THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

January 1960--June 1960

July 1960

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In international relations, the Communist Party, USA, is sharply critical of the "bipartisan cold war policy" of the United States and calls for a long-term peace policy which would involve "honest" negotiations with the Soviet Union. The responsibility for the collapse of the summit conference is laid directly on the so-called "cold war advocates in high places" -- the Eisenhower administration, the Pentagon, the bipartisan congressional leadership, the big corporations with extensive defense contracts, and the top labor leaders in the United States.

The Party asserts that the mutual security treaty between Japan and the United States, in effect, established an aggressive military alliance between the two countries, is a serious setback to the struggle for peace, and should be dissolved.

Communists charge that American imperialism is intervening in Cuban affairs and is presently preparing mercenary forces from bases in Latin America to invade Cuba. These forces are alleged to be counting on a counterrevolutionary movement within Cuba itself for support.

The Party repeats its demands that the United States recognize Communist China and states that the rise of anti-Semitism, re-Nazification, and rearmament in West Germany is due to Western influence and can be negated only by peace treaties with both East and West Germany.
The Communist Party, USA, condemns the Government of South Africa for its reign of terror and accuses the United States of treating Canada as a military outpost.

In domestic affairs, the Communist Party, USA, stresses the fight for "peace" as the dominant issue in the 1960 election campaign and emphasizes the need to struggle against the "cold-war" candidates. The Party feels that support from noncommunists for its "peace policy" can be obtained most effectively through the "united front" tactic, and hence mastery of this tactic is the "key task" before every Party member. The "central strategic aim" of this "unified field" is to break the power of the great monopolies in this country and thus pave the way to socialism.

In spite of its setbacks in recent years, the Communist Party, USA, believes that the perspective for world-wide socialism, due to the invincibility of Marxism–Leninism, is brighter than ever.

According to the Party, "big business attacks on the rights of labor" are continuing. In order to defeat this offensive, organized labor, assisted by communists, must launch a countercrusade, which can succeed only if it is based on the united action of the entire trade-union movement. The Party attacks top labor leaders for supporting the "worst enemies of labor, the big monopolies," instead of helping the rank-and-file union members.
Despite the anticommunist clause in the constitution of the Negro American Labor Council, the Party hailed its formation as another "strong weapon against discrimination" and pledged the aid of all "progressives" to realize its objective—the organization of Negro trade-unionists to eradicate the evil of racial discrimination.

Continued charges of United States interference in Latin America, Africa, and South Korea appear throughout Party publications. The Party accuses United States imperialism of withholding genuine aid to the Latin-American countries and of exploiting them as a source of profits. The Cuban revolution is described as a "democratic" revolution which has the fullest support of Cuban communists, whose example should be emulated by all the Latin-American nations.

Civil rights legislation passed by Congress, congressional committees—particularly the House Committee on Un-American Activities—and anticommunist legislation have been subjects of considerable contempt in recent Party propaganda. The Party denounced the civil rights legislation as worse than nothing, accused the House Committee on Un-American Activities of harassing thousands of Americans, and called the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act the most severe antilabor law yet enacted because it puts the trade-unions directly under Government control.

Communists assert that the fight for full Negro equality can be achieved only by the united mass action of the Negro people, supplemented by legislation
aimed at discrimination. The Party cites the "mass picketlines and sitdowns of the Southern Negro youth" as effective examples of this type of mass action. The Party re-emphasizes that the communist program for "self-determination" of the Negro in the Black Belt area in the South has been discarded, and the present policy is to seek complete economic, political, and social equality for the Negro with all other American citizens.

The educational program of the Communist Party, USA, for American youth calls for free education through college, Federal school financing, full academic freedom, the restoration of unrestricted political rights to all teachers, and the elimination of all forms of discrimination. According to the Party, only token integration has taken place in the schools since the United States Supreme Court's desegregation order in 1954.

Culture in the capitalist countries, communists claim, is a "business" run by big businessmen who find it is expendable during a recession. Under socialism, they allege, women have achieved much in education, science, and art, while under capitalism, they face such evil conditions as juvenile delinquency, child labor, prostitution, and mental disorders which are absent in socialist countries.

The Communist Party, USA, considers its work among youth of major importance to the Party's own existence as an effective Marxist vanguard.
movement. It also considers a Marxist youth organization essential to attracting thousands of young people to the socialist cause. In this connection, Advance, described by the Party press as a Marxist youth organization, was recently created for the expressed purpose of familiarizing American youth with ideas of socialism.

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, maintains that American bipartisan cold-war foreign policy was responsible for the collapse of the summit conference and for the intensification of world tensions. As a result, it may be expected that the Party press will abound with denunciations of the "cold-war" leadership in the United States and with pleas for peace and "honest" negotiations with the Soviet Union for a ban on nuclear testing, full and complete disarmament, a mutually acceptable status for Berlin and the two Germanys, and recognition of Communist China.

2. Communists are determined to project the struggle for "peace and peaceful coexistence" as the dominant theme in the 1960 elections. To achieve this, they plan to use broad united-front tactics and infiltration on a major scale to broaden their scope of influence in American life. Therefore, the Party will undoubtedly increase its participation in all spheres of activity during the campaigns.

3. The Party persists in its attacks upon American trade-union leadership for allegedly supporting "big business" instead of helping the rank-and-file union members. Further derisive propaganda may be expected on this subject in the Party press, as well as against antilabor legislation and the misuse of automation. It may also be anticipated
that the Party will make every effort to infiltrate the newly formed noncommunist Negro American Labor Council in an effort to subvert it toward communist goals.

4. The upsurge of nationalist movements in the underdeveloped countries throughout the world will undoubtedly receive continued widespread attention in the Party press. The Party is particularly vociferous concerning the "democratic" Cuban revolution and can be expected to support Castro and any Latin-American uprisings, while denouncing American"imperialist"interests in any of these nations.

5. Communists maintain that united action of the Negro people, plus legislation aimed at discrimination, is necessary for full economic, political, and social Negro equality. It is reasonable to believe that the Party will attempt to exploit the "mass-picketlines and sit-downs of the Southern Negro youth," which they cite as an effective example of mass action, for their own purposes. It is also virtually certain that the Party will focus exaggerated attention on any further racial problems in this country.

6. The Communist Party, USA, considers the successful exploitation of youth of major importance to its own survival and effectiveness. It is evident, therefore, that communists will make every effort to utilize the new Marxist youth organization Advance for attracting American youth to socialism.

7. The over-all theme of the Communist Party line is inextricably threaded with "peace and peaceful coexistence" both on domestic and foreign issues. Every effort is being made to increase communist participation, concealed or overt, in the problems confronting the United States, and this program will undoubtedly be accelerated in the future.
I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The United States needs a long-term peace policy instead of a bipartisan cold-war policy.

2. Responsibility for the collapse of the summit conference rests upon the advocates of the cold war in the United States—the Pentagon, the Eisenhower administration, the big corporations, the bipartisan congressional leadership, and the labor leaders.

3. The new mutual security treaty between Japan and the United States is a serious setback to peace and should be dissolved.

4. American imperialism is intervening in Cuban affairs and is preparing "mercenary forces" to invade Cuba.

5. Communist China should be recognized by the United States and should be admitted to the United Nations.

6. The rise of anti-Semitism, re-Nazification, and rearmament in West Germany is the result of Western policies, and this alarming trend can be negated only by peace treaties with both East and West Germany.

7. The United States Congress and the United Nations should take action against the Government of South Africa for its reign of terror.

8. The United States should abandon its air bases in Spain and stop using its capital to exploit the Spanish people.

9. The United States is treating Canada as a military outpost.
SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Peace Program

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:

"Intensifying the struggle for peace."

The Worker
May 1, 1960, p. 6.

"Let the plain people of our country with an urgent dedication stand up for peace. Act for peace. Organize our millions into popular peace movements. The conspirators against the sacred cause of peace and co-existence with the socialist countries in the high circles of the government must now feel the pressure of the people.

"Don't let the cold warriors--who never wanted peace--stampede us into giving up the sacred fight for peace and peaceful co-existence!"

Editorial, The Worker,

"Instead of a bipartisan cold war policy, our country needs a long-term peace policy that will be the basic guide of the government, no matter what Administration is in power. We need national unity in back of a policy to end the cold war and to negotiate, in good faith and with all honesty, with the Soviet Union--to end nuclear testing, to abolish nuclear and all other terror weapons, to get full and complete disarmament, to find a mutually acceptable status for Berlin and the two Germanys, to accord China her rightful place in world councils."

The Worker,
June 5, 1960, p. 2.
2. **Summit Conference**

"THE COLLAPSE of the Summit in Paris has revealed in a single flash the bankruptcy of the cold war policy...."

"The responsibility for the Summit failure should be openly and honestly faced. It rests on the advocates of cold war in high places—in the Pentagon, in the Executive, in the big corporations with juicy war contracts, in the bi-partisan Congressional leadership, and also in the top command of labor, which joined the cold war 'partnership'...."

The Worker,
June 5, 1960, p. 2.

"One may say that the Soviet leaders showed patience and tact and tried to save the Summit. They tried to give Eisenhower a way out by saying that most likely he did not know about it. But Ike would have none of that, and went blundering ahead after being caught not only redhanded but in a web of outright lies...."

"The undeniable fact is that as long as the basic policies of the cold war continue, there can be no successful negotiations at the Summit. Yes, we have reached a new phase in world relations. What the Summit proves beyond the shadow of a doubt is that all policies of massive retaliation, of dealing from 'positions of strength,' of double-dealing, of speaking from both sides of one's mouth, in fact all policies flowing from ideas of U. S. superiority, have come to a dead end.

"The policies initiated after the second world war must be basically changed. The only successful foreign policy for the United States is a policy of coexistence, a policy of live and let live, a basic, honest, fundamental policy of peace."

The Worker,
June 5, 1960, p. 3.
"The Paris summit conference was doomed to failure by Washington, by the deeds of the Eisenhower administration.

"Now the tension-builders and war provocateurs who booby-trapped the summit by a series of calculated moves are busily trying to enmesh our people in a web of lies, to keep up the cold war, to put the blame for failure of the summit conference to get under way on Khrushchev and the Soviet Union."

Editorial, The Worker,

3. Japan

"In Europe, the chief bastion of Wall Street's aggressive cold-war policies is West Germany; in Asia, this role is being assumed by the erstwhile Axis partner of Hitler Germany--Japan. The Asian counterpart of the rearming and renazification of Adenauer Germany is the equally sinister remilitarization of Japan. A big step in this direction is the revised American-Japanese Security Pact, signed in Washington on January 19.

"The new treaty has been hailed as re-establishing Japanese-American relations on the basis of the full equality and sovereignty of Japan. In reality, however, the effect of the treaty is to establish an aggressive military alliance between the two countries with Japan as the junior partner...."

"...the new treaty is a serious setback to the struggle for peace.

"For the American people, it is as vital to fight against the remilitarization of Japan as against that of West Germany."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"
Political Affairs, March, 1960, pp. 10, 12.
"The 'vital interests of the American people require' that President Eisenhower 'abandon' his June 19 trip to Japan, the Communist Party said..."

"The party urged that the American people support the following demands:

"1. President Eisenhower cancel his trip to Japan immediately!

"2. Hands off Japan!

"3. Scrap the 'mutual security' war treaty! No more militarism in Japan!

"4. Respect the sovereignty of Japan and all other countries!"

The Worker, June 12, 1960, p. 2.

4. Cuba

"AMERICAN IMPERIALISM is preparing mercenary forces in Guatemala, Haiti and the Dominican Republic to invade Cuba. They are of course counting on a counterrevolutionary force within Cuba itself to answer their call.

"The whole thing will not be done not in the name of American imperialism and its aim to subjugate anew the Cuban people to the Washington Wall Street yoke.

"It will be done in the name of 'liberty, fraternity, democracy.' It will be presented as a war against 'communism' and for going back 'to the original principles for which the revolution was fought.' "

The Worker, May 29, 1960, p. 4.
"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"Support the sovereign integrity of the Cuban people, oppose all interference in their affairs of government."

The Worker,
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"EVERY PLANE raiding Cuba makes a mockery of President Eisenhower's promises of 'nonintervention.'

"The President said in Chile that--

"We subscribe to and have observed with constancy a cordial policy of Inter-American life--the policy of non intervention.

"That statement was a worthless scrap of paper when Ike read it. And we wonder whom Ike's speech writers tried to deceive.

"The President's speech writers could hardly have hoped to fool the Latin American people. The memory of Washington's bloody invasions is running too deep."

The Worker,
April 3, 1960, p. 6.

5. Communist China

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

- 6 -
"Support the seating of the People's Republic of China in the UN and ending the military occupation of Formosa."

The Worker, May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"A central task before us in the coming year is to help our countrymen develop an even greater understanding and friendship for China; for the recognition of the Chinese Peoples Republic by our government and for securing to China her rights in the United Nations; for relinquishing China's Taiwan territories and the taking of all necessary steps toward the establishment of normal diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with the government of the great Chinese peoples."


6. Germany

" ... Decent human beings everywhere have been shocked and alarmed by the series of outbreaks of desecration of synagogues and other anti-Semitic acts of vandalism which have taken place in recent weeks. Spread over half a dozen countries, with a growing number of instances in the United States, these outbreaks stem principally from West Germany, which is speedily coming forward once more as the world fountainhead of Nazi-like anti-Semitism.

" ... The real source of the renewed rise of anti-Semitism... lies in the cold-war policies of American ruling circle. It is these policies which are responsible for the re-Nezification and rearming of Adenauer Germany as American imperialism's chief gendarme in Europe, and for the inevitable upsurge of anti-Semitism to which this gives rise."

- 7 -
"'A stop must be put to the rearming and the re-nazification of West Germany. And the American people must demand an end of the suicidal cold-war policies of which this is a product.'"

The Worker,
January 24, 1960, p. 2.

"...an entire German generation has grown up ignorant of the basic horrors of Hitlerism and prey to its anti-semitism and other barbarities.

"Primary responsibility lies with the West; and within the West our own most powerful groupings in government and Big Business. Our NATO policy promotes the rearming and the resurrection of a powerful, reactionary Germany.

"We have allowed industrial and financial groups like Krupp's to become powerful again. Stimulated it in fact.

"Basically, and for the world, this is the major horror. We are supplying arms to this resurrected monster, 'conventional' as well as nuclear. And our authorities know that the 'revanchists'--those who would have World War III to restore their old boundaries--are increasingly powerful in Bonn, Germany.

"Only East-West agreements to disarm totally and to arrive at peace treaties with both Germanies can solve this most dangerous of all political questions. Our fate, the world's, rests upon it."

Editorial, The Worker,
January 10, 1960, p. 2.

"The intensification of anti-Semitism in West Germany in the past few months is a reflection of the accentuation of reactionary policies at home and provocative policies abroad by the Bonn Government."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, March, 1960, p. 42.
"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"For an immediate peaceful settlement of the German problem through the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states and ending the occupation status in West Berlin."

The Worker,
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

7. South Africa

"WHOLESALE CRIMES against humanity are being committed by the Government of South Africa."

"Let the barbarians who rule South Africa feel the full force of our nation's indictment.

"Let our men, women and youth--Negro and white--take action through their unions, churches, colleges, fraternal societies and political clubs to:

"Picket the South African consulates and embassy.

"Demand that Congress and President Eisenhower officially condemn the South African terror-regime.

"Demand that an emergency meeting of the United Nations be summoned to invoke the full penalties of the anti-genocide conventions against South Africa. The UN must brand South Africa as a violator of the UN Charter and Declaration of Human Rights and impose sanctions.

- 9 -
"Support the world-wide boycott of South African goods.

"Organize aid for the South African freedom fighters."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 27, 1960, p. 1.

"A worldwide boycott of South Africa's products can win results rather quickly. The South African economy--with its heavy trade deficits--is too shaky to stand such a siege."

... ... ... ...

"And it can win quickly because South Africa is VERY vulnerable to a boycott offensive."

The Worker,
May 1, 1960, p. 7.

8. Spain

"IT IS TRULY admirable that twenty years after they returned home from fighting on Spanish soil beside the Spanish people against Franco, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* are still in the ring, fighting for Spanish freedom today. Then they were youths. Now they are middle-aged men with families and many responsibilities. But they do not forget their comrades who lie buried in Spanish earth nor those who are behind Franco's prison walls.

"They are alerting the American people to our duty towards the Spanish people, and they are letting the Spanish people know too, through their deeds that there is 'another America' of people who do not support air bases, foreign capital exploiting the Spanish people and brutal imprisonment for labor and political activities. There are American friends of Spanish freedom."

The Worker,
March 6, 1960, p. 9.

*The Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.
"AMNESTY NOW FOR SPAIN'S POLITICAL PRISONERS"

The Worker,

9. Canada

"...The USA has attempted to treat Canada like a military outpost, having not only used all its influence in the country (which is great) to put across various militarization propositions, but it has also loaded up the country with American military bases, troops, and other paraphenalia of war, as well as planning to use Canada's excellent fighting forces for its own purposes.

"The United States has inflicted upon Canada the Marshall Plan, in its special Canadian form, and other militaristic programs, and has done its best to make the Canadian people believe that war is both inevitable and indispensable. The American style red-baiting has been the common fare of the Canadian people for many years past...."

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Communists must help to defeat cold-war candidates and support the fight for peace, which has emerged as the dominant issue in the 1960 elections.

2. The perspective for socialism throughout the world, including the United States, is brighter than ever before.

3. The use of the united-front tactic is essential in winning the support of noncommunists for mass action for "peace, democracy, and security."

4. The Communist Party, USA, must unite with all mass movements against the big monopolies in this country in order to achieve peace, democracy, and progress.

5. The Communist Party, USA, supports the Forand Bill as a step toward socialized medicine.

6. The real aim of the "loyalty" oath is a conforming, obedient American people who will not object to the prosecution by American imperialism of the cold war.

7. Slum clearance, instead of giving low-cost housing to the poor, has been a windfall for "crooked millionaire realtors."

8. American labor leaders should take a positive stand against anti-Semitic activities in the United States.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Peace Dominant Issue in 1960 Elections

"The peace issue has emerged as dominant in this campaign. The people and events have made it so. The people can and are influencing, at
least in some measure, the selection of candidates and the issues of the campaign, more so on a local level, but also on every level, including the presidential campaign."

The Worker,  
June 12, 1960, p. 3.

"The struggle for a new Administration for peace in November can be won if the people repudiate every effort to keep the peace issue out of the elections, or to befuddle and distort it. The investigations into the U-2 overflight and into the causes for the Summit failure must not be allowed to withewash all those responsible, no matter of what party. Nor should they be permitted to sidetrack the real and central issue of the cold war policy itself, or to stall real open debate on the policy this country needs if it is to live in a world at peace."

...All the people's strength must be mustered to defeat cold-war candidates and to elect honest advocates of peace, democracy, and the people's needs."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1960, p. 10.

"...peace is the number one issue in the election campaign..."

"...The present crisis of foreign policy demonstrates the futility of trying to solve anything in terms of continuing the cold war, of substituting one cold-war policy for another. It demonstrates, more plainly than ever before, that the preservation of peace and the achievement of peaceful co-existence means ending the cold war."
"It is the task of Communists... in the course of the election campaign, to elevate the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence to a new level."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"
Political Affairs, June, 1960, p. 10.

2. Era of Socialism

"...today's world is a far different place from that of even a year ago."

"Socialism has marched triumphantly forward, spearheaded by the grand seven-year plan and the proud advance toward a communist society in the Soviet Union."

"A new spirit of crusade is appearing among the American working people...."

"Reaction will be defeated in our country, and the American working class will march forward with its brothers in all lands toward a world of peace and socialism."

The Worker,
May 1, 1960, pp. 1, 10.

"The future holds a splendid perspective for socialism. Marxism-Leninism is becoming dominant throughout the world of labor and the socialist movement. Lenin has truly become a world figure. The monopolists are making a determined effort to destroy the great theoretical system which he, along with Marx and many other proletarian fighters, built up. The Titos, Stracheys, Browders, and other tools of the capitalists, are crawling out of their holes and patching together such makeshift arguments as they can to try to undermine and
destroy Leninism. They are particularly the voices of Right revisionism, which has plagued a number of communist parties in recent years, especially our own. Nor have the sectarian dogmatists been lacking in their anti-Leninist work. But they are all shouting in the wilderness. Marxism-Leninism is invincible...


"Comrades, may our Party soon be in league with all those parties who have already taken the high road to the establishment of socialism and then again of communism in their own countries. There are in the world today some 34,000,000 Communists. We are proud to be counted among those who are in our day changing the face of the world into a truly promising garden for mankind. We cherish our ties of international working-class solidarity and ever-enduring bonds of common ideology and noble vista for the unbounded well being, happiness and brotherhood of all mankind."


3. United Front Policy

"Mastery of the theory and practise of the united front policy is the key task before the whole Party--before every organization, every member.*

"The united front is the basic style and method of our mass work.* This encompasses comrades in the labor and mass organizations as well as those comrades able to function publicly as Communists in or out of mass organizations."

"Knowhow in the development of mass work must be promoted through restoring the practice of exchanging experiences and evaluating activities, through conferences and other appropriate means.

* Underscored portion italicized in the original text.

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"Assistance must be provided comrades in unions and mass organizations toward learning how to advance Party policies, how to go about building Left groupings, how to develop political and class consciousness, how to bring people closer to the Party and into its ranks."

"There can be no effective Party work which is not directed in one way or another to the solution of mass problems, to the development of united action of the people for peace, democracy, economic and social advance. There can be no effective work in the labor and people's organizations which is not directed in one way or another to winning non-Party people to support in their own best interests united, mass action for peace, democracy and security, to strengthening the Party's influence among the people, and to building the Party."


"The 17th national convention was an event of great significance in the life of our party..."

"What came out of the discussion, first and foremost, was a mass policy, one that can greatly speed up the process of broadening our mass ties and influence and lead our party onto the path toward becoming a far more important force in American life.

"The flexibility and the new realism of our united front outlook is graphically denoted in these words from the keynote speech delivered by Comrade Gus Hall: 'We want to participate in, organize and lead the broadest of united front movements on every level—in a thousand ways, in 10,000 places, on 100,000 issues if possible, with 180,000,000 people.'"

The Worker, January 3, 1960, p. 3.

* Underscored portion italicized in the original text.
"We must be ready to say now, and we do say: We will march with the majority of Americans who are the victims of this monopoly rule no matter what class they belong to, whatever their political affiliation and needless to say, without regard for race, creed, color or religion. And further, we will march with this great mass of Americans knowing that in the majority they will most likely lean in the direction of replacing the rule of monopoly by a coalition of forces who in all probability will still look to a system of capitalism for a solution to our problems."

The Worker,
April 17, 1960, p. 11.

4. Antimonopoly Struggle

"...the Marxists perspective enables us to see the struggle for the defense of democracy as a progression of mass movements directed against monopoly and other backward social forces, thus winning ground for the extension of democracy and for basic social changes. We see in the growth of these mass movements of labor, the Negro, farmers and the nonmonopoly sectors the possibility of broad alliances and united fronts, that will isolate the most reactionary forces, curb monopoly power and move towards its elimination, with growing restrictions upon capitalist exploitation itself. For the party, the democratic anti-monopoly perspective is the guide to all the prime struggles of our day, to the struggles of tomorrow, and to the road to socialism...."


"What is the force in our country that is the real obstacle, the one real roadblock for a realistic policy for peace, for total disarmament, for real civil rights, for the 30-hour week, for a real housing program, for a cut in taxes, prices and rents? What group is it that embodies the very essence of bigotry, greed and exploitation without mercy? What group is it that sits
in the saddle, that holds in an iron grip every phase of our life, including a grip on the reigns of government and state? Who is it that sets down the policies in all these fields?"

"Not only we Communists, but large sections of labor, the Negro people and the public in general understand and sense that it is a small but powerful, greedy, iron-fisted group of men--the high lords of monopoly and finance and industry--who rule the roost in the fields of economics, politics, military and international relations, culture and state power. Therefore, the central strategic aim, the outlook and essence of the 'unified field' theory, is the unseating of this group from power, loosening their grip, and controlling their bottomless greed. This is an absolute necessity if our nation is to take its place again on the road to progress."

The Worker,
April 17, 1960, p. 11.

"The Communist Party, U.S.A. is now a united, healthy and active party. We are again becoming a part of the political scene and an element of the movements in our land. This has become possible because we have decisively defeated the ideas of revisionism and its counterpart, dogmatism and left-sectarianism. We Communists are out to unite with all Americans who have, and are, becoming victims of the crushing drive of the big trusts in a movement that will unhinge this group of the monopolies so that our country can again fully take the path of peace and progress."

The Worker,
April 24, 1960, p. 10.

"The recent national convention of the Communist Party was...correct in placing the struggle against the monopolies and the formation of an antimonopoly alliance as the main strategic task of the present period. That means an all-around struggle against the trust magnates, and their political tools
in government by strengthening the movement and struggle for peace, for
democratic rights, for Negro peoples rights and for labor's economic, social
and political needs. A number of these movements and struggles for their
independent demands, embrace varied social elements but consciously or
unconsciously these movements are all against the monopolies who block
the way of the peoples advance.

"They inevitably interweave one with the other. The task is to
consolidate and unite them into a mighty political force to effect radical
social changes in the life of the country."

The Worker,
March 6, 1960, pp. 10-11.

5. Socialized Medicine

"What is the solution to our health problem..."

"The answer is a fully rounded-out, state-financed system of free
medical care to every man, woman and child, from birth to death. This
should include government-financed medical research, regular and free
medical examinations in place of employment and in communities to prevent
disease and to provide early treatment, free doctors, medicine, hospitals
and necessary rest home care.

"The costs of such services would probably be little more than the
vast sums presently paid out to private insurance outfits which are run for the
enrichment of powerful monopoly interests. If additional government funds
were needed they would be peanuts as compared to the more than $40 billion
now spent annually for war purposes."

"We declare our readiness to cooperate with the trade unions and
all other groups in the launching of an all-out effort to win a system of free,
socialized medicine...in the United States.
"As a beginning we will continue to support the Forand Bill, which would amend our Social Security system to provide medical and hospital care for the aged."

The Worker,
June 19, 1960, p. 12.

"Our country in respect to aid to the aged is behind not only the lands of socialism, where both children AND the old people are provided every care, but also behind such capitalist countries as Britain, Sweden, Canada, West Germany, France and even Italy. Japan is now instituting compulsory 'people's health insurance!'"

"Clearly, while Congress is already under great pressure on the issue, much greater and more widespread action by labor, the Negro people, and the oldsters themselves are needed to guarantee even the minimum Forand bill."

The Worker,
May 8, 1960, p. 2.

6. **Loyalty Oath**

"...Today the majority of the American people are imprisoned mentally and economically within the interdiction of the 'loyalty' oath under the guise of providing for the 'security' of the U.S. This includes the more than 8 million government employees, the millions in the armed services, the many millions more working in the multitudinous industries that impinge ever so slightly on 'defense' production, most of the members of labor unions and of various types of professional organizations. All of these people have been entrapped by the 'loyalty' system, which was ostensibly aimed at only a few Communists."

"...The 'loyalty' system of the present time did not flow out of any idealist abhorrence by the American people of Communist ideas. There is a class basis for it."
"When the 'loyalty' era was ushered in by the then-President Truman in 1947 with his prescription of an oath for all Federal employes, the world was in a ferment...And American imperialism was frightened. It was then that Washington embarked on the 'cold war.' But the prosecution of this 'cold war' required a home front not only in which the Communists were hamstrung, the progressives muzzled--but also a conformist, obedient American people. And that is exactly what the 'loyalty' system has aimed at since 1947."

The Worker,

7. **Slum Clearance**

"...The process...called Slum Clearance...is spreading all over the country. Its original legal purpose was supposed to be to wipe out the worst slums and to replace them with fine apartments at the same low rents that the lower-bracket Americans can afford.

"This necessary and moral reform of public low-cost housing has been turned into a grotesque caricature of the original plan. The city, state or federal authorities begin properly enough by condemning the slum areas, but then, through a cabal of crooked millionaire realtors and crooked politicos the land is passed on at a tenth of its cost and high-priced apartment houses for the rich are built."

The Worker,
April 10, 1960, p. 8.

8. **Anti-Semitism**

"At this moment the world, and our nation in it, requires a supreme effort against the home-grown fascists and racists, as well as against the infection-source of this latest outburst of the swastika plague...."
"Racism, bigotry confronts us all. American Labor, which has often taken a good stand against these evils, can play a big part in combatting it, in preventing it from 'spreading one inch.'

"It may well consider a giant intervention on this score; in common with all organizations, whatever their politics, affiliations and race. Certainly, here, in the U. S. it must be seen that the racism practiced daily against the Negro tenth of our population is fertile breeding ground against not only Jews--but against everybody who wants to breathe the air of freedom."

Editorial, The Worker,
January 17, 1960, p. 2.

"THE SWASTIKA-SMEARING and synagogue-bombing drive has spread to the U. S. and many parts of the world since the Christmas anti-Semitic outrages in Cologne, Germany. The drive of reaction to revive and revitalize Nazism is one of the major topics in every country in the world. Organizations in all spheres of life, including trade unions, and persons of all faiths and political views, have spoken out against the plague and warned of its close resemblance to the tactic of the Hitlerites of earlier days. But most conspicuous on the American scene on this question is the SILENCE at AFL-CIO general headquarters...."
III. **LABOR AND INDUSTRY**

1. The entire trade-union movement must be unified in order to promote the welfare of the working people.

2. Automation in the United States is increasing speed-up, destroying skills, lowering wages, and causing unemployment.

3. The giant monopolies continue their relentless attack on the hard-won rights of labor.

4. The extreme cold-war policy of the top labor leaders in this country has weakened the trade-unions.

5. Repressive, reactionary, antilabor legislation must be repealed.

6. The Negro American Labor Council, recently established for the purpose of organizing Negro trade-unionists against discrimination in employment, should be fully supported by all progressives.

7. The recent session of the World Federation of Trade Unions* condemned American imperialism, emphasized the value of mass struggle in the fight for peace, and stressed that peaceful coexistence should never be interpreted as an easing of the class struggle.

**SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

1. **Labor Unity**

   "Organized labor cannot content itself with mere defense against the growing torrent of blows rained upon it. On the contrary, if it is to defeat these and move forward it must launch a counter-offensive--a crusade for advancement of the well-being of our country's working people.

*According to the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the World Federation of Trade Unions has been cited as "Communist-dominated" by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.
"Such a crusade can succeed if it is based on united action of the entire trade union movement as well as on greater unity of action within the AFL-CIO itself...."

"On Trade Union Problems," Political Affairs, February, 1960, p. 34.

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"Strengthen the unity of the trade unions."

The Worker,
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"It is in the trade unions that Communists and other Left and progressive forces have the major job to do. Political issues and struggles must be presented as inseparable from the everyday trade-union and shop struggles...."

"...we should include efforts to unite the A.L.P. and Progressive Party forces, together with ourselves, around the fight for peace, civil rights and liberties, and other agreed upon issues. We will strive for agreement with them on joint efforts to promote the formation of a new Party of the anti-monopoly forces at a time when the mass trade-union movement can be won for such a policy. We should solicit their help in winning the trade unions for such a Party. Meanwhile we should make clear our readiness to unite with them now in the selection of a peace candidate or candidates for Congress in agreed-upon congressional districts."


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2. Automation and Unemployment

"In the five years since the word 'Automation' drew attention, hundreds of thousands of jobs were lost and many occupations wiped out. Numerous fields where no one dreamed automation was possible have been invaded by the new technology. It isn't all push-button operation, but the technology of automation of machines operating a chain of machines, has paced the swiftest upswing in new mechanics and chemicals we have yet experienced.

"OFTEN the theme of a discussion in the mid-fifties was titled 'Automation--Blessing or menace,' The answer is now clear to anyone who isn't a press agent for a corporation. It is most certainly a menace, as it is bound to be in a capitalist society."

The Worker,  
June 26, 1960, p. 4.

"...automation...changes the make-up of the work force. Old skills, old methods, old jobs are abolished. 'Cross-crafting' is pushed, speed-up increased. It creates havoc with seniority, with job classifications, with job security. It eliminates the lowest paid and the highest paid workers. No man's job is secure...."

A. Krchmarek, "The Battle in Steel,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1960, pp. 15-16.

"Automation and the use of atomic energy are ushering in great possibilities for new industrial progress. The advances of science and technology in the service of the people should indeed be something to cheer about.

"But when science and new technology are in the hands of Big Business, whose interest is not the welfare of the people but only the lust for maximum profits, then this great achievement turns into its very opposite."
...Automation is being used as a means to increase speed-up, destroy skills, increase the work-load and cut wages."


3. Big Business versus Labor

"Big business attacks on the rights of labor based on the hard won Wagner Act have continued from the ouster of the political left from the CIO through to the Taft-Hartley scab protecting act. Now labor has the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Labor Control Act.

"It is against such 'class war' offensives spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers that labor must unite."

The Worker,
April 10, 1960, p. 5.

"In our class society today, the goals of the Big Business monopolies and the goals of the working people, the Negro people, the bulk of the farmers, intellectuals and all other progressive minded and democratic forces are not the same.

"In the recent strike of the half million steel workers supported by the entire working class, the aim of the steel barons was to eliminate 100,000 steel workers, speed up the rest, lower their wages and weaken their union.

"The aim of the steel workers was just the opposite....

"The aim of the armament makers is to maintain their huge profits, and hence they are, to say the least, not the front line fighters for peace. The aim of the people is to put an end to the threat of war in this age of atomic bombs, rockets and missiles."

The Worker,
February 28, 1960, pp. 6, 11.

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"the people who work, the decisive area of our nation, in the trade unions, want:"

"An end to Big Business's attack on working conditions which the giant steel trusts have launched."


4. Failure of Union Leadership

"GEORGE MEANY has clearly taken a false measure of the mood of America's workers when he hastily issued a statement, immediately after the ill-fated summit conference, proclaiming 'the workers of this country stand behind President Eisenhower.' What really stood out on worker sentiment in the three weeks that passed since the Paris conference and the AFL-CIO head's statement, is the fresh vigor and wider range of the moveemnt for peace in labor ranks, and the fact that more top labor leaders are moving away from Meany's bankrupt coldwar position than ever before."

The Worker, June 12, 1960, p. 4.

"...the Meany leadership of our powerful trade union movement instead of forging the alliance of labor the Negro people, the farmers, the peace forces, is joining with the most extreme cold ward elements with lies and slanders against the lands of socialism, giving support to the worst enemies of labor, the big monopolies and their political spokesmen.

"This situation demands from all of us greater initiative, activity and leadership. We must be first in devotion and self-sacrifice in the sitdowns, on the picketlines, in the peace marches and meetings and in election struggle."

The Worker, May 1, 1960, p. 12.

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"In 1949, the CIO convention was told that if the 'Communist dominated' unions with a million members were expelled, organizing of the unorganized will be easier and the loss would be made up several fold within a short time. Those expulsions drained the CIO of vigor and blood and left it an easy prey for anti-union attacks and AFL raiders.

"The situation is a direct result of the cold war policy leaders of the AFL and CIO embraced. So was every field of trade union work adversely affected by the influence of cold war policy. Furthermore, the top bureaucracy has become more entrenched in the unions; racketeer and assorted corrupt and business unionism elements have had a field day and expanded under cover of cold war and McCarthyite type attacks on the rank and file and progressives."

The Worker,
February 21, 1960, p. 6.

"Meany, especially because of his extreme cold war position and his acts on civil rights, is a millstone around labor's neck. He repels support from sections of the population that should be allied with labor.

"It is high time some of Meany's associates in the leadership, who often mutter privately about the embarrassment he causes labor, speak their mind.

"We urge local union and community groups to protest Meany's outrageous acts and let AFL-CIO headquarters know of their feelings. . . ."

Editorial, The Worker,
February 14, 1960, p. 2.

"A GROWING section of trade leadership is beginning to recognize that the Meany-Lovestone policy has left the unions behind millions in the country on the peace front. They see the Meany-Lovestone policy a millstone around labor's neck, weakening even its appeal for public support of unions against employer attacks. Ironically, it is in the midst of such trend that Reuther falls into Meany's arms and echoes the cold war position the AFL-CIO head and former President Harry Truman have been harping."

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"It is true, of course, that nothing could be more displeasing to Meany than a digression from his coldwar position. But it is self-deception to regard Meany as above the battle, and forget he came from the reactionary bureaucracy that has always tried to devitalize the industrial unions. In a showdown struggle between the dominant group of the old AFL leaders and the industrial unions, Meany will stick with his own crowd. Cringing before this crowd is an invitation to attack the industrial unions and keep holding back any serious moves to organize the unorganized."

The Worker,
April 3, 1960, p. 6.

5. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"...the people who work, the decisive area of our nation, in the trade unions, want:

"The repeal and end of all anti-labor legislation!"

The Worker,

"The reactionary forces in Congress have erected a wall of restrictive anti-labor legislation from the infamous Taft-Hartley Act to the shackling Landrum-Griffin Act. This wall must and can be broken down by means of a sweeping campaign of united trade union action for the repeal of such legislation, or else the trade union movement will become chained to government control of unions for the benefit of the monopoly interests.

"In the center of labor's counter-offensive must be a fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, a fight against new anti-labor legislation, and a fight for positive legislation to protect labor's rights. At the same time there must be the utmost resistance to all plans for accommodation to anti-labor legislation."
"Today the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act seeks to shackle the unions, and also seeks to place further obstacles in the way of participation of Communists in the labor movement. But it should be clear that this Act, using the bogey of anti-Communism, opens the door to prosecution of trade unionists of all political views. It demonstrates anew and more sharply than ever the harmfulness of anti-Communism to all of labor. The Communist Party itself, while continuing to make its contribution to the present struggles of the working class, will fight tirelessly for the abolition of all such repression. And it will do so in relationship to the fight to advance both the immediate interests of the working class and its ultimate interest--socialism."


6. Negro American Labor Council

"THE PURPOSE of the Negro American Labor Council, said A. Philip Randolph at its founding convention in Detroit, 'is to organize Negro trade unionists to eradicate the evil of racial discrimination from which they alone suffer.'"

"Establishment of the NALC is an outstanding organizational accomplishment on the part of representatives of the more than one and a half million Negro trade unionists. Now the Negro workers as an independent and united force can take their due place in the Negro people's far-flung line of battle for the wiping out of segregation and discrimination from American life.

"While the primary field of their struggle will be on the economic front against discrimination in employment and the remaining color bars in the life of the trade unions, it will bring a powerful force to bear on the political and civil rights fronts as well.

"Certainly all progressives will hail the beginnings at Detroit and will assist in every way to help this young movement to realize its lofty objectives."
"It is to be regretted that this lusty infant was marked at birth by diverting and unsightly concessions to anticomunist prejudice ensconced in its Constitution. This alien growth should be cauterized."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 12, 1960, p. 3.

"The NALC should be warmly welcomed by ALL because it is another strong weapon against discrimination. And no less important, spurred by the fight on jimcrow, the NALC will help draw into union life and leadership, more thousands--especially the thousands most abused and most willing to struggle militantly. It will, therefore, serve as a force for greater progressivism in labor."

"The test for the NALC will not be loyalty to the AFL-CIO's top leaders, most of whom ignore or violate the principles against discrimination incorporated in the AFL-CIO constitution."

"The real test will be in the ability of the new movement to wage militant struggle to force compliance with, and application of, those principles by the organizations and leaders of the AFL-CIO.

"In that struggle, the support and activity of those on the Left in labor ranks will not be wanting..."

The Worker,
June 19, 1960, p. 4.

7. World Federation of Trade Unions

"The five-day 11th session of the general council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which was held in Peking, concluded with unanimous adoption of a resolution on the current international situation and the tasks of labor in the struggle for peace and against colonialism."

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"All speakers...directed sharp fire at imperialism, U. S. imperialism in particular, and stressed struggle by the people as the primary force that can bring real peace negotiations and eventually secure the world against the menace of war."

"Agostino Novella, president of the WFTU, in summarizing the session, said:

"We have decided unanimously that we must go forward, must extend and intensify the struggle and increase international solidarity.

"Events have confirmed the decisive value of mass struggle, above all the struggle of the working class and of the laboring people in the forward march of the peace forces to secure a stable peace."

"Novella also stressed that peaceful co-existence between nations should never be interpreted as an easing of the class struggle and the fight against imperialism. He said the struggle to safeguard peace was always accompanied by the growth of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and by the national liberation movement waged by the people against imperialist oppression."

The Worker,
June 26, 1960, p. 2.
IV. AGRICULTURE

1. An agricultural program must support the interests of the small farmers as opposed to those of the large farmers.

2. A farmer-labor-Negro coalition is necessary to defend the common interests of the farmers, workers, and Negro people against the Dixiecrats.

3. The organization of the unorganized working farmers, both Negro and white, is an urgent task for the labor movement.

4. Under capitalist agriculture, the income of the small farmer declines whereas under socialist agriculture it rises.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Communist Farm Program

"A FARM PROGRAM

"...must be based on supporting the interests of the small farmers as against those of the large capitalist farmers...."

"1. A main advantage of big farmers is the vast profits they sweat out of the terribly underpaid and exploited farm workers. The organization of effective unions among farm workers would be a major help to small and middle farmers...."

"2. The method of farm price protection must be changed. Farm produce should sell on the open market, and prices under parity should be supplemented by deficiency payments on only that amount of production per farm that will sustain a family-size farmer.

"3. We oppose crop curtailment, but where there is reduction it must be imposed entirely on the big farmers."
"4. The Communist Party urges full participation of its members in every struggle to keep small and middle farmers on their farms, including support of legislative programs for low-interest credit, soil conservation, crop insurance, federal aid to education and other demands of small farmers.

"5. We favor the enactment of a national food stamp plan that will supplement the starvation wages imposed on millions of Americans, and that will provide adequate food and clothing to the millions in depressed areas....

"6. The world, too, needs a food stamp plan. Let us subsidize the shipment of food abroad to allay hunger, instead of military hardware for destruction."


2. Farmer-Labor-Negro Coalition

"The common interests of the farmers, workers and Negro people require an offensive against the Dixiecrats. It is the Dixiecrats who are the gun runners for the offensive against the labor movement. It is the Dixiecrats who block the democratic advance of the Negro people. It is the Dixiecrats who defend the interests of big farmers and plantation owners.

"Farm-state liberal Congressmen trade with the Dixiecrats to help pass farm legislation. Deals are made whereby the Dixiecrats trade their votes on farm laws for support of anti-union and anti-civil rights positions. The Dixiecrats must be isolated in national politics and then totally eliminated. This can only be done by a farmer-labor-Negro coalition in which each understands and supports the basic needs of the others, and which develops urban support in the North and West for adequate farm legislation."

"On the Farm Question," Political Affairs, March, 1960, p. 82.
3. Organization of Agricultural Workers

"The Negro farmers conduct their struggle through organizations and in such forms as are common to farmers generally in the country and to the Negro people in the South particularly.... Though represented to some extent in all of the major farm organizations, the Negro poor farmers, like Southern white poor farmers, are largely unorganized in terms of a class organization with their white brothers in behalf of common economic and political demands. The organization of the unorganized working farmers, Negro and white, is an outstanding urgent need of, and task before, the labor movement as well as the Negro people's freedom movement."


4. Socialist and Capitalist Agriculture

"This year, one of the key slogans is 'bring the advantages of the People's Communes into Full Play-Speed Up the Overtaking of Grade One Teams by Grade Three Teams.' And thereby hangs a tale that throws the contrast between socialist and capitalist agriculture into sharpest focus."

"China's 20–odd thousand rural People's Communes are subdivided into big production teams... These production teams fall into three categories according to their income and general economic circumstances--Grade One consists of the more well-to-do teams, Grade Two of the average and Grade Three of the less developed teams.... However, under the Communist principle of more political and economic help to the less developed, members of the third category of production teams showed a really phenomenal rise in income during the last year, despite the weather."

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"Contrast this with the U.S. Census Bureau figures which show how the lower economic levels of American farmers are constantly being shoved still further down the ladder and finally driven off the land altogether to swell the ranks of the unemployed! What is involved here is not simply a difference in economic systems, but also a corresponding difference in the basic attitude towards the people who produce the country's wealth."

The Worker,
May 15, 1960, p. 4.
V. COLONIALISM

1. United States imperialism wants to keep the Latin-American countries enslaved as a source of profits.

2. The Cuban revolution seeks to establish true national independence in Cuba and as such should be supported by progressive forces in the United States.

3. The Communist Party supports the Puerto Rican people in their fight for full independence and freedom from American imperialism.

4. The "white supremacist" South African Government is financed by the United States Government and controls the African people through the Pass Laws.

5. American workers should help the South Korean people in their struggle against United States interference.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

I. American Imperialism in Latin America

"Today there are only two roads for Latin America: The Cuban anti-imperialist revolutionary road or the Washington Wall Street colonialist road."

The Worker, May 15, 1960, p. 4.

"...Pres. Eisenhower, on his return from his hemispheric journey, delivered a radio and TV address which contained a thinly-veiled threat against Cuba or any other Latin American people that sets up governments not to the liking of the State Department. If the State Department regards such a new government as 'tyrannical,' i.e., if that government pushes through land-reform or curbs foreign monopoly dictation, pressures would follow from Washington for armed, political or economic intervention."

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"The President's speeches were all general, and threadbare except for two repeated themes. One was the hope for peace and the benefits that disarmament would bring to all countries (while at the same time threatening intervention in any Latin American country that tried to free itself from imperialist exploitation.) The other main theme was that if those countries needed loans they would have to accept the stiff conditions demanded of them which in synthesis are the surrender of their economies to U. S. imperialism."

"...As long as imperialism controls their economies and drains their countries of their wealth taking out both the unprocessed raw materials plus the profits of the work of their peoples the Latin American peoples will live in misery. And as the workers and peasants of Latin America learn of the fast pace in which the Soviet Union, China and the other Socialist countries build economies of plenty for their people they will increase their militancy and struggle for decent living conditions."

The Worker,
March 13, 1960, p. 2.

"A program of genuine aid to the Latin American countries is vitally needed. But such a program requires assistance to the Cuban people in their heroic efforts, and not campaigns to undermine them. It requires removal of the multitude of important quotas and tariffs which now exist on Latin American goods, as well as stabilization of their prices. It requires adequate long-term development loans, without attached conditions that state-owned enterprises be turned over to United States trusts or that the living standards of the working people be wrecked by 'austerity' programs. It requires opening the door to trade with all countries, including the lands of socialism. And it requires an end to the reactionary anti-Communist campaign, which serves as a cloak for fastening the grip of exploitation more firmly on the Latin American people.

"Such a program...is incompatible with the drive of United States imperialism to keep the Latin American countries an enslaved source of superprofits. It is a program which must be fought for by the American people in opposition to the trusts...."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"
Political Affairs, April, 1960, p. 14.
2. Cuba

"...the Cuban revolution... is a democratic revolution, seeking to establish the true national independence of Cuba and the freedom of its people to control their own political and economic lives. As such it has the fullest support of the Cuban Communists. It is the most advanced wave of the tide of national liberation which has begun to sweep Latin America, and is a beacon light to its sister Latin American countries.

"It is exactly this which causes such consternation in American ruling circles, for the democratic interests of the Cuban people are incompatible with those of United States monopoly capital...."

"It is clear that if the schemes of Wall Street are to be defeated, the American people must take a firm stand... in defense of the sovereign rights of the Cuban nation. Solidarity of American and Cuban workers against a common exploiter, American monopoly capital, is in the interests of both."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month," Political Affairs, May, 1960, pp. 9, 12.

"...Cuba... is subject today to the combined onslaught of powerful forces manipulated by American imperialist interests who dread the impressive advances being made by the new government. Capitalist newspapers, State Department officials, television, radio, the combined agents of ex-Dictator Batista and Dictator Trujillo--all have joined forces to defame and injure in every conceivable way, economically, politically, militarily, that country whose advances are regarded as sacred by the 200 million inhabitants of Latin America, as well as by all enlightened mankind everywhere.

"Imperialism fears that the new Cuba will succeed...."
"The imperialist forces that exploit and oppress the Cuban people and the rest of the Latin American nations are the same monopolists that exploit the workers of the United States. This fact places upon the workers and progressive forces of the United States the responsibility of developing solidarity and aid to the embattled people of Cuba and the other nations of Latin America."


3. **Puerto Rico**

"PUERTO RICO is a nation. It is a direct colony of American imperialism.

"The Communist Party has a twofold task in relation to Puerto Rico.

"First, to aid the people in Puerto Rico in the fight against economic, social and political oppression by Wall Street imperialism, and for full sovereignty and independence.

"Second, to aid the Puerto Ricans in the United States, in their struggles against extreme conditions of poverty, slum ghettos, discrimination, police brutality, and other forms of oppression as a national minority."


"The Cuban revolution is threatening to change the slave-master relationship between Latin America and Wall Street. American imperialism has been pressed to a decision for a definite political status for Alaska and Hawaii. And pretty soon a final decision about Puerto Rico, for independence or statehood, will have to be made."

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"One day soon the united Puerto Rican forces for independence, rejecting anti-Communist prejudice, will appear on the scene. They will present a program for the solution of the economic problems of Puerto Rico, not based on the left-overs from the U. S. economy, but on trading with ALL OTHER countries, as Cuba is doing today."

The Worker,
May 8, 1960, p. 4.

4. South Africa

"THE U. S. GOVERNMENT must stop financing the South African butchers.

"This demand should be addressed to the Eisenhower Administration, which alone has loaned more than $100,000,000 to the Apartheid slave masters."

"...all of this Export-Import Bank aid to South Africa is strengthening the slave system of the bloodiest white supremacists on the Earth Planet."

The Worker,
April 24, 1960, p. 6.

"The aim of the African people today is to end the iniquitous Pass Laws imposed on them by the South African Government."
"For, though slavery was officially abolished there in 1834, these Pass Laws have taken its place.

"This is the centre of the struggle now going on in South Africa."

"The real reasons for the Pass Laws in South Africa are...clear:

1. It brings the African into the grip of the police State—every man is indexed, numbered, finger-printed and kept in his place and regimented to the needs of the privileged white minority, the mining monopolies and the white farms.

2. Above all it keeps the system of cheap labor going—every worker, in fear of the loss of his job and his pass, is forced to accept poverty wages.

"It provides for a vast controlled labor force without trade union rights, without the right to bargain and without the right to opportunity.

"3. It is a source of revenue for the white regime—pass book fees, court fines, and the thousands of pounds collected on the monthly service contracts help to maintain an army of Civil servants and police."

The Worker, April 10, 1960, pp. 9, 11.

"Today the international united front of national liberation movements and the 'Western' working class movements, is fast changing the political map of the world. Now only fragments of world imperialism's once powerful colonial empire remain in Asia. Half of Africa has obtained its sovereignty and although the gangster government of South Africa has launched a wild frenzy of violence upon the Africans, it is but the death convulsions of a doomed regime...."

Editorial, The Worker, April 24, 1960, p. 2.
5. South Korea

"THE U. S. STATE Department, like Pilate, is trying to wash the blood off its hands again. But the Eisenhower Administration can't escape the guilt in Korea. For Syngman Rhee and his butchers were its puppets many years.

"The fact is that Washington kept these butchers in power as long as it could. It kept them in power with billions of dollars of American aid, and with tens of thousands of American bayonets. The bullets that killed the students were made in American mills. And the U. S. gave Rhee its blessing until the Korean people rebelled.

"South Korea is a U. S. colony in everything but name."

The Worker,

"...The South Korean people see what their brothers and sisters in North Korea are accomplishing. Free of imperialist exploitation, they are marching forward at a rapid rate, industrializing their country, providing jobs and food for all, building homes, overcoming illiteracy, raising the people's living standards. News of this tremendous progress cannot be kept from the poverty-ridden and oppressed people of the south.

"The struggle of the South Korean people will go on. American workers should give all-out support. In the first place, demand the withdrawal of U. S. military forces, thinly disguised as UN forces! Take away American weapons from Syngman Rhee's armed assassins! Let the South Korean people determine their own future!"

The Worker,
May 1, 1960, p. 2.
"...the democratic interests of the Korean people, our national interests, and the cause of world peace, demand that the military bases in South Korea be dismantled, that all foreign military forces be withdrawn from Korea, that Korea be allowed full freedom to develop her national life without foreign interference as an atom-free, militarily unarmed, ZONE OF PEACE in the Far East."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 1, 1960, p. 3.
VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. Civil rights legislation passed by Congress is too weak, and pressure must be exerted for the enactment of stronger legislation.

2. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has harassed thousands of Americans in all walks of life and should be abolished.

3. The Senate Rackets Committee is being used by headline-hunting investigators and should be dissolved.

4. The Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act is the toughest antilabor law yet enacted, because it puts trade-unions directly under Government control.

5. The Internal Security Act of 1950, automatically condemning any organization registering under it as a "communist action" or "communist front organization," is "the Big Lie written into law."

6. Henry Winston, Gil Green, and Robert Thompson are in reality political prisoners and should be freed.

7. William Z. Foster, chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, USA, has been kept under virtual house arrest by the United States Government on the excuse that he may be brought to trial at some future date.

8. The Communist Control Act of 1954 has resulted in barring communist candidates from the ballot, hounding communists in employment, and harassing the children of communists in school.
SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Civil Rights Legislation

"WATERED DOWN civil rights legislation or none at all— that is the danger at the second session of the 86th Congress. In the battle against entrenched privilege and Confederate die-hardism the people's forces are not commensurate with the need. But massive people's intervention is required for victory.

"President Eisenhower and the Administration have already run up the white flag of surrender to Dixiecratism. The President has asked Congress to pass his toothless seven-point civil rights program which was introduced last year. He has refused to endorse the recommendations of the federal Civil Rights Commission for Federal registrars in Southern states where officials reject Negroes seeking to vote."

"The hour is late but not too late. Massive labor and people's support can yet guarantee legislation to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro Americans."

The Worker, January 17, 1960, p. 3.

"Pressure upon the Conventions of the two major parties is needed. It is a step in the development of militant action. By demonstrative militant activities Congress must be compelled to pass a vital Civil Rights program.

"It is time to force the passage of an anti-lynch bill.

"The Attorney General, head of one of the most significant agencies of the Executive branch of government, must be forced to ensure the voting rights of the Negro citizens."
"All organizations advocating or practicing racial discrimination or terror must be outlawed and subjected to vigorous and effective legal prosecution....

"All state or federal laws restricting the rights and privileges of citizens must be annulled.

"The government must make no contract nor extend credits to those groups or organizations which in their public dealing practice racism or permit it to be practiced."

The Worker,
February 21, 1960, p. 11.

"Dixie filibusters and their Northern confederates from both sides of the aisle are shorting over the predicted outcome of their macabre death dance upon the body of the civil rights bills. They have stomped the life out of the bills offered for securing and safeguarding the full citizenship rights of the Negro people, and have voted out a fetid corpse."

"All this means that so far as Congress is concerned the disfranchised Negro masses can have no relief which their disfranchisers do not choose to grant. It leaves the suffrage rights of the Negro people of the South right where they were before, in the hands of their oppressors."

"The farce played in the Congress on civil rights ended nothing and settled nothing. The Negro people and all true believers in democracy have just begun to fight."

Editorial, The Worker,
"THE SO-CALLED Civil Rights Bill passed by the Senate and sent back to the House for action, is worse than nothing.

"It isn't even the mouse produced by the proverbial labors of a mountain. Or if it is a mouse, the danger is that it will eat up the remnant of civil rights which the Negro students in the deep South are defending with their naked backs."

"The clever Johnsons, the happy Eisenhower and the opportunist Nixon may think the Negro people are dumb, whom they'd like to whip as the South African beasts do the African natives. But they're in for a rude awakening, in this election year. Gone is the day when the Negro would accept any old thing the cat dragged in, or when he would wait around quietly and passively for his freedom.

"The prediction of the Communists, along with a few others, that the civil rights battle in the Senate was a putrid sham, was all too true. The main thing now, however, is how to turn this insulting fraud into future victories for the unity and advancement of the Negro and the whole cause of civil rights."

The Worker,
April 17, 1960, pp. 1, 14.

2. House Committee on Un-American Activities

"...the House Committee on Un-American Activities..."

"...public opposition to the Committee has been rising not only from those who view the Committee from the standpoint of the political left, but also from many highly 'respectable' sources which evidently feel that the Committee is a vestige of McCarthyism and should be abolished. That such opinion has not yet reached proportions sufficient to influence the actions of Congress is self-evident. Continued and increased activity is necessary before a break-through in the House is possible."
"The fury of the Cold War has diminished somewhat in the past few years and there are signs of increasing activity on the part of those who believe in unorthodox political views and in the importance of preserving First Amendment freedoms. The Committee stands today as a major obstacle to the continuation of such growth. Increased concerted activity on all fronts is necessary if it is to be abolished."


"Anti-communism must be recognized for what it is, a weapon against the interests of the people.

"That is why the demand is growing to end the House Un-American Activities Committee, whose stock-in-trade is anticommunism. That is why the time is ripe for a mass exposure and banishment of the anti-Communist virus."


"THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

"THE CHRONOLOGY OF RECENT political repressive legislation began when the House Committee on Un-American Activities was set up in 1938 under the chairmanship of Congressman Martin Dies of Texas..... While fascist agents and pro-Nazi activities infested our country prior to Pearl Harbor, this committee not only failed to investigate them but actually worked in collusion with them....."

"The committee has hounded and harassed thousands of American shop workers, union leaders, scientists, actors, ministers, reporters,
government workers. Many have been blacklisted, lost employment, and been imprisoned. I am sure its long and disgraceful career of repression is well known to our readers...."


3. Senate Rackets Committee

"SENATOR McCLELLAN, after announcing publicly that the Senate Committee he heads would wind up its affairs and expire March 31, suddenly reversed his position. He obtained from the Senate Rules committee another 12-month extension for the committee and $100,000 to continue the hearings."

"The labor movement is now paying the price not only because of the folly of backing the McClellan committee when it began, but for refusing to face forthrightly the issue of headline-hunting 'investigators' when the idea was becoming 'institutionalized' for 'red-hunting' purposes 20 years ago.

"Now that there is general agreement in all of labor, in and out of the AFL-CIO, that the McClellan committee should be ended, an all-out drive should be launched to defeat the extension, and every Senator should be forced to stand up and be counted on the issue."


"DESPITE A NUMBER of court decisions and other developments indicating a lessening of the worst aspects of judicial assaults on democratic rights, reaction is still determined to carry on in the spirit of McCarthyism.
"The illegal use of Congressional committees to persecute peace advocates, trade unionists and the Negró people still continues...."


4. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"American big business...

"...has launched an anti-labor offensive marked especially by a drive, through the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act and other anti-labor laws, to subject organized labor to complete government control and regulation."

The Worker, May 1, 1960, p. 1.

"LABOR MANAGEMENT REPORTING DISCLOSURE ACT

"This toughest anti-labor law yet enacted...is called the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act by Congress and the Killer Law by organized labor. It puts the unions directly under government control...."

"...Many...unions are extremely critical of the Act and some real challenge of this fascist-like control of unions is assured."

...To continue the struggle to abolish the...anti-labor laws, is a must...."

"The betrayal by this Congress, the Administration, and the dominant forces in both parties, of labor and the Negro people, in the passage of the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy anti-labor law, and the sham civil rights bill, should make clear once again the need for unity of labor and the Negro people, of all the progressive and peace forces in common action on the political front.

"NOT TOO LATE"

"It is not yet too late for such united action. And certainly it can be developed in many areas, and especially for the nomination and election of labor, Negro and peace candidates for Congress, and the state legislatures...."

The Worker,
May 1, 1960, p. 11.

5. Internal Security Act

'INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1950...is the so-called McCarran Act. Under its provisions the Communist Party and twelve other organizations have been cited before the Subversive Activities Control Board, set up under it to investigate organizations and designate those who should be ordered to register as either 'Communist action' or 'Communist front organizations.' This monstrous piece of legislation originated in the Mundt-Nixon bill of 1948. It has built into it outrageous definitions and so-called 'facts' which by decree it declares as part of the law, thereby also creating a built-in verdict of guilt on the part of anyone who would register under it. It is the Big Lie written into law...."


"...The Department of Justice is still pressing the outlawing of the Communist Party under the McCarran Act....The FBI continues its harassment of supporters of peace and democratic rights..."

6. Amnesty Appeals

"The sham of the government's democratic pretensions is shown by the stubborn refusal of the Parole Board to release our unjustly-imprisoned comrades, Henry Winston, Gil Green and Bob Thompson, while crooks are regularly paroled or pardoned. Their continued imprisonment, the brutal sentence inflicted on Morton Sobell, the Taft-Hartley jailing, the sentences imposed on the numerous individuals who merely asserted their rights under the First Amendment—all these, and others as well, give the lie to the pious hypocrisy that there are no political prisoners in the United States."


"Let our readers help rouse the conscience of the nation and the world to the fact that U. S. prisons hold POLITICAL PRISONERS in defiance of court rulings that have affirmed their innocence of any violation of law (the Supreme Court's decision in the Yates case, et al.)

"Demand that President Eisenhower and Attorney General William P. Rogers grant full amnesty NOW to Winston, Green, Thompson and all political prisoners!

"Urge your trade union leaders, your civic leaders, your congressman, the church leaders and newspaper editors to intercede for justice now!"


"The fight for Winston's freedom must go on. His freedom can be won by continuing and increasing the demands on President Eisenhower for executive clemency or medical parole."

Editorial, The Worker, April 17, 1960, p. 2.
"Winston is a political prisoner, in whose situation is merged the abominable cruelty of American racism against the Negro people and the viciousness towards Communists and others who dare to oppose the reactionary policies of American imperialism."

"Let the revolutionists in Washington start at home. Let them free the man whose health their own criminal neglect has broken. Winston is certainly not out of our minds and hearts, nor will we permit the federal government to forget him.

"Send letters, resolutions and wires to the President demanding his immediate release! Get friends, shopworkers and neighbors to do likewise."

The Worker, 
April 24, 1960, p. 2.

7. William Z. Foster under House Arrest

"The U. S. Court of Appeals on Thursday, May 12, denied the motion of William Z. Foster, chairman emeritus of the CPUSA to dismiss the eleven-year-old Smith Act indictment and to permit him to travel to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia for medical treatment."

"The U. S. government, through its Department of Justice attorneys, maintain that they plan to bring him to trial some day in the future and therefore want the indictments in force and Foster confined to his bail limits. Consequently, Foster has been kept under virtual house arrest with the threat of trial hanging over his head for over eleven years and this situation will continue for the rest of his life unless popular indignation can compel the U. S. Government to drop the indictment."

The Worker, 
May 22, 1960, p. 3.
8. **Communist Control Act**

"OUTLAW ACT"

"This weird proposal, made in 1954 by Senator Humphrey, to outlaw the Communist Party, declared however that membership is not a crime. No attempt has been made to enforce it. Indirect effects are the refusal of meeting halls and office space in many cities, that Communist candidates are barred from the ballot, that radio and TV time cannot be purchased, that there is harassment of individuals by the FBI, Communists are hounded in employment, and children of Communists are harassed in schools and colleges."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Civil Liberties and the Communist Party," *Political Affairs*, January, 1960, p. 44.
VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The huge cost of armaments in the United States is borne by the working class and has resulted in lowering their living conditions.

2. The Soviet Union has made a sincere effort to bring about total disarmament whereas the United States has not.

3. The Eisenhower administration is responsible for the failure of negotiations with the Soviet Union for a nuclear weapon test ban.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Armament Costs

"The lords of Big Business, the high military brass, the bi-partisan advocates of the cold war and the arms race are crippling democracy, undermining our republican form of government, and corrupting the morality of the country. The arms race and the so-called foreign aid program have become one big monopoly payola, with the people paying."

The Worker,
June 5, 1960, p. 2.

"However profitable military spending may be to Big Business, the American working people will be far better off without it. Disarmament will make possible a very substantial reduction of the present enormous tax load. It will release the immense sums now being thrown down the drain, to be used for productive purposes--for the schools, hospitals, homes, power projects, and the recreational and other facilities which are so badly needed. The replacement of the present foreign military 'aid' with genuine economic assistance in the industrialization of undeveloped countries will create big new markets for American goods. And the ending of the cold-war trade embargo will open up added markets for American exports to the tune of billions of dollars a year."
"All this will serve greatly to raise living standards and mass purchasing power, and to provide far more jobs than are now to be found in military production." 

"On the Fight for Peace and the Struggle Against the Monopolies," 
Political Affairs, February, 1960, p. 9.

"Military expenditure is a form of state monopoly capitalism—that is, of using the financial resources of the government to protect and augment monopoly profits, with the working people footing the bill. It is the form of government spending most preferred by big business."


2. Disarmament

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"Support proposals for general and complete disarmament which were first advanced by the Soviet Union."

The Worker, May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"THE 10-NATION East-West Disarmament Conference, which resumed in Geneva last Tuesday, has been given the opportunity to retrieve the progress toward peace lost by the Eisenhower administration's sabotage of the Paris summit conference."
"Now, once again, the Soviet Union has sought to cut through the entanglements and booby traps devised by Washington. In a sincere effort to come to agreement with the West on the only real guarantee of an era of peace, total disarmament, the USSR has come much more than half-way to meet Washington’s objections, whether real or trumped-up, on stages, controls and other guarantees."

"Past performances of the Eisenhower administration indicate that it will drag its feet on this latest disarmament proposal as it has on all past genuine approaches to peace. It will be goaded into action only by the concerted demand of the American people. Letters and resolutions from every neighborhood, factory, trade union, club and church organization throughout the land will help Eisenhower and his State Department to make up their minds to come to agreement with the Soviet Union and the socialist world for real disarmament."

Editorial, The Worker, June 12, 1960, p. 3.

"...the grand vista of total, universal disarmament in the space of four years, opened up by Khrushchev in his United Nations speech, offers a shining goal for which to fight. In such a fight, we Communists must be found in the very front ranks."

Hyman Lumer, "Disarmament and the American Economy," Political Affairs, January, 1960, p. 34.

3. Use of Nuclear Weapons Opposed

"TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, it was the Eisenhower administration that pushed the arm that set off the French atomic blast in the Sahara desert, increasing the nuclear peril to all humanity. Washington's criminal stalling at Geneva, its conniving to scuttle the negotiations with the Soviet Union and Britain for a nuclear weapon test ban, gave the French imperialists the time they needed to prepare and explode an atomic charge, despite the protests of the African nations, whose lands were violated and poisoned."
"Not only is the French atomic explosion a menace in itself, but it increases the power of the revenge-hungry Adenauer regime, with its hard core of Nazi generals and officials and the Krupps and other monopolists who pull their strings.

"The American people cannot permit this to go on, or the world will be filled with trigger-happy purveyors of nuclear weapons."

"We have to act at once, or our country, because of the madness of a few officials, will be responsible for a situation in which all civilization can be destroyed."


"...President Eisenhower...should be reminded again and again that the people...want a permanent ban on all nuclear testing, the destruction of all nuclear stockpiles, and the outlawing of nuclear war...""

The Worker, March 27, 1960, p. 9.

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"Actions for ending atom weapons tests, prohibiting the manufacture of nuclear weapons and destroying atom-bomb stockpiles."

The Worker, May 1, 1960, pp. 6-7.
VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Communists advocate united action of the Negro people in order to ensure full effectiveness in the struggle for Negro equality.

2. The communist program for "self-determination" of the Negro in the Black Belt area in the South* has been discarded, and the present policy is to seek complete economic, political, and social equality for the Negro with all other American citizens.

3. The labor movement must act to force the Federal Government to secure full integration in the South.

4. Anticommunist attacks restrict the "initiative of the masses" and impede Negro progress toward full equality.

5. The Communist Party must help to unite the two largest and most oppressed national minorities in the United States—the Mexican-American people and the Negroes.

6. The Attorney General must intervene to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan in the South and end its reign of terrorism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Mass Action Needed To Solve Negro Question

"To the struggle for Negro freedom the Negro worker brings many indispensable contributions. Foremost among these is mass action, in the best tradition of the labor movement of which he is a part. Without this element the battle for Negro equality cannot be fully effective..." **

* The communist idea of self-determination proposed that Negroes in those counties of the Southern States where they were the majority of the population actually secede from the United States and establish their own government.

** Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.
"Communists have long advocated the united action of the Negro workers to enhance their fight for equality on the job and in the labor movement, and to add their organized weight to the struggles of their people for freedom...."


"Out of the crucible of many struggles there is emerging a pattern of generalized concepts which, in time, no doubt will become guiding principles of a united Negro people's movement. First and foremost is the concept of mass struggles as opposed to exclusive preoccupation with the legal phase. The Negro people have learned through bitter experience that reliance upon court victories does not suffice to do the job of winning freedom. Hence, more emphasis is being placed on forms of struggle based on grass roots activity.

"Forces in the NAACP which heretofore relied solely on the legal struggle, and deprecated mass actions under today's circumstances, are being forced to embrace mass activity as a principal weapon. This is most clearly demonstrated in what is happening around the student sit-in strikes in the South. These have already assumed the character of a national peoples' crusade. Supporting actions of a mass character are developing everywhere and the NAACP is playing a pivotal role."


2. "Self-Determination" Slogan Withdrawn

"ON WITHDRAWAL OF THE SLOGAN OF SELF-DETERMINATION

"In 1930 the Communist Party adopted... programs on the Negro question in the United States! in a pioneering attempt to theorize and project a principled solution to that special feature of Negro life--the oppression of the plantation-bound masses of Negroes in the so-called Black Belt area of the deep South."

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"Nevertheless, this particular program for the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. was revealed to be an incorrect orientation by the course of the development in the country and within the Negro people's movement. Life experience and greater knowledge of the question have exposed its deficiencies and for this reason the 'self-determination' projection and program for the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. is now discarded. . . . Our Party's view and policy in respect to the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. is to secure to the Negro people with all speed the complete realization of genuinely equal economic, political and social status with all other American citizens."


"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"Join in active struggle with the Southern Negro masses for the total abolition of the segregation system and in defense of the economic, political and social equality of the Negro people."

The Worker, May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

3. Labor Must Aid Struggle Against Segregation in South

"What is needed for victory of the Negro people's struggles in the South and in Washington on legislation is for the labor movement, for all white progressive and democratic elements, to realize that this is their fight.

"The place of all of us is to support and join the sit-downers and the picketlines demanding an end to segregation. There is urgent need to step up activity that will make clear to every Congressman, especially in the North, that what the people want is not partisan maneuvers and legislation for the record. They want legislation to insure every Negro citizen in the South the right to vote, that will once and for all compel the Federal government to use its resources to put an end to lynch terror and to guarantee the Negro people, North and South, all their rights and protection under the constitution."

"THE MILITANT mass picket lines and sitdowns of the Southern Negro youth represent a new and higher stage of the Negro people's fight for equality. It is they who are championing the Constitution of the United States and defending the rights of all the people. And their heroic actions should be supported by all the people and in the first place by the labor movement."

The Worker,
March 6, 1960, p. 1.

"Men and women of labor, all those with a longing for peace and a sense of justice, must ACT now in support of the valiant though unequal struggle for freedom and against segregation being borne forward by the continuing heroism of the Southern Negro masses.

"Demand that Attorney General Rogers and President Eisenhower now use the full police power of the Federal Government to secure and uphold the equal rights of the Negro people."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 1, 1960, p. 3.

4. Anticommunist Attacks Curtail Effectiveness of Southern Negro Movement

"HAVING FORGED firm ties of internal unity, the Southern movement against segregation, and genuine democracy, and equality is forging ever broader alliances and common ties with labor and all that is progressive in our national life."

"As the power of the movement mounts beyond the ability of enemies to smash it by force, they will strive to undermine it from within. They will strive to introduce divisions, to sow suspicions, to breed distrust between the diverse ideological elements who are united for the common task, the end of jim crow."
"Anti-Communist slanders and witchhunting are the last hope of the detractors from unity and the foes of Negro progress. This device has been used for decades to divide labors ranks and becloud its vision.

"The new movement for Negro freedom needs to be on guard against the drum beaters of 'anti-Communism.'"


"Professional anti-communism--not serious debates and disagreements with Communists on the merits of issues--never stops with Communists. Often it doesn't even touch them. Its inherent menace is that anti-communism clubs down every spark of militancy and struggle, every desire of the Negro people for unity, at a time when both vigor and united action are needed to smash Jimcrow in America....

"...Red-baiting restricts the initiative of the masses and robs the Negro people's movement of its independence."

The Worker, June 19, 1960, p. 9.

5. Mexican Americans

"The Mexican-American people constitute an oppressed national minority with strong ties of language and culture. They suffer discrimination from chauvinism and the entire pattern of national oppression."

"The general isolation of the Party is sharply demonstrated in our isolation from the Mexican-American people of the Southwest. Our Party has an important history in organizing and leading struggles of the Mexican-American people. To root the Party in the Southwest is to influence a decisive
national minority... Our Party must seek to initiate steps that will lead to the unity of the two largest and most oppressed national minorities—the Negro people and the Mexican-American people."


6. Ku Klux Klan

"...the architects of 'massive resistance' policy to nullify the constitution's 14 and 15th amendments and the Supreme Courts desegregation rulings, the Almonds, Byrds and the cabal of unreconstructable Dixiecrats of Virginia and the South are not resting their hopes on filibustering civil rights bills in Congress and enacting punitive racist laws in Virginia. They are stepping up the terror.

"Already over 200 young people have been arrested from Virginia to Alabama. Hoodlum gangs have been given immunity of law to beat, cut and shoot young Negro men and women struggling to uphold their Constitutional right.

"The KKK has convened in Atlanta, with the blessings of Georgia's attorney general, and issued a call for a 100,000 strong legion of terror.

"It IS TIME for every decent minded citizen, for labor and church bodies, to stir into actions of solidarity and support of the fighting Negro people in the South who are risking their lives in this movement embracing tens of thousands to secure the simple liberties that the rest of the nation enjoys.

"U. S. Attorney general Rogers must be compelled to intervene to outlaw the KKK and initiate actions against the lawless officeholders in the South who are organizing terror against the peaceful struggles for equality now being spearheaded by the youth."


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IX. **EDUCATION**

1. The educational program for American youth should include free education through college, Federal school financing, full academic freedom, and the restoration of unrestricted political rights to all teachers and should eliminate all forms of discrimination.

2. Only token integration has taken place in the schools since the Supreme Court’s desegregation order in 1954.

3. In the South, white supremacists are expelling growing numbers of Negro college and university students participating in the sit-down movements for integration at lunch counters.

**SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

1. **Communist Educational Program for American Youth**

"...we present, for the consideration of America’s youth, the following program:

"**The Right to Learn:**

"1. Free education and educational facilities, from kindergarten through college.

"2. Elimination of all forms of discrimination, including the quota systems, to guarantee full integration at all levels of education.

"3. Federal school financing to guarantee:

   a. All necessary improvements in physical plant, facilities, and educational staffs needed to eliminate inequalities created by segregation.
   
   b. Expanded scholarship grants, loan funds and part-time work projects freed of all loyalty provisions.

*Underscored portion italicized in the original text.*
c. Free night schools, from public school through college, for those unable to attend full-time institutions.
d. Decent wage standards for teachers.
e. Expanded vocational training to include new skills needed because of growing automation, and a non-discriminatory job placement program.
f. Review of present curricula, textbooks and other materials to guarantee provision of education for higher skills, an accurate picture of the contributions of labor and minority groups to American life, education for democracy.

"4. Defense of academic freedom. The elimination of all restrictions on the right of students to organize, to listen, to discuss, to debate, to evaluate, to conclude, and to act.

"5. The restoration of full political rights to teachers wherever these have been restricted, so that they may again become full-fledged citizens. A teacher whose citizenship rights have been curtailed by law or otherwise, cannot teach others the rights and duties of citizens in a democracy."


2. Supreme Court School Desegregation Order

"In 1954 the Supreme Court issued its famous decision on desegregation in the school. Six years later, only token integration has been achieved. What little has been done has been accomplished in the face of tremendous terror and intimidation.

"If the executive and legislative branches of the government had been in harmony with the Supreme Court's decision, things by now would have been different...."

"And now--six years after the Supreme Court called for 'all
deliberate speed' in the eradication of segregated education--one finds
that 94% of the southern schools remain completely segregated and that
in most of the remaining 6% the desegregation has been of a token kind.
Certainly there has been 'deliberation' here, but what about the 'speed'? Moderationism and gradualism always have been devices for thwarting
significant change and for curbing the wrath of the masses; for maintaining--
with only the essential concession and elasticity--the system of exploitation and
indignity. If further proof were needed of this, the history of the years since
the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court is that proof."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, May, 1960, p. 50.

"Six years after the Supreme Court Decision on Integration of schools,
we find a frightening increase of segregated schools in New York City. The
Board of Education has scuttled its own plans to end school segregation. The
small victories won after years of struggle by parents in Harlem and Brooklyn's
Bedford Stuyvesant are being whittled away. As children transferred from
segregated schools in Brooklyn and Harlem to lily white schools such as
Glendale complete their grades, no new children are transferred in. In fact,
the Board has taken to bussing children for segregation purposes 'in the
best Georgia tradition', as one Negro parent put it."

"...The Board of Education is following the pattern of the South
by building new schools in the ghettos in order to evade integration. The
Budget proposals also call for closing schools in white communities in
order to evade demands to integrate under-utilized schools."

The Worker,
June 26, 1960, p. 10.
3. **Sit-Down Students**

"ON FEBRUARY 1, in Greensboro, North Carolina, four Negro college students occupied seats at a Woolworth lunch counter and asked to be served. When they were refused, there ensued a sit-down demonstration by a larger body of Negro students."

"The movement quickly won the support of adult Negro leaders and organizations in the South and elsewhere...."

"Alarmed and frightened by the scope and momentum of the movement, the white supremacist ruling elements in the South have reacted in the one way they know--to crush it at all costs. They have expelled students in growing numbers from state-supported colleges. They have resorted to 'legal' devices and maneuvers, to wholesale arrests, and increasingly to outright violence and terror."

*Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month," Political Affairs, April, 1960, pp. 1, 2.*

"MASS FACULTY resignations at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., in protest against the expulsion of James Lawson, Negro sit-in leader, marked the sit-down front last week...."

"The Negro sit-in-leader, who lacked only 12 hours credit for his degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology was expelled last March because of his advocacy of civil disobedience during the Nashville student sit-ins."

*The Worker, June 12, 1960, p. 3.*
X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Bourgeois culture is a "business" run by big businessmen who find it is expendable during a recession.

2. Socialism allows prominent artists to enjoy major differences in style, temperament, and technique.

3. The pharmaceutical industry in the United States is directed by businessmen who use the profit yardstick to measure their contribution to science.

4. The religious ideas of Jesus are only myths and hence have no meaning in the Soviet Union.

5. The objective of the attack on the clergy contained in the Air Force manual was to use the Government's military power to strike at the influence of the National Council of Churches.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Bourgeois Culture Is a Business

"THE ARTS AND BUSINESS are, they say, like oil and water. They just don't mix..."

"It that is so, some bourgeois ideologist must have invented a secret formula by which to mix them. Culture, of course, is not only a business, but a big business, run by big businessmen...."

"To the businessmen who run this show the only critics worth listening to are their accountants.

"Economics of the arts is of course but one aspect of culture and to artist and audience alike, the least aspect. Not so to the businessman who sees profit where the artist sees beauty, for to him profit is beauty."

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"What then takes place during a recession? Businessmen, when money is tight and investment unprofitable, do not invest. Culture becomes expendable."

The Worker, 
June 12, 1960, p. 8.

2. Socialist Artists "Giants" of Culture

"FOR DECADES the trained parrots of bourgeois culture have repeated the stale monotonous unoriginal charge that socialist artists were all trained parrots, 'artists in uniforms,' etc., etc.

"The phony thing isn't heard so often today. For even the dumbest young opportunist plugging at Harvard or Yale toward an academic career in the teaching of literature can perceive that there are major differences in style, temperament, personal lyricism and approach to life in such socialist artists as Mayakovsky, Gorky, Aragon...

"... The universal nature of the socialist idea is well demonstrated by the fact that it is great enough to nourish and contain such varying giants of culture..."

The Worker, 
February 21, 1960, p. 8.

3. Science for Profit

"MEDICINE you buy could cost you one third as much as they do!

"Two dollars of every three that the consumer spends for drugs and medicines is unnecessary, and could easily be cut from the medical bill if the pharmaceutical industry were run for public health instead of private profit."

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"It is strange that one of the most vital fields of medicine in the country is directed almost entirely by bankers and businessmen who use 'the yardstick of dollars' to measure their contribution to science and human welfare."

The Worker,
January 24, 1960, p. 6.

4. Christianity a Myth

"...sometimes, '...those who fought for freedom used religious ideas as a weapon in the struggle. Jesus fought for the oppressed, and used the religious ideas of those times to make his meaning clear. We now know that those ideas are just parts of ancient mythology--fairy tales--but we can see the strength they gave him nevertheless. Is the Soviet Union now putting Christianity into practice? No, she is building a society which may one day give people freedom. The ideas that will grow in the process must turn out to have meaning for people at this later stage, different from that of the poor people of Palestine 2000 years ago. We all understand much more now.

"'So when they say in the Soviet Union they are not putting Christianity into practice, they are right...'"

Ruth Adler, "Africa, Come Back,"

5. Air Force Manual

"The attack on pastors, contained in the manual issued by the Air Force, emphasizes the decay in U. S. leading circles."

"The pamphlet attacking the clergy was issued Feb. 11. The generals said they knew nothing of it until the National Council of Churches called it to their attention.

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"Yet as far back as 1955, the Air Force 'Guide for Security Indoctrination' declared:

"'A while back Americans were shocked to find that Communists had infiltrated our churches... Are there Communist ministers? Sure... Of course, no clergyman admits he is a Communist. When he is one, he is required to keep his membership a secret, but he still does Communist work.'"

"Is the aim here to attack the Communists? Of course not. The objective is to use the governmental military power to strike at the influence of the National Council of Churches, the body which unites 29 Protestant denominations and a membership of more than 39 million Americans. It even seeks to create distrust of the Bible that these millions are now reading by accusing thirty of the 95 clergymen who officially sponsored the revised standard version of the Bible as being 'affiliated with pro-Communist fronts, projects and publications.'"

"Talk about infiltrators! It's about time Congress and the American people really probed for the poisonous elements who have sneaked their way into places of ideological power in the armed forces and, as part of an unholy alliance with the brass, are brainwashing millions of young Americans, powerless to resist because of their military status."

The Worker,
February 28, 1960, p. 4.
XI. WOMEN

1. Support must be given to suffrage for Negro, Spanish-speaking, and poor white women in the South.

2. Under socialism, women have made many achievements in education, science, literature, and art.

3. Under socialism, women do not face many of the evils that prevail under capitalism, such as juvenile delinquency, child labor, narcotics addiction, prostitution, and mental disorders.

4. This year, International Women's Day was devoted to the fight for peace.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Woman Suffrage

"LARGE GROUPS of women still do not have the right to vote. There are the disenfranchised Negro women in the south. The poor white women in the south are also robbed of their rights by poll taxes and illiteracy. Puerto Rican, Mexican American and other Spanish-speaking women cannot register in their own language.

"In the big cities, party machine election officials are particularly notorious in discouraging Negro, Puerto Rican, and other working people, from registering to vote."

"The Negro, Spanish-speaking and working class women's vote can be increased where there is a program for registration, legislation and women candidates."
"Women's political action is not only having an effect on the program and candidacies of the major parties, but is becoming an important part of the growing independent political movements."

The Worker,

2. **Women under Socialism**

"Women the world over can be proud that in the Soviet Union 49 per cent of the citizens having a higher education and over half of the citizens having full or partial secondary education are women. There are 233,000 women engineers, more than 1,280,000 women teachers, some 300,000 women doctors, and over 110,000 women scientific workers. In literature and art, women have also shown great achievements.

"On the eve of International Women's Day the Order of Lenin was conferred upon 50 Soviet women.

"Those who are the givers of life and have the daily task of upbringing and care of the growing generation are glorified and elevated to new heights. Many have received the title of Mother-Heroine, while another 6,500,000 have been awarded the Motherhood Glory and the Motherhood Medal."

The Worker,

3. **Women under Capitalism**

"We women in capitalist countries cannot afford to be complacent about our 'progress.' We face many evils which are absent in Socialist countries and which we must deal with in our country, such as juvenile delinquency, child labor, drug addiction, mental disorders and prostitution. All of these are byproducts of an exploitive profit system of society."

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"...it would be safe to say that one-third of the nation are still not adequately housed, fed, clothed and cared for in sickness. Hardest hit are women and children. It is unnecessary, in fact criminal, in a country with the resources of the U.S.A. What is spent on armaments alone would remedy this situation. American women can help to change all this."


4. **International Women's Day**

"TENS OF MILLIONS the world over...observed the 50th anniversary of International Women's Day. To the women of our country who gave this day to the world, it also marks the 40th anniversary of their right to vote.

"This year the fight for peace is the center of observation of Women's Day.

"In our country progressive women will also join with the heroic Negro women fighting for civil rights."

XII. YOUTH

1. The Communist Party considers youth work next in importance to work in the labor and Negro movements.

2. A Marxist youth organization is essential in organizing American youth to fight for socialism. Advance, a Marxist youth group, created in February, 1960, is this type of organization.

3. In June, 1960, Advance called for a mass demonstration against the ratification of the Japanese-American security treaty.

4. The White House Conference on Children and Youth was characterized by a lack of concrete proposals for solving the needs of children and youth.

5. Juvenile delinquency in the United States results from the lack of an adequate educational system, job security, and facilities for social and recreational activity.

6. In San Francisco, students demonstrated against the visiting "Un-American inquisitors" and took their rightful place in the "vanguard of progress."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Major Area of Mass Work

"...The present generation of youth, led by the working class, is the guarantee of success in the struggle for peaceful coexistence. It is also the base of the Party of the future. Without full attention to its needs and development, therefore, the Party jeopardizes its own existence as an effective vanguard. Youth work must be placed next to work in the labor and Negro people's movements as a major area of mass work." *


* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.
2. Marxist Youth Organization

"A Marxist youth organization is essential to the development of a mature American youth movement. Such an organization would help to move the present democratic youth groupings and movements in the direction of support to and alliance with the labor and Negro people's movements. It would contribute to uniting the present generation of youth in the people's fight against monopoly capital. It would win tens of thousands of young people to the cause of socialism."

"It would not, however, constitute a Marxist vanguard organization. It is the Communist Party which is the vanguard of the working class, including the working-class youth, as well as of the other strata of the youth...."

"On the Youth Question," Political Affairs, March, 1960, pp. 75-76.

"THE LINCOLN holiday weekend saw the formation of 'Advance', a Marxist youth organization, in N. Y...."

"The proposal for a socialist youth organization that would ask its members only to be active on one or more of its issues was welcomed by the delegates.

"It was pointed out that many youths will become active and engage in activities concerning integrated schools, job training programs, discrimination in job placement, abolition of ROTC and the compulsory draft, juvenile delinquency and other issues facing N. Y. youth.

"Special mention in reports and discussions was made of Puerto Rican and Negro youths who comprise the greatest minority groupings in the city and the most exploited. Integration in schools and around neighborhood housing projects were among the topics mentioned."

"THE STATEMENT of principles of the new independent socialist youth organization, 'Advance,' was made public last week by its officers...."

"The statement of principles follows:"

"WE CARRY on education for a basic change in the way society is run—a change that opens the future to man...a change to socialism. Everywhere today young and old are discussing socialism as it is being built by half the world's people. We should know and understand the ideas and achievements of socialist life...."

The Worker,
May 22, 1960, p. 11.


"ADVANCE...has called for a mass outpouring of New Yorkers on Union Square...to protest the ratification of the U. S.-Japan military treaty."

"Make this demonstration a worthy action of solidarity with the peace fighters of Japan!

"Speak out for scrapping the aggressive military treaty with Japan and for a treaty of peace and friendship!

"Demonstrate for an end to the cold war, for peace and disarmament, for peaceful coexistence!"

The Worker,
4. White House Conference on Children and Youth

"THE...White House Conference on Children and Youth...

"Two main trends developed within the conference regarding an approach to the myriad problems facing the country's young folks. One was characterized by the high-sounding phrases 'imperishable value', 'unshakable faith'...and 'individual dignity' peppered through President Eisenhower's welcoming speech, which momentarily blurred the fact that he uttered not a word about a single down-to-earth need facing children and youth, nor a word concerning Administration program on the issues involved.

"This approach was continued by others, who claimed the problems raised at the conference could not be solved by laws or remedial measures, but only by raising the ethical and spiritual values of youth.

"...Many group chairman did not allow any criticism of Administration policies and agencies in the resolutions, claiming that 'expressions of opinion are banned by the rules of the conference.'

"HOWEVER, there was a strong contrary trend which rejected these viewpoints. This opposition was centered in efforts to pinpoint concrete proposals for the final program of action and concentrated particularly on the fight to guarantee that the issue of desegregation would be dealt with."

"THERE IS LITTLE indication...whether major attention was given to the life-and-death issue of guaranteeing world peace and banning of nuclear tests as primary pre-requisites for carrying out all other proposals for helping America's children and youth."

The Worker,
April 17, 1960, p. 6.

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5. **Juvenile Delinquency**

"Youth, and particularly Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American youth, are faced with job insecurity and the lowest pay, with limited chances for advancement on the job, and with a lack of social, recreational and athletic facilities. They are faced with an educational system characterized by overcrowded public schools and by trade schools which cost much but teach little, incapacitated by segregation North and South, deprived of some of the best teachers by the witchhunt, and offering curricula which contribute to producing an anti-union, anti-Communist and chauvinistic population.

"The answer of big business to the problems and challenge of youth is to bend them to its own ends. It presents to youth a world of moral destitution, brutalized culture and a future of dog-eat-dog and nation-eat-nation. And when some youth respond to this with acts of so-called juvenile delinquency, monopoly answers with an iron hand and with cynical police brutality toward working-class and minority young people.

"The greatest responsibility for answering big business lies with the trade unions...."


"THE NEEDS of America's youth are reduced by city, state and federal administrations to the single problem of juvenile delinquency."

"Thousands of young people are labelled as troublemakers, uneducable, and liabilities in the current 'Beat the Russians' all-out emphasis on the so-called superior science student. The average and below average student is being shunted off the educational rails and sidetracked into vocational fields—which has become a label of mediocrity.

"Real vocational training, integrated into the academic high school; fostering in all students a respect for industrial and vocational labor; a
realistic system, under the guidance of the trade unions, of effective apprentice training, and guaranteed job placement for all students after graduation—these are but a few conditions which parents and particularly the labor unions must interfere on. City and state government must not be allowed to legislate our young people out of the schools and onto the sidewalks—out of jobs, out of school, on the loose, easy prey for trigger-happy cops and get-tough-with youth-laws."

"Year-long studies which never seem to lead to action, 'get-tough' license to the police whip-them-rights laws, throw-them-in jail laws; throw-them-out-of-school laws—with a sugarcoating of an occasional settlement. dance or basketball game thrown in—this is government's 'crash program' for America's youth."

The Worker,

6. Student Demonstration Against House Committee on Un-American Activities

"HERE IN San Francisco, when students recently demonstrated against the visiting Un-American inquisitors, reactionaries repeated the smelly old cliche: it was just another Communist conspiracy...."

"LIKE OTHER observers, I found myself wondering as I watched the great-hearted demonstration of the youth, what powerful emotion had led them here....

"There came to me then the thought...that perhaps we are entering a new epoch, here in America. The movement for equality of the Negro students was the turning point for all American youth. This was the Cold War generation that had grown up under McCarthyism. To save itself from the persecutors and inquisitors, it had learned to be a 'silent
generation,' a generation of opportunists who knew how to 'play it cool' and safe, and to take no sides on the great moral issues that form man's destiny."

"How could youth go on living in this cold tomb? The thing was impossible. All around the world, youth was reaching the same end of the dead end, then breaking out. They had ripped off the ugly mask of opportunism, to reveal the face of a man of justice, honor and love--the face of a humanist America. Now one could be sure of the future here. The 'silent generation' was at last taking its rightful place in the vanguard of progress."

The Worker, June 12, 1960, p. 6.