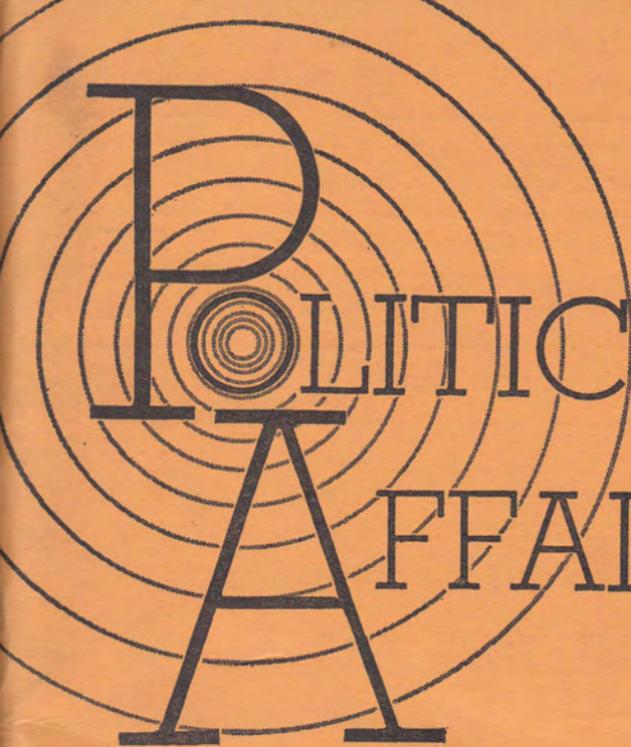


JANUARY, 1967



POLITICAL
AFFAIRS

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THE SOCIALIST
WORLD

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APTHEKER
CAMPAIGN

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Some Observations on the Socialist World

(The following are portions of a speech presented at a meeting in New York on December 2, 1966, in which Comrade Hall dealt with his recently completed world tour as general secretary of the CPUSA.)

The greatest drama of our times, the battle that is determining the course of all human events, is the historic contest now going on between the two world systems—capitalism and socialism. All other events are in one way or another associated to this main combat of our time. The world journey which I took presented an unusual opportunity to review this struggle of the two social systems.

The Competition Between Capitalism and Socialism

In this conflict, the struggle for the minds of men is crucial. It is my firm conviction that capitalism has now lost this most important aspect of the battle. Socialism has not yet fully won, but capitalism has definitely lost. In the world today it is difficult to find an open, unashamed defender of capitalism, and there are no defenders of U.S. capitalism anywhere. The big debate throughout the world is about *what kind* of socialism is desirable, not about *whether* socialism is desirable or not. Capitalism is on the defensive, and ideas for the advancement of human society come more and more from the socialist sector of the world.

Secondly, the competition between the two world systems in the fields of industry, technology and science is now entering a new stage. Socialism has now overcome the handicap of the industrial and technological backwardness that it inherited from the past. From this point on it will compete with capitalism from the broad, modern industrial base that it has achieved. Consequently, the ground rules of the competition between the two systems have changed. Up to this point the score was measured by maximum productive capacity. Automation and the resulting new level of industrial capacity are making this yardstick obsolete. New technology is making over-capacity, or at least sufficient capacity, increasingly a permanent feature of society. Thus the question of how much a system can produce is turning into a moot question. Instead, what is going

to emerge as the central point of the competition is what a social system does with this unlimited industrial capacity.

From our own experience we already know what capitalism does with automation and the new capacity. Before automation we had more than 500,000 coal miners in the United States. Today we mine as much coal but there are only about 100,000 coal miners.

The steel furnaces of the world are now being converted to the oxygen process. This conversion is going on everywhere, both in the socialist countries and the capitalist countries. With the present methods it takes some 20 men from six to eight hours to make a furnace load of steel. With the new process the same furnace does it in 49 minutes. In the United States each time a furnace is converted five or six of the other furnaces will be closed down. Therein lies the dilemma of the new technology for capitalism. Steel companies in the United States, because of competition, are forced to convert these furnaces even though we are only using now, in wartime, some 75 per cent of the present steel capacity.

As in coal mining, the by-product is growth of economically depressed areas. The ridges of poverty in Kentucky and West Virginia bear witness to what capitalism does with new industrial technology. We know from experience that automation has created a new permanent army of unemployed, sharply curtailed employment possibilities for youth generally and closed the doors to employment of Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American youth.

What society *should* do with increased mechanization and new industrial capacity is not difficult to understand. As machines replace men in production the hours of work should be correspondingly reduced for all. This is exactly what is being done in the socialist countries and it is in these countries, therefore, that automation is considered a great blessing for all. In the capitalist economy, however, it is something to be feared by workers. It is in this sense that automation and cybernation are becoming the grave-diggers of capitalism.

In socialist society, industrial capacity is geared to the needs of the society. Capacity will be built ever higher as long as there is a need for its products. In capitalism, industrial capacity is geared to profit and ability to sell. Because of this, as machine replaces man in production, it also eliminates man as a buyer. This creates the growing dilemma of capitalism—of too much capacity and not enough consumption both at the same time. The basic difference between the two world systems is that capitalism is developing towards increasing overcapacity and underconsumption and thus toward an

ever greater polarization of poverty and affluence, while socialism is developing towards increasing capacity geared to abundance for all. One increases industrial capacity to create more profits for the few; the other does so to provide more for everyone.

The historical change in the nature of the questions asked about socialism reveals a very interesting shift in the attitude of the millions toward it. Fifty years ago the question often put was: How soon will the Bolshevik experiment collapse? Thirty years ago it was: Will socialism work? By ten years ago the question had become: How well does socialism work? Now, more and more, the question asked is: How come it works so well? And there is a companion question: How come it works better than capitalism? That is, I think, a very interesting shift in the attitude of millions toward socialism. And the question of how come it works so well will become ever louder and more demanding of answers.

Why socialism works so well, and why it will work even better as time goes on is, of course, no mystery to Marxists. Irreconcilable contradictions are the undoing of any social system, and capitalism is built around such contradictions. When the 70 million Americans who do not have the means to buy even the minimum of subsistence read about surpluses of food and clothing, for them the contradictions of capitalism are a stark reality.

Socialism has a built-in "contradiction resolver." It works on the very simple idea: "Food and clothing are for people. The more there is of these things the more the people get." Thus socialism can have only one kind of a surplus problem—surplus in conditions of abundance for all.

Socialism Not Built in a Vacuum

I was particularly interested in some of the questions and problems that are bound to come up in the process of building a new society based on a completely new and advanced design. I want to speak briefly about some of these questions and problems.

By now we all know that the building of socialism is not a process that takes place in a vacuum, that it must start with the human and material resources at hand. Hence it is not cut off from or immune to the influences of the old world—the old classes and customs. It is influenced by national traditions, national interests. The necessity of taking these factors into account by each political party leading in the building of socialism in its country is now a part of accumulated experience and accepted Marxist theory.

But we also know there are other, more negative influences from

the past. There is the influence of backward, blind nationalism—a nationalism that leads to viewing one's neighbors and the world through the narrow foggy peephole in one's own door. There is the influence of great-power chauvinism, an ideological weapon of dominating and exploiting classes. And we now know, too, that the process of building a new society is affected by other human frailties such as vanity, laziness, self-glorification and other obstacles to the building of a socialist social consciousness.

These are problems characteristic of a definite stage of socialist development. This can be clearly seen in the difference between the way in which these questions appear in the Soviet Union, which is about to celebrate its 50th anniversary, and the way in which they appear in socialist countries that are in an earlier stage of development.

As you can see, these are questions relating to the level of ideological development. If such questions come as a surprise you cannot blame Marx or Lenin for it. They clearly foresaw such a process. They foresaw that ideological development would trail behind political and economic developments—that it would be a slower process. Taking over the ownership of industry does not by itself make a communist man, any more than the mere act of taking membership in the Communist Party necessarily makes one a fully developed Communist.

Ideological development, the molding of patterns of thought, takes place much like the shaping of a stone at the water's edge. Just as each wave polishes the stone, so each new experience, each new advance, each resolution of a problem adds its influence to the ideological molding of the new man. In such a fashion the experience of socialist construction is molding the new socialist man.

The incentive which motivates such a man will be the concept: "I will do my very best so that all of my fellow human beings will have the good things in life." The socialist system works on that principle. Its political and economic system is designed only to provide the best possible for all the people. The communist idea and the Communists are the forerunners in building such a life.

But because ideology trails other developments, such a man has not yet arrived. Many of the problems and questions are related to this central question—the level of ideological development.

Material and Moral Incentives

There is a debate going on in the socialist world about incentives,

about what makes a man work harder. Some argue that in a socialist country the incentives to work harder must be political, that it must lie in raising the moral convictions of the people, that the answer is socialist consciousness. Others say that workers need material incentives. Workers who work harder, who produce more, must be rewarded for their efforts. But some charge that material incentive is just a capitalist way of doing business.

Many of the socialist countries have been slow in recognizing the need for material incentives. Many are only now correcting this mistake. Material incentives in no way change the nature of the socialist system. It is nothing more than a recognition of the present ideological development of the socialist man plus the fact that industrial development had to reach a certain level before it was fully possible to put these incentives into practice. For socialism this is no abstract question. It is the difference between progress and stagnation.

That is why there has been such a long serious debate on this question.

More than to any other single factor, the marked advances of the last year or so—both in agriculture and industry—can be attributed to the solution of this question of incentives.

Experience has forged the answer. The solution lies in a correct balance of the two factors—moral and material, ideological and economic. Material incentives have been increased to correspond to the level of industrial as well as ideological development. As the capacity to produce abundance grows, as the communist man develops, the shift in the balance will be toward moral and political incentives. And I must tell you very honestly that I personally saw many examples of the need for incentives. In a number of factories I told workers very honestly that they would not last two minutes in any factory in the United States at the speed at which they were working. But as you know, they can't be fired, there is no slave master, they are their own bosses and therefore there has to be a different concept of incentive for work.

This same question was at the heart of the problem that created the conditions for the Hungarian events of 1956. The Rakosi leadership ignored all realities, including ideological realities, and proceeded as if the people were ready for any sacrifice. One cannot question their very good intentions. The sacrifices were demanded for a speedy construction of the industrial base. But the people were not ready for it. Reaction used the dissatisfaction that this created.

This is the roadblock to all concepts of big leaps. Because there

can be no big leaps in ideological development, there can be no skipping of stages in the building of a new society.

When the Chinese retreated from the concept of the communes, they retreated toward permitting material incentives. It was a retreat to ideological realities. If they had drawn the lessons from these errors publicly, I dare say there would not be any need for the Red Guards today.

Moral incentives are related to the level of one's ideological, political and cultural development. It is impossible to separate the two. There is no question in my mind that the socialist countries are molding a human race that is so motivated. The kind of person who is emerging is a humane, unselfish, cultured, socially dedicated, warm human being.

There is a bright new world shaping up and while there are zigs and zags, while there are temporary setbacks, and yes, mistakes and weaknesses, there can be no doubt that human society not only moves but moves in a very definite direction—a progressive direction. There is no doubt that it progresses unalterably to socialism and to a communist society.

The Present Policies in China

I did not visit Red China. The reason was that the State Department refused to permit it, and in spite of the struggle that was put up for a number of months (and I want to say that *The Worker* especially put up a tremendous battle), the State Department even changed its rules in order to keep me from going to China, the Republic of Cuba, North Korea and Albania. Otherwise I would have gone.

The developments in China, of course, are disturbing and sometimes difficult to follow or to understand fully. However, I think the main lines of the problem are emerging. I think they are becoming quite clear.

Let me say first that we should not be unduly smug about the difficulties of building a new society in a country like China. We should appreciate these difficulties in assessing the problems that exist now. First of all, there are close to 700 million people in China, and when the revolution took place they were without any industry to amount to anything, except for some steel production in the North and some textile manufacture. And they had no capital to build with.

This is one of those problems that Americans generally have difficulty understanding—that when socialism starts in a country that has no industry and no capital, the situation is a very difficult one,

and capital must be gotten from somewhere. It doesn't come from the air. It must be produced. The people must produce it. It can only be accumulated by sacrifices of the people. There is no other way. Other socialist countries have faced this. The Soviet Union certainly faced it for years and had to lift itself to socialism "by its bootstraps."

You know, you can talk about building steel mills but where are you going to get the capital for it? Where is the machinery going to come from? Where is even the steel going to come from to build that steel mill? China faced that problem, and of the capital it did get a tremendous proportion came from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Just about all the industry that China has, 90 per cent of it, was built with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But besides having no industry and no capital, China had no trained personnel, no scientists. This was a tremendous handicap. It takes years to accumulate and to train such personnel.

This is one of those historic problems—that socialism in the world has developed mainly in industrially underdeveloped countries. It has been a problem in the building of socialism all this time, and the competition with capitalism has really not been a very fair one. Only now do the socialist countries have an industrial base, and now the competition will be different. I want to emphasize this because to build socialism under those conditions takes perseverance, foresight and patience. It is a slow process until that base is built.

This is really where the leadership of the Communist Party of China went wrong. Here again the error is somewhat in the same vein as that in Hungary—bureaucracy in the leadership. The intentions are very good. Nobody can question the *intentions* of even a Big Leap. Who could be against such an intention? It's a wonderful idea, if it's possible. But it is *not* practically possible. And the Big Leap, which was to overcome this enormous problem that they faced, failed. It was a policy failure.

Now that in itself is not a crime—that one makes mistakes. The crime comes when you fail to recognize a mistake and to correct it. If you do not do so you make another move to cover up the previous error. And if that doesn't work you make still another move to cover the first one up. There takes place an escalation of errors, in which each step is designed to cover up a previous error. Thus it was that the failure of the policy of the Big Leap was covered up and developed into the present ideological questions. Of course, with hindsight it is easier for us to see this, but I think it is clear.

How can one attempt to build a communist society, such as was visualized in the Big Leap, with peasants who are very largely still influenced ideologically by feudal traditions. The fact is that the idea of the Big Leap was based not on the workers but on the peasants. The explanation that Mao gave at the time sounded somewhat plausible, but on thinking back, of course, it wasn't. His explanation was that the Chinese peasant has always lived in a kind of communal social structure, and never in individual families of father, mother and children, and that this old relationship laid the basis for utilizing them as a force for a Big Leap directly into a communal type of society.

But the failure of the Big Leap was not the only failure in policy. There is a failure also in the policy proposed to the world liberation forces and to the world Communist movement. They were wrong when they projected the idea that the only method of struggle for social progress, whether for national liberation or for socialism, is armed struggle. Life did not sustain this concept. And by the way this was an old idea. It was not one which first emerged in the Chinese Party's position during the past few years. It had already been projected in the '50s—for instance, at a world trade union conference it was proposed as a noted method of struggle for the trade unions in colonial countries. Undoubtedly it is one method of struggle, but it is not the only one. Generally the national liberation movements rejected it as the only method. Those that did not, suffered disastrous consequences. Therefore, it was a policy failure in this area.

Because of these failures the Chinese Party became isolated in the world of national liberation, from the very struggles for whose goal their policy was projected—the national liberation of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They also became isolated from the Communist movement of the world, so much so that now there are really no parties outside of the Albanian that fully support the position of the Communist Party of China.

But even more important, support of this policy lost out even in the Party of China, and this is really what brought on the present state of affairs. Resistance to this policy grew within the Party. It grew because the policy isolated China. It grew because forces in the Party began to see that this was not the path for building a socialist country, and that China needed the relationship with the rest of the socialist countries and with the national and colonial liberation forces. Thus there grew a lack of enthusiasm for these policies, and that's when the idea began to emerge that it is the young generation which has sustained the revolution. Hence the attempts in the last

few months to use the youth to create an atmosphere in which the political struggle against the wrong policies could not take place, and to cope with a situation in which the section of the Party that was moving against these policies was becoming a majority opinion. And that is exactly what the Red Guards did.

That is why the Red Guard movement was, first of all, against the Party and as Lin Piao stated in his earlier articles and speeches, primarily against the cadre in the Party. That is why there have been clashes in factories. The Red Guard movement is directed against the working class because it was in the first place the Party and the working-class elements that began to resist the wrong policies of Comrade Mao.

This has done tremendous damage. The Red Guards, the teenagers, have become an instrument of policy struggle, and have disrupted industry and agriculture. I would say that even greater is the damage done to mass confidence in the Party and in the construction of socialism in China. And of course it has done tremendous damage on a world scale.

Comrade Mao's line was not a working-class policy of building socialism. It was not a working-class policy in the struggle against imperialism, in the struggle for national liberation. It was not a working-class policy regarding relations with other Communist parties and other socialist states. It was influenced by petty-bourgeois nationalist positions. But you cannot build socialism with that kind of policy, and a certain stagnation necessarily began to take place.

However, I am convinced that this is a temporary situation as far as China is concerned and that the Marxist cadre, the working-class cadre, of the Chinese Communist Party will emerge victorious. The fact that they have to stage one demonstration after another is an indication of this. What other purpose can there be for these demonstrations? These displays—I think there have been nine just within the last few weeks—are in a way like the old saying about being "all dressed up and no place to go." The Red Guards are all dressed up with their red bands, but politically they have no place to go. And because this policy and this struggle have no place to go, they will have to be ended. The Chinese Party will then emerge again as a Marxist working-class force in China. It will again take its place on the working-class path of building socialism. It will take its place in the world Communist movement, and will again take its place fully in the struggle against world imperialism and for world Communism.

"Soviet Anti-Semitism"—a Cold-War Hoax

A few words about another problem—the so-called “problem of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.”

Let me say first that this is one of those problems that requires sober thought and as little emotionalism as possible. The reason for that is that there are enemies of the working class, of the Communist movement and of the Jewish people who are trying to utilize this situation to the maximum. As a matter of fact it has become the practice in the last few weeks for FBI agents to stop Jewish Communists and progressives asking them for cooperation and saying, “Why do you hold out? Don’t you know Gus Hall is an anti-Semite? Don’t you know that he has not taken a position on anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union?”

I want to react to the slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union. This is purely a criminal fraud on the world. It is clearly a part of the cold-war conspiracy. It is an attempt to give anti-Semitism a semblance of concreteness around which to mobilize the masses. It is an attempt to discredit the idea of socialism. It is an attempt to divide the Jewish people. And it is in fact an attempt to create a smokescreen for the anti-Semites and their maneuvers. Let me say that there is no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. I did not expect any and I did not see any.

When some anti-religious material appeared a couple of years ago in the Soviet Union—material that could have been interpreted as anti-Semitic—it was withdrawn. That was in the Soviet Union. Of what other country can such a statement be made?

Let me say that on the basis of my own experience the Soviet people, and particularly the Soviet Jews, are angry and incensed about this campaign of falsehoods that is being conducted throughout the world, and let me say further that they have a right to be. For generations, feudal and capitalist Russia used anti-Semitism just as white chauvinism and jim crow are used by American capitalists. But let us think for a moment of a future U.S.A., when we have passed a law making anti-Negro literature a crime, when we have abolished all forms of discrimination in every field of employment, when we have for years practiced not only preferential hiring but also preferential promotion, to undo past discrimination, and when we have eliminated all discrimination in housing—I mean *all* discrimination—and have moved white families into poorer housing to make up for past discrimination. Let us think of a U.S.A. in which we have more Negro Americans in professions than their percentage in the

population, and in which there are no traces of inequality and Negro Americans can work and live and play wherever they please like any other American. Let us suppose we were the only nation in the world that had done all this, but that in spite of that fact a world campaign of slander were directed at us, charging discrimination and white chauvinism, but not directed at countries where these practices still existed. Would we be angry? I think we would.

It is in that sense that the Soviet people and especially the Soviet Jews are angry, because this is truly slanderous. And let me say on this question that as an American and as a partisan of socialism I will never become an instrument of a fraud, an instrument of the cold war, an instrument of an anti-socialist, anti-Soviet campaign. And I will not be diverted from fighting anti-Semitism where it exists.

I think this is what has been overlooked, what has become lost in this campaign, this conspiracy that is directed against the only country in the world that has recorded such an accomplishment.

No other country has done this, and that such a campaign should be directed against that one country is a criminal fraud. There are of course remnants of ideological problems from the past in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, but they are not at all problems of the nature that is being presented.

I want to return to the question of the Soviet Jews. I talked to many. They are very proud of what they are doing. They are proud of being a part of a community, the first community that is building socialism and moving toward communism. This is the big question in their minds. The fact that they are of Jewish background is in most cases a very secondary matter, and when they feel they have full rights, full equality, full freedom to do whatever they desire as Soviet citizens, they especially resent this campaign that is being conducted in the United States.

The editors join with others to invite you to join us in tribute to WILLIAM L. PATTERSON on the occasion of his seventy-fifth anniversary on Thursday, Jan 26, 1967, at 7 P.M. at the Georgian Ballroom, Hotel Americana, Broadway and 53rd Street, New York City.

IN MEMORIAM



ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

November 23, 1884

December 16, 1966

A Tribune of the Printed Word

Alexander Trachtenberg, affectionately called "Trachty" by countless thousands of friends and co-workers throughout the length and breadth of the country, died in the early morning hours of December 16, 1966, at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City. Three days earlier he had suffered a stroke and never regained consciousness. Thus, the "short, dark, fiery-looking man, with jet-black eyes and stiff black moustache . . . with the zip of a child early on Christmas morning," as Michael Gold described him two decades ago, whose tireless energy and effervescent enthusiasm never ceased to amaze all who knew him, closed his eyes forever.

The activities of Alexander Trachtenberg in the working class and Communist movement spanned the turbulent years of the 20th century. Already during his student days in Odessa, where he was born on November 23, 1884, he engaged in the struggles against Tsarist oppression. Following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, he was among those imprisoned in the reign of terror and repression which swept the land. Upon his release a year later he emigrated to the United States.

Fired by a burning desire to dedicate his life to ending man's inhumanity to man, he determined to complete his education and place it at the service of the working class and the cause of its emancipation. At Trinity College and Yale University he headed various socialist study groups and became the founder and leader of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, an early forerunner of present-day radical and Marxist groups on the campuses.

On leaving Yale in 1915, at the age of 31, Trachtenberg became a director and teacher at the Rand School of Social Science. There he founded the Department of Labor Research which initiated the yearly reference volumes of information on the socialist and labor movements, *The American Labor Year Book*. Deeply concerned with workers' education, he helped many trade unions to establish education and research departments, and himself became staff economist for the International Ladies Garment Workers. He was also a Board member of the *New York Call*, leading Socialist daily of that day, which he together with others founded in 1908.

But Alexander Trachtenberg was never one to keep himself apart from the struggles of his days. As many of his contemporaries recall with warm appreciation, he was not just a participant but an effective organizer of numerous dramatic actions against U.S. entry into World War I, just as he was later to become an ardent advocate of the defeat of Hitler fascism in World War II. When news of the October Revolu-

tion in Russia reached our shores, he was among the first to acclaim its victory, to explain its significance in numerous lectures and articles, and to work with indefatigable zeal for U.S. recognition of the first land of socialism. In 1919 he helped to establish the American Labor Alliance for Recognition and Trade Relations with Russia, enlisting the participation of leaders of many national trade union bodies. After his visit to the Soviet Union in 1922, he toured the country countering the misinformation spread by the bourgeois press.

In 1921 Trachty joined the Communist Party, serving for years as a member of its National Committee and on various commissions. He was one of the founders and constant builders of the Workers School and the Jefferson School of Social Science—institutions which helped reach tens of thousands with the science of Marxism-Leninism.

But Trachty's labor of love and outstanding achievement was the publishing house he founded in 1924—International Publishers—which he headed until his retirement in 1962. Books which explained the liberating ideas of scientific socialism thus bringing enlightenment and truth to the men and women of the working class and of all oppressed and exploited, were to him the very essence of life. With scientific precision, scholarly editing and well-prepared introductions, the classics of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, original works dealing with philosophy, economics, art and culture, and especially works on neglected aspects of American history such as the heroic history of the Negro people and the struggles of the American working class, rolled off the press one after another.

But a book, as Trachty often said, was not a book if it remained unread. And so he devoted every waking moment not only to making books available, but to seeing that the books were read as widely as possible. Standing before Judge Dimock, after his conviction under the infamous, thought-control Smith Act in 1953, Trachty expressed his love of books as no one else could in these memorable words:

I am proud to stand here before you with these dear comrades of mine, and with the books in the dock with us, and ready to be judged for publishing them. There are millions of these books abroad in the land today, and I am happy in the knowledge that they will continue to bring light and warmth and love and comradeship among the men and women, workers and farmers, Negro and white people, in whose homes they live. I salute them in the hope that there will be more books coming out to keep them company. Of this I am sure.

The books that Trachty published do live. They remain a permanent heritage for the Marxists of today and the generations still to come.

The Senator from Massachusetts

First Negro Elected to Senate

When Edward W. Brooke announced his candidacy for the United States Senate on the Republican ticket in Massachusetts, one aspect of that candidacy intrigued political commentators: would the voters choose for that office the first Negro since the days of Reconstruction?

To its credit the electorate did. The lily-white character of the "nation's most exclusive club" was broken. Moreover, Brooke was the first Negro to be elected to the Senate by *popular* vote and this at a time when racist forces were devoting renewed and greater efforts to poison the white public against the struggle of the Negro people for full citizenship.

Brooke's victory means that both major parties must now consider Negroes as nominees for leading political offices. Democrats, in particular, will be forced to open up tickets which have been all white in many northern industrial areas. Clearly, the election of Brooke establishes a new level in the struggle for Negro political representation.

In winning in November, Brooke also demonstrated that the regressive results in California (gubernatorial) and New York City (police review board) are not barometers of a national mood or a fixed political climate. Neither Massachusetts nor its capital city, Boston, have the substantial Negro population as, for example, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Illinois. And, despite his woeful political shortcomings, Endicott Peabody, former governor and Democratic senatorial nominee, never indulged in any appeal for a racist vote. One of the bright spots of Peabody's record is his position on civil rights which was in a sense dramatized when his mother went to jail in Florida as the result of a demonstration.

The election of Brooke served notice on President Johnson that the war in Vietnam and its consequences have thoroughly shattered the wide alliance that defeated Goldwater and brought the Democrats such a large majority in Congress. And the threat of the loss of power is language that even the arrogance of the White House can comprehend.

The results in November in Massachusetts were decisive. Brooke

polled 1,062,763 to 691,667 for Peabody. But at the beginning of the campaign the margin was closer; it required a persistent effort among independent voters plus an unfolding of the two candidates' positions to demonstrate to this decisive bloc that support of Brooke, despite the unhappy label of Republicanism, was a progressive step.

Early Waverings in Progressive Camp

At the outset shallow thinking permeated liberal, Left and some independent circles linked together by a common opposition to the government's foreign policy.

Phrases were tossed about Brooke such as: "He's an Uncle Tom," "He's four-fifths white," "A vote for Brooke because he's a Negro is racism in reverse," "He lives in Newton ((an affluent suburb)," "He's just another member of the Establishment." Part of this glib talk unquestionably came from the prejudiced concept that a Negro aspirant must possess virtues far beyond those demanded from a white candidate. And in this attitude of downgrading Brooke as a politician of no consequence was the failure to see the attorney general of the Commonwealth as one who carries within him from his youth in Washington, D.C., the hurt, the injustice, and the determination born of the ghetto.

Among the more vocal who dismissed Brooke were the "ultra-Left" together with some tired radicals longing for quick and easy solutions. What they said was picked up and repeated by many who failed at first to challenge such superficiality and probe for a deeper political understanding. A considerable number of persons who had been involved in the past on a thoughtful political level were influenced by a simplistic agitation which brushed aside the complexities of individuals and issues and ignored the fact that change and the promotion of change is central to the winning of peace and democracy.

As the campaign progressed, this viewpoint dwindled in influence. The proponents of an all or nothing political concept (this included the idea of an election day boycott strike) simply did not meet the requirements of reality. A wider outlook, searching for the extension of the peace movement, grasped that the end of the war will be gained step by step with the winning of allies by a solid and independent peace force.

Meanwhile, Brooke declared and maintained through the campaign that the central issue was how to bring the war to a close.

In another part of the political spectrum—the Republican apparatus—there was also uneasiness over Brooke's candidacy. True the attorney

general was an excellent vote getter—his was the highest elective post held by any Negro—but was he a completely reliable man for the Senate? After all, he was to replace the venerable Leverett Saltonstall, companion of Boston's State Street bankers. One wing of the Republicans, the extreme Right, bitterly recalled Brooke's refusal to endorse Goldwater for the presidency.

When the attorney general early in 1966 published his book, *The Challenge of Change*,* there were cries within the party of "socialism," a charge as devoid of accuracy as the criticism that was coming from some within the peace camp. Still, Brooke carried the possibility of victory, a strong argument within the party machine. He did have the staunch support of the Ripon Club, a small group of intellectual Harvard Republicans who have spread out nationally on the theme that the party must be "creative" and not always found in a negative posture with respect to all proposals of social or economic improvement.

In the months of the campaign, the election itself and its aftermath, there was a wealth of illuminating experience. First, however, it is best to start with the man, Edward Brooke, around whom these experiences came to focus.

Stand on Vietnam and Social Needs

The story is told that Brooke, entering politics, preferred the Democratic Party, but upon rebuff by its leaders turned to the receptive Republicans. The G.O.P. welcomed a Negro at a time when the Negro people had swung from its support to the Democrats at the beginning of the New Deal and had never returned. Massachusetts Democrats had scant concern for laboring among the Negro electorate. Part of this stemmed from racism, part from the fact that the relatively small Negro population was not the pivotal force as in many other northern states.

Step by step Brooke advanced in the Republican ranks. He had a natural skill for politics, a warm dignity, and his background included graduation from Howard University and service overseas as an officer in World War II in Italy (where he met his wife to be), graduate of the Boston University Law School where he edited the *Law Review*. His LL.B. and LL.M. at that university were the prelude to numerous honorary degrees in later years. Twice defeated for the state legislature and once for secretary of state, he nevertheless

*Edward, W. Brooke, *The Challenge of Change*, Brown and Co., Boston, 1966, \$5.95.

attracted a large vote and, after an appointive position as chairman of the Boston Finance Committee, he was elected and then re-elected attorney general of the Commonwealth. In the last presidential election he won by a tremendous majority in a state where the voters gave President Johnson his third greatest sweep.

In public office Brooke has been untainted by the scandal and wheeling and dealing that is commonplace in Massachusetts. His record as attorney general was that of an efficient, conscientious public servant. But it is in his book, which some of his cautious associates did not want published in a campaign year, and in his campaign and post-campaign speeches that the picture of Brooke becomes more clear.

Much in the book can be dismissed as conventional political rhetoric: the hoped for reconversion of the Republican Party to the outlook of Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt (!), the occasional bows to General Eisenhower, the late Senator Robert Taft, and George Romney. But positive substance can be found in Brook's comment on the urban center, on poverty, the special oppression of the Negro people and, in a more generalized way, foreign policy. Here is a sample of Brook's reflections:

One-third of the forty to fifty million poor Americans are children under eighteen. A conservative estimate places the number of children condemned to almost certain poverty, and to rear *their* children in even greater relative poverty, at twelve million! They will live lives of sickness, starchy foods, aimlessness, and probably crime. They will know almost nothing of human dignity because almost nothing they are capable of performing is dignified according to the values of our society. On the average they will work only six months a year and earn, on the average, less than half a skilled factory worker's pay. Something is drastically wrong when any American child is born with such great odds against living a moderately successful and happy life.

The diagnosis is accurate but what of the prognosis? Here Brooke departs from most of his party's representatives. Relief payments must be increased, medical services expanded, tax laws revised "to ease the burden in lower-income brackets." In addition, Brooke subscribes to the reverse income tax whereby a family incurring no tax liability would be compensated by the federal government for the difference.

While Brooke in no way wishes to whittle down government aid, he stresses that the need is to break away from charity and relief and to create jobs giving a liveable income. Here the government must step in and to implement this there must be "an educational program of major proportions."

All this, if it is to be successfully fought for, places Brooke in direct conflict with those Democrats and Republicans who have been giving war and armament priority over social needs. The gulf cannot be compromised.

In his concern for the Negro people and other minorities, Brooks realizes that "we have only scratched the surface," that "progress in terms of the Negro masses has barely begun," and that "Mere passage of time will solve nothing—indeed the gap . . . is widening." Negro-white unity is viewed as a necessity and Brooke identifies himself with the "common sense and tactical genius" of A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King.

It should be noted here, however, that in one post-election statement he wrongfully lumped together Stokely Carmichael and George Rockwell only to say several weeks later that the slogan of "black power," rightly interpreted, was acceptable.

On foreign policy, Brooke contends in his book that Congressional leaders of both parties, facing the revolutionary drive in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, "resist most determinedly the only measures that have a hope of eliminating the underlying causes of Communism" and "rely instead upon the narrow theory that military power is the sum and substance of foreign policy."

Peace Forces Rally Behind Brooke

It was in the election campaign, however, and in the immediate hours after victory that Brooke became more specific on the issue of Vietnam. He was not for immediate withdrawal of American forces but he did advocate a halt to escalation, cessation of the bombing of the north, an end to the use of napalm and the bombing of civilians, and the inclusion of the National Liberation Front in peace negotiations. No other candidate of a major party for the Senate took so advanced a position.

The war in Vietnam, he insisted, was the major campaign issue; that war, he said, was decisive in the election, and it was his major concern as he prepared to go to the Senate to bring it to a halt. He hoped that he might be named to succeed Senator Saltonstall on the Foreign Relations Committee where he could work for peace in Asia and an easing of tension between "Eastern Europe and the United States." Failing that appointment, he would prefer the Judiciary Committee whose chairman is the notorious Senator Eastland.

Toward the peak of the campaign Brooke and Peabody, his Democratic opponent, accepted an invitation from Massachusetts Polit-

ical Action for Peace (PAX) to state their views and be questioned on Vietnam. In historic Faneuil Hall, Brooke and Peabody—an all-out Johnson supporter—appeared before four hundred peace activists and solicited their support. That the candidates came to such a gathering was testimony to the growing influence of the state's major peace organizations and here it is necessary to recount the background of PAX and the approach it has employed over the years.

The Massachusetts peace movement became solidified in 1962 around the candidacy of H. Stuart Hughes, Harvard University professor who ran as an independent for the U.S. Senate. His opponents were Edward Kennedy and George Lodge, the son of President Johnson's present chief of occupation in Vietnam. To get Hughes on the ballot with the enormous number of signatures required was considered almost impossible. But, especially with work on the part of college youth, it was done. The vote, when tallied, gave Hughes slightly over two per cent. The tradition of voting for major party candidates remained strong, the Kennedy name possessed magic, and the Cuban crisis exploded on the eve of the election with Hughes contending, in the face of a rise in national chauvinism, that his government was wrong.

Instead of discouraging the peace movement, the election defeat served to bring about the creation of a permanent organization (its operating budget this year was more than \$30,000). Taking the name PAX, it was largely middle class in composition, heavily weighted with academics. PAX has had a singular career as a peace movement. Despite vigorous discussions on policy, it has succeeded time and again to come up with a united approach and its influence has expanded at a slow but steady pace.

PAX suffers from an absence of labor participation and involvement of Negroes, a characteristic of most peace movements throughout the country. While student support has been achieved in various campaigns and demonstrations, there is still a gap to be closed between student impetuosity and a tendency toward unilateral decision making by PAX.

After the experience of independent political action in the Hughes campaign, the peace movement sought the defeat of Barry Goldwater, although many in PAX viewed Johnson with a skeptical feeling which turned to rage at the great betrayal.

It was clear that the next contest of significance was to be the Senate seat with the retirement of Saltonstall. In the winter of 1965-66 discussions within PAX began and a variety of approaches brought continuing debate. That Brooke should be a consideration was

not an opinion held by many: one proposal was that in the event of his nomination an independent candidate should be entered to oppose him. The primary campaign plus continued discussion and a deeper look at Brooke was to bring about a different and eventually unifying stand.

The party conventions and primary campaigns added clarity. (Massachusetts has both party nominating conventions followed by an open primary where the convention nominee is so designated on the ballot.) Peabody was the convention nominee of the Democrats to be opposed by Mayor John Collins of Boston, sales tax advocate and friend of large real estate interests, and a newcomer to Democratic politics, Thomas Boylston Adams. Brooke, easily defeating a Right-wing Republican at the convention, was unopposed.

Adams, a descendant of presidents and representative of the best of the old Yankee tradition, was an outright, uncompromising peace candidate who drew the full support of PAX. His central theme was the ending of the war in Vietnam and his fire was directed at President Johnson. An amateur in politics, Adams gained experience as the campaign progressed. Weaknesses in his organization were abundant—some beyond capacity to overcome—but it was obvious that Adams was reaching a wider audience than Hughes had in his independent campaign.

Peabody emerged the party's nominee, but the vote for Adams was about eight per cent of the Democratic primary total. In an expected close general election that eight per cent could tip the scales. An indication of the weight of the Vietnam albatross on Peabody was seen when Massachusetts Americans for Democratic Action refused an endorsement to the former governor, himself a member of ADA who had always drawn its support.

Now PAX, with Adams declining to make any endorsement, was faced with the choice: Brooke or no one. The result was the Faneuil Hall confrontation and a subsequent decision to support Brooke. The wording of that decision is of interest. It read, in part:

Mr. Brooke has spoken in favor of halting escalation and limiting the war. He has been critical of the present Saigon government and of U.S. support of it. He has stated that the U.S. should be ready to include the National Liberation Front in negotiations. He has criticized the Administration for making its own gestures towards negotiations less credible by escalating the war and planning expanded production of bombing aircraft. He has urged an end to the use of napalm. He has not called for specific deescalation steps, such as the stopping of all air raids or withdrawing

American troops, but he has repeatedly stated that the U.S. government should not further escalate the war.

His criticism of the war policy of the Johnson administration is almost unique among prominent Republicans. In brief, while Mr. Brooke is by no means a "peace candidate," on the peace issue at this time we rate Mr. Brooke as "fair," and Mr. Peabody as "unacceptable." We think it is possible that the position of Mr. Brooke will develop further in the direction of a constructive effort for peace.

We believe that Mr. Brooke's election would add great strength to the more liberal elements of the Republican Party and would be regarded as a political defeat for the Johnson policy in Vietnam.

There is maturity in this statement. It came through a growing understanding that the peace movement must be flexible, adapt itself to each situation as it develops, avoid isolation, yet build the kind of independent authority that can use an eight per cent to advantage, reject the elevation of tactic to principle, and rely on the movement of forces rather than single individuals.

The Aftermath of the Elections

Serious study of the post-election scene is in order. The Democratic Party is in disarray with top offices going to the opposition while control of both houses of the legislature remains in Democratic hands. It is very likely that new and younger faces will appear among the Democratic leadership. Heavy storm clouds have appeared for the next presidential election. The leadership must be told in strong language that the independent voters, (larger in number in the state than those registered in either of the major parties), plus many Democrats, will abandon the party if the country's foreign policy is not drastically altered. This is becoming more obvious day by day.

Robert and Edward Kennedy who tried to blunt the people's discontent by constructing a facade of unity without content suffered a severe setback. Their major campaign rally in Boston was a disappointment as far as attracting an audience. There is particular need to put pressure on Senator Edward Kennedy who, unlike his brother, has not even flirted with the peace movement and who like the rest of the clan is possessed of the cold calculation of power rather than principle. The reliability of that calculation machine is, today, in considerable doubt.

The Right-wing Republicans with ties to the national headquarters of the John Birch Society in Belmont, Massachusetts, have encountered a serious setback. But this does not mean that every reactionary

element within the Republican Party will not fight to "capture" Brooke. They intend to use him for advantage and will be relentless in their pressure which must be countered by a mass pressure in the other direction. The election is only a step in a continuing struggle. One decision in the party's future will be with respect to the kind of Massachusetts delegates to be elected to the national presidential convention where the Right-wing hopes to dominate again.

What of organized labor?

Its participation in the campaign was extremely slight. COPE went through the motions of endorsing virtually all the Democratic slate, then did little about it. Brooke, despite his record and his call for repeal of 14(b), got no backing from the officialdom. The state AFL-CIO, after securing sufficient signatures to put a sales tax referendum on the ballot, let the campaign for repeal die from inactivity.

The main interest of the labor leadership centered on the gubernatorial race and here there was division with some backing Governor John Volpe, Republican, re-elected to a four-year term.

Obviously, many trade unionists voted for Brooke. In the Teamsters Union, the most active labor political force in the state, some locals declined to send out any literature in behalf of Peabody.

In the ranks of labor, as elsewhere in the nation, there is deep discontent. Boston, for example, has the highest cost of living of any major city yet the wage scales are low. Strikes are on the increase and the federal government acknowledges that Massachusetts is an area where labor unrest has reached a high pitch. In addition, automation and the decline of old industries create serious problems.

The dimensions of a powerful coalition are clear: the peace movement, the Negro people, youth, labor and the peace movement. The construction of this authority is the first order of business for those who feel a responsibility to their state and nation. And as the war grinds on the potential of recruits increases. This is a time of opportunity.

The Aptheker Campaign

In only one Congressional District in the country—one out of 435—were the voters on November 8th given the opportunity to vote for a Communist. This simple fact underlines the significance of the campaign to elect Dr. Herbert Aptheker to Congress in the 12th District, Brooklyn, New York.

At the outset the reader should know the thinking which led to this campaign. Why was it decided to run a Communist for Congress in New York in 1966? Why did the honor fall to Herbert Aptheker? Why was the 12th Congressional District the particular one chosen? And lastly, why did the candidate run on a Peace and Freedom ticket?

The answers to these questions will provide some of the background from which to analyze the campaign and its results.

No Communist name had appeared on an election ballot in New York for nearly a decade. The requirements for getting on the ballot are severe. A minimum of 3,000 signatures are required to place an independent congressional candidate on the ballot. These signatures must come from registered voters in the district who had not voted in the preceding primary election. Alongside of each signature there must also be listed the signer's present address, the address at which he lived when he last voted, and his Assembly and Election Districts. Any error in fact, in spelling, in the way he writes his name as compared with that on the election scrolls, any abbreviations, omissions, erasures or changes, can become cause for challenging signatures. The slightest technical error on the part of a sworn witness to a petition can invalidate all the signatures on the sheet.

Thus it can be seen that 3,000 signatures may not suffice to win a place on the ballot. In the case of Communist candidates this is particularly so. In 1958 Benjamin J. Davis and Arnold Johnson were both ruled off the ballot despite more than the minimum required number of signatures.

The decision to run a Communist for Congress in 1966 had to take this into account. It had to start with the premise that such a candidate would be challenged if the political machines thought they could get away with it. The only guarantee for winning a place on the ballot lay in getting so many signatures above the legally required number that no one would dare challenge them. This meant aiming for 10,000 signatures.

For these reasons the decision to run a Communist candidate could not be lightly made. No irreparable harm would come from an effort to get on the ballot that failed. But under the circumstances, we felt it exceedingly important that this fight be won.

The time had come to win the right of Communists to participate openly and freely in the life of the nation. The time had come to win the right of the American people to listen to and to vote for Communists if they so desired. The ideology of anti-Communism was being challenged on a wider scale than in any period since the cold war began. But the Communists had a special role to play in this fight. No one could substitute for them in this role, for no one else could speak for them. Only they could adequately explain and defend their own views, the short as well as the long range. It was necessary, therefore, that Communists be seen in the flesh, that the people hear their opinions from their own lips. Without this, their views could always be caricatured and distorted. The time had come to refuse to remain in the shadows.

This was the meaning of the new draft program of the Communist Party. This was the meaning of the open convention of the Party. This was the meaning of the fight to place a Communist on the ballot in the State of New York.

The Choice of Candidate

The choice of Herbert Aptheker as candidate was a logical one. He was widely known as a Communist and, more than any other individual, could count on considerable non-Communist support to get on the ballot and as a candidate.

Dr. Aptheker was the foremost living historian of the Negro people. He had a world-wide reputation as a Marxist scholar. He had addressed more college audiences than possibly any other speaker in the country. He was closely identified with the struggle for peace, having made the long journey to Hanoi with Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden. He was the director of the American Institute of Marxist Studies and the author of twenty books. As a candidate he would be respected; his voice would be heard.

These were the reasons for asking Aptheker to assume this additional burdensome responsibility. He did accept, even though at a great sacrifice to the many important projects upon which he was busily engaged. And never did a candidate fulfill his responsibilities with greater credit and honor. Aptheker was a tireless campaigner. He spoke at small coffee clutches and house parties, to larger more formal meetings and symposiums, and to scores of open air rallies.

He canvassed for signatures and talked to people on street corners, subway stations, shopping centers and in their homes. He appeared at two public hearings. He wrote campaign literature. He appeared at affairs outside his district for fund raising purposes. There was no task too small for him, whether day or night, to help push the campaign forward.

The choice of Comrade Aptheker as candidate more or less determined the choice of the congressional district in which the race would be run. The 12th Congressional District has not been a stronghold for progressive, Left and Communist activity. There were many other districts with far greater Left tradition and organization. But the 12th District did offer two decided advantages. First, the candidacy of Aptheker would not result in a clash with other Left and progressive forces. No one would weep tears at a challenge to Edna Kelly, the Democratic Congressional wheelhorse. Secondly, the 12th district was the one in which Aptheker was born and in which he still lived. In this district he could not be accused of poaching on someone else's grounds.

On one of these counts we were proven wrong. After the work had already begun of forming an independent committee in behalf of Aptheker, a Mr. Hal Levin suddenly announced his candidacy. Levin was an instructor at Brooklyn College who claimed the support of some peace groups. A number of attempts were made to avoid a collision, including the offer to support Levin for office in the Bronx, where he lived, or in some other district. But he refused to withdraw. He and his sponsors apparently believed they would get on the ballot while Aptheker would not. It turned out quite the opposite.

The decision to run Aptheker on a Peace and Freedom ticket also needs some explanation. This was not meant to hide his Communist beliefs or party membership. He proudly proclaimed both of these. This is the very reason why A. J. Muste, the dean of the peace movement, felt impelled to endorse the campaign.

Yet many non-party individuals preferred to have Aptheker, the Communist, run on a wider Peace and Freedom ticket. They felt that his candidacy was part of a new trend toward peace candidates and toward independent political action, and that there was no reason why in the 12th Congressional District Herbert Aptheker could not be the spokesman and candidate of that trend.

Problems of the Campaign

In evaluating the campaign and its results, the previously men-

tioned character of the 12th Congressional District and the reasons why it was chosen must be borne in mind. These left their imprint on the campaign and the way in which it was conducted.

Normally, an election district should be chosen in which there has been considerable advanced plowing and planting. The best kind of candidacy is that which arises from the community itself, its struggles, movements and leaders. For obvious reasons, already explained, this was not how the candidacy of Comrade Aptheker arose. While he was relatively well known in the district, this was due more to his general reputation than his specific ties with the area.

Furthermore, the district is not a single homogeneous community. One can be known in one neighborhood and be completely unknown elsewhere. The district resembles a huge sprawling jigsaw puzzle, made up of many different ethnic, cultural and economic communities. The largest single ethnic group is Jewish. Yet there is a world of difference between the medieval outlook of the large concentration of Chassidic Jews living in the district, for whom even voting is a sin, and the rest of the Jewish people of the area. In turn, the majority of the Jewish population is divided between a progressive current and a section still strongly influenced by the Jewish *Forward* with its excessive anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism.

The Negro community, making up the second largest population bloc in the district, is also far from homogeneous. There is a stable community of long-time Negro residents. But the particular section of Bedford Stuyvesant which falls within the 12th district has a highly migrant character. It is a vast sieve through which thousands of human beings are constantly pouring. Most of these see this ghetto as just a temporary stopping place on the way to something better. All too many get stuck in it, unable to get out. This leaves its imprint on the community and explains the exceedingly high percentage of non-registered people and non-voters.

There are also Italian and Irish neighborhoods with their own separate characteristics and problems. Also, a rather large percentage of the district is made up of home-owners, many small, and others not so small. It is a district of workers, professionals and middle-class people.

The main issues of the campaign were clear. They were two: the war in Vietnam and Negro freedom, and both related to each other and to the character of our society. In presenting these general issues an impressive job was done. More than a half-million pieces of educational literature were issued. The leaflet with the best response was that dealing with the rise in the cost of food prices

and its relationship to the war in Vietnam. This leaflet was brought up to date and re-issued three times.

But one of the serious weaknesses of the campaign was that it was not tied in concretely enough to the specific local issues and grievances of the various communities of people. The main reason for this was the lack of sufficient direct ties with each community.

Some of this was unavoidable, flowing from general weaknesses of the movement in the district and specific weaknesses in how the campaign was launched. Had more local forces been drawn in to the original planning of the campaign, however, some of this could have been mitigated.

For example, it was only after weeks of signature getting that we realized a mistake had been made in not also running a Negro for State Assembly. We had raised the general issue of Negro representation and how gerrymandering had denied the Negro people a seat in Congress. But we had not known the local scene intimately enough to think of a Peace and Freedom candidate for the Assembly. Later, when we made contact with the Italian community we realized that here too we could have considered an additional candidate of Italian extraction. The Italian people were very sympathetic to us and resentful at the way they are treated by the political machines.

In some respects the campaign resembled something of an outside invasion. The task of getting 10,000 signatures within the legally prescribed time of six weeks was an undertaking so immense that it required a considerable concentration of workers from outside the district. The pressure to get the signatures, the immense painstaking job of processing them—making sure that every petition was as technically perfect as possible—meant that other phases of the campaign were either overlooked or given insufficient attention.

There is a time for everything—for plowing, planting and reaping. In this campaign we had to do all three at the same time. When this is borne in mind the results obtained are truly gratifying, only indicating what can be done when proper planning is undertaken long enough in advance.

The Campaign Attracts New, Young Activists

One of the most inspiring aspects of the Aptheker campaign was the way it acted as a magnet, drawing to it new, young forces. When the campaign was originally conceived no one knew exactly how it would be manned. There were many individuals with election experience in and around the party. These would certainly

provide a font of valuable experience. But who would be the campaign manager, who would be the full time workers manning first one, then two, then three headquarters?

The same quandry faced us in respect to funds. A considerable sum of money would be needed in this two-stage undertaking—to get on the ballot and then to get out the vote.

It was Karl Marx who said that an idea when it grips the mind of men becomes a material force. Such was the idea of running Herbert Aptheker, the Communist, for U.S. Congress. It stirred the imagination of those tired of the status quo and desirous of challenging the political Establishment more fundamentally. It attracted those wanting to enter upon new paths of struggle in a new way. The best illustration of this was the way in which we found a campaign manager.

The first public announcement that Herbert Aptheker was considering running for Congress was made by Gus Hall in a press interview on February 23. Some time thereafter, a young man came to see us. He wanted to know whether Aptheker was really going to run. "I have great admiration for Dr. Aptheker," he said. "I've read his books and I know how much he has done to bring the truth about Negro history to the American people. If he runs, I would like to be part of his campaign."

Those were the words of Blyden Jackson, young in years, but a battle-scarred veteran of the civil rights war both North and South. He became the campaign manager and gave the campaign a quality it could not have had without him.

The young lady who took charge of the main office had come from SNCC, the young man who took over the job of processing the petitions was a student at Rutgers, the treasurer of the campaign was a young professional, etc. The students at Brooklyn College had their own headquarters and, before the campaign was over, had some forty students manning election districts. The Bedford Stuyvesant headquarters became a center for Negro youth and, in the last weeks of the campaign, they demonstrated against President Johnson when he visited Brooklyn, were busy distributing election material, and spoke from sound trucks. One young man, unknown to most of us before the campaign, won special honors by getting 600 signatures single-handed—doing so evenings and weekends. His young pregnant wife worked in the office of the campaign and only stopped when the baby refused to wait any longer.

In respect to money, the same thing happened. In response to solicitations by mail and ads in papers, contributions began to come in from all areas of the nation. People responded to Aptheker as

a man they admired and trusted. They responded to the democratic issue involved—the right of Communists to run for public office. And they strongly felt the need for a new kind of fighting candidates who would fearlessly speak to the real issues.

Of course, a great deal had to be done to organize the raising of funds, but had the idea not moved people, had they not seen in this campaign an attempt to break new ground, the financial appeal would have fallen on deaf ears.

Campaign Accomplishments

In this there is a lesson of great meaning. People will respond when they believe in something and its success. They do not want to run faster just to remain in the same place. Even when they respond out of a sense of duty, they cannot give all they are capable of, unless duty is coupled with a fighting perspective.

If the Aptheker campaign had provided us with this lesson alone, it would have been worth all the efforts put into it.

But it accomplished more than that. It brought the issues to the people. In this district the war in Vietnam could not be swept under the carpet. It had to be discussed. Likewise the issue of racism, the question of poverty, the matter of the Civilian Review Board and of anti-Semitism.

The campaign made an invaluable contribution to the Communist Party as an organization and to the thinking of its members. It proved, to many who were skeptical, that we could get the 10,000 signatures to put a Communist on the ballot. And it is no secret that such skepticism and even resistance did exist.

It also raised the question of open Communist work in a new way. For the first weeks of the signature campaign it was extremely difficult to convince many Communists to go out with the petitions. In that first period more non-party workers responded than Party members. Many Party members feared “exposure”—whether the loss of a job, or the ability to work effectively in some mass organization. Some were reluctant to go out and speak to new people in behalf of a peace and freedom candidate who was a Communist. At one point, Aptheker ruefully remarked that if he were not a Communist, some Communists would be giving him greater support.

The campaign helped to change this situation. Hundreds participated in getting the signatures, and as the goal was approached—10,128 signatures were actually obtained—a new spirit emerged. It seemed as if ten thousand more could be gotten if that became necessary.

The campaign also showed that the people are confused, bewildered, prejudiced. But it showed something else, too. It showed that the people also know something is wrong, are disturbed over the war in Vietnam and feel a sense of national guilt in relation to it. We learned, too, that people will listen, that the influence of anti-Communism is still great, but not as all-pervasive as yesterday.

When the campaign began we made sure that the candidate would not campaign in the streets without adequate protection. But such precautions proved unnecessary. Rowdiness was handled in most instances by the people themselves, and such incidents were few and far between. The response, on the whole, when not warm, was at least courteous, with many people curious to know what we stood for.

The favorable response of the people led some of the less experienced campaigners to expect fantastic results. Some workers talked of winning, others of rolling up tens of thousands of votes. There were also some who believed that the discontent with Kelly would automatically sweep over into a huge protest vote for Aptheker.

But each voter when he entered the election booth had to answer one question to himself—should he vote against Kelly by voting for the Communist, Aptheker. It was Kelly herself who posed this question in a letter to voters and in an interview with the *New York Times*. She made Aptheker her only opponent, did not even mention the existence of the Republican candidate, and said that a vote for Aptheker was a vote for Communism and the Communist Party.

In criticism it should be noted that the Aptheker campaign literature did not deal adequately enough with the issue of Communism. It did expose the meaning of anti-Communism, but it did not explain what Communism is and why the candidate was an exponent of it. It is true that the concrete issues confronting the people were those related to war, poverty, discrimination, racism. But the issue of Communism is a mass issue even though socialism could not be voted up or down in the '66 elections. Furthermore, the people have a right to know what a candidate believes in and why.

The mass distribution of leaflets, the cruising of sound cars, all helped create an atmosphere conducive to debate and discussion and of legitimacy for the campaign. But the getting out of a large vote was dependent upon the house-to-house, face-to-face kind of work in election districts. Where this work was carried on it was possible to explain things more fully, to answer questions about the candidates philosophical and political views, and there the highest of all votes were obtained. In a whole number of such

election districts from forty to fifty votes per election district were gotten. In the three election districts of the Ebbets Field Housing Project, for example, out of 1300 votes cast, Aptheker received 135. This proves once again that there is no substitute for the person to person relationship. A vote is the product of many thoughts and feelings, not least of all the feeling of confidence and respect for another human being—in this instance, the campaign canvasser.

Aptheker received an official total of 3,562 votes. Only one who knows the difficulty in casting a vote for Aptheker can appreciate its full significance. Aptheker's name appeared in Column G—the 7th column—and on Row 14. The top of the column carried the heading UNITED TAXPAYERS PEACE AND FREEDOM, which mixed up two opposite kind of candidates and tickets—the candidacy of the reactionary Battista, on the Taxpayer Ticket, and the candidacy of the Communist Aptheker, on the Peace and Freedom Ticket. It required high intelligence, consciousness and patience to unscramble this mess and to find and pull the Aptheker lever.

A Foundation Laid for the Future

The 1966 election campaign in the 12th Congressional district marks only a beginning. It laid a first foundation for future work. We now know the exact election districts and even the apartment buildings and streets where large numbers of people voted for Aptheker. In a number of these buildings and streets of concentrated support, work is already progressing to form permanent organization for the building of an independent political movement of the people.

During the campaign a number of struggles were organized around the issue of the high cost of living and these are now being merged into a county-wide movement.

There are now three Du Bois Clubs in the 12th district, one of these in the Negro community. The members of these clubs played an exceedingly active role in the campaign. At Brooklyn College there is now an open Communist Forum and as this article is being written a young Communist is running for student office.

The main campaign headquarters on Nostrand Avenue remains open. It is hoped it can become a center of people's activities.

A Peace and Freedom Newsletter to appear four times a year is also being planned. This will be edited by Aptheker and will be addressed to the people of the district and reflect both their needs and struggles.

In this campaign the Communist Party gained a number of new young recruits, activated many members and drew strength, experi-

ence and inspiration from this closer contact with the people. The Party is now determined to expand and extend the fight for its full rights and to build the bases from which to run Communists for public office in every borough of the city. It sees this as an integral part of the general movement toward independent political action and for a national peace ticket in 1968.

As a result of this campaign the Communist Party in New York has also obtained a more accurate picture of its own human resources and will be in a better position to promote its best mass workers to posts of greater responsibility and leadership.

A few days after the campaign ended, this writer asked Herbert Aptheker to jot down on paper the lessons of the campaign as he saw them. These were his thoughts:

Opportunities are breath-taking; there is a hunger for real discussion of issues and not too much concern over the labels of those doing the discussing. Anti-communism is real but far from impregnable and the caricature is so gross that given exposure and effort it can be overcome, sometimes quite dramatically. There was a minimum of real nasty opposition or hostility and almost no overt manifestations of this.

The grip of the two-party system (i.e., the absence of real alternative) is awful and its confining nature is more and more widely felt. We must be in there with an organized alternative—a broad, sensible, realistic and *practical* alternative. Not “far out,” not precious or exotic; plain, broad, practical but a real alternative. A real hunger for something different. There is wide grasp that “something is wrong,” deeply wrong. The bind is how to get something accomplished. People want to be able to effectuate something, to see results; not just complain or gripe or expose. That things are “rotten” is widely grasped; how to change this—that is the question. An organized alternative *must* be offered and we must be in there with the offer.

This sums up the lessons of the first campaign to elect Herbert Aptheker to the Congress of the United States.

HERBERT APTHEKER

The U.S. In Vietnam: An Appraisal

To state my views on this intensely controversial subject, I have been given approximately twenty-five minutes. Within that limit, I wish first to question several of the leading arguments offered by partisans of the Administration's war in Vietnam; second, to indicate something of the nature of U.S. activities in conducting that war; third, to suggest its impact upon our nation; and, finally, to offer an alternative course.

We turn to some of the main Administration arguments:

Chinese "Aggression"

A much-repeated argument holds that it is really Chinese "aggression" that explains the selfless activity of the U.S. government in Southeast Asia. That government has committed almost half a million troops there for no sordid or material or territorial or economic reason; no, the reason is that we seek to hurl back Chinese aggressiveness.

I think that this argument being urged in the face of the incontrovertible facts concerning Chinese-American relations can only be explained on the basis of a complete loss of any sense of irony and perhaps a kind of madness induced by the racism that permeates so much thinking in the United States.

Consider what would be the reaction in the United States if it were this country rather than China that was surrounded by scores of army, air and naval bases; if 500,000 Chinese combat troops were in Canada and in Mexico rather than 500,000 U.S. troops in Korea, Thailand and Vietnam; if a Chinese fleet regularly patrolled and at times interdicted the American coasts, rather than U.S. warships that openly so treat the coast of China; if Chinese military aircraft periodically flew over U.S. territory for the purpose of intelligence

* This is the text of the talk given by Dr. Aptheker in a debate on the Vietnam war with Prof. I. Milton Sacks of Brandeis University. The debate was held on December 11, under the auspices of the Ford Hall Forum in Boston and was chaired by Judge Reuben L. Lurie. About 600 people attended and the proceedings were broadcast live on radio in the Boston area. It is to be rebroadcast via various radio stations in Cambridge, Syracuse, Philadelphia, New York City, Washington, Richmond, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

and reconnaissance, rather than what is today the fact—that U.S. military aircraft so behave over the territory of China; if China intervened in an American civil war and, favoring one of the two sides, helped the favored one to retain in its possession Staten Island, Nantucket, and the Florida Keys, rather than what is today true—i. e., the U.S. making it possible for Chiang to exist and to retain Quemoy, Matsu and Taiwan.

In connection with the charge of Chinese "aggression," the Korean War frequently is invoked. What, however, are the facts in connection with that war and Chinese-American relations?

It was only after U.S. (UN) forces advanced north of the 38th parallel—separating South and North Korea—that the Chinese issued any warnings at all of their possible intervention. As General MacArthur kept moving North these warnings increased. When MacArthur announced that his goal was the Yalu River "by Christmas" and "home by New Year's," the Chinese government called in the Indian Ambassador, K. M. Pannikar—who writes of this in his memoirs—and told him that Peking, having no relations with Washington, was requesting New Delhi to inform Washington that the announced goal of MacArthur was one which the Chinese government could not and would not allow. It was pointed out that the Yalu is to China what the St. Lawrence is to the United States; that it constituted an actual boundary of China and that the power from its waters served hydro-electric plants inside China as well as inside Korea.

When this information was passed on to Washington and from there to General MacArthur, the latter assured President Truman that he knew "the oriental mind," that it understood only force and that he—MacArthur—was "certain" China was bluffing.

As the U. S. (UN) forces approached the Yalu, 150,000 Chinese troops entered the struggle, sent MacArthur's forces reeling southward and drove them to the 38th parallel. At that point the Chinese troops stopped and soon thereafter withdrew from Korea. There have been since and are now no Chinese troops inside Korea; but there are today about 60,000 U.S. troops in that still-divided country.

Here again, the facts demonstrate Chinese restraint, in relations with the U.S., not Chinese aggressiveness. Overall, this rationalization used by the Johnson Administration for its war against Vietnam—that is, to prevent Chinese "aggression"—is a classic example of "thief shouting thief."

The "Appeasement" Argument

From Vice-President Humphrey and President Johnson one hears

repeatedly that supporting the present war in Vietnam reflects an understanding of the "lesson of Munich" and a rejection of the disastrous path of appeasement. The American people are incessantly told that appeasing aggressors does not satisfy or restrain them but rather strengthens and encourages them. Hence, now in Vietnam (and in the Dominican Republic!) they must be stopped and this must be done no matter what the cost or the danger involved.

Again, a fundamental misconception is at the root of this argument. The indigenous quality of the revolutionary movements in Asia is decisive; they are in fact revolutionary movements and reactionary efforts to suppress them bring about civil wars. In these wars colonial powers—like Japan, France, Britain, the Netherlands—regularly have intervened; and so has and so is the United States. When the Dutch sought to suppress the Indonesian struggle for independence, the only foreigners fighting in Indonesia were—the Dutch. When the French sought to suppress the Vietnam struggle for independence, the only foreigners fighting in Vietnam were—the French. Now that the Americans are seeking to suppress the Vietnam struggle for independence, the only foreigners fighting in Vietnam are—the Americans (plus, most recently, some South Koreans, paid by the United States, and a token force of New Zealanders and Australians).

To equate such events with the steady violent advances of the fascist powers—Italy, Germany and Japan—during the 1930's is to equate George Washington with Count Metternich.

Furthermore, the whole point of Munich—and it is allegedly to avoid "another Munich" that American youths are fighting ten thousand miles from home—was not appeasement in any accurate definition of the term. This word carries with it the idea that what was given to Hitler was yielded grudgingly. Nothing can be further from the truth.

Hitler was created, financed, built up by German monopoly capital and simultaneously by the ruling circles of France, Great Britain and the United States. They did not *yield* to Hitler—they *lavished* upon Hitler. They not only gave him what he wanted; they gave him—as his correspondence and recorded conversations have since revealed—actually more than he expected and sometimes more than he had requested. They gave him naval equality; the legal right to rearm; a remilitarized Rhineland; the Saar; Danzig; Memel; Austria. They gave him (and Mussolini) victory in Spain. We know now that they were seriously offering him the former Kaiser's colonies in Africa. And in Munich—against the protests of the USSR and the

Left throughout the world—they gave him all Czechoslovakia, with its first-rate industry, its superb munitions works, its magnificent fortifications, and its eastern finger touching the Soviet Union.

This was a policy of emboldening and encouraging. Hitler was *made* into a giant as a *policy* of international monopoly with the purpose of using that giant to spearhead the military destruction of the Soviet Union and thus, once and for all, to "finish" with socialism.

The so-called appeasers of yesterday are the aggressors today. The Munichers of the past are the bombardiers of the present. The Hearst press that today leads the cry for war in the name of resisting appeasement was the same press that opened its pages to the writings of Mussolini and Goering regularly throughout the thirties. It was to the *New York Daily News* that President Roosevelt symbolically gave the nazi Iron Cross and he did that in recognition of its real Munich spirit; it is the *Daily News* which again leads the hounds of war.

Yesterday's "appeasers" are today's aggressors because yesterday and today they hated and hate socialism; because yesterday and today they preferred and prefer reaction; because yesterday and today they did and they do opt for fascism rather than live in peace with socialism and permit the masses in the world to work out for themselves a destiny of creative living, real abundance and full sovereignty.

Is There a Civil War?

Lately, the Johnson Administration has been seeking to convince the American people that there is no genuine struggle within South Vietnam at all; that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is a figment and a misnomer and that there is nothing of even a civil war quality in the fighting there. Indeed, Secretary McNamara in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 3, 1966, stated the *New York Times* the next day, "devoted much of his formal statement to controverting the argument that the Vietnam conflict was a civil war."

This was its character, however, in the 1950's with this proviso; even then most of the money and material used by the Saigon authorities came from the United States. U.S. intervention has increased, of course, throughout the 1960's and by the end of 1964—despite colossal U.S. assistance—the Saigon regime had been defeated militarily. It is because of this that U.S. military intervention became massive—by land, air and sea—beginning in 1965, until at the end of 1966, there are about 400,000 U.S. combat troops on the ground in Vietnam and 30,000 in Thailand and they are backed up by the

entire 7th Fleet, plus the Strategic Air Command and tens of thousands of maintenance and supply troops in Okinawa, Japan, the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii and the continental United States.

One may, then, now agree with McNamara when he says the war in Vietnam is no longer a civil war; it is now predominantly a war waged by the United States against the people in South and North Vietnam with the formal support of its Saigon puppets. It has reached the point where those puppets themselves admit 113,000 desertions from their own army in a single year; it has reached the point where, as the American press admits, major military campaigns are undertaken now by U.S. forces without even informing the Saigon authorities that they impend!

It has reached the point where U.S. combat casualties more and more frequently exceed those of the Saigon forces, where the total U.S. troops committed now far outnumber the Saigon regular army and where, as Keyes Beech writes from Saigon on December 7 (as published in the *New York Post* of Dec. 8, 1966):

Events have put South Viet Nam's 285,000-man army on the spot. It is an army without a role.

Offensively, this has become an American war. In terms of carrying the war to the enemy, it is the Americans who are taking and inflicting the most casualties.

As the U.S. buildup continues, this trend will become even more pronounced. That the South Vietnamese army would be relegated to the back seat was to be expected as the Americans moved to the forefront with their superior mobility, firepower and aggressiveness.

As for the indigenous reality of the NLF, and its decisive weight in the fighting in South Vietnam, the evidence is abundant and altogether persuasive. Every *New York Times* correspondent—not to speak of the European press—from David Halberstam to Max Frankel has reported this reality; it has been insisted upon also by such figures as General Paul Harkins, who commanded all U.S. forces in Vietnam prior to General Westmoreland and was reiterated as being the view of both General Westmoreland and General Stilwell themselves by no less a figure than Senator Stephen Young of Ohio, speaking on the floor of the U.S. Senate, January 20, 1966.

The "Domino" Theory

Further, the so-called "domino" theory, insisting that only the present policy prevents other states from "falling away" from the United States, is, in my view, quite false. Indeed, I believe that

the truth is exactly the contrary; I think the evidence demonstrates that the Johnson policy—and especially as that policy dramatized itself with the commencement of the bombings of the DRV in February, 1965—has flung all the dominoes upon the floor and that only its reversal will make possible replacing them.

Thus, thoroughly experienced American newspapermen, like Walter Lippman, James Reston and Joseph Barry, to quote the latter, find: "Everywhere in Europe the Vietnam war has poisoned whatever else has been positive in American policy. It has reduced to nil everything but our military leadership and made nonsense our claims to moral law and international order."

If this is true in Europe—and numerous commentators confirm Mr. Barry's view—one can well imagine the situation in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Certainly in Cambodia, India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan and Japan, the Vietnam policy of the United States has embarrassed governments and infuriated the populace. Said the entire distinguished editorial board of that leading "Christian Journal of Opinion," *Christianity and Crisis*, in an essay entitled, "We Protest the National Policy in Vietnam": "Our nation is becoming increasingly lonely in the world, losing or embarrassing European, African and Asian allies, and building a legacy of hatred and resentment." (March 7, 1966.)

* * *

The weaknesses of the rationalizations reflect the viciousness of the war, just as the latter basically explains world-wide condemnation of our nation's course.

Chemical sprays, "beneficent" gases, saturation bombings, condoning torture, and napalm bombs—which are nothing but mobile crematoria—have led figures like Dr. Benjamin Spock and Sir Philip Noel-Baker—holder of the Nobel Peace Prize—to compare American activities to those associated with Guernica and Lidice.

Time is pressing, so perhaps references to and extracts from Mr. Neil Sheehan's report—after three years in Vietnam for the *New York Times* and *Time*—must suffice. Mr. Sheehan knows and says (*N. Y. Times Magazine*, Oct. 9, 1966) that from Marshal Ky down every man in the Saigon junta was trained by and served the French in the war against his own people. That all of them are like Bourbons: "They seek to retain what privileges they have and to regain what they have lost;" that "the majority of civilian casualties result from American and South Vietnamese air-strikes and artillery and naval gunfire," that the people there will not die willingly for a regime "which is committed to the galling status quo and is the creation of Washing-

ton," that Ky would not last a week without Washington, that the NLF represents real social change and is the only truly national organization there—that they are "the only Vietnamese capable of rallying millions of their countrymen to sacrifice and hardship in the name of the nation and the only group not dependent on foreign bayonets for survival."

That "in the process of waging this war we are corrupting ourselves" and, he concludes:

I wonder when I look at the bombed-out peasant hamlets, the orphans begging and stealing in the streets, and the women and children with napalm burns . . . whether the U.S. or any nation has the right to inflict this suffering and degradation on another people for its own ends.

Mr. Sheehan wonders; he is no longer a hawk but he confesses himself uncertain as to the best course.

* * *

To justify such a war fought for nefarious ends with foul means requires a course of prevarication hitherto unknown in American history.

Mr. Richard N. Goodwin, formerly a Special Assistant to both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, writing in *Christianity and Crisis* (Oct. 31, 1966), declares:

By its nature war is hostile to truth, yet with full allowance for necessary uncertainties, there have never been such intense and widespread deception and confusion as those which surround this war. The continual downpour of contradictions, misstatements and kaleidoscopically shifting attitudes has been so torrential that it has almost numbed the capacity to separate truth from conjecture or falsehood.

Mr. Emmet John Hughes—formerly a senior adviser to President Eisenhower—has just documented again, with additional details, in his *Newsweek* column of December 12, 1966, three occasions when Washington rejected negotiations for peace offered from the other side, while denying the existence of such offers, responding to each of them with renewed military escalations and publicly affirming its own desire for absurdly labelled "unconditional negotiations."

The nation's leaders are moving now to the previously leaked position of 500,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam, further escalation of U.S. bombing in Laos and U.S. military commitment in Thailand and

the expenditure of an additional \$12 billion a year on war in Vietnam.

This disastrous course already has brought more casualties than the Korean War, heightened taxes, created serious inflation, and induced the curtailment of social welfare, a resurgence of racism and a rejuvenation of the ultra-Right. If persisted in and further escalated, which is its logic, disaster will become catastrophe and the fate of Germany, Italy and Japan after their ill-starred effort at world hegemony—also under the guise of "anti-Communism"—will be benign compared with our fate.

* * *

President Johnson says we dissenters are "mere worriers." No, he and those who follow him are mere warriors, but we are not "mere worriers," for we do have a practical, necessary and honorable alternative to Mr. Johnson's course.

We urge the acceptance of the Pope's Plea: let the forthcoming Christmas truce extend into an indefinite armistice. We urge the acceptance of the proposal of the National Council of Christian Churches—let us re-examine our whole commitment to force as an instrument of national policy. We urge the acceptance of U Thant's proposal, the immediate and unconditional cessation, permanently, of the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. We urge the acceptance of U Thant's insistence that discussion must be held with the NLF. We urge a recommitment to the principle of Geneva by the U.S.—a united, sovereign, independent Vietnam with the withdrawal therefrom of all foreign troops and reunification of the country by the Vietnamese themselves, culminating in a general, free, secret election supervised by the International Control Commission of a revitalized Geneva Convention.

The days of colonialism, of hegemony, of Pax Britannica or Pax Americana are over; an effort to restore them means not only blood, but also failure. The ways of peace are not only the ways of justice and of wisdom—they also are the ways of true "hard-headed realism."

We who oppose this war must persist, must organize, must cry out, must never despair—in this crusade we dare not consider the possibility of failure. In this crusade we must and will win.

On the Jewish Question

HYMAN LUMER

The Fight Against Anti-Semitism

(The following is the second portion of the discussion article whose first part appeared in the December 1966 issue.)

The International Class Struggle

We turn next to the question of nationalism as it relates to the world arena. With the victory of the working class and the establishment of socialism in a number of countries, the class struggle has acquired an international dimension in the form of the struggle between a new, rising socialist world and an old, declining capitalist world. This struggle, between the working class in power and the capitalist class in power, is the vehicle of the central social process of our times and the most profound social transformation in all human history: the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale and with it the abolition of all exploitation and oppression of man by man. All other present-day struggles—in particular the class struggle in individual capitalist countries and the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples—take place within the framework of this central conflict and are profoundly influenced by it.

At the heart of the socialist world stands the Soviet Union, first land of socialism and the most powerful bulwark of peace, freedom and socialism in the world. It is, indeed, the very cornerstone of the whole edifice of social progress today. To the Soviet Union the national liberation movement owes in no small measure its great impetus and the impressive number of victories it has already achieved. And to the Soviet Union the Jewish people throughout the world particularly owe in no small measure their prospects for the future and even, in large degree, their present existence.

The successes of the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, in overthrowing tsarism, in building and defending their socialist society, and in laying the foundations for the transition to communism, were made possible by the Leninist policy of ending all national oppression and establishing the full equality of all nations and nationalities within the

ON THE JEWISH QUESTION

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USSR. This is one of the great triumphs of socialism. The Soviet Union is, in fact, a living refutation of the bourgeois nationalist idea that national chauvinism is inherent in human beings and hence ineradicable.

As for the Soviet Jews, their lives have been transformed as a result of the October Revolution and the establishment of socialism to a degree difficult for most Americans to grasp. In a way, the change is comparable to that which would occur in the lives of Negro Americans if every form of jim-crow discrimination and segregation were completely wiped out and full equality established in every respect.

Indeed, Soviet Jews are better off than the Jews in any capitalist country. They may live where they please; there are no restrictive covenants and no "gilded ghettos." They may work in any occupation they choose. There is no discrimination against them in the professions or in executive and managerial positions—the latter in striking contrast to the widespread discrimination which the American Jewish Committee, in a recent series of studies, has found to exist in industrial, public utilities, banking and other types of enterprises in this country. If instances of discrimination or other anti-Semitic acts can be cited, they occur as *exceptions*, as remnants of the past, whereas here they constitute the pattern.

It is not in the Soviet Union that Jews are subjected to the anti-Semitic rantings and actions

of a Rockwell (can one even *imagine* the existence of such a creature there?) but in this country. It is not there that repeated acts of vandalism against synagogues and the flooding of the country with anti-Semitic filth take place but here. It is in the United States that Jews face the Semitic violence sparked by a fanatical ultra-Right, not in the Soviet Union. In a word, Soviet Jews enjoy a degree of freedom and security which does not exist here. *This is the central fact to be noted in any evaluation of their status.*

To this must be added the saving of millions of Jewish lives by the Soviet Union in the face of the advancing Hitlerite armies, and its momentous contribution to the victory over fascism, as well as its role in the establishment of the State of Israel and subsequently in defending Israel's existence through its firm pressure on the Arab leaders against seeking to settle their differences with that country by force. And today, when the forces of fascism and war rear their ugly heads anew in West Germany, it is Soviet Premier Kosygin who calls the alarm, not President Johnson or any other national spokesman in this country. On the contrary, it is U.S. ruling circles which are primarily responsible for the renazification of West Germany, with all the dangers this holds for the Jewish people.

Unquestionably the welfare of Jews the world over is bound up with the progress and growing

strength of the Soviet Union as the firmest champion of the rights of all peoples. Hence the fight against anti-Semitism and defense of the interests of the Jewish people demand *first of all* defense of the Soviet Union against the attacks of its enemies and detractors and the firm pursuance of American-Soviet understanding and friendship.

The draft resolution recognizes this when it states: "Today, as in the past, the Soviet Union is the staunchest champion of peace and human freedom in the world. The interests of the Jewish people, no less than those of any other people, lie in seeking friendship with the Soviet Union and in combatting anti-Sovietism." However, it does not in my opinion give sufficient emphasis to this cardinal point, which ought to be the *beginning* of any discussion of the status of Soviet Jews.

To assert the primacy of the world struggle between socialism and capitalism, and with this the primacy of defense of the Soviet Union as the leading force for progress in the world, does not mean, of course, that one must adopt a totally uncritical attitude toward the Soviet Union. What it *does* mean, however, is that criticism must always be expressed with due regard for the *totality* of the picture, and that it must not be expressed in such a way as to give ammunition and encouragement to the purveyors of anti-Sovietism. In these respects, I believe the draft resolution has serious shortcomings.

The Unholy Crusade

Precisely because the USSR is the most powerful bastion of the world anti-imperialist forces, the U.S. ruling class has always made it the target of unremitting attack. From the very days of the October Revolution up to the present, no effort has been spared to denigrate and undermine it in every possible way. Today the twin ideological weapons of the cold war are anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

Currently, one of the chief vehicles (if not *the* chief vehicle) for the promotion of anti-Sovietism is the unholy crusade against alleged "Soviet anti-Semitism." Within the past few years this has been built up into a public campaign of major proportions, heavily financed and employing every conceivable device to inflate this fraudulent issue and keep it incessantly in the public eye. An organization called Jewish Minorities Research devotes itself to pouring out a constant stream of anti-Soviet literature. An American Conference on Soviet Jewry, representing 25 national Jewish organizations, issues declarations, publishes newspaper ads and carries on a host of other activities. An endless succession of meetings, conferences, demonstrations, picket lines, petition campaigns and other public actions goes on, with due publicity in the press and on radio and television. Every major Jewish organization is under constant pressure to make this the number one point on its

agenda. A flood of articles appears in periodicals ranging from scholarly journals to leading popular magazines such as *Look* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, books are published in growing numbers, all painting a most dismal picture of the alleged plight of Soviet Jews.

Behind this highly-organized campaign are the cold warriors of the Right, those inveterate peddlers of racism and anti-Semitism, whose hearts now bleed for the "persecuted" Jews in the USSR. Behind it are the unflagging efforts of the State Department, which issues statements and other material and generally gives every encouragement to the "crusade." Behind it are the State Department's proteges—the fugitive fascist scum, embracing the most vicious anti-Semites and pogromists, who are given a haven here to continue their despicable activities. And behind it are the rabidly anti-Soviet social-democratic elements of the *Forward-New Leader*-Dubinsky stripe, as well as the Right-wing elements among the Jewish people.

Plainly, no effort or expense is being spared to maintain a perpetual state of hysteria and to create the illusion of a spontaneous mass protest. But it is also abundantly clear that the concern of these instigators of the "crusade" is least of all the welfare of Soviet Jewry. Rather, their purpose is to generate enmity toward the Soviet Union, to undermine the fight for peaceful coexistence and an end to the cold war, and to whip

up the poisonous anti-Communism which serves as the pretext for the war of annihilation against the Vietnamese people. *This is the essential character of this campaign.* And because it is basically anti-Soviet in its motivation and intent, it militates *against* the best interests of the Jewish people, whether in the Soviet Union or in the United States.

Good Intentions

But what, it is asked, of those participating in the campaign who are not thus motivated but are truly concerned about the welfare of Soviet Jews? What of such individuals as Bertrand Russell, who insists that he is neither anti-Soviet nor a warmonger but is concerned only with the denial to Soviet Jews of certain cultural and religious rights which threaten their national survival?

One contributor to the discussion asserts that the draft resolution is wrong when it states that the instigators of the campaign "have sought to utilize every error, every shortcoming which may occur in the process of erasing the results of the crimes of the Stalin period and restoring Jewish cultural institutions in order to mislead many honest people, even some leading figures in the civil rights and peace movements." He says: "The participation of people like Bertrand Russell . . . is not based on being 'mislead.' It is based on very real shortcomings and errors still present in the Soviet policy

toward the Jews, which are recognized and listed in the draft resolution."*

Leaving aside for the moment the manner in which the resolution places the question, I believe this view is entirely wrong. In the first place the objective effect of *any* participation in this campaign, however good one's intentions and however "moderate" one's criticisms, is to give aid and encouragement to the enemies of peace and freedom—and of both the Negro and Jewish peoples—and to lend oneself to their designs.

These spokesmen of reaction and racism are quite happy to have the participation of the Bertrand Russells and Norman Thomases and other such individuals, and to join with them in public protests even on their own "moderate" terms. Of this there is no better illustration than the three-quarter page ad which appeared in the *New York Times* of December 4, sponsored by the American Conference on Soviet Jewry and signed by ninety U.S. senators.

In the text of the ad, these signers express their "staunch support of the American Jewish community's protest against the anti-Semitic policies of the Soviet Union." The ad avoids, however, the more wild-eyed fabrications

by which this "crusade" has been marked, for example, the allegation that the lot of the Soviet Jews is worse than that of the Jews under Hitler. In its bill of particulars it charges only that Jews alone are forbidden "schools and other institutions of Jewish learning and research" and "the right to have any form of nationwide federation of congregations or of clergy," also that Jews are not permitted "to be rejoined with their families in the United States, in Israel and other countries."

Thus, the ad places only "moderate" demands, not materially different from those of the Russells and Thomases—or even of some in the progressive camp. It goes on to say that Soviet policy, "which seems to be aiming at the obliteration of the Jewish community and Jewish culture," must be vigorously protested "by every person who respects the fundamental right of a group to live in peace and security."

And who are the signers of this protest as subscribers to the defense of fundamental human rights? Among them are James O. Eastland, Allen J. Ellender, John L. McClellan, Herman E. Talmadge, J. Strom Thurmond and other notorious Dixiecrats. Among them, too, are John J. Tower, the ultra-Rightist senator from Texas, Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut and other such stalwart "champions" of human rights.

Certainly, one ought to think twice at finding oneself in such company. Such ads serve the inte-

rests of neither Soviet nor American Jews, but only those of their enemies. That is why undisguised racists, anti-Semites and reactionaries of all stripes so eagerly attach their names to them.

Will this campaign contribute in any way to the fight against the growing menace of the ultra-Right here? Will it contribute to the fight against the renazification of West Germany and the alarming upsurge of neo-Nazism there? Will it contribute to the struggle for Negro freedom? Will it contribute to ending the war of aggression in Vietnam and securing world peace? It is clear that it will do just the opposite.

The issue is not one of *what kind* of campaign should be waged. It is not a question of "exaggeration" versus "accuracy," of "immoderation" versus "moderation," of "unfriendly" versus "friendly" criticism. The point is that it is necessary to oppose *any* kind of public campaign whatever.

Nor can we accept the contention that genuine injustices exist in the treatment of Soviet Jews, that these give grist to the mills of anti-Soviet elements (as the draft resolution itself puts it), and that their elimination will remove the grounds for such "crusades."

First, anti-Soviet campaigns are based not on facts but on inventions. And as quickly as one invention is exposed, a dozen new ones take its place. Second—and more important, I submit that not even the "moderate" criticisms of a Russell are warranted.

No "Forced Assimilation"

There is no Soviet policy of eliminating Yiddish culture. The *direction* of development—and this is what is important—is not toward its disappearance but toward its growing revival. Yiddish literature is on the rise, not on the decline. Some recognition of this is to be found, for example, in an article by Joel Cang entitled "Is There a Revival of Jewish Literature in Russia?" (condensed from *The Jewish Quarterly* in the *Jewish Digest*, December 1966). He writes:

The stream of Jewish literature in Soviet Russia is widening. Since its re-emergence as a vehicle of literary expression some five years ago, Yiddish has succeeded in reasserting itself and winning due recognition both at home and abroad. Allowing for the limitations which a rigid adherence to Socialist realism imposes on Jewish, as well as on other creative art in Communist Russia, the Yiddish novelists and poets in the USSR are making a solid contribution to the mainstream of Jewish writings of our time.

I contend that such a trend could not exist in the face of a government policy of suppressing Yiddish culture. And I have no doubt that the trend will continue, and that the means of its expression will go on expanding. Whatever errors or shortcomings exist will be corrected by the Soviet people—including the Soviet Jews—acting *in their own way*. They will be corrected because the Soviet Union is a socialist country ad-

*From "Some Proposals for Improvement" by A. B., appearing in a mimeographed discussion bulletin issued by the CPUSA on December 27, 1966.

vancing toward communism, a country in which the welfare of its peoples is the paramount consideration, not in response to the demands of self-appointed critics sitting in judgment from abroad.

Soviet Jews who want such things as Yiddish schools or grammars are quite capable of expressing their desires. Indeed, they *are* expressing them, among other ways in letters to the magazine *Sovietish Heimland*, as was recently reported by G. Kenig of the Paris Yiddish daily *Naye Presse (Morning Freiheit, December 4, 1966)*. And Soviet Jews are well aware of the true nature of these campaigns allegedly in their behalf, and are frequently very angry and resentful about them.

We cannot here enter into a discussion of all the current allegations of Soviet discrimination against Jews, but one merits further comment, namely, the charge that Jews are not permitted to leave the USSR to join their families abroad. When questioned about this during his recent visit to France, Premier Kosygin stated: "As far as the reunification of families is concerned, if some families want to meet or if they want to leave the Soviet Union, then the road is open for them, and there is no problem in this." (*New York Times*, December 10, 1966.) The *Times* story also reports that there has been a dramatic increase in the granting of exit visas during the last year or so. But what is most significant is that both the restric-

tions on emigration and the recent relaxation apply not specifically to Jews but to *all* Soviet citizens. In other words, there is no discrimination involved.

The Draft Resolution

Unfortunately, the tone and content of the draft resolution are such as to give encouragement to the anti-Soviet campaign. It is not accidental that this section of the resolution has been seized upon by anti-Soviet spokesmen ranging from the *New York Times* to Radio Free Europe and trumpeted to the world as showing a change of heart on the part of the Communist Party of the United States in the direction of joining the critics of "Soviet anti-Semitism."

To be sure, the resolution fervently denounces the charge of "Soviet anti-Semitism" as "a slander and an outright fraud, which must be rejected and fought." It says: "Not only is there no official policy of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, but anti-Semitism and all other forms of national discrimination (or privileges) are prohibited by the Constitution of the USSR." But this is followed by a catalogue of "errors and shortcomings" which begin to cast doubt on the initial declaration.

This, it should be noted, is added to by the clear implication in Comrade Novick's discussion article of a policy of "forced assimilation" in the USSR. Such a policy, as we have already pointed

out, can only be characterized as a policy of anti-Semitism, and to imply it is tantamount to bringing in at the back door what one has denied at the front door.

Further, the resolution looks forward to "the continuation of the process now under way and its progress toward full restoration of the administratively suppressed Jewish cultural institutions." Support of the *Political Affairs* editorials of June and July 1964 is expressed, with the implication that these also call for such "full restoration." To expect a return to the state of affairs in 1948, in the face of the great changes and the considerable growth of assimilation which have taken place in the Soviet Union since then, is in my opinion quite unrealistic, and this was said at some length in the editorials. To use it as a criterion of correction of past errors and crimes is only to lay the groundwork for perpetual criticism of the Soviet regime and the false inference that if all the cultural institutions of the past do not reappear, this is due to Soviet policy opposing their restoration.

This section of the resolution needs to be redrafted in the direction of *unequivocally* rejecting any idea of "Soviet anti-Semitism" in whatever guise it may appear, and any campaign of pub-

ic criticism, however "friendly." The resolution needs also to devote itself more fully and more concretely to the fight against anti-Semitism here in the United States, where it is a really serious problem.

The preoccupation with the non-existent persecution of Soviet Jews serves to draw attention away from the very real dangers which confront American Jews. The Jewish organizations and leaders thus preoccupied devote scarcely one per cent of the energy expended on this "crusade" to combatting the growing menace of the ultra-Right in this country and the rise of neo-Nazism in West Germany. There are no mass meetings, conferences, demonstrations or petitions on these dangers, except on the Left. And even here an undue degree of concern over Yiddish culture in the USSR detracts from mounting the kind of campaign against anti-Semitism in the United States which the situation demands.

The draft resolution, therefore, needs to be amended so as to present a consistently internationalist line throughout, and one which fully directs the weight of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its war policies in the first place.

Arab Chauvinism: A Reactionary Ideology

The American Left and the Communist Party have always maintained a strong interest in Israel and have looked with sympathy on the struggles of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces in that country. In recent years new political developments involving Israel and its Arab neighbors, some of an ominous nature, require a renewed discussion in our country to define the responsibility of our movement to Israel and to Israel's progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

The draft resolution on the Jewish question provides a correct frame of reference to conduct this long delayed discussion. The draft resolution contains a section on Israel which presents a factual and responsible exposition of some of the problems faced by the progressive forces of that country.

Advocates of peace, as well as friends of Israel, will welcome the forthright statement of the draft resolution that: "We unequivocally defend as unchallengeable the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign state, and condemn all declarations, from whatever source, which falsely label Israel as an artificial creation of imperialism and call for its destruction." (*Political Affairs*, August 1966, page 29.)

The resolution notes that it is the policy of the imperialist

powers and of U.S. imperialism in the first place, "which fans the flames of war in the Middle East," to the detriment of both the Arab and the Jewish peoples. To achieve its ends imperialism seeks to take advantage of both Israeli chauvinism and Arab chauvinism so as to sharpen the hostility between the Arab and Jewish peoples. Unfortunately, imperialism finds willing helpers in both camps.

Thus the draft resolution states that not only is Israeli chauvinism a basic obstacle to peace in the Middle East which must be combatted, but also recognizes, and *this is its great merit*, that "Arab chauvinism directed against Israel and the Jewish people is also a formidable obstacle which must likewise be combatted." (Page 30.) *This recognition of the dangerous role of Arab chauvinism has for too long been avoided in some circles on the Left.*

In dealing with the complicated Middle East situation it is misleading to hold Israel alone responsible for the tension and war danger in that area. A recognition of this fact is in no way to deny that the government of Israel has seriously compromised itself by its long and unnecessary association with the Western imperialist powers and by its stubborn refusal to solve the problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees.

Incorrect and unrealistic atti-

tudes prompted by nationalism and chauvinism have hardened both in Israel and in the Arab countries surrounding Israel, and such attitudes and provocations on one side reinforce similar attitudes and provocations on the other. From the viewpoint of Marxism both Israeli chauvinism and Arab chauvinism are equally reprehensible and both serve the aims of imperialism.

Israel's government is not the only one with imperialist connections in the Middle East. A few of Israel's neighbors such as Jordan and Saudi Arabia are ruled by cliques of feudalist reactionaries who are armed by American imperialism and there is nothing progressive in their malevolent hatred for Israel.

Also, many of the leaders of the anti-imperialist Arab governments, such as those of Egypt and Syria, still express extreme chauvinist and war-like attitudes towards Israel and contemptuously reject any idea of an eventual peace settlement with Israel.

Thus in any discussion of the Middle East one ought not only dwell on the sins of the government of Israel, and they are many, but also on the "contributions" which the side of Arab nationalism makes towards the tension and the war danger in this area, and these are considerable, too.

The New Arab Line On Israel

Recently the prominent Israeli Communist leader, Dr. Moshe Sneh, had this to say on current Arab attitudes on Israel:

The Arab leaders, and here we do not necessarily mean the flunkies of imperialism, have adopted a false position that the State of Israel is supposedly a product of colonialism and racism and that the Arab people of Palestine is a victim of this Zionist, Colonialist and racist occupation. And since there is no possibility of reaching peaceful settlement or achieving peaceful coexistence between the colonialist invader and his victim, there is therefore no other solution to the problem than freeing Palestine by military force. This false, chauvinist and war-like position whose essence is the liquidation of Israel is propagated by the representatives of the Arab nations at international gatherings of democratic and anti-imperialist movements and not entirely without success. This anti-Israel, chauvinist position is favored without reservation by the Chinese leaders. (*Morning Freiheit*, May 29, 1966.)

It is not widely known that most Arab leaders have specifically rejected the very notion that the recent agreement between India and Pakistan which the Soviet Union helped bring about at Tashkent could serve as a possible model for a future Arab-Israel accord. In their view "the spirit of Tashkent" cannot apply to Israel because Israel is supposedly a foreign occupier of Arab territory and "the spirit of Vietnam" rather than "the spirit of Tashkent" is valid here.

This view has gone beyond the verbal stage. For the past two years almost all Arab rulers, both those who are pro- and anti-imperialist, have sponsored a movement known as the Palestine

Liberation Organization whose professed goal is to organize Palestinian Arabs for "the inevitability of the battle to liberate their homeland," that is, present day Israel.

A clear statement of position of the Palestine Liberation Organization is contained in a pamphlet entitled *The Palestine Problem*, which has been issued by the Information Department of the United Arab Republic and can be obtained from the U.A.R. embassy in Washington, D.C. This pamphlet states:

All the Arabs regard the presence of Israel as an affront to their integrity and sovereignty and have vowed that they will not rest until the Zionist state of Israel ceases to exist in their midst.

The Arabs demand that the State of Israel be dissolved and that Jewish immigration to Palestine should stop. (Page 30.)

In other statements the leaders of this organization have promised that after the coming military defeat and liquidation of the State of Israel all Jews who settled in Palestine after the year 1918 will be deported, which, of course, means most of the present Jewish population of Israel.

This organization has also put into the field an armed auxiliary of terrorists and saboteurs, the "Al Fattah," whose bases are located in Jordan, Syria and the United Arab Republic. These terrorists conduct raids on Israeli border settlements and boast of their killings of Israel citizens. Naturally, their raids provide the

excuse for counter-raids from the Israel side. The Israeli Communists have always warned the Israel government against conducting such counter or revenge raids, but it must also be clear that Israel cannot always be dubbed the "aggressor" in these situations.

The Palestine Liberation Organization is headed by a notorious feudalistic reactionary, Achmed Shukairy, who represented Saudi Arabia at the United Nations for many years, where he distinguished himself with his anti-Semitic tirades. This same Shukairy has publicly claimed upon his return from a state visit to China last year that Mao Tse-tung himself had said to him: "You Arabs are forty million and the Jews are only two million. What are you waiting for?"

War Threats Against Israel Become Accepted Way of Life

It is no secret that the Arab world is flooded with the worst types of nazi-like anti-Semitic and anti-Israel propaganda. War threats against Israel are common fare and Arab politicians resort to the McCarthy technique of accusing their rivals of being "soft on Israel." Each boasts that he is more "militant" on Israel, which simply means that he is more war-minded.

As recently as July 26, 1966 an A.P. dispatch from Alexandria, Egypt, quoted President Nasser as boasting that the Arab revolutionary nations can mount four million men for "the liberation of Palestine," and he taunted the

reactionary-led Arab nations, such as Saudi Arabia, as being the ones who are "sabotaging" the Arab struggle against Israel.

Do not the repeated statements of this type coming from such an important leader as President Nasser—and he is among the more restrained—sharpen national antagonism and promote a chauvinist, war-like state of mind among the Arab peoples?

There appears to be no disposition among the Arab leaders to reconcile themselves even to an Israel which would break all ties with Western imperialism and end every form of discrimination suffered by the Arab minority in Israel, as all Marxists and progressives urge Israel to do.

The fact is that the Arab nationalist leaders simply refuse to acknowledge that Palestine became the homeland of two peoples, the Arabs and the Jews, and that both these peoples have the right to self-determination and other rights which ought to be respected. Most Arab leaders are actually indifferent to whatever changes the Jewish majority in Israel can make to meet the just demands of the Palestinian Arab people.

These then are some of the Arab "contributions" to the tension and war danger in the Middle East. This irresponsible, irrational campaign against Israel's very right to exist is slyly used by the reactionaries in Israel to increase their dependence on Western imperialism and to refuse any accommodation with the Arab nations.

At the same time this campaign of Arab chauvinism has also created serious problems for those forces within Israel which sincerely seek peace and solidarity with the Arab peoples. The problem of how to react to the Arab chauvinist insistence that Israel has no right to exist has actually forced a split within the Israeli Communist movement, unfortunately, largely along national lines.

Israeli Delegates Excluded From International Gatherings

In the past two years the campaign of the Arab chauvinists to deny Israel its right to exist as a nation has spilled over into the international peace and anti-imperialist movements. This has taken the form of insistence by the Arab delegations on the exclusion of all Israeli delegates from a number of international conferences sponsored by these movements, or of the refusal of these gatherings to include Israeli delegates on committees to which they are entitled to be represented. At such gatherings the Arab delegates usually team up with the Chinese delegates and succeed in passing resolutions which call for Israel's liquidation. This most alarming problem ought to be faced before it becomes more acute. The Communists of Israel have been pleading with urgency, and perhaps despair, that their comrades in other countries begin to react to this situation.

For example, when the World Youth Festival was scheduled to be held in Algeria in the summer

of 1965 before Ben Bella was overthrown, the Arab representatives on the organizing committee prevented invitations from being issued to *any Israeli youth organizations*. This unexpected act of discrimination was quickly protested by a number of European Communist Parties and also by *The Worker* in an editorial on June 6, 1965. This was the first time that an Israeli youth delegation would have been barred from attending a World Youth Festival.

However, this type of discrimination has continued at other international gatherings and has not been seriously resisted. Israeli youth were not invited to attend the International Youth Conference in East Berlin in 1965 which was called to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism. Youth from all countries were able to attend this conference, including the Arab youth, but the Jewish Communist youth of Israel, the survivors of the people whom Hitler intended to destroy, were excluded. (*Frei Yisroel*, Tel Aviv, May 27, 1965.)

In January 1966, the historic Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America was convened in Havana. One hesitates to point out a blemish on such an important undertaking, particularly as it did not seriously affect the very fine contributions of this Conference. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that here too, the Arab nationalists prevented the issuance of invitations to any Israeli delegates whatsoever, though

Israel is very definitely in Asia and most Israelis are Asian-born.

After this galling act of exclusion the Arabs combined with the Chinese delegates to push through a resolution on Palestine which denounced Israel in the familiar terms of Arab nationalism and called for the liquidation of Israel. Of course, there were no delegates from Israel present to argue against this resolution, and this honorable task was undertaken by the Soviet delegates to whom great credit is due, even though their generous effort did not meet with success.

The Israeli Peace Movement issued a Memorandum on the Havana Conference on February 2, 1966, in which it expressed its dismay at having been barred from attendance at Havana and its protest at the Resolution on Palestine which was passed in its absence. Of this Resolution, which called for the abolition of the State of Israel, the Memorandum states:

What this resolution signifies is incitement to resolving the Israeli-Arab conflict by arms and call to war. For the abolition of a state by peaceful means and through agreement is inconceivable, as is the abolition of the right of the people of Israel to an independent, sovereign national existence in its own state!

It is important to note that the Memorandum on the Havana Conference was signed by both of the Communist Parties of Israel and thus represents the unanimous and considered opinion of all

Marxist-Leninists of Israel!

Further, the World Peace Council at its meeting in Geneva in June, 1966 passed a resolution on the Middle East which again, due to the pressure of the Arab nationalists, failed to include a call for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict. A proposal that the right of Israel's existence as a nation be emphasized in the above-mentioned resolution also failed to gain adoption. The Israeli Communist delegate to this Peace Council meeting, Esther Vilenska, reported that she had to refrain from voting for this resolution because of these crucial omissions. (*Morning Freiheit*, July 10, 1966.)

An even more ominous example of the vindictiveness of the Arab nationalists occurred at the most recent conference of the World Federation of Democratic Youth which was held at Sofia, Bulgaria in June 1966. Here, as usual, the Arab nationalist youth delegates introduced and won acceptance for their routine anti-Israel resolution. At that point the representative of the Dutch delegation proposed a correction to the resolution which would have expressed recognition of the struggle of the progressive forces in Israel. *But even this correction was unacceptable to the Arab delegates, who sought to prevent its adoption.* Finally, after two votes the correction was accepted by a vote of 22 to 17. (*Frei Yisroel*, June 23, 1966.)

Of this incident at the WFDY Conference the editor of *Frei Yisroel*, I. Lipsky, wrote:

If representatives of the pro-

gressive forces in the neighboring Arab countries will attend peace forums and gatherings of progressive, Democratic and Communist youth and oppose appeals for a peaceful solution of the Arab-Israel conflict (and even refuse to acknowledge the progressive forces in Israel which have been conducting a stubborn struggle for peace, for Arab-Jewish brotherhood and an Arab-Israel peace settlement), then it would seem, as it is said, this is the last straw. . . . The complete denial of the role of the progressive forces in Israel places them in very difficult position. (*Morning Freiheit*, July 3, 1966.)

At this WFDY Assembly, the representative of the Young Communist League of Israel, Yair Zaban, took the rostrum to complain of an earlier resolution adopted by the Federation's Executive in Accra in April 1965, which even omitted any mention of Israel as being in the Middle East. Zaban quoted from this resolution which said: "The Executive Committee has considered the various forms of staunch struggle of the youth of the Middle East, (the Arab countries, Turkey and Iran) and gives its full support to their struggles and aims."

This Israeli young Communist remarked: "Pay attention, please: according to this passage Israel does not exist in the Middle East!" He asked: "How could such a harsh passage really become part of an official document of our Federation? Was it included to teach us a new lesson in geography when it lists the Middle East countries,

The ease with which the Arab nationalists are able to impose their anti-Israel chauvinism on international progressive gatherings by taking advantage of the natural good will that exists within these movements for the just struggles of the Arab peoples should be a matter of concern to everyone who takes the concept of proletarian internationalism seriously.

It is true that the Arab anti-imperialist movements are numerically larger and more effective and even more important than the anti-imperialist movement in Israel. But it would be a tragic error to make this the excuse for accepting the line of Arab chauvinism in regard to Israel, or to seem to give credence to the notion that the Jews of Israel are too small in number to be overly concerned about, or that the Jews of Israel are expendable in this struggle.

May it also be noted that Arab nationalist governments not only threaten war against Israel, but at least two of them, which also claim to be anti-imperialist, have been conducting massacres of near genocidal proportions against other minority peoples, the Kurdish people of Iraq and the black African tribesmen in the southern area of the Republic of the Sudan. (See *World Marxist Review*, April 1966, p. 79, on the plight of the Kurdish people in Iraq today.)

Marxists Distinguish Between Peoples And Governments

Within some sections of the

Left in our country, and even among some Communists, a sort of Chinese-type position has asserted itself in regard to Israel, though the adherents of this position may not be Maoist in anything else.

This position is one of studied contempt for Israel and its Left-wing movements. Its adherents see only the Arab movements and view the Jewish population as a solid reactionary mass hopelessly tied to imperialism. This position, of course, has its parallel in the ultra-Left view of the American working class which is also regarded as a reactionary mass, with revolutionary hope being placed in the Negro people exclusively.

This ultra-Left position fails to reckon with the fact that Israel is a country like any other capitalist country, with a working class and a class struggle, and with its own peace and Marxist movements which are capable of responding to the demands history has imposed upon them.

This ultra-Left position blandly assumes that Israel's existence is not an important matter to begin with and that Israel cannot, or even should not, exist unless its foreign policy becomes completely anti-imperialist. *It is interesting that of no other country is such an absolutist demand made.*

Marxists, however, distinguish between governments and peoples. Marxists do not subscribe to the opinion that a people must be held to be so responsible for the wrong actions of its government that such a people may be compelled

but excludes Israel?" (*Information Bulletin*, C.P. of Israel (MAKI), August 1966.)

to give up its independence and its nationhood. It should be recalled that during the Second World War the Soviet Union never made this demand of the German people, and today the Vietnamese people do not make this demand of the American people. Yet, the Arab nationalists persistently make this irrational demand of the Jewish people of Israel.

The dogmatic and irrational claims of the Arab nationalists in regard to Israel ought to be challenged within the world peace and anti-imperialist movements, and by the Communists who are the upholders of proletarian internationalism, first of all. The

mere raising of these questions before these organizations and in public statements will not only give a much needed lift to the progressive forces in Israel, but will also surely be considered by those Arab personalities and groups who value the support they receive from the international movements.

The Communists of Israel, both Jewish and Arab, have a long and honorable record of struggle against imperialism and against Israeli and Arab chauvinism and divisiveness. Their problems and their efforts deserve greater attention and appreciation from their American comrades and friends. The draft resolution on the Jewish question is a welcome step in this direction.

CORRECTION

In the discussion article by Abe Strauss, December 1966 *Political Affairs*, several lines were dropped from the last paragraph, first column, page 44. The sentences should read: "The assumption that the Jewish national minority in the Soviet Union is entirely assimilated *does not correspond to reality*. There is no doubt that in the Soviet Union . . ."

A Critical View of Waten on Yiddish

The draft resolution on the Jewish question and the projected conference is a welcome and important development toward defining a Marxist approach to the Jewish question in the United States as well as abroad. The question has too long been permitted to bob up and down with the waves of expediency, differing interpretations and attempts even to nullify its existence.

It is vitally important that the resolution finally adopted reflect the reality of the Jewish situation in our country and abroad, is accurate in its analysis, and is vigilant in its avoidance of national nihilism on the one hand and bourgeois nationalism on the other. It seems to me that from this point of view Paul Novick's article, "Nihilism, Bourgeois Nationalism and Assimilation," is a valuable and trenchant contribution to the discussion of the resolution.

I am afraid that the same cannot be said of Judah Waten's article, "Yiddish Culture in West and East," which followed Novick's article in the October issue of *Political Affairs*. It is difficult to see why Waten's article was published at all, doubtless meant to be a contribution to the discussion on the draft resolution.

It is replete with factual errors, inaccuracies and distortions, and displays a fairly high degree of ignorance as to the past and the present status of Yiddish. Let us point to some of the most glaring instances:

Waten: "Yiddish literature is at a very low ebb in the USA and is virtually extinct in Britain, but in the Soviet Union there is still considerable creative activity in the Yiddish language."

Facts: While it is true that Yiddish literature and cultural life are by far not on the up-grade in the United States they are nonetheless vastly more extensive than in the Soviet Union at the present time. Although Waten writes that "Yiddish literature and culture resumed again after Stalin's death in 1953," the fact is that the first Yiddish books after Stalin's death did not appear until 1959, when one volume each of the three Yiddish classicists (Mendele Moicher Sforim, I. L. Peretz and Sholem Aleichem) was published. The magazine *Sovietish Haimland* started publication in 1961. From 1959 to the present—seven years—around a dozen Yiddish books were published in the Soviet Union. In the six year period of 1959-1965, approximately 300 Yid-

dish books were published in the United States.*

There is probably "considerable creative activity in the Yiddish language" in the Soviet Union in the sense that there are more than 120 Yiddish writers, many of them of high caliber and great talent, who are "creating." But "creativity" must see the light of day through books or frequent publication under other formats to be of any value to the writer, the reader and society.

The United States has three Yiddish daily newspapers, the Soviet Union none; the United States has around 20 Yiddish periodicals, the Soviet Union two (*Sovietish Haimland* and *Birobidjaner Shtern*). Then one must take into account the considerable cultural activity in a number of mainly Yiddish-speaking organizations, as well as the secular schools, a research organization, YIVO (Institute for Jewish Research), cultural and book publishing organizations such as CYCO (Central Yiddish Cultural Organization) and the YKUF (Yiddisher Kultur Farband).

Waten: "In none of the countries of migration has Yiddish

* The actual figure of Yiddish books printed in the USA in 1959-1965 is approximately 240, but many American Yiddish writers and publishers print their books, for budgetary reasons, in Israel, Poland, Mexico and France. For instance, in 1964, 41 Yiddish books were printed in the USA and 12 more, by American writers, in the countries just mentioned, making a total of 53.

blossomed forth into works of prose, poetry and drama to the extent that it did in Russia and still does."

Fact: It is true that Yiddish culture blossomed in old Russia and had developed tremendously in the twenties and thirties, thanks to the assistance of the Soviet government. But the United States was also the locus of a rich, varied and in large measure vitally progressive Yiddish culture. From 1890 to 1920 Yiddish poetry reached its zenith in this country and the United States attained a degree of creativity surpassing all other lands.

The first Yiddish daily newspaper (*Freind*) appeared in Russia in 1904. But 19 years earlier, in 1885, the United States had a Yiddish daily—the *Tageblatt*. The first Yiddish Socialist daily started publication in the United States—in 1894.

The accepted birthplace of the Yiddish theatre was in Eastern Europe, Rumania in the first instance. However, it reached its pinnacle and began its most fruitful era in the United States during the nineties and for a long period was one of the most significant and vital manifestations of the American theatre as a whole.

Waten: "... The American Jewish community, which had been the world's largest since 1918, has not produced a Yiddish writer of stature, although many Yiddish writers like Sholem Aleichem emigrated to New York."

Fact: Of course, Yiddish writers in the USA reflected the same

condition as did almost all the Jews in this country, namely, the fact that they were immigrants. But does their place of birth negate the fact that most of them made their greatest literary contributions and grew in stature as American Yiddish writers?

A glance at a few statistics of some of the giants of American Yiddish literature will show that Waten's literary history is weak, to put it mildly. Most of these writers came to the United States during their young manhood, and spent most of their creative lives and achieved their highest stature here. Even Joseph Opatashu (1886-1954), one of the three writers mentioned by Waten as someone "American propagandists . . . do not hesitate to lay claim to," came to the USA at age 21 (in 1907) and created thereafter as an American Yiddish writer for 47 years. Sholem Asch (1880-1957) came to the USA at age 30 and created as an American Yiddish writer for over 45 years. And what of the considerable number of outstanding writers not mentioned by Waten?

Morris Rosenfeld, the poet of the sweatshops (American sweatshops, by the way), came to the USA at the age of 24 and wrote here for 37 years. Abraham Reisen arrived here at age 28 and was an American Yiddish writer for 39 years. Leon Kobrin came here at age 19 and worked for 54 years as an American Yiddish writer.

The Yiddish proletarian poets, Joseph Bovshover and David Edelshtat, were distinctly American Jewish writers. So was the great

poet and playwright, H. Leivick, and many others. The list could be considerably expanded. Of course, a number of American Yiddish writers came to this country with a reputation already established in old Russia, Poland, etc., but this does not render suspect the claim that they were American Yiddish writers after having spent the majority of their creative years here and written on American themes as much as any other.

Waten: "Morris Winchevsky . . . took part in the foundation of the American Communist Party, and in 1927 visited the Soviet Union. . . ."

Fact: Morris Winchevsky—certainly an American—was chiefly a Yiddish poet and essayist, the first of the American classics of proletarian Yiddish poetry. He was *not* a founder of the Communist Party of the United States. His name is not even mentioned in William Z. Foster's *History of the CPUSA*. Winchevsky came to the Workers' Party, as a member, only after the *Freiheit* was established, in 1922. Also, he did not visit the Soviet Union in 1927, when he was paralyzed, but in May, 1924.

Waten: "There is not one permanent Yiddish theatre in New York."

Fact: The Folkbiene, a repertory group, has functioned as a permanent Yiddish theatre for more than 50 years. The Yiddish theatre on Second Avenue in New York has been on the decline but it never ceased to exist, as can easily be proven by a visit to the

ON THE JEWISH QUESTION

"Avenue." Within the last five years there have been experimental groups in Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia and other cities. This is no attempt to claim that the Yiddish theatre is flourishing in the United States, but Waten errs when he says that there is *no* theatre. Also, it is of interest that in the past few years there has been a slight *upsurge* in Yiddish theatre in New York, notably the Ben Bonus *kleinkunst* theatre, which played successfully on Second Avenue for a few years and now has moved to the Brooks Atkinson Theatre on Broadway.

Waten: ". . . Shortly before the war Russian was seriously challenging Yiddish, due to the Jewish parents sending their children to Russian schools in preference to Yiddish ones, with the result that the latter closed."

Fact: Even though it is doubtless true that many Jewish parents preferred not to send their children to Yiddish schools, the fact is that the schools were arbitrarily and administratively closed down during the 1937-38 Stalin purge, when the Yiddish press and all Yiddish institutions (with the exception of the theatres) were forcibly closed down. Does Waten mean to peddle the fantasy that the parents of over 100,000 Jewish children who attended the Yiddish schools suddenly in one brief period decided in unison to remove their children from these schools?

Waten: "This (the "appearance for the first time of a large group of Jews in Russian literature. . .") was in part an expression of the

waning Jewish separatism as was in another field the failure of the experiment of Birobidjan."

Fact: Waten's use of the word "separatism" in this and other instances is scientifically unsound. Is it possible that the Jews wanted to avoid what he calls "separatism" while the Soviet government and the then President Kalinin, who championed Birobidjan as a future Jewish republic, were advocating "separatism"? It is true that great numbers of Jews were not interested in settling in Birobidjan, but the failure of Birobidjan was due to a *number* of factors, not the least of which were the 1936-37 purges when I. Liberberg, chairman of the Birobidjan Soviet, and A. Chavkin, Secretary of the Birobidjan Communist Party were arrested. "Separatism," by the way, was the charge hurled at many Jewish writers and leaders in the post-war purges as well, and now discredited as Stalin-Beria crimes. Isn't it just possible that many Jews decided it was the better part of wisdom to stay out of Birobidjan?

Waten: "Most of them (Yiddish writers who were executed in the purges) have been posthumously rehabilitated and republished since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in 1956."

Fact: Most of these writers may have been "posthumously rehabilitated" but only one of them has been "republished" in the Yiddish language, the language in which they wrote their works. This was David Bergelson, (*Selected Works*). Many writers were re-

published in Russian and other Soviet languages, a *welcome* and *positive* form of rehabilitation. But failure to republish Yiddish writers in Yiddish is still a serious negative aspect of the situation.

A number of other errors appear in the article but let the above suffice to indicate Waten's loose handling of the facts in regard to the Yiddish past and present.

The draft resolution speaks of the process of language assimilation, of the decline of the Yiddish press, and the growth of the Anglo-Jewish press. But it is one thing to recognize a gradual decline and another to imply an almost moribund state, which is clearly not the case as I have indicated above.

It is misleading to compare the status of Yiddish in the Soviet Union with that in the United States, without recognizing that in the United States there are innumerable educational, cultural and philanthropic institutions mainly organized and led by American Jews who do not use or know Yiddish. These Jews are *linguistically* assimilated, but can one say that they are assimilated as a *nationality*? As a matter of fact, most of the institutions just mentioned are under nationalistic leadership, and the essence of the draft resolution, the way I understand it, is to persuade progressives to be more active in the Jewish community in order to build *progressive* Jewish culture.

It seems one must not tire of repeating that progressive Jewish

culture must be built both in Yiddish and in English, and, in speaking of the USSR, in Yiddish and in Russian. Soviet Jews who do not know Yiddish read the Jewish writers in Russian translation. The same applies to mass work. In the 20s and 30s there were the Yiddish Communist clubs, the Yiddish press, choruses and dramatic groups; the Jewish State theatres (of which there were about a dozen prior to liquidation by the cult) and theatre studios were instruments of mass activity. In Russian, there was the magazine *Tribuna* dealing with Jewish problems; there was the Ozet (society to help settle Jews in the colonies in the Ukraine and the Crimea, subsequently for settlement in Birobidjan) where many thousands of Jews, both Yiddish speaking and Russian speaking, were active. There is no mass work as yet—Communist, of course—whether in Yiddish or in Russian. There should be institutions for mass activities, the press, etc. There should be the facilities for parents who want to teach their children Yiddish to be able to do so. That means either schools, or supplementary courses and—of course—textbooks, an alphabet.

As things stand now, in the United States, if Yiddish organizations and institutions (press, schools, etc.) disappeared (and I don't think that Yiddish is disappearing from the world stage quite with the rapidity and completeness that Judah Waten implies), Jewish communal life would *not* disappear; in the Soviet Union, as things are set up at

present, should the relatively small (although very vital and important) activity in Yiddish disappear, non-synagogal *Jewish* life would disappear. That is why you cannot place Yiddish culture in West and East on the same scale. Yiddish culture has a partner (Jewish culture in English) in the West, but in the Soviet Union whatever has been restored (*Sovietish Haimland*, Jewish concerts and traveling ensembles) stands at present as the sole representative of a rich history, progressive tradition and national yearning of many Jews living there.

Waten writes that "Jewish life in England (and the USA) has gradually found expression in an expanding Anglo-Jewish literature precisely because English has become the only language of the English Jews. . . . Some of the best known (writers) are Arnold Wesker, Alexander Baron, Gerda Charles, Frederic Raphael, Wolf Mankowitz and Harold Pinter, all of whom have been understood and accepted by the non-Jewish public as well as the Jews, a significant fact which underlines the break-up of Jewish separatism in England (and the United States—M.S.)." What Waten says here is that "separatism" is determined by language, not ideology or program. If the writers write in English then they contribute to the "break-up" of "separatism." *Ipsa facto*, if they write in Yiddish they contribute to "separatism." In the United States and England the overwhelming majority of Zionists speak English, not Yid-

dish. Do the nationalists and religionists who speak English symbolize the break-up of separatism and those progressive and Communist Jews who speak and write in Yiddish to advocate unity of the workers regardless of nationality, who use Yiddish to call for full participation in the freedom struggle of the Negro people and other minorities—are these progressives the separatists? Ben Hecht was a popular Jewish writer who wrote in English. He supported the Irgun rightists during the Israel struggle and advocated not only separatism but extreme chauvinism. Paul Novick, editor of the *Morning Freiheit*, wrote in Yiddish for unity of the working people in Israel's struggle against imperialism, for unity with the Palestinian Arabs to establish a viable state, for cooperation with the socialist countries and the peoples of the democratic states, against chauvinism and extreme nationalism. If we accept Waten's thesis, Ben Hecht, the extreme chauvinist, contributed to the "break-up" of separatism since he wrote in English, and Paul Novick, the internationalist and fighter for unity of all peoples in behalf of progress, contributed to separatism since he wrote in Yiddish. Nonsense.

The article "Yiddish Culture in West and East" is of no help to the Soviet Union when it distorts the picture of the status of Yiddish both in the East and the West by gross carelessness with facts. Waten may be right when he writes at the end of his article

that "It would seem then that only in the Soviet Union has Yiddish literature a better chance of survival than anywhere else." That can be true (though I think that Yiddish literature has a good chance of survival in a number of other countries as well), only if one has the potential in mind. The potential *is* there; of this there is no doubt. The writers are there, the inspiration of Soviet life and brotherhood are there, the goals and ideals are there and we are confident that the audience is there. But the program, the means, the policy is still not there. In light of this situation the following paragraph in the draft resolution can be more helpful to our Soviet comrades than a distorted comparison of Jewish

culture in the USSR and the USA:

"While emphasizing these advances (*Sovietish Haimland*, books, concerts, translations), we look forward to the continuation of the process now under way and its progress toward full restoration of the administratively suppressed Jewish cultural institutions. We support the approach expressed in the editorials in *Political Affairs* of June and July 1964 with reference to combatting remnants of anti-Semitism in the USSR, the approach to religion and anti-religious propaganda, and for the restoration of such institutions as a Jewish state theatre, Yiddish newspapers, education and other means of Jewish culture."

It is not the Jews who are the enemies of the working people. The enemies of the workers are the capitalists of all countries. Among the Jews there are working people, and they form the majority. They are our brothers, who, like us, are oppressed by capital; they are our comrades in the struggle for socialism. Among the Jews there are kulaks, exploiters and capitalists, just as there are among the Russians, and among the people of all nations. The capitalists strive to sow and foment hatred between workers of different faiths, different nations and different races. Those who do not work are kept in power by the power and strength of capital. Rich Jews, like rich Russians, and the rich in all countries, are in alliance to oppress, crush, rob and disunite the workers.

V. I. LENIN, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 252-253

To Our Readers:

Starting with this issue, our readers will note a change in our masthead. The post of Editor is now held by Betty Gannett, the former executive editor. The former editor, Hyman Lumer, has relinquished this post to assume national responsibilities for the Communist Party in the field of educational and ideological work. He will continue his association with *Political Affairs* in the capacity of associate editor.

We shall continue to work for the improvement of the content of *Political Affairs* and for an increase in circulation. We look forward toward continued cooperation and support from our readers.

THE EDITORS

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