

FEBRUARY, 1965



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Gus Hall

NEGRO - LABOR
COMMUNITY

Henry Winston

NEO-COLONIALISM

John Williams

THE SOUTH

Herbert Aptheker

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POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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Communists and Negro History

Negro History Week celebrates the history of the American Negro people, their struggles for freedom, and their contributions to American life. The history and contributions of the Negro people are a vital part of American history. Yet they are still scarcely recognized in our schools, in books and periodicals and in other media of communication, and this despite the great upheaval produced by the civil rights revolution. Least recognized of all is the part played by the Communist Party, and above all by Negro Communists, in the struggles of the Negro people during the past four decades.

The Communist contribution has taken many forms. There were the epic struggles of the thirties in the South, initiated and led by Communists, which laid the foundations of the momentous battles of today. Yet these are almost completely unknown to the new generation which is building so marvelously on these foundations.

The Herndon and Scottsboro cases, highlights of the earlier thirties, are often recalled. But there is a host of other struggles—the heroic battles of the sharecroppers, the fights for jobs and relief, for the right to vote, for union organization, against lynching, etc.—which still await the pen of the historian. These have left their mark, and are part of the proud contribution of the Communist Party. We are fortunate in being able to present in this issue some recollections of these struggles by a leading Negro Communist who participated in them.

The Communist Party has also contributed fundamentally to understanding the essential character of the Negro freedom struggle, and particularly its relationship to the class struggle. On this basis, the Party has developed and fought for the concept of the amalgamation of these two struggles into a common front against a common foe as the necessary condition for the victory of either. It is the Communist Party which has most clearly grasped the significance of the growth of an alliance of labor and the Negro people in our country and the development of a Negro-labor community. The history of these developments and their profound importance for the American working people are treated in a highly illuminating fashion in the article by Gus Hall.

Another important aspect of the Negro people's movement is its relationship to the national liberation movement on a world scale.

American big business has always sought to conceal its imperialist character behind the fact that the United States possesses few outright colonies. But U.S. imperialism is today the bulwark of world colonialism and neo-colonialism—of the oppression and exploitation of peoples under the cloak of nominal independence. The Communist Party has worked indefatigably to expose the true character of U.S. imperialism, and particularly to lay bare the fact that those responsible for the oppression of the Negro people in this country are the same monopolists who are responsible for the oppression of other peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America. A significant contribution on this point is the pamphlet *United States Neo-Colonialism*, by Henry Winston, published abroad and to be reprinted shortly in this country of which we present excerpts.

The American Negro people have their roots in Africa, a continent of ancient civilizations and cultures which imperialism has sought to bury under such chauvinist characterizations as “darkest Africa,” and by portraying Africans as “savages” and “cannibals.” Today a number of African nations, having won their liberation, have set out on the road to socialism. They are developing new ideas and new approaches to the building of socialism, in keeping with their own historical development—ideas which will enrich the understanding of all parties and all countries on this question. We are pleased to present some of the concepts elaborated by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, in his book *Consciencism*, as they are outlined by the Ghanaian writer Julius Sago. We are sure our readers will find them both instructive and stimulating.

Finally, we are honored to present a hitherto unpublished speech of the great Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, made available by Dr. Herbert Aptheker, his literary executor. Few figures loom larger than Dr. Du Bois in the history of the Negro people and in the life of our country. It is a matter of great pride to the Communist Party that he found the logical culmination of his work and ideas in becoming a member of it.

In this issue we record the death of two Negro Communist leaders who were part of the history of the Negro people—Claudia Jones and Tom Nabried. The number of such names is legend. Among them are such figures as Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., James W. Ford and Ed Strong, to mention but a few. And new members are coming forward to take their places.

Negro history is not a mere record of the past. The present is no less a part of it. Negro history is today very much in the making. The heroic struggles in Mississippi, Alabama and other parts of the

South, and in the rest of the country as well, bid fair at long last to topple the shameful system of jim crow. The consequence of such a victory for the advance of American democracy are incalculable. Communists are part of these struggles today, as they have been in past years, and they will continue to play an honorable part in the future unfolding of the march of the Negro people to liberation.

Scrap the McCarran Act

The decision of the Justice Department to retry the Communist Party for refusal to register under the malicious terms of the McCarran Act is a dangerous concession by the Johnson Administration to the discredited and infamous ultra-Right. This reversal of the election mandate has aroused the democratic forces of the country to recognize that the fulfillment of election promises is dependent on mass popular struggles. Such mass actions can turn this second desperate effort to enforce the McCarran Act into its opposite. This is the time to sound the death knell for this fascist law.

To register under the McCarran Act is to subscribe to a monstrous falsehood, to violate all principles based on integrity, to submit thousands of people to loss of jobs and possible long terms of imprisonment. To register is to substitute the McCarran Act for the Bill of Rights and to aid in the destruction of democracy. To register is to put the government into the thought-control business and to outlaw the Communist Party and political freedom. To register is to give to the warmongers, the monopoly-industry barons and the racists a weapon to shackle the unions, the civil rights movement and peace advocates.

The consequences of registration and the new attempt to enforce the McCarran Act have impelled the democratic forces of varied political views and associations to demand an end of that law, a halt to all prosecutions. Let the wrath and protest against such willful affront to the people's liberties be heard. An ever stronger and more vigorous, more extensive and persistent movement must make this the time to put the demand to President Lyndon Johnson and his Attorney General, to halt all McCarran Act prosecutions and dismiss all indictments and proceedings. Scrap the McCarran Act! Save the Bill of Rights!

The Negro-Labor Community

The events of this past year have set in clear perspective the nature and place of the Negro-labor community in the U.S. political scene. This community was the center of the mass base for the crushing electoral defeat of the ultra-Right Goldwater challenge. It was this roadblock to reaction that swung the decisive large industrial states into the anti-ultra-Right column and was also responsible for the qualitative improvement in the composition of their Congressional delegations and state legislatures.

In the southern states reaction still has two weapons that prevent this force for progress from exercising its full potential: continued disfranchisement, and white chauvinism and prejudice reinforced by terror. To the extent that these weapons were nullified, however, the Negro-labor community in the South also began to play this role. This, of course, was especially true of the contribution of the Negro citizens in the southern states.

In the 1964 elections the political influence of the Negro-labor community hit a new high. But this was only a harbinger of the positive hard fact of U.S. political life, and of what is to come—of the fact that from now on, the Negro-labor community is more and more going to be a determining factor in the direction that U.S. political affairs will take. It will increasingly become the central political stimulus and point of reference for all forces of progress, and the main deterrent to all forces of reaction and retrogression.

The openly cynical, anti-democratic maneuvering over the question of reapportionment of electoral districts is a reflection of this development. The reactionary politicians are trying to gerrymander the Negro-labor community from its position of growing political influence. Reaction is alarmed because the democratic principle of "one man, one vote" shifts the political mass base of our electoral process toward the Negro-labor community just when this community is beginning to exert its new united power. The gerrymanderers are trying to segregate the Negro-labor community into separate districts in order to water down its influence.

When it was possible to create artificial divisions in the Negro-labor community, its influence could be dissipated by such gerrymandering schemes. But as the political consciousness and the unity

of this community grow, the gerrymanderers are having an ever more difficult time.

The Negro-Labor Alliance

The Negro-labor alliance has been the foundation on which the forward direction of American life has rested for a long time, although this has not always been obvious because its influence has been indirect and without organizational forms.

This is an alliance of the oppressed and the exploited. It is an alliance based on mutual self-interest and the oneness of the enemy. It has deep roots in our history. At each critical turning point it has tended to close ranks and its influence has grown. Within the overall framework of this long-term and short-range mutual self-interest, there have been and continue to be areas of contradictions. These contradictions create problems but they have not in any way changed the basic essence of the alliance or its role in our history.

The 20 million Negro-American citizens are an oppressed people, subjected to a system of segregation and discrimination which has its historic roots in the plantation system of slavery. U.S. capitalism has adopted this special system to divide the working class and the people, to cut down the resistance to its oppression and exploitation. Jim crow is an instrument for extracting maximum profits from the Negro and white workers.

As is the case with colonialism on the world scene, the ending of the system of jim crow has emerged as the most crucial domestic question for the United States. Its time has arrived and it cannot be long postponed. On it, all class groups are forced to take a stand, for it is not only the future of the 20 million Negro-Americans that is involved. The future of the entire country rides on how this question is solved. This includes our democratic institutions, our educational system, the pattern of our economy, the future of organized labor, and so on.

The force that will largely determine the nature of the solution is the Negro-working class community. While the Negro people are all victims of special oppression, there is a growing class differentiation among them. In this, the Negro workers, who are part of both the U.S. working class and the oppressed Negro people, are of cardinal importance.

The destruction of the evil system of discrimination and segregation, directed against the Negro citizens but used to divide all the victims of monopoly capital, has emerged as an absolute condition for progress. The mass movement that now fights for its elimination

has therefore emerged as the generative force that sparks the struggle for progress on all fronts.

All societies with class divisions inevitably produce one class whose self-interest propels it to become the leader and the center of gravity for all forces of progress. In our times life has assigned this responsibility to the working class. On its broad shoulders rests the advance of civilization. The opposite side of this historic coin is that simultaneously there also arises a class that embodies all that is reactionary and backward. In modern times, the sewer that carries all this refuse and dirt and sickness is the class of capital. One class leads in the struggle for progress; the other creates obstacles to it. One is constructive; the other is destructive of all human values. One propels social advance; the other attempts to turn the wheels of history back. One class covers its resistance to progress with an ideology of cynicism, demagoguery and an appeal to prejudice and backwardness. The other inscribes on its ideological banners all concepts that guide and support man in his rise to a higher form of civilization.

In each country, the rise of these class forces is a distinct historical process. With time each of the classes increasingly takes on its specific role and nature, and this process continues until it leads to a qualitative shift which completely discards the reactionary class and the system that gave rise to it.

This class framework is as valid and real in determining the course of affairs in the United States as it is everywhere else in the world. With all its weaknesses our working class in the United States has fulfilled its historic responsibilities and is continuing to do so. The fact that it has not fully taken on what history demands of it, or that it has not carried the struggle to its final conclusion, does not in any way disqualify it as the most advanced element of our society.

It is only on the basis of this objective class relationship that one can give leadership in the struggles to end all evils of capitalism. Any attempt to deal with social or economic problems by ignoring or rejecting it will lead to blind alleys. The very heart of capitalist propaganda is the denial of the class nature of capitalism and the role of the working class. The influence of such ideas penetrates even into the ranks of the progressive movement.

Only an understanding of the class forces and their role in society makes it possible for one to understand the phenomena of alliances, coalitions and united front formations in struggle. These are relationships built around parallel and mutual self-interests, which can and do cut across class formations. Because of its objectively designated role in history the working class attracts all sectors of the population

whose self-interests are served by a progressive direction in life. In some cases, these self-interests run along parallel lines only for brief periods. Coalitions in such cases are of brief duration and are usually around very specific issues. But this does not in any way minimize their importance. The history of human progress is in fact a history of the rise and fall of coalitions and alliances based on parallel mutual self-interests.

There are also coalitions that are based on long-range mutual self-interest. Such coalitions run the course of whole historic epochs.

With these things in mind, I want to deal with the historic role and nature of the Negro-labor alliance in the United States. This is a very distinctive kind of alliance, one that runs the course of epochs. Without an understanding of this central phenomenon of our society, one cannot fully understand the American scene.

In a sense, the Negro-labor coalescence is more than an alliance or a united front formation. It is a political and an economic community, an overlapping, interlinked unit. As the consciousness of this grows in its ranks, this community will become the power that will determine the direction of events in our country.

On a world scale, the working class is emerging as that class on whose shoulders the future of civilization rests. Because it is the leading element in the world socialist, anti-imperialist, peace community, it is now the decisive force determining the course of world events. Hence the elements in the community are more than allies of one another; they are parts of one historical revolutionary process, part of one progressive community—of an interlinked unit. And one can understand the nature and role of this community only if one understands the nature and role of the working class.

An Integrated Working Class

A distinctive feature of the historic formation of the U.S. working class has been the molding of a class composed of Negro and white workers, a class of many national backgrounds. This fact has always provided U.S. capitalism with a special ideological weapon in its efforts to create divisions and dissensions: the weapon of prejudice. Nevertheless within capitalist society there is nothing so inevitable, so absolute as the emergence, growth and political maturing of the working class. The development of class consciousness, class unity, class struggle is rooted in the very process of exploitation. To deny the rise and the historic role of the working class is to deny the very class nature of capitalism.

And so, in spite of the obstacle created by the system of discrimination by the practice of keeping Negro workers out of some industries altogether and confining them to the hardest, lowest-paying jobs in others, and by the constant infusion of the poison of white chauvinism as an inseparable component of capitalist ideology—a united, integrated working class is taking shape and assuming its designated historic place. Indeed, the process of formation of an integrated working class of Negro and white workers as the basis of the Negro-labor community has paved the way for an integrated nation in which all of our people live in equality.

The historic path to a united, integrated working class has been marked by many obstacles and many setbacks. Such a process is slow because it is fundamentally a process of development of a class ideology and class outlook. Ideology is the result of experience upon experience. For long periods the white workers could not see their overall class interests because of the heavy fog of chauvinism and prejudice. The fog has slowly dissipated, though much of it still remains.

With the lifting of the fog, the process of unification takes place through a series of qualitative leaps. The unionization of the basic mass production industries remains a modern landmark as one of these qualitative leaps. It went a long way to destroy the ideology behind the craft unions—one of hiding the working-class nature of society. The craft union ideology was an instrument that long divided the Negro and white workers.

The CIO, and especially the Left-led unions, made historic contributions to this development. Their formation firmly established the concept that all workers, Negro and white, of all trades and professions, belong to united industrial unions and locals.

A graphic illustration of both processes—the formation of an integrated, united working class and the development and rise of the Negro-labor community—was the Conference to Organize the Negro Steel Workers into the New Steelworkers Union, held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1937. This was a conference representing all sectors of the Negro people and their organizations, meeting with the leaders of the newly emerging steel union. This participation was a clear indication of how the leaders of the Negro people's organizations understood both the role of a united, integrated working class in defense of its own class interests and that of the Negro-labor community in the struggle against jim crow. This Conference was an important step in the development of both of these processes.

The process of integration and unification of the working class is continuing. The Negro workers have become a part of the most mili-

tant and most union-conscious sector of the U.S. working class. This process and the growth of class consciousness in the ranks of the working class are parts of the same development. Class consciousness is the most formidable antidote to the poison of chauvinism and prejudice.

The process of class integration has made its clearest advances wherever the need for class unity has been most obvious. Thus each economic struggle has been a classroom for integration and unity. In such struggles, class and individual self-interests rise to the surface, and the evil, divisive purpose of chauvinism becomes more obvious and therefore more easily exposed.

The influence of the rising integrated, united working class on the struggles of today is not always fully appreciated because this influence is not always direct or dramatic. But as the fog lifts, as the workers get a new qualitative sense of their class position, they will increasingly have a greater influence on the character of all mass currents and movements. The methods of mass struggle today already show the influences of working class experience. The sit-ins, boycotts, picket lines, mass demonstrations, combining economic struggle with political action, and the tactic of alliances and united front relations, are all variations of methods originally developed in the fires of the class struggle. And the leaders and spokesmen of religious and social organizations take a more forthright stand for civil rights where they sense the influence of members of the working class in their organizations and communities.

The vote for the Civil Rights Bill was a barometer of how the elected officials assessed the mood of the people in general. But above all it was an assessment of the mood of the Negro-labor community in the big industrial centers. Workers are most often not the spokesmen or the leaders of reform movements. But invariably it is the Negro-labor community that is the mass base of all of them. Therefore, to appreciate fully the present role and influence of this community, one has to study its grass-roots base, and the details of relations and forces that never appear in headlines or are not immediately evident. But it is from this base that all movements get their staying power and their militance. Movements that do not have the support of this mass base are usually very short-lived.

The Negro-Labor Community in the South

Jim crow and unorganized shops are closely related twin evils in the South. They are, in fact, two faces of one policy designed for

one purpose—maximum profits for big business and the landowners. The net result of this policy is a “Southern differential” of lower wages, longer hours, mass poverty, mass misery. The brutal oppression of the Negro Americans, combined with an open policy of violence against unions and progressive organizations—this is the strategy of big business for keeping the South a sort of semi-colonial preserve for extreme exploitation, high profits, cheap labor, runaway shops, and disfranchised people ruled by a racist, fascist-like gang through terror and murder. Big business wants this kind of South not only because of the immediate profits it yields but because it is a bulwark of reaction throughout the nation. The ultra-Right Goldwater attempt to use the South as a base in his bid for power strikingly illustrates the point.

The heart of the forces that will break this stranglehold of reaction on the South is the Negro-labor community. Toward this end, it is necessary to find the links that bring together the drives to end jim crow and to abolish the non-union shops. The trade unions will have to understand that they will never conquer the one evil by ignoring its inseparable twin. Jim crow is anti-union; the anti-union policies are instruments in perpetuating jim crow. These are the two sides of the coin. The struggle against the common enemy in the South demands a new level of unity and integration of the working class and a new quality in the relations within the Negro-labor community. This is the central challenge facing the leaders and the rank and file of this community nationally. There is a great need for a national conference of the Negro-labor community to map out a joint mass plan for ending segregation and discrimination, ending the brutal terror against Negro citizens, and against unions and union organizers, and bringing equality, the right to collective bargaining, and equal protection under the law to all citizens of the South. Such a common drive would be the greatest stimulus to the progressive forces on all fronts.

Historic Roots

The history of the American people is full of examples of how the objective forces in our society have pressed toward the formation of both the Negro-labor community and an integrated, united working class. Because these early efforts did not result in the full-blown product, or because there were numerous setbacks, is no reason to call them failures. Nor are these grounds for rejecting the idea that these things are in the process of development. Each of the experi-

ences in our history has added something to this development. And each new development has in turn made the objective conditions more ripe, and has thereby slowly increased the pressure of the objective screws of history.

In the last century, the Knights of Labor constituted the first real attempt to organize a national working class union. They were outlawed and condemned. But even these early class formations had in them the seeds of the unified, integrated class of Negro and white workers. The objective forces were just beginning to turn the screws on. In the South the Negro workers led the heroic efforts to organize unions under the conditions then existing. In 1885 these efforts were recorded as follows: “They are now everywhere joining the Knights of Labor. Do not discriminate against them. They are considered amongst their most faithful members.” At about the same time a union leader reported from Richmond, Virginia: “The Negro workers are with us heart and soul and have organized seven assemblies (locals) in this city and are in Manchester with large memberships.”

Long-range and permanent assemblies in the South of today can be most meaningful if they rest on large industrial union locals of an integrated working class which have put an end to the practices of discrimination in their shops, which have outlawed jim crow by union contract and union constitution. This relationship can then become the basis for a Negro-labor community that can determine the direction of union affairs in the South.

It was during the Civil War that the Negro-labor community left its first indelible mark on our history, and the post-Civil War period is evidence of the fact that it did not take long for the capitalist class to realize the potential danger to its selfish aims which the development of such a community presented. It quickly let loose on both a campaign of murder and terror.

The capitalist class allied itself with the forces against the slave-based South only when its narrow self-interests were served, and not for one minute longer. Ethical, moral or humanitarian considerations were not factors that motivated them. As long as the capitalist class of the North profited from slavery, it supported the slave society of the South. The ships owned by New England capital sailed to Africa loaded with rum, and there exchanged the rum for Negro slaves whom they carried to the Southern states to be sold at the slave market. In turn, they bought molasses from the slave markets and returned to New England where the molasses was turned into rum and the cycle started all over again. This is a clear indication of the nature of capital's self-interests in this earlier period. Only

later, when the slave system became an obstacle to the expansion of their profit-making empires, did the capitalist class give its support to the struggle against the slave society of the South. This was a very brief period because capitalism was interested in doing away only with those features of slavery that were adverse to their narrow self-interests. In fact, it adopted as its own the features that aided their drive for profits. This is the background for the present system of segregation and discrimination, of white chauvinism and terror practiced against the Negro Americans.

The relationship of the working class to the issues and forces involved in the Civil War was quite different. For example, how different the course of our history might have been if the working class of England had not stopped the English Government from entering into armed struggle against the North when the Civil War was hanging in the balance. The working class was the only force that opposed the armed attack. It put up a historic battle. Because of this, Abraham Lincoln regarded the attitude of the English working class towards Negro slavery as "an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country." (Letter to the workmen of Manchester, January 19, 1863, *Senate Documents*, 3rd Session, 37th Congress, 1862-1863.) It is true that the working class was motivated by its own long-range self-interests. But these were also the self-interests of human society in its struggle forward.

In 1830 Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a New Englander, wrote: "The anti-slavery movement was not strongest among the more educated classes, but was predominantly a people's movement based on the simplest human instincts and far stronger for a time in the factories and the shoe shops than in the pulpits or colleges." (Cheerful Yesterday, 1898, pp. 115-117. Quoted by Herman Schlüter, *Lincoln, Labor and Slavery*, New York, 1913, p. 38.) One of the first political parties to declare in its platform the need to abolish slavery was a newly-formed political party of labor.

The Civil War period also has rich lessons on the nature of alliances based on parallel self-interests. The victorious alliance against slavery finally included the slaves, the workers and the frontier farmers, as well as sections of the capitalist class, and the clergy and professional people, mainly in the northern states. Though these were allied against slavery, the contradictions between the classes in the alliance did not disappear. The advanced sections of the working class fought to include and combine the struggle against wage slavery with the struggle against chattel slavery. The capitalist class fought against all concepts of classes and class struggle within capitalism. Most of the

popular leaders for the abolition of slavery took a favorable position to the struggles of the working class. These were swallows heralding the future course of development of the Negro-labor community.

But not all of the anti-slavery forces could see the relationship of the rising working class and its aims to the struggle against the slave system. Even such a militant fighter against slavery as William Lloyd Garrison argued:

An attempt has been made—it is still in the making—we regret to say, with considerable success—to inflame the minds of our working class against the more opulent. . . .

And further:

There is a prevalent opinion that wealth and aristocracy are indissolubly allied; and the poor and vulgar are taught to consider the opulent as their natural enemies. Those who circulate this pernicious doctrine are the worst enemies of the people. (*Lincoln, Labor and Slavery*, pp. 40, 43.)

These differences in the alliance created stresses and strains, but the objective screws pressed the alliance against slavery. The precursors of the labor-Negro community of today were even present in the actions of the beginnings of an organized labor movement in the South. Motivated by self-interest, as early as 1831 organized white mechanics petitioned the Legislature of Virginia to abolish the competition of slave mechanics. They complained that "the wealthy owners of slave mechanics were in the habit of underbidding them in contracts." (*Lincoln, Labor and Slavery*, p. 100.) Their protest meetings were brutally smashed.

Not all of early labor understood the urgency, from the standpoint of their own self-interest, of the need to end the slave system. Some argued that an end to their "wage slavery" would then force an end to the slave system in the South. But then as now the special oppression of the Negro Americans constituted a roadblock to progress. Then as now it was in the self-interest of all exploited and oppressed to join together in an alliance to put an end to jim crow.

• • •

Thus, the Negro-labor political and economic community is a specific U.S. historical development. It has roots in history, and is fed by present-day objective factors. In the very center of this community is the developing united, integrated Negro and white working

class, ever more conscious of its class nature and its assigned role in our present and future history.

It is important to understand the nature of this community and the role of the working class in it because all future progress basically emanates from this source. It is important because all who try—for whatever reason—to create divisions in this community are acting to disperse and to dissipate the main driving forces of progress. What we are called upon to do is to find the issues, the organizational forms, the understanding that will help the objective, conditions further to unite this community.

The following letter was received by Walter Lowenfels, regarding POETS OF TODAY, A New American Anthology (edited by Walter Lowenfels, International Publishers. Cloth \$5; New World Paperbacks, \$1.95).

Dear Walter:

I was laid up in bed for a couple of days and had a very pleasant opportunity to read this very fine collection of present-day poems as well as the foreword by yourself. I was so impressed that I changed all my family Christmas buying and instead bought 20 copies of *Poets of Today* with a note that I can't think of a better way of starting the New Year than by reading poems from this collection.

Many of the poems are truly reflections of the human struggles and emotions of this epoch and especially the struggles of the Negro Americans for equality. And of course, I was raised as a kid with Bill Heikkila, so I was especially impressed with Irene Paul's very fine memorial poem. I also sent a few of the books to some of the well-known leaders on the world arena.

So accept my congratulations for your very fine work and warmest regards to yourself as well as your wife and family.

GUS HALL

Struggles of the Thirties in the South

In celebrating Negro History Week, it is important to give due consideration and credit to the role played by the Communist Party during the past 35 years in the struggle of the Negro people for their freedom, particularly in the South. It was the Communist Party that forged its way into the South in the early thirties, and especially into Alabama, and forced the brakes to be applied to the lynchers' car. It was the Communist Party that led the fight to save the nine Negro youths of Scottsboro, Alabama, first from the lynch rope and then from the electric chair, and so opened up the only real iron curtain—the iron curtain of the South, U.S.A.—and let the whole world see how the Negro was being lynched and denied all rights as an American citizen.

Many of the people who are taking part in today's great civil rights struggles are entirely unaware of these early battles, led by Communists, which laid groundwork for them. Many don't know, for instance, that in the very same park in Birmingham in front of the 16th Street Baptist Church, where Bull Connor had the water hoses and police dogs turned on the Negro people in May, 1963, a big unemployed demonstration took place in May, 1933—thirty years before.

The Unemployed Demonstrate

The unemployed committee got a permit from the city officials to hold a meeting in this park and put out leaflets announcing it. These brought out thousands from all over Birmingham, the great majority of them Negroes. The leaflets not only raised demands for the unemployed. They also demanded the right of Negroes to vote, serve on juries and hold office. They came out against the poll tax and demanded the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys and an end to lynching of Negroes.

The city officials told the press that the meeting would not be held, that it had been canceled. But these unemployed Negroes were well organized. They had formed a Women's Sewing Club in the community, and unemployed block committees. These clubs had delegated captains and sub-captains—each captain had three to four people that he was responsible for—and at 3:30 when the meeting

was called and the people gathered at the park, they told them where to assemble. It was considered that 3,000 people assembled outside the park.

No sooner did the people gather on the corner of 5th Avenue and 16th Street than the police began to swarm to break up the meeting. They had plainclothesmen in the crowd, and as soon as the first speaker began to speak, a motorcycle cop rolled up and told her: "Come down!" When he said that, the people began to yell: "Let that woman speak! Let that woman speak!"

There were instructions not to have any knives, sticks or pistols, to come completely unarmed. But there was an old man by the name of Ned Goodman who came with a hickory walking stick, against the instructions. When the police came up to take this woman speaker down, he hit a policeman on the side of the head with the stick, and then the struggle began. Two policemen grabbed Ned Goodman on each side, and another got the stick out of his hand and attempted to beat him over the head. But a Negro snatched the stick out of his hand, and another cop hit this Negro on the head with his pistol and grabbed him by the back of his collar. Then a Negro woman hit the policeman across the eyes with her parasol. The Negroes began coming across the street intersection. The police were telling them to get back, but they kept crowding in and a free-for-all battle took place right at the intersection that lasted about ten minutes.

Thirty years later a great struggle again took place there. This struggle planted the seed for it. It built confidence among the Negro people that if they stood together they could be counted, they could have strength.

Some whites friendly to the Negroes reported that fifteen policemen went to a meeting with the officials that night to decide how they could handle the Negroes in case another such meeting took place. They told the officials that if they couldn't shoot the Negroes with their pistols, they didn't want the job any longer. But they were told: "You're not supposed to shoot." And according to the reports, they laid their guns and badges on the table and quit their posts.

That was the first time that the Police Department of Birmingham had come to know that a policeman wasn't supposed to shoot a Negro whenever he felt like reaching for his gun. Before that time, not a Saturday night passed without at least one Negro being shot down, murdered in cold blood by the police. In those days the billy sticks were short, about eight inches long and wrapped in leather.

But today the Birmingham police carry long sticks, and this change started with that meeting in May, 1933.

That was the first time that Negro women came to know that they could stand up and fight back and defend themselves. So from then on everyone wanted to know, "When are we going to have another such meeting? I want to fight some more." We must say, of course, that we are against violence. Just like the non-violent organizations today, the Communist Party has always been against violence. But the Party did raise the question, and does raise the question today, of the right of self-defense. And that's what those Negroes felt, and that's what they learned that day—that they had the right to defend themselves.

Things have been bad since that time, but before that day the Negroes saw no way of stopping the police from shooting whenever they felt like it. They were happy-jack with the pistol. But it was the Communist Party that turned the tide, and whatever is said about Negro history, we have to take note of the role the Party played in building this courage among the Negro people in 1933.

Struggles on Many Fronts

It was the fight for the Scottsboro Boys and the Party program on the Negro question that awakened the Negro people in the South to the consciousness that they could fight for their freedom. Before that time, the working Negro masses knew nothing about organization and had no one to speak in their behalf. When the lynchers were running the Negroes from the swamps and forests, the Negroes felt hopeless because they had no security. Before the Party came to the South, the talk was always: "Negro, stay in your place." But after the Party came and raised the slogan of the right of self-determination for the Negro people of the Black Belt and the right to secure ownership of the land, it was different.

When the Party raised the demand for the right of Negroes to vote, the Negroes began to get into action, and the political officials of Alabama saw that they were listening to the Party. So in Birmingham, in the early thirties, the Democratic Party officials called the Negro leaders together and told them that the Party was agitating among the uneducated Negroes for the right to vote. They said: "We want to give you the privilege of organizing a Democratic voters' club, and we will prepare some of your best people to become qualified voters. We will give you a charter, and we want you to keep your people from going over to the Communist Party."

They said they would qualify only fifty Negro voters a year, and these had to be "the best type of Negroes," ones that they would recommend. "Now don't bring down any ordinary workers," they said, "because we are not going to accept them."

As late as 1938 there were still less than 400 Negroes on the rolls of qualified voters in Jefferson County. But the Party had launched the fight for the right to vote. The Party also put forth slogans of the right to serve on juries and to hold public office, against the poll tax, for equality in education. And it tied all these slogans up with the struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys. It showed that it was not only nine Negroes but the whole Negro people who were on trial, that all the rights of the Negro people as American citizens were tied up with the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys.

Before that time the Negroes did not have any decent schoolrooms. The schoolhouses for the Negro children in Alabama and the Black Belt were falling apart. You could look out through the shingles and the holes in the roofs. They were leaky and cold. But after the Party raised the slogan of equality in education and fought for this demand, the officials of Alabama began to try to improve these old schoolhouses.

Negro Sharecroppers Organize

It was the Communist Party in 1931 that raised the slogan of the right of Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers to sell their products themselves. Up to that time, in many parts of the South and particularly around Camphill, Railtown and Selma, Alabama, the sharecroppers would make their crop and the landlords would sell it and give them whatever they pleased. Many Negroes didn't know what price the landlord got. It was the Party that called on the Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers to organize and demand the right to sell their product.

The Party also demanded \$1.00 a day pay for farm laborers. Before that time the landlords were paying 50 cents a day and sometimes less for working from sunup to sundown. Eventually the Party was able to win this demand.

After the appeal to organize, the Negroes in Camphill, Alabama formed what was known as the Sharecroppers' Union. As they began to meet in the church to discuss their problems, the landlords and deputy sheriffs began to rise against them. One night they were holding a meeting in the church and the landlords threatened to

break it up. So the Negroes put out watchmen, some of them armed with shotguns.

One night after that, the landlords hailed Ralph Gray, who was on his way to the church, and demanded that he drop his shotgun. He refused, and there was a shooting battle. Ralph Gray and a number of the deputy sheriffs were wounded. Some of the tenants and sharecroppers took Ralph Gray home and went to his home to defend him against the lynchers who were coming to kill him. The Negroes held the fort at the house and exchanged shots with the landlords and the deputy sheriffs and the other lynchers. But eventually their ammunition gave out and they had to retreat. The landlords went into the house and lynched him right in his own home. They also put 30 or 40 Negro tenants in jail—those who couldn't give an account as to where they were that night.

The International Labor Defense, fully supported by the Communist Party, fought for the freedom of these sharecroppers and tenant farmers, and eventually forced the release of all of them. Some were held in jail so long that they weren't able to make a crop that year. One farmer named Drakes, who was one of the most militant in the group, they wanted to hang anyway because they considered him the leader. But eventually, through mass pressure led by the Party and protests from all parts of the world, all were freed.

A Mass Funeral

In Railtown, in December of 1932, the landlords went in to take the livestock of Clifford Jones. There the Negroes also had a sharecroppers' union and many of them were members of the Communist Party. The Negroes refused to let the landlords take his stock. In the battle between them and the deputy sheriffs, Joe Moss was killed, another farmer, Marlow Bentley, was wounded. Some of the deputy sheriffs were also wounded. The farmers were forced to retreat.

Late that afternoon, when Clifford James went back to see what had happened to the house and his livestock, he too was wounded. They got into Tuskegee and went to the family doctor to be treated. But the doctor called the deputy sheriffs. They took Marlow Bentley and Clifford James and put them in Kilby prison in Montgomery. There, it was claimed, they both died of pneumonia. It is said they were put on a cold concrete floor in cells without beds. But whether this is what happened or whether they were actually beaten to death, no one has ever been able to find out.

The ILD had the bodies brought to Birmingham where the Welch

Brothers undertakers had agreed to embalm them. But when the train arrived, they refused to do so, saying they had been visited by their white friends who had warned them not to handle the bodies. These were then taken to Hickman Jordan in North Birmingham, who told the leaders of the organization that if they would take care of the living, he would take care of the dead.

Across each of the caskets was a beautiful red ribbon with a hammer and sickle on it. An official came and demanded that Jordan take the hammers and sickles off. He refused. He said he was being paid to bury the dead, that those who paid him put the hammers and sickles there and if they wanted them removed they would have to do it themselves.

The Party had issued leaflets calling on everybody to view the bodies and attend the funeral that Friday. When the handbills went out, the officials went to Jordan to force him to bury the bodies immediately. He refused to bury them or to close the caskets. He said, "If you want them buried, you bury them yourselves. These people want these bodies buried Friday and I'm going to bury them when they say bury them."

Friday at 11:00 o'clock the funeral was held. It was in the heart of the depression, and many had to walk down the railroad tracks to get there. The police said there would be no funeral and told people to go back home. But the crowd continued to grow and some of the militant Negroes in the group said: "These dead are Negroes and we're going to the funeral." They walked on by the police and the crowd got so angry that the police had to back up and let them by. It was reported that about 7,000 people attended that funeral, that it was the biggest mass funeral ever known to be held in Birmingham—the funeral of these two sharecroppers that were killed in Alabama.

All this action took place around the right of the Negro sharecroppers to sell their product and the right of the Negro people to defend their homes and their families against the attacks of the landlords and their kind.

Battle for Work and Relief

In the days before WPA, the city relief in Birmingham had a number of unemployed projects, such as East Lake Park. And on many of the open fields which had lain fallow for years, Negroes were digging up the land with picks. They raked the land and planted gardens. They opened up water sewers in and around Birmingham.

They opened up the highway from Birmingham to Montgomery, doing heavy manual labor and blasting to widen the highway.

In those days when Negroes were suffering on these relief jobs it was the Communist Party that raised the question of free rent for the unemployed workers and their families, as well as other demands. The workers on the mountain, building the highway, were being paid only in food checks to turn in at the supply house for canned tomatoes, dried beans, white potatoes and rice, with no butter, no milk and no shortening to season this food with. Three Negro leaders who were Party members, walked down the mountain and called on these workers to assemble at the Kingston schoolhouse in Birmingham, and to demand cash pay for their work.

About 250 or 300 workers gathered at noon on the school grounds. The three leaders pointed out how by organized action they could gain money for their work, and they made a motion to march on City Hall and send a committee to see Jimmy Jones who was then president of the City Commission. The next morning, which was on a Saturday, around 125 or 130 assembled on the school grounds, all Negro except one, and started to march to City Hall. By the time they got there, the group had dwindled to around 50.

They elected a committee of six to go in and see Jimmy Jones, among them the one white worker. As they started up the steps a city detective went up ahead of them and asked where they were going. They said they were going to see Jimmy Jones about getting paid for their work and getting more relief for the unemployed. He pulled out a pistol and told them to get back down the steps, saying: "You're not going to see Mr. Jones." He asked the white worker, "Are you with this crowd?" He said, "No, I'm going up to the Welfare Department." So he let him pass, while the Negroes went back to the sidewalk.

The leader, a young Negro YCL member 19 years old, said: "Fellow workers, we're going back to reorganize and reinforce, and we're coming back and we *are* going to see Mr. Jones." When he said that, the detective hit him on the side of the head with his fist and said: "I told you to get away from here."

He walked away and all the Negroes walked up the sidewalk behind him, back to the school grounds from which they had started. They didn't go back to City Hall right then. The officials thought the Negroes were coming back next day, and they reinforced the police around City Hall. They had them on top of the building, it was reported, with machine guns and sawed-off shotguns.

But the Negroes didn't march back until November 7, and when they did, it was estimated that 7,000 were there, including whites. A mass meeting was called by the Party on the county courthouse steps to demand relief for the unemployed. A committee went in to lay the demands before Jimmy Jones. On it was a young, militant, Birmingham-born white woman. They wanted to know if she believed in social equality for the Negro people. She said, "Yes, why not? The Negroes are just as good as you and I."

When she said that, Jimmy Jones said to the detectives standing around: "Go to the courthouse and have that crowd move away from there. I won't listen to that any longer." They came to the courthouse, about 10 or 15 big, husky white lynchers, and they stood on the courthouse steps and said: "Everybody get out of here." There were Negro women and children with baskets thinking food was going to be given out. There was quite a struggle that followed, with much pushing between the police and many of the Negro people, as well as many of the whites in the crowd—coal miners, steelworkers and others.

Organizing the Coal Miners

In the early part of 1933, John L. Lewis sent organizers into Birmingham to organize the coal miners. The first local meeting was held at the Saryton Mine, one of the Republic Steel mines in North Birmingham. This was the first local in the area organized into the United Mine Workers. After this locals began to crop up like wildfire in the various mines—Lewisburg, Hampton Slope, Edgewater and others. All the mines had what they called "mine dicks," and there was a constant struggle between them and the union members.

The Communist Party played a major role in exposing to the public the conditions under which the miners worked. One of the main battles was over "washer's loss." The coal dug by a miner each day was examined by a company man for rock, and if he found more than a certain number of cans of rock, the balance of the coal was taken to make up for "washer's loss"—an outright robbery.

Most of the miners were Negroes, and the Party members in the mines would get them together to compile all their complaints. They were overcharged for "stoppage"—halts for sharpening the picks or the drills for dynamiting coal. They were made to pay for caps and powder, and when they got through with all of this and with being docked for washer's losses, the miners had nothing to take home for food and clothing on pay day. What little they did get, they had

to spend in the company commissaries at company prices. At that time the miner left home before daylight and came home after dark, and when the week was over he often didn't draw any money because he was in debt at the commissary. Many miners didn't make over \$1.50 or \$2.00 a day.

It was the Communist Party in Birmingham that continually exposed these rotten conditions, and was able to bring about the unity of white and Negro miners in the struggle led by the Negroes to change them through the United Mine Workers in the early years from 1933 to 1941-42—it took that long before they were able to break down the practice of "washer's loss."

From these struggles there came forward such leaders as Henry O. Mayfield from the Hamilton Slope Mine. Formerly an unemployed leader, he was on the mine grievance committee where he battled for the miners' rights, against the Ku Klux Klan elements in the local, and against the tricks and pitfalls of the company. There were many other Negro leaders such as John Bedell in the Lewisburg Mine, and others not in the mines—Joe Howard, Fred Walker and Eb Cox. Cox worked his way into the top staff of the United Steelworkers in Birmingham but had gotten his early schooling in the Party.

A Courageous Fighter

We must also give credit to the role played by Hosea Hudson in the United Steelworkers in Birmingham. He was one of the first Negro recording secretaries to be elected in any of the big steel lodges. That was in 1937, at the Ansley Steel plant, Local 1489.

Hudson had come up as a sharecropper from the cotton fields of Georgia, and eventually became a molder in a stock pipefitting company in Birmingham. When the CIO steel union first began organizing around Birmingham, they would accept workers from any shop for membership so long as it had something to do with steel. Hudson was working at the Walward Foundry and became a member of Local 1489.

In the election of officers in 1937, the local membership meeting was attended by a packed house of Negro steelworkers and only four or five whites. As a rule during that period, the union officials would appeal to the Negro workers: "We can't get the poor white devils to come into this union. They won't sit in meetings with Negroes. They will only join the union if they can join by themselves, but not with Negroes." And they would say: "If you stick with us,

we'll stick with you. If these poor white devils come into the union, they will have to come into the meeting hall where you are."

When it came to election of officers the president of the local, who was white, said: "Here is a member and I'm going to appoint him recording secretary." He asked Hosea Hudson if he would accept the nomination, and Hosea Hudson told him: "My education is very poor. I didn't have much chance to go to school. But I will not decline the appointment." The president offered to show him how to keep minutes, and Hudson took the books and served as recording secretary until the next election of officers in 1938.

Later he became unemployed, and was one of the first to enjoy unemployment compensation in 1938, though it was only \$9.50 a week. Then he got on WPA, which had just come into being.

The WPA workers were organized in the Workers' Alliance, and Local 1 met in the Birmingham courthouse. Hudson was elected vice-president and Edwina Collins, a young Negro woman, was elected recording secretary. The meeting room had a balcony and the Negroes sat there while the whites sat on the main floor. But Hosea Hudson and Edwina Collins would not serve as officers while sitting in the balcony. So they went down and sat with the rest of the officials.

But then the county officials told the white local officers that if Negroes met with them they would have to quit meeting in the courthouse. The officers reported this to the membership, which was made up largely of Negro and white workers including some students, teachers, and small business people forced into the ranks of the unemployed and onto WPA. These white workers voted for a motion empowering the officers to find a place where Negro and white could meet together, saying that the county officials could not dictate to them how they should hold their meetings. They found a hall, seating 600, on 22nd Street and Second Avenue, after which a county council was organized of representatives from 27 locals. Hudson became vice president of the council also.

The Workers' Alliance put up a fight for the right of its members to become qualified voters in 1938, because they found that the politicians in Washington were against having WPA projects in Birmingham and were against a raise in wages for WPA workers, who were getting only \$40.80 a month. They realized that they had to put men in Congress that would work for the interests of the unemployed and the working people of Birmingham.

A Right-to-Vote Club was organized, under the leadership of Hud-

son and one or two other young Negro leaders. It was set up in competition with the Negro Democratic Club in which only those could be members who were eligible to vote. They charged only 25 cents to join and took up collections for anything needed, such as stationery. Classes were held every Tuesday night. School teachers and coal miners came in to learn how to fill out the necessary blanks to become voters. When the books opened for registry at the courthouse, truckloads of Negro miners and steelworkers came in to register.

The Negroes piled in with their overalls on, something the officials had never seen before. They wanted to know who had sent them there. The Negroes said they wanted to elect officials who would do something for their people. This created quite some excitement among the white politicians and they began questioning the Negro Democratic Club. Why were they allowing these Negroes to meet and put out material without consulting them? The Negro Democratic Club was up against the wall. They had no answer, and began trying to find a way to get the Right-to-Vote Club to unite with them. But these rank-and-file Negroes who had been left out in the cold in the past would not unite. They remained independent, and continued to exist until the Southern Negro Youth Congress came to Birmingham under the leadership of James and Esther Jackson, Ed and Augusta Strong, and later Louis Burnham and many other young Negro fighters. When this organization took over the responsibility for educating the Negro people on how to become qualified voters, the Right-to-Vote Club dissolved and joined in its activity.

* * *

These are some of the things that happened in the Birmingham area in the thirties. There were great strides made in those years, and one cannot for one moment see these without seeing the groundwork that was laid and the seed that was planted in the consciousness of the Negro people by the Communist Party throughout the South in that period. So when we celebrate Negro History Week, we must recognize this as part of the history of the Negro people's struggles.

United States Neo-Colonialism*

The U.S. leaders support the national-liberation movement in words, and frequently these words sound like the passionate, emotional gushings of a love confession. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, for example, often argues that the anti-colonial revolution of today is a continuation of the American Revolution of 1776, and that the national-liberation struggle against the present-day colonialists is a continuation of the struggle the Americans waged against King George III of England. In an address to the U.N. General Assembly, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson said he would seek a settlement of the "residual problems of colonialism." Books have been written about the so-called American anti-colonial tradition to hammer home the point that the people of the United States themselves fought against colonialism. Should not the U.S.A., then, be trusted more than the old colonial powers?

I do not think it is difficult to see the difference between the American Revolution of 1776 and the national-liberation movement of the 1960's.

The United States was a revolutionary country in 1776. In 1964 it is the bulwark of imperialist reaction. History does not stand still. The American Revolution took place in another epoch, under different conditions. Having won independence, the United States in time developed a colonial appetite. That happened at the close of the 19th century. True, it came in somewhat late for the division of the original colonial pie. But to make up for it, the lack of a vast colonial empire is now used as proof that the U.S.A. never had an appetite for that pie. The fact remains, however, that the U.S.A. was late because it was busy colonizing huge territories in the West, an operation which, incidentally, was accompanied by the extermination of the indigenous Indian population. Already then it had its eye on Latin America, regarding it, in the light of the Monroe Doctrine, as its own private domain. North American capitalism held up the development of capitalism in Latin America, finding the feudal system there perfectly suited to its purpose. Similarly, the American South was kept as an

*We present here two sections from the pamphlet, *The Challenge of United States Neo-Colonialism*, published in Prague, 1964. Subheads have been added.

agricultural region, where the majority of the Negro people were share-croppers; Negro industrial workers were kept at the bottom of the economic ladder and even the rise of a competing Negro industrial bourgeoisie was prevented.

After putting on muscle, the young U.S. imperialism started a war with Spain which gave it domination in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. Against the people of the Philippines, who wanted independence, the U.S. government waged a war of "pacification," in which 6,000 American soldiers and 220,000 Filipino men, women and children were killed. Was this not colonialism? Today official propaganda explains the events of those years as a mistake, an unfortunate retreat from anti-colonial tradition, a tiny blot on an otherwise unblemished record of colonial innocence. But, as the saying goes, you cannot be a little pregnant.

New World Realities

As time went on, the more various became the appetite of the growing U.S. imperialism until, after World War II, through Truman, it laid claim to "world leadership." The late President Kennedy likewise held forth about "obligations of world leadership." This identity of wording is natural because the striving for world domination is innate in U.S. imperialism. But the methods of imperialist policy vary. For instance, with regard to the national-liberation movement the State Department's policy now is "if you cannot beat them, join them," to which end the United States "anti-colonial traditions" are once again invoked. Chester Bowles, U.S. Ambassador to India, recommends that "we must identify our own self-interests with theirs," that is to say, with the countries which are striving for or have achieved national independence, and that the U.S.A. must "identify itself boldly with the social, economic and political revolution."* And we sometimes see the U.S. delegate in the United Nations voting against Portugal or for condemnation of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. This is done, however, not in pursuance of the anti-colonial tradition but, as Bowles noted, for the United States own self-interests.

But what is the substance of these "self-interests," which in the given case are the interest of U.S. imperialism?

In answering this question a distinction must be drawn between the appetite of U.S. imperialism and the practical possibilities for satisfying it.

Theoretically, U.S. imperialism would have nothing against build-

* Chester Bowles. *The Conscience of a Liberal*, New York, Harper, 1962.

ing a new empire of its own on the ruins of the old empires. Practically, however, this is doomed to remain a pipe-dream, thanks to the irreversible changes in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism, democracy and peace. "We cannot," said President Kennedy, "always impose our will on the other 94 per cent of mankind." Not, mark you, "we do not want to," but "we cannot."

What is it that made such a qualification necessary? The President took into account the existing world realities. Basic here is the fact that the October Revolution of 1917 had ushered in the first socialist state. This was the beginning of a great turn in the tide of history. The socialist state withstood every test. It played a decisive role in the defeat of Hitler's Wehrmacht. This made possible the emergence of other socialist states, the rapid development of the national-liberation movement, the broadening of the fight for democracy and peace in capitalist countries. The President of the United States took all this into account when he said that "we cannot always impose our will on the other 94 per cent of mankind."

The goal of world domination has not been renounced, for the striving towards this goal is inherent in imperialism. But it has been pushed somewhat into the background pending the achievement of other, more immediate, goals.

U.S. Imperialism's True Aims

One of these goals, which has a direct bearing on our subject, is to retain the Asian, African and Latin American countries within the orbit of world capitalism and thereby ensure their continued exploitation by international, and in the first place U.S. monopoly capital.

In 1959 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee gave some research centers the assignment of drawing up, specifying and formulating the strategic aims of U.S. foreign policy. The results of this research were published in 1961. The strategic aim of the U.S.A. with regard to the new national states was defined as influencing these nations to prevent them from going over to the socialist camp.

It is proposed to attain this goal through aid, trade, recommendations for agrarian reforms with a view to promoting capitalism in agriculture, and the creation of conditions favoring the development of capitalist enterprises. But it would be an illusion to think that the big stick has been discarded. Under certain circumstances, U.S. imperialism does not, of course, hesitate to send out the Marines in a modern variant of gunboat diplomacy. At the same time new or relatively new methods are used more and more often. Together with

some old methods that have not yet become completely bankrupt they add up to what is often called the policy of neo-colonialism.

The aims of U.S. neo-colonialism are somewhat different from those of classical colonialism. This is due to the influence exerted by the socialist countries on imperialist policy. Formerly, the colonial empires were concerned with ensuring the necessary conditions for colonial plunder, including direct political suppression. Today, when most of the former colonies have won political independence and are striving for economic independence as well, they are confronted with the problem of what road to take—the capitalist or the non-capitalist. The U.S. policy of neo-colonialism aims primarily to direct the development of these countries along capitalist lines and to ensure that they remain within the orbit of capitalism. With this ultimate aim in view, U.S. imperialism is prepared to make a few concessions in the hope of saving as much as possible now and recouping later.

U.S. neo-colonialist policy is a search for an optimal strategy aimed at consolidating and, possibly, expanding the sphere of capitalism, in which the U.S.A. has its own invisible colonial empire. At times this search borders on experimentation as, for example, in the case of the Alliance for Progress or the Peace Corps.

Officially, U.S. neo-colonialist policy is presented as the defense of "freedom" against the threat of tyranny. According to official Washington doctrine, the global contest is not between two socio-economic systems, not between capitalism and socialism, but between freedom and tyranny. Secretary of State Rusk, for instance, sees the modern historical process as a struggle between "coercion" and "free choice."*

The "freedom-tyranny" formula is arbitrary, explains nothing, and is intended to win sympathy for the "free world" and its self-appointed leader. Freedom is identified with capitalism, which leads in practice to an alliance with Franco, Salazar, Chiang Kai-shek and other similar "sincere democrats," who are ranked among the champions of freedom.

The official explanations of the principles guiding U.S. foreign policy obviously belong in the realm of empty rhetoric and cannot be taken seriously. They cannot, for example, explain United States support to Latin American tyrants. The only element common to all the twists and turns of U.S. foreign policy is the principle of imperialist gain, sometimes not immediate but ultimate.

This is a key to some of the neo-colonialist methods, which at first glance seem to have a veneer of altruism.

* Dean Rusk, *The Winds of Freedom*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1963.

Financial Penetration of Africa

Let us now cross the Atlantic and see what is happening "on the other side of the water."

One of the consequences of the collapse of the colonial system in Africa was the opening of new opportunities for U.S. imperialist penetration into the Black Continent. The political and philosophical justification advanced for this intensified penetration was that it was necessary to fill the African vacuum before communism filled it. But the United States was out to extend its own invisible colonial empire through economic enslavement of independent countries. The situation became propitious when the flags of the old imperialist rulers were run down. It became possible, in particular, to assume the traditional pose of champion of freedom, make eloquent speeches of welcome and stretch out the hand of friendship, thus laying a psychological barrage in order to pave the way for infiltration. In 1959, Richard Nixon, then U.S. Vice-President, said that the crisis of colonial policy in Africa gave the U.S.A. an opportunity to increase its influence there.

Candor of this kind is usually accompanied by the old bogey of the "communist threat." Anti-communism is becoming the basic ideological and political weapon of modern colonialism. First slander and distortion is used to develop in the masses a conditioned negative reflex to the very word "communism." The sinister image thus created is then invoked on every possible occasion in order to split the national forces, to immunize the masses against socialist ideas and to isolate the new states from the socialist countries.

Although U.S. neo-colonialist policy in Africa takes many forms, fundamentally it differs little from the forms it assumes elsewhere.

U.S. private investments in Africa increased from \$287,000,000 in 1950 to \$925,000,000 in 1960, mainly due to investment in South Africa, where foreign and local capital jointly exploit the Negro population. This important detail makes it possible to foresee what U.S. long-range policy will be in this continent. "One also wonders what will happen to American investment in the Republic of South Africa, where our largest private investments in the whole continent are found, when the long-expected political explosion finally comes," Professor Vernon McKay, Chairman of the State Department's African Affairs Advisory Committee, says in his book *Africa in World Politics* (New York, Harper, 1963). He has good reason to wonder.

According to the U.S. periodical *New Republic*, U.S. investments in the Republic of South Africa are considerably greater than in any

other African country. Most of this money is in gold and diamond mines, but lately increased activity has been shown by the 160 American firms entrenched in the R.S.A. Among them are General Motors, Ford, General Electric, Proctor and Gamble, Westinghouse and other well-known monopolies. They are pocketing a profit of 27 per cent annually. Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange, was no doubt expressing the sentiments of these companies when he declared: "The entire Western world and all the free nations, whose two outstanding leaders are South Africa and the United States, must in future work closer together." "The United States continue to support the racist policy of the Republic of South Africa," states the petition of the American African Affairs Committee handed to the U.S. representative at the U.N. at the end of last year for delivery to the President. The petition had 8,000 signatures.

The interests of U.S. imperialism frequently collide with those of the old colonial powers—Britain, France, Portugal and Belgium, all of which still have a foothold in Africa—and also with the interests of the dynamic neo-colonialism of West Germany. All this gives rise to sharp inter-imperialist contradictions. Complicated political situations, as in the Congo, for example, may develop as a result, but they can be sorted out if the inter-imperialist contradictions and also the possibility of group or collective colonialism—a tactical ganging-up of imperialists—are borne in mind.

U.S. Neo-Colonialist Maneuvers

After many centuries of colonial plunder the people of Africa are seeking new answers to their problems. Most Africans have come to the conclusion that capitalism is not the way to national salvation.

Aware that their professions of anti-colonialism are hardly credible, the U.S. imperialists prefer to stay in the background and let others do the dirty work in the newly emerged countries.

In a book entitled *Africa and the West* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1962) a certain Arnold Rivkin of the International Research Center at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recommends that the U.S.A. should aid the African countries not openly but secretly, through some international agency set up for this purpose. "The new African states and their leaders," he writes, "are likely to be sensitive to any charge, no matter how groundless, of changing one colonial master for another, and would more readily request and accept aid from the United States in a multilateral setting." Rivkin believes that in the last resort aid could be given through Israel.

Another example of neo-colonialist maneuvering is the bribing of

trade unions in Africa and Latin America. This is done, for example, in British Guiana, where the trade union leaders are acting in concert with U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries.

In 1962, the then Under-Secretary of Labor George C. Lodge published a book entitled *Spearheads of Democracy—Labor Unions in the Developing Countries* (New York, Harper, 1962). This is a collection of recipes for the utilization of African trade unions in the interests of U.S. imperialism. It urges government leaders, employers and trade unions to perceive "the importance of organizations of workers in the developing world to the fulfilment of U.S. foreign policy."

The U.S. trade unions themselves are active in the new states. In 1959-62, the "international expenditures" of the AFL-CIO amounted to \$1,500,000 or 8 per cent of that federation's annual income. Huge sums are being spent on shady undertakings by individual trade unions as well. For example, in the past three years the "international expenses" of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union added up to over \$1,000,000. The executive of the United Automobile Workers allocated \$1,500,000 for the same purposes.

Another example of voluntary assistance to the State Department is the overseas initiative of numerous private organizations in the U.S.A.

Many of them are active in Africa. They include 233 firms, 203 missionary agencies and 173 educational, philanthropic and civil agencies. In the report on these organizations published by the State Department in August 1961, it is admitted that some of their activities are aimed directly at bringing pressure to bear on the governments. The Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford foundations have allocated millions of dollars for their African programs.

A special instance of indirect penetration is the voluntary Peace Corps.

In the course of two years Peace Corps volunteers established themselves in 46 countries. Latin America is getting the main attention. By August 1964 the Peace Corps will have 11,300 volunteers. The assistance they render to the local population is an additional assignment designed to facilitate the fulfilment of their principal mission, that of creating favorable public opinion towards the U.S. system of free enterprise. Sargent Shriver, Peace Corps director, made a show of modesty a necessary criterion of the professional suitability of his subordinates, whom he requires to demonstrate to the peoples of poverty-ridden countries that material advantages have not become the chief and inalienable portion of American life.

Some Peace Corps volunteers are undoubtedly guided by the noble

motive of serving their fellow men. Their organizers skilfully appeal to the enthusiasm and idealism of youth. In many cases, however, these people quickly realize that they might have been more useful at home where there is no end of work to be done. In a letter to *Newsweek*, Robert Zimmerman, a Peace Corps volunteer in the Philippines, said: ". . . The Peace Corps is a way for Americans to present a better face to the world. At best, I find myself begging people to be tolerant of America . . . Now I can understand why Asians are so skeptical of American 'good intentions.' After 100 years of freedom on paper, the American Negro is only beginning to taste his freedom in reality . . . I only hope my countrymen are not under the illusion that their ambassadors, or even several thousand Peace Corps volunteers, can really explain what is happening in America. A million volunteers cannot wipe clean the slate . . . I can no longer feel proud of being an American. I am truly ashamed, and any words I utter only seem futile."

The comments in the local press show its scepticism about the aims of the Peace Corps.

The newspaper *Al Moukafih* of Morocco calls the volunteers missionaries of imperialism. *The Ghanaian Times* states that the Peace Corps was not set up in the interests of the African continent and must therefore leave it at once. In its opinion, War Corps would be the most appropriate name for all these organizations, because the activity of most of the Peace Corps volunteers does not in any way accord with peaceful purposes. The Mexican periodical *Politica* suggested changing the name to Spy Corps. The Indonesia newspaper *Warta Berita* characterizes it as an agency of the U.S. neo-colonialists. The verbiage about the philanthropic and humane nature of the Peace Corps is a lie from beginning to end, writes *Delhi Times*.

Sharply but with full justification the Nigerian newspaper *Daily Telegraph* suggested that the doctor should first heal himself. After the assassination of President Kennedy it asked two questions:

First question: If law and order is violated so often in the U.S.A. itself, why should the Peace Corps be in Africa and other parts of the world? Wouldn't it be better for these young people to go home and bring about peace and order first in the U.S.A.?

Second question: What is the Moral Rearmament mission doing in Africa when there are no morals in the U.S.A.? Shouldn't we recommend the closure of all Moral Rearmament centers and missions in view of the fact that they have shown themselves to be worthless?

But we are living in a different epoch. Today it is no longer the imperialist but the socialist countries that play the decisive role in the international arena. A group of countries that has chosen positive neutrality as a principle of foreign policy has emerged and is now growing larger and gathering strength. The progressive forces of the peoples have united and gained strength in the course of their struggle to consolidate peace, avert war and achieve disarmament. All these changes have created favorable conditions for the development not only of armed but also of peaceful forms of struggle by the colonial peoples for their liberation and independent sovereign statehood.

It goes without saying that vigilance with regard to the military intrigues of the imperialists is an essential condition for success.

Another consideration to be borne in mind is that although U.S. imperialism is a world policeman and the chief enemy of the peoples, it is not the only enemy. The old colonial powers are not leaving the stage and are laying claim to leading roles. Vigilance against their intrigues remains a condition of the success of the struggle against neo-colonialism. It is imperative to keep in sight both the new and the old enemies, the possibility of an alliance between them, and the contradictions that are a permanent feature of the imperialist pack of wolves.

The struggle against U.S. neo-colonialism is part of the common struggle of the peoples against the odious imperialist system. By adopting correct tactics we can substantially shorten this struggle.

The Negro people's movement is today's standard bearer in the struggle to open up the now-restricted areas of democracy. It is the decisive strategic ally of the working class in the current struggles for liberty and livelihood and in all stages that lead to the subsequent achievement of the necessary fundamental transformation of American society from the present capitalist exploitative system to that of socialism. To cement the Negro-labor alliance now through powerful mass struggles for Negro rights, is to lay the cornerstone for those broad anti-monopoly groupings of labor and people's forces on which the progressive future of our country depends.

Resolution, 17th National Convention, CPUSA

IDEAS IN OUR TIME

Herbert Aptheker

Dr. Du Bois on "The Joy of Living"

On February 23, 1868, in the green Berkshires of Massachusetts, a son was born to Alfred Du Bois and Mary Burghardt Du Bois. Upon their first and only child, the parents bestowed the rather formidable name of William Edward Burghardt; thus in a New England farmhouse less than five years after Lincoln's murder, the greatest American of his century appeared.

Were our Comrade still with us, the world would celebrate this month, then, his ninety-seventh birthday; alas, not quite two years ago he died in Ghana's capital and now the most illustrious son of Africa and America lies buried there facing the sea. Our comrade is as immortal as that sea; his depth, energy and inner tempestuousness were greater.

He had such pride; in himself, in his people; in Man. And within a somewhat formal exterior—he had been hurt so often—there burned a love for the sufferers and a hatred for the defilers that glowed not only for his beautiful nine and a half decades of life, but will glow forever.

Among the monumental collection of his papers there is the text of one of his speeches—hitherto unpublished—that I want now to share with the readers of this magazine—the magazine of that Party which he proudly joined four years ago. I am not yet fully certain of all the circumstances surrounding the speech. The manuscript is typed but contains many pencilled notations and corrections. The date is certain, for in the upper left-hand corner, written in his hand in pencil it is still possible to discern "1904." Furthermore, in the text itself the date is stated. This is a fateful year: Du Bois' great *Souls of Black Folk* had appeared in 1903, and the organized resistance to finance-monopoly's efforts to fasten irrevocably its chains upon the South and to keep forever subjugated the Negro masses, known as the Niagara Movement, was founded by Du Bois in 1905.

The context makes perfectly clear that the speech was delivered at a public school — probably a high-school — in the city of Washington; it is likely that this occurred at the graduation ceremonies.

But there is no compelling reason to keep from the light of publication this address simply because as of now not every detail surrounding its delivery is known.

This speech does show Du Bois' passion for education; it shows, too, his tenderness and his supreme confidence. Further, as was characteristic of him through his life and upon all occasions, it shows the infinite pains he took with his work; this speech to youngsters is as arduously worked over and shaped and re-shaped as later addresses to be delivered to Presidents in the role of Minister Plenipotentiary or to distinguished audiences upon accepting some great distinction or award. It shows, also, his superb courage.

Here, then, is Dr. Edward Burghardt Du Bois talking to Negro children some sixty years ago about

THE JOY OF LIVING*

Not long ago a woman came to me from a far journey, worn with travel, weary, and bitter in thought. And she said as we sat at meat: How can you be glad to live—what is the use of life for us? In the long weeks that have gone since then the answer to this heart cry has gathered itself in my mind until it has impelled me to speak and bring to you young men and women in the days of your youth a message on the Joy of Living lest when the shadows come, you may not know where to seek the sunshine.

Once upon a time a youth stood in a vast arena before a cloud of faces. The world was full two thousand years younger than now and amid the towering mountains of the blue Mediterranean this young Greek stood poised for the running in the wonderful Olympic games. His head was high—his muscles tense, the blood was throbbing in his veins and in his eyes leapt the light of life—the glory of conquest, the Joy of Living. And if back through the long years we could stretch out our hand and touch the round, full shoulder of this young athlete and ask him the Everlasting Why—What do you think he would say? Why are you happy? What gives the Zest to life and makes it worth the while? If we could ask him thus would he not lift his brown eyes up in wonder pointing thru where the sea glistened like a thousand gems amid the wild waters of the Aegean and there where the mountain towered titanic to keep its awful vigil over the sea: "See," he would say, "the Earth and Sea, the strength of these young arms,

* The text herewith published is the full text of the original; it is published as in the original, including all italics, and all pencilled corrections as made by the Doctor. Typographical errors are corrected.

the beckoning mystery of life, the beauty of picture and song, and the loved faces of my friends who sit to watch me win—this is life and the joy of living."

Since that brave answer, my brothers and my little sisters, for twice a thousand times the world has whirled its back against the sun and yet tonight and here stands that answer just as staunchly true? Is not life tonight rich with its heritage of a wonderful land to dwell upon, the physical health and strength to enjoy it, books and knowledge to solve the world's mystery, Beauty of music and forms, and, above all, the love and inspiration of friends?

* * *

Once upon a time a thousand years ago, a mighty host was marshalled on the hot hills of Syria. Their splendid armor glittered in the sunlight, their swords flashed, and the fury of battle trembled in their very horses' limbs. In front upon a snow white steed sat the leader—with stern drawn face and flashing eyes. And as the swift enemy flew in sight, his face shone transfigured with the Joy of Strife and he lifted his sword on high.

If we could have touched the sinews of that strong hand and whispered: "Whence comes the Joy that lights your face in this supreme hour of life?"—What would have been his answer? He would have said: "Life is a goodly thing—the lillies of my France watch over a wondrous land, the blood of my veins is the blood of kings—the thirst of my soul is for the knowledge of life, for the love of the beautiful and the service of my friends—but over all the goodliness of life lie its shadows—the shadow of death and of evil—the evil of ugliness, the sin of ignorance and the hatred of enemies and lo, this day will I smite mine enemies that they die and the shadows lift themselves from off the land." So the battle raged this day and beneath the burning sun came the cursing of men, the breaking of bones, and the spurting of hot red blood.

In that answer there was truth a thousand years ago and there is truth today. A hundred years and all this teeming palpitating life of ours will be silent in death. Fifty years and evil will have carved its grim epitaph on these young faces; twenty-five years and the vast fear of eternal ignorance will have frozen in many of you the zest of knowing, ten years and the sound of singing will strike the hills in silence and in minors, and even tomorrow this little band of friends which calls itself the class of 1904 will begin that everlasting parting which is the essence of life and the shadow of death.

So stretches the path of life before you young men and women gleaming above and beyond with unspeakable radiance of its pos-

sibilities—the verdure of earth, the Joy of sense, the quickening of knowledge, the echo of song and the inspiration of human companionship—gleaming above and beyond with all this, and yet carpeted softly, carpeted in shadows—thick clinging shadows that shut out the sun and dull the senses and deafen and hush the voices in eternal sleep.

From the streaming sunshine of the first fair morning when God gave this riddle of life to men they have sought to return two answers to its sunshine and shadow: the one, to make life all sunshine without shadow, the other to make it shadow without sunshine. These tempting answers will come to you young men and women—the temptation to drain to its dregs and quickly the cup of life and then take its evils as they come. This is the life of dissipation and it has peculiar allurements to the young and strong. It makes the years from 15 to 25 the days of the Crisis of Life. Here it is that the great army of criminals are made, here start that haunting band of drunkards and prostitutes that shame civilization, and here it is that the hopes of races and nations are made and blighted. And so we call these years the Years of Commencement and we take young souls apart, with festival and song, and look into their clear eyes and say:

Be careful

Be brave

Be strong

Life is not all enjoyment

Be temperate in all thing, lest the
pleasure of the moment mar the happiness of long years.

And then in our anxiety we glide into that other answer to the riddle of life—the answer that emphasizes the shadows. This latter way of looking at life varies with time and temperament—some time it is sheer despair:

Vanity of vanities,

Vanity of vanities

All is vanity

it cries and sinks lifeless at the very sight of life. At other time and especially today it takes a far more subtle and more dangerous turn, and it is against this way of viewing life that I have come especially to warn you: it consists in an exaggerated faith in evil and wrong and death, a distrust of every thing high and generous and a curious belief that the shadows of life can never be lessened save by policy

and craft and selfishness; that we must accept the evil of life at its face value, bow down before it and worship and succeed by using it and not by conquering it.

This is the cynical practical religion of success today. The glory of God's sunsets are worth nothing to it for sunsets pay no dividends. The strength and aspiration of youth is rated in cotton and potatoes. And knowledge and beauty and friends belong to the unnecessary embellishments of life and are not Life itself.

You who stand today at the threshold of life will soon be told if you have not heard it already—that the object of life is to make two bushels of wheat instead of one; that the world measures men by the amount of money they have and that the sole and sufficient object of work is wealth. My children, never believe this tale. It is a lie and sprung from the father of lies.

Wheat is not the object of life but the human souls which wheat nourishes and whenever the digging of grain and weaving of cloth kills souls instead of curing them, then are wheat and cloth *evil* and not *good*, for *man* is the measure of industry and not industry the measure of man. Look at the history of human life—who are the men before whom the world with one accord has bowed: Socrates, Seneca, Luther and Horace Mann, John Brown and Jesus Christ—poor men, paupers if you will, but *men*. And if perchance here and there a great man has been rich like Lorenzo de Medici or George Peabody, it was the greatness of soul and not the riches that men honored—the man and not his millions.

And forsooth here today in America what is it we need: do our banks need money or *honesty*; is our commercial credit built on cash or *integrity*; shall our farmers be rich or *moral*; shall we feed our infants to the public schools or to the *factory*? Is it bales of cotton or souls of men that measure the true prosperity of the south?

But you murmur: shall we decry industry and ridicule thrift and neglect to strive for the food that feeds us and the clothes that cover us? Listen: What is Life? It is earth and air, health and appetite, books and knowledge, picture and song, and Friends. And why can we not enjoy these wonderful things unhindered and unlet—because of Death and Evil, Ugliness and Ignorance and because of the Enemy.

What then is worth striving for? Anything and all that makes Earth and life more beautiful, that strengthens the body to enjoy it, that opens the mind to know it, and that binds together human hearts—*all this*, but this is not *all*—anything that *lessens* the sorrow of death, and the strain of sickness, that beats back the prejudices of ignorance and the ignorance of beauty, and that joins the souls of them that

knew not each other before—all this is life—the essence and heart of life.

Now there comes a time when the enemies of men are so fierce and the counsels of peace so fruitless, that fighting, blood and war alone can save men from death. Then it is that men glorify the warrior—they sing of his sinew and his prowess, and *is it* strange that generations should grow up regarding *War* as the one object of life? Or again, the cold of winter, the heat of summer, the mad drought or the rushing rain destroy and ruin, poverty and hunger stare men in the face and they must plant and dig to live. Thereupon generations grew up worshipping potatoes and corn and wool, dreaming that wealth is the sole object of life. Or again the enemy becomes so strong and insolent that he must be met by wiles and lies, by double-tongued duplicity and cajolry and men raise and proclaim the Gospel of Graft and Policy as the Way of Life.

But no, all these are short-sighted and wrong—to increase the sunshine of life and beat back its shadows, this is the object of human living and all else is but the means and not the end of living.

* * *

But how may this be done? Not by ignoring the evil of life and seeking to revel simply in its sunshine—this leads to debauchery and dissipation. Not by ignoring the sunshine and reducing life to a battle with evil and death when craft and cunning alone can prevail and where men who aim higher than their bellies are called fools.

No. The true joy of living dwells in that Higher Life, that sitting above both sunshine and shadow, that* values them at their true worth and strives to wind them to his will. In that higher life, my friends, there are three things: Work and Love and Sacrifice—these three—but the greatest of these is Sacrifice.

Hell is the place where people are idle—nothing to do and nothing worth the doing. And from that end God save us all. Work is the glory of man—in sweat of brow, and weariness of flesh, in ache of brain and gasp of heart, to stand at last in the shrouded presence of Death with a body scarred and stricken in the service of Life, wreathed in the Eternal sunshine that breathes above the shadows—this is life and the joy of living.

But work is not simply for work's sake—not simply for wealth, not simply for aimless doing. It must be inspired by one vast ideal

and the great ideal of life is love—not simply the narrower love of family and children but that broad and infinite sympathy with the joys and sorrows of your fellow men, that large-hearted generosity which makes the sorrow of every man part of your sorrow, the joy of every child a part of your joy and which sees behind the narrowness and prejudice and evil of wavering human life the soul-beauty of infinite possibility and endless development. This is that larger love which must inspire all work if the work be worth the doing.

And it does inspire work far more than we dream. The true artisan toils deftly and wearily—not for his pay, not merely for joy of doing but for the worth of his work to his struggling fellows. Creating, he looks upon his work and cries some Sunday—not it is costly or it is done but it is good—good for life, good for men, good for this shadowy world. The true railway president works not for his large salary but for a road that will carry goods and men safely and well. And so through this *love of men* is the transforming elixir that makes *all the difference* between work and drudgery, Heaven and Hell; that writes with Sappho into the song of the world's songs:

My soul was hot wine of Love
and my Song's Sound
the Sound thereof
The Sound of the delight of it.

But this is not all. Hard and thoughtful toil inspired by large sympathy with your fellow men and infinite patience with their sorrows and difficulties will soon bring you face to face with the greatest thing in life—Sacrifice. I do not mean by sacrifice, aimless renunciation—I do not mean the giving up the Joys of Life simply for the sake of the discipline. But I mean a plain practical facing of this fact that in order that there shall be the largest sum of joy in the world it is often necessary for *you* to give up some of *your* personal pleasures. It is not always thus necessary, and to give up the joy of the world to no purpose is a sinful thing. But often the beauty of the city may call for the destruction of your front yard, the health of the family may call for overwork from you, the demands of knowledge and science may call for all your time and money; they that have given the world its sweetest songs have given them often at the cost of hunger and destitution, and how many times have men given a life for a friend?

This highest sacrifice of life is not often asked but when it comes, it comes, without Why or Wherefore —

* One word is not clear in the manuscript; we have inserted "that."

Tho' love repine and reason chafe
 There came a Voice without reply
 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
 When for the Truth
 He ought to die.

We cannot argue over such sacrifice, we cannot hesitate. We can only fold our hands and hide our faces before the presence of the Lord crying with that heart wail of Faust:

"Selig der den er in Siegesglanze Findet"
 "Happy man whom Death shall find in victorious splendor"

* * *

Most of the sacrifices of life are little things in themselves—they entail but small discomfort to you and yet they make thousands happier and healthier and better. You have then before you this one rule of life: not simply my Joy but the Joy of the world. It is simply reasonable that living as I do in a world of men, I should seek the highest joy of that world. I should try and make the earth a beautiful place for them and for me. I should try to keep their bodies and my body in the fullness of health and strength that we may enjoy the world about us and within. They and I ought to think the thoughts of other men and know the knowledge of the world. We ought to view and enjoy the beauty of picture and song and about all and through all we should let like souls seek like, to think and dream of the way of Life—All this we should do and more—for if at any time my personal convenience or happiness or even Life stand in the way of the larger Joy of the world—who am I that I shall stand in the sunshine of a friend, a race, a nation or a world.

Little children: this is not the doctrine you will hear preached in the world: tomorrow morning men will tell you that God helps them that help themselves, that you must paddle your own canoe, that in this world each man is for himself and the devil take the hindmost. And yet such sayings mirror the falsest view of human life that selfish men ever uttered.

Look! Yonder lie ten million human beings writhing in sorrow and disappointment, bending beneath insult and hatred, choked with the blood and dust of battle. What do they need? They need you! They need your *Work*. The work of your hands, trained, skillful and efficient; the work of your heads, sane in thought and knowledge. But will work

alone and the fruits of work save them? Never! Only that work that is inspired by Love for these people—the work of hearts that sympathize and feel for them because they are flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone.

Nor is that all. This race calls for personal sacrifice—the sacrifice of position, of income, of social prestige, even of life itself for the sake of the larger welfare of a mighty people. If this race can command such loving work and far-seeking sacrifice there is not the slightest doubt of their destiny. The majority of mankind are colored, the fairest portions of the earth are under their feet, and the marvelous spectacle before the world today is the fear of the darker races—not fear of their *retrogression* but fear of their *advance*. And the selfish and unmanly narrowness of those ruling races who seek to narrow the opportunities before the backward instead of widening them—this is the vastest shadow over your pathway of life—but a shadow you shall not shrink from but dispel like mists before the sun.

And yet do not present it is not there, do not seek to ignore it; study and know it. Know that today in this land of freedom of opportunity, there are men who are afraid that we will know too much, wield too much power and aspire to too great position; that therefore they are seeking to cut down the opportunities of education, curtail the right to vote and draw imaginary lines of race and color around the world.

Unless you young men and women consent to this, it is absolutely futile work. No race of ten million can be forced into ignorant toil; or kept voiceless in their own defense; or submit to be tied hand and foot by prejudice, unless the trained leaders of that race are bribed or threatened or cajoled into false humility, self-effacement and self-deception.

Unless then you who are trained and armed for the battle of life are false to your race, your nation and your God, you will live to see Negro high schools and colleges dotting the land, the right and justice of Negro suffrage undisputed and the divine right of human aspiration unchallenged thru the length and breadth of this land.

But if you waver, if cowardice leads you to lick the hands that smite you, to sit in dumb silence when the very stones are crying out, to blaspheme against your mother race simply because the powers that be, love blasphemy—then woe to you, wayward children, for the Joy of Life is fled from you and the shadow of eternal death sits singing in your hearts.

And so to you, my brothers and my little sisters we tonight with the voice of ten millions are stretching our arms crying

Awake, put on thy strength
 Put on thy beautiful garments
 Shake thyself from the dust
 Arise and sit down, O Jerusalem
 Loose thyself from the bands of thy neck
 O captive daughters of Zion.

Loose yourselves from that dark shadow that is creeping over these Negro public schools of Washington and seeking to degrade and cheapen them, and cut down those very courses of study thru which you have come, and to train black boys and girls forever to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the cowardly people who seek to shackle on minds as they shackled on hands yesterday.

Loose yourselves from that great temptation to curse and malign your own people and surrender their rights for the sake of applause and popularity and cash. Loose yourselves from all this and standing in the greater sunshine, work and sacrifice for sake of this ancient Mother Race which has come up out of the house of bondage scarred and stricken but shining in Truth and Justice and Mercy. The fullness of all earth's joy be in your heart, my children, on that day when you whisper into dark ears:

Thy sun shall no more go down
 Neither shall thy moon withdraw itself
 For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light
 And the days of thy . . . mourning shall be ended.

* * *

January 9, 1965

An overflow and enthusiastic gathering at the Statler Hilton Hotel in New York City, on January 15, 1965, paid tribute to the venerable fighter and publisher of Marxist-Leninist works, Alexander Trachtenberg on his 80th birthday, and the 40th Anniversary of International Publishers, which he founded in 1924. The March issue of *Political Affairs* will deal further with this memorable occasion.

"Consciencism": Philosophy of Our Revolution*

Africa needs a philosophy which will be both a rational exposition of her past experiences and an intellectual stimulus to her renaissance. Should Africa seek this in the wholesale, indiscriminate importation of foreign ideologies? Or should Africa turn back on world knowledge in a sort of philosophical isolationism? The first alternative is undesirable because a living philosophy which seeks to explain man's experience and provide a rational guide to his actions must reflect and explain the social milieu in which man finds himself. The second alternative is impossible because, in the final analysis, human knowledge belongs to one world pool and, in any case, Africa, for the past centuries, has become so influenced by various strands of civilization and culture that she just cannot now cut herself adrift.

Africa must evolve a philosophy that can provide the intellectual cohesion we so urgently need. Such philosophy must rationalize and harmonize the dominant intellectual strands in Africa's historical experience, re-instate what was noble and elevating in traditional African society and have itself firmly linked with the common pool of world knowledge. The need is for a new philosophical synthesis which is both general and specific: General, because its intellectual roots can be traced to the common pool of world knowledge. Specific, because it grows out of and seeks to explain and guide the African social milieu.

This new synthesis is philosophical consciencism which is the subject matter of a new book by Kwame Nkrumah just published. . . **

Philosophical consciencism upholds the ideology of socialism. Its social milieu is Africa but its application is universal to all dependent countries or emerging nations. Its foundation is materialism impregnated with egalitarianism and an ethical view of man. Its approaches

* This article, taken from the Ghanaian newspaper, *The Spark*, March 26, 1964, deals with socialist thought as developed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. We present it, in somewhat condensed form, for the information of our readers.

** Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with particular reference to the African Revolution* (London, 1964, Heineman).

are positive and its methods are dialectical. It is both revolutionary and evolutionary in content, revolutionary if juxtaposed with colonialism and capitalism from which it recoils; evolutionary if considered in relation to the traditional African society whose guiding principles of egalitarianism and the concern of all for each it seeks to re-assert and enthrone. . . .

In the first place, Nkrumah sees philosophy as having both a social setting and a social mission. Philosophy, to him, is not just the idle prattle of learned men the sole purpose of which is to sharpen the intellect through an application of formal logic to a few abstractions. Any philosophy worth its salt arises as a reflection of a particular social environment. And its purpose is either a modification or a confirmation of that social environment. "Social milieu affects the content of philosophy and the content of philosophy seeks to affect social milieu, either by confirming it or by opposing it." In this conception of the origin and purpose of philosophy, Kwame Nkrumah has thrown his weight behind a school of thought which goes back to Anaximander and Heraclitus but reaches its fullest development in Marx. . . .

New Conception of African History

The other idea basic to Nkrumah's thinking is a new conception of African history. He rejects, in its entirety, that view which regards African history "as the story of European adventures." This distorted viewpoint cuts Africa off centuries of her glorious past. And it makes it look as if Africa was a historical vacuum until the time of Vasco De Gama, Mungo Park and the piratical horde of European adventurers.

Kwame Nkrumah asserts that African history existed for a very long time before the impact first of Near Eastern-Islamic culture and later of Euro-Christian culture. Each of these civilizations brought its own social, economic and political beliefs and organizations. While Islamic civilization, through the Jihad or religious war, brought in its wake the slave society which evolved into feudalism, Euro-Christian civilization was the vehicle for Western industrialism which manifested itself in imperialism in the forms both of colonialism and neo-colonialism. After centuries of struggle with these alien civilizations, traditional Africa is re-discovering itself in the new independent states of Africa.

By this richer and fuller view of history, both the Islamic and Euro-Christian civilization are treated as "experiences" of African history. "African society must be treated as enjoying its own integrity; its history must be a mirror of that society, and the European contact

must find its place in this history only as an experience, even if a crucial one. . . ."

It is very helpful to point out at this juncture that Dr. Nkrumah also rejects the narrow view which thinks that African society can simply shed the impact of foreign civilization on it and return smugly to the "pure" African society of old. Such an escapism he sees clearly as impossible and unreal. For "our society is not the old society, but a *new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences.*"

The restitution of African society simply cannot be achieved through a hankering after the economic and political *forms* of traditional Africa. It must be sought by way of a new "harmony" that will allow for the presence of Islamic and Euro-Christian influence "so that this presence is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying African Society."

Re-Discovery of Socialism

From this viewpoint, socialism becomes a re-discovery, in modern terms, of that communalism which is the bedrock of traditional African society. This communalism manifested itself in equalitarianism and the "responsibility of many for one." Accordingly, "socialism can be and is the defense of the principles of communalism in a modern setting."

This dialectical conception of African history and African society leads logically to two conclusions. First, the exploiting society with antagonistic classes—and slavery, feudalism and capitalism are mere variations on this central theme of class exploitation—is alien to traditional African society and a complete break from it. The second conclusion is that socialism and traditional African society can be seen as having a common ideological lineage.

May we now briefly examine aspects of the new philosophy. Its starting point is that "in every society there is to be found an ideology" explicit or implicit. This ideology defines "the desirable society. . . ."

Philosophical consciencism regards socialism as the definition of "the desirable society" in Africa. It then sets out to provide the "theoretical basis" for the ideology of socialism in Africa. Accordingly, philosophical consciencism is the intellectual instrument of socialism in Africa.

Why is philosophical consciencism necessary? With the return of political independence to the greater part of Africa, "three broad features" have stamped themselves on our life. "African society has one segment which comprises our traditional way of life; it has a second segment which is filled by the presence of the Islamic tradi-

tion in Africa; it has a final segment which represents the infiltration of the Christian tradition and culture of Western Europe into Africa, using colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles. These different segments are animated by competing ideologies. But since society implies a certain dynamic unity, there needs to emerge an ideology which, genuinely catering to the needs of all, will take the place of the competing ideologies, and so reflect the dynamic unity of society, and be the guide to society's continual progress. . . ."

Different Systems

Such a synthesis will permit dynamic growth to replace the present state of ideological attrition with its consequent dissipation of energy, its stagnation or very slow rate of progress. It will provide an intellectual fortification for African unity which everyday experience has demonstrated to be an indispensable condition for real progress and advancement on this continent.

And such a philosophical synthesis is consciencism.

It is useful at this stage to make the point that philosophical consciencism treats Islamic Middle East and the Christian West European traditions as experiences of traditional African society. These influences are not the original foundations of African society even though their impact is profound. There was a traditional African society which, through history, came to be greatly influenced by the incursions of both the Islamic and the Christian civilizations.

The traditional African society was based on egalitarianism and humanism. In other words, it regarded men as equal; it saw man as an end and not as a means; it enjoined the concern of all for each. This system has for several centuries been overrun by both Islamic Arabic culture and Christian technological civilization. The result is three Africas—traditional Africa as the base on which stands accretions of Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa. . . .

The cardinal principles of philosophical consciencism can now be summarized. Firstly, it asserts the absolute and independent existence of matter which it defines as "a plenum of forces in tension." Secondly, because it is a plenum of forces in tension matter is capable of spontaneous self-motion. Thirdly, the motion of matter is not merely unilinear. It is both quantitative and qualitative. Hence the motion of matter is dialectical. Fourthly, both mind and body (spirit and matter) exist but matter is primary. Between these two there is interaction which is achieved by way of "categorical conversion."

Having chosen its tools for intellectual analysis, philosophical consciencism goes on to assert that knowledge is acquired through

practice and enriched by constant observation and study of an environment. ". . . philosophical consciencism builds itself by becoming a reflection of the objectivity, in conceptual terms, of the unfolding of matter."

However, this connection between knowledge and action is not mechanistic. It reflects matter but impregnates this reflection with ethical rules. For as long as materialism supports egalitarianism on the social plane, then it touches on ethics. "Egalitarianism is not only political but also ethical; for it implies a certain range of human conduct which is alone acceptable to it."

We are however warned that consciencism "cannot freeze its ethical rules with changelessness" even though these rules issue from an objective study of matter. To it, "ethical rules are not permanent but depend on the stage reached in the historical evolution of a society." But whatever that stage may be and whatever forms ethical rules may take the "cardinal principles of egalitarianism are conserved."

The Cardinal Principle

Philosophical consciencism has accordingly built its own moral or ethical theory. Once we accept egalitarianism which drives directly from materialism, then it follows that each man must be treated as an end in himself and not just as a tool or a means to an end. "The cardinal ethical principle of philosophical consciencism is to treat each man as an end in himself and not merely as a means. This is fundamental to all socialist or humanist conceptions of man. . . ."

Political consciencism is an absolute revolt against colonialism, imperialism and capitalism. It sees capitalism as "domestic colonialism," and launches a devastating attack on the system. It terms capitalism "the gentleman's method of slavery" which in essence, though not in form, is the lineal descendant of the slave society and of feudalism. It maintains that "capitalism is unjust"; that it is "alien" to Africa; that in newly emergent Africa it is "too complicated to be workable." Therefore, it contends, "capitalism would be a betrayal of the personality and conscience of Africa."

Political consciencism upholds socialism. Even though historically it has appeared on the human scene after capitalism, socialism is not a development from capitalism.

"Rather it stands for the negation of that very principle wherein capitalism has its being, lives, and thrives, that principle which unites capitalism with slavery and feudalism," namely exploitation.

Then we are given the historic and life-giving concept that socialism

is in line with the traditional African society. "If one seeks the social-political ancestor of socialism, one must go to communalism. Socialism stands to communalism as capitalism stands to slavery."

But socialism is not merely communalism restated. "In socialism, the principles underlying communalism are given expression in modern circumstances. Thus, whereas communalism in an untechnical society can be *laissez faire*, in a technical society when sophisticated means of production are at hand, if the underlying principles of communalism are not given centralized and correlated expression, class cleavages will arise, which are connected with economic disparities, and thereby with political inequalities. Socialism, therefore, can be and is the defense of the principles of communalism in a modern setting. Socialism is a form of social organization which, guided by the principles underlying communalism, adopts procedures and measures made necessary by demographic and technological developments."

Socialism

This is perhaps the greatest contribution of consciencism to political philosophy in emergent Africa. For it establishes in a logical and rational manner the link between the essence of socialism and the quintessence of traditional African life. It thereby saves us from the dangerous intellectual vulgarization which reflects in what is called "African socialism." Those who use the term "African socialism" because they seek socialism with a distinctly African setting are now provided with an unambiguous platform—philosophical consciencism. Those others who sought to use "African socialism" as a cloak for pushing reactionary imperialist concepts in Africa now stand isolated and exposed.

The basis of political action under consciencism is to maximize positive action. In every society, more so in a colonial and semi-dependent society, there are both positive and negative action. While positive action is progressive and forward impelling, negative action is reactionary and backward looking. These forces can be measured through a "statistical analysis . . . of such facts as production, distribution, income, etc."

The balance existing at any time between these two sets of forces defines the character of the society under consideration. It is this basic conflict of opposites which is the main motive force in society.

"There is a fundamental law of the evolution of matter to higher forms. This evolution is dialectical. And it is also the fundamental law of society. It is out of tension that being is born. Becoming is

a tension, and being is the child of that tension of opposed forces and tendencies."

When the sum total of positive action exceeds negative action, a colonial territory transforms into an independent, sovereign state. But after political independence it is also necessary to push on to national reconstitution through positive action of the people. Hence the need at all times to maximize positive action.

This requires a "mass party," which must be "armed with an ideology" and the quality of whose members must be constantly raised by education. In a colonial territory, "positive action must be backed by a mass party, complete with its instruments of education." And to do battle effectively with the forces of negative action, positive action must "seek an alignment of all forces of progress."

The Ideology of Positive Action

We are however warned that in pursuing its immediate objectives of defeating colonialism, positive action must protect its own future. "When positive action resorts to an alignment of forces, it creates in itself seams at which this alignment might fall apart. It is essential that positive action should in its dialectical evolution anticipate this seminal disintegration and discover a way of containing the future schismatic tendencies, a way of nipping fragmentation in the bud as colonialism begins to reel and totter under the frontal onslaught of positive action. But even with colonialism worsted, positive action cannot relent, for it is at about this time that the schismatic tendencies referred to ripen."

The ideology of positive action is socialism. And in a liberated colonial territory socialism must set out consciously to grapple with certain issues "if independence is not to be alienated from the people." These issues are:

1. To seek a connection with the egalitarian and humanist past of the people before their social evolution was ravaged by colonialism;
2. To seek from colonialism those elements like new methods of industrial production and economic organization which can be adapted to serve the interests of the people;
3. To seek ways and means of crushing the growth of class inequalities and antagonism created by the capitalist habit of colonialism;
4. To reclaim the psychology of the people by erasing "colonial mentality";
5. To defend the independence and security of the people.

As proof of its general validity, philosophical consciencism reduces

its cardinal concepts into mathematic formulae. These are contained in the last chapter of the book.

There are a few ideological issues currently of world-wide significance on which philosophical consciencism has something clear-cut to say.

First, co-existence. Admitting that competing ideologies can be found in the same society and in different societies, consciencism holds that "while societies with different social systems can co-exist, their ideologies cannot." It goes on: "There is such a thing as peaceful co-existence between states with different systems; but as long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such thing as peaceful co-existence between opposing ideologies."

As a corollary of this view, philosophical consciencism holds that the end of imperialism is certain. But it adds that an end of imperialism "can only come about under pressure of nationalist awakening and an alliance of progressive forces which hasten its end and destroy its condition of existence."

Secondly, on socialism and revolution, philosophical consciencism is equally unequivocal. "Revolution is an indispensable avenue to socialism, where the antecedent social-political structure is animated by principles which are a negation of socialism, as in a capitalist structure (and therefore also in a colonialist structure, for a colonial structure is essentially ancillary to capitalism) . . . But from the ancestral line of communalism the passage to socialism lies in reform, because the underlying principles are the same." Thus in relation to traditional African society originally communalistic but largely ravaged by colonialism, socialism is historically revolutionary but genetically evolutionary.

Thirdly, the one party state. Discussing a nation emerging from colonialism, philosophical consciencism holds that "a people's parliamentary democracy with a one-party system is better able to express and satisfy the common aspirations of a nation as a whole, than a multi-party parliamentary system, which is in fact only a ruse for perpetuating, and covers up, the inherent struggle between the "haves" and the "have-nots." . . .

COMMUNICATIONS

Alberto Moreau

An Unfortunate Omission

In the November issue of *Political Affairs*, page 21, there is a quotation by Lenin explaining the reasons for the persistent prejudices held by oppressed peoples toward oppressing nations. Lenin's deep insight into this question is applicable to the present epoch, which is characterized by the stormy awakening of hundreds of millions struggling for genuine independence, progress and well-being, and by the need to understand the manifestations of nationalism as an inevitable accompaniment of the struggle for national independence.

Unfortunately, by omitting the two sentences preceding the quotation, Lenin's thought is rendered one-sided and to a degree mutilated. Your quotation very correctly explains the causes for national narrowness, such as small-scale agricultural production, patriarchalism and ignorance, and points out that it will disappear "with the disappearance of imperialism and capitalism." Hence Lenin urges the treatment of the survivals of nationalism and distrust with special caution, etc. However, the omitted sentences which are part

of a whole paragraph embodying a full concept, expound additional reasons for the distrust, anger, etc., very important to bear in mind especially today. These sentences are:

The age-long oppression of colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has imbued the toiling masses of the oppressed countries, not only with anger, but also with distrust toward the proletariat of those nations. The despicable betrayal of Socialism by the majority of official leaders of the proletariat in 1914-19, when "defense of the fatherland" was used as a cloak to conceal the defense of the "right" of "their" bourgeoisie to oppress colonies and rob financially dependent countries could not but increase this quite legitimate distrust. On the other hand. . . ." (Here your quotation begins.—A. M.).

Now, it is no accident that Lenin begins his thesis with the above-mentioned sentences. He did not ascribe nationalism only to the economic backwardness of the weak nations, but *also* to the evils of imperialist domination, its savage pillage, racism and inhuman treatment. It is to the credit of many African leaders who distrust imperialism that at the same time

they combat national narrowness. Thus, Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, declares emphatically that Africa for the Africans does not mean chauvinism or isolationism, nor does this slogan exclude other races. The brutal American imperialist intervention in South Vietnam and the Congo cannot but strengthen distrust and anger on the part of these brave peoples who face daily fire, destruction and devastation of their countries. Under these conditions, this intervention is the main factor that exacerbates and, in many instances, gives rise to the national prejudices referred to by Lenin.

The other factor is the role of the Right-wing of Social-Democratic officialdom that today supports colonialism. The Belgian

Socialist Spaak is an example. His counterparts are the Meanys and Dubinskys who play a nefarious role of subverting the trade unions of Africa and Latin America, spending millions of dollars to achieve the aim of hindering trade union participation in the struggles for national liberation. Some of the international unions play a similar role in Puerto Rico. They control the majority of the unions, act as overseas bosses and do their best to keep them away from the rising movements for independence.

The profound lesson we can learn from Lenin's theses is his call for proletarian internationalism and our responsibilities flowing from it.

The Editors Agree

Alberto Moreau's point that the omission of two sentences from the Lenin quotation gives a one-sided interpretation to the essence of Lenin's thesis is well taken. With the inclusion of the two sentences the quotation would read:

The age-long oppression of colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has imbued the toiling masses of the oppressed countries, not only with anger, but also with distrust toward the oppressing nations in general, including the proletariat of those nations. The despicable betrayal of Socialism by the majority of the official leaders of the proletariat in 1914-19, when "defense of the fatherland"

was used as a social-chauvinist cloak to conceal the defense of the "right" of "their" bourgeoisie to oppress colonies and rob financially dependent countries, could not but increase this quite legitimate distrust. On the other hand, the more backward a country is, the stronger in it are small agricultural production, patriarchalism and ignorance, which inevitably cause the deepest of petty-bourgeois prejudices, viz., the prejudices of national egoism and national narrowness, to become particularly strong and tenacious. In view of the fact that these prejudices can disappear only after the disappearance of imperialism and capitalism in the advanced countries, and after a radical change has taken place in the whole foun-

dation of the economic life of the backward countries, the process of extinction of these prejudices cannot but be very slow. Hence, it is the duty of the class-conscious Communist proletariat of all countries to treat the survival of national sentiments among the countries and nationalities which have been oppressed for the longest periods with special caution and special attention, and it is also necessary to make certain concessions with the view to rapidly removing the aforementioned distrust and the aforementioned prejudices. . . .

This correction is of particular importance for us in the United States, not only because U.S. imperialism arrogantly intervenes in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, but also because within our own boundaries we have the

continued national oppression of 20,000,000 Negro Americans.

To the extent that the working class, and in the first place the Left, fully understands the material justification for the distrust and suspicion of oppressed peoples, often carried over to all members of the dominant oppressing nation, will it recognize its responsibility for waging a relentless struggle against great power chauvinism, jingoism, white supremacy and racism. Such a struggle is a necessary foundation for advancing the unity of Negro and white at home and for arousing the American people in the fight against U.S. imperialism's efforts to impede the victory of national liberation movements abroad.

At the basis of Communism there is this simple and passionate belief: that the scientific and technical intelligence which we have at our disposal in the Western World . . . in the hands of men who love the human race, could reorganize the entire economic structure of the world so as to overcome the world-wide struggle for existence and build up a working population regardless of race, creed or nationality, which could feed and clothe and house its children without taking anything by violence from the human soul. . . .

Dr. Mordecai Johnson in a speech at the 1941 CIO Convention

A. W. Font

A Giant in American History

Frederick Douglass by Philip S. Foner* presents an individual of heroic stature. Foner, while not uncritical of Douglass, portrays him as a man who bore the unmistakable stamp of greatness, a man to be spoken of in the same breath with Jefferson and Lincoln.

His life, like Lincoln's, is full of the kind of inspirational material which can serve as an example to youth. Lincoln went from log cabin to the White House; Douglass was born in the slave quarters of a Maryland plantation. He never became a tenant of the White House—Negroes were then as now lucky if they could vote for a president, let alone be one. But every United States President from Lincoln through Harrison found it either necessary or expedient to have him at the White House as either a guest or a counsellor. In this we can find some measure of his achievements, especially when we consider that he was born so obscurely that even the exact date is unknown. The year was 1817.

Douglass, in Foner's telling, gives an overwhelming impression

* Philip S. Foner, *Frederick Douglass*, Citadel, New York, 1964. Cloth \$6.00. Paper \$2.45.

of dignity and of bigness. A tall man he was, and strikingly handsome, possessed of a rich, powerful speaking voice. Many of his listeners have left a written record of their amazement and pleasure at hearing the English language spoken so beautifully by an unschooled and self-taught ex-slave.

As a young slave Fred Douglass became a skilled ship caulker. When he was twenty-one years old he escaped to New Bedford where he was reduced from skilled caulker to casual laborer by the free white workers of that community who refused to work alongside a Negro.

Shortly after he had settled in New England, Douglass came upon a copy of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. It was a fateful moment. Moved by what he read, he started attending Negro Abolitionist meetings, became involved in their work and began to assume leadership. In 1841, now twenty-four years old, he heard Garrison speak in New Bedford and was overwhelmingly impressed. A few days later he was invited to speak at a convention. Now it was his turn to impress. A listener likened him to Patrick Henry in eloquence.

GIANT IN HISTORY

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Before the convention closed he had accepted an invitation to be a lecturer for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He was permanently launched in public life.

* * *

Douglass immediately introduced into the movement an element which could not be supplied by its white, middle-class ideologists. He gave it the passionate voice of the enslaved Negro who had felt the lash on his own back.

In 1845 Douglass went to the British Isles where the Abolitionist movement had allies, especially among those who had worked for the emancipation of the slaves in the British Caribbean colonies. It was a wildly successful visit. He remained abroad for nineteen months during which he breathed the free air of an unprejudiced atmosphere. On the eve of his departure from England, 1,400 persons attended a farewell in his honor. He was now literally "free"—English friends had purchased his freedom from his master so that he need not fear capture as a fugitive.

In December, 1847, appeared the first issue of Douglass' own weekly paper, *The North Star*. It declared itself to be "mainly anti-slavery" but also open to discussion of all humane issues. In 1851 the paper merged with the *Liberty Party Paper* and was thereafter named *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Those readers who have ever had anything to do with the fate of a non-commercial newspaper bucking powerful interests, will not be surprised that Douglass' weekly lived a financially precarious life.

It lasted until 1860 after which Douglass continued for three more years to publish a monthly which he had started in 1858. It is curious that the weekly failed on the eve of the triumph of its cause. Its failure was probably related to the fact that the anti-slavery front was then moving irresistibly from the realm of agitation to much higher forms of struggle.

"Douglass' severest editorials," writes Foner, "were reserved for Negroes who accepted discrimination instead of fighting for their equal rights." He himself resisted every act of discrimination attempted against him or witnessed by him. These incidents were duly reported in his paper and helped to encourage the free Negroes of the North to combat segregation.

Frederick Douglass' Newspaper was, however, more than just a "Negro" newspaper. Its editor saw himself as standing "upon the watch-tower of human freedom" and, as a result, its columns frequently reflected his sympathy with "the great family of man." He supported the temperance movement but criticized its aloofness toward Negro membership. He supported the British Chartists. He supported the universal peace movement, free land and, second only to Abolition, the fight for women's rights. Of present interest is the fact that he opposed the annexation of Cuba by the United States when some white Abolitionists were quite ready to support such a move. And in Rochester the public schools were desegregated in 1857 after an eight years' campaign on his part.

* * *

Douglass ultimately broke with Garrison. From a personal coolness between them, he moved more and more into a principal break with Garrisonianism after 1851. The influence of John Brown shook his faith in non-resistance as a tactic. By 1856 he was of the opinion that the peaceful annihilation of slavery was "almost hopeless." By 1861 he knew it must be ended violently. He moved away from the Garrisonian doctrine of Northern secessionism and insisted that the Union could be preserved while slavery was destroyed. After 1853, when the breakaway was all but formalized, and until the end of the Civil War, Foner says, "he occupied a place in the anti-slavery movement second to none."

In 1848 Douglass, though still essentially a Garrisonian, saw the tactical necessity of supporting the new Free Soil Party which sought to contain slavery and put forward as its slogan "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men." But he was still under the influence of Garrison's ideas and, during the election campaign, backed off from the correct position he had taken. After 1852 he had fewer and fewer reservations about supporting political movements which, even if only partially, had anti-slavery content.

In 1856 he was attracted to the Republican Party but could not bring himself to break with the Liberty Party, a relatively isolated group of advanced Abolitionists. He complained of the Republicans that "they do not give a full recog-

nition of the humanity of the Negro." But he supported the Republican Party in the election because, as Foner says, Douglass saw that "instead of isolating itself from a mass movement which was not ready to accept a more advanced program, the duty of the vanguard was to work inside the movement, gradually bringing to its membership the understanding that would result in the adoption of an advanced position." Douglass on one occasion put it this way: "We have turned Whigs and Democrats into Republicans and we can turn Republicans into Abolitionists."

In August, 1859 John Brown confided to Frederick Douglass his scheme for the raid on Harper's Ferry which he hoped would set off a general uprising against slavery. Douglass refused to have any part in Brown's plan. But, implicated by association with Brown, Douglass became a hunted man after the failure of the Harper's Ferry raid and had to flee to Canada for safety.

Although Douglass refused to join with Brown in a scheme he knew was doomed, he nevertheless was quick to comprehend the historical significance of the blow which Brown had struck. Just two weeks after Harper's Ferry, Douglass wrote:

Slavery is a system of brute force. It shields itself behind might rather than right. It must be met with its own weapons. Capt. Brown has initiated a new mode of carrying on the crusade of freedom, and his blow has sent dread and terror throughout the entire ranks of the piratical army of slavery. . . .

* * *

When Lincoln was elected President in 1860, Douglass gave him critical support. Lincoln was not an Abolitionist but his election was a forward step for Abolitionism. Though the Civil War began, so far as the Federal government was concerned, as a struggle to preserve the Union, Douglass realized from the start that it was the long-awaited showdown which would not end without the emancipation of the slaves. At each phase of the war's progress Douglass showed the most acute grasp of the military and political necessities of the conflict. Foner is struck by the many parallels between what Douglass wrote of the Civil War and what Karl Marx was writing in the same period on the same subject. It is not probable that Marx's work was known to Douglass.

Military necessity, early in 1863, required the Union army to issue a call for Negro volunteers—an action which Douglass had advocated and a cause into which he threw his great energy and to which he contributed his sons, Charles and Lewis. But the Negro volunteers were not taken into the service as equals of the whites. They were subject to discrimination in pay, conditions, advancement, and to atrocities when taken prisoner. This led Douglass to seek and obtain his first interview with Lincoln. Their second meeting was held on Lincoln's initiative, to seek Douglass' advice in a critical matter. Lincoln, slow to move, more controlled by events than controlling them, often tried

Douglass't patience. But slow or not, Lincoln was moving in the right direction.

Douglass realized, more clearly than many other Abolitionists, that their job was not ended by Appomattox or even by the passage of the 13th Amendment. Even Garrison thought the anti-slavery movement had done its work and could now disband. But Douglas feared the possibility of counter-revolution in Reconstruction and recalled the overthrow of the 1848 Revolutions in Europe. Douglas put particular stress on giving the Negro the ballot:

Without this his liberty is a mockery; without this you might as well almost retain the old name of slavery for his condition; for in fact, he is not the slave of the individual master, he is the slave of society, and holds liberty as a privilege, not as a right. He is at the mercy of the mob and has no means of protecting himself.

With the adoption of the 15th Amendment in 1870 the American Anti-Slavery Society met for the last time and disbanded. Its work was now ended but Douglass knew that the struggle for equal rights for Negroes had to continue: "The Negro is not abolished as a degraded caste, nor need his friends shut up and cease to make his advancement in the scale of civilized life a special work." He had reason for personal bitterness when his son, Lewis, mustered out of the Union army, could not find work in Rochester as a printer "because white members of the Rochester Typographical Union refused to work with a Negro."

Supporting the Supplementary Civil Rights Bill in 1872, Douglass wrote words which can still today be taken, among other things, as an answer to the advocates of tokenism and gradualism:

From our observation during a trip to the South we are convinced that the interests of the poor whites and the colored people are identical. . . . In that section everything that will bring the poor white man and the colored man closer together should be done; they should be taught to make common cause against the rich landholders of the South who never regarded a poor white man as of much importance as they did slaves. . . . The cunning ex-slaveholder sets those who should be his enemies to fighting each other and thus diverts attention from himself. Educate the colored children and white children together in your day and night schools throughout the South, and they will learn to know each other better, and be able to cooperate for mutual benefit.

Honors came to Douglass late in his life though none as great as he deserved. In these later years his spirit remained great and his resistance to discrimination remained firm but his contacts with his own people were not as close as

formerly and as a consequence his touch was not as sure in reacting to issues. But he never ceased to fight. Women's suffrage, land for the Negroes in the South, and protest against the horrors of lynching occupied him to the last day of his life, which came in February 1895.

* * *

Dr. Foner's *Frederick Douglass* originally appeared in four parts as the biographical sections of his four-volume *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, which was published over the years 1950-1955. Those who know this valuable set of volumes have always wished that the *Life* portions could be made available to many thousands of additional readers whose means precluded the purchase of the full set (International Publishers, N. Y., \$17.00). The present attractively bound volume, and its paperback partner, will surely help to bring to a new generation of democratic readers the stirring story of the great Negro-white Abolition struggle and of its greatest figure, Frederick Douglass.

Thomas Nabried

Nov. 1, 1902 — Jan. 20, 1965

Only an hour and a half after undergoing serious heart surgery, Tom Nabried, veteran Communist Negro leader in Eastern Pennsylvania, died in a hospital bed on the afternoon of January 20th at the age of 63.

The news of his death brought profound grief and a deep sense of loss to countless homes throughout the city of Philadelphia. For this soft-spoken, modest and warm-hearted son of Negro tenant farmers was widely recognized as a fearless and courageous champion of the oppressed and exploited through nearly four decades of struggles—for unemployment insurance, for economic security, for peace and social progress—a relentless opponent of all forms of discrimination, segregation and the pernicious ideas of white supremacy.

Tom Nabried had first-hand experience with the savagery of Southern lynch-law oppression and the brutality of capitalist exploitation. Born in the rural town of Columbia, Georgia, where the ravages of slavery left the searing scars of poverty, deprivation and illiteracy among the mass of Negro tenant farmers, Tom became a farm laborer when only nine years old, working from sunup to sundown for the pittance of 25¢ a day. At fourteen, while employed in a cotton oil mill in Augusta, Georgia, he received his first baptism in strike action by participating in what proved to be an abortive work stoppage.

Tom came to Philadelphia in search of work during World War I. Shortly after the war ended he joined his first union, the IWW Longshore Local in Philadelphia, where he quickly learned the lessons of union organization and working class solidarity. Having mastered the trade of lathing—a trade at which he worked for many years—he joined with others in the effort to establish a union among the wood and metal lathers in the late twenties. In the thirties he participated in building unions among the butchers and seamen. With the rise of the CIO he became a volunteer organizer in the drive to organize cleaning and dyeing workers.

He joined the Communist Party during the struggles of the unemployed and was the builder of the first unemployed council in North Philadelphia, selflessly dedicating his energies to welding the unity

of Negro and white against starvation and evictions, for work and relief.

At the same time Tom maintained intimate ties with the Negro community. In the twenties, he was treasurer of the Masonic Lodge and steward in the Morris Brown A.M.E. Church. He was in the forefront of the struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys, of Angelo Herndon, of Rosalie Lee Ingram, exposing the racist frameups of dozens of Negro men in and around Philadelphia. He was a sponsor of the National Negro Congress in the city, an organization which conducted heroic work for equal rights during the thirties. In his day to day activities, Tom constantly sought to unite the working class and the Negro people in common struggle against their common enemy.

Together with a group of his comrades, Tom was arrested on July 30, 1953 for alleged violation of the notorious, fascist-like Smith Act. Convicted after a long and weary trial, the decision of the lower court was reversed by the Supreme Court several years later.

When cited by the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1963 for failure to register under the provisions of the unconstitutional McCarran Act Tom Nabried, with unshakeable confidence in the working class and the Negro people, proclaimed: "Just as all other attempts to throttle the working people into silence have been defeated, as shown in my own experience in struggle, so will this monstrous law be tossed into the trash-can as an ultra-Right conspiracy."

The activities and deeds of Tom Nabried are indelibly carved in the history of the working people of Philadelphia. His firm guiding hand will be sorely missed by the many who were helped by his clarity of thought, his vast experience and his willingness to deal with every problem, big or small. The rock which bolstered so many is now gone. But his memory can be preserved by a renewed dedication to realize the ideals of Marxism-Leninism to which he devoted his entire life.

Claudia Jones

Feb. 21, 1915 — Dec. 25, 1964

Sometime during the night, as the dawn of Christmas approached, Claudia Jones, for many years an outstanding woman Communist leader in our country, quietly slipped into her final slumber. The book she had been reading was still at her side when friends discovered the inert body in her apartment in London, England, the city where she lived since 1956.

Born in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies, Claudia was brought to the United States as a child of eight. Here she early experienced the poverty, the indignity and humiliation of the second-class citizenship imposed on a proud and brave Negro people by jim-crow America. Endowed with an inquiring mind and a militant spirit, she eagerly sought to understand the cause of these conditions. In the midst of the great upsurge of the millions of Negroes and white unemployed against hunger and deprivation in the early thirties, she determined to enlist in the battle by joining the Young Communist League.

Claudia was barely 18 when she embraced the science of socialism—the science and world outlook which was to inspire her many-sided activities for the next three decades. She quickly rose to leadership in the Young Communist League and was the editor of its journal, *Weekly Review*. After World War II, she was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party. As Secretary of the Woman's Commission, she worked intimately with that widely revered Communist fighter, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. A vibrant and dynamic organizer, an eloquent speaker and writer, Claudia evoked confidence and enthusiasm among all who knew her, winning the love and respect of tens of thousands throughout the land.

For her resolute activity in the cause of peace, economic security and social progress, and especially for her tireless crusade to secure equal citizenship rights for the Negro people, Claudia Jones was arrested on June 20, 1951, under the infamous thought-control Smith Act. After a ten-month trial she, together with twelve of her co-defendants, was convicted on the framed-up charge of "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence." Completing her sentence of a year in the Women's Reformatory at Alderson, West Virginia, she was ordered deported to Trinidad. She chose instead to migrate to London. There she became active in

the West Indian community and at the time of her untimely death was editor of the *West Indian Gazette*.

Three hundred friends and co-workers paid tribute at her funeral on January 9, 1965. John Williamson, Labor Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. before his imprisonment in 1951, and who was deported to England upon his release, spoke for the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

In the words of the message of condolence sent by Gus Hall and Henry Winston on behalf of American Communists: "Progressive America will always cherish the memory of Claudia Jones. For two decades hers was a passionate voice for truth and justice resounding in our land."

It was an unforgettable scene — a scene in which this man about to be jailed for five long years for his ideas — for merely teaching and advocating these ideas, and no actual crime, save perhaps his color — turned *accuser*.

Ben Davis, towering in stature and spirit, stood in the dock in Foley Square and turned *accuser* as he and his ten colleagues awaited the final legal trappings to an outrageous framed-up case. Ben Davis' prosecutors were molding a frightful pattern— *a pattern of guilt by association, built by stoolpigeon testimony, of guilt by frameup* — which has since been adopted by the McCarthyites of our land to try to frame and outlaw all who hold thoughts and ideas not to the liking of the powers that be.

But even with locked doors and hasty efforts by burly marshals to restrain his speech, Ben Davis' fearful prosecutors could not halt the passionate torrent of his incisive, deadly calm and prophetic words.

For Ben's words spilled out of their carefully guarded cold marble halls, into the streets and shops, factories and farms, alleys and playgrounds, beauty and barber shops, and especially into the Negro ghettos of America — across the seas which border our land.

Claudia Jones, *Ben Davis, Freedom Fighter*

POLITICAL AFFAIRS SYMPOSIUM
*The Government, Monopoly Capitalism
and the Economy*

April 10-11, 1965

This two-day symposium, to be held at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y., will be divided into four sessions, at each of which a group of papers will be presented, followed by discussion and questions.

Following is the list of sessions, subjects and speakers:

1. SATURDAY MORNING, April 10, 1965—10:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.

Hyman Lumer: *Monopoly Capital and the State*

Herbert Aptheker: *State Monopoly Capitalism—Its Moral and Ideological Impact*

J. M. Budish: *Keynesism: The Theoretical Rationale of State Monopoly Capitalism*

2. SATURDAY AFTERNOON, April 10, 1965—2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M.

Victor Perlo: *State Monopoly Capitalism and the Economic Cycle*

Erik Bert: *State Monopoly Capitalism and Agriculture*

George Wheeler: *Automation and the Development of State Monopoly Capitalism*

3. SUNDAY MORNING, April 11, 1965—10:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.

James E. Jackson: *State Monopoly Capitalism and the Negro Freedom Struggle*

Tim Buck and others: *The U.S. State and the Exploitation of Canada*

4. SUNDAY AFTERNOON, April 11, 1965—2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M.

James S. Allen: *State Monopoly Capitalism and Socialism*

Gus Hall: *The Anti-Monopoly Movement*

The maximum length of any single presentation will be 30 minutes. The papers, or expanded versions of them, will be published in subsequent issues of *Political Affairs*, and ultimately in book form.

Admission is \$3.00 for all four sessions; \$1.00 for single sessions. For tickets or information, write to:

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