoly capitalism, by the fusion of monopoly and the state apparatus. This development, already far advanced, if not resisted by the people, cannot but lead to further militarization and fascisization of the country.

Such is the prospect which Point Four offers the American people—economic crisis, fascism and an intensified drive to war.

#### FOR A PROGRAM OF REAL ASSISTANCE

But does this mean that the purposes so hypocritically claimed for Point Four by Truman, of "making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvements and growth of underdeveloped areas," cannot be achieved under any circumstances? The generosity of the American people, their sympathy with the suffering peoples of other lands, their own

direct self-interest in peace, democracy and economic well-being—all these demand the realization of the aims falsely projected for Point Four. Especially for the working men and women of the United States, such aims accord with their deep-felt need to strengthen their bonds with the working men and women of other lands.

Working class internationalism—this is the answer to the rabidly chauvinistic and world-conquest aims of the U.S. billionaires. This is the principle for which the American people must fight today, if they would be able to carry out a program of genuine assistance to the people in those countries and areas dominated, oppressed and super-exploited by imperialism. The urgency of this fight increases with the rising intensity of this super-exploitation, as part of the imperialists' ruthless drive toward an anti-Soviet, anti-people's, atomic third world war.

This is why the internationalism of the working class of the United States finds its first and highest obligation in the fight for peace. This is the central and all-important general task of the moment. Yet, with Wall Street and its Washington politicians leading the imperialist alliance against the colonial peoples, the working men and women of the United States cannot carry through the fight for peace without simultaneously manifesting their solidarity with the peoples of the colonies. The U.S. imperialists' pledge of aid

to French imperialism in Viet Nam, given at the recent London Conference, shows the inseparability of the struggle to impose peace on the imperialists and support of the colonial peoples.

Because Point Four and the cold war are both manifestations of the extreme parasitism and aggressiveness of U.S. capitalism, because they both stem from the inordinate and insatiable greed of the U.S. financial oligarchy for profits, the struggle for peace cannot be waged against the one while going along with the other. The honest-intentioned pacifists and liberals who profess hatred of war, yet endorse Point Four, are defeating their own purposes. They cannot have their cake and eat it at the same time. Opposition to Point Four is an integral part of the fight for peace.

Working - class internationalism therefore means that the rank and file of the trade unions must repudiate the pledges of support for Point Four given by the top leadership of these unions. It requires also a break with this top leadership on the entire question of support for the cold war. And this is especially necessary, since the imperialists and their politicians are counting heavily on this labor bureaucracy to undermine resistance to Wall Street's domination among the workers overseas. The first step for the working men and women of the United States in respect to a program of real assistance to the colonial and semi-colonial peo-

ples, is a showdown with the labor lieutenants of Wall Street.

In this respect, the internationalism of the U.S. working class begins at home. It begins with their obligations to the oppressed Negro people. How is it possible, without recognizing this obligation and acting to carry it out, for U.S. workers to understand their responsibility to the people of Viet Nam, Nigeria or Bolivia? United labor and people's action in defense of the Negro people here, and for the complete realization of their rights, is a first step toward a genuine program of aid to oppressed and poverty-stricken people abroad.

Finally, the American working men and women do not now have the power and means to help other peoples with billions of dollars and technical assistance. These belong to the monopolists. But the workers of the United States do have the power immediately to fight for the rights of other peoples to freedom and peace. Workers of the United States are able now to demand real and complete independence for the Philippines, self-determination for the Puerto Ricans, a hands-off policy in Viet Nam, the Middle East and wherever else U.S. finance capital is

trying to subject peoples to its domination. The working men and women of the United States still have the power to stop the brutal and bloody aggression by U.S. imperialism against the Korean people. They still have the power to demand the restoration of Formosa to China, to impose upon the government a policy of friendly, amicable relations with other people.

The fight to exercise this power today will lay the basis for more substantial aid to the underdeveloped areas of the world, once peace is secure and the power and role of U.S. monopoly capitalism has been broken. Surely, the American people have the greatest stake in this fight. Their victory will enable them to establish a people's anti-fascist, anti-war government with which to curb the power of monopoly capitalism. The international solidarity of the working men and women of the United States with the workers of other lands, especially of the colonial countries, can become the force to speed the transformation of the existing system of U.S. economy, with its inevitable crises and drives to war, into socialism, peace and complete security.

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# Frederick Engels

by Alexander Bittelman

FREDERICK ENGELS, life-long friend and collaborator of Karl Marx and co-founder of scientific socialism, died in London fifty-five years ago—on August 5, 1895. But the powerful influence of his ideas on the course of the world-wide struggle for socialism has never ceased.

Writing soon after the passing of Engels, Lenin said, "After his friend Karl Marx (who died in 1883), Engels was the most remarkable scientist and teacher of the modern proletariat in the whole civilized world." And Engels continues to be one of the most remarkable and one of the greatest teachers of the modern proletariat, among the four of our greatest—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Engels' greatness lies first of all in the fact that he is the co-founder of Marxism, which in our epoch became Marxism-Leninism. And the greatness of Marx and Engels lies in the fact that they "were the first to show that the working class with its demands was the necessary outcome of the modern economic order, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organizes the proletariat. They have shown that it

is not the well-meaning attempts of some noble-minded individuals that will deliver humanity from the ills which now oppress it but the class struggle of the organized proletariat. Marx and Engels, in their scientific work, were the first to explain that socialism is not the fancy of dreamers but the final aim and the inevitable result of the development of the productive forces of modern society."\* Their greatness lies in their creation of scientific socialism.

In fact, every new stage of social development since the death of Marx (in 1883) and of Engels (in 1895) enhances their greatness as well as the potency of their teachings, enriched and further developed for our times by Lenin and Stalin. The conclusive proofs of this are the triumphs in large parts of the world of socialism, the decay and decline of capitalism, the victorious advance of the organized proletariat, leading all oppressed and exploited, under the banners of Marxism-Leninism and headed by parties of Marxism-Leninism. The conclusive proof lies also in this that the Soviet Union, led by

\* *Lenin on Engels*, International Publishers, 1935, p. 5.

the model Party of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, stands today at the head of the world-wide struggle for peace, democracy and socialism; that it stands at the head of every progressive and creative development in the life of humanity.

Many of the great works of Marxism were written jointly by Marx and Engels. This was notably the case with the famous *Communist Manifesto*, published in 1848. But also their individual writings were the result of the closest ideological and spiritual intercourse and collaboration. Says Lenin:

... their common spiritual life, full of strenuous labor, was continued till 1883, the year when Marx died. Its fruit was, on the part of Marx, *Capital*, the greatest work on political economy of our age, and on the part of Engels—a whole number of large and small works. Marx worked on an analysis of the complicated phenomena of capitalist economy. Engels, in works written in a very easy and frequently polemic style, elucidated the more general scientific questions and various events of the past and present, in the spirit of the materialist conception of history and the economic theories of Marx (*Ibid.*, page 13).

Some of the best known and most important of Engels' writings are *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, a tremendously important book in which the historic liberating mission of the pro-

letariat was projected for the first time. Then, there is what Lenin called, a "wonderfully rich and instructive book," *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, known in short as *Anti-Dühring*. Also: *Ludwig Feuerbach*, an incisive statement of the principles of Dialectical Materialism, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, a work which has played a most decisive part in the hammering out of Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution, especially in relation to the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Engels' role in the production and publication of the second and third volumes of *Capital* was of outstanding significance. Upon his death Marx left a rough draft of the second and third volumes. Engels worked on this draft and prepared the volumes for publication. These two volumes Lenin considered the work of both Marx and Engels, as indeed they were.

The friendship of Marx and Engels is in itself a chapter of history, a chapter that is full of touching beauty and profound humanity. It was later to repeat itself, under new conditions, in the friendship and collaboration of Lenin and Stalin. Writing of the friendship of Marx and Engels, Lenin said:

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the American—A. B.] that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relations surpass all the most touching tales of the ancients concerning human friendship. Engels always—and, on the whole, justly so—placed himself behind Marx. "With Marx," he wrote to an old friend, "I always played second fiddle." His love for Marx when the latter was alive, and his reverence for Marx's memory, after the latter's death, were infinite. This stern fighter and strict thinker possessed a deeply loving soul (*Ibid.*, page 14).

Engels was not only a scientist, teacher and thinker, but also a fighter and great political leader—one of the greatest of all times. With Marx he took part in the formation and leadership of the International Workingmen's Association (1864), better known as the First International. Estimating the role of Marx and Engels in that period, Lenin wrote:

The unifying role of Marx and Engels continued even after the International Association came to an end in the 'seventies. Moreover, it may be said that their importance as spiritual leaders of the labor movement was constantly increasing in so far as the movement itself was growing incessantly. After the death of Marx, Engels alone continued to remain the counselor and leader of the European socialists. His advice and direction were sought by the German socialists (who, despite government persecution, rapidly and uninterrupted increased in num-

bers) and the representatives of backward countries, such as Spaniards, Roumanians and Russians, who had to think out and weigh their first steps. All of them drew upon the rich treasures of knowledge and experience of old Engels (*Ibid.*, page 15).

Both Marx and Engels took great interest in the revolutionary movement of Russia. They both knew the Russian language. And it was Engels who had visualized a stage in history where old and backward Russia would be propelled by its working-class revolutionary movement to an advanced and leading role in human history.

Engels' deep interest in the American labor movement is well known. His advice and guidance to American Marxists and class conscious workers have made a historic contribution to the struggles for an independent political party of the American working class and to the growth of Marxism in the United States. Engels was the first to put his finger on the major historical characteristics of the American labor movement and class struggle, drawing tactical and political conclusions for the building of an American Marxist party. Best known of these conclusions is the double-edged proposition that due to historical developments of the country as a whole and of the labor movement in particular, American Marxists are most particularly exposed to the following two dangers: One is the danger of

sectarian isolation from the masses and from the mass movements, the danger of using Marxist theory as a dogma instead of as a guide to action. The other is the danger of underestimating the importance of revolutionary theory, of giving in to the prevailing contempt for theory which Engels found in the English-speaking countries, and, consequently, the danger of dragging behind the masses instead of leading them.

In the late 'eighties and early 'nineties Engels was urgently drawing the attention of American Marxists and Socialists to their isolation from the mass movements of the American working class. Engels was criticizing sharply their inability to work with the growing, militant labor movement and to seek to overcome its theoretical helplessness and confusion in the process of the class struggle itself. Engels stressed most particularly the need of forming an independent mass political party of the American working class even though its program would include only partial demands.

In this Engels was naturally motivated by the fact that there was at the time very little *political class independence* in the American labor movement, that the working class was still dragging behind the political parties of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the advanced and class conscious workers—the Marxists and Socialists—made slight headway

among the masses at a time when the trade-union movement was growing and the daily struggles of the American proletariat for immediate demands were displaying great vigor and outstanding militancy, at a time of truly historic economic battles. It was in these circumstances—around 1886—that Engels expressed the opinion that at the given moment it would be much more important to win a million or two million votes in the November elections for a bona fide working-class party than several hundred thousand votes for a theoretically correct and faultless program.

Opportunists in the United States, as well as abroad, have been trying to interpret these advices of Engels to American Marxists as justifying contempt or indifference to revolutionary theory. They also distorted Engels in the attempt to justify dependence upon spontaneity in the labor movement, to oppose or retard the building up of a truly Marxist and Socialist party as the vanguard party of the American working class. These attempts were not without effects upon the trade unions as well as upon the Socialist party of America which soon after its formation in 1900 began to fall under the domination of petty bourgeois, opportunist leaders. Unfortunately, the reaction of the working-class Left and militant forces in the labor movement to the orientation and line of the opportunists (Gompers, Hillquit, Berger)

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was not always in the spirit of Engels' advices. Rather the reactions of the Left were more often of a sectarian nature, in the direction of syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism (Haywood), of a nature which persisted in using Marxist theory as a dead dogma instead of a live and developing guide to action.

Does it mean that these advices of Engels are no longer valid? No, it does not mean that. Developed further by Lenin and Stalin and applied in new and different conditions by the Communist Parties, these advices of Engels to the American and English Socialists on how to work with the mass movements and struggle of the working class and how to use Marxist theory as a guide to action have become permanent acquisitions of Marxism-Leninism and are still exercising a potent influence in the labor movement of these and other capitalist countries. Applying these ideas of Engels to the present situation, we would draw the following conclusion: to secure millions of votes in an election for a people's *peace party*, or a coalition, headed by the American working class, would be more important than several hundred thousand votes for a theoretically correct and faultless program. But in the present epoch and world situation, we are applying these ideas of Engels in the *pursuit of our policy of the united and people's front against war and fascism*, a policy based upon the strategy and

tactics of Marxism-Leninism, a policy which requires a systematic struggle for the vanguard role of the Communist Party—the party of a new type—and for the theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism. And in doing so, we are applying the equally important views and directives of Engels on the decisive importance of the struggle for revolutionary theory and on the organic relations between the theory and tactics of a Marxist Party.

### ENGELS ON THEORY

Engels viewed the class struggle from *three* sides: "the theoretical, the political and the practical economic" (resistance to capitalist exploitation), and he urged that these three sides of the class struggle be conducted "in harmony, coordination and in a planned way."\* This is the Marxist concept of the *class struggle*—a struggle which takes place not only on the economic and political fields but also on the theoretical field. This is also the Marxist concept of *theory*—not as something isolated from the class struggle or standing above it but as an organic part of the class struggle, as one of its three main sides.

This concept of the class struggle and of theory is of particular value to the labor movement of those countries which suffer from a traditional underestimation of the importance

\* Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, International Publishers, 1926, p. 28.

of theory. Engels pointed out that this "tradition" is most noticeable in the English-speaking countries. And in Engels' time this underestimation of, and contempt for, revolutionary theory was a dominant feature of the labor movement in the United States, as well as in England. This condition, though not so pronounced because of the work and influence of Marxist-Leninist parties, is still a feature and characteristic of the American labor movement, including even the more advanced parts of the movement. Moreover, it cannot be denied that underestimation of the importance of revolutionary theory, or lack of full understanding that the struggle for revolutionary theory is one of the three sides of the class struggle, is to be found also in the ranks of our own Party—the Communist Party.

Bourgeois ideological influences are playing an important part in stimulating these weaknesses of the advanced sectors of the American labor movement on the theoretical front. We are dealing here with the influences of *bourgeois thinking* transmitted to the labor movement through the reformists and opportunists. And of these influences, the most tangible as well as the most pernicious is the glorification of narrow practicality and blind empiricism by the thinkers and ideologists of the American bourgeoisie.

The outstanding characteristics of American bourgeois philosophic

thought are the denial of the existence of *objective* tests for truth; the assertion that the test of truth of an idea is its "workability"; the understanding that "workability" is to mean the ability of an idea to help produce immediate practical advantages for the capitalist class and the capitalist order of society. This is the essence of pragmatism, the dominant current of American bourgeois philosophic thought, a current of philosophic idealism.

These characteristics American bourgeois philosophic thought has acquired in the course of the growth and development of American capitalism, of its economy and its state, and in the upward process of establishing and maintaining the ideological dominance of the bourgeoisie in the United States. This is seen in the prominent role played in American bourgeois thinking by such ideas as that the test of truth is its "workability," its capacity "to produce results," in the glorification of "success" in the immediate, narrow sense.

But the philosophic *idealist basis* of this bourgeois thinking already contains all the elements of the thinking of a historically *declining* ruling class and social order. These elements are: the fear of truly scientific, *i.e.*, objective, generalizations of the laws of development of society; the denial of the objective tests of truth; the denial of the unity of theory and practice; denial of the

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truth that theory is the basis of class ideology and a major side—one of the three sides—of the class struggle.

As a historically declining ruling class, the American bourgeoisie can have no scientific theory, *i.e.*, an objective theory of society, because such theory, by its very nature, must be a *revolutionary* theory. A scientific theory of society can be built up only by the application of dialectical materialism to the study of society; this has been proven the only scientific way. This was the way the Marxist theory of society was created. And this theory has demonstrated, and life has confirmed in large and growing parts of the world, that capitalist society had a beginning in history and must therefore have an end in history, that the socialist system of society must inevitably come to supplant capitalism, and the working class must inevitably become the ruling class of society supplanting the bourgeoisie.

From the foregoing it is clear that the bourgeoisie can not have a scientific theory of society. Therefore, bourgeois ideologists and philosophers are trying to prove that a scientific theory of society is altogether impossible, that Marxism is not a science. In addition, bourgeois ideologists and philosophers are consistently and persistently cultivating an atmosphere and attitude of indifference to and contempt for theory, of separation of theory from

practice, of theory standing above classes and class struggle. The reactionary trade-union bureaucracy and the right social-democratic leaders in the American labor movement, who rarely if ever engage in philosophical and theoretical discussions (in itself a sign of ideological subordination to the bourgeoisie), are in practice, in their own thinking, dominated by the ideas and philosophies of the American bourgeoisie. And these bourgeois ideas and habits of thought they systematically transmit to the labor movement.

Hence, the tremendous importance of the struggle on the theoretical front. For, is it not obvious that with such widespread influence of bourgeois thinking and ideas in the labor movement, the class struggle in the United States simply cannot rise to the necessary heights without being developed simultaneously on all *three* sides: economic, political and theoretical? It is fully obvious that this is so, and that these three sides of the class struggle, as Engels said, have to be conducted "in harmony, co-ordination and in a planned way."

This is a basic idea of Marxism-Leninism. Discussing this very proposition of Engels, in his famous work *What Is To Be Done?* which laid the ideological foundations of a Marxist party (1901-2), Lenin further elaborated the question of the role of theory and formulated what is in effect a law of social development,

namely, that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." In Leninism revolutionary theory has been raised to unprecedented heights. In the Communist Parties—the Marxist parties of a new type—revolutionary theory has become a decisive factor *as a guide to action*. Lenin himself has demonstrated the power of revolutionary theory by his further development of Marxism, by his creation of Marxism-Leninism, especially *by his new theory of the proletarian revolution*.

The power of revolutionary theory, of the creative and living substance of Marxism-Leninism, has been further demonstrated by Stalin's theoretical and political work and leadership. Here we have seen magnificent demonstration of the most profound and far-reaching theoretical analysis, of new theoretical propositions and scientific theories, of the perfect dialectical unity of theory and practice.

In his *Foundations of Leninism*, Stalin devotes a special chapter to the treatment of theory. In it he says:

Theory is the experience of the working class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. Of course, theory becomes aimless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory (p. 28).

Not only Communists, but every

progressive labor leader, and progressive leaders of the American people generally, ought to make this idea their own, part of their own thoughts and actions. Because:

. . . theory can become a tremendous force in the working class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice; for it, and it alone, can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inherent connection between surrounding events; for it, and it alone, can help practice to discern not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future (*Ibid.*, pages 28-29).

This being the creative and powerful progressive role which theory can play in the working class movement, guiding it to advance and victory over the bourgeoisie it is no wonder that the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and its agents in the labor movement do not want the American workers to learn and master revolutionary theory. They prefer having the working class movement in captivity through narrow practicality and blind empiricism, groping in the dark, seeing no perspectives and paths of development. And to achieve this aim, the ideologists of the American bourgeoisie and its agents in the labor movement never tire of spreading indifference to theory and contempt of revolutionary theory. That is why

the ruling class is trying to outlaw the theory of Marxism-Leninism in the trial of the 11 Communist leaders. But this is precisely the reason for the need of the advanced sections of the working class, especially the Communists, to fight for revolutionary theory, to lead the class struggle on all *three* sides: economic, political and theoretical.

Opportunists of all stripes—Right and “left”—are particularly dangerous in their treatment of the relations between theory and practice, between theory and tactics. The right opportunist will bargain away important elements of revolutionary theory, will make “concessions” in theory and principles, on the ground that this is necessary for the practical needs of the movement, “for unity.” This is fundamentally false because concessions in theory and principle *undermine the very foundations* of the movement and thus can only injure and damage the practical needs and interests of the movement. As Marx wrote in his famous *Critique of the Gotha Programme* when the practical needs of the movement require agreements or coalitions with other groups and parties, these should be made but never by bargaining over principles or concessions in theory.

The same ideas are conveyed by Engels in a letter to the Danish Socialist Trier (1889), in which he wrote:

... other parties and measures should be temporarily supported which are either of direct advantage to the proletariat or which represent a step forward in the direction of economic development or of political liberty. . . . I am in favor of this only if the advantage accruing directly for us, or for the historical development of the country along the path of economic and political revolution, is unquestionable and is worth while striving after. Another obligatory condition is that the proletarian class character of the Party shall not thereby be brought into question. That for me is the absolute limit (Cited by D. Z. Manuilsky, “On the 40th Anniversary of Engel’s Death,” International Press Correspondence, 1935, p. 1039).

The “left” opportunist will reject altogether, or distort in a sectarian fashion, the tactic and policy of practical agreements and coalitions on the ground that this in itself compromises our theory or the class character of our Party. But already in their time Marx and Engels, condemning such attitudes, had formulated the fundamental ideas governing the relations between theory and tactics. And for our time, Lenin and Stalin have built up, on the basis of these ideas of Marx and Engels, a complete system of the strategy and tactics, or theory and tactics, of the revolutionary working-class movement. And these we must study and continually strive to master. For one of the greatest needs of our Party work at the present time is *to enrich*

*ideologically and theoretically our political work, on the one hand, and to sharpen up and make more purposeful politically our ideological and theoretical work, on the other hand.*

### IDEOLOGY AND TACTICS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

This need can be seen most clearly by examining the concrete problems confronting American Communists at the present time in the central field of struggle, the struggle for peace. In making such an examination we shall find that our political mass work in the fight for peace needs systematic and substantial ideological strengthening and that our general theoretical and ideological work must be made to serve more directly and immediately the political and tactical aims of the peace struggle.

The practical needs of the struggle for peace demand the united action of all who want peace and are willing to fight for it. In response to this practical need, our Party advocates the broadest possible peace front, regardless of ideology, political views or party affiliations. Our Party stands ready to support, and does support, all measures, no matter how elementary, moderate and partial, helping the fight for peace and hampering the plans of the warmakers.

To realize the immediate practical

needs of the struggle for peace, we follow the tactic or policy of the united proletarian front and people's front. This means we unite with others, non-Communists, with people of diverse and conflicting views on many fundamental and non-fundamental questions, for the specific immediate purpose of advancing the fight for peace *in a concrete and practical way*, for example: to outlaw the atom bomb; to oppose Truman's war budget and war-taxation upon the masses; to demand an end to Wall Street's war upon the Korean people, the withdrawal of all American military forces from Korea and to stop all shipment of war equipment to Wall Street's puppets in Korea; to demand the seating of the representative of China—the China of the Chinese people—in the United Nations, and the restoration of the Security Council to normal functioning, with the Soviet Union enabled to participate; to oppose the fascistic Mundt-Ferguson Bill; to demand an amnesty for all political prisoners—victims of Wall Street's warmongering policies and war aggressions; etc., etc.

Many people will agree—and increasingly broader masses of the people do agree—to fight jointly for some, for many or all of the foregoing practical measures to advance the cause of peace.

Fighting for such and similar peace actions, that is, fighting for the broadest possible front of peace,

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we are naturally joining and uniting with people, groups and organizations having not only different ideologies but also different views on the origin of the war danger and on the present world situation in general. It is quite well known that in the various peace currents and movements in this country today there are groups and tendencies which understand full well that Wall Street, American imperialism, is the source of the war danger, the main instigator and leader of the camp of war, reaction and fascism. This correct understanding of the present world situation and of the true source of the war danger will now spread much more rapidly than heretofore due to Wall Street's war and war aggressions in the Far East—Korea, China, etc., carried through by Truman-Dulles-Taft-Dewey and Co. Those having this correct understanding also see clearly the role of the Soviet Union as the leader of the camp of peace and democracy, as the consistent champion of the policy of peaceful understanding based on the Lenin-Stalin proposition of the possibility and desirability of the peaceful co-existence and competition of the socialist and capitalist systems.

But the growing peace front in the United States embraces people, groups and organizations holding different and even opposing views on these major questions. There are such as insist that both—the United

States and the Soviet Union—are responsible for the war danger, that both have to be condemned, that both must be compelled to follow a policy of peaceful understanding. And as the movements for peace continue to spread, as they inevitably will, there will join even such as will insist that the Soviet Union is more responsible than the American government, at the same time demanding a *peaceful* settlement of differences and disputes.

Two questions arise here. One: does this mean that a peace front is impossible, that united action of all who want peace on practical immediate measures to promote the cause of peace and to restrain the war mongers is not realizable? In other words, does this mean that Communists can not unite with people, groups and organizations holding different and even opposing views on the respective roles in the present world situation of American imperialism and of the Soviet Union? Secondly, does this mean that in joining with others in the peace front we, the Communists, have to make "concessions" on the question of responsibility for the war danger? In other words, does it mean that the fight for peace demands that the Communists give up or compromise their true and proven conviction that the Soviet Union is the leader of the camp of peace and democracy whereas Wall Street, American imperialism, is the leader of the camp

of war, reaction, fascism, colonial and national oppression?

The answer, of course, is well known. It is NO to both questions. A peace front of the broadest sort is possible despite these differences, and the fight for peace does not require that Communists give up or compromise their position on the peace role of the Soviet Union and the war role of American imperialism. Far from requiring that the Communists abandon or weaken their position on the source of the war danger and on the peace leadership of the Soviet Union, the struggle for peace demands categorically that the fight for this correct position among the masses of the American people *be immeasurably improved, broadened and intensified.*

This brings us back to the views of Marx and Engels on tactics and principles developed into a system of strategy and tactics for the present epoch by Lenin and Stalin. Marx advised the German Social-Democrats, in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, to make all necessary agreements and coalitions with other groups and parties required by the practical needs of the movement *but never by bargaining over principles or making "concessions" in theory.* And Engels advised the Danish Socialists in later years to support temporarily other parties and measures *provided these are of direct advantage to the proletariat, represent a step forward in the direction of*

*economic development or of political liberty, and the proletarian class character of the Party is not thereby brought into question.*

Viewing the above two questions from the standpoint of this advice of Marx and Engels, we see the following:

In fighting for the unity of action of all adherents of peace, for the broadest possible peace front, we are fighting for something, which, in the words of Engels, is of "direct advantage" to the American working class because the American working class and the masses of the American people as a whole need and want peace. Further, joining with all so minded in the fight for peace, *for the maintainance of world peace*, is an action that goes in the direction of social and political progress, marking "a step forward in economic development and political liberty." This, too, is clear. Peace, in the present world situation, goes hand in hand with democracy just as war goes hand in hand with reaction and fascism. The struggle for peace goes hand in hand with the fight for national freedom and independence just as war goes hand in hand with national and colonial oppression. The struggle for peace creates conditions and forces willing and able to move forward to fundamental progressive social and political changes; war is the banner of the social forces—the monopolies—that promote social and political

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reaction and retrogression. In other words, the policy of the united and people's front in the fight for peace—for the creation of a powerful peace front of the American people—meets the requirements of correct Marxist-Leninist policy.

It is a *practical* policy. The struggle for peace touches and meets such fundamental interests and profound desires of the masses of the American people that, *regardless of the great diversity of political views and ideologies*, a broad unity of peace action *is possible*. We are already witnessing its beginnings. No matter what one may think of Marxism, Communism, of the role of the Soviet Union, etc., etc., the forces feeding the desire for peace and opposition to war are so great that they are bound to prevail, moving ever larger and broader masses to the developing peace front, to united actions on practical demands to promote the cause of peace.

It is a policy which excludes all and every kind of bargaining over principles and "concessions" in theory and ideology. We don't ask others to abandon or compromise their ideologies and principles *as a condition for united action for peace*, and we accept no such conditions for ourselves. On the contrary, we are duty bound to spread, propagate and fight for our ideology and principles among the masses, everywhere and in all fields of struggle, *with ever greater intensity and determina-*

*tion*. And here we recall Engels again: the class struggle has *three* sides—economic, political and theoretical, and these three must be conducted "in harmony, co-ordination *and in a planned way*" (Our emphasis—A. B.).

As an example, we take the question of the respective roles of American imperialism and of the Soviet Union in the present world situation. We do not demand as a condition for united peace actions on one or another issue the acceptance of our view on this question, nor do we accept the demand that we ourselves abandon or compromise our position as a condition for united peace action. Why do we reject categorically any idea of abandoning or compromising our position on the peace role of the Soviet Union "for the sake of unity?" For two main reasons:

1. The fight for peace will be won by the American people, headed by the American working class, in alliance with the peace forces of the world only by defeating the Wall Street imperialists, fascists and warmakers at home, by curbing the powers of the monopolies in the United States to make war, by actively supporting the world struggle for peace and democracy led by the Soviet Union. This is basic and fundamental. It is therefore the duty and task of the advanced forces in the camp of peace in the United States to seek *to convince and to persuade*

the majority of the American people, first of all, the working class, that this is *the only way* to win the fight for peace; *and to do so in the very process of daily united actions for peace.* This right and duty to propagate our ideas on how to win the peace we cannot abandon or compromise because this will mean compromising and abandoning our historic role of *vanguard* in the fight for peace and democracy and that amounts to weakening the fight for peace.

Another aspect of this question is the vital need of *exposing and combating* the enemies of peace, the agents of Wall Street, parading as peace supporters who "believe" that both sides are at fault, or that the Soviet Union is more at fault than American imperialism. These Wall Street agents are becoming increasingly more active. Among them are Titoites, Trotskyites, Right Social-Democrats, etc. This is a different matter from convincing and persuading honest fighters for peace of the correctness of our position on the source of the war danger. *This is a case of fighting the enemy within the peace camp*, by exposing his so-called objectivity and impartiality ("both sides are responsible") as a shield for sabotage and disruption of the peace movement.

2. The fight for peace is historically a fight for democracy and socialism. This is true objectively, regardless of whether everybody so understands it. But for us, Communists, this is also

true subjectively, because this is how we understand the fight for peace. For us the fight for peace in the present world situation is, first, a fight to prevent a new world war, a fight to maintain world peace, to make possible the peaceful co-existence of the socialist and capitalist systems; and, secondly, it is a fight to curb the economic and political power of the monopolies, to make them impotent to bring fascism and to provoke war, and to proceed from victory in this struggle—to the fight to abolish capitalism and establish Socialism, which will eliminate forever the causes of war, fascism, national oppression and class exploitation. In other words, in the Marxist-Leninist concept, the struggle for peace will create *the approaches and requisites* for the transition to the socialist revolution (not to socialism itself but the approaches to the socialist revolution), carried through by the American working class led by the Communist Party, in alliance with all exploited classes and groups, in alliance with the Negro national liberation movement headed by the Negro proletariat.

Thus, we see the role of the Communist Party as vanguard not only in the fight for peace and democracy but also in the historic advance of the American people, headed by the working class, to the socialist revolution and Socialism in the United States. Consequently, we cannot abandon or compromise our right and duty to propagate and ad-

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vocate the ideas of Socialism. We cannot abandon or compromise our right and duty to seek to make the American workers and their allies conscious of the historic meaning of the fight for peace as a fight which will create the approaches and requisites for the transition to the Socialist revolution. That is, we cannot do so without abandoning and weakening our role as vanguard in the fight for peace, democracy, national independence and Socialism—the fight inspired on a world scale by the Soviet Union.

We fight for peace, as we fight for democracy and national independence, as working class internationalists. Working class internationalism is the only complete and permanent answer to the problems of peace, democracy and national freedom. And the Soviet Union is the very embodiment of working class internationalism. *To make this truth widely known and accepted by the American people is to render the greatest possible service to the struggle for peace.*

Consequently, we must now increase immeasurably our work for peace, for the peace front, for the unity of the American people headed by the working class to halt Wall Street's war against the Korean people, to halt Wall Street's aggressions against the Chinese people, to prevent another world war—to outlaw the atom bomb and to brand as a war criminal the government first

using the bomb. We must carry on the fight for peace in close connection with the fight for democracy—against the Mundt-Ferguson Bill, for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, for the amnesty of all political prisoners, for the freedom of Eugene Dennis, the valiant leader and fighter in the cause of peace, democracy and Socialism. We must carry on the fight for peace in close connection with the fight for the equal rights of the Negro people and support for the Negro national liberation struggles, against anti-Semitism, against all forms of national discrimination. Finally, we must carry on the fight for peace in close connection with the economic struggles of the masses, with their fight for higher wages and shorter hours, against speed-up, with the struggles to protect the masses from the effects of the developing economic crisis which the growing war economy and war-stimulated inflation are driving to. We must connect the struggle for peace with the fight to protect the income of the small farmers and poor middle classes.

Guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, we shall strive now with all our strength, in the light of the new situation created by Wall Street's war and direct acts of aggression in Korea, China, etc., to fulfill our responsibilities as the vanguard fighters of the American people for peace, democracy, equal rights and Socialism.

# Theoretical Aspects of the People's Struggle in the South\*

by Jim Jackson

Southern Regional Secretary, C.P.U.S.A.

THE SOUTH is an economically retarded, mainly agricultural region in the United States. Comparatively retarded technically, the South is relieved by scattered areas of industrialization centered upon the extraction of the natural resources—oil, coal, ore, timber, cotton products, etc. These are almost completely in the hands of monopoly absentee ownership. Industrial development, and consequently the workers, of the South are centered in a few cities. These are, outstandingly, Birmingham, New Orleans, Winston-Salem, Chattanooga and Memphis.

It is the South that holds the prison-house of the oppressed Negro nation — an enslaved people whom the ruling class strives to whip and starve into abject, eternal submission. The South is that region where the elementary rights of the people have long been, and are now more than ever, ground into the earth by a tiny group of white hirelings of the landlord - banker - industrialist interests.

Here the pro-fascist forces have attained a certain mass base, and hold considerable political power on local and state levels. Here the outright fascist forces have acquired form in the Dixiecrat Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

The South is the incubator and exporter of white chauvinism, cultural obscurantism and a variety of reactionary ideologies. The powers that be utilize these ideologies in every part of the United States to persecute and exploit the Negro people, to divide the ranks of the working class, and to isolate the working class from its strategic ally—the oppressed Negro people.

To observe the South today is to have a preview, as it were, of the kind of "way of life" which Wall Street and its minions in the government are striving to impose upon the American people and the peoples of the world. As the prominent Negro sociologist, O. C. Cox, observes in his noteworthy book, *Caste, Class and Race*:

Probably in no other country of the

\* A Report to the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A. Abridged text.

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world are the philosophies and practices of racial mastery so openly and tenaciously held to as in the South. In this case *the South is not a backwood country of the United States; it is, in fact, to a very considerable extent, at the very head of the diplomatic and political destiny of the nation.*\* (Emphasis mine—J.J.)

The heavy reactionary influence of the South on the political life and future of the nation as a whole is instantly suggested by the following isolated facts:

From the 13 Southern States, with a combined total voting electorate of just a half million more than New York State alone, the South has 122 Congressmen and 26 Senators in the United States Congress. "What's more, these plantation-Democrats are Chairmen of 11 of the 19 standing House Committees and 8 of the 15 standing Senate Committees."\*\* Southerners dominate the field and higher command posts of the Armed Forces.

One could prepare an almost endless bill of particulars to document the charge that the South exercises a reactionary and oppressive influence upon all areas of the political, economic, social and cultural life of the United States. But the truth of this is well known and needs no elaboration here.

What needs to be underscored

throughout this report is not the reactionary weight of the South on American life, but the too poorly appreciated fact that the South is that region of the United States where the most powerful revolutionary pressures may develop. For here the class contradictions merge with the liberation struggle of the subject Negro nation in the Black Belt. The Southern region of this, the richest, most powerful imperialist country in the world, is an economic, political and cultural hinterland. It gives rise to powerful interconnected potentially revolutionary forces, namely: the Negro national liberation movement and the agrarian movement, which constitute a mighty supporting force of the American working class and an organic part of the progressive movement in the country as a whole. Correspondingly, every advance of the working-class and popular democratic forces of the country as a whole facilitates the democratic advance of the Southern masses.

Our attitude toward the South is in a very practical sense a measure of the maturity of our Party. The special features of the South—the peculiar interlinking of the national question and the struggle for socialism—pose for our Party complicated problems which will test to the utmost our ability to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively and concretely, to translate basic principles into correct tactics, and to find the organizational forms for their practical ap-

\* O. C. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race*, New York, 1948, p. 38.

\*\* John Pittman, *Daily Worker*, January 10, 1950.

plication. Our attitude toward the South is also a basic test of the maturity of our Party, in that our maturity will be measured by the extent to which we express in practice our understanding of the significance of the South for the struggles of the working class in the whole country, namely: for the people's fight for peace and in defense of their liberties now under assault by reaction's drive toward fascism, for the struggle against the developing economic crisis and its consequences to the people, for the frustration of Wall Street's bipartisan imperialist program of world domination, for the emancipation of the Negro nation, and for opening the way toward the struggle for socialism.

If we emphasize this point so sharply it is because too often, among progressives generally and even in the ranks of our Party, there is a tendency to view the South merely as a reactionary drag, economically, politically, and socially, upon the country as a whole. It is true that the South is a retarded, backward section of the land; that the Negro nation in the Black Belt, because of its oppressed status, has some of the characteristics of a colonial country. But it must be emphasized that the social effects of this condition sharpen the forms of struggle against Southern slave-master landlordism and monopoly capital. Above all, up from the backward South, there is growing in consciousness a potentially

powerful democratic and revolutionary force, the oppressed and imprisoned Negro nation, which is fighting, and will fight, on a scale as yet unimagined, for its liberation from the imperialist bondage of Wall Street-Dixiecrat slavemasters.

#### IRON LID OF GOVERNMENTAL VIOLENCE

The capitalist ruling class has always been conscious of its special vulnerability in the South, of what a tremendously powerful potential reserve for democracy and socialism exists there. Hence, the constant alertness of Wall Street—and of both of its parties, the Democratic and the Republican—openly to use the state apparatus to crush and stifle every available means the freedom aspirations and movement of the Negro masses, and to strive to prevent any linking in common action of the Southern Negro and white toiling masses.

This becomes immediately evident in even a cursory examination of the functioning of the state apparatus of the South.

Notwithstanding even the limited bourgeois-democratic patterns set forth in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution, which endeavor to define in a general way the methods by which the bourgeoisie might exercise its class rule, we know that the capitalist class in our country, both historically and at the present time

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utilizes varying methods of rule to maintain its class domination over the economic and political life of the country. All of these methods of rule are indispensable to the bourgeoisie in order to maintain its class domination. They have their expression in the uneven reflection of the meager democratic rights possessed by the people from one State to another. In the name of "State's Rights," a variety of methods of rule on the part of state and local government has developed within the United States. But in the South, state, county and municipal government seem to have no recognizable relationship even to the limited bourgeois-democratic methods of rule of the financial oligarchy over the rest of the United States. Southern state and local governments are thoroughly anti-popular, capitalist-landlord dictatorships imposing their will upon the people through the terroristic enforcement of fascist-like laws which countermand and negate most of the limited rights proclaimed by the U.S. Constitution. American imperialism maintains its class rule in the South through state governments which in their essence are police-state in character, which bear down upon the democratic aspirations, lives and liberties of the masses like an iron lid.

In the South the imperialist ruling class has long since resorted to extreme measures of police-state-like repressions of popular liberties—lynching, disenfranchisement, terror,

etc.—in order to sustain its class domination. The extreme measures of anti-democratic absolutism to which the Southern oligarchy resorts are in themselves an indication of the potential power of the revolutionary currents there at work. It is to an analysis of the nature and significance of these revolutionary tendencies in the South that the balance of this report will be devoted.

\* \* \*

Within the South today, three revolutionary tendencies operate, which are:

I. The proletarian class struggle, expressed in the existence of a trade-union movement, embracing Negro and white workers, in sharpening working-class resistance, and in the existence in the South of a regional organization of the Communist Party, vanguard of the working class, the class which must historically move to exercise leadership in the struggle of all the oppressed. This special responsibility of the Southern workers—Negro and white—can of course be fulfilled only in inseparable connection with, and as a specialized component of, the American working class in the realization of the historic class destiny.

II. The struggle of the subject Negro nation in the Black Belt of the South for national liberation.

III. The struggle for the completion of the long retarded and frustrated agrarian revolution in the

Black Belt, and for reforms in landlord-tenant relations, for the division of the monopolized land, and for the wiping out of the feudal-slave remnants of agrarian economy in the South as a whole.

The further unfolding of the Negro national liberation struggle in the Black Belt and the struggle for radical agrarian reform for the South as a whole, is a prime responsibility of the working class and its vanguard Party. These are two sectors of the war on the "Southern front" that the working class leads and unites with the class struggle against capitalism and in coalition with all democratic forces against the imperialist ruling class for the defense and advancement of democracy, against fascist reaction and the war danger, and the speeding of the creation of the conditions for the advance toward Socialism.

Let us examine separately these potentially powerful revolutionary tendencies which constitute the principal driving forces in the South on the side of progress.

### I. THE LEADING ROLE OF SOUTHERN WORKERS

The proletariat, historically destined to abolish capitalism and establish Socialism, is the most decisive revolutionary force; it plays the leading role in the national liberation movement and in the agrarian revolution. The Southern workers suffer from the effects of the special oppres-

sion of the Negro people. They are subjected to lower wage differentials, inferior health and educational facilities, and cultural degradation. The Southern workers on the whole come directly from the poor farmers and sharecroppers and are closely bound up with the toiling population of the land. This fact serves as the basis for facilitating the development of the organized struggle on the countryside and the establishment by the working class of its leadership in the struggle of the rural masses against their Bourbon-landlord oppression and Wall Street domination.

Negro workers in the South suffer from super-exploitation similar in certain respects to that of workers in the colonies. Their wage scales are lower, their hours longer, their working conditions poorer. They are subjected to Jim-Crow and lynching and are denied elementary human rights. But the ruling oligarchy disfranchises the overwhelming majority of white workers along with the Negro people, curtails the workers' right to organize, strike, etc. Few Southern states have any decent legislation to protect the rights of labor, to prohibit child labor or to provide for the rights of women workers. The struggles of the workers to secure their livelihood and better their working conditions face local and state political regimes which are especially oppressive and brutally anti-labor.

The labor movement as a whole must do everything to aid the un-

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folded economic struggles of the Southern workers against speed-up, wage differentials, health and safety hazards, etc., and for adequate state unemployment benefits, F.E.P.C., and revocation of garnishee laws. We must not content ourselves with moralizing at the white textile workers, for example, about the backwardness of their leadership in "preserving" their industry for white workers only. But rather we must help them develop their economic battles with the textile barons and in the course of these struggles on issues that they can see now, expose the untenability of their white chauvinist anti-working class attitudes toward their Negro class brothers. Here it should be noted what is sometimes overlooked, namely that notwithstanding the fact that their class-consciousness is retarded by the ruling-class poison of white chauvinism, the Southern white workers have shown in practice that they are militant fighters on economic issues.

We must do all we can to stimulate and where necessary initiate the organization of the unorganized workers, including the domestic workers.

Above all, we must participate in, and give practical detailed service to, all aspects of the struggles of the white trade unionists, that we may more rapidly learn how to combat effectively their white supremacy prejudices. We must elevate the class consciousness of the Southern work-

ers to an appreciation on their part, not only of the need for interracial trade-union solidarity, but also of the historic responsibility of the working class to give leadership in the struggle of all the oppressed masses for liberation from the tyranny and exploitation of the rule of the men of the trusts and the landlords.

## II. THE NEGRO NATION'S STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

The struggle of the Negro people, in the contiguous area of the South where they are a majority of the population, is the struggle of an oppressed and enslaved nation for freedom from all forms of national oppression, for political rights to secure and safeguard their interests (present and future), for the right to self-determination. This struggle of the oppressed Negro nation is not expressed today directly in the demand for its basic right to full national independence. It is expressed today in the time-honored slogan "For equal rights." The full implications of this slogan, raised on the banners of all oppressed nations, are thus summed up by Lenin: "Yes . . . equality in everything including state construction, experience in constructing 'their own state.'"\* The summons of Karl Marx 80 years ago to the working class of England to make the cause of Irish

\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 285.

national liberation its own fight—in its own interest—holds a timely lesson for the American working class with regards to its responsibility to the struggle of the oppressed Negro nation for liberation.

Marx put the question pointedly in the following passages that Lenin singled out for special emphasis:

*The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland. . . . English reaction in England had its roots . . . in the subjugation of Ireland.\**

Irish history shows one how disastrous it is for a nation, when it has subjugated another nation. All the abominations of the English have their origin in the Irish Pale.\*\*

And here is an estimate by Lenin of the importance of this question:

The important thing is not the question as to whether one-fiftieth of one-hundredth part of the small nations will be liberated before the socialist revolution, but the fact that in the epoch of imperialism, owing to objective causes, the proletariat has been split up into two international camps, one of which is corrupted by the crumbs which fall from the table of the bourgeoisie of the Great Powers—obtained, among other sources, from the two-fold or three-fold exploitation of small nations—while the other cannot free itself without freeing the small nations, without educating the masses in an anti-chauvinist, *i.e.*,

anti-annexationist, *i.e.*, “self-determinationist,” spirit.\*\*\*

The long-brewing struggle of the oppressed Negro nation to break its chains of bondage takes on a special significance at the moment; for, being anti-imperialist in essence, it is directed against the oppressor of the Negro people as a whole, in the entire country, against Wall Street, the organizer of the fascist offensive and atomic war, and its reactionary class representatives in the South.

The struggle of the Negro nation for freedom from all oppression, for the right to exercise majority political power in government and decisive authority over all public institutions in the Black Belt areas where they constitute the majority of the population, is joined on one issue or another, at one level or another, by all classes among the Negro people. However, only a step-by-step examination of the class forces of the Negro nation will enable us properly to assess the role each of them can play in the national liberation struggle in the Black Belt. It is thus that we can determine how best the working class can play the role, which is its alone, of leading this struggle to victories on limited issues at the present level of the struggle as well as for the full program in the future.

#### THE NEGRO WORKERS

The Negro industrial workers

\* Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 280.

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 264.

\*\*\* Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, International Publishers, p. 149.

from the standpoint of class consciousness, are the most mature component of the Southern workers. They have a double hatred of the capitalist: as a direct exploiter of their own labor power and also as the white oppressor of their people. While the counterparts of the Townsends, Weavers, Randolphins and assorted lackeys of Murray, Green and Co. are also to be found among Southern Negro trade-union leaders, the fact is that the Negro worker has, in the main, been barred from the ranks of the "aristocracy of labor," and has been denied promotions to the better-paying jobs. For these and other reasons, the Negro workers are more easily freed from reformist illusions. Furthermore, within the ranks of organized labor the Negro worker has had to wage an ever-continuing battle for fair play and equality of relationships against white trade-union leaders who in the main are at once labor reformists and white chauvinists. His heroism on the picket lines and his stubborn, persistent presentation of the fact that the self-interests of his white fellow-workers dictate that they join hands with him on all common issues, have been a powerful educational influence on the white workers in spite of all the propaganda and punitively enforced Jim-Crow laws of the industrialist-Bourbons of the South. The proof of this is the large number of unions embracing Negro and white workers. Through the Negro work-

ers the Negro liberation struggles are linked to the class struggle of the proletariat. Furthermore, the class position of the Negro workers enables them more readily to understand the limitations of Negro bourgeois leadership, whose class interests supersede their Negro national loyalties at each critical juncture in the national liberation struggle.

For these and other reasons, the Negro workers alone are capable of providing consistent leadership to the Negro liberation movement.

#### THE NEGRO BOURGEOISIE

The necessity for the Negro workers to play the leading role in the struggle for Negro liberation is not in contradiction to the fact that this struggle embraces the interests and enjoys the active participation of all classes of the Negro nation, including its bourgeoisie. The Southern Negro bourgeoisie in the Black Belt has not exhausted its potential for playing a progressive role in the struggle for Negro liberation. On the contrary, possibilities continue for wide sections of that class to play a progressive role in the future development of the national liberation movement.

The bourgeoisie of the oppressed Negro nation, because of its class character and because of its special peculiarity as a "bourgeoisie within a bourgeoisie," essentially fights for the status of "acceptance" and, broadly

speaking, integration in the camp of the dominant exploiting and oppressing class. But it is precisely because the ruling class refuses it that status and excludes it from any such integration, and because it shares the general oppression suffered by the other class forces of the Negro nation, that its progressive potentialities are not exhausted. It must be stressed, however, that the role which it will play cannot be blueprinted. This will depend upon the specific objective conditions under which the national liberation movement develops, the general course of the struggle for democracy and socialism in the country as a whole, and specifically and largely upon how actively and consistently the working class undertakes its full responsibility in mobilizing, stimulating and leading all of the class forces of the Negro nation.

As the struggle of the Negro masses for national liberation assumes more and more revolutionary forms, the white ruling class will be forced to execute diverse maneuvers to maintain its domination. It will increasingly use the classic tactic of applauding, flattering, buying off and corrupting certain prominent representatives of the Negro upper classes and use them to compromise the mass struggle for liberation. The bourgeoisie, even of an oppressed nation, abjures militant mass struggles and always seizes upon the first mean crumb of a concession from

the oppressor to desert the liberation struggle and to exert its influence to demobilize it. Therefore, as a component of the national liberation front it is tenuous, unstable, unreliable and limited.

Lenin dealt with this matter as follows:

... for the imperialist bourgeoisie is trying with all its might to implant the reformist movement also among the oppressed nations. A certain rapprochement has been brought about between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and those of the colonial countries, so that very often even in the majority of cases, perhaps, where the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries does support the national movement, it simultaneously works in harmony with the imperialist bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, it joins the latter in fighting against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes.\*

#### THE NEGRO RURAL MASSES

The main forces among the Negro majority in the Black Belt are the urban proletariat and the rural poor. It is the agricultural workers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers and small farmers, ground down by the plantation system and monopolies, who, together with, and under the leadership of, the urban proletariat, are the main army of the Negro nation in its struggle for liberation. As Lem Harris outlined the position of these rural class forces:

\* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 241.

There is hunger for the land and a need for help in obtaining it, in repairing the damaged soil, and in getting equipment to work it. Blocking such changes is the planters' power to oppress the Negroes and, as a result, to enslave poor whites as well. "White supremacy" is the main foundation of plantation rule. . . . *The fight for Negro rights is also the fight against the plantation, and conversely the weakening and final break-up of the plantation is essential to Negro liberation.\**

The organized activation of the Negro rural masses of the Black Belt in particular (as in the South as a whole) in struggles for peace, democratic rights, social security and land reform is mandatory for the further development of the national liberation movement of the Negro people.

As a result of Wall Street's cold war boycott of trade with almost half the world, serious reductions were ordered by the government in the acreage allotted for cotton, tobacco, and sugar, the main staples of Southern agricultural production. This has resulted in a severe worsening of the already-impoorished condition of the tenant farmers and sharecroppers. It has resulted in an increase of farm laborers and migrant workers, of unemployed and homeless rural workers, and in an intensified rate of ruination of the rural poor. Here it might be noted that the numerical growth of the farm laborers—the mobile village proletariat—is of greatest

significance; for they constitute the link between the urban proletariat and the sharecroppers, tenant farmers, etc.

The struggle of the Negro rural poor against imperialism is directed on two fronts: first, for the possession of the land, for the fulfillment of the goals of the agrarian revolution, and secondly, for liberation from their national oppression. Though opportunities for contact with their white brothers are much more limited than is the case with the Negro workers of the cities and villages, the Negro and white rural poor are linked objectively in common struggle for freedom from the bondage of the plantation system through the realization of the agrarian revolution in the Black Belt of the South.

Apart from the progressive class forces we have discussed, the Negro students and intellectuals in the South are a positive and important factor in the national liberation movement. The ruling class is sensitive to this. Through restriction and control of the "foundations" and the meager funds "charitably" allotted to Negro colleges by Wall Street, it strives to corrupt, bribe and subdue both teachers and students. But its design to make the Negro universities centers for the production of Negro misleaders meets firm resistance.

#### URGENT NEEDS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The program of the national libera-

\* Lem Harris. "Toward a Land Program for the South," *Political Affairs*, March 1949, p. 89.

tion movement must reflect those issues which are common to the oppressed Negro nation as a whole, at the same time embodying the special progressive demands of each class component of the oppressed nation.

The primary task of our Party in the South is to help in every way to consolidate this front of national liberation and to lead it into ever higher and more resolute stages of the anti-imperialist struggle. Specifically, this means that:

1. We must greatly enlarge and strengthen our connections with, and influence upon, the existing city, state and national organizations and influential individuals and institutions in Negro life.

2. We must do everything to extend the trade-union organizing activities among the unorganized Negro workers—men and women, in the small towns as well as the big cities, in the service trades as well as the basic industries.

3. We must help further the speedy organization of Negro trade unionists (in the key cities of the South) into suitable forms of associations, either within existing Labor Committees of the N.A.A.C.P. or in special local Negro labor councils. This is necessary to strengthen the fight of Negroes for jobs, to secure and improve the status of the Negro workers within the trade-union movement, and to mobilize, train, and deploy Negro trade-union cadres to fill strategic positions of leadership

in the organizations and struggles of the broad Negro national liberation movement.

4. We must speed the organization of Negro tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and agricultural workers and insure their close connection with the general union organization of the whole South.

5. We must look to the early formation of a militant anti-imperialist, interracial student organization on Southern college campuses.

6. We must look toward the early development of a powerful independent united women's movement in the South, interracial in composition wherever possible. In defense of the lives and future of their children and on a whole number of welfare and service needs, women in the South are prepared to move in a much more conscious and organized way to make their independent contribution to the general struggle.

7. We must seize every opportunity to develop unity actions and conferences on minimum programs or single issues (*e.g.*, the Negro vote) on city and state levels.

8. The presence of thousands of Negro veterans of World War II among the workers in the cities and the toilers of the countryside and in the colleges of the Black Belt is a factor of enormous significance for the future development of the national liberation movement. In most of the South, as a result of the discriminatory Jim-Crow policies of the

major veterans' organizations, the Negro veterans remain unorganized. The independent organization of Negro veterans in the South in a veterans' association, on a local and South-wide scale that would maintain the extended hand of fellowship to white veterans to join with them, would greatly strengthen the Negro liberation movement.

9. On every issue, at each stage of the development of the struggle, we must take pains to establish the relationship of the particular action of the Negro masses to the advanced self-interest of the white masses, to the South as a whole, to the nation, and to the general cause of world peace and democracy. Thus will we more and more master the art of attracting the white workers to active participation in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people.

10. Basic for developing the Negro liberation movement in the Black Belt specifically, and the democratic struggles in the South as a whole, is the building of our Party in that region, among the Negro and white workers, with special attention to workers in the Black Belt cities and towns. The Party must be built so that it can fulfill its vanguard role of strengthening and consolidating the various movements and organizations that come into being as the struggle develops. The Party has a special role in the national liberation movement; for under the conditions of the imperialist epoch only a na-

tional liberation movement that is molded and led by the Communist Party can be victorious, and only the Communist Party can connect up the struggle for national liberation with the working-class struggle for Socialism as the guarantor of the complete and final victory of the struggle for national liberation and cultural fulfillment.

### III. TOWARD THE FULFILLMENT OF THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

We know from the history of the development of American capitalism that the existence of a "free land frontier" until 1890 and the scarcity of labor power were important factors in spurring on the quantitative and qualitative growth of industrialization of the country as a whole. As a consequence of these factors and others, American agriculture developed capitalist forms that corresponded with the given stages of development of the mode of production and exchange.

But that is not fully true with the South. Here the mode of production of the agricultural economy was at first based on the accumulation of wealth extracted from utterly unrequited slave labor. The basic means of production, the land, was the private monopoly of a handful of planter-landlords. One of the basic unfulfilled missions of the betrayed Democratic Reconstruction of the South was the failure to carry

through the agrarian revolution. Though the character of the labor force has changed from Negro slaves to a combination of semi-serf and barely paid free labor—Negro and white—the bulk of whom still occupy a relation to the land they till somewhat similar to the European serfs of the Middle Ages—the semi-feudal, semi-slave production relations on the big plantations of the South remain.

The plantation landlord, like his counterpart a hundred years ago, is to this day supreme master over all those sharecropper and tenant families who live on his property. The rules he promulgates for governing and operating his plantation take precedence in practice over all formal democratic rights and lawful privileges to which his "hands" may lay claim. The land hunger and the struggle of the landless Negro and white farmers against the planter-monopolists of the land is an elemental revolutionary force operating both within the Black Belt and throughout the entire South.

Lenin placed great importance on the responsibility of the working class for the development of the agrarian revolution in its own interest. He wrote as follows in his article on "American Black Redistribution":

Our constant aim, not to be forgotten for a single moment, must be the organization of a separate, independent party of the proletariat, striving, through all the democratic upheavals, towards a complete Socialist revolution. But to

turn our backs upon the peasant movement on this ground would be hopeless philistinism and pedantry. No, there is no doubt about the revolutionary and democratic nature of this movement, but we must support it with all our power, develop it, make it politically conscious and definite in a class sense, push it further, march together with it hand in hand to the end—since our goal lies very much further than that of any peasant movement. We are marching to the final goal—the end of the very division of society into classes.\*

The necessities and opportunities of the times dictate that everything be done to speed the development of a really mass fighting organization on the Southern countryside, uniting hundreds of thousands of rural poor behind a program of struggle for the economic, social, political and cultural needs of the country common folk, Negro and white.

The organization of the masses on the countryside must be initiated by the advanced workers and must be developed first of all in those rural districts in closest proximity to urban centers of working-class strength. The struggles in the rural areas will be expressed through a number of provisional organizational forms initially, which, as these struggles develop, will come to achieve a single effective form, corresponding to the demands and the consciousness of the rural masses.

In undertaking most earnestly our responsibility toward speeding the

\* Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, pp. 127-128.

organization of the Southern countryside, we shall be helping to assure, in the words of Stalin, "that the broadest and most powerful strata of the petty-bourgeoisie, the peasantry, will be transformed from potential reserves of the bourgeoisie into real reserves of the proletariat."

The ruling class apologists are assiduously promoting the thesis that a quiet, peaceful, industrial revolution has already taken place in Southern agriculture and that all that remains is for the social mores to adapt themselves to the new mechanized mode of production on the countryside.

Mechanization is not going forward at such a rate in this hour of the general *decline* of capitalist economy, that the semi-feudal plantation system is being wafted away automatically.

The "mechanization" worshippers at the trough of economic determinism utterly fail to understand the moribund condition of American imperialism. Their hallelujah paeans to the cotton picking machine as the magic nostrum for the South's ills have no justification in the statistical facts on the number of picking-machines, tractors, and other farm machinery in use in the South. One swallow does not make a spring, nor a handful of mechanical cotton pickers an agrarian revolution. Even if we should assume what is not the case, namely, the widespread mechanization of Southern agriculture, we cannot for a moment forget that such

mechanization of agriculture under capitalism would itself create mass unemployment. It would uproot from the land and separate from means of subsistence a vast rural population, with resulting aggravation of all the social problems of the South.

The economic outlook for the rural poor of the South is not one of prosperity through mechanization but of increased misery and impoverishment brought about by the developing economic crisis.

The perspective for the rural South is that of an organized mass movement of farm laborers, sharecroppers, tenants and small farmers engaging the landlord class and the forces of repression of the state apparatus in sharpening struggles for land and liberty.

Such are the main features of the three revolutionary currents in the South which it is our task to help deepen, broaden and strengthen in order to further develop the fullness of their respective independent power and to facilitate their conscious unification under the leadership of the Southern workers, and in coordination with the working class and people's movement of the rest of the country.

#### CAMP OF THE PEOPLE'S ENEMY

What are the forces which constitute the camp of the people's enemy in the South?

The trusts, the banks, the monopolists, in a word, the finance capitalist

oligarchy which controls the economy of the whole country is also the real owner of the South. As Harry Haywood notes: "The Morgans, Rockefellers, duPonts, Mellons are today the real owners of the South. . . . It is they who dominate the commanding heights of southern economic life, they who have underwritten the plantation system and its color-caste system. Their banks maintain the credit structure without which the plantation could not live. It is they who control the South's steel, coal, railroads, and utilities."\* As Haywood further points out, for example: "the State of Georgia is 85 percent absentee owned, '50 cents of every dollar on deposit in Georgia banks is owned in the North'."

The Southern white capitalists and landlords, whom Haywood characterizes as Wall Street's pro-consuls, are indeed the commanders of the outposts of reaction in the South, against whom the Southern workers, the Negro liberation and agrarian-revolutionary forces must direct their fire in the first instance.

The Southern white capitalists have no independent status. Ever since 1776 they have filled the position of "front men" in the South for the absentee Northern landlords. . . . It is their job to maintain the Southern lag and poverty as an essential condition for the extraction of super-profits from the starvation

labor of the Negro and white masses. They desperately oppose all efforts to lift the South out of its lowly economic and cultural state."\* The Southern white capitalists have long been integrated (on the lower levels) into Wall Street's pyramid of monopolistic control of the economic life of the whole country.

The contradictions between the interests of sectors of the Southern white capitalists and the Wall Street monopolists is made much of by the most reactionary Southern political demagogues—Talmadge of Georgia, Long and Perez of Louisiana, etc. However, the fact is that these apparent contradictions are primarily reflections of the jockeying for supremacy that goes on within the camp of the big Wall Street bandits and are of but small tactical advantage to the people's forces. Hence, the efforts of certain Southern liberals to portray the viciously reactionary Southern white capitalists as the outraged victims of the Wall Street plunderers only serves to disorientate the masses, blunt their class-consciousness and foster illusions about "common interests" with their own exploiters against Wall Street.

The Southern white capitalists and landlords dominate all levels of political power in Southern governments. With capital supplied by Wall Street corporations Southern capitalists and landlords spawned the openly fascist Dixiecrat Party and its semi-military

\* Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation*, International Publishers, New York, 1948, p. 55.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 53

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Standing behind the landlords, industrialists and bankers—the direct exploiters and oppressors of the Southern masses — and defending their every whim and interest, are the ruthlessly autocratic county, local and State governments, supported and backed up by the punitive powers of the Federal Government. O. C. Cox mercilessly castigates the relationship of the Federal Government to the lynchocracy of the South in this significant passage:

It is this assurance of the continuing availability of the armed violence of the nation which gives confidence and authority to the anti-democratic class, while it produces inaction and irresolution in the advocates of democracy. Organized violence is practically all on one side of the table.

The master-race idea and fascism can be purged from the social system only by a change in the system itself; and for great powers this is ordinarily a domestic undertaking.\*

This Wall Street-dominated Federal Government is not interested in opening up the South to economic and political democratic development as certain reformists maintain; rather, it is striving to impose through its Mundt-Ferguson bills, Foley Square trials, etc., the Southern form of naked and tyrannical class dictatorship over the entire country—and the world.

The popular forces for democracy in the South must also recognize as followers of the enemy camp a motley assortment of individuals who call themselves "southern regionalists." This camp embraces Negro-bourgeois nationalists, labor lieutenants of imperialism, and other apologists for the status quo of bourgeois-Bourbon domination over the lives and liberties of the people in the South.

Finally, the forces of progress and advancement in the South confront the armed brigands of the Dixiecrat-Klan extreme reaction.

Such then are the general class-forces arrayed in opposition to the people's progress in the South. Though powerful enough to continue to exact a great toll in blood, sweat and tears from the masses, the oppressor class is a ruling authority that is moribund and historically doomed; for the struggle for life itself will swell the forces of the people's democratic camp led by the working class. History is on the side of the people's developing forces in the South. The building of the Communist Party in the South and the extension of its influence among Negro and white toilers is an urgent and vital task to achieve victory.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IS DECISIVE

I should now like to discuss briefly the connection between the struggle for Negro liberation and the central,

\* O. C. Cox, *cited work*, p. 38.

over-all issue of the struggle for peace.

The struggle for peace is of special and decisive importance for the South today because it is here that Wall Street imperialism holds in subjection the oppressed Negro nation. The Wall Street-bipartisan policy of chauvinist nationalism expressed toward foreign lands, especially toward the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies, is likewise manifested concretely here at home in the continued subjugation of the Negro nation in the Black Belt region of the South. Thus, the fight for peace against Wall Street's drive to conquer and enslave other peoples becomes at the same time the fight to liberate the already enslaved Negro nation.

A genuinely effective peace movement in the South must orient itself in the direction of seeing the inseparable connection between the fight against the war policies of Wall Street and the struggle for democratic liberties in general and for the demo-

cratic rights and national liberation of the Negro people in particular. *To fight for peace is to fight to break the stranglehold of Wall Street on the life of the South.*

Our over-riding responsibility is to work untiringly to help the people of the South give organized expression to their peace sentiments. In the South, the development of a truly effective broad united-front movement for peace can, if properly orientated, become the beginning of a great interracial force for the general advancement of the economic needs and democratic rights of the Negro and white masses. If we organize and conduct, in association with the working people of the rest of the country, in unison with the peace forces of the world, a real mass struggle for peace, we shall create even more favorable conditions for successfully waging the struggle for Negro liberation and for general democratic advance of the masses of the people in the South.

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# In Memory of Sacco and Vanzetti

by William L. Patterson

ON AUGUST 22, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were martyred in the electric chair.

American imperialism ignored the pleas of millions in Europe, Asia and the Americas who demanded freedom for the framed-up shoe worker and fish peddler. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, then a liberal professor at Harvard University, wrote that this case had been made "one of those *causes celebres* which are of international concern."

The Sacco-Vanzetti case had its beginning in 1920. This was the era of the Palmer raids. Frankfurter, in describing the case was forced to admit that the "lawlessness and hysteria" which "characterized the campaign of the Department of Justice for the wholesale arrest and deportation of Reds" greatly influenced the decision in this case. Judge Thayer after sentencing the innocent Vanzetti to death made the reasons for the "lawlessness and hysteria" cynically and brutally clear. "This man," Thayer said, "although he may not have actually committed the crime attributed to him is nevertheless

*morally culpable*, because he is the enemy of our existing institutions." Death was Thayer's weapon of terror—his instrument of thought-control. Behind him was Big Business out to "stop the radicals" and crush the labor movement.

Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered in cold blood because they were allegedly enemies of "our existing institutions." The murder was committed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It was a product of the "lawlessness and hysteria" incited by the Federal government against the American people. Every existing legal institution of state and Federal government ruthlessly pushed the murderous, anti-democratic, anti-labor conspiracy and concealed their true aim and purpose with the cry: "We are fighting the Reds."

Frankfurter acknowledged that conspiracy. He said: "... not less than twelve times Judge Thayer ridiculed the charge of a conspiracy between these two great governments—that of the United States and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He indulges in much patriotic protestation but is wholly silent about the

specific acts of wrong-doing and lawlessness connected with the Red raids of 1920."

The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti was a major step in the drive of reaction to smash the people's struggles to extend democracy, constitutional liberties and human rights. Ruling-class America was determined in the post-World War I period to strangle every democratic expression and to break the growing unity of progressives in order to enforce the open-shop and rob labor of its war-time gains.

Today, the advanced workers and all progressive people pause in reverence to honor the lives of these world-famed victims of class justice. But that is not enough. Labor and all progressive people must learn the lessons of the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as they confront new and more desperate attempts by Wall Street reaction to scrap the Bill of Rights and engulf the world in a new, monstrous war.

In the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti the working class suffered a grievous defeat. Although there was a world-wide struggle for the lives of these two innocent workers, the progressive forces lost that fight. There had been an exposure of the frame-up character of their arrest, trial and conviction. But that frame-up was not deeply enough understood as a calculated cold-blooded policy of the ruling class designed to block the organization and militant action of

the workers, to bring about disunity and prejudice between native-born and foreign-born workers, and generally to hold back the development of mass class consciousness.

"There are some who think that our case is a trial for a common crime; that our friends should *contest our innocence but not turn the case into a political issue because it would only damage us.* (emphasis W.L.P.) Well, I could answer to them all that our case is more than a political case; it is a case of class war in which our enemies are personally interested to lose us—not only for class purposes but for personal passions, resentments, and fear. That we don't have to wait for further proof to be positive of their hatred, unfairness, blood-thirsty determination to deny us every right to tramp upon every reason and to murder us is proved by the Boston capitalist press reaction to the State Supreme Court's decision and its pressing demands for our prompt execution. . . ."

Vanzetti saw the murderous crime the government prepared not as some isolated event. He saw it as the policy of the class of exploiters whose fear of the working class made them ever more ruthless. Judge Thayer, the Wall Street-trained hyena, expressed it crudely: "I'll show those radical bastards," he fumed. But Governor Fuller had the power to release those innocent men. His special investigating committee, President Lowell of

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Harvard, Stratton of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, former probate court Judge Robert Grant, had power to stop the murder. They were suave, but ruthless and arrogant. Here are exposed the faces of those who will murder in order to save their "existing institutions" of exploitation and oppression.

The illegal conviction and imprisonment of Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, the conspiratorial frame-up against the Communist leadership, the arrest, conviction and imprisonment of George Marshall of the Civil Rights Congress, the Joint-anti-Fascist Eleven, the Hollywood Ten, Carl Marzani, etc., constitute the continuation, under new historical conditions and intensified form, of that class justice which murdered

the innocent Sacco and Vanzetti.

In its drive to fascism at home, strangulation of the colonial peoples and atomic world war, American reaction seeks to clap its control over every thought and expression favorable to peace, to democracy, to the rights of the working class and the Negro people. It singles out as the first target of its attacks the Communist vanguard in the fight for peace and the people's rights.

The memory of Sacco and Vanzetti should spur the struggle for the freedom of Eugene Dennis and of all the political prisoners of Wall Street imperialism, and of the many framed-up Negro victims of white supremacy "justice." This is a vital organic part of the entire fight against fascism and war.

# Some Problems of the People's Democracy in the Light of the Leninist-Stalinist Teachings on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat\*

by Hilary Minc

## II

In developing the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin elaborated in detail the problem of the system of functioning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the problem of its "mechanism," *i.e.*, the problem of the Bolshevik Party as the leading force of the Soviet state and the "transmission" of the Party to the masses; the trade unions, Soviets, cooperatives, Young Communist League, etc.

"The Party is the organized detachment of the working class but the Party is not the only organization of the working class. The proletariat has also a number of other organizations, without which it cannot properly wage the struggle against capital: trade unions, cooperative societies, factory and works organizations, parliamentary groups, non-Party women's associations, the press, cultural and educational organizations, youth leagues, revolutionary fighting organizations (in times of open revolutionary action), Soviets of deputies as the form of state organization (if the proletariat is in power), etc. The

overwhelming majority of these organizations are non-Party, and only a certain part of them adhere directly to the Party, or represent its offshoots."\*

And further on, Comrade Stalin writes:

". . . all these organizations should work in one direction for they serve one class, the class of the proletarians. The question then arises: who is to determine the line, the general directions, along which the work of all these organizations is to be conducted? Where is that central organization which is not only able, because it has the necessary experience, to work out such a general line, but, in addition, is in a position because it has sufficient prestige for that, to induce all these organizations to carry out this line, so as to attain unity of leadership and to preclude the possibility of working at cross purposes?"\*

Such an organization is the Party of the proletariat.

Does this "mechanism" of the dictatorship of the proletariat function and in what fashion, in the conditions of the People's Democracy form?

It is clear that it functions fully, for

\* The first installment of this article appeared in the July issue.—Ed.

\* Joseph Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, International Publishers, 1939, p. 86.

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without this mechanism, whose core is the leading role of the workers' party, there is no and can be no dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the People's Democracies, the Communist and Workers' parties were "an instrument in the hands of the proletariat for the conquest of the dictatorship" (Stalin), they elaborated the general line which led to the conquest of this dictatorship, and now, when the dictatorship of the proletariat is already achieved, they are the instrument "for the strengthening and extension of the dictatorship" (Stalin).

The Communist and Workers' parties elaborate the general line, which aims at the most rapid and effective building of Socialism, and having sufficient authority, they stimulate to action on this line the central and local government organs, the trade unions, youth organizations, the cooperative movement, press, etc.

Without this leading role of the Party as the highest form of the class union of proletarians, without the coherence and discipline of the Party and without the confidence in it of the broad masses—the dictatorship of the proletariat not only would not be able to strengthen and extend itself, in order to lead to the complete victory of Socialism, but it would not be able even to maintain itself.

In 1920, Lenin wrote:

"Certainly, nearly everyone now realizes that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half years, and not even for two and a half months, without the strictest discipline, truly iron discipline in our Party, and without the fullest and unreserved support rendered it by the

whole mass of the working class, that is, by all the thinking, honest, self-sacrificing and influential elements in it who are capable of leading or of attracting the backward strata."\*

These words of Lenin can be applied in full to the historic role which the Communist parties played in the achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat and play in its extension and strengthening.

Although there is a complete, fundamental harmony in the functioning of the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on the leading role of the Party, in both the Soviet and People's Democracy form of the dictatorship—a certain specific nature does exist, however, at the present stage of development of the People's Democracy form. This specific nature lies in the existence of not only one, single party, the party of the proletariat, but also of other political organizations and parties, which function mainly in the field of the peasant and petty-bourgeois strata.

It must, however, be stated distinctly that these parties do not possess any more the character of political organizations representing the interests of "antagonistic classes whose interests are hostile and cannot be reconciled" (Stalin).

A number of these political organizations and parties are derived historically from the era of the bourgeois state. In the period after the Second World War, when the Socialist revolution was developing in the People's Democracies and an arduous struggle was being waged for the consolidation

\* V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 60.

and crystalization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, some of these parties were the more or less wavering allies of the Communist and Workers' parties, while some of them held openly hostile positions in relation to them.

However, in the process of the great class battles which took place in the People's Democracies, in the process of smashing and liquidating the hostile bourgeois-landowner political formations, in the process of detaching the toiling and exploited masses from the bourgeoisie, the overcoming of the vacillations of the masses of middle peasants and the fortifying of the workers-peasants alliance as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat—these parties changed their class nature. In this period a thorough revision of their ideology, a thorough cleansing of their leadership and apparatus took place. At present, these parties recognize the general political line, worked out by the Communist and Workers' parties, which aims at the building of Socialism, as binding for them and corresponding to the interest of the social strata among which they function. These parties develop their practical activity along this line. These parties recognize also, both in theory and in practice, the leading role of the Communist and Workers' parties.

In these circumstances, the class nature of these parties and their function must be and is fundamentally different from the class nature and function of parties of the bourgeois state. In the present stage of development of the People's Democracies, these parties are fulfilling in reality the function of singular ally formations, a singular bridge for the leading detachment of the working class to a part of the work-

ing masses, especially to the peasants. Hence, entrance of the representatives of these parties into the government does not in any case endow the governments in the People's Democracies with the character of coalition governments in the bourgeois meaning of the word, does not deprive them of coherence and compactness, does not infringe in principle their unity of action and does not undermine the stability and durability of the people's power.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the existence of these parties, while historically justified, necessary and purposeful in the present stage of development of People's Democracy, can, in certain circumstances, be connected with definite dangers, derived from the fact that the class enemy attempts to trench himself in some of the sectors of these parties.

There is no doubt that the further development of the People's Democracy will consolidate, deepen and extend the leading role of the Communist and Workers' parties in the entirety of the country's political life, in forms that correspond for each country and each period.

In any case, it is clear that the prediction formulated by Comrade Dimitroff in 1948, to the effect that progressive social development "does not lead to a multitude of parties and small groups," has been already confirmed by the uniting of particular parties, which has taken place in some of the People's Democracies and, undoubtedly, will be also confirmed by the future developments of the political life in the People's Democracies.

In developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Stalin made a

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great, new contribution to the teachings on the Party of the proletariat. For the Communist and Workers' parties of the People's Democracies, that part of the Leninist-Stalinist teachings which deals with the problem of the Party as the vanguard of the working class is especially timely.

Here is what Comrade Stalin writes on this problem:

"But in order that it may really be the vanguard, the Party must be armed with revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of the revolution. Without this it will be incapable of directing the struggle of the proletariat, of leading the proletariat. The Party cannot be a real party if it limits itself to registering what the masses of the working class feel and think, if it drags at the tail of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to overcome the inertness and political indifference of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to rise above the momentary interest of the proletariat, if it is unable to elevate the masses to the level of the class interests of the proletariat. The Party must stand at the head of the working class; it must see farther than the working class; it must lead the proletariat, and not follow in the tail of the spontaneous movement."\*

Without the Party as the *vanguard* of the working class, without the Party as the "political leader of the working class" (Stalin) there is and can be no dictatorship of the proletariat capable of consolidating, developing and strengthening itself.

It is understandable, therefore, that the traitors and spies of the Tito clique, preparing since long ago a counter-revolutionary coup in Yugoslavia in the behest of American imperialism, recognized, as the fundamental element of their traitorous work, the deprivation of the Communist Party of its role as the *vanguard* of the working class by detaching it from the working class and dissolving it in the so-called National Front.

It is also not a matter of accident that the bearers of the Right-wing and nationalist deviation, led by Comrade Gomulka, wanted to deprive our Party of the role of the vanguard of the working class by detaching it from revolutionary traditions, by uniting with the Polish Socialist Party without first shattering the Right-wing of the P.S.P., and not on the platform of Marxism-Leninism. This, undoubtedly, would have transformed the Party into a "dif-fused, shapeless, disorganized 'formation'" (Stalin), and would have had the most disastrous results for the development of the Socialist revolution in Poland.

The Communist and Workers' parties in the People's Democracies, due to the specific conditions in which they arose and developed, do not as yet possess in full the traits of a Bolshevik Party, although they fulfill in principle the functions of the leading detachment of the working class.

Hence, the immense and intensive organizational work that is being carried out at present by the Communist and Workers' parties of the People's Democracies, in order to make up for the delay, in order to assimilate in full Bolshevik methods of organizational work in order to purge themselves of

\* J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 73.

hostile and foreign elements, to prevent the effacement of the line between the party and the class—and in order to perform the function of the political leader of the working class, completely, universally and in a Bolshevik manner.

In developing the Leninist teaching on the Party, Comrade Stalin formulated, as a law of the development of the Party, the strengthening of the Party by the purging of opportunist elements.

"Our Party," Comrade Stalin writes, "succeeded in creating internal unity and unexampled cohesion of its ranks primarily because it was able in good time to purge itself of the opportunist pollution, because it was able to rid its ranks of the liquidators, the Mensheviks."\*

This Stalinist law has been fully confirmed by the development of the Communist and Workers' parties in the People's Democracies.

During the period when the direct task facing the People's Democracies was only the struggle for the consolidation of regained statehood and the reconstruction of national economy, the opportunist elements in the parties did not as yet reveal themselves fully.

When, however, a new stage of development began, when the building of the foundations of Socialism and the sharp struggle against the capitalist elements in town and country became a direct task, in the period which coincided with an ever more acute division of the world into the camp of imperialism and the camp of peace—in this period the opportunist elements in the Parties revealed their features and sought to turn the parties from their proper road.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 83.

We know from our own experience that the routing of the Right-wing and nationalist deviation in our Party fortified the Party, and armed it for the accomplishment of the tasks of the leading detachment of the working class, the directing force of the dictatorship of the proletariat, carrying out the transition to Socialism.

Basing itself on Stalin's teachings and his ideological influence, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Democracies develops and strengthens itself—the Communist and Workers' parties directing it—develops on the road of Bolshevik theory and practice.

The experience of the state and Party building in these countries is a further splendid confirmation and development of the Leninist-Stalinist teachings as the "mechanism" of the functioning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the guiding role of the Party as the vanguard of the working class.

### III

In 1939, at the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B.), Comrade Stalin presented a profound, thorough analysis of the development of the Soviet Socialist state and determined two phases of this development: the first, the period from the October Revolution to the liquidation of the exploiting classes—and the second, the period from the liquidation of the capitalist elements of town and country to the complete victory of the Socialist system of economy and the enactment of the new Constitution.

The principal task in the first phase Comrade Stalin writes:

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overthrown classes, to organize the defense of the country against the attack of the interventionists, to restore industry and agriculture and to prepare the conditions for the elimination of the capitalist elements. Accordingly, in this period our state performed two main functions."

And further on, characterizing these two main functions, Comrade Stalin states:

"The first function was to suppress the overthrown classes inside the country.

"The second function was to defend the country from foreign attacks.

"Our state had yet a third function: this was the work of economic organization and cultural education performed by our state bodies with the purpose of developing the infant shoots of the new, Socialist economic system and re-educating the people in the spirit of Socialism. *But this new function did not attain to any considerable development in that period.*" (My italics—H. M.)\*

In regard to the second phase, the principal task of this period, as Comrade Stalin stated, lay in the organization of the Socialist economy, corresponding to which, the functions of the Socialist state also changed.

The function of suppressing resistance inside the country fell and died away. In its place arose the function of the safeguarding of the Socialist property. The function of armed defense of the country from external attack was completely preserved and, as Comrade Stalin writes:\*\*

"The function of economic organization and cultural education by the state organs also remained, and was developed to the full. Now the main task of our state inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organization and cultural education. As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence service, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country but to the outside, against external enemies.

"As you see, we now have an entirely new, Socialist state, without precedent in history and differing considerably in form and functions from the Socialist state of the first phase."

In the light of Comrade Stalin's analysis of the development of the Socialist state and the determined two phases of its development it should be affirmed, it is clear, that the People's Democracies are in the first phase, in the period when the main task is the breaking of the resistance of the overthrown classes and the preparation of conditions for the liquidation of the capitalist classes. However, in new historical conditions, this first phase of development of the Socialist state takes a somewhat different course in the People's Democracies than took place in the U.S.S.R.

Wherein does this difference chiefly rest?

It rests in the fact that, due to basing themselves on the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies were able to approach relatively faster the realization of the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the Socialist state. This was caused by the following circumstances:

1. Due to the support on the might and aid of the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies avoided armed imperial-

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 661-662.

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 662.

ist intervention. It is true that the overthrown classes of exploiters benefited and benefit from the close aid of the imperialists, and here and there, on the basis of this aid, attempts at armed resistance arose—as for example, in Poland, during a certain period of the activities of the bands and the underground which had even some elements of a civil war; but all these attempts of resistance cannot be compared in their destructive results with the burdens, devastations and tension of forces brought about by the armed imperialist intervention in the U.S.S.R. and the long-lasting civil war which grew on its ground. As is known, the rebuilding of the country in the U.S.S.R. was able to begin, due to the armed imperialist intervention, only in four to five years after the October Revolution. In Poland, on the other hand, where the armed resistance of the overthrown classes had relatively the greatest scope and lasted the longest, it was unable to halt for an instant the work of rebuilding the country.

Therefore, in the People's Democracies, industry and agriculture were restored already in the first phase of the development of the Socialist state, and already in the first phase of development production, especially in industry, has very considerably surpassed the pre-war level.

2. The People's Democracies benefit, from the very first instant of their formation, from the all-sided aid of the Soviet Union in the form of deliveries of goods, food help, commodity and investment credits, technical aid, cultural assistance, etc.

In the recent past the mutual aid of the People's Democracies carried out on the basis of the Mutual Economic Aid

Council has begun to play an ever more important role.

3. The People's Democracies have the possibility of benefiting and benefit from the experiences of the Soviet Union, of marching on the path it has cleared. This saves them many vain efforts, many unsuccessful attempts and pursuits, much national energy, labor and material costs which otherwise would be expended without the proper effect.

These are the circumstances which cause a relatively more rapid development of the economic-organizational work in the People's Democracies than in the U.S.S.R. in the first phase of its development. This has, of course, a highly positive bearing on the entirety of the development of these countries.

Having avoided imperialist intervention, due to basing themselves on the power and aid of the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies also did not have to pass through the stage of War Communism in their economy, the necessity of which in the U.S.S.R. was primarily caused precisely by the imperialist intervention.

The economy of the People's Democracies was and is based up to the present on the taking over by the state of the principal economic positions (large and medium industry, the banks, transport, etc.), on the permitting within definite limits and utilization of market relations and on such a planned direction of economic life on the basis of the principal economic positions—as to cause the growth of the Socialist sector and development in the direction of Socialism.

In the present period of the development of the People's Democracies, the principal economic positions are being taken over by the state, and the development of the Socialist sector is being accelerated. This is being done on the basis of the Mutual Economic Aid Council, which is playing an ever more important role.

Comrade Stalin foresaw brilliantly already in 1928 that:

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market relations and the utilization of the market relations is absolutely necessary for every capitalist country in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>\*</sup>

This brilliant prediction of Comrade Stalin was completely confirmed by the development of the economy of the People's Democracies, which at present are in a period having many common practical traits and many analogies with the Soviet N.E.P. (New Economy Policy) period.

But the N.E.P. is not only the permitting on definite conditions, and utilization, of market relations.

"The N.E.P.," Comrade Stalin states,<sup>\*\*</sup> "is the Party's policy which permits of the struggle between the Socialist and capitalist elements, and is calculated to bring about the victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements. In actual fact N.E.P. only began as a retreat; but the calculation was that in the course of this retreat our forces would be regrouped and we would launch an offensive. As a matter of fact, we have been pursuing the offensive for several years now, and are doing so successfully, developing our industries, developing Soviet trade, and pressing hard upon private capital."

In the People's Democracies, where the permitting and utilization of market relations was not a period of retreat, because here there had been no period of War Communism which eliminated these market conditions, the offensive against, the limitation and gradual dislodging of, capitalist elements is taking place. As a result of this development

the perspective of the total liquidation of capitalist elements becomes ever more clearly apparent, similarly to the plan outlined and accomplished in the U.S.S.R. under Stalin's leadership—i.e., through the industrialization of the country and the gradual collectivization of agriculture. It is precisely this perspective, formulated in the resolution of the Communist Information Bureau on the issue of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which caused in our Party, among others, the complete unmasking of features by the Right-wing and nationalist group led by Comrade Gomulka, and the unsuccessful attempt to turn back our Party from the road leading to the realization of Socialism.

The Right-wing and nationalist group in our Party was thoroughly routed, and the attempt to turn our Party back from its road toward the realization of Socialism ended in infamous disaster and bankruptcy.

There is no doubt, as well, that our country, like all the other People's Democracies, suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie, developing its defensive power on the support of the U.S.S.R., will extend ever more the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function of the Socialist state so that, as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist elements, the liquidation of antagonistic social classes and the victorious building of Socialism, this function becomes the principal and fundamental function of our Socialist state.

#### IV

Comrade Stalin, in developing the theory of the state, and, in particular,

<sup>\*</sup> J. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russian Edition Vol. XI, p. 145.

<sup>\*\*</sup> J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 172.

the theory of the Socialist state, has contributed a new chapter to this theory dealing with the question of the state in the period of Communism.

This is what Comrade Stalin stated on this question in 1939, in the report to the 18th Party Congress:

"We are going ahead, towards Communism. Will our state remain in the period of Communism also?"

"Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our state will again change in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad.

"No, it will not remain and will atrophy if the capitalist encirclement is liquidated and a Socialist encirclement takes its place."\*

This extension and deepening of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state was based on a profound elaboration of the problem of the internal and external functions of the state and on a thorough definition and determination of the consequences and dangers deriving from the existence of the capitalist encirclement.

In this same report to the 18th Party Congress which contributed a new chapter to the theory of the state, Comrade Stalin, raising an objection to those who considered that since there were no more antagonistic classes in the U.S.S.R. then the state was also unnecessary, stated:

"These questions not only betray an underestimation of the capitalist en-

circlement, but also an underestimation of the role and the significance of the bourgeois states and their organs, which send in spies, assassins, and wreckers into our country and are waiting for a favorable moment to attack it by armed force."

And further on Comrade Stalin says:

"Is it not surprising that we learned about the espionage and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite leaders only quite recently, in 1937 and 1938, although, as the evidence shows, these gentry were in the service of foreign espionage organizations and carried on conspiratorial activities from the very first days of the October Revolution?"

"This blunder is to be explained by an underestimation of the strength and consequence of the mechanism of the bourgeois states surrounding us and of their espionage organs which endeavor to take advantage of people's weaknesses, their vanity, their slackness of will, to enmesh them in their espionage nets and use them to surround the organs of the Soviet state."

The People's Democracies are not in a capitalist encirclement in the sense that the U.S.S.R. was when it was the only Socialist state in the world.

The People's Democracies find a powerful support in the mighty Soviet Union.

But the People's Democracies, along with the Soviet Union, face an imperialist camp armed to the teeth and led by the American warmongers.

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 637-638.

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 632-633.

In the great anti-imperialist camp of peace and Socialism, the People's Democracies are less strong links than the U.S.S.R. In their countries there are still remnants of the routed classes of exploiters, and especially the class of the village rich, remnants of the bourgeois state apparatus and bourgeois political formations. The connections of some strata with native and foreign capitalism are still fresh; a broad stratum of people's intelligentsia has not yet emerged; the organs of justice and the organs of struggle with foreign intelligence services have not yet grown firm and acquired sufficient experience; the Communist and Workers' parties do not possess as yet the Bolshevik characteristics in full.

Therefore, it is understandable that the imperialists direct their blows and attacks at the People's Democracies and that for a long time already they have been setting up long-range plans aimed at detaching these countries from the U.S.S.R. and guiding them onto the road of capitalism.

The provocation of many years standing of the spying Tito band for the benefit of the imperialists; the provocation, diversion and espionage of many years' standing of the Rajk and Kostov band, of the Titoite band in Hungary and Bulgaria; the provocation of many years' standing of the prewar Polish counter-intelligence agents in our Party, which spread on the ground of the opportunism and absolute lack of revolutionary vigilance—on the part of Comrades Gomulka and Spychalski—all this shows how dangerous is the underestimation of the mechanism of the internal and external action of the class enemy.

"We cannot for an instant," said Comrade Bierut,\* "lose sight of the class enemy and his cunning and insidious moves. Be vigilant! This is an order which should accompany every one of us constantly, in every moment of our Party's professional and social work, as well as at every step of our collective and personal life. As long as the class enemy exists and acts—we must be vigilant. To be vigilant means to hasten the destruction of the imperialists, to fortify the foundations of Socialist construction."

There is no doubt that, basing themselves on Stalin's teachings and the experiences of the C.P.S.U. (B.), the Communist and Workers' parties of the People's Democracies will be able to intensify their revolutionary vigilance and frustrate even the most satanically insidious provocations of the foreign imperialists and of the native bourgeoisie and landowners.

## V

The People's Democracies arose as the result of a Socialist revolution occurring in special historical conditions. This revolution was of the same type, in class nature, as the Great October Socialist Revolution. The state in the People's Democracies is a state of the Socialist type, of the same type in class nature as the Soviet state. The Soviet form and the People's Democracy form of the state are variants of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Socialist state in the People's Democracies differs

\* Boleslaw Bierut, Report delivered at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, November 13, 1949, reprinted in condensed text, *Political Affairs*, March 1950.—Ed.

from the contemporary Soviet state:

1. In the difference of historical conditions and the difference, derived therefrom, in the forms of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat;

2. In the different phase of development in which it rests, the different stage of historical development: In the People's Democracies, antagonistic social classes still exist, capitalism has not been completely liquidated and Socialism is only being built. In the U.S.S.R., there are no antagonistic social classes, capitalism has been totally liquidated, Socialism has been built and a Communist society is being built.

Under these circumstances, what is and what can be the tendency of development of the People's Democracies?

This tendency can only be and is—to make up for the historical delay, to build Socialism on the basis of the experience of the U.S.S.R. It is clear that as the People's Democracies will pass

over from the first phase of development of the Socialist state to the second, the divergences of system in relation to the U.S.S.R. will decrease.

The line of development of the U.S.S.R. and the line of the People's Democracy are not in any case parallel lines, which if they intersect anywhere, then they do so only at infinity. On the contrary, the line of development of the People's Democracies tends sharply toward the second phase of development of the Socialist state, toward a Socialist society.

What does the direction of this line signify?

It signifies nothing else than striving toward making up the historical delay, catching up with the U.S.S.R. and marching together with it and under its leadership toward Communism.

Armed with Stalin's teaching, we shall reach this goal.

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## For the Unconditional Prohibition of the Atomic Weapon\*

*We demand the unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon as an instrument of intimidation and mass extermination of people, and the establishment of strict international control over the fulfilment of this decision.*

*We will regard as a war criminal that government which first uses the atomic weapon against any country.*

*We call upon all people of good will all over the world to sign this call.*

*We address ourselves to all social and religious groups and workers in culture, all honest people who, irrespective of their views concerning the reasons for the strained international situation, are alarmed because of this and seriously desire to see peaceful relations restored between the peoples.*

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\*Text of the peace appeal adopted by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, Sweden, March 15, 1950. Delegates from 52 countries, including the United States, approved and signed this resolution.

Tens of millions of persons in all parts of the world and of the most varied political and religious affiliations have already signed the peace pledge.

The campaign to secure the signatures of millions of trade unionists and unorganized workers, farmers, Negro people, the city middle classes, intellectuals, women, the youth, members of the national groups, etc.—now under way in our own country—should receive the enthusiastic support of all American anti-imperialists and anti-fascists. Through united-front struggle to the victory of peace!

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