

For Communist Vigilance*

By Gilbert Green

IT SHOULD NOW BE abundantly clear that the growing attacks on our Party are not the consequences of some momentary aberration on the part of the bourgeoisie—for this “moment” has already lasted a number of years. These attacks are inherent in the very epoch in which we live. They are part of the drive toward war. They are symptoms of the growing trend toward fascism. It is inevitable, that the deeper the crisis of the ruling class, the more vicious, the more unscrupulous are its methods of attempting to crush the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class.

Knowing this, how can we account for the fact that a certain complacency set in after Foley Square, and that only now are we in the process of being shaken out of that complacency by the new Mundt Bill sneak assault? The time has come for us to stop making these periodic round trips from the state of complacency to the state of apprehension, and back. Neither complacency nor panic must govern our work. Our work must be governed by a sober estimate

of the period in which we live and struggle.

The time has come for our Party to give due recognition to the fact that the enemy employs more than one weapon, and fights on more than one front, in its attempt to destroy our Party. We are cognizant of the frontal assaults directed against us since the war. We are also aware of the intense, unabating ideological barrage of the enemy. But we are not as sensitive to its fifth-column methods of struggle, its use of diversionary tactics, its methods of infiltrating our ranks and how it attempts to conduct political guerrilla warfare from within, exploiting every weakness in our ideological and organizational armor to disrupt and paralyze our work.

Our whole Party has not yet drawn the full lessons from the experience at the Foley Square trial, from certain incidents since the trial, particularly from the valuable experience of the world Communist movement in the past few years. These prove, beyond a doubt, that the ruling class of this country is assiduously cultivating every known stoolpigeon and agent-provocateur method of the past, and

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adding a few new ones, in its attempt to infiltrate and disrupt the world Communist movement from within.

At Foley Square we witnessed a number of scummy stoolpigeons take the stand and lie themselves blue in the face about our Party. But we knew then, and know even more so today, that J. Edgar Hoover exposed only those of his Gestapo agents that were either in secondary positions, had already outlived their usefulness or had doubles in the organizations into which they had bored. He certainly did not expose his main agents and his network of brother rats.

Since the trial our Party has been shocked by the revelation that the person who was the head of the Review Commission of the New York Party organization, an individual by the name of John Lautner, who was in the Party for many years, had been for a good number of years an enemy spy in the ranks of our Party. In more recent weeks we have witnessed the exposure of a number of F.B.I. Gestapo agents, who held positions of confidence and responsibility in the Pittsburgh movement. And what was true in respect to New York and Pittsburgh could very well be the case elsewhere.

METHODS OF WORK NOT CONDUCTIVE TO VIGILANCE

That a stoolpigeon could worm his way into our organization here or there is in itself not surprising.

What is shocking, however, is that our methods of work are not conducive to detecting these false elements. Frequently they are such as to make it possible for these spies and stoolpigeons to carry on their nefarious destructive activities with complete impunity. When we examine the records of the individual stoolpigeons who were exposed at the trial, or that of John Lautner in New York, or those of Cvetic and Dietz in Pittsburgh, there is one central fact that stands out. Not a single one of their records could bear scrutiny. Had there been even the slightest degree of vigilance in our organization, these enemy agents would have been discovered long ago.

Let us take the case of Lautner as an example. True, he had a long record in the Party, but only after his full treachery was discovered did we investigate that record more closely and find many facts that would have made him an impossible candidate for head of the Review Commission. One of the things considered in his favor was that he had an army record. But did anyone stop to examine that record more closely?

International experience has shown that an army record in and by itself proves nothing. Dealing with the many devious methods used by imperialism to penetrate the Communist and working-class movements of the world, Comrade Bierut, the leader of the Polish United Workers' Party, points out how the enemy even

penetrated the glorious, heroic International Brigade in Spain. In his report on "The Struggle for Revolutionary Vigilance," selections from which appeared in the February 1950 issue of *Political Affairs*, Comrade Bierut said:

Similarly, during the period of the Civil War in Spain when numbers of the most devoted fighters of all the countries of Europe sped to aid the democratic republic fighting against fascist aggression at that time, also numerous agents of the imperialist police centers infiltrated into the International Volunteer Brigades in order to spy or in order to penetrate more easily in the future as heroes of the Communist organizations of the countries which had aided the Spanish Republic.

Certainly we must admit that our Party has been completely naive as to such methods of duplicity used by the imperialist powers.

Furthermore, had there been instituted a system of check-up and control over the work of the stoolpigeon Lautner during his period as head of the Review Commission, enough would have been uncovered to warrant at least his immediate removal from so responsible a post. But such check-up and control was not in effect. We should set ourselves to examine to what extent it is in effect throughout the Party.

How dull our political senses are to the need for vigilance, to be on guard against the duplicity of the

class enemy, is most graphically seen in the following startling fact. In the course of the trial it was revealed that the stoolpigeon Calomiris had been up on charges the previous year, but had not only been white-washed by the Review Commission headed by Lautner, but was even involved in certain confidential work surrounding the defense preparations for the trial. The least that should have occurred at the time was the immediate political removal of Lautner as an incompetent meddler, and the institution of a thorough investigation as to whether he was not more than that. But no, that did not happen. He was permitted to continue as head of the Review Commission.

Once again let me make clear that New York is being singled out because this occurred in New York, and not because we may not have similar situations elsewhere. The sorry fact is that even when our suspicions are aroused regarding one or another individual in our Party, we all too often do nothing about it until not the slightest doubt remains. But this approach is false. Whenever an individual acts in an undisciplined, irresponsible, careless, factional or anti-Party manner, whether consciously or unconsciously, it is the duty of the Party leadership to do something about it. Such an individual must be called to task, must be criticized, must be asked to explain his actions. In this fashion we can boldly and immediately correct

comrades who make errors, as well as, through open frank discussions, begin to ascertain whether we are dealing just with errors or with duplicity. We should, of course, not make the charge that the given individual is a stoolpigeon unless we know that to be the case; but neither can we permit people who by their actions create suspicion in the minds of the Party to continue to do damage merely because we are not certain as to whether they are conscious enemies or not.

It is true that a number of Pittsburgh Party leaders had become suspicious in respect to some of the activities of the now exposed F.B.I. stoolpigeon Matt Cvetic. But instead of resolute action there was procrastination. The benefit of the doubt was given the stoolpigeon Cvetic and not the Party and the working class.

SOURCE OF LACK OF VIGILANCE

What explains this tolerance, this softness, this rotten liberalism and lack of vigilance? It can be explained only in one way—the reflection of opportunism in the thinking and work of the Party and in the first place the leadership.

Comrade Bierut of Poland and Comrade Tchervenkov of Bulgaria have recently made profound self-critical examinations of the source of the lack of vigilance that manifested itself in their parties. They pointed

out that the lack of vigilance on their part flowed from the false opportunist concept that the class struggle was diminishing with the taking of state power in their countries. Comrade Tchervenkov dealt with this erroneous point of view in the following words:

We must admit that after the 9th of September, 1944, there prevailed among us the view, and for quite a long time all our practical activities were burdened by this viewpoint, that there was a special way of development for our country, a way which one fine day would bring us to Socialism. This view arose from the assumption that after September 9th the class struggle would abate more and more and that we, in contradistinction to the Soviet Union, could pass over to Socialism, without proletarian dictatorship, painlessly, so to say, organically, on the strength of a mere quantitative and gradual growth of our successes.

This lulled the vigilance of our people. It gave the enemy the opportunity to entrench himself and seek new forms of struggle against us (*For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!*, issue of February 17, 1950).

Now, it certainly cannot be said that there are any among us who suffer from the illusion that the achievement of Socialism in this country is going to be an easy or painless development. But, in saying this, it is also necessary to point out that some among us erred in the evaluation of the new People's Democracies. There

was a tendency to confuse People's Front government, namely the anti-fascist government administration, which still remains within the framework of the capitalist state machine, with the People's Democracy, which is the people's administration of an entirely new state power—the dictatorship of the working class. The theoretical confusion on the relationship of People's Front governments to People's Democracies—the approach that the latter represents a mere quantitative development of the former—crept into some Party publications and documents.

But what is the main opportunist source of our lack of vigilance? It is the failure to comprehend fully enough the qualitative changes that have taken place in the United States. There was a time when Lenin referred to the United States as “unequaled” in the “degree of its political freedom.” That day for capitalist America is long past, never to return. We know this; but because of the illusions engendered by the Roosevelt period, because of the participation of this country in a progressive war, because with the end of the war the change in world relations has been so sharp and so abrupt, we have not yet drawn all the full implications from the fact that American imperialism is today the gendarme of the world, the crusher and violator of the national independence of peoples, of peace and democracy. And, this is not something temporary, something

that will change again tomorrow. This is the hard, cold, central fact of the entire historical period in which we now live.

THE VIOLENCE AND PROVOCATIONS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The more Wall Street imperialism loses its world positions, the more frantic and desperate it will become, and the sharper will become the struggle here at home—not the other way around. Of course, the American bourgeoisie was never characterized, not even in the period to which Lenin referred, by a gentle, milk-toast attitude toward the working class and the Negro people. It was always avaricious and cruel. It organized lynchings, frame-ups, assassinations and murders. The Molly Maguires, the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Ludlow Massacre, the Republic Steel Massacre, the murder of Joe Hill and Frank Little, of Joe York and Harry Simms, the long record of countless jailings through legal frame-ups, of which Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys stand out as indicting symbols, and the thousands of legal and extra-legal lynchings of Negro sharecroppers and workers are examples of the Wall Street brand of “democracy.”

Of course, even before the period of the general crisis of capitalism, even before the billionaire barons of this country developed their mad de-

sire to lock the world in their bank vault, they used stoolpigeons and spies against the revolutionary and labor movements. It was estimated at one time that there were as many as 40,000 labor spies in this country. These were financed in the main by private corporations and operated by special spy agencies, such as the Pinkertons and the Burns. (For more facts on this side of American life, I refer you to the very useful little pamphlet by Comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, entitled *Stoolpigeon*).

What is different, however, in the situation of today as compared with that of the past, is precisely to be found in the role of the government. Today, it is no longer the private corporations and private detective companies that are the main stoolpigeon agencies. This function has now been taken over by the government itself. This has been a process which has developed as part of the whole trend toward political reaction which marks the imperialist epoch, and intensified a hundred-fold in recent years as part of the drive toward war and fascism.

DEVELOPING POLICE-STATE APPARATUS IN RECENT PERIOD

To what extent the police-state apparatus has developed in recent years is enough to stagger the imagination. The F.B.I. has grown to gargantuan proportions. From an arm

of the Department of Justice, it is actually being transformed into an independent branch of government, responsible only to itself and frequently capable of dictating to the other branches. It is true that the F.B.I. appears before a Congressional Committee once a year to ask for an appropriation. But it is also true that it always gets what it asks for, and each year more than the previous one, so that this year it has asked for and received \$57,000,000, and Hoover's salary has been boosted to \$20,000 a year. The President and Congress have the power to make changes in the F.B.I., but in practice J. Edgar Hoover is a power unto himself. With his millions of files loaded with inside dope on every politician and reasonably well-known person in the country, he holds a blackmail power over most politicians and both major parties. Thus, Presidents and Congresses come and go, but J. Edgar Hoover and his police-state network become more powerful and ominous from year to year. The way in which the F.B.I. continues to tap thousands of telephone wires throughout the country, and to wire-for-sound hundreds of private dwellings and meeting places, in direct defiance of the Constitution and the law, indicates to what illegal extents the F.B.I. can and does go with complete impunity.

When the F.B.I. appeared before a Congressional Committee recently, it informed that body that it had

over 10,000 full-time employees and that it needed funds and 700 additional "operatives" because it was working on 21,101 cases of "subversives." It reported that its network of stoolpigeons and informers was sending in from twenty to two-hundred reports on individuals per day. It also reported that it was fully prepared to take steps to prosecute 12,000 individuals on the basis of the Foley Square trial alone, and that this number was restricted only because it does not want to expose all its sources of information.

Thus, the F.B.I. is not only an enemy of our Party, seeking to undermine, disrupt and eventually destroy it, but it represents a monstrous menace to everything democratic in American life. Besides its army of college-bred Gestapo-men, it has recruited and continues to recruit thousands upon thousands of petty informers and stoolpigeons, who spy on all organizations of the people, who snoop into the private affairs of neighbors, who concoct the most lurid tales in order to be on the good side and to prove their worth to their F.B.I. bosses. Many thousands of these are individuals who were "caught" in some crime or other, who for the sake of exoneration and "protection," have permitted themselves to become the underworld dregs of the F.B.I. Such was the character Nicodemus at the Foley Square trial; such also is the character Matt Cvetic.

STRUGGLE MUST INVOLVE MILLIONS

Certainly, the struggle against this police-state apparatus is one which must involve millions of democratic-minded people. It is one of the big tasks of our Party to expose these fascistic developments, to make the labor movement and other democratic mass organizations realize that this tremendous F.B.I. stoolpigeon machine is concentrated, not only against the Communist Party, but against every democratic organization and movement in this country.

In addition to the F.B.I. there is the C.I.A.—the Central Intelligence Agency—which has taken over the functions of the old O.S.S. and the infamous project X. The workings of this Intelligence Agency are shrouded in even greater mystery than that of the F.B.I. This outfit not only operates its own separate stoolpigeon apparatus, that runs through the length and breadth of the land, especially among the nationality groups, but it has built a world-wide espionage and fifth-column network which resorts to every conceivable crime, not stopping at wrecking and sabotage to destroy the democratic movements of the people and to carry through the diabolical plans of Wall Street.

The O.S.S., which was headed by Allen Dulles, brother of John Foster Dulles, studied and assimilated every known method of espionage. It took over, not only the methods but much

of the personnel of the Nazi and Japanese espionage services. This was exposed in the Rajk trial in Hungary. This trial also brought out the extent to which Browder's book on Teheran was reproduced and distributed by the O.S.S. throughout Europe as an attempt to undermine the Marxist-Leninist principles and distort the postwar perspectives of the class-conscious European working masses.

This use of Browder's book and the role of the Tito clique as agents of imperialism, all point to the fact that something new has been added to the methods of the enemy. The most common variety of stoolpigeon is assigned to worm his way into the confidence of the working-class organization and to gather every piece of information he can. But there is another, special type, trained to undermine the Party and the mass movement by turning them from their historic course; by destroying their self-confidence, creating ideological and political confusion, and distorting the line of the Party. The first type keeps quiet on ideological questions. He always acts as the "good" comrade. He always supports all policies. He dares not participate in ideological discussion for fear of self-exposure. The second type actively seeks to sow ideological confusion, always in a concealed way, so as not to expose his hand. It is this second type which the enemy has used more and more on an in-

ternational scale, utilizing disgruntled elements and playing on ideological and political weaknesses in the work of the Communist Parties in order to create a "mass" base for its anti-Party activities.

Speaking of this new trend in stoolpigeon activities, Comrade Bierut, in the cited report, makes this important observation:

Today the social democratic parties are no longer an adequate ideological transmission belt in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, even in the capitalist countries. This explains among other reasons the support given by imperialism to Titoism as a political diversion in the international field and its activization as a new attempt of ideological deceit in the struggle against the Communist Parties on an anti-Soviet platform.

THE ENEMY'S TITO AGENTS

How important the enemy considers this weapon against our Party can be seen in the rash of open and concealed individuals and grouplets who are trying to attack our Party in the name of Marxism, and who seize on every ideological and practical weakness of our Party in order to sow their seeds of disruption. In New York, Seattle, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, we have seen manifestations of this attempt at enemy penetration through the use of poison-pen letters which spread gossip and slander and try to undermine the confidence of the membership in the

leadership. The Browderites are active, grinding out pamphlet after pamphlet, still keeping their undercover agents in the Party waiting for the opportune moment to come into the open. The Franklins, Darcys, Dunnes, Bedachts are also busy with their undermining activities, and as for the Tito forces, these are well organized and financed, and are concentrated especially among the middle-class intellectuals and among the nationality groups. Louis Adamic is their chief American spokesman as of this moment, and from the tone of his publication, *Trends and Tides*, is no mere confused and misled intellectual.

For example, in the most recent issue of that periodical there appears an unsigned article about the Foley Square trial. This article does not consider the trial as a menace to democracy in the country. It does not even consider it an attempt to outlaw Marxism-Leninism. The inference to be drawn from this anonymous article is that the whole trial was a plot concocted between the government and the Party leadership and "ultimately none of the defendants will suffer serious inconvenience; but meanwhile the present Party leadership which has been under heavy attack, will in the aura of near-martyrdom consolidate their power at home." This is how this miserable Titoite joins with reaction to demobilize the masses, to hide from them the true meaning

of the Foley Square trial. The F.B.I. admits that 12,000 cases are already prepared for action if the Supreme Court upholds the Foley Square conviction; but Mr. Tito's agent in this country says the trial is only a plot of Communist leaders to enhance their own prestige!

The only way the Party can uncover and expose these F.B.I. caricatures of Marxism is by a constant and intense ideological struggle against every enemy view, particularly exposing for the masses the true roles and ideological camouflage of the Social-Democrats, the Titoites, the Browderites and the Trotskyites.

Only by ideologically raising the level of the whole Party, only by struggling against all manifestations of Right and "Left" opportunism, only by fighting for the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, can we so cement our Party ideologically that the enemy can not so readily penetrate our ranks and carry on his operations without exposure. Such a struggle for Party ideology and Party line we do not yet have.

As regards the full exposure of the Titoites, our Party has an important job to do. We dare not underestimate the inroads which the Titoites have made among certain middle-class intellectuals, who, seeking some way by which to "prove" that they are not Communists, are becoming supporters of Tito. They believe that this will enable them to continue to

parade as progressive and pro-peace forces, while permitting them to join in attacks upon the Soviet Union. We must make perfectly clear that, sooner or later, the period of confusion over the Tito question will have to end. Sooner or later it will be impossible for individuals who wish to be considered progressive, who wish to fight against the war plans of Wall Street, to straddle this issue. For Tito is part of the war camp. He and his clique do not represent another brand of Communism, but a brand of fascism. Yugoslavia under their terror-rule is the military and political base of operations of Wall Street imperialism in Eastern Europe.

FOR A LENINIST TYPE OF PARTY

The weaknesses of our Party in its ideological work is also reflected in its failure to bring forward at all times its own independent class position in regard to those with whom we have a basis for unity on one issue or another.

We can never operate in an atmosphere in which masses cannot distinguish between the bourgeois-liberal position of a Wallace, for example, and the working-class, Marxist position of our Party. I refer not only to the period of the recent months during which Wallace has slid backward, but also to the period of 1948, when we should have made

plain the area of our agreement but also wherein we disagreed with him. This is indispensable to the building of the united front and at the same time to guarantee that the masses can always judge between us and our allies, never confusing one with the other. This is also indispensable to the building of our Party, to the heightening of Party consciousness and pride in Party membership.

In speaking of the opportunism which was the basis of the lack of vigilance in the Communist Parties of Europe, the leaders of these parties also criticized themselves for the failure to fight for a Leninist type of Party. As Comrade Bierut put it, "without a proletarian party based on Leninist principles there is no fundamental force to guarantee the hegemony of the working class. Without a revolutionary party the working class is defenseless."

It must be said that we, too, have made some errors on this matter. We have not fought consistently and stubbornly enough for a Leninist type of Party. That is why it has been so easy for alien elements to worm their way into our Party. Of course, the problems of building a Party under conditions of working-class rule, as in the Eastern Democracies, are quite different from those obtaining in the United States. But the principles that govern the Party are the same.

Can we allow alien ideological currents in our Party? We cannot. And

yet among certain sections of our membership drawn from the middle classes we find strong influences of enemy class ideology. Freudian psychoanalysis—that manifestation of reactionary idealism which seeks an individualist “solution” for the problems which arise in class society and the class struggle—is either vying with, or replacing Marxism in the thinking of many of our non-proletarian members. And yet, we have been rather timid and hesitant about opening up an ideological war against this poisonous infiltration into our midst.

When the Party leadership opened up a stubborn fight against the manifestations of white chauvinism in the ranks of our Party there were those who were “worried” over what would be the consequences. But the results were excellent. The Party began to feel like a vanguard Party, with a single class ideology and not a mixed class ideology. A new spirit began to pervade our ranks. Here only a bare beginning was made, but it showed how the fight for working-class ideology, far from weakening the Party, on the contrary strengthens it in all respects.

The weakness in our fight for a Leninist concept of a Party is also shown in the class composition of our Party. Petty-bourgeois ideological tendencies and influences will especially find expression in our Party so long as the Party is not overwhelmingly based on the working class and

rooted in the shops. If we waver in our concentration policies, if we do not give the main attention to the shop organizations and members of our Party, this is undoubtedly brought about, to no small extent, by the pressure of the middle-class and white-collar sections of our Party membership.

We are going to face stormy days ahead, and unless we, as Marxist-Leninists, turn our major attention to the working class in basic industry—not 51 percent, but 90 percent—we are not going to establish the kind of Party that can weather all storms.

This shortcoming is to be seen also in the social composition of many of our existing cadres and in the promotion of new cadres. We still tend too much to promote the most articulate, but not always the most basic and most important people, the industrial workers. We do not select our cadres along the Leninist line advised by Dimitrov at the Seventh World Congress.

We also suffer from an insufficiency of a class approach to the personal lives of our comrades. There has developed the petty-bourgeois notion that the political lives of people are separate from their personal lives. And so we do not check on the personal lives of our people, with the result that this weakness is also utilized by the enemy. We must return to the old yardstick that an unstable person in his or her personal life,

is sooner or later going to show instability in his political life. Had the Party leadership in Pittsburgh paid close attention to the personal lives and behaviors of the Cvetics, had it known how they lived and how they made their living, what their background and friends were, when and how and why they joined the Party—they never could have bored so deeply or for so long a period. For, they were living double lives which could stand no such close scrutiny.

As was pointed out with regard to the stoolpigeon Lautner, had there been any check-up or control of his work, he could have been exposed long ago. The same is true of the stoolpigeons who appeared at the trial and of those exposed recently in Pittsburgh. All these individuals were most active. While not pushing themselves forward too obviously, they nonetheless accepted assignments and gave the appearance of responsible people. Yet, any close examination of their work would have brought to light something that was rotten. Cvetic was busy in many undertakings, but yet never had any real results to show for his activity. And when the Cleveland stoolpigeon, Blanc, won prizes in subscription getting, this was all a fake, as he himself admitted in the courtroom, for he had paid for all these subscriptions himself, as any check-up would have shown.

FOR CHECK-UP AND CONTROL OF DECISIONS

Thus, one of the most important requirements for tightening up our whole Party organization, is the institution of the strictest check-up and control over the execution of all decisions. We do that today in respect to subscription and fund drives, but not in respect to political decisions. In instituting political check-up we establish a constant system by which to evaluate the correctness of our policy and to test it not only in the ranks of the Party, but also among the masses. Further, in the process of such evaluation, we will find the deficiencies that exist in our work, uncover wrong ideological tendencies, determine how the Party line has been fought for in practice, and learn who the individuals were who produced, and who were those who did not. It is no wonder that Lenin once summed up Party organizational work as consisting of two things: the proper selection and assignment of people; and check-up and control on the execution of decisions.

The building of a Leninist type of Party, a party which helps build and lead the broadest united-front movements, but which permits no united-front approach to theoretical and ideological questions, the building of a Party of the working class which is eternally vigilant against the class enemy, can only be accomplished by

arousing and enlisting the support of our entire membership. As in all other matters, the struggle for vigilance cannot be carried through successfully by the leadership alone. It requires the active participation of the masses, and first of all of the Party.

THE NEED FOR BOLSHEVIK CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

For this reason the European parties have tied up the struggle for revolutionary vigilance with the struggle for Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism and for inner-Party democracy. We must understand that criticism and self-criticism is not just another feature of Communist organization; *it is the law of development of Communist parties.*

Here is how a recent issue of *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!*, deals with this subject in its leading editorial:

Criticism and self-criticism is that revolutionary weapon, that tried method, by means of which the Marxist Parties ruthlessly expel from their ranks all that is alien, all that is bourgeois, which still persists in their ranks.

Criticism and self-criticism is inherent only in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties. The Communist Parties are distinguished from the reformist, Social-Democratic and Right-wing Socialist Parties in that they never evade painful questions, never hush

them up, nor do they slur over them, but always openly, profoundly and as a matter of principle, reveal and criticize their mistakes, drawing fresh strength from criticism and self-criticism, and renewed energy for improving their work and for ensuring their development.

There is certainly more criticism and self-criticism in our ranks than heretofore. That is true. We have gone a long way since the Browder days. But, comrades, we have not gone far enough. We have more self-criticism in top committees, but often this can be characterized by the remark of the comrade who said, "I want to self-criticize *you*." There is not enough real *self*-criticism and not enough open admission and discussion of errors with the whole Party. There is not enough interplay between top and bottom in the Party; too many meetings are held at which there is only enough time to hear a report from a leading comrade but very little time to hear discussion. Thus the leadership is not always aware of the various ideological questions raised in the ranks; it is not always in a position to sense and correct wrong tendencies; and it does not have the advantage of listening to and learning from the ranks. It is certainly no belittling of the role of leadership to say that while we must lead and teach the masses, we can and must also learn from the masses, Party and non-Party—in fact, a leadership that cannot

do so, cannot exercise the full function of leadership.

We must fight for our Party and for its line, far more stubbornly and effectively than ever; but never must this be distorted into refusing to listen to and accepting constructive criticism. Note how Comrade Tchervenkov of the Bulgarian Party, the Party of George Dimitrov, a Party which fought for twenty years underground, raised this matter before his own Party:

To strengthen the Party means to observe with even greater persistency, inner-Party democracy. Criticism and self-criticism must be developed in the Party, irrespective of individuals.

Without criticism and self-criticism revolutionary vigilance cannot be strengthened in the Party. Strict, ruthless measures must be taken against any one who hinders criticism in one or another degree, who suppresses criticism in the Party.

And Comrade G. Malenkov, writing on the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Comrade Stalin, deals with the Stalinist-Bolshevik tradition of leadership. He writes:

Comrade Stalin teaches that it is necessary to wage a merciless struggle against instances of the suppression and persecution of self-criticism. To persecute self-criticism, says Comrade Stalin, means to kill all independent activity in the Party organization, to undermine the authority of its leadership among the Party masses, to cause the Party to disintegrate, and to establish in the life

of the Party organization the anti-Party customs of the bureaucrats—the mortal enemies of the Party.

And further Comrade Malenkov writes:

Comrade Stalin constantly warns of the fact that it is not vanity, but modesty that becomes the Bolshevik, that any leader, irrespective of the post he occupies, is a servant of the people. The unbroken tie between the leaders and the masses, willingness to learn from the masses, to correct the shortcomings which the workers point out—this is the tradition of Bolshevik leadership. (*Pravda*, December 21, 1949, in *Soviet Press Translations*.)

Of course, real criticism and self-criticism is impossible without collective methods of work. The Bulgarian Party was merciless in the exposure of the lack of collective methods of work in its Central Committee and how this was utilized by enemy agents within the Party. Can we say in all honesty that we have solved this problem? In fact, here and there one can detect factional and clique methods of work instead of collective methods. Also here and there personal friendships and petty-bourgeois subjectivity stand in the way of frank political relations and political criticism. It must be admitted that one of the main reasons why the stoolpigeons in the Pittsburgh district were able to operate for so long a time on top levels is because

there was no collective leadership.

At the Rajk and Kostov trials, some of the defendants pointed to themselves as examples of what happens to individuals in the Party, especially in leading posts, who, because they are possessed of vanity and conceit, become subjective in the face of criticism and persist in the defense of errors; individuals who like to surround themselves with lauding "yes men," and who balk at working as part of a collective team. Such individuals, if not checked and corrected, frequently degenerate, first into tools of the class enemy, and subsequently into open agents.

Criticism and self-criticism must help create an atmosphere for collective work; collective work must in turn help encourage, unfold and further develop criticism and self-criticism. Bureaucratic methods of work are bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualistic methods; collective work, based on criticism and self-criticism, is the only Communist, the only working-class method of work and leadership.

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS

In conclusion, comrades, how can we sum up our immediate tasks in the struggle for vigilance?

1. The struggle for vigilance is a part of the struggle against a police-state and fascism. Thus, it is a broad mass question which requires the mobilization of all those who

stand for peace and democracy and against war and fascism. We must, therefore, raise this question more publicly than heretofore and enlist the broadest support in the fight against government spies and provocateurs.

2. We must put an end to all opportunist carelessness arising from an underestimation of the duplicity of the enemy. This includes where and how we hold meetings, the use of telephones, etc. We must understand that slothful, careless methods are the opposite of the Leninist methods.

3. We must raise the ideological-political Marxist-Leninist level of understanding of our whole Party and especially of our cadres. We must fight stubbornly for our working-class ideology, for the line of the Party. We must eradicate all manifestations of white chauvinism in our ranks, and also of Negro bourgeois nationalism. We must also intensify our struggle for proletarian internationalism, the most important aspect of which is a many-sided and continuous exposure of the lies and slanders directed against the first land of Socialism, the Soviet Union.

4. The whole Party must be taken into our confidence and must be enlisted in the fight against the enemy, open and concealed. This of course means activating the whole Party, tightening it up from top to bottom, and eliminating irresponsible elements. This requires the fullest de-

velopment of criticism and self-criticism as the basic law of Party development and the sharpest struggle against bureaucratic and factional methods of work and against petty-bourgeois subjectivity.

5. It is essential to develop a firm cadre policy, based upon knowing our cadres, their origin, background and struggle, with special emphasis on the development of working-class cadres, particularly from among the Negro workers, the youth and women. We must in the shortest possible time establish cadre commissions to include workers from the shops.

6. There must take place the reorganization of the Review Commissions throughout the Party so as to guarantee that they can fulfill the special tasks assigned to them.

7. A campaign is needed for the mass circulation of Derek Kartun's booklet *Tito's Plot Against Europe*, which describes the Rajk trial and the espionage-police role of the Titovites, plus the role of the O.S.S. in setting up this spy network. It also deals with the way in which Brow-

der's book was used by the O.S.S.

8. The strictest check-up and control on the execution of all decisions, organizational and political, must become a system of work for the entire Party.

These are a few of the central, immediate tasks before us in arousing the vigilance of our whole Party. We must warn in advance against two dangers: one, the tendency to go along as usual, to underestimate the methods of the enemy, to continue to operate in a slothful, careless fashion; two, the tendency of exaggerating the strength of, and becoming paralyzed due to a fear of, the penetrations of the enemy.

All the labor spies American capitalism was able to purchase could not prevent the organization of the trade unions in the basic industries of the country. Nor will capitalism, with its depraved espionage, provocations, stoolpigeoning and terrorization prove successful against our Party—the vanguard, Communist Party which has arisen from the American working class and is as indestructible as the working class.