

# POLITICAL AFFAIRS

*A magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism*

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VOLUME XXV, NO. 2

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Entered as second class matter January 4, 1945, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under Act of March 3, 1879. POLITICAL AFFAIRS is published monthly by New Century Publishers, Inc., at 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., to whom subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be sent. Subscription rate: \$2.50 a year; \$1.25 for six months; foreign and Canada, \$3.00 a year. Single copies 25 cents.

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# LENINISM AND SOME PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF THE POSTWAR PERIOD

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

As THE WORLD goes into the postwar period, it is confronted with the most complicated and difficult problems in all its history. These are national and international in scope, and are economic, political, and social in character. The only way these problems can be understood and the road found to their solution is on the basis of Leninism, which is the Marxism of the epoch of monopoly capitalism.

There are those who consider Leninism as solely applicable to immediate revolutionary situations. But this is a gross error. Leninism comprehends all the problems of this whole epoch of monopoly capitalism, including those in periods of slow revolutionary development, as well as those in periods of stormy, revolutionary advance. There are others who try to limit the application of Leninism to the Soviet scene, but this, too, is a crude misconception. Leninism is worldwide in its application. It is the key to an understand-

ing of all countries, in every stage of economic and political development.

In view of the tremendous role now being played by the United States in the world, it is especially important that Americans, particularly the workers, should secure a solid grasp of the scientific principles of Leninism. For only in this way can they truly understand the complex problems increasingly facing them and know what to do about them.

## THE QUESTION OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

One of the major necessities of the American labor movement now is to understand that the United States, with its present economic and political set-up, is an imperialist country. It has need to master the great lessons of Lenin in regard to this matter. As it is, however, in labor and liberal ranks the opinion is generally held that the United States is not imperialist. Great Britain, France, Holland—these are admittedly imperialist countries, but not the United States. This erroneous distinction is made on the false grounds that Great Britain, France, and Holland, having colonies, are therefore imperialist in character, whereas the United States, with no extensive colonial system, is consequently not an imperialist power.

On the basis of this incorrect estimate, the United States is pictured as a sort of Sir Galahad among the

nations; as a country which has no ulterior designs upon other peoples, and which follows a foreign policy dictated by high principles of altruism. President Truman, in his Navy Day speech, expressed this idea graphically in his demand that the world should recognize the United States as the sole trustee for the atom bomb secret. Such absurd conceptions of the supposedly unselfish international role of capitalist United States are, of course, highly advantageous to the American imperialists, serving most conveniently as a smokescreen to cover up their reactionary maneuverings. How deeply ingrained this notion of the unselfishness of American motives in foreign affairs has become is well illustrated by the fact that with the United States now definitely making a bid for world imperialist hegemony there are hardly any voices outside of the ranks of the Communist Party that signalize this gross manifestation of imperialism for what it is.

Lenin, in his book *Imperialism*, proved that the United States is an imperialist country. The consolidation of gigantic monopolies, the growth of great banks, the merging of banking and industrial capital under the hegemony of finance capital, the export of capital to other lands, the allocation of the world market through cartels and similar devices, and the territorial division of the world among the great powers — which Lenin analyzed as the basic

features of "Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism,"—are all fully characteristic of the United States.

Regarding the last point in this analysis, the territorial division of the world, the United States is of course not a colonial power to the same extent as Great Britain and France are. But this does not signify that it is not an imperialist country. It has its own methods of dominating and exploiting other peoples, without actively occupying their territories. It secures such imperialist domination quite effectively by its tremendous economic power, by the weight of its great military force, by its occupation of key bases all over the world, by the aggressiveness of its foreign policies. All of Lenin's principles of imperialism are valid with regard to the United States.

During the war years the most basic elements underlying imperialism, the great industrial and financial monopolies, were enormously strengthened in the United States. Hence, once the war had ended and the fascist Axis had collapsed under the blows of the United Nations coalition, it was only to be expected that the United States would attempt to strengthen its international position at the expense of the other peoples of the world. This it is now doing vigorously. American imperialism, with so much of the world lying in ruins, has set for itself the objective of international domination.

American labor must understand

this question of imperialism. It must free itself from capitalist-propagated illusions. It must learn that the United States is not only an imperialist country, but the most powerful imperialist country in the world, and that its foreign policy of American expansion is full of danger to world peace, freedom, and prosperity. Labor must also learn that American imperialism, which proceeded even under the checks of the liberal Roosevelt regime, is more militant and dangerous under Truman, and that under a regime dominated by Hoover, Vandenberg, Dewey, etc., it would quickly create a fascist war threat throughout the world. It is impossible for the labor movement of this country to combat successfully the reactionary foreign and domestic policies of American monopoly capital unless it understands the principles underlying imperialism. For such an understanding a knowledge of the writings of Lenin is indispensable. Lenin's great book, *Imperialism*, has a most vital lesson for American workers here and now, and it should be read by every man or woman who presumes to advise the workers and to tell the American people what course they should follow in these stormy days.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC COALITION

Another basic phase of Leninism that is of profound significance in the present situation, both on a national and international scale, is the

building of a system of alliances between labor and its natural allies. Lenin was the great theorizer and organizer of such alliances. To develop these alliances in national and international democratic coalitions is a fundamental condition for defeating the forces of reaction and for winning the peace in the fullest sense of the word.

The key achievement in Lenin's revolutionary strategy in old Russia and later in the U.S.S.R. was the establishment of a working alliance between the proletariat and the poor and middle masses of the peasantry. Rejecting, on the one hand, the Social-Democratic and Trotskyite contentions that the peasants as a mass were reactionary, and repudiating, on the other hand, the Populist argument that the peasants alone were revolutionary, Lenin found the way to link workers and peasants together under the leadership of the proletariat. This great combination of toilers in the factories and on the land, which has been further developed with consummate skill by Stalin, not only assured the overthrow of the Czarist-capitalist system, but was also the basis for the building of Socialism and the carrying through to victory of the recent war. To maintain this worker-peasant alliance, which carried in its train all other constructive social forces, required masterly political ability. At every stage the success of the Russian revolution depended upon it.

In this same category is the close working together of the different peoples who make up the Soviet nations, in the development of which Stalin played the decisive role. On the international scale Lenin also applied his strategy of class and national alliances, with his grand conception of the world proletariat, the Socialist sector of the world, and the colonial peoples working jointly for the accomplishment of their constructive goals.

Lenin's general conception of working class alliances with other progressive forces in society has complete validity today in the United States, even though, of course, such a labor-democratic coalition in this country at this time does not have the revolutionary objectives of Lenin's great worker-peasant combination in the U.S.S.R. For, as stated before, Lenin's class strategy applies, not only to revolutionary crises, but to this whole epoch of monopoly capitalism and in all countries.

The situation in the United States sharply demands the application of this general Leninist strategy of class alliances. We had the elements of such a labor-democratic coalition under Roosevelt, although Truman, with his turn to the right, is tending to break up the coalition. In building the labor-democratic coalition, which must be carried beyond anything known in Roosevelt's time, two things are imperative: first, the workers should enter into organized coop-

eration with the poorer farmers, with the Negro people, with the progressive professionals and middle classes, with the bulk of the veterans, for joint political action against their common enemy, monopoly capital, and in such forms as to culminate eventually in a broad third party movement. Secondly, this great political combination must be led by the workers, by the trade unions.

The fate of our country, economically and politically, depends upon the building of this national coalition of the democratic elements of our people, which comprises the great majority of the nation and speaks in the interests of the whole people. The more familiar the workers are with the basic principles laid down by Lenin for such class alliances, the more effective they will be in building the national labor-democratic coalition.

Lenin's class strategy is, of course, fundamentally different from the traditional class collaboration of the Social-Democrats. The essence of Social-Democratic class collaboration is a subordination of the proletariat to the big bourgeoisie, with a consequent sacrifice of the workers' interests. The Leninist system of class alliances, on the contrary, organizes the workers and all other exploited and oppressed classes into a single front against the monopolist enemies of the people.

On the international field also application of the fundamental Leninist

ist strategy of alliances and cooperation between the world working class and its various natural allies is now of the utmost importance. The great danger that the world faces comes from the reactionary maneuverings of the imperialists in the big capitalist countries, especially those in the United States. Unless checked and eventually defeated by democratic mass pressure, these imperialist forces would soon lead the world into a new bloodbath of fascism and war. If international peace and progress are to be maintained, therefore, it will be basically through the strength of the great democratic forces of the world—the U.S.S.R., the organized working class in the capitalist countries, the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and the new democratic governments in various parts of the world. The heart of such a world collaboration must be a close working together between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Already, although the war has been over but a few months, we have had a most instructive lesson in this general respect. Hardly had the firing ceased on the battlefields, than the United States embarked upon a bold and ruthless campaign to make its imperialist influence predominant throughout the world. Phases of this American imperialist drive were the brazen attempt to frighten the world with the atomic bomb, armed intervention in China, one-power control

over Japan, reactionary interference with the new democracies in the Balkans, proposals for a gigantic military establishment in the United States, etc. But this drive of militant American imperialism suffered a serious check at the hands of the democratic forces of the world. Some manifestations of this opposition were the popular discontent in the United States, including the broad strike movement, widespread protest demonstrations by soldiers, etc., the spread of civil war in China, strong resistance in Europe against arbitrary American interference, a growth of anti-Yankee sentiment in Latin America, a sharpening of Anglo-American antagonisms, a refusal of the U.S.S.R. to be intimidated by the reactionaries' "get tough" policy, etc., etc. The general result of this world-wide resistance was that the Truman Administration definitely had to moderate, even if only temporarily, the speed and ruthlessness of its reckless imperialist policies.

This whole experience should teach the democratic forces everywhere that the future of the United Nations, and with it the peace of the world, will depend directly upon the initiative, cooperation, and foresight displayed by the world progressive forces against those powerful imperialist elements who would grab world domination for themselves and thereby again plunge the world into bloodshed and ruin. Especially is this Leninist lesson necessary in view

of prevalent illusions in our country to the effect that so-called progressive capitalists in the United States may be relied upon to lead the world to democratic objectives.

#### FOR A MASS SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

Traditionally the bulk of the American workers have never looked beyond the framework of the capitalist system for the solution of their economic and political problems. But the time is now at hand when the toiling masses will have to begin to develop a Socialist outlook. Such a perspective is made necessary by the developing general breakdown of the world capitalist system, which has been greatly speeded up by World War II. This means that another fundamental of Marxism-Leninism, a mass perspective of Socialism, has now become a practical necessity for the American working class.

For the past 30 years the capitalist system in the United States, for all its seeming strength, has been exhibiting signs of the decay which, as Lenin pointed out, is the common characteristic of world capitalism in this, its final, imperialist stage. American capitalism is subject to the general laws of world capitalism, and it is obvious that the world system is now in grave difficulties. The inherent weakness of American capitalism, as part of the sick world capitalist system, is dramatized by the fact that during the whole past generation the

great industries of this country have largely depended upon artificial stimulation in order to keep going at anywhere near full strength. This stimulation has been in the shape of war orders, repairing war damages, and government subsidies of various kinds.

Thus, from 1914 to 1919, American industrial activity and development rested upon the production of war munitions for World War I. Then, in the period from 1920 to 1922, there was a sharp depression. This industrial breakdown was followed, in the years 1922 to 1929, by the great post-war "boom," a "boom" which was largely directed toward repairing the property damages and commodity shortages created by World War I. In October, 1929, however, when this great impetus had played out, American industry showed its inherent weakness by plunging into a tailspin such as the world had never before known. In the ensuing period, until early in 1934, unemployment in the United States reached the unheard-of figure of 17,000,000. From 1934 until 1939 industry absorbed some 30 billion dollars of government make-work subsidies; but even this big artificial stimulus could not revive it, and it lingered along in a chronic depression, about 10,000,000 workers being without jobs in this whole period. World War II, however, beginning late in 1939, gave industry another shot in the arm, and for the next six years, until the autumn of

1945, gigantic war orders kept the factory wheels turning and laid the basis for a mushroom growth of industry in this country. Now the war is finished and industry is counting upon continuing in operation, with a "boom" lasting for a period variously estimated at from three to five years, based upon the repairing of war damages and the overcoming of the commodity shortages caused by the war, after which, unless drastic measures are adopted, we can look for an economic smashup that will far exceed the holocaust of 1929-1934. This is the dubious record of American industry for the past generation.

The obvious fact taught by all these years of experience, of artificial "boom" and inevitable "bust" is that American industry, with all its supposed strength, cannot keep in anything approaching full operation without the stimulant of government orders, whether in the shape of direct subsidies, war munitions, or of war damage repair work. This lesson has not been lost upon the bulk of American workers. Through hard experience, they have learned the important lesson that so-called free enterprise cannot furnish them sufficient jobs, but must have the help of government intervention. This lesson actually constitutes a diminished mass faith in the capitalist system and is a political fact of major significance.

The workers have not yet, how-

ever, drawn Socialist conclusions from this loss of faith in "free enterprise." Nevertheless, they have come to understand that they must go into political action upon a mass scale if their economic interests are to be protected. They see as the central objectives of such political action: (a) the legal protection of the trade unions and collective bargaining; (b) the development of an elaborate system of social insurance against unemployment, etc., and (c) the carrying out of a government works program to furnish the jobs that they know so-called free enterprise cannot provide.

While the American labor movement has not become Socialist, it is, however, breaking with old political ideas. It has come to believe in New Dealism, which is based on the reformist principles of John Maynard Keynes, the British economist. The substance of Keynes' system of ideas is that by government make-work plans (together with social security and collective bargaining) the gap between the purchasing power and producing power of the workers can be overcome and industry kept in more or less full production. That is, by government assistance to "free enterprise," the breath of life can be breathed into the whole economic system, full employment can be achieved, economic crises overcome or minimized, and the ailing capitalist system put upon a working basis indefinitely.

President Roosevelt adopted the ideas of Keynes as the basis of his New Deal and, under his teaching and example, he induced the great mass of the trade unionists (as well as the liberals) in this country to accept the major principles of Keynes virtually as a new gospel. Henry Wallace, with his 60,000,000 job proposal, has taken up where Roosevelt left off, and President Truman also gives at least lip service to Keynes' ideas. Among those who are doing the principal theoretical work of this movement are Professor Alvin Hansen of Harvard and Stuart Chase, the popular writer on economics. Also the economic essence of Earl Browder's revisionism was that he gave up his erstwhile Marxism-Leninism, became a disciple of the bourgeois liberal reformer, Keynes, and tried even to outdo his teacher in bourgeois utopianism.

Organized labor can and should support many of the economic reforms and make-work projects of the New Dealers or Keynesians, such as Wallace's job program. Lenin long ago taught the workers to support reforms as by-products of the general class struggle. But, as Lenin also taught, the unions cannot, save at their peril, accept the general conclusions of these reformers that their proposals will put the capitalist system upon a healthy and progressive basis. Keynesian reforms, at most, can only lessen the effect of the economic evils of capitalism; they

cannot possibly arrest its fundamental degeneration. The New Deal reformers do not strike at the basic causes of the capitalist economic paralysis, and consequently, not at the wars and political reaction that flow from it. They do not challenge the right of the capitalists to own the basic industries; they do not attack the capitalist extraction of surplus value from the workers, which is the basic cause of capitalist economic collapse; they do not understand or draw the implications of the class struggle; they do not realize the necessity for the toiling masses and their allies to break the political power of the capitalists; they do not conduct an effective struggle against imperialism, the breeder of war; they have no sound economic or political perspective.

During the coming period, what with the economic ruin all over the world, the people of this country will be faced with far-reaching economic paralysis, on a national and on an international scale. The superficial reforms of the New Dealers or Keynesians cannot solve these basic problems, which grow out of the decay of the capitalist system. Only a working class imbued with the principles of Marxism-Leninism can possibly understand the complex character of the general issues presented by obsolete capitalism. Only a working class with a Socialist perspective will be able to work out the fundamental measures necessary to meet

the day-to-day economic and political problems of the people, and to give the masses a prospect of the real well-being that only Socialism can achieve.

For a long time now the question of a Socialist ideology for the American workers, particularly the trade union movement, has seemed a remote, if not an abstract matter. But now it is becoming more and more an immediate, bread-and-butter question. The capitalist system of the world is rotten at the core. That is the meaning of the two world wars, the Great Economic Crisis, and the growth of fascism with which the world has been afflicted—all in one generation. These economic and political catastrophes were the manifestations of a social system in decay. The complicated problems of this period of capitalist degeneration can be solved only by Marxist-Leninist thinkers, who understand the implications of this capitalist decay and who deal with the fundamental realities of our rapidly changing world. The Socialist education of the American labor movement, therefore, should be resumed energetically. For too many years has the ideology of the workers in our country been abandoned to the influence of the fallacies and superficialities of the reformists of various stripes.

#### BUILDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The fourth major phase of Lenin-

ism that needs stressing as an immediate necessity of the American working class is the earliest possible building of the Communist Party into a mass organization.

Lenin was the great theoretician, organizer and practical leader of the Communist movement. It was he above all other Communist leaders who explained the leading role of the Party as the Party of the working class, worked out its practical structure, and taught how it must function in action as the vanguard of the working class and the leader of all the progressive forces in the nation.

Ever since its foundation in 1919 our Party has been building upon the basis of the principles worked out by the great Lenin. The Party has made much progress. We now have a substantial organization, with a large mass following. Moreover, during its 26 years of life, the Party has played an honorable and effective role in every struggle of the workers and of the people as a whole. We Communists may well be proud of our Party's record during the past three tumultuous decades of our nation's life.

But the time has now arrived when the Communist Party must be expanded on a far larger scale. The workers, and the democratic masses generally, of this country are facing a whole series of urgent problems for whose democratic solution a strong Communist Party is indis-

pensable. In the foregoing pages a few of these problems have been listed, including the development of a mass understanding of American imperialism, the building of the great national and international democratic coalition, and the unfolding of a socialist perspective by the labor movement. With these specified major problems are connected, of course, a host of individual questions, such as the protection of the workers' living standards, the development of worker-veteran cooperation, the defense of the rights of the Negro people, etc. In the vast task of winning the peace, in consolidating the people's victory in the anti-fascist war, a strong Communist Party has become a question of immediate necessity.

One of the most pronounced international features of the war and immediate postwar situation is a big growth of the Communist movement. This is manifested in many countries: France, Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia, China, Indonesia, Indo-China, Brazil, the Balkan countries. The Party is also becoming a big factor in the defeated countries, Germany and Japan. Communists have been included in the governments of liberated countries all over Europe. This great growth in strength and prestige of the Communist Parties on a world scale is taking place because the peoples everywhere have seen the clearheadedness and dauntless courage of the Communists in the war

against fascism. Moreover, they also realize the need for Communist leadership in the solution of the complicated and difficult economic and political problems that loom ahead of them in the postwar period.

The United States does not live in a vacuum. The general forces that are making for a strong growth of the Communist Parties in many countries are also not without strength in this country. Of course, our situation is very different from that in France and China, and the problem of building the Communist Party here in the greatest imperialist country presents itself under radically different aspects than it does in other lands. But when we have said this we also have to come back to the basic fact that the United States is definitely a part of the world economic and political process. It, too, faces problems of major importance and complexity and, therefore, it also stands in need of a strong Communist Party.

This signifies that we must take up in a new way the question of building and achieving full legality for the Party. We must carry on Party building as our main political task, never losing sight of it in any of our campaigns of mass struggle and mass educational work. During the revisionist period of our Party, Earl Browder challenged the whole role of our Party and undermined our organization in many directions. This requires a great deal of repair

work on our part. It seems almost incredible now to realize that, together with his other liquidatory moves, Browder actually wrote to the capitalist press offering to abolish our Party altogether if these bourgeois forces considered such a suicidal step on our part as necessary to advance national unity.

At the heart of the restored Marxist-Leninist line of the Party is a vastly intensified appreciation of its vanguard role and a strong determination to build it at all costs. Such understanding and determination, based on the urgent need of the American working class for a strong Communist Party, are all the further

strengthened because of the worldwide growth of the Communist Parties. The present year, and the whole period now facing us, must, therefore, be a period of the most active Party building in our entire history. This perspective of intense Party building will occupy our central attention at the February meeting of our National Committee. The whole body of Lenin's teachings has great validity for the American working class as it faces the complex problems of this postwar period, and a lesson of the greatest significance to be learned from these teachings is precisely to proceed to a rapid building of the Communist Party.

# ON THE IDEOLOGICAL - POLITICAL WORK OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS UNDER PRESENT - DAY CONDITIONS

*(Editorial article in the Bolshevik, No. 17-18 for September, 1945,  
theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union.)*

THE SMASHING OF fascist Germany means not only a great military victory, but also a tremendous ideological victory of the Soviet people. In the Patriotic War the most advanced—socialist—ideology, embodying all the best that has been created by progressive human thought, gained a victory over the most reactionary—fascist—ideology, which absorbed the worst, most repulsive reactionary views of all time.

The Hitlerites set as their goal the establishment of world domination by the German imperialists, the enslavement of nations, the implanting of slave regimes, the destruction of the most advanced social system in the world—the Soviet system. In conformity with these bandit aims, they chose as their ideological weapon the humanity-hating race theory, calculating that the propagation of bestial nationalism would create the moral-political preconditions for the domination of the German invaders over the enslaved peoples. Actually,

this bandit ideology roused against the German invaders the hatred of all peoples. In the course of the war this ideology was bound to, and in fact did, suffer shipwreck.

The Soviet people in the Patriotic War set as their goal the defense of the freedom and independence of their Motherland, the defense of the achievements of the socialist revolution, the defense of the rights and freedom of the peoples. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. marched against the enemy under the banner of the most advanced—socialist—ideology. Soviet ideology, the ideology of the equal rights of races and nations, the ideology of the friendship of peoples, won a complete victory over the fascist ideology of bestial nationalism and race hatred. The Soviet ideology welded together all the peoples of the Soviet Union under the banner of Lenin and Stalin, and inspired them to immortal deeds in the name of the freedom and independence of the Socialist Fatherland. The Soviet peo-

ple of all nationalities fought fearlessly against the enemy with unshakable confidence in the victory of their cause, for they knew that in their united fraternal family, founded on friendship and mutual aid, they were unconquerable.

The invincible strength of the Soviet ideology lies in the fact that it rests on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory—the only scientific world-outlook of modern times. The truth and vitality of theory is verified by practice, by the practical activity and struggle of the masses. In the past there were not a few theories of various kinds that were overthrown by life because they did not correspond to the objective course of historical development, but were in contradiction to the progressive strivings of the popular masses. Marxist-Leninist theory is the only theory that stands the test of history. In accordance with this theory there has been erected in our country a new, socialist society. The ideas of Lenin and Stalin on the reorganization of society on socialist foundations have been carried into life. This is a most brilliant confirmation of the efficacy and correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory. Never in the past was there an instance of a society consciously constructed on the basis of a knowledge of the laws of development of social life.

The Patriotic War has once more demonstrated what a great organizing and mobilizing force theory possesses when it is correct and when

it takes hold of the masses. Marxist-Leninist theory made it possible to disclose the developmental principles of the war, to evaluate correctly the relationship of forces, to see the perspectives of the struggle, and accordingly to direct the forces of the people toward the attainment of victory. The ideas of the Bolshevik Party, the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, under whose banner the Soviet people march, have inspired them to self-sacrificing struggle against the fascist invaders. During the Patriotic War the Soviet people displayed an unprecedented consciousness and degree of organization in defense of the socialist Motherland, a heroism and valiant strength of spirit that has defeated the most powerful and dangerous of all the enemies our country has ever had to encounter in the whole of its past history.

The high consciousness of national tasks and patriotic duty demonstrated by the Soviet people did not come about by itself but was a consequence of the inspiring and organizing activity of the Bolshevik Party. Following the legacy of the great Lenin, the Party has fostered in the Soviet people loyalty to the Soviet Socialist system, unreserved devotion to the Motherland, courage, daring, ignorance of fear in struggle, readiness to fight intrepidly against the enemies of our native land. During the years of the Patriotic War the Bolshevik Party revealed to the toilers the whole depth of the danger that hung over our Motherland, ex-

plained day in and day out the noble war aims of the Soviet Union, raised the people's spirit and directed all their forces to smashing the enemy. The ideological work of our Party was one of the most important conditions for ensuring the solidarity, unity of will and action, the high degree of organization of the people, without which victory over the enemy would have been unthinkable.

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The end of the war and the transition to peacetime construction brings forward new tasks in the sphere of the ideological work of the Party organizations. The Soviet people are now exerting all their forces to accomplish the postwar reconstruction of the economy, to heal the wounds inflicted on the country by the war, to raise further the military-economic might of the U.S.S.R. With the victorious conclusion of the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people are proceeding with the accomplishment of their majestic task of completing the construction of a classless society and the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. The indispensable conditions for new successes in our struggle are a full realization by the masses of the importance of this task and a conscious attitude on the part of the masses toward Communism. The solution of all remaining tasks depends to a considerable degree on the success of Communist

education, extending to all the toilers. In order to promote the initiative and self-activity of the broad masses, it is necessary unceasingly to heighten their socialist consciousness, to raise all the toilers to the level of fully conscious fighters for Communism.

The role of the Communist education of the toilers, the role of ideas in the development of Soviet society, is exceptionally great. In no other social order have advanced ideas been of such importance—nor could they have been. In capitalist society development takes place spontaneously, there spontaneous laws hold sway over people. Under the conditions of the Soviet state, for the first time in history the toilers have acquired the opportunity of consciously building their own life, of reconstructing their economy and mode of existence on new, Socialist foundations, of developing a new, Socialist culture. The masses of the people have become conscious creators of their own life, conscious participants in the historical process. In our country not a single important measure in the sphere of political, economic or cultural construction is carried out without the active and conscious participation of the masses of the people.

In connection with the further development of Socialist society and the lifting of the cultural-technical and political level of the masses the role of the conscious element in social life grows constantly greater, and there is a corresponding expan-

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sion of the role of the ideological work of the Party.

The strengthening of the Party's ideological work is dictated by the necessity for active struggle against the vestiges of capitalism in the consciousness of the people, against the influence of alien ideology.

In our country Socialism has basically been established. But Socialism is the first phase of Communism. Socialist society still bears the birthmarks of the old society. Vestiges of capitalism in the economics and consciousness of people have not yet been outlived. In our enterprises, in collective farms and state farms, along with advanced workers in production, there still exist people with backward views and dispositions, who take a negligent attitude toward their work and violate labor discipline. There are still to be found collective farmers who take little part in the collective's production, who do not show proper care for the socially owned economy of the collective farms, but strive to inflate their own individual economies, to the detriment of the social sector. The overcoming of these backward habits, views and dispositions, and the negligent attitude to social property and labor, is a most important condition of the further development of socialist economy.

The presence and tenacity of vestiges of capitalism in the consciousness of the people of our country are explained not only by the lag of the people's consciousness behind their

economic situation, but also by the influence of alien ideology. During the war period, tens of millions of Soviet people lived under conditions of German-fascist occupation, on territory that had temporarily been seized by the enemy. Many were driven off to fascist penal servitude in Germany. All were deprived of truthful Soviet information and subjected to the influence of lying fascist propaganda. The German-fascist occupationists tried to implant the ideology of private property and nationalism. The enemy not only destroyed Soviet people, starved them to death, forced them to work under the lash of fascist overseers, but also did everything to corrupt them, to poison their consciousness, and undermine their faith in the truth of our great cause.

In spite of all the enemy's efforts, the Soviet people remained faithful to their Soviet Motherland and struggled actively against the occupationists, and now they have turned with enthusiasm to the task of restoring the economy. However, vestiges of capitalism in the consciousness of a certain part of the people, moods and prejudices connected with private property and nationalism, could not help but be revived under the conditions of German-fascist occupation. To liquidate the consequences of the fascist occupation means not only to restore the economy ruined by the Germans, but also to overcome the reactionary views and prejudices implanted by the Ger-

man fascists among the population of the occupied regions and among those who were driven off to fascist penal servitude in Germany.

In order to overcome the vestiges of capitalism in the people's consciousness and the influence of hostile ideology, in order to raise the consciousness of the masses to a higher level, an all-round development of Communist educational work among the toilers is required.

A basic task of the ideological-political work is the education of the toilers in the spirit of active participation in the strengthening of the Soviet Socialist system, in the spirit of a conscious attitude on the part of citizens to the fulfillment of their obligations to the Motherland. It is precisely the Soviet system under which all forms of oppression of man by man have been annihilated, that has transformed our country into a mighty power. Thanks to the Soviet system, our people have succeeded in overcoming the age-old economic and cultural backwardness of the country and in raising the well-being of the popular masses. The advantages of the Soviet system, so plainly manifest during the Patriotic War, make themselves felt with special force now also, with the transition from wartime to peacetime conditions. Our Soviet country does not experience the difficulties suffered by capitalist countries in the transition from war to peace. In our country there is not and cannot be any unemployment or crises,

which in capitalist countries are the scourge of the toiling masses. The toilers of our country have confidence in their tomorrow. The socialist system ensures the steady growth of a prosperous and cultured life for all the toilers. This is the great achievement of our people.

The further strengthening and development of the Soviet socialist system is the sacred duty of all Soviet people.

The Soviet state is the most democratic state in the world. The Soviet power has created the conditions for the involvement of every one of the broad masses of the people in the administration of the state. A most important political event in the life of our country is the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Our elections are the most democratic in the world. The Soviet system secures to all citizens of the U.S.S.R. the opportunity of active participation in the elections. In contradistinction to capitalist countries, in our country there exist no forces that could distort the will of the people in the elections and hamper its free expression. In all these respects, tremendous work is required of the Party organizations, in order to conduct the election campaign in an organized fashion, with the greatest success, on a high ideological-political level.

Communist awareness on the part of the masses means daily concern for the preservation and development of social property. Social property

is the economic foundation of the Soviet state, of its economic and military might. During the war the advantages of the Soviet economic system were revealed with new force. The further strengthening and development of the common socialist economy is the duty of all Soviet patriots. To adopt a Socialist attitude toward social property means to guard carefully, augment in every way, and develop the social economy. A Socialist attitude toward social property must become a characteristic trait of every Soviet person; it must become a habit.

Communist awareness on the part of the masses means a new attitude toward labor, a high degree of discipline among the workers in production, self-sacrificing work for the good of the Motherland, creative activity and self-activity on the part of the masses, directed to the further development of socialist production and to raising the productivity of labor. The heroic labor of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia during the war assured us victory over Germany. The self-sacrificing labor of the Soviet people, the heightening of their labor activity are a most important condition for the successful execution of the tasks of post-war, peacetime construction. With the conclusion of the war the toilers of the U.S.S.R. are developing a new competition. In this they are inspired by the historic victories in the Great Patriotic War, by the majestic perspective of a new economic and

cultural upsurge, as envisaged in the five-year plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. which is now being worked out. In this five-year plan the Soviet people are confronted with the task, not only of healing the wounds inflicted on the country by the war, but also of considerably surpassing the pre-war level of development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. To fulfill and over-fulfill this plan means to take a new and enormous step forward on the path of building Communism, to raise still higher the economic and military might of the socialist state, considerably to heighten the material prosperity and cultural level of the people. The realization of the tremendous tasks of the new five-year plan requires a further increase in the productivity of labor, the rational utilization of technique, the introduction of new methods of production organization, the broad development of the creative initiative of the masses, of the creative efforts of all the peoples of our country. Propaganda of the ideas in the new plan, mobilization of the political and labor activity of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia for the realization of the plan, is one of the battle tasks of the ideological work of the Party organizations.

Our country's transition to peacetime development is beset by a series of difficulties; these difficulties are connected with the serious losses suffered by our country during the war and also with the necessity for reor-

ganizing the national economy. The ideological-political work of the Party organizations must rouse the people for the overcoming of these difficulties, for the successful solution of peace-time problems. In some comrades the circumstances of transition to peacetime development generate moods of complacency and placidity; they think that now that the war is ended, one can let up on the intensity of the work. The Party organizations must fight resolutely against such moods. We are confronted with the enormous tasks of further strengthening the military-economic might of the Soviet country and of raising the living standards of the toilers. The solution of these tasks is impossible without the exertion of all our forces, without a further growth in the productivity of labor, in the degree of organization and consciousness of the masses.

The Communist consciousness of the masses is a condition of the further strengthening and development of new relationships between people—relationships of mutual aid and fraternal cooperation. On the basis of the victory of Socialism there has been found a moral-political unity of Soviet society which is unprecedented in history. The friendly union of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia which has been established in Soviet society has passed a severe test with honor and has been further strengthened in the period of the Patriotic War. The entire Soviet people has been welded

more closely together around the Party of Lenin and Stalin. This success must not only be consolidated, but also developed by all the means of ideological-political work of the Party organizations.

One of the most important bases of the Communist world outlook is the ideology of friendship and fraternal cooperation among the peoples of our country. The test of war has confirmed Comrade Stalin's thesis that so long as friendship exists between the peoples of our country, we shall be invincible. The great, effective force of friendship among the peoples has clearly manifested itself both in the struggle against the common enemy and in the matter of restoring the economy ruined by the fascist invaders. The destruction caused by the German-fascist imperialists in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and in other republics and regions of the U.S.S.R. could not have been liquidated over a long period of years without the mutual assistance of the peoples of the Soviet land. This effective force of fraternal mutual assistance on the part of the peoples has provided the most striking examples for the propaganda of the ideas of friendship among the peoples in the U.S.S.R. It is necessary to develop and strengthen the feeling of friendship between the peoples, to continue still further the struggle for a complete overcoming of vestiges of nationalism which remain in the consciousness of a certain part of our people and in individual instances

have been intensified during the war under the influence of hostile ideology.

The ideological work of the Party organizations must consolidate and develop the achievements in fostering Soviet patriotism. The great, heroic deeds of the Soviet people during the war were the result of the educational work of the party carried on over a long period of time. A further expansion of this work is needed in order to raise to still higher levels the Soviet people's consciousness of the interests of the country as a whole, their readiness to undertake new deeds for the sake of the common cause. The Patriotic War produced the most striking examples of the heroism and fortitude of Soviet patriots. We must rear our youth and the whole Soviet people by these examples. These examples of self-sacrificing service to our country will inspire many generations of Soviet people to new heroic deeds for the glory of the Socialist Fatherland.

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Communist consciousness is not born spontaneously: it is forged in the struggle with hostile ideology and is spread among the masses by means of the ideological work of the Party. But in order to fulfill their role as the advanced and conscious detachment of the toilers, in order to be the educators of the masses, Communists must have perfect mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory. Only theoretically grounded cadres, capable of

easily orienting themselves in given circumstances can successfully fulfill their role of political guide to the masses. The ideological-theoretical preparation of Communists, and above all of leading cadres, has always been one of the Party's principal tasks.

The Bolshevik Party is a growing party, it is continually replenished by the best representatives of the people. During the Patriotic War alone nearly three million new members and candidates were admitted into the Party. Inside the Party the process of cultivating and promoting new leading cadres goes on. Ideological-political work is the necessary condition of this growth and reinforcement of the Party's ranks.

During the years of Soviet power the Party of Lenin and Stalin has grown in millions of Party and non-Party Bolsheviks—people of leadership and initiative, who have set examples of devotion to the interests of the Motherland, to the interests of Socialism. It is demanded of a Party member, not only that he serve as a model and example in his work and in production: he must also take the lead in the level of his consciousness, in his ideological-theoretical preparation. The Party, as Comrade Stalin teaches, is not only the vanguard of a class, but is its *conscious* vanguard. Consciousness, ideological integrity and maturity are most important qualities in a Bolshevik.

The Party ensures the solution of the most complex problems because in its practical activity it is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory.

For the raising of their theoretical level and for their political tempering our cadres have an inexhaustible source in the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. In this book and in the works of Lenin and Stalin the ideological, tactical, organizational and theoretical foundations of Bolshevism are elaborated in all their aspects, and the vast experience of the Communist Party, which is equalled by no other party in the world, is summarized. In these works there are elaborated and elucidated with unsurpassed profundity and completeness all the component parts of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, scientific Communism—on the basis of a summarizing of the experience of the modern, contemporary epoch. Such works of Lenin as *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats; What Is To Be Done?; One Step Forward, Two Steps Back; Two Tactics of Social-Democracy In The Democratic Revolution; Materialism and Empirio-Criticism; Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism; The State and Revolution*; and the works of Comrade Stalin collected in the books *Leninism; Marxism and the National and Colonial Question; The Great Pa-*

*triotic War of the Soviet Union,\** constitute a golden fund of Marxist-Leninist theory, that basic and principal source from which is drawn the knowledge necessary for the arming of our cadres with the most advanced theory in the world. These works not only scientifically disclose the laws of social development and the laws of political struggle in the present epoch, but they also teach how to apply these laws in the practical activity of our Party.

Leading cadres must make a thorough study of these works; they must know the history and theory of the Bolshevik Party and master the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist philosophical science, the political economy of capitalism, and the laws of development of Socialist economics. Our cadres must study the history of diplomacy and foreign policy, the history of our Motherland, the history of the joint struggle of the peoples of our country against foreign invaders, against tsarism and landlord-capitalist oppression; the history of the struggle to overthrow the power of the imperialists and build a Socialist society in our country.

The Bolshevik Party is strong because it is grounded in a creative understanding of Marxism, because it continually advances Marxist theory, developing it and replenishing it with new postulates and conclu-

\* All works here listed are available in English translation, in editions of International Publishers, New York.—Editors.

sions corresponding to changes in concrete historical circumstances. The leaders of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin—masters of revolutionary science—have provided us with lofty models of the creative development of Marxist theory.

Our theoretical workers must emulate these lofty examples of the creative development of theory. Relying on the brilliant works of Lenin and Stalin, Soviet scientists in the field of the social sciences must work out the problems presented by life and summarize the experience of State and Party work, the experience of Socialist construction. Soviet scientists face the task of decisive struggle against distortions in the sphere of theory, against ideology hostile to Marxism. It is necessary to reveal the opposition between the bourgeois and the proletarian world outlooks, to point out the advantages of the Soviet Socialist system over the capitalist system.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is continually pointing out the need for a thorough working-out of pressing theoretical problems and teaching us to have an uncompromising attitude toward errors and distortions in ideological work. In a recent decision concerning the magazine *Bolshevik*, the Central Committee noted serious shortcomings in the work of this journal. The Central Committee pointed out that very few articles were being published in the journal on problems

of Marxist-Leninist theory, that pressing theoretical problems were not being worked out. Errors had been permitted in articles that were published in the journal. Thus, in the article by S. Batishchev, "Plekhanov—Great Pioneer of Marxism in Russia," published in No. 15 of the *Bolshevik*, a crude error was permitted, consisting primarily in the fact that criticism of the Menshevism and opportunism of Plekhanov was missing from this article. It is known that as early as 1903 Plekhanov went over to the side of the Mensheviks; at the beginning of the First World War he became an ardent defencist, desperately defending the continuation of the imperialist war on the part of the Russian autocracy. Plekhanov feared the approaching Socialist revolution as one fears a fire. After the February, 1917 revolution Plekhanov, as leader of the Right Mensheviks, waged a furious struggle against the labor movement, against the Bolshevik Party, against Lenin. All these facts were passed by in the above-mentioned article, with the result that an incorrect idea was presented of the actual views of Plekhanov during various periods of his activity.

The Central Committee bound the editorial board of the *Bolshevik* to eliminate major shortcomings in the work of the journal and to make the *Bolshevik* in fact the theoretical organ of the Party. The editorial board of the *Bolshevik* is pledged to elaborate and elucidate in the journal's

pages pressing problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and to provide scientific summation of the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State.

A most important condition for the successful work of our theoretical cadres is a high devotion to principle, an uncompromising attitude toward distortions in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist theory and toward manifestations of alien ideology. The decision of the Central Committee once more stresses the necessity for a principled approach to theoretical and political questions. Devotion to principle is one of the characteristic features of our Party. Principles, as Comrade Stalin pointed out, win victories, but they do not make compromises. The Bolshevik Party is always intolerant of lack of principle, of instability. It is necessary to rear cadres in the spirit of Bolshevik devotion to principle, so that Party members may thoroughly master the ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism, so that the ideological work may inculcate firmness of conviction and moral-political steadfastness.

The founders and leaders of Communism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and

Stalin, have provided models of struggle for the purity of revolutionary theory, examples of irreconcilability to hostile ideology. The classics of Marxism teach us that in the sphere of theory there can be no concessions. In their struggle against the Mensheviks, Trotskyites, Bukharinists, and bourgeois nationalists, the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin, maintained the purity of revolutionary theory, which was a most important condition for the great victories of the Bolshevik Party.

Ideological work is a vital and most important concern of the Party organizations. It requires constant and steady attention and guidance. For, as the Central Committee emphasized in its decisions, this guidance will be effective only when the Party organizations will have perceived the essence and content of ideological work and will be directing this work.

The strengthening of ideological political work, its elevation to a new level, the further development of the Communist education of the toilers is the guarantee of our further successes on the road of building Communism.

# THE WAGE AND STRIKE MOVEMENT\*

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE UNITED STATES is now experiencing the greatest wage movement in its history. Already this movement has involved many industries: steel, auto, radio and electric, meat packing, telephone, telegraph, transport, building, printing, railroads, and doubtless, later on, coal mining. At least four million workers are now in motion, demanding living wages from the great monopolists of the United States. And the movement shows every indication of taking on greater scope.

The present wage movement is directed against the biggest and most powerful trusts in America, including such companies as U. S. Steel, General Motors, General Electric, Ford, Westinghouse, Western Union, the packing trust, the great railroad corporations, and a whole list of others, practically running the gamut of the great monopolies. The movement is directed at preventing a wage-cut of from 20 to 30 per cent in the living standards of the workers through reduction of overtime,

downgrading, etc. It is also aimed at balking the attempt of the big corporations of this country to carry out their plans seriously to undermine the trade unions.

Not only is this wage movement now under way a vast one, but it is quite probable that it may soon develop into the greatest strike movement in the history of the United States. How widely the strikes will spread depends upon the degree of resistance by the monopolies to the justified demands of the workers. Already at this moment at least 800,000 workers are on strike in the auto, radio and electric, meat packing and steel industries, with a scattering of smaller strikes in other industries. The 800,000 steel workers are also scheduled to strike about January 20, unless their demands are met in the meantime. Other big sections of the trade union movement—railroad workers, miners, etc.—may also eventually find it necessary to strike to enforce their demands.

If the arrogant monopolists of the United States persist in their stubborn resistance to the workers' demands that their living standards be maintained and their unions allowed to function freely, then the way the workers in this country will respond with strike action will greatly surprise these moguls. The recent general strike in Stamford, backed by both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., shows the spirit of the American working class in the present situa-

\* Address delivered on January 15, 1946, at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin.

tion. More and broader actions along the same lines may be expected.

Generally, the demands of the workers run to \$2.00 a day, a 30 per cent wage increase, or rather, wage restoration. These demands are fully justified by the increased cost of living, by the greater productivity of the workers, and by the fabulous profits of the corporations. Without exception, the great capitalist combinations can easily meet these demands, without raising prices. Official spokesmen of the Government have said that they could grant a 24 per cent increase in wages without a price increase, and the President's Fact-Finding Commission in the automobile industry, dealing with the General Motors strike, has recommended a 19½ cents increase.

The tremendous profits and financial reserves of the trusts at the present time throw a revealing light on the profiteering that they carried on throughout the war. It will be remembered that immediately after the war began, when the question was one of converting the industries from peace to war production, the big capitalists of the country refused to stir, went on a sit-down strike, in fact, until the war contracts were written to suit their demands. Now it is clear what extravagant profits they insisted upon as a condition for cooperation with the government in war production. The workers are aware of the huge wartime profits of the trusts, and they

are determined to make the corporations grant their demands.

This is a new kind of wage and strike movement for the United States. It is being conducted on a higher level than ever before in the history of this country. The fight centers directly in the basic industries, as has never previously been the case. Also, the workers are not only fighting for wage increases, but are insisting that the capitalists not be permitted to raise prices. Furthermore, they are examining closely the profits being made by the corporations and are demanding the right to "look into the books" of these corporations. There is a higher degree of solidarity being shown among the workers than in any other general wage movement we have experienced. Besides, the unions are fighting to win the support of the public as they have never done before. Better leadership is being shown, particularly by the C.I.O., which is conducting the major phases of the whole struggle.

The Truman Administration is following a wavering policy which is working out to the benefit of the employers. What the government should do, were it to represent the true interests of the nation as a whole, would be to support the full wage demands of the trade unions as a major necessity in the national interest. For only if the purchasing power of the masses is maintained will it be possible for the American

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people to keep the major industries in operation and to enjoy a measure of prosperity. But the Truman Administration, instead, is making a maximum proposal of 19½ cents an hour through its Fact-Finding Commission in the auto industry. This figure, which represents a considerable reduction in the living standards of the workers, is intended pretty much to be a wage pattern for industry in general, as the Little Steel Formula was until recently.

A more dangerous angle of the Truman Administration's labor policy is the President's demand upon Congress to write a law setting up Fact-Finding Commissions as regular institutions and to establish so-called "cooling-off" periods, along the lines of the Railway Labor Act. This procedure, if enacted into law, could be the beginning of compulsory arbitration. It is a threat to the strength and the very existence of the trade union movement in the United States. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the President's proposals have met with united opposition from the labor unions. Not only has Philip Murray of the C.I.O. condemned them vigorously, but even William Green and John L. Lewis, of the A. F. of L. and the miners' union respectively, have spoken out emphatically against them. The President's proposals give direct encouragement to the anti-labor elements in Congress, who are itching to cripple the trade unions

by hostile legislation. The unfavorable stand of Truman in this great wage and strike movement shows how far his Administration has gone to the Right of the Roosevelt policies, on a national scale as well as internationally.

#### NEW ASPECTS OF THE STRIKE MOVEMENT

One thing standing out very prominently in the present wage and strike situation is the different kind of fight that is now being conducted by the employers against the unions, as contrasted with the type of fight they made during the postwar drive against labor in the years 1919-22. At that time the trusts, shouting "Red Revolution" through the press, declared war to the death against the trade unions and brought about semi-civil war conditions in the steel, textile, and other industries. They imported hundreds of thousands of strikebreakers to smash the many strikes of the period. They slashed wages mercilessly in every direction. There was a widespread development of company unionism, to substitute for and prevent the organization of genuine trade unions. There was an open use of the troops, the courts, and the government against organized labor. The general result was that during the period from 1919 to 1922 the unions lost many major strikes in the steel, meat packing, lumber, building, railroad and other industries. The member-

ship of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad unions declined by about two million, and the organized labor movement was crippled and demoralized for a dozen years. Altogether the postwar open-shop attack on American trade unions following World War I was the most ferocious ever experienced by organized labor in this country.

Today, however, the big corporations are not daring to carry through such a ruthless program as they did in their drive against the unions following the previous world war. They are taking things a bit easier, at least thus far. There are not the cries of "Revolution," wild strike-breaking, and wholesale shooting down of strikers, as in earlier days. What is the explanation of this relative moderation? The basic reason is that today the trade unions have 14,000,000 members, as contrasted with the 4,000,000 in 1919. Moreover, public opinion is much more solidly behind the trade unions than it was following the First World War. After fighting a war against fascism, great sections of the people of the United States do not want to see the main bulwark against fascism in this country, the trade union movement, weakened or destroyed. Nor are the employers finding it so convenient to use the returned veterans against the striking workers. During the war the National Association of Manufacturers and other employer groups spent many mil-

lions of dollars trying to poison the minds of the soldiers on the battle-fronts against organized labor. Obviously they have not succeeded as well as they hoped. It is a different, a more highly developed veteran who is returning from World War II than came back from World War I. When the employers cast their eye over the world—to the Philippines, Japan, Germany, etc.—and observe the demonstrations of American soldiers for elementary rights, they do not feel the same confidence in using these veterans for such open attacks against striking workers as the American Legion carried out in the period of 1919-1922.

Another vitally important change since 1919-22 is the greater solidarity between Negro and white workers. In 1919-22 it was possible for the employers to play Negro and white against each other on a large scale to the defeat of both. But today one of the most striking features of the American political scene is precisely the incorporation of great masses of Negro workers into the unions, particularly the CIO unions. This is a factor of tremendous importance in solidifying the entire front of the workers against the present attack by the monopolies.

But let us make no mistake about this whole matter. If the corporations have not yet ventured to use the violent, fascist-like tactics against the trade unions that they did in the period following World War I, the

is not because the big monopolists have become reconciled to the trade unions and are in a mood to deal reasonably with them. On the contrary, they are determined to weaken the trade unions, wherever possible. They are trying to bleed them with long-drawn-out strikes; they are seeking to demoralize the unions with penalty clauses for unauthorized strikes; they are striving to dismantle the shop organizations of the unions. The corporations, we may be sure, will bring about a head-on collision with the trade unions if they think they see a favorable opportunity to do so.

In the years since the stormy times of 1919-22 the workers of this country have learned many lessons, hard and difficult ones. They have built up a great trade union movement in the basic industries, a movement founded on the principles of industrial unionism and capably led nationally by the C.I.O., headed by Philip Murray. The workers are prepared to fight for their unions and the standards they have won with such difficulty. It is hard for the enormous corporations in the basic industries, who look upon our country as their private property and consider the workers as serfs whose purpose in life is to grind out profits for them, to become reconciled to a situation in which they have to sit down and talk business across the table with the workers. They also find it strange to have to deal with

a public which is no longer so susceptible to the demagogic anti-union campaigns of earlier years. But it is the job of the workers and their allies to teach these hitherto untamed monopolists that there is such a thing as democracy in the United States and to compel them to abide by it.

#### THE NEED FOR A STRATEGY OF THE OFFENSIVE

This is a critical moment in the life of organized labor in the United States. There is now in the making what can either become a great victory or a serious defeat for the workers. In order that the struggle may result in victory, the most important thing that organized labor has to do is to go over to the offensive. There is too much that is defensive in the present strategy of the labor movement. One cannot win by fighting on the defensive, whether in a military war or in a struggle against employers over wages and union conditions.

Organized labor, therefore, must wheel its big guns, so to speak, into the struggle, and, on the basis of an aggressive strategy, carry on the fight more militantly. To do this, what labor needs most of all is unity in its own ranks. The present wage movement is a fight that involves the living standards of every worker in every industry in the United States. Therefore, the entire trade union movement should make common cause, the interests of all their mem-

bers being directly involved. As the Communist Party has repeatedly urged, a national strategy committee should be set up, representing all major branches of labor, the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., the railroad workers, the coal miners, and the independent unions. This strategy committee should work out a joint wage policy and a joint strike strategy. Such a committee should be prepared to throw the forces of organized labor behind any section of the labor movement that may be threatened in the course of this struggle. Particularly if the steel workers go out on strike, organized labor as a whole should back them up with its full economic and political power.

The great corporations have a common strategy to meet this situation. Only a few nights ago it was announced over the radio that the major business leaders in the industries that are now strike-bound, or where the workers are carrying on a broad wage struggle, met in New York to design a common policy to defeat the wage demands of the workers and to weaken their unions. Common sense insists, therefore, that the workers should also have a united policy. This fight in which the workers are now engaged should give birth to united labor action in the United States among the several national and local segments of organized labor. The workers want such united action. The members in the A. F. of L. and in the C.I.O. are

sick of the present split in the American labor movement. They realize that it is a menace to the interests of the workers, to democracy generally in this country, and they want the split healed. Among other manifestations of the growing spirit of unity among the workers was the recent general strike in Stamford. The Greens, Lewises, Hutchesons, Wolls, Dubinskys, and other reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor, who stand in the way of trade union unity, must be compelled to bend to the will of the rank and file of the organizations of which they are the heads.

During the big strikes of 1919-22 this same type of leader betrayed the unions into defeat. In the key steel strike of 1919, for example, the main responsibility for the defeat rested upon the general officers of the American Federation of Labor, who failed to rally the support of the labor movement behind that vital strike. Yes, and sad to say, there are still men sitting in the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., some of whom have been named above, who would be only too pleased to see this new movement of the steel workers, that great organization of 800,000 workers, defeated. The workers must rid themselves of such misleaders and put men at the head of the A. F. of L. who will really represent the interests of the workers and the progressive purposes of the American labor movement.

If organized labor is to adopt the offensive strategy required to secure the best results in the present situation, one of its major tasks is to win the support of the public at large. During the present strike movement very much has already been done in this respect. But very much more is still necessary. The unions should unitedly carry on a crusade, with every possible means of publicity, through newspapers, over the radio, in meetings, in every other manner, to make the people of this country understand that in their present wage struggles the workers are fighting, not only for their own interests, but for the interests of the whole American people. They are striving to maintain the purchasing power of the masses, which means to defend the economic welfare of the nation. The strike and wage movement must be brought home to the American people, upon the high political note of a struggle in defense of the national interests. The issue must be made clear that it is not only the workers, but the whole American people against the great monopolies.

#### POLITICAL TASKS BEFORE LABOR

Another major part of the offensive strategy that organized labor needs to develop, if it is to achieve real victory in the present situation, is to prepare an active campaign for joint political action in the 1946 Congressional elections.

At this moment the reactionaries in Congress are threatening to take legislative action against the workers' right to strike. They want to write a host of anti-union laws on the Federal statute books. Organized labor should pick up this challenge by the reactionaries. It should let the Rankins, Hoffmans, Bilbos, and their ilk understand once and for all that organized labor and its progressive allies are not going to permit them to impose such dangerous, fascist-like legislation upon the country. Labor should make them understand that every one of them who votes for such legislation must be prepared to find himself a new occupation after the 1946 elections. It is high time for labor to delouse Congress of the scores of reactionaries who infest it, who are a plague to the United States and a menace to everything healthy and progressive in our country and the world. Organized labor must prepare its forces for the biggest campaign in its history in the 1946 elections. This campaign, furthermore, must begin to lay the basis for an eventual broad progressive third-party movement.

Still another phase of the necessary offensive strategy of the labor movement to forge through to victory is to begin to popularize the question of nationalizing the basic industries of the United States. How long are the American people going to permit these great monopolists to rob the masses, to tell the nation in-

solently that it is none of its business how much profit they make, to refuse to allow the Government to look into their books, to reject collective bargaining with the trade unions, to dictate policies to Congress? How long are the economic royalists going to be allowed to dominate arbitrarily our economic and political life? All over Europe the peoples, led by the working class, are nationalizing their basic industries. The masses have learned by bitter experience that the reactionaries who previously owned these industries did not represent the interests of the people, but, on the contrary, systematically sabotaged and betrayed the national interest to make profits for themselves. The monopolists in our country are cut from the same cloth as those of Europe. It is high time, therefore, that the labor movement of this country take up seriously the question of nationalization. Let organized labor reply to the arrogance of General Motors, General Electric, Western Union, U. S. Steel, and other big monopolies by raising the slogan of the nationalization of these industries.

#### FOR A STRONG COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

In conclusion, there is still another basic task to which the workers of this country have to give serious consideration in order to meet the pre-

sent difficult situation, and generally to face the perspective that has opened up to our nation. This is to build up a strong Communist Party in the United States. For only with a powerful Marxist-Leninist Party can the American workers either understand what the national and world situation really is or successfully work out a policy to meet the complicated economic and political problems of the postwar period. Only with such a party can the people check American imperialism and be sure that the United States will follow a policy of world peace, develop solid collaboration in the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, and help build up an effective United Nations Organization.

All over the world one of the most pronounced features of the war which has just come to an end has been a big growth of the Communist Parties. The peoples of the world have seen the clearheadedness, the dauntless courage of the Communists in the fight against Hitlerism. They have also come to realize that strong Communist Parties are needed if the postwar world is to be shaped according to the peoples' hopes and desires. Wherever one looks, in France, China, India, Indonesia, Poland, Italy and the Balkans, not to mention the U.S.S.R., the Communist Parties have grown enormously in the past year or two. Yes, and not only in the countries of the United Nations, but in the defeated coun-

tries, Germany and Japan, they are growing too.

We, too, in the United States must build a strong Communist Party. Of course the conditions for building the Communist Party in this, the greatest imperialist country in the world, are radically different from those of the countries mentioned. Nevertheless, the problems that America has to solve also demand a strong Communist Party. The United States is part of the world, economically and politically, and the same deep, fundamental forces that have produced a strong growth of Communist Parties all over the world are bound to express themselves here too in a strengthening of our Communist Party.

For twenty-six years we have been laying the basis for a mass Communist Party in the United States. Our Party today, after all this work and effort, is by no means the biggest party of the nation, as it is in several countries. Nevertheless, it has a strong membership of active workers,

and it also has a broad mass following. In every struggle in our country during these past twenty-six years the Communist Party has been in the forefront of the masses in their fight for democracy and for better conditions generally. Our Party has written a proud record of achievement and loyal devotion to the true interests of the workers and the whole American people.

We have, by all this work, laid the basis for a strong Communist movement in the United States. Now we have to build on that foundation the mass Communist Party our people need. In the period before us the major task that we must always keep in mind will be precisely the building of the Communist Party. In honor of the great Lenin, the best resolution we can possibly make is to build a powerful Communist Party in the United States, that will rank with the mass Communist Parties that are growing up in so many other parts of the world. We can do this—we must do it—we will do it!

# OUST THE TROTSKY- ITES FROM THE LABOR AND PROG- RESSIVE MOVEMENT

By MAX WEISS

THE MOBILIZATION OF all forces for struggle against American imperialism's drive toward world domination and against its efforts to promote reaction at home is our central task. The fulfillment of this task calls, among other things, for the most energetic exposure of, and struggle against, the various agents of imperialism who operate in the labor and progressive movement. It is in this sense that the struggle against the Trotskyites, aimed at driving them out of the labor and progressive movement, presents itself to labor and the people as a most serious political task.

The Trotskyites are the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. As such, they adapt their role to the special needs of the most reactionary sections of big capital at each stage of development of the struggle.

In the new situation created by the defeat of Germany and Japan,

the Trotskyites continue to play their role in such a fashion as to be of direct assistance to the most reactionary sections of American imperialism. Their direct assistance to imperialism is covered with a veneer of radical phraseology calculated to disguise the reactionary essence of their policies and activities.

## LEAD ANTI-SOVIET INCITEMENT

The Trotskyites are characterized above all by their venomous attacks against the Soviet Union. Their anti-Soviet incitement is not matched even in the pages of the Hearst press. As a matter of fact, the Trotskyites supply the Hearst press and all other spokesmen for imperialist reaction with the specific form of every vile attack against the Soviet Union which is expected to get a response among backward sections of the masses.

The Soviet Union is the most indispensable force for building an enduring peace. It made the greatest sacrifices and the greatest contribution to the joint military effort of the United Nations and thus played the chief role in saving the world from fascist barbarism. Today, its anti-fascist peace policy, rooted in the socialist character of the Soviet state, plays the chief and decisive role in helping realize the aspirations of the masses for an enduring peace.

The American imperialists, driving toward world domination, find one of their greatest obstacles in the

firm and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. This peace policy has already more than once since the end of the war been an important factor in slowing down the drive of the imperialists to realize their vast ambitions.

Hence, one of the main objects of American imperialism, its agents and spokesmen, is to undermine the great prestige of the Soviet Union among the masses, to counter and nullify the positive response which the Soviet peace policy evokes among the masses.

The specific role of the Trotskyites in the present situation is, above all, to help American imperialism accomplish this objective. This they do by vilifying the Soviet peace policy, by distorting and misrepresenting it, in the hope of turning the American workers against it. It was the Trotskyites who supplied to every reactionary the slogan of struggle against an alleged "expansionist policy of the Soviet Union." Under this slogan, American imperialism attempts to justify its anti-Soviet activities on the pretext that it is resisting Soviet "expansionism." Under this slogan, the spokesmen for the most extreme reaction speak openly of war against the Soviet Union.

The actions of the Soviet Union which the Trotskyites calumniate as "expansionism" are recognized by every honest anti-fascist as politically and historically just and as vital contributions to peace and security.

Among such actions was the liberation of the Western Ukraine and White Russia from the clutches of the Polish fascists and the satisfaction of the deep-seated wish of the West Ukrainian and White Russian masses to be reunited with their brothers of the Ukrainian and Russian nation within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Similarly, the liberation of the Baltic countries—Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—from the clutches of the German fascists and their Baltic tools created conditions of freedom of the peoples of these countries to assert their national will. This they did by voting overwhelmingly for incorporation into the Soviet Union. The adjustment of the eastern boundaries of the Soviet Union up to the approximate boundaries of the Curzon Line, a line which the Wilson Administration itself had helped to determine, corresponded to the ethnographic boundaries of the Polish people on the one hand and the Russian and Ukrainian peoples on the other. The return to the Soviet Union of Bessarabia, which had been forcibly torn from it when it was a weak and relatively defenseless young republic, was a belated act of historic justice. The voluntary cession of Ruthenia to the Soviet Union by the Czechoslovak government was made by the free decision of that government in response to the national desires of the Ruthenian population. The acquisition of a strip of economically value-

less Finnish territory for which Finland received ample compensation in exchange was grounded in the necessity for establishing military security against fascist aggression by way of Finland. All these developments were and are vital contributions to the maintenance of peace because they correspond to the wishes of the populations concerned, because they strengthen the military security of the Soviet Union and thus weaken the hands of those who count on a militarily insecure Soviet Union to advance their plans for war and aggression.

#### SOCIALIST STATE ENEMY OF EXPANSIONIST SCHEMES

A policy of "expansionism," that is, a policy of the conquest of states and regions, a policy of the violation of the territorial and national integrity of nations and peoples is a characteristic policy of imperialist states. It is a policy which flows inevitably from the fact that imperialist states attempt to solve the inherent contradictions of their system by the seizure of foreign territories as markets, as sources of raw materials, as spheres of investment for surplus capital.

Such a policy does not and cannot exist in the Socialist Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, which has abolished the profit system, is faced with the task of a vast expansion of its socialist productive forces in order to satisfy the unlimited demand of

the people of the Soviet Union, a demand which is unlimited precisely because the capitalist system has been abolished. Hence, the socialist character of the Soviet Union inevitably makes of it the only consistent champion of peace and of the national independence and freedom of all peoples. The socialist character of the Soviet Union makes of it the only firm and consistent opponent of any policy of "expansionism," a policy which is characteristic of imperialist states but which is alien to, and impossible for, the Socialist Soviet Union.

The calumnies of the Trotskyites are thus nothing but the work of imperialist agents who operate in the ranks of the labor and democratic movement in order to promote the policies of American imperialism among the masses.

American imperialism has embarked upon a course which, if unchecked, would lead to the complete break-up of Big Three unity which is indispensable for the maintenance of peace. The Trotskyites make their special contribution to the efforts of American imperialism to break up Big Three unity by denouncing it in the name of a hypocritical "anti-imperialism" as "power politics." Not a single attack against the alleged "power politics" of the Big Three launched by the Hearst press, by the Vandenberg, the Tafts, the Hoovers has not first of all been launched in the pages of the various Trotskyite

sheets. And it was also under cover of verbal thrusts against "power politics," *i.e.*, against Big Three unity, that Stettinius at San Francisco disregarded the objections of the Soviet Union and brought fascist Argentina into the United Nations. The outcry against "power politics" is the common mark of identification of every imperialist scoundrel who wishes to discredit Big Three unity in order to torpedo it as the first step toward giving full freedom to American Big Business to establish its undisputed power over the world. The main target of every enemy of a stable peace is the unity of the Big Three. The Trotskyites fulfill their role to the letter by their unrestrained campaign to break up Big Three unity.

The Trotskyite attack against Big Three unity differs only in form from the attacks by the most extreme reactionary sections of American imperialism. The imperialists attack Big Three unity by exaggerating the differences between the Socialist Soviet Union on the one hand and capitalist America and Britain on the other. They thereby seek to undermine the basis of collaboration between these countries. Such collaboration is both possible and necessary in the interests of the organization of peace despite the fundamental differences between the social systems of the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries. The Trotskyites attack Big Three unity by portraying

the Soviet Union as indistinguishable from imperialist Britain and America, by attempting to conceal the socialist character of the Soviet Union, by attempting to lump it together with imperialist Britain and America as a "red imperialism." They do this in order to justify their portrayal of Big Three unity as a concert of imperialist powers engaged in "power politics." The difference in the form of attack against Big Three unity by the open spokesmen for imperialism on the one hand and by the Trotskyites on the other is simply a division of labor. Without this division of labor, the Trotskyites could not operate among the masses who are not at all afraid of, and are increasingly attracted by, the fact that the Soviet Union is a socialist country. The masses see in its socialist society the only real guarantee that Big Three unity, if maintained and strengthened, will actually realize their aspirations for an enduring peace.

#### TROTSKYITES FIGHT AGAINST THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT

The strict and rapid fulfillment of the letter and spirit of the Potsdam agreement is a key to the maintenance of Big Three unity and a pre-condition for preventing the resurgence of aggressive German imperialism. That is why American imperialism is shamelessly violating the terms of the Potsdam agreement,

refusing to carry out the provisions of that agreement and in general following a course which will restore German imperialism within the limits of strength set for it by Wall Street.

Here again, the Trotskyites carry out their specific role as agents of American imperialism. Under cover of super-revolutionary phrases about the German working class, the Trotskyites demand that the Big Three occupation of Germany be ended. This demand corresponds fully with the desire of the most reactionary sections of American imperialism for the rapid termination of the joint occupation of Germany for which propaganda is already being circulated fairly widely. Just as the imperialists try to violate the terms of the Potsdam agreement by an alleged concern for the sufferings of the German people, so the Trotskyites openly demand that the Potsdam agreement be scrapped out of an alleged concern for the German working class. They demand an end to the policy of the economic disarmament of Germany and the elimination of its war potential. They denounce the territorial changes contained in the Potsdam agreement which are designed to curtail still more the potentialities of Germany for aggression. They denounce the policy of reparations which, unlike the reparations of the first imperialist war, are just, in that the German people, which supported Hitler's

criminal war, must be made to help repair the devastation for which it cannot escape its responsibility. These reparations are also just in that they are calculated to eliminate Germany's war potential. In their violent opposition to the fulfillment of the terms of the Potsdam agreement, the German and American imperialists receive the direct help of the Trotskyites.

#### TROTSKYITES CONCEAL RESPONSIBILITY OF GERMAN PEOPLE

In order to justify their exculpation of the German nation from responsibility for supporting Hitler's criminal war, the Trotskyites conjure up a phantasy of mass anti-Hitler opposition by the German workers up to and including armed revolt and rebellion. Here, for example, is what the Trotskyites declare the role of the German workers to have been in the defeat of Hitler:

Even up to the end, when the Allied armies were laying carpets of bombs over the workers sections and seriously paralyzing any full-scale resistance against Hitler, the German revolutionary workers engaged in strikes and demonstrations against fascism. Deserters from the German army together with foreign workers rose against the S.S. In some towns the workers in daring insurrections even seized power before the Allied armies arrived. (*Militant*, December 22, 1945.)

This phantasmagoria covers up

the fact that the German people as a whole, including the workers, supported Hitler to the end and, far from rising in insurrection, manned barricades against the liberating Red Army even when Berlin was in its death throes.

What is the purpose of this "ultra-revolutionary" distortion of fact and history? It is simply to lay an "ultra-revolutionary" basis for attacking all the measures proposed in the Potsdam agreement to guarantee that the teeth of German imperialism's aggressive ambitions for a new world war will be pulled. Just as the Trotskyites bring forth out of nowhere an anti-Hitler German working class which was all along "fighting" against Hitler, so the German monopolists and industrialists bring forth out of nowhere an anti-Hitler German bourgeoisie which was completely opposed to Hitler and Nazism. In both cases, the objective is the same—to exculpate the German nation from any responsibility for the role it played during the war and thus to "prove" the superfluity of joint military occupation, the "injustice" of economic and military disarmament, etc. In both cases the net result, if achieved, would be the same—scrapping of the Potsdam agreement and the granting of full freedom for the resurgence of German imperialism.

The restoration of a democratic Germany must ultimately be the work of the German people led by

the German working class. The best sons of the German working class, the carriers of struggle against fascism during all the bitter years of Hitler's regime, were either killed by the Hitler terrorists, put into dungeons and concentration camps, or escaped into exile where they continued their valiant struggle from the outside. But their unremitting fight against Hitler did not meet with response among the German people or the German workers. This is an historic fact. It indicates that the German working class as a whole is not prepared at this moment of its history to be fully and freely entrusted with the task of uprooting the Nazi strongholds and institutions. It needs the assistance of just such policies as are contained in the Potsdam agreement in order to create new conditions in Germany which will enable the democratic forces of that country to gather strength, to emerge as a dominant force in German political life under the leadership of a renovated working class purged of the influences of corruption which paralyzed it during Hitler's criminal war.

#### TROTSKYITES AID AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN FAR EAST

With respect to the Far East, the Trotskyites justify the desire of American imperialism to exclude the Soviet Union from any participation in the determination of policy toward defeated Japan by echoing

the Hearst falsehood that the Soviet Union played no role in the defeat of Japan. This falsehood is belied by the rapidity with which Japan collapsed following the defeat of Hitler-Germany in which the Soviet Union played the most decisive role, by the well-known fact that the Soviet Union throughout the period in which it was not actually engaged in military hostilities with Japan kept more Japanese troops immobilized along its frontiers than were engaged in battle by American forces directly. The American imperialists were compelled to agree to the establishment of a Four Power Commission for joint control of Japan in place of the unilateral control of Japan for reactionary purposes which had been insisted upon and practiced by the United States since the defeat of Japan. This setback for reaction is denounced by the Trotskyites along lines similar to their denunciation of the Three Power occupation of Germany. According to the Trotskyites, such a Four Power joint control including the Soviet Union is "an instrument of repression against the Japanese masses." The objective meaning of the Trotskyite policy in Japan, as in the case of Germany, is a demand for the termination of joint military control and hence freedom for the feudal landlords and imperialists of Japan to begin their preparations for a new world war.

American imperialism attempts to

make its military and political intervention in China on the side of Chiang Kai-shek palatable to the American masses by falsely suggesting that its relations with the Chiang Kai-shek government are justified. The pretext given is that the Soviet government also recognizes the Chiang Kai-shek government but does not recognize in any diplomatic way the government of the liberated areas of China with headquarters at Yen-an.

The Trotskyites give direct assistance to American imperialism in this attempt to justify intervention in China by their furious campaign of provocation against the policy of the Soviet Union toward China. They denounce the Soviet Union for maintaining normal diplomatic relations with the Chiang Kai-shek government and for not supplying arms to the Yen-an government, that is, for not intervening in the internal affairs of China. The Trotskyite barking about the "betrayal of Yen-an" by the Soviet Union is intended to be, and actually serves as, a direct support to the claim of American imperialism that its relations with Chiang Kai-shek are, after all, no different from those of the Soviet Union.

#### SOVIET POLICY AIDS THE CHINESE PEOPLE

The Trotskyite rantings are outright imperialist calumny disguised by a hypocritical reference to the

democratic forces of China led by the Chinese Communists, who, it must be mentioned, are always referred to by the Trotskyites in the most contemptuous terms. Soviet relations with China are based on relations of friendship and peace with a neighboring state, on full respect for the national integrity and independence of China, on scrupulous observance of treaties and non-interference in the internal affairs of China. The Soviet policy gives political aid to the democratic forces of China because it is a potent weapon for restraining the desires of the imperialist states to perpetuate their policy of intervention in the internal affairs of that country. The democratic forces of China can most rapidly and successfully achieve their aims of uniting their country on the basis of freedom if imperialist interference in China's affairs is ended. The peoples of China, the United States and other lands can see for themselves the difference between the Soviet policy of noninterference and the imperialist policy of rapacious meddling. This position of the Soviet Union encourages them to develop their campaigns against imperialist intervention and gives them further courage in the struggle because they know they are not alone on the world scene. In the diplomatic field, the Soviet Union acts energetically and skillfully to support the United Nations Charter and calls sharp attention to the necessity to

implement that document in deeds. Thus, the Soviet policy of noninterference acts as a powerful obstacle in the way of the efforts of American and British imperialism to perpetuate their traditional policy of intervention on the side of reaction.

Thus, in every phase of its foreign policy, American imperialism receives the support of the Trotskyites. This support is advanced under cover of super-revolutionary phrases in order to make it appear acceptable to workers who would reject outright all imperialist policies advanced in their undisguised form.

**TROTSKYITES WORK TO  
DIVIDE AND ISOLATE  
LABOR**

On the domestic front, likewise, the Trotskyites act in the interests of Big Business. In the present situation, in which the labor movement is engaged in a tremendous struggle for higher wages and is faced with the enormous task of rallying around itself all anti-fascist sections of the people to form a broad camp of democratic unity, the Trotskyites have the assignment of preventing the development of a unified struggle by labor and of attempting to isolate labor from its natural allies.

In the labor movement, the Trotskyites work to divide the trade unions by their vicious Red-baiting, by their activity in encouraging and aggravating factionalism within the unions, provoking actions on the

part of individual sections of the trade unions so as to prevent the achievement of a unified strategy by labor as a whole in the fight for higher wages, and in trying to prevent labor from adopting policies which would win support among its natural allies outside the ranks of the labor movement

In the developing strike movement, the Trotskyites have exerted all their efforts to prevent labor from achieving a unified strategy and action, especially of the Big Three—steel, auto, and electrical. Under cover of a super-militancy, the Trotskyites try to make the trade unions easy victims of company provocation by advancing the theory that it makes no difference when and how strikes are called. This is a theory that plays directly into the hands of the corporations who try to provoke strikes at moments that are most favorable to the company and least favorable to the workers, whereas it is to the interests of the unions to choose the time for a strike in accordance with their own strategy and not with that of the employers.

In the sphere of independent political action, the labor movement and other non-labor democratic forces are increasingly disillusioned with President Truman's Administration, because of its abandonment of the program of the Roosevelt-labor coalition. They are therefore more and more drawing the conclusion that it is necessary to form a third party

which will unite labor and its allies and open up possibilities for effective political action independent of the two major parties. It is clear that the labor movement must take the leadership in the formation of such a party in closest cooperation with all other democratic, anti-fascist forces. The Trotskyites attempt to divert the labor movement from this necessary path by fighting for a "labor party," that is a party of labor alone. Such a course of action would, as the Trotskyites intend it to do, isolate labor from its natural allies in the political struggle and thus weaken labor's political action while at the same time leaving labor's allies to the tender mercies of the two major parties. Such political isolation of the labor movement is the main objective of the trusts and monopolies whose interests the Trotskyites serve.

Thus, on all questions confronting the labor and people's movement in the new situation following the end of the war, the Trotskyites work under cover of radical-sounding phrases to carry out the basic policies of American imperialism, as they have constantly done at every stage of the struggle. The fight to expose the Trotskyites, to oust them from the labor and progressive movement, is an indispensable part of the struggle against the reactionary policies and aims of American imperialism.

#### TROTSKYITE PENETRATION

Struggle against the Trotskyite

agents of fascism is especially necessary at this particular moment. A whole series of facts indicate that the Trotskyite agents of fascism have succeeded in the past period in penetrating into certain key labor and mass organizations, that in many cities throughout the country and in many fields of the people's movement there is a constantly expanding Trotskyite activity with no effective organized struggle against it. As a result, the wrecking activity of the Trotskyites is inflicting serious damage on the unfolding struggle of the labor and people's movements.

There is no need, and certainly no wish, to exaggerate these facts. Such exaggeration would lead to wrong conclusions about the essentially healthy state of the labor and progressive movement. Neither can any conclusions be drawn that this increasing penetration of the labor and progressive movement by the Trotskyites comes as a result of any growth in their political influence among the masses. For one thing, to take only a limited aspect of the question, the penetration of the Trotskyites into certain posts of leadership comes about because the way is paved for them by a deliberate policy of anti-Communist forces who, while not Trotskyites themselves, see in the Trotskyites an expert tool which they can use in their own struggle against the Communists. Such use is made of the Trotskyites in the labor movement by certain

reactionary trade unionists, by certain conservatives, by the Social-Democrats, the Norman Thomases, the Reuthers, etc.

Just as it would be wrong to exaggerate the actual state of affairs, so would it be wrong to close our eyes to these facts. To do that would be to continue the political negligence which has characterized our struggle against the Trotskyites for some time.

What are the facts?

First of all, there is the harmful penetration and activity of the Trotskyites within the trade unions, especially as editors of trade union publications, as educational directors and publicity directors. Trotskyite penetration is particularly true of the Auto Union. Here the Trotskyites hold various posts in a number of local unions in Detroit, as well as other cities; they hold appointed positions on organizing staffs; backed by large financial resources of suspicious origin, they provide free subscriptions to the *Militant* to local unions, members of union executive committees, shop stewards, other officers and key workers in the union and carry through a widespread free distribution of the *Militant* and other Trotskyite literature generally. In the Auto Union they also participate in, and cooperate with, the A.C.T.U. and profit by their close connection with various other anti-Communist elements.

In the same way, though not always to the same extent, the Trotsky-

ites are very active in the steel, rubber and shipyard unions, as well as in embryo third party movements in the various parts of the country.

#### TROTSKYITES DISRUPT THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Secondly, we should take note of the pernicious and destructive activities of the Trotskyites among the Negro people in the various key communities with a large Negro population, such as Harlem, Detroit, and the Chicago South Side. In some places they have managed to secure important positions in local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, upon which they have concentrated for a whole period of time. The Trotskyites also operate among the Negro people through the Workers Defense League.

There is also considerable Trotskyite activity in certain national groups. Recently, for example, after the American Jewish Committee had reorganized its official magazine, *Commentary*, the new editorial board, as well as the list of contributors, was revealed to be honeycombed with Trotskyites. Clearly, Trotskyite influence has penetrated this magazine of the American Jewish Committee and it will be used to spread anti-Soviet, anti-Communist poison.

In the literary field, as a result of the fact that the Party has not had any center for the Marxist-Leninist

guidance of aspiring writers, the Trotskyites have had a clear field for themselves through *Partisan Review*, which acts as a center for the infection and poisoning of many young writers. It is also a well-known fact that a number of bourgeois publishing houses have hired Trotskyites as editors and as manuscript readers, thus, in effect, putting the power of recommendation or condemnation of various types of literature in the hands of these agents of fascism. Similarly, many bourgeois publications use Trotskyites as literary editors and book reviewers, as "specialists" in favorably reviewing all anti-Communist, anti-Soviet books and in wielding the knife against all books which deal honestly with these questions.

Finally, the fact should be mentioned that the bourgeoisie is making increasing use of Trotskyites on its various publications as experts in the field of struggle against the Soviet Union, in fostering Red-baiting, etc. This is notoriously true of the Luce publications and the Reader's Digest; a number of local Negro newspapers, such as the *Tribune* in Los Angeles and the *Tribune* in Detroit, have Trotskyite writers on their staffs.

As a result of this, the Trotskyites have been deliberately given increased opportunity by the bourgeoisie to spread their poisonous anti-Soviet, anti-United Nations, un-American, anti-Communist policies

as the agents of the forces of reaction of our country.

NEW TACTICS OF TROTSKYITES

It is necessary to pay attention to certain new methods of work of the Trotskyites. In the past, the Trotskyites worked almost exclusively as a cadre organization concentrating on the direction of the work of highly selected individuals whose more or less exclusive task it was to penetrate into the Party and into the organizations of labor and the people. The Trotskyite clique as such confined itself to anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary propaganda activity directed mainly toward the Communists and Left-wing workers. They still continue to do this at present; but in a number of places and among a number of sections of the population they no longer work purely as a cadre organization. This is especially true in Negro communities. Reports from a number of places indicate that the Trotskyites have set up publicly functioning clubs in Negro communities.

More and more they have tried to attach themselves to certain campaigns which have a mass appeal. For instance, in the struggle against Gerald L. K. Smith in Detroit the Trotskyites tried to worm their way into this campaign. Playing the role of provocateurs on the anti-Smith picket line, they first tried to split the main united picket line with a line of their own, and then attempted

to break through a police line, hoping to create a bloody fray which would have given the Detroit police an excuse to break up the movement. This attempt at provocation was defeated thanks mainly to the alertness of the Party leadership in Detroit.

In Los Angeles, the Trotskyites attached themselves to a broad movement against Gerald L. K. Smith, playing a viciously disruptive role, attempting to undermine the base of the campaign through narrowing it down to the trade unions alone by striving to alienate various middle class groups and organizations through provocative speeches and proposals.

Another example of their attempt to attach themselves to certain campaigns with popular appeal can be seen in their activity in the Ben Davis election campaign in New York. Here the Trotskyites "endorsed" Davis and utilized that "endorsement" to try to get a hearing among the Negro people for their vicious attack against him and against the Party.

The same tactic was used in Detroit, where the Trotskyites "endorsed" Frankenstein and under cover of that endorsement attempted to get a hearing among the workers for their reactionary policies.

The Trotskyites are also following a very definite concentration policy in their activity. They are concentrating in the first place on certain key industrial centers, mainly the centers

in which the auto and steel industries are located. In Detroit this policy is carried out by the importation of an entire gang of New York Trotskyites.

As a result of such concentration, they have been able to carry on extensive activity in auto locals, in the Political Action Committees, in the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, in the N.A.A.C.P., and in the Adult Education System.

#### VANGUARD OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY BOURGEOISIE

The present situation is largely a result of a very evident relaxation of the Party's struggle against Trotskyism. This relaxation was permitted to develop over a number of years, and was particularly aggravated and accentuated by our revisionist policy, which disarmed the Party in face of all alien ideologies and enemy forces.

There has been no really serious discussion in the Party on the struggle against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites for a number of years. The last such discussion took place immediately after the 1937 trials of the Trotskyites for treason against the Soviet Union. Since then, at which time several pamphlets were issued, there has been only one national pamphlet on this question. A considerable section of our Party membership, recruited during the last five or six years, has never been taught and therefore does not under-

stand the counter-revolutionary character and role of the Trotskyites, does not understand the fundamental fact pointed out by Stalin and confirmed by life, that the Trotskyites are not a "faction of Communism" but the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

As far back as 1930, when a decadent attitude of liberalism to the Trotskyites had manifested itself among a certain small section of Communists in the Soviet Union, Stalin said:

Some Bolsheviks think that Trotskyism is a faction of Communism, which has made mistakes, it is true, which has done many foolish things, which has sometimes even been anti-Soviet, but which is nevertheless, a faction of Communism. Hence a certain liberalism in dealing with Trotskyites and people who think like Trotsky. It is scarcely necessary to prove that such a view of Trotskyism is profoundly wrong and pernicious. As a matter of fact, Trotskyism has long since ceased to be a faction of Communism. As a matter of fact, Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, which is carrying on the struggle against the Communists, against the Soviet government, against the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie its intellectual weapon against Bolshevism, in the form of the thesis of the impossibility of building Socialism in our country, in the form of the thesis of the inevitability of the degeneration of the Bolsheviks, etc.? That weapon was given it by Trotskyism.

The fact that all anti-Soviet groups in the U.S.S.R. in their attempts to give grounds for their arguments for the inevitability of the struggle against the Soviet government referred to the well-known thesis of Trotskyism of the impossibility of building Socialism in our country, of the inevitable degeneration of the Soviet government, of the probability of the return to capitalism, cannot be regarded as an accident.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. its tactical weapon in the form of attempts at open attacks on the Soviet government? This weapon was given to it by the Trotskyites who tried to organize anti-Soviet demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad on November 7, 1927. It is a fact that the anti-Soviet actions of the Trotskyites raised the spirits of the bourgeoisie and let loose the work of counter-revolutionary sabotage of the bourgeois specialists.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an organizational weapon in the form of attempts at organizing underground anti-Soviet organizations? This weapon was given it by the Trotskyites who founded their own anti-Bolshevik illegal group. It is a fact that the underground anti-Soviet work of the Trotskyites facilitated the organized formation of the anti-Soviet group within the U.S.S.R.

Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

That is why liberalism toward Trotskyism, even if it is shattered and concealed, is stupidity bordering on crime, on treason to the working class.\*

\* Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. II, pp. 456-457.

### TROTSKYITES NOT A CURRENT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Some very new Party members who do not know the real history of the Trotskyites take up an attitude toward them as though they were a legitimate trend or current in the labor movement—perhaps not Communist, perhaps “Leftists,” perhaps “sectarian,” but nevertheless a current in the labor movement, whose proposals should “be taken into account” and judged “on their merits.” In one city, for example, a leading trade unionist attended a Trotskyite forum because he “wanted to get all points of view.” The implication here is that the Trotskyites have a “point of view” which should be taken into account in the formulation of labor’s policies.

But such a viewpoint is based only on ignorance of the real history and the real program of the Trotskyites. It confounds the meaning of a political current or trend in the labor movement with the phenomenon of the physical presence in the labor movement of one or another clique or group. Stool pigeons, labor spies, agents-provocateurs are physically present in the labor movement—their very *raison d’être* calls for every effort on their part to be physically present and active in the labor movement—but who in his right senses would call such scum a legitimate trend or current in the labor movement?

Trotskyites, no more than stool-pigeons or labor spies, can be considered a current or trend in the labor movement.

This was emphasized by Stalin in 1937 when he drew the full balance sheet of political conclusions from the assassination of S. M. Kirov, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by the Trotskyites. Stalin said:

In carrying on a struggle against Trotskyite agents, our Party comrades did not notice, they overlooked the fact, that present-day Trotskyism is no longer what it was, let us say, seven or eight years ago; that Trotskyism and the Trotskyites have passed through a serious evolution in this period which has utterly changed the face of Trotskyism; that in view of this the struggle against Trotskyism and the method of struggle against it must also be utterly changed. Our Party comrades did not notice that Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class, that it has changed from the political trend in the working class which it was seven or eight years ago, into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states.

What is a political trend in the working class? A political trend in the working class is a group or party which has its own definite political face, platform and program, which does not and cannot hide its views from the working class but, on the contrary, openly and honestly carries on propaganda for its

views in full view of the working class, does not fear to show its political face to the working class, does not fear to demonstrate its real aims and tasks to the working class but, on the contrary, goes to the working class with open visor to convince it of the correctness of its views. In the past, seven or eight years ago, Trotskyism was one of such political trends in the working class, an anti-Leninist trend, it is true, and therefore profoundly mistaken, but nevertheless a political trend.

Can it be said that present day Trotskyism, the 1936 Trotskyism, let us say, is a political trend in the working class? No, this cannot be said. Why? Because the present-day Trotskyites are afraid to show their real face to the working class, are afraid to disclose their real aims and tasks to it, and carefully hide their political face from the working class, fearing that if the working class should learn of their real intentions, it will curse them as an alien people and drive them from it. . . \*

The Trotskyites in the United States, no more than the Trotskyites in any other country, dare to come openly to the workers and present their real program—a program of war against the Soviet Union, a program of promoting the coming to power of the most reactionary sections of finance capital, of fascism, in order to guarantee such war against the Soviet Union, a program of aid and assistance to imperialism. Such a program would be trampled in the dust by the workers, and the Trot-

\* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, New Century Publishers, New York, pp. 14-15.

skyites would be driven from the labor and progressive movement. Hence the Trotskyites conceal their real program, conceal their direct ties and contacts with fascism, imperialism and their agents.

### HISTORY OF TROTSKYITE SERVICE TO FASCISM

But this real program which the Trotskyites attempt to conceal has been written in unmistakable characters on the pages of history for more than a decade and a half.

What are some of the chief items in the history of the Trotskyite record of counter-revolutionary activity?

By 1928, the Trotskyites had so thoroughly exposed themselves that they were expelled from the Communist Parties of all countries. The service which they had previously carried out for the bourgeoisie by propagating the thesis that it was impossible to build Socialism in a single country, they now carried out in a more direct form. They began the organization of wrecking and sabotage of the socialist achievements of the Soviet Union by blowing up mine pits, setting fire to factories, organizing wrecking activity on the Soviet collective and state farms. They organized and carried out the assassination of Kirov. They entered into agreements with German and Japanese government representatives to organize treason within the Red Army so that the path would be opened for a triumphal march of the

fascist armies into the Soviet Union. This plot was exposed and nipped in the bud by the trial of the traitorous General Tukhachevsky.

With the rise to power of fascism in Germany, in 1933, the Trotskyites in the capitalist countries worked unceasingly to realize the plans of German and Japanese fascism for war against the Soviet Union. They carried out their assignment, not only in the Soviet Union, as indicated above, but also in the various capitalist countries, by attempting to prevent any mobilization of the people to check fascism and fascist aggression.

This they did in two ways.

First, they attempted to demobilize the struggle against fascism by preaching the doctrine that there was no significant difference between fascism and bourgeois democracy since they were both forms of bourgeois rule. Under cover of this "theory," they worked everywhere to prevent the formation of broad peoples' fronts against fascism, concentrating especially on preventing the establishment of working class unity between Communist and Socialist workers. To accomplish this they entered into the Socialist Party in the United States, as in other countries, and infected it with their Trotskyite poison so thoroughly that not only was Communist-Socialist unity thwarted but the Socialist Party was organizationally destroyed. This latter achievement is openly vaunted by

Cannon, Trotskyite leader, who states:

Our campaign led us directly to a convention of the expelled branches of the Socialist Party in Chicago on the last day of December and New Year's Day of 1938. There we recorded the results of the year and a half experience in the Socialist Party. . . .

The convention adopted the program of the Fourth International. This showed that our educational work had been thorough-going. All these accomplishments can be chalked up as evidence of the political wisdom of our entry into the Socialist Party. And another of them—and not the least of them—was that when the Socialist Party expelled us and when we retaliated by forming an independent party of our own, the Socialist Party had dealt itself a death blow. Since then the S.P. has progressively disintegrated until it has virtually lost any semblance of influence in any part of the labor movement. Our work in the Socialist Party contributed to that. Comrade Trotsky remarked about that later, when we were talking with him about the total result of our entry into the Socialist Party and the pitiful state of its organization afterward. He said that alone would have justified the entry into the organization even if we hadn't gained a single new member. (*Militant*, January 5, 1946.)

#### TROTSKYITE SABOTAGE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Secondly, they fought to prevent the establishment of collective security against fascist aggression prior

to the outbreak of the war in 1939. Had such collective security been established, Hitler's criminal war plans could have been checked before he gathered enough strength to launch his war in September 1939. But the Trotskyites counted on such a war, looked forward to it as a means of destroying the Soviet Union. Hence they fought every measure proposed to check fascist aggression and fought to prevent the working class from supporting such measures. When Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, the Soviet Union called for the application of sanctions against fascist Italy. The Trotskyites opposed sanctions or any other form of collective action against Italy on the ground (save the mark!) that the social and economic structure of the only independent Negro nation in Africa was backward and pre-capitalist!

In the struggle of the Spanish people to defend their Republic against Franco and the fascist German and Italian interventionists, the Trotskyites once again came forward in an effort to pave the way for the triumph of fascism in Spain, a triumph which hastened the outbreak of the world war some months later. In Spain, the Trotskyites did not confine themselves merely to disruptive maneuvers calculated to help break up the Popular Front which was leading the valiant and heroic armed struggle against fascism. At the height of the armed struggle, the Trotskyites organized a counter-revo-

lutionary insurrection behind the lines in Barcelona in an effort to seize power and overthrow the Popular Front government. Thus, the Trotskyites carried their aid to fascism to the point of armed struggle against those who were defending the cause of all advanced and progressive mankind.

During the recent war which ended in the military defeat of the fascist Axis, the Trotskyites in the United States carried on a treasonable activity which resulted, even prior to Pearl Harbor, in the banning of their paper from the mails and the jailing of their leaders for sedition. At a time when American labor was in its overwhelming majority observing its patriotic no-strike pledge in order to guarantee uninterrupted production of the war materials needed by our fighting forces at the front, the Trotskyites worked hand-in-glove with John L. Lewis to foment strikes and to try to break the labor movement away from its no-strike pledge, thus giving direct aid and assistance to the fascist enemy.

These facts must be brought to our membership and to the labor movement as the basis for a serious and sustained struggle to drive the Trotskyites from the ranks of the labor and progressive movement. This means that in all districts a properly planned campaign must be worked out to guarantee the realization of this objective. On such a basis we shall overcome the situation which

now exists where considerable sections of our membership do not know the characteristic policy and methods of work of the Trotskyites in the labor movement, the mass organizations of the people, and Party organizations into which they have penetrated. Such an understanding is necessary in order to make it possible for all progressives to recognize the Trotskyites and to penetrate through their various masks and disguises. It is necessary in order to know how to fight them, so that we do not have any repetition of certain wrong methods of the struggle against the Trotskyites, as expressed in tendencies to fight them by trying to "out-do" them in "Leftness" with regard to given proposals.

STRUGGLE AGAINST  
TROTSKYITES A TASK  
FOR WHOLE LABOR AND  
PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

At the same time, we must end certain tendencies toward bandying about the word "Trotskyite" as an epithet against all forces that oppose us in the labor movement. This is a tendency which manifests itself here and there, for example, in relation to the whole Reuther camp, as well as to anyone in the Steel Workers Union who fights the Communists. This results in lumping into the Trotskyite camp people who are not Trotskyites, which makes it easier for the real Trotskyites to conceal themselves and avoid isolation.

Such an ideological struggle against Trotskyism in a sustained, serious fashion is necessary in order to overcome certain tendencies toward a rotten liberalism toward Trotskyites.

On the basis of such a campaign, we must arouse a spirit of hatred in the Party for Trotskyites, a spirit of absolute and uncompromising intolerance in the struggle against the Trotskyites.

This mobilization of the Party must go on simultaneously with the

Party's taking the struggle against the Trotskyites into the ranks of the labor and progressive movement. The struggle against the Trotskyite agents of fascism is not alone the concern of the Party. This struggle is of direct and immediate concern to the whole labor and progressive movement, which must, in the interests of labor, the people, and the nation, raise the slogan: Oust the Trotskyites from the labor and progressive movement!

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# CO-RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

By WILHELM PIECK

*(This is part of a report by Wilhelm Pieck, Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, given to a Party conference held recently in Berlin.)*

IN A LARGE PART of Germany, in the Soviet zone of occupation, a complete change of rural property relations is taking place through democratic land reform, which will be of the greatest historic importance for the peasantry, as well as the whole German nation and the future development of Germany.

What the German peasantry could not achieve in centuries of struggles, what even the Weimar republic did not bring them, now becomes a reality.

The feudal-Junker landowners are being expropriated, and the land which they took from the peasants is now being restored to them. An injustice against the rural population which prevailed through centuries is being rectified, and the rule of the Junkers and feudal seigneurs in the village broken. The peasant is be-

coming a free man on his own soil, and the strongest bulwark of democracy in the village.

But this fundamental change is also of greatest significance for the whole future of our nation. The power which the feudal Junkers and landowners have exercised in the State, and through which they have blocked all progress and democratic development, is finally being broken by the expropriation.

The demand for accelerated democratic land reform can be traced to the initiative of the rural proletariat and the landless peasants who were thrown into greatest distress by Hitler's war. The demand for expropriation of the big landed estates and the distribution of the land thus made available to small peasants and agricultural workers was raised in innumerable meetings of the peasants and rural proletarians.

On the basis of these demands by the peasants and agricultural workers, the administrations in Saxony, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Thuringia have decided to pass legislation to that effect.

All feudal estates over 100 hectares, the estates of all war criminals, Nazi leaders, and active proponents of Nazism are being expropriated, and transferred to a "land pool." From that pool, land is being appropriated to landless and poor peasants, to agricultural workers, small tenants and displaced persons, in order to create as many independent farms as

possible, each five to ten hectares, depending on the quality of the soil.

The question is one of *just and democratic distribution of land* in line with the demands of the peasants and agricultural workers; and it constitutes the most important precondition for the economic progress and the democratization of our country.

There is considerable resistance to the democratic land reform by the feudal and Nazi big landowners, *particularly since there is no compensation for the expropriation.*

#### THE PROGRAM OF ACTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In its proclamation of June 11 of this year, the Communist Party put at the head of the immediate and most urgent tasks in its program of action, the struggle against hunger, unemployment, and lack of housing; and all-round active support to the organs of self administration, to organize as quickly as possible normal life and production. These are also the main *tasks of the trade unions and the shop stewards.* It is an urgent necessity that the workers in industry should secure their influence on the organization of production and the utilization of all possibilities for increased production, as well as on the question of wages and working conditions. The strength of the trade unions must therefore be increased to the maximum by including all industrial

workers and employees, and the cementing of the unity of the trade union movement.

*Hereby, everything depends on the development of a militant spirit among the trade union members, to prevent the spread of the old policy of waiting and avoiding struggles, which prior to Hitler's coming to power did so much harm to the working class.*

Within the trade unions a real fighting democracy must be developed and a leadership created which will be able to shoulder the great tasks in connection with the organization and increase of production, and the democratic reorganization of Germany, as well as the extermination of Nazism and militarism.

*Great, very great tasks face our people.* These are: the liquidation of Nazism and militarism; the wresting of power from the feudal-Junker big landowners, the big trusts and financial concerns; the cleansing of the whole state apparatus and municipal administrations, of the institutions of teaching and education and industrial management, from Nazi elements; the punishment of the war guilty, the war criminals and the Nazi leaders. On the other hand, there is the task of starting and reconstructing our economy, the securing of the food supply through land reform, the democratic reorganization of Germany, and the complete change of our people to the road of

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democracy, the road of peaceful, understanding friendship with other nations, thereby removing the stigma attached to the German name by Hitler.

All these tasks must be accomplished by our people at a difficult time when Germany is in ruins and everything has been robbed by Hitler. Hard as our people will have to work to find a way out of this chaos, all opportunities have been granted to our nation by the victorious powers in the well-known decisions of the Potsdam Conference to work its way up and gain full freedom to determine its own future and life. *If our people will shoulder these tasks energetically and unitedly, and thus create the guarantees that it will not again become a tool of reaction in its attacks upon other nations, then our people will again win the respect and friendship of the other nations and regain its full freedom.*

#### BE VIGILANT

But our people, and especially the working class, must be vigilant and suspicious of all attempts to divert from this path, and to lead it to speculations which in every case would make its situation much more difficult. The Allied powers, authors of the Potsdam decisions, have definitely spoken of Germany as an economic unit, even though she has been divided into different zones of occupation by the

allies. Several difficulties arise from that division, especially with regard to united action of the anti-fascist democratic parties and trade unions across the boundary lines. But it would be disastrous to draw certain speculations from that, or to permit that to determine the policy of the individual parties. The present differences of the various occupation regimes will disappear in time, and it is in the interest of the democratic development of our nation and in the interest of the strengthening and the unity of action of the parties and trade unions to accelerate this process of assimilation by uniform actions.

#### MILITANT UNITY OF THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

To accomplish the great tasks facing our people, conditions of a serious character must be created; conditions that derive from the bitter experiences of our nation during the Hitler period.

*Among these are first of all the removal of the fateful split in the working class and of the inner disunity of our nation.* Their place must be taken by the militant unity of the working class, which must grow out of the unity of action of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers around the questions facing them in the day-to-day struggle, with a view to the earliest merging of the working class parties into one party. The desire for this is

deeply imbedded in the working class, and it is the sacred obligation of all activists in the labor movement to make this desire a reality.

The Communist Party has made it its task to remove all difficulties and obstacles that prevented this unity in the past.

The Communist Party desires the closest cooperation between the Communist and Social-Democratic workers; it desires to create a *true relationship of mutual confidence* among them. We know that this has not been accomplished as yet, that many difficulties still have to be overcome, especially since this cooperation is still overclouded by memories of the unfortunate suspicions that have hitherto prevented any union and made it possible for the workers to be incited against one another. Although the common danger of death in the concentration camps and the illegal struggle against fascism have largely dispelled this suspicion among the Communist and Social-Democratic workers, it must however be said that joint activities after the downfall of Hitlerism have not yet developed sufficiently among the Communist and Social-Democratic workers to overcome all difficulties resulting from joint work and to create complete confidence and trust.

But in the close cooperation of the party leadership, especially among the leading comrades in the lower organizations, all difficulties are

being overcome and complete confidence is being restored.

I appeal to all comrades to realize the importance of this cooperation for the creation of mutual trust and for the whole future of our nation. In this joint work, wherever it is being achieved, in the organs of self-administration, in industry and in the trade unions, in district administration, there must be no quarrels among Social-Democrats and Communists. Jointly they must represent the united strength of the working class and work together with the representatives of other parties in a most comradely fashion.

Therefore the question of parity cannot become a source of friction among Social-Democrats, Communists and the other parties.

#### THE CO-RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

There is one other question I should like to deal with, about which there still is lack of clarity. The conclusions and lessons that our people draw from the bitter experiences of its history, particularly during the Hitler regime and its war, are of tremendous importance in the carrying out of the present tasks. The clarification of the question of guilt is an important aspect of these tasks.

*It would be a disservice to the working class to simplify the question by saying that the bourgeoisie as such is responsible for the war, but that the working class is free of re-*

sponsibility. It certainly is not a question of indicting the working class and placing it on a level with the war-guilty and war criminals who brought this great disaster to our people. But if the working class, the majority of the people as a whole, did not bear any part of the responsibility, how was it possible to set up against their will a brutal regime over the workers, such as the Hitler regime? How could Hitler have driven our people into this fateful war and force it to support this war through six long years, but for the existence of certain causes favoring such a policy? To find these causes and to draw certain conclusions from them, we must pose the question of participation and responsibility of the German working class.

Heavy burdens were imposed upon the German working class by Hitler's war, among them the burdens of reparations and military occupation of the country. Anyone who says that the innocent must pay for the guilty ones, does not help the working class to shoulder these burdens, but will only make it harder. We want the working class to understand clearly how it was possible for Hitler to establish his barbaric power and to wage the war almost to the destruction of our nation. This understanding is essential, for without it the necessary conclusions will not be drawn. It is true that the strength of the working class was chained by the Hitler regime and

that the heroic struggle of its anti-fascist vanguard against the Hitler regime has cost the working class immeasurable sacrifices. But it would be no service to the class to put this vanguard on the same level with the working class.

#### LET US DRAW THE LESSON FROM THE PAST

In order to clarify the question which we must answer today, let me remind you of the events of July, 1932, when finance and trust capital made their first serious attempt to smash the labor movement through the *coup d'état* of von Papen in Prussia. The Communist Party immediately approached the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions with an offer to mobilize the joint strength of the two labor parties and the trade unions in order to answer this attack with a general strike of the workers and thus defeat the intentions of finance and monopoly capital to proceed along this path.

The strength of the working class at the time, not as under the Hitler regime, was still unchained. Despite that, the offer of the Communists was rejected by the leaders of the Social-Democrats and the trade unions, with the explanation that they would proceed against von Papen's *coup d'état* through the supreme court. I remember only too well the fact that the revolt among

the Social-Democratic workers and trade unionists against the passive acceptance of the *coup d'état* was just as great as among the Communists. If their united strength had been mobilized at that time, our German people would have been spared the Hitler regime and war. For this failure, the German working class has paid dearly.

The same thing happened in January, 1933. Even then the united strength of the working class, if applied, would have brought the dictatorship of Hitler to a speedy end. Instead, the leaders of Social-Democracy and the trade unions refused the united struggle and tried to pacify their followers by asking them to wait and see whether Hitler would respect the Weimar constitution and what the results of the elections would be which Hitler had called.

In these questions and facts lies the decisive point from which the lessons must be drawn for the future. And the question of the *guilt* of the working class can only be raised in this connection.

We Communists do not want to see any repetitions of these old mistakes but want to see that precautions are taken not to lead the workers again along the road of passivity with a policy of wait and see; that the working class realizes that a new path must be taken by those leaders of the labor movement who do not want to go back to their old policy and their old role in the labor

movement. We know that serious attempts have been made in this direction. But it is conceivable that the Social-Democratic workers may be content to let people like Noske, Severing, Stampfer, and similar individuals again take over leadership; the same people who sabotaged in the pre-Hitler period the unity and united action of the Communists and Social-Democrats, in defense against the assaults of reaction, and who instead saw their main task in agitation against the Communists and the Soviet Union; the same people who, when Hitler came to power, capitulated, betrayed the trade unions, and in the federal parliament voted for Hitler's foreign policy.

Our confidence in the Social-Democratic workers leads us to the belief that no loyalty to their old leaders will induce the workers to let them again take over the leadership of their party, but rather that the Social-Democratic workers will see to it that new and reliable forces take their place, as they did in Greater Berlin.

We Communists have drawn important lessons from the past. We have spoken openly about the mistakes that were committed in the pre-Hitler period. We have corrected these mistakes, which, however, did not consist in condemning the workers to passivity and waiting, and thus rendering them powerless against reaction, *but rather in being too far*

*ahead of the workers in our demands, since those demands were not yet recognized as essential by the workers. We also were misled by the reactionary policy of the Social-Democratic leaders toward the Communists into condemning the Social-Democratic workers as a whole, thus making unity of any kind more difficult.*

We have learned from these experiences, and we approach the Social-Democratic workers in all sincerity and friendship to create the conditions for the victory of our common aims by cooperation, and more than that, complete union. Therefore, we must not permit the Communists to be blamed for the burdens resulting from the Hitler war which rest so heavily upon our people, as is being attempted by various sources, in order to discredit our Party before the people. The responsibility for the measures resulting from the war must be shouldered by all anti-fascist democratic parties, who must work jointly to enable our people to find a way out of this difficult situation. There must be no demagogic play with the German people on this serious question to induce

them into joining a party and to lead them onto a road which would only make their situation more unbearable, and which would not open the road into the community of the other nations.

In its first proclamation of June 11, and in its appeal for democratic land reform of September 8, the Communist Party clarified its principal position on the vital question of our people and pointed to the tasks and demands for which we are prepared to fight to the limit to assure their success.

The Communist Party desires establishment of complete unity with the Social-Democratic workers and their union into one labor party to be the vanguard of the whole anti-fascist movement and of the reconstruction of a new democratic Germany. Through cooperation with the other two anti-fascist democratic parties in the United Front, the German people as a whole must be brought into the struggle for a new, free Germany. The creation of trade union unity and the alliance of peasants, workers and professionals will open up the possibility of victory for our just cause.

# DANGER SIGNS IN POSTWAR FARM PERSPECTIVES

By ROBERT DIGBY and LEM HARRIS

REPRESENTATIVES of the United Nations agreed in May, 1943, that 1.4 billion people out of the 2.1 billion on this globe would be ill-fed and undernourished at the end of the war. They declared at the Hot Springs Conference on Food and Agriculture that "concerted action" must be taken by all of the countries, not just for a few years but for a long number of years, to achieve the expansion of farm production necessary to "banish the scourge of hunger from the earth." The conferees stated:

Freedom from want in each country is possible if each country shapes its policies in the understanding that the goal can be reached only if all nations act together.

They recognized that full employment and a high level of industrial production were indispensable prerequisites for attaining this expansion of farm production. They pledged themselves to carry through policies which would promote "full

farm production," and they projected the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization to help realize these objectives.

The first meeting of the new United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (F.A.O.) was held on October 15 in Quebec, Canada. A heavy cloud of uncertainty cast its shadow over the conference even before it opened. The failure of the London Foreign Ministers' Conference provided a bleak and dreary atmosphere in which to dedicate the new organization. What is more, Secretary of Agriculture Anderson had already announced that the United States was considering the reduction of its 1946 farm production. At the very time that delegates from all parts of the world were embarking for Quebec, Anderson declared that, even though he had promised "all-out" production for 1946 when he took office in July, the end of the war had brought a reduction in domestic as well as foreign needs. A few days after this statement, Anderson's Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations in the U.S. Department of Agriculture issued a voluminous report showing that world food production was 10 per cent lower than before the war and that the world food shortage would be far more acute in the next twelve months than during the last twelve months of the war.

In his message to the F.A.O., President Truman paid lip-service to the goal of full farm production, and

in his introductory radio speech on October 15, Anderson declared that "freedom from want—particularly from want of food—is within reach for the first time in history." He added that "there is plenty of need for all" the farmers "can produce." But the printed proceedings of the conference reveal that the U.S. delegation offered no positive, concrete proposals for advancing these lofty objectives. After publicly paying tribute to the purposes agreed upon at Hot Springs two and a half years ago, the U.S. delegation teamed up with the British delegation in an effort to make the F.A.O. nothing more than an advisory organization and to prevent the other delegations from formulating any positive proposals. One looks in vain through the printed proceedings for any recommendations from the official U.S. and British delegates which would help to translate their avowed ideals into realities. One of the U.S. conferees, Senator Elmer Thomas (D., Okla.), bluntly told the F.A.O. that overproduction would soon replace food shortages as the world's chief food problem, and his remark brought no rebuke from Secretary Anderson, the chairman of the U.S. delegation.

The National Citizens P.A.C. deserves considerable credit for its prompt protest against the hollow stand taken by the U.S. delegation at Quebec. In a letter to Secretary Anderson, Elmer Benson, chairman

of N.C.P.A.C., scored the failure of the U.S. delegation to offer any "positive practical program for advancing the goal of full farm production" agreed upon at the 1943 conference at Hot Springs. He accused the Administration of "paying lip-service to these objectives on Sundays and holidays, while forgetting about them on weekdays."

Although the newspapers sought to play up the "mystery" of why the Soviet Union abstained from joining the F.A.O. and why its delegates merely sat in as "observers," it is plain that the Soviet Union has no desire to participate in imperialist plans for reducing agricultural production in the face of worldwide hunger.

#### RELIEF NEEDS GREAT BUT RELIEF PLANS MEAGER

Throughout the war, the Administration continued to assure the farmers that all-out farm production would necessarily continue into the period of the peace. A favorite argument was that postwar relief and rehabilitation needs would certainly afford a ready outlet for all our farm produce for at least two years after the war, irrespective of what happened later. It was partly on the basis of such thinking that legislation was passed guaranteeing price support payments on various crops at 90 per cent of parity for two years after the war officially ended.

Despite earlier boasts concerning

the generous relief policies which the United Nations would undertake to help the distressed peoples of the world, the postwar period has brought a noticeable change in official Anglo-American attitudes. In listing the food tonnages that U.N.R.R.A. would distribute over the last quarter of 1945, President Truman frankly acknowledged that they were "inadequate" and added that "the doubling of these food shipments" would be undertaken only if "satisfactory" arrangements were concluded. Truman declared that "credits or other financial arrangements with the European governments" must first be worked out, and this, of course, means that these governments must prove themselves "satisfactory" to U.S. financiers.

Congress' grudging attitude toward the sending of food and other relief aid supplies to the starving peoples of other countries was clearly indicated during the long, drawn-out fight over U.N.R.R.A. funds. Some congressmen argued that the United States should not only refuse any additional appropriation for U.N.R.R.A. but should also withhold the \$550,000,000 which Congress itself had already promised as the second installment of our payment for the first year of its operations. Some of the most reactionary congressmen, like Rep. Rankin of Mississippi, urged that the U.S. should pull out of the United Nations relief organization and distribute our supplies

through the American Red Cross or the U.S. Army. These extreme positions were rejected, but a majority in the House did succeed in attaching conditions to the appropriations which would have barred the sending of relief to any people whose government did not recognize the sovereignty of the American newspaper trust and did not give our businessmen full information concerning its foreign trade and its barter agreements. Efforts to impose conditions such as these reflect the avid desire of American imperialists to use "relief" for their own selfish ends.

After months of delay, Congress finally voted to pay the \$550,000,000 that it had promised and to authorize another \$1,350,000,000 which the Administration had requested for 1946 operations. In both cases, the chief battle centered, not on the question of relief needs abroad, but on the so-called "free press" amendment which was supported by the House majority. "To be perfectly frank about it," declared Representative Colmer, "this amendment is aimed at our late ally, Russia." There was some apprehension, however, lest the "free press" amendment be used, not merely to protect correspondents who regularly traffic in perfidy but also to prevent governments from banning correspondents who write the truth. Chiang Kai-shek's emissaries became particularly alarmed over this possibility and spoke out of turn trying

to "explain" why they had excluded from China such eminent reporters as Edgar Snow and Brooks Atkinson. Despite all of the Administration's entreaties, the House majority refused to strike out the "free press" amendment in its entirety, and, as finally passed, the appropriations bills "direct" the President to see that U.S. correspondents have a privileged status in countries receiving relief.

While the Administration has supported the continuation of U.N.R.R.A., the all too glaring fact remains that it carefully abstained from calling for any realistic expansion of U.N.R.R.A.'s scale of operations. In the face of famine reports coming in from all parts of the world, the government here has shown itself reluctant even to maintain its present level of payments to U.N.R.R.A. As for the attempts to subvert relief to imperialist aims, it must be observed that the Administration has not challenged but has condoned the most despicable misuse of U.N.R.R.A.'s powers, as in the case of Greece, even hailing such examples as the best justification for continuing to support U.N.R.R.A.

Moreover, it is apparent that the U.S. has no plan for helping the countries of Europe, Asia, or Africa to expand their own food production so that they may adequately feed their peoples. Instead of sending agronomists, technicians, crop and livestock experts to help these people restore their farms, we are preoc-

cupied with sending in our businessmen, playing with reactionary political forces, and wresting concessions for American imperialist interests. Our political emissaries have sought to obstruct and prevent the carrying through of land reforms in Central and Eastern Europe, and our newspapers have portrayed these land reforms as "collectivization" or "communism," even though they are actually long overdue movements to sweep aside the feudal barriers that have hindered the development of capitalism in industry as well as in agriculture.

Our public officials and the press here continue to portray the world food problem as primarily a charitable relief undertaking wherein the sole question is how much a generous Uncle Sam can afford to contribute. But, when we trace through the professions of pious sympathy and study the arithmetic, we find that the U.S. is planning a very meager contribution indeed. Taking our food shipments through U.N.R.R.A., together with relief food distributed by the Army, the total for 1945 amounted to only about 5 per cent of our over-all domestic production. What has largely gone unnoticed, however, is that present plans call for a reduction in even the small amount of relief that the United States is now sending abroad. Until recently, the Army has been distributing three times as much relief food from the U.S. as was going

through U.N.R.R.A. Now the Army has sharply curtailed its programs for distributing food among civilians on the assumption that U.N.R.R.A. would take over. But no provision has been made for expanding U.N.R.R.A.'s budget and personnel to absorb these functions. In any case, there is nothing on the horizon to indicate that relief shipments of food (or even our total food exports) will offset the 25 per cent expansion of farm production which occurred during the war.

#### WHAT THIS MEANS FOR U.S. FARMERS

Every step that the United States has taken in the direction of free-booting imperialism and away from the path of Big Three unity has been directly reflected in the outlook for American agriculture. Every time our imperialist spokesmen rattle their armaments, vaunt the "secrecy" of their atomic bomb, and push for a more vigorous policy of America *uber alles*, the threat of a return to reduction becomes more imminent to the farmers. This was clearly shown at the time of the F.A.O. Conference in Quebec, when Anderson let the "scarcity" cat out of the bag and then clumsily tried to put it back in again.

In his Chicago speech last November, Herbert Hoover, the Engineer of Scarcity and political strategist for the most reactionary sector of mo-

nopoly capital, undertook to renovate the old "trickling down" doctrine and sell it to the farmers and the public generally. Hoover sounded the cry for the adoption of an all-out policy of aggressive imperialism, the complete abandonment of Big Three unity, and the open avowal of a "take-all-we-can" course for American monopolists. He demanded that the profits of U.S. monopolists be recognized as the official yardstick of all policy, international as well as national. According to Hoover, these profits, now the highest in history, must go still higher if any benefits are to trickle down to other nations, but the American farmers can still remember how the crisis in agriculture continued to grow deeper after the last war, despite the mounting profits of business down to 1929. Instead of these profits trickling down to the farmers, cash farm income dropped from \$14.6 billions in 1919 to \$11.3 billions by 1929, at which time the whole economy was plunged into the worst crisis in our history.

Once again the farmers of the United States are faced with the danger of a farm crisis, and this incipient crisis is of concern not merely to farmers but also to labor and small business as well. Instead of taking prompt measures to check this crisis, the present course which the Administration and Congress are following offers no prospect of postponing or alleviating this recurrent crisis in agriculture.

The symptoms of the farm crisis are remarkably similar to those following World War I, even though some factors are more favorable and provide an opportunity for softening the crisis if action were to be taken promptly enough. The U.S. Department of Agriculture states that "agriculture in the United States, as measured by the dollar value of its physical goods, grew from a 49 billion dollar industry to a 70 billion dollar industry during the four years ended January 1, 1944." It points out, however, that "higher prices account for about 19.7 billion dollars of the 21.1 billion dollar increase" that occurred. While cash farm income increased 119 per cent during this period, the volume of farm production increased only 17 per cent. Thus the basis of the current relative farm prosperity is primarily due to improved price relationship, and only to a minor degree is it due to the increased productivity of our farms. Therefore, such gains as have been made in farm income may rapidly be wiped out if a sharp fall in farm prices occurs as happened after World War I.

The Department of Agriculture points out that the "4-year rise in farm real estate values during World War II represents the same percentage rise in values as that reported for the four years following March 1915." It soberly remarks that "cautious proprietors" will regard "the 19.7 billion dollar increase . . . re-

sulting purely from price increases" as "ephemeral." It warns that inflationary forces are present "which might develop an ill-advised boom" in farm lands and that "any large body of debt built up again as was done in the other wartime land boom might be disastrous if prices should suddenly decline."

Growers of war-expanded crops are already experiencing a reduced demand for their products and are confronted with declining prices. The government has already carried through a surplus disposal program on potatoes, and its agricultural officials are so "surplus-minded" that they have jumped the gun and made exaggerated forecasts of milk and egg gluts, for example. Secretary Anderson has announced tentative goals for 1946 farm production, and although various subterfuges are being used to conceal the true meaning of the figures, it is apparent that they are not designed to satisfy the "unlimited need for food" which Anderson claims the goals are designed to meet. The goals call for a sharp reduction in livestock, milk, poultry, eggs, potatoes, sweet potatoes, dry peas, rice, truck crops, soybeans, and peanuts. To hide the extent of the proposed cuts, Secretary Anderson has given out figures dealing only with "crop acreages," thereby understating the reductions in livestock and livestock products, as well as the shifts from intensive to extensive crops. By such sleight-of-hand methods Anderson

was able to announce to the press that 1946 crop acreages would be "slightly increased"—*i.e.*, by 2 per cent, or 5½ million acres, over 1945 crops. But Secretary Anderson has achieved this "slight increase" only through the statistical subterfuge of comparing 1946 goals with actual acres planted in 1945, and if comparison is made between acreage goals in 1945 and acreage goals for 1946, we find that Anderson is actually calling for a reduction of 7 million acres. Since some crop acreage is always abandoned and since price support pressure will now be applied to keep production under the goals, there is no justification for comparing 1946 goals with actual plantings in 1945. What is more, the figures on acreages do not adequately reflect the cuts proposed for livestock, and of course all of the figures are presented as "tentative." Despite the attempts to sugar-coat the pill, however, the ingredients indicate a return to the old prescription of reduction.

Further evidence that the Administration is trying to scuttle its full production promises to the farmers is shown by Secretary Anderson's recent revision of the price support program. The most important single promise made to the farmers during the war was that their prices would be supported at not less than 90 per cent of parity for at least two years after the war was officially declared to be ended. Without waiting for

Congress to renege on this promise, Secretary Anderson has taken it upon himself to re-write the law: instead of guaranteeing a flat minimum to the farmers, he has substituted an "average," thus allowing prices to fall below the 90 per cent of parity level. The effect of this move is to knock the bottom out from under what was supposed to be a firm, rock-bottom floor below which farm prices could not fall. Anderson has acted to revise the price support promise before the surpluses begin to pile up and before the government is required to make good on its price guarantees.

In his latest Message on the State of the Union, President Truman assured the farmers that "the first obligation" of the Government "is to make good on its price support commitments." He further stated that "the expected decline in food prices has not occurred" and added, "This brings me to the reluctant conclusion that food subsidies must be continued beyond June 30, 1946." The farmers, however, are not likely to be reassured by Truman's gala-day statement on price support promises to them, since this statement is nothing more than a repetition of what he said last year. Nothing short of Truman's active intervention to stop Anderson's downward revisions of price support guarantees and an aggressive policy demanding that Congress appropriate sufficient funds to underwrite

these promises could carry conviction.

But it is the imminent squeeze on the great staple crops, such as cotton, wheat, and eventually corn, which is causing most concern. Not even the war itself was able to use up the vast accumulation of short-staple cotton which the government has been buying from the cotton producers, and instead of using the wartime opportunity to promote a shift from cotton to other products, the government now finds itself committed to pay heavy subsidies in support of the anachronistic sharecropping system. We now have 11 million bales of cotton on hand, three times as much as had formerly been considered a normal carryover. Cotton, wheat, and, to a lesser extent, corn, were seriously affected by the shrinkage in export demand after the last war, and the same prospect confronts them after this war. Despite the efforts of the National Association of Manufacturers' Committee on Cooperation with Agriculture to assure the farmers that their interests are identical with those of Big Business, there is no reason to believe that capturing of world markets by American monopolists will bring stable and flourishing markets capable of absorbing the "surplus" cotton, wheat and other products. The farm crisis began only 18 months after World War I had ended. It continued until the outbreak of World War II. This crisis in agri-

culture which started nine years before the crash became general, served to weaken the whole economy and to intensify the Great Crisis of 1929.

The development of agriculture lags behind that of industry in all capitalist countries, and this is one of the characteristics of capitalism. It is also one of the chief causes of economic crises. In our own country, this uneven development is particularly glaring in the South, where the government is paying a high price to perpetuate the bankrupt sharecropping system by continuing to buy up and store "surplus" cotton.

After the First World War, the boom that followed carried farm prices to an all-time high level. Then, in the spring of 1920, farm prices began to drop, falling more than 50 per cent by the spring of 1921. War-inflated land values afforded the farmers an equity on which to borrow from the banks and insurance companies, with the result that the farmers' mortgage debt increased by two and one-third billion dollars from 1920 to 1923. As the farm crisis continued to get worse, the farmers found themselves crushed under a heavy burden of debt which brought about one million farm foreclosures and forced sales.

The end of World War II finds the nation on the brink of a speculative boom such as followed the last war. The NAM is acting as the spearhead for that sector of capital which is most anxious to abolish

price controls and plunge the nation into an inflationary orgy. This inflationary spree would serve to load the cost of the war upon the backs of the farmers, workers and small business men.

In the case of agriculture, the prospect of a crisis is particularly immediate because the policies being followed on the international as well as on the domestic scene point to a contraction in outlets available for our farm products. Neither our international policies nor our relief policies promise to afford outlets for the approximately 25 per cent expansion of farm production which has occurred during the present war. At home the failure of the government to meet the problems of jobs and wages takes away any assurance to the farmers of a prosperous domestic market capable of absorbing their products.

Secretary of Agriculture Anderson has been barnstorming about the country making speeches all of which hold out to the farmers the prospect of full farm production *if* there is a high level of industrial employment and *if* there is a high level of farm exports. Anderson makes no attempt to reconcile these speeches with his earlier statement that farm output must be reduced, or with the recent prediction of his own Department of Agriculture that farm income will be 15 per cent lower next year than this year. It is becoming more and more evident that

Anderson's talk of full employment and high exports is being used as an excuse for offering no positive measures to cope with the critical problems developing in the nation's agriculture. Anderson has not even submitted a farm program for Congress to act upon. He asks the farmers to put their faith in the automatic achievement of full employment and a high level of labor purchasing power, but he has certainly not taken issue with President Truman or other Administration leaders who are now helping the trusts to put through their wage-cutting proposals.

Instead of formulating measures that would alleviate the stresses and strains now developing in agriculture, the Administration is trying to lull the farmers into a state of somnolence while it follows a "do nothing" farm policy. It has taken no steps to sustain the expanded wartime production by finding outlets at home or abroad. In the case of cotton, where the situation is most acute, the conversion steps advocated by Secretary Wickard under Roosevelt's Administration have been pushed into the background. In the case of corn and wheat, it is apparent that the Truman Administration is counting upon the Ever-Normal Granary\* to absorb whatever part of the crop that cannot be otherwise

\* The Ever-Normal Granary refers to the government's pre-war program of storing large supplies of grains in order to bolster the price and also maintain a reserve to meet drought or war emergencies.

disposed of in the course of the next two years or so. After World War I, the crisis gripped agriculture eighteen months after the fighting stopped, then came a short period of respite before another sag occurred, and the crisis became chronic. What the pattern will be after this war depends upon the kind of policies that will be adopted, not only in agriculture, but also in industry and on a worldwide scale. But the danger of a crisis in agriculture more acute than after the last war is indicated by the fact that farm production is now much further expanded and that technological progress, stimulated by the war, will greatly intensify the conflicts between small-scale and large-scale farming. There were 29 per cent more mechanical corn pickers on farms in 1944 than in 1940, 23 per cent more combine harvesters, 49 per cent more milking machines, and 25 per cent more tractors. During this period the output per worker increased 28 per cent for agriculture as a whole, and despite all of the talk about "extra-favorable weather," the crop experts are generally agreed that favorable weather can be credited with no more than one-third of the increase in wartime farm production. The war has for the first time taught many farmers what can be done with modern machinery, improved seeds, and plant foods. Now that farm machinery and equipment are being generally available to farm buyers, mechanization will continue at a

rapid pace in the period immediately ahead, and even though the outlook for agriculture is one of curtailed markets, this will serve to accelerate, rather than to discourage, technological progress in agriculture. Farmers who are able to afford capital investments are being spurred to make such outlays in order that they may better protect their competitive position, and thus the squeeze on the small and middle-sized farms will be intensified as farm markets continue to contract.

There are, of course, a few factors in agriculture's present situation which are more favorable than after the last war. A better job has been done of controlling prices during this war, and instead of increasing their mortgage debt by nearly two billion dollars as the farmers did during the last war, they have scaled down their debt by over a billion dollars. But it was in the years immediately following World War I that the big increase came in the farmers' mortgage debt, sending the total from the pre-war level of four billions to a high point of 10.8 billions by 1923. The chief pressure on the farmers to expand their long-term borrowings will come when the demand for farm products drops off and carries farm prices down.

If inflation is allowed to develop and speculation in farm land is given encouragement by lending agencies, the farm crisis may be expected to

realize the perspective now being openly advocated by pro-inflation monopolists who want the government to eliminate the small farmers from production. The government now holds slightly more than one-third of the total farm mortgage debt, whereas its holdings after World War I were negligible. This gives the government an important lever in controlling farm credit policies and in applying the brakes to land speculation, providing it so desires and providing it includes such preventative measures as part of a firm, over-all anti-inflation policy. So far, however, the Administration has entered into one compromise after another with the inflationist forces, each compromise marking a further retreat. It has already begun to eliminate all subsidies on foods. If continued, this unmooring of the whole price-control policy will soon make it impossible to prevent an inflationary spree which will inevitably result in another wave of farm foreclosures.

What finance capital envisages as the outlook for American agriculture has been clearly set forth in a report, titled "*Variations in Farm Incomes and Their Relation to Agricultural Policies.*" This report, published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in March, 1945, is signed by the businessmen on its agricultural committee and also by the chairman of the N.A.M.'s Committee on Cooperation With Agricul-

ture. These representatives of monopoly capital condemn "family type" farms as "economic and social liabilities" and they demand that "the adjustments of supply to demand should be directed toward the third, or at most, the half of farmers" who already produce more than three-fourths of the total farm output. They would begin by immediately eliminating one-fourth of all farms (1½ million) from commercial production, and they serenely look forward to the eventual elimination of another 1½ to 2½ million farms. The release of labor from these small and middle-sized farms fits in with the current drive of the monopolists to beat down wage rates and break the labor movement.

Heretofore, the bourgeoisie in America has carefully fostered what it now calls "the myth of uniformity" in agriculture. It denied that there were any essential class differences between small and large producers and sought to popularize the doctrine of the "economic ladder," according to which the farmer rises from tenancy to independent ownership by dint of hard work. Lenin showed that, as capitalism rapidly developed in American agriculture, the middle and small farms were being subjected to an economic squeeze while the large farms continued to expand and take over an ever-increasing share of the market. Now the bourgeoisie is willing to admit, within its own circle, that capitalism has nothing to

offer the small and middle farmers in this country. It proposes that the big farmers join with monopoly capital in an alliance against not only labor but also the small and middle-sized farmers.

Labor cannot afford to ignore the implications of this proposed lineup but must intensify its efforts to win the support of the broad masses of the farm population. Among the farmers, the small and middle groups are the most stable allies of labor and must be brought into the labor-progressive coalition. The interest of these farmers is definitely bound up with labor's fight for full employment and decent wages, and labor must therefore take the current strikes to the farmers, exposing the false propaganda which the corporations are spreading over the countryside and showing the farmers that, in these strikes, labor is also helping the farmers in their struggle for full farm production.

In this article we are dealing with the problems of the farmers; but a note of warning may nevertheless be in order concerning other groups in the rural areas. In recent years we have given far too little attention to the problems of the agricultural workers, as well as to the rural proletarian and semi-proletarian groups. These are the main rural counterpart and ally of the urban workers, and the progressive urban labor groups must give special attention to the rural proletariat, if they are

to achieve an effective alliance with the petty-bourgeois farmers. It is unfortunately true that urban labor leaders are much too prone to dismiss or compromise the demands of agricultural workers in order to avoid possible conflict with the farmers. Instead of strengthening the rural proletariat, the effect of such mistaken concepts of farmer-labor harmony is to weaken the rural proletariat and to provide no solid basis on which to build any realistic farmer-labor unity. Labor must learn to recognize that class lines extend into agriculture and that it cannot wait until all farmers, large and small, agree on a common program before it tackles farm or farm labor questions. Only the large capitalist farms which exploit hired labor are "offended" by demands of the agricultural workers for a 65-cent minimum wage or social security benefits. At the same time that these misguided labor leaders are so fearful of supporting the demands of agricultural workers, we see an organization such as the National Farmers Union openly giving support to such demands because its policies are grounded on the realization that low wages are a subsidy to the big farms in driving out the smaller farms.

#### ORGANIZED LABOR'S KEY ROLE

The dangerous drift to crisis in agriculture must be opposed by con-

scious mass pressure to reverse the present governmental policy. And the only section of the people with the organization and political maturity to provide leadership in this struggle is the trade union movement. Nor are farm problems extraneous business for the labor movement, because labor immediately suffers if farmers' buying power falls off and as a consequence industries slow down. Similarly, labor's fight for jobs and wages is an essential part of the farmers' fight to alleviate the crisis. Clearly, neither division of the nation's producers can long be depressed without dragging down the other.

There is actually a close relationship between city jobs and farm income—they rise and fall together. Secretary of Commerce Wallace in his *60 Million Jobs* states that when factory payrolls dropped from 11 billion dollars in 1929 to 5 billion dollars in 1932, farm income also dropped from 11 billion dollars to less than 5 billion dollars. Then, by 1937, when factory payrolls had risen to 10 billion dollars, farm income had risen to 9 billion dollars. Projecting this relationship into the post-war period, the U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that:

2 million unemployed will mean 17.0 billion cash farm income; 7 million will mean 12.5 billion; and 17 million will mean 6.5 billion.

Because of the mutual economic

interdependence of interests between labor and the masses of impoverished farmers, labor possesses a potential ally without which it cannot win the acute political and economic battles against reaction that lie ahead.

#### ROLE OF FARM ORGANIZATIONS

It is likely that the first question which some trade unionists might ask in considering work among the farmers would be: Why do not the farm organizations themselves take the initiative to organize mass activities aimed to stave off and alleviate the threatening crisis? The answer can be found in a practical examination of the state of development of the different farm groups.

Of the three national farm organizations, the two largest, the Farm Bureau and the Grange, have a leadership that trails after Big Business. There are sections of both organizations which are opposed to the reactionary policies of their national leadership, and these sections should not be overlooked by labor. Furthermore, the 800,000 members of the Farm Bureau and the 600,000 members of the Grange have little opportunity to influence the policies of their organizations, there being few meetings and little free discussion. In most sections of the country, the Farm Bureau addresses itself only to the large farmers, and although the Grange has a more representative membership among the farmers, it

a fraternal organization so heavily steeped in ritualism that most of its state bodies make little attempt to influence the political decisions expressed by the national officers.

The Farmers Union, with 140,000 members, opposes Big Business and formally at least cooperates with organized labor. Its members, mainly small and middle farmers, meet more frequently and generally allow free and democratic discussion. It is the only national farm organization that has recognized the importance of cooperating with the labor movement and has supported labor's job-wage fight in the rural areas.

The vast network of farm cooperatives to be found in every state are important as the economic base for all farm organization work. Naturally, these organizations vary greatly in size and character. For example, the large cooperative milk producers' associations, such as the Dairymen's League in New York or the Pure Milk Association in Illinois, are generally recognized as having a leadership that has knuckled under to the milk trust. An influential cooperative with scores of member creameries like the Land-o'-Lakes Cooperative has played a notoriously reactionary role in the politics of the North-Central area.

Heading up the numerous milk cooperatives is a Washington committee known as the National Federation of Milk Cooperatives. Its influence is discounted because it is

well known that the dairymen making up the member cooperatives constituting the Federation are never consulted.

On the other hand, many cooperatives truly represent the opinions and interests of their members. This includes both farmers' marketing and consumers' cooperatives, as well as cooperatives of a specialized character, such as rural electrification cooperatives or credit unions.

Attempts to rally farm sentiment for a progressive democratic program should enlist the support of as much of the cooperative and organized farm movement as will respond. The fact that a cooperative may have reactionary leaders does not mean that the membership cannot be approached by labor representatives.

This thumbnail sketch indicates something of the degree of class differences to be found among the farmers and reflected in their organizations. The interests of a sharecropper or a part-time subsistence "farmer" are certainly very different from the interests of "farmers" who own "factories in the fields." Lenin stressed the necessity of understanding the class differences among the farmers and pointed out that, unless the labor movement made a determined effort to win the farmers as allies, the rural population generally would tend to trail behind the leadership of monopoly capital. This, basically is why labor must take the initiative in rallying the farmers and

their organizations for a progressive labor and farm program.

#### POLITICS AND AGRICULTURE

Still another reason why labor cannot afford to ignore its rural allies is the tremendous political power of the rural vote in Congress. Of the 48 states of the Union, only 12 can be classed as mainly industrial. The remaining 36 are predominantly rural. Hence, the rural vote is the decisive element in determining the politics of 72 of the 96 members of the Senate.

Over 60 per cent of all Congressmen come from districts that are predominantly rural. Thus, unless substantial sections of the citizens of these areas are won for progress, the reactionary bloc in Congress will continue to dominate the nation's political life and there will be distinct limits to labor's influence upon the national legislature.

Since the defeat of the Populist Movement in the 90's the farmers as a group have exercised little influence in the national political arena, and the reactionaries have been able to maintain their political domination over the rural areas and to set themselves up as the spokesmen for all farmers. During the early 30's when foreclosures were taking a heavy toll and farm prices were at their lowest level, the farmers took a renewed interest in political activity and definitely exerted their influence on the side of the progressive forces. Unfor-

tunately, however, these struggles of the farmers against evictions and foreclosures were in general isolated from the main sweep of the labor movement, and because labor itself was not only weak but was also under the sway of old-line A. F. of L. concepts of narrow non-political, craft-unionism, it did not energetically seek to develop a political alliance with the farmers.

Since 1936, the trend of the rural vote has been in a reactionary direction. Unless this trend is changed by the conscious organized efforts of the Party and the progressive trade union movement, reaction will not only continue in control of Congress but will be able to swing all the states in which rural areas predominate, notwithstanding the efforts of a labor-democratic coalition which may be in the field. Reaction's victory will thus be the consequence of labor's neglect of its potential rural allies.

#### FARM AND LABOR PROGRAM

During the war, the progressive sector of the farmers rallied closer to the Roosevelt Administration, despite the fact that the general trend in the countryside continued toward the camp of reaction, as the national elections showed in 1944. But the direct tie-ups and functional relations of this progressive farm sector with the labor movement remained weak and undeveloped. Already large segments of the labor movement have come to

realize that the Truman Administration cannot be considered part of a labor-democratic coalition, but the former pro-Roosevelt farm supporters are making this discovery more slowly. One of the serious weaknesses of the progressive, pro-Roosevelt coalition was that it remained flabby, loose, and unorganized, and thus, even the most progressive farmers have been slow to benefit from the lessons that labor has so recently been learning. There is, moreover, the serious danger that, as these heretofore progressive farmers become disillusioned with the Truman Administration, many of them may fall victim to demagoguery of the extreme reactionaries. Only if labor offers the broad leadership necessary to unite the progressive forces can this be prevented.

Above all else, the farmers are today concerned over the danger of a deep and protracted postwar crisis in agriculture. Their memory of what happened after the last war is still vivid, and they have no desire to repeat the experience. During the war, many farmers came to realize that a high level of employment is a primary pre-requisite in preventing a return to ruinous farm surpluses, and thus the slogan of "full employment and full farm production" was widely popularized in farm areas. As yet, however, it cannot be said that the farmers have any clear understanding of how they can most effectively combat a return to scarcity con-

ditions, and only a few realize that an important battle in this general struggle is now being fought out on labor's picket lines. Labor still has the task of taking the job-wage fight to the farmers and showing the farmers, as well as other groups, that they have a heavy stake in the success of these strikes.

Both the United Packinghouse Workers of America and the Farm Equipment Workers (C.I.O.) deserve credit for the steps they have taken in endeavoring to bring the strike issues before the farmers. The U.P.W.A. invited the three national farm organizations to send representatives who would sit as observers at wage negotiations with the packers and who could thereby see for themselves that labor is prepared to join with other groups in order to protect the interest of farmers as well as consumers. Both Armour and Swift flatly rejected this proposal, with the result that many local farm papers altered their attitude toward labor's wage struggle and were forced to recognize that the meat trust, not the packinghouse workers, must be held responsible for promoting price concessions injurious to the consumers and the farmers. The Farm Equipment Workers have in turn reached the ears of thousands of farmers and attracted considerable attention in the columns of farm papers by focussing attention on the Federal Trade Commission figures showing that less than 10

per cent of the farmer's dollar spent for farm machinery goes to cover direct labor costs. Such moves have encouraged farmers in some areas to send food to the striking workers or even to join the picket lines, and the official organ of the National Farmers Union has not only given space to labor's strike statements but has also undertaken to repudiate monopoly propaganda which would blame labor for price concessions so generously granted to Big Business by the Administration.

In taking its fight to the farmers and seeking to enlist them as allies, labor can and must help the farmers in resisting the scarcity plans of the monopolists and pressing for measures to alleviate the impending farm crisis. Some of the more important points that should be included in such a program are the following:

1. Support labor's fight for a 30 per cent wage raise to offset income loss and maintain labor's buying power.
2. Stop the reactionary plans of the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers to wreck price controls and launch a ruinous inflationary spree.
3. Maintain floors under farm prices to cover the total present volume of production. Repudiate Anderson's attempt to weaken the price support program.
4. Ship to the hungry areas of the world the largest possible amounts of food, giving priority to

these peoples who contributed most to the defeat of the fascist aggressors. This is the least our country should do for those peoples who fought with us against fascist tyranny. We oppose the use of hunger as a bludgeon to force reactionary governments on the peoples of other countries or to wrest concessions for U.S. monopolists.

5. Launch vast Federal projects for the double purpose of supplying much needed facilities and stimulating employment for many years. Most important of such projects are the river valley projects for cheap power, flood control, irrigation, navigation and conservation of wild life; rural and urban housing projects on a large scale; medical and dental personnel and facilities, especially for the country districts; improved educational facilities, especially rural.

6. End the feudal plantation system in the South with provision for the tenant and cropper families not working on the plantations.

7. Curb the trusts. Reduce farm-to-market price-spreads.

On such a program labor and the bulk of the farmers can find common ground. But up to the present time no serious efforts have been made to solidify this natural alliance. A few labor conventions, notably the C.I.O. National Convention, have passed resolutions expressing support for farmers' struggle for improved living standards; similarly, some farm groups are on record supporting labor's wage fight. But beyond

certain small beginnings there is little to point to in the form of joint action. The task of building the machinery for widespread, continuous cooperation between labor and the farmers remains to be achieved.

As the Truman Administration continues to depart from the Roosevelt policies, it has become more and more apparent to the progressives that they must further develop the machinery for independent political action, and that they must begin to lay the firm foundations for a national third-party movement. Before this can be done, however, it is necessary that the present democratic-labor coalition be strengthened, and in the rural areas where this coalition is particularly weak we must help the labor and progressive forces in developing working relationships among the 55 million rural people. A third-party movement will not effortlessly or magically win the farm workers, sharecroppers, tenants, and working farmers, and the recent history of statewide third-party movements shows that none of them has, as yet, found a fully adequate solution to the problem of enlisting rural support. Unless our Party comrades are alert to what is happening in the rural areas and can help the labor movement win its allies, the reactionaries will continue to dominate the countryside, to play the rural vote against the urban, and to maintain their control over Congress. At this

time, when the more advanced sectors of the labor movement are shedding their illusions concerning the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party, we must recognize that the overwhelming majority of the farmers in the North have not yet been able to find their way out of the Republican Party, and the vast majority of the sharecroppers, tenants, and small farmers in the South have no vote at all.

The political lag between the rural areas and the cities must be narrowed, if Congress is to be made at all responsive to the demands of the American people. A major task in the 1946 elections is the defeat of the reactionary, pro-fascist congressmen, and since most of these unsavory characters come from rural areas or districts having a large rural vote, these elections offer a favorable opportunity for carrying the fight into the countryside, uniting the progressives in the rural areas, and developing the organizational forms for continuous independent political action in such areas. It is essential, for example, that the National Citizens P.A.C. make a determined effort to win the support of the farmers and that trade unions give special attention to the rural families in the vicinity, setting up farmer-labor councils for joint political action and even helping progressive farm groups to build their organizations.

# POSTWAR CONDITIONS AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE

*(Draft thesis for the discussion preceding the Third National Convention of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, held on January, 24-28, 1946. Abridged text.)*

WITH THE VICTORY of the United Nations over the Axis powers, with the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan, there has been opened a new stage in the world, the postwar stage.

Our Popular Socialist Party, while meeting in its Third National Assembly, must face resolutely the complex and difficult problems raised by the postwar period, and lay down a correct policy for the orientation of the workers, the people, and the nation.

During the course of the war our Party was in the vanguard of the nation in the struggle for cooperation to achieve victory.

Our Party correctly held that the task of defeating the beasts of the Nazi-Fascist-Japanese Axis was the most important task for all the peoples of the world, to the realization

of which all other tasks should be subordinated.

Taking that as our starting point, our Party militantly demanded economic, political and military contributions by our country to the war. It cooperated in the struggle against the Nazi-Falangist espionage. It organized collections, of the pennies of the working masses, to aid those fighting on the battlefronts. It held gigantic meetings, demonstrations and assemblies to arouse the anti-Axis conscience of the masses.

Our Party has upheld, with unflinching firmness and consistency, the correct policy of national unity, calling upon all Cubans to collaborate in the war effort, teaching the workers to maintain the no-strike policy to avoid disturbances in production.

Our Party correctly demanded the closest collaboration of Cuba with the Powers leading the war, the U.S.A., England and the Soviet Union. This led to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the great Socialist state.

## GREAT VICTORIES FOR THE PEOPLE

Basing itself on such a correct policy with regard to the war, our Party won great triumphs for our people.

In the midst of the war, the mobilization of forces by our Party helped to block the signing of the Draft Treaty of Residence and Navigation with the U.S.A., a proposal

harmful to the most vital interests of our country.

Mainly because of the struggles of our Party several industries were started, such as the manufacture of glass containers; and the planting of rice and beans was increased to meet the difficulties in obtaining supplies.

In the midst of the war, the mobilization of the working masses, led by the Cuban Workers Confederation, with the orientation and aid given by our Party, succeeded in achieving such notable triumphs as the successive general and specific increases in wages, the widening of social legislation to cover the agricultural workers, a subsidy for the harbor workers displaced by the war, and so forth.

During the course of the war our Party won the promulgation of a number of decrees, such as those forbidding the eviction of peasants, prohibiting the increases in rents, etc.

As a consequence of our policy with regard to the war and for National Unity, our Popular Socialist Party obtained a consultative representation in the Government of President Batista, which we correctly supported. Through this position of Minister Without Portfolio in the Cabinet, we influenced the application of anti-Axis and people's measures.

In the course of developing our correct policy in support of the war

and for national unity, our Party was greatly strengthened. It became a factor of first importance in the political life of our country, considerably increasing the number of its members. In the last general elections (June, 1944) it elected three Senators, two in provinces lost by the coalition of which we were part, and the third a Negro, with the highest number of votes in Havana province. Our Party elected 147 Councilmen in 88 municipalities and four Representatives to the Chamber.\*

As we lay down today our fundamental policy for the postwar period, our Party draws healthy lessons from these successes, as well as from the mistakes committed during this period.

In these recent times our Party committed grave mistakes derived from accepting, propagating, and trying to apply the revision of Marxism expressed by Earl Browder in his book *Teheran* and in numerous resolutions, proposals, and writings reproduced in our press.

#### THE REVISIONIST POLICY OF BROWDER

The revisionist policies worked out by Browder and adopted by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. influenced us to conceive a false perspective of the world situation: namely, that after victory a changed

\* Three other representatives remained from the previous elections.—The Editors.

capitalism could co-exist with socialism harmoniously and without contradiction; that the imperialist countries would be able to solve their sharp contradictions through harmonious agreements; that the imperialists themselves within each country would be able to participate in and lead the national unity, to destroy fascism completely and guarantee the peace; that the imperialists themselves would cooperate to avoid postwar economic crisis and unemployment, and to further the development of our dependent peoples and the well-being of the toiling masses.

This false world perspective ignored the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the irreconcilable contradictions inherent in the capitalist system; it ignored the Leninist teachings on the historically reactionary nature of imperialism; it ignored the historical truth, recurrently verified, that the growth of democratic and revolutionary forces brings with it implicitly an increase in the desperation and resistance of the reactionary forces.

These false points of view on the perspectives of the world situation were adopted by our Party at its Second National Convention,\* and adversely influenced in various aspects the activity of the Party, weakening its militancy, weakening its revolutionary vigilance against the in-

creased activities of the imperialist forces, of the trusts and monopolies.

The falsity of such points of view and every one of their practical results is shown by the recent events themselves: the Anglo-Yankee attitude in San Francisco; the American attitude in Japan; British intervention in Greece, Belgium and Italy; American pressure on Latin America; the failure of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers; and the anti-Soviet campaign in England, the U.S.A. and even in France.

It is well to stress that, although we accepted the revisionist ideas of Browder and of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., and although we propagated them and made efforts to apply them in the practical policies of our Party, we did not follow the same path as the American Communists nor did we commit the same mistakes.

We did not lead to the dissolution of our Party, but to its strengthening and enlargement.

We did not erase or dim the perspective for Socialism. While pointing out that the immediate historical task of our country was the full achievement of national liberation, and while concentrating every effort to attain it, we did not neglect or decrease our propaganda for Socialism as the definitive solution of all our social evils.

In the course of development of the policy of national unity we emphasized the independent position of

\* Held on September 13-18, 1944.—The Editors.

the working class, both in the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers and peasants, and in the political struggles of the Party.

We made a correct and timely criticism of the work of the Cuban delegations to the Conferences of Chapultepec and San Francisco.

Although we did not devise any revision of Marxism, we made the grave mistake of accepting a revisionist policy which had begun to infiltrate our thinking, which was infecting the Party, and which, had it been maintained, would have led us to the gravest deviations, to the complete disarming of the Party, to opportunism and to bankruptcy.

The timely warnings of Jacques Duclos, an outstanding leader of the French Communist Party, and the consequent sharp struggle of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. against the revisionist mistakes of Browder, allowed us to discover this infection in time and to start our own struggle against its effects and causes.

#### CAUSES OF THE PARTY'S ACCEPTANCE OF BROWDER'S IDEAS

What were the causes that made it possible for our Party to accept and propagate the revisionist policies of Earl Browder?

These causes, as we understand them, are the following:

a. The lack of a theoretical preparation sufficiently solid to have

made us capable of discovering the revisionist core of Browder's policies.

b. The great prestige enjoyed among us by the leadership of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and the lack of information on the differences expressed by Foster and by the Communist Parties of other countries.

c. The pressure exerted upon our Party by its interest in building national unity to win the war and to meet the complex problems of the postwar period, and by the policies of certain sectors of the bourgeoisie.

d. The weakening of our practice of collective elaboration of our policies, due to a tendency on the part of our leading cadres toward narrow practicality, which placed the responsibility for formulating our line on a small number of comrades.

All these causes may be overcome.

We can and should attain a more solid theoretical preparation through the systematic study of the fundamental texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

We can and should maintain our correct regard for the leadership of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., but it is our duty, and we will fulfill it, to study its experiences in a critical spirit.

We can and should strengthen our revolutionary vigilance in order to overcome any alien class influence upon the Party; for our line, our tactics and our practical activity should always be determined by the

objective, Marxist analysis of the real situation and of its conditioning factors.

We can and we should firmly impose in the Party the practice of collective elaboration of all aspects of our policies, making every leading fellow member feel personally responsible for each and every one of our decisions; making the Provincial, Municipal, Borough, Zone and Factory Committees feel that they also have the responsibility for the policies which they should approve and apply.

The first step to correct our errors and free our whole policy from any opportunist and revisionist influence is the frank acknowledgment of those errors and influences and the starting of an intensive discussion in the whole Party, which will involve our activists and our enrolled cadres generally.

In the second place, it is necessary to revise our former evaluations, making a correct evaluation of the international and national situation and perspectives and formulating a program of immediate activities that will correspond in every detail with the present needs.

This will be, precisely, the main task of the Third National Convention. . . .

#### REACTIONARY REGROUPING

Pressed by the needs of the war and by the growing political mobili-

zation of the toiling masses, the governments of England and the United States adopted, jointly with the Soviet Union, a series of agreements and measures based on an international policy of close collaboration of the three big powers to defeat and uproot fascism, to punish the war criminals, to guarantee to the liberated peoples the right democratically to choose their own governments, to develop a just and enduring peace and contribute to economic reconstruction and the expansion of world commerce.

After the victory has been achieved, the imperialists everywhere actively plot to undermine and destroy those agreements and promises—the Atlantic Charter; the Declarations of Teheran, Bretton Woods, Hot Springs, Yalta, and Potsdam; and the Charter of San Francisco. They try by all means to take away the concessions that the peoples have won, in order to pursue their own reactionary pro-fascist policies of monopolistic rule of the dependent countries, of sharp rivalries in world commerce, of opposition to the Soviet Union and to democracy everywhere.

In the United States, more quickly than in other countries, the imperialists are regrouping around an openly aggressive policy for world domination. They are achieving important gains in their endeavor to control the government which, under the leadership of Truman, has made concession after concession to

them, showing the clear shift from the peace policy of Roosevelt.

The victory of the anti-Axis coalition has created the conditions essential for uprooting fascism, for organizing a long period of peace, for promoting the democratic and social progress of the peoples, through the strict fulfillment of the accords and pledges adopted by the three great powers during the course of the war.

Against this possibility of a decisive democratic victory are arrayed, as we have seen, all the remnants of fascism, the international trusts and monopolies, the imperialists and the reactionaries, and even those who under certain conditions and at a given moment declared their support for the anti-Axis war, contributed somewhat to the war and accepted or tolerated the pledges and accords of the Big Three.

#### THE IMPERIALISTS OF THE UNITED STATES ATTACK CUBA

In favor of this possibility are the peoples, the peace-loving nations, all the democratic and progressive elements. Everywhere the forces exist, and the conditions are propitious, for the defeat of the remnants of fascism, the imperialists and reactionaries of every type, and for raising to leadership the forces capable of fulfilling the peoples' aspirations for peace, security and prosperity.

This situation reflects itself sharply in our country.

The North-American trusts and monopolies openly sabotage the preservation of cordial relations and of mutual respect between the United States and Cuba. They work actively to prevent our economic development, to preserve the old, backward colonial system of monoculture, of large landed estates, of production of raw materials. In order to strengthen their monopolist control of our country, they seek to keep us from direct commerce with Latin America and with the rest of the world.

For the achievement of these ends which are inimical to our country and to the national interest of the United States itself, such elements depend upon the falangists, the reactionaries, the big importing merchants and the feudal owners of the large landed estates.

Even during the course of the war, and despite their openly pro-Axis leanings, such elements were protected by the American State Department, which invited Maestri, a notorious pro-fascist, to visit the United States, and which paid homage to "Pepin" Rivero, top mouthpiece of falangism, by awarding to him the Cabot Prize.

Despite the demands and needs of the war, such elements—American imperialists and Cuban reactionaries—succeeded in preventing the military participation of our people in the war and in hindering the develop-

ment of our independent production and the building of a merchant marine.

At present, as was their policy during the war, G-men, the American political police, instead of investigating the Nazi, fascist and Japanese spies and saboteurs, devote themselves to spying on the Communists and other anti-fascists, intervening in the internal policies of our country, and carrying on an active and provocative anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda.

The articles of Mrs. Ruby Hart Phillips (New York *Times* correspondent in Cuba), in *Newsweek* and *Collier's*, so widely disseminated by the falangists here, are public and documented expressions of the campaign of anti-national, anti-Soviet, and anti-Communist provocations inspired by the American imperialists. In order to prevent our development of a national policy to meet the grave problems of the moment, the American imperialists try to divide the nation internally and to isolate Cuba diplomatically by provoking a break in relations with the Soviet Union.

Their hidden campaign against the policy of barter with other Latin American countries, their opposition to the use of the national fuel,\* their blocking of all attempts to build the national banking system and the merchant marine, their resistance to

a guarantee of adequate volume and price for the sugar crop and to the purchase of Cuban manufactured tobacco, in the face of their pressure for a ceiling price on the leaf tobacco, express in economic terms the true ends pursued by the trusts and monopolies in their propaganda.

Faithful to the slogan "divide and conquer," their main efforts in the field of politics are designed to prevent any understanding among the various progressive forces and parties.

Playing the political division between the opposition and the government, they threaten the government with supporting the opposition and the opposition with supporting the government; they blackmail both to obtain concessions from one side or the other.

#### THE REACTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST TRADE UNION UNITY

The unification of the trade union movement under the Confederation of Cuban Workers, its affiliation with the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.), and its active participation in the London and Paris world trade union gatherings to establish international unity in the workers' movement, constitute an enormous gain for the progressive movement in favor of national unity. Since this represents a factor of prime importance for the active defense of our economy, the monopolists and their falangist and reac-

\* A mixture of 75 per cent alcohol and 25 per cent gasoline now used in Cuba.—The Editors.

tionary agents strive to destroy that unity, to undermine and corrupt it. Especially do the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. strenuously incite individuals in the Latin-American countries to destroy the independent trade union movement of Latin America, to split and deliver into the hands of their lackeys the central labor bodies of the various countries and thus eliminate the C.T.A.L., the main obstacle to the rule of our countries by the monopolists.

This attitude of the North American magnates is beginning to influence our economic situation unfavorably.

Some industries have started to drastically curtail their production, while others are seriously threatened with paralysis.

The production of manufactured tobacco (cigars) has been decreasing since the second quarter of the year, when the American government stopped its orders for the Army. The tobacco trust started, in its La Corona factory, the mass discharge of cigar makers, handing out in a single day six hundred pay envelopes marked with the ominous R.\*

Mining of manganese, copper, nickel and chrome is threatened with an almost immediate total cessation.

The powerful oil trusts are exerting pressure to end the use of the national fuel and are ready to force the closing of the recently constructed distilleries.

A certain number of other industries, like shoe, cardboard boxes, textile, and omnibus bodies, are seriously threatened by the return of competition from similar better developed industries abroad.

The perspective for the sugar crop, nevertheless, is good for the next two or three years, which makes it possible that the general economic situation will not be desperate. But the uncertainty as to the future for sugar and the pressure of the American market at present are disturbing elements.

#### THE REACTIONARY PLOT

The reactionary plot that we have repeatedly denounced is the internal expression, to some extent, of pressure from abroad.

The combined interests of the big Spanish merchants, the owners of large landed estates, and the most reactionary section of the employers, conspire to prevent the growth of the people's movement and of national unity.

Their spokesmen agree in the justification and sentimental defense of the Pétains and Lavals, of the war criminals and the German monopolists, in the attack against the worldwide organization of the peace, in the furious anti-Soviet propaganda, and in agitation for the pet slogan of fascism: anti-Communism.

Utilizing their powerful economic and political resources, and taking advantage of the economic difficul-

\* Rebajado, i.e., Discharged.—The Editors.

ties and the weaknesses of the government, they do everything possible to make the situation more grave, to irritate, discourage and split the masses.

Through black market profiteering and the most shameless speculation, they make it increasingly difficult to obtain supplies.

While agitating for the defense of "property rights," a slogan with which they try to unite all employers, large and small, they attack the measures that aid the tenants and peasants, and develop a slanderous campaign against government interference in business, against organization of the workers, and against the whole social policy of the government.

By falsely denouncing closed union membership rolls, they try to set the unemployed workers against the trade unions. With the pretext of opposing "excessive" protective regulations for the workers, they try to create a convenient atmosphere in which to launch their attacks against wage increases, paid vacations and the work-week of 44 hours with pay for 48,\* etc.

On the other hand, they call for the organization of all employers in Cuba into the National Federation, encourage them to evade the social laws and to refuse to pay the decreed increase in wages, endeavoring there-

by to hamper the whole of the national economic life.

Proclaiming itself the party of the Right, the Republican Party works as the advance guard of the reactionary plot. It continues all kinds of maneuvers against the government of Dr. Grau, attempting to paralyze its progressive policies, to cause it to lose mass support and thereby to turn it into a prisoner of a ministerial-parliamentary combination. They want to force Dr. Grau's resignation and to substitute for him Raul de Cardenas,\* or some other equally reactionary character.

Such maneuvers have not been successful until now. On the contrary, the most reactionary elements of the Republican Party have met with repeated political setbacks.

#### THE POLICIES OF DR. GRAU

The government of Dr. Grau has maintained its positive policies with regard to the most urgent demands of the people.

It has continued the policies of high wages, of preventing most of the evictions of peasants, of preventing the abusive increase in rents and in the price of the necessities of life.

It has made efforts to clean out the public administration and has decreased or abolished some taxes.

It has started and continues a

\* Established by the Constitution of 1940.—The Editors.

\* Raul de Cardenas, formerly of the Republican Party, now Vice President in the Grau Government, ultra reactionary head of the real estate owners of Havana.—The Editors.

series of public works such as repairing the streets of Havana, the building of some parkways, highways, dirt roads and school buildings, etc., which, besides their general utility, give remunerative employment to several thousands of workers.

But although it has started some activities of undeniable importance, such as the barter of sugar for various products of other Latin American countries, it has not yet started what must be for it while in power the core of the policies of the Cuban Revolutionary Party (Grau's party), whose postulates are anti-imperialism, nationalism and socialism: the development of a program of measures aimed at achieving the economic liberation of Cuba through the gradual removal of the control of our wealth by foreign monopoly; the nationalization of public utilities; the building of the national banking system, and merchant marine; agrarian reform that will eliminate the large landed estates, and provide the means to diversify and considerably increase the agricultural production, with the consequent development of our home industry.

Due to the fact that the government has not yet done this, it has not been able to consolidate the majority it obtained in the elections and turn it into a militant and effective support for its policies, into a center of attraction for the building of a genuine broad national unity.

As to foreign policies, the government lacks the clear orientation which would be in keeping with the character of the Cuban Revolutionary Party toward the world-wide organization for peace.

Under the influence of Belt,\* the government not only has not taken the initiative to break relations with the Franco government, but has resisted the national pressure in that direction.

Likewise, Cuba became the mouth-piece for the admission of Argentina into the United Nations Organization, despite the frankly fascist nature of the Peron-Farrell government.

Although the government did the fitting thing by including a worker in the Cuban delegation to the San Francisco Conference, this delegation voted, along with the United States and others, in reactionary opposition to the proposal that the World Federation of Trade Unions have representation in the United Nations Organization.

The reorganization of our neglected foreign service is far from being even begun.

Within the parties that carry on political opposition to the government, as well as within those supporting it, there is going on a sharp struggle of tendencies between those who are ready to support a legislative program of a national progressive

\* Dr. Guillermo Belt, Cuban Ambassador to Washington.—The Editors.

character and those who attempt to carry their opposition to the point of impeding any constructive work in Parliament, in order to cause the government to fail.

The main tendency is, no doubt, the one which is ready, without yielding its place in the political opposition, to vote favorably in Parliament on laws of a general character demanded by the government and public opinion. If such work in Parliament is not yet carried on, it is due to a great extent to the lack of consistency and planning by the government forces in the Parliament and by the government itself.

#### THE GROWTH OF THE P.S.P.

The growth of the Popular Socialist Party as the organized vanguard of all the progressive forces is a political event of the first importance and the greatest obstacle to the plans of the reactionaries.

The Popular Socialist Party has now more than 150,000 enrolled members. Its teachings are followed by hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, white collar workers, students, professionals, etc. Its position influences to a considerable extent all the important national events.

The growth of the Popular Socialist Party is a reflection of the growing political consciousness of the masses, their desires, ever growing, for the realization of a policy of national unity oriented toward the economic

liberation of our fatherland, and the increase in the well-being of the nation.

All political tendencies consider the next elections as being of extraordinary importance.

The coming elections for Mayors, Councilmen and Representatives, aside from their intrinsic import, will be a test of the trend among the masses and will decide the alignment of parties and coalitions for the future presidential battle.\*

The reactionaries seek to strengthen their Parliamentary representation, to take control of the municipal governments, to hamper any work for the liberation or the well-being of the people and to strengthen their bases for an attack in depth against the progressive movement.

#### A NATIONAL PROGRAM

In the face of the present situation, taking into account every factor, our Party should defend a program of demands that will be accepted by the whole nation, by everyone who is for the freedom and the progress of our country, by everyone who is for democracy and for the organization of a just and enduring peace. This must be a program capable of solving adequately, with the means at our disposal and in our present situation, the grave problems facing our country.

An immediate national program

\* In 1948.—The Editors.

must start, above all, from the need to preserve the economic standards attained during the war, to avoid retreating to the situation of 1938 and the years before it, to advance toward greater progress and a more independent economy.

In order to accomplish this it is necessary to struggle:

To obtain a market in the United States, Latin America and the other countries of the world, that will guarantee to Cuba an annual sale of no less than four million tons of sugar.

To reorganize the sugar industry, in order to make use of the by-products of the sugar cane, and to increase the volume of refined sugar produced in Cuba, in this way endeavoring to give year-long employment to a great number of workers.

To demand from the United States a market for our cigars; to re-establish the cigar markets of England and Spain and work to obtain new customers in the Latin American countries, France, and other countries, in order to raise the annual production of cigars.

To maintain the obligatory use of the national fuel, setting a price that will not be burdensome for the consumer.

To obtain a guaranteed market in order to maintain the present volume of production in the mining of manganese, nickel, copper, chrome, etc.

To protect effectively the indus-

tries already established: construction of omnibus bodies, metallurgy, diamonds, shoes, textiles, preserves, cardboard containers, rubber tires, etc., to prevent their development from being hampered by foreign competition.

To begin the reform of the tax system by immediately simplifying it and by giving preference to a direct tax which will make those pay most who have most.

To extend and coordinate the Public Works Plan in order that it be carried on simultaneously in all provinces.

It is impossible to attempt the development of the national economy while there remains the semi-feudal relations in the countryside which turn the rural population, the majority of the country, into a pauperized mass with very little purchasing power.

The purchasing power of the peasant masses is essential for building an internal market that will guarantee the development of our national industry.

Only the opportunity for the peasants to increase production can guarantee the adequate provisioning of our country.

To achieve these aims it is necessary to struggle for:

The lowering of the rural farm rents.

The radical stopping of peasant evictions.

The liquidation of the censos.\*

The passage of a law regulating contracts for leases and sharecropping, setting low rents, guaranteeing land tenure, and obligating the owner upon termination or annulment of the contract, to pay for improvements made by the tenants.

The division of the large landed estates as provided in the Constitution, and the distribution of the land among the peasants.

The creation of a national corporation for the purchase of agricultural products, in order to prevent extortion from the peasants and consumers, and in this way to guarantee fair prices to the former without prejudice to the latter.

The establishment of an Agricultural Credit Bank to protect especially the raising of rice, beans, vegetable oils, and many other products that will tend to diversify our agriculture.

The stimulation of the establishment of cooperative agricultural production.

## HIGH WAGES

A factor vital to the maintenance of a certain economic standard for the country is the level of wages and living conditions of the workers, since their income goes immediately and directly into commerce:

Taking this into account, it is

\* *Censo* is an agreement by which a seller acquires the right of receiving a fixed annual pension from the purchaser of his real estate, in addition to the selling price.—The Editors.

necessary to raise or at least maintain the average volume of wages, in order to preserve and broaden the internal market for the products of our agriculture, industry and import.

To achieve this, it is necessary to struggle for:

An increase of wages in the sugar industry in direct proportion to the increase in the price of sugar.

An increase of wages in those industries which are obtaining swollen profits.

Zealous fulfillment of the government decrees for increasing wages, which today are being flouted by some industries—textile, dressmaking, railroads, etc.

Firm opposition to wage-cuts in any industry.

Maintenance of full employment, allowing no layoffs or closing of factories.

Establishment of subsidies for the unemployed in order to relieve those at present out of work and to help those who, in spite of every effort, remain unemployed.

Establishment of a social security law that will cover the numerous hazards suffered by the workers.

Establishment of old age pensions for the workers of every industry and profession.

The development of any plan for the Cuban economy requires the establishment of primary agencies to guide it and the elaboration of an intelligent policy on foreign commercial relations.

This is why we maintain that it is necessary to struggle for:

Establishment, without further delay, of a national banking system.

Building of a national merchant marine.

Reorganization of the foreign service of the Republic in order to make of it an effective instrument for our policies and needs.

A policy of commercial treaties with Latin American countries, arranging for barter of surplus products and the exchange of our respective commodities.

Revision of the reciprocity treaty with the U.S.A., endeavoring (1) to obtain a better arrangement covering sugar and cigars, (2) to avoid competition with our industrial and agricultural production which is just beginning to grow, and (3) to guarantee our right freely to engage in commerce with other countries.

The signing of commercial treaties with the Soviet Union, France and other European countries, as well as with China.

For the measures to maintain the standard of living and the purchasing power of the toiling population to be effective, profiteering and speculation must be drastically repressed. The wages and income of the workers, peasants, white collar workers, etc., would otherwise serve only to increase the swollen profits of a group of unscrupulous merchants, without any real gain for the people or for the economy of the country.

This is why it is necessary to struggle:

For vigorous action against speculators, profiteers and the black market.

For temporary retention of war controls to prevent the raising of rents, the inflation of prices and the chaotic distribution of products.

For adoption of a broad government plan to solve the supply crisis and to organize distribution so that some towns and boroughs will not suffer a complete lack of goods which can easily be obtained by the well-to-do.

#### PRESERVE AND BROADEN DEMOCRACY

Such a program cannot be realized without maintaining and extending democracy in our country. The effort, the enthusiasm and confidence of the masses can be actualized only through greater freedom and broadened democracy.

Really to extend democracy, it is above all necessary to fight for the suppression of the falangist campaign of racial prejudice against the Negroes, Jews and other peoples, which is still being carried on in our country.

It is necessary to fight for legislation against racial discrimination, which will complement article 20 of the Constitution of 1940.

It is necessary to fight for real equality of rights and opportunities for women in the economic, po-

litical and social spheres.

It is necessary to protect our youth.

It is necessary to abolish the corrupt system of buying votes and enrollment cards which facilitates oligarchic control of the parties and subverts the principle of popular representation.

It is necessary to end the use of the public administration and the distribution of government jobs to force citizens to enroll in, or vote for, a given party.

This will make possible a broader unity of our people, a more conscious and active political mobilization, to achieve the lofty ends imposed by the present needs of our fatherland.

Such an internal program corresponds with the hoped-for world freed of fascism, and ruled by peace.

This is why we must join our voices with those of the other peoples of the world, to demand the fulfillment of the promises contained in the Atlantic Charter and in the accords of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam.

We must demand from our country the most vigorous support of the organization of the United Nations, agreed upon at San Francisco; the breaking of diplomatic relations with the fascist regimes of Spain and Argentina to help their peoples to restore democracy; the achieving of closer relations of friendship with the Soviet Union, eliminating the anti-Soviet propaganda and provocations of the falangists and of Raul de Cardenas and company.

Likewise, we should demand, together with the rest of the peoples of the world, the immediate and implacable punishment of war criminals; the complete crushing of Hitlerism and of Japanese militarism, the destruction of the German and Japanese trusts in order to prevent them from thrusting the world into a new war; the cessation of political and military intervention in small countries to maintain decrepit monarchies or institutions contrary to the people's interests, as in the cases of Italy, Belgium, and Greece, or to maintain colonial nations in subjection, as in the case of Indonesia and Indo-China.

We must demand that the benefits of the Bretton Woods accord be applied to our country and to Latin-America, which should be granted long-term and low interest loans, to be used for their industrialization, as well as for sanitation, educational and welfare work in behalf of the peoples.

We must demand that the military bases that our country granted to the United States to hasten the defeat of the Axis come under our exclusive national control.

We must demand that the people of Puerto Rico be accorded their full right freely to determine their own fate.

We desire to strengthen and improve Cuba's relations with the United States on the basis of the observance of the principles for which we have struggled in this war. These

aspirations coincide with those of the democratic forces of the United States, and are hindered by the trusts and monopolies, which consider us a field for exploitation.

This urgent program can be realized to its fullest extent and significance only through the broadest cooperation of all Cubans and of all those who want to avoid catastrophe and ruin, of all those desiring welfare, progress, freedom and peace.

#### COOPERATION OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE'S FORCES

Taking into account the policies developed by the Government, the Popular Socialist Party must ratify and maintain firmly and determinedly its independent position of militant support for the progressive and popular work of President Grau.

The Popular Socialist Party must make a warm appeal to all Cubans—of all parties, of all democratic ideologies, of all religious creeds, of all social classes—to unite and defend jointly this program, to demand vigorously all the measures that will turn it into a reality, to contribute to its speedy realization.

The unity for the defense of such a program requires above all the firmest and broadest unity of the workers, since they constitute the vanguard in every struggle for the national interests, for freedom, progress and the well-being of the people.

This is why the Popular Socialist Party must warmly appeal to the

workers to preserve and strengthen the trade union unity which they have built in the C.T.C. (Confederation of Workers of Cuba), to organize the unorganized, and to crush any intrigue or maneuver aimed at breaking or weakening their unity or at delivering the leadership of their organizations into the hands of individuals having truck with the reactionary groups, with the enemies of our national interests.

Such purposes demand, besides, the definitive incorporation of the peasants into the struggle for their attainment.

This is why the Popular Socialist Party must make a warm appeal to the peasants to unite; to organize broad committees of struggle for their immediate demands; to enforce the fulfillment of the decrees against the evictions; to demand lower rents; to demand adequate prices for their products; to struggle for the establishment of the Bank of Loans on Agricultural Products, for the passage of the law regulating contracts on leases and sharecropping, for the agrarian reform that will give them land.

#### THE ELECTIONS OF 1946

The elections of 1946 have a great importance in connection with the struggle for this program and for National Unity.

As we have already pointed out, the reactionary elements are endeavoring to utilize the elections to strengthen their positions, to ham-

per the objectives of National Unity, to sabotage any attempt to develop an effective program to solve our problems and, above all, to prepare the forces with which they expect to win the elections of 1948 for an anti-popular and reactionary presidential candidate.

The democratic forces must mobilize for those elections on a clear program of national cooperation for progress. They must be ready to defeat the candidates of the Republican Party, which has proclaimed itself openly as the representative of the "Right," advancing the same slogan of anti-Communism which served Hitler as a cloak to attack democracy, unleash war, and perpetrate all his crimes and banditries against humanity.

Our Party must continue to pay maximum attention to the coming election campaign.

#### REAL "GOOD NEIGHBORSHIP"

Cuba can meet the present situation only through the broadest cooperation with the peoples and democratic governments of Latin America and with the solidarity of the workers of the world.

This is why the Popular Socialist Party must call upon our country to strengthen her ties with the sister nations on the Continent, supporting their struggles and demands, and must call upon the workers to strengthen the C.T.A.L. and defend it from the attacks, provocations, and maneuvers originating

with the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L., and to understand their relations with the workers in all parts of the world, actively and vigorously supporting the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The struggle of our country to preserve her economic standards, requires a democratic attitude, one of real "Good Neighborship" on the part of the government of the United States, and, above all, the friendly collaboration of the North American toilers and people.

The "Good Neighbor" policy inaugurated by President Roosevelt, although maintained within the framework of imperialistic relations, was a step forward in the relations between the United States and Latin America, despite all the vacillations and inconsistencies that the Roosevelt Administration itself showed.

The imperialists are bringing pressure, not without success, on the Truman Administration to distort that policy which was the result both of the democratic spirit of the North American masses and of the active struggles of our people.

Our Party must demand the maintenance of a democratic policy and of real "Good Neighborship" on the part of the government of the United States. We must encourage the disposition of the people of Cuba to maintain good and dignified relations with the United States and welcome the aid of the North American toilers and progressive forces to attain such objectives.

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- Dust Off Your Dreams: The Story of American Youth for Democracy.* (American Youth for Democracy) New York. 23 pp. 10¢
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1945. (Comision Nacional de Educacion y Propaganda del Partido Comunista) 1945. 39 pp.
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