

political affairs

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

Free the Puerto Rican Smith-Act Victims!

By National Committee, CPUSA

On October 24, 1954, the National Committee of the Communist Party issued the following statement, signed by William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry:

THE ARREST in San Juan, New York, and Texas, of eleven Puerto Rican men and women under the fascist Smith Act is a new blow at the liberties of the Puerto Rican people and the people of the United States. In violation of the Constitution of the so-called Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Eisenhower Administration is attempting a new dangerous extension of this vicious thought-control law as a weapon against an oppressed people fighting for its independence.

Last year the Administration officially told the United Nations: "With the establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the people of Puerto Rico have attained a full measure of self-government." It was on the basis of these assurances and under pressure from Washington that a majority of the delegations

approved the elimination of Puerto Rico from the group of non-self-governing territories for which annual reports have to be made. By this latest action the Administration exposes the hypocrisy of this "self-government" and reveals that it treats Puerto Rico as a Wall Street colony to be plundered today by the big U.S. corporations as it has been for the past 56 years. And the real political boss of Puerto Rico is not Governor Luis Munoz Marin, but J. Edgar Hoover.

According to press reports, the arrested Puerto Ricans are charged with "conspiring with each other . . . in advocating and teaching the necessity of overthrowing and destroying the government of the United States in Puerto Rico and the government of Puerto Rico by force and violence." This charge is a complete frameup. It is also a mockery of the so-called

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Hoover himself spilled the beans when he revealed the real "crime" of which those arrested are guilty: "The Communist Party has always agitated for the independence of the island commonwealth."

In other words, Hoover accuses these men and women of "agitation"—that is, of exercising the right of freedom of speech, press and assemblage guaranteed in the Puerto Rican Constitution and the United States Constitution. And he charges them with "agitating" for that which millions of Puerto Ricans have "agitated" for more than a half century: the independence of their country.

By that test what Puerto Rican is safe from prosecution under the Smith Act? By that test the second largest party of the country, the Independentista Party, which favors independence, could likewise be prosecuted. And did not Governor Muñoz Marín himself, leader of Puerto Rico's majority party, at one time favor and "agitate" for independence?

By that test Washington and Jefferson too, who "agitated" for independence of our country from Britain, were guilty in advance of violating the Smith Act!

The frameup character of these arrests is further indicated by the fact that the Puerto Rican government last March arrested several of the same Communist leaders under the country's counterpart of the Smith Act, Public Law 53. Following

widespread protests, the government released all the arrested Communists and dropped the cases against them *for lack of evidence*. Now the U.S. Department of Justice, using the fascist Smith Act and the F.B.I. police, is attempting a new political frameup against these same Communist leaders.

There is not an iota of doubt that the present persecution of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico is due to its invaluable contributions to the struggle for independence and the well-being of the Puerto Rican people.

The broad implications of these arrests is indicated by the fact that among those imprisoned is one of the outstanding labor leaders of Puerto Rico, Juan Saez Corales. He was the founder of what was at one time the country's largest trade-union center, Confederacion General de Trabajadores (CGT), and also of the Unidad General de Trabajadores (UGT). The arrested also include non-Communists and ex-Communists as well as Communists, indicating the dragnet character of this attack on the Puerto Rican independence movement.

These latest Smith Act arrests have a clear purpose: to extend McCarthyism in order to terrorize the people of Puerto Rico, as well as the Puerto Rican national minority in the United States, and smash their struggles for better conditions and full political independence. The arrests aim to make Puerto Rico safe

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for U.S. runaway shops, for an average wage of \$13 a week for men and \$8 for women, for mass unemployment the year round and the other wretched conditions of colonial bondage. The arrests seek to maintain a situation in which, despite the alleged Commonwealth status, Puerto Rico is declared by Washington to be subject to such reactionary legislation as the Taft-Hartley, McCarran and Smith acts, while denied the benefits of the Minimum Wage Law and the unemployment provisions of the Social Security Act.

The F.B.I., which finds time and forces to roam over the face of this country and Puerto Rico, seeking out new victims for its Smith Act trap, cannot seem to find time, men or inclination to suppress the racists in Delaware and Maryland who are subverting the U.S. Constitution and the Supreme Court decision against jim-crow schools.

It is clear therefore that these arrests are also a blow at the workers of our country whose wage scales and dwindling jobs are threatened by the conditions imposed on Puerto Rico by the U.S. trusts and their Cadillac Cabinet. And the arrests aim to silence any support for Puerto Rico's independence by the people of our country.

This new Smith Act frameup, like the general assault on civil liberties, is also part and parcel of the Wall Street-Washington war program. Those who instigated the overthrow by force and violence of the demo-

cratic government of Guatemala, who drove the President of Brazil to suicide, are today seeking further to enslave Puerto Rico and all Latin America. Under the fake slogan of "defense against Communist intervention" they want to exploit the raw materials and manpower of Latin America in the crusade to make General Motors, Standard Oil, U.S. Steel, etc., masters of the world.

Trade unionists especially should speak up against this outrage. We call as well on working farmers, the Negro people, small businessmen, intellectuals and professionals, and on all democratic and peace-loving Americans to write to President Eisenhower demanding that all those arrested be released and the frame-up indictments against them quashed. There should also be protests to the President and the United Nations against this flagrant violation of Puerto Rico's Commonwealth status. Demand that candidates for public office speak out against an action which threatens our liberties and dishonors our country before the entire world. Support the fight of the Puerto Rican people for full independence.

The Communist Party of the United States pledges its full support in defense of the Puerto Rican victims of the Smith Act and the F.B.I. Their defense is part and parcel of the fight against the persecution of the anti-war, pro-democratic forces in the United States.

Is the United States in the Early Stages of Fascism?

By William Z. Foster

DURING RECENT YEARS, particularly in the period of the "cold war", the United States has been increasingly the scene of ultra-reactionary legislation and governmental policies. Many of these measures are undoubtedly of a fascist character and they have definitely raised the question of the danger of fascism in this country. Not only has the Communist Party repeatedly signalized the growth of this fascist peril, but so also, in varying degrees, have many other groups and individuals. This is true on the part of the A. F. of L., C. I. O., and the independent unions, and even such conservatives as Ex-President Truman and Senators Lehman and Flanders have characterized McCarthyism as fascism. So have the Catholic Bishop Sheil and many Protestant clergymen. In foreign lands also, the growth of the fascist danger in the United States has long since become a matter of widespread comment in the Communist, trade-union, and Liberal press.

The passage in August of the infamous Communist Control Act, which formally outlaws the Communist Party and places the trade unions

under the surveillance of the pro-fascist Subversive Activities Control Board, has enormously increased the fear, here and abroad, of the growth of fascism in the United States. In fact, many are saying that the enactment of this law proves that this country has now passed into the early stages of fascism. This conclusion, which has already considerably influenced the policies of some independent progressive trade unions, has also been expressed among Communists, by inferences that the situation created by the new law invalidates the recently adopted *Program* of the Communist Party.

No less shocking than the anti-Communist Law itself was the atmosphere of intimidation in which Congress adopted this infamous legislation. Under the lash of the Red-baiters—Senators Humphrey, Morse, and others—the members of both Houses voted for the law like frightened sheep. Actually, when it passed the Senate and House the members of these bodies were not yet in possession of the full text of the bill they were acting upon. Never in the whole history of Congress was there such a disgraceful scene.

This general situation makes it imperative on the part of our Party to state clearly just what is the precise meaning and danger of the fascist trends after the passage of the Communist Control Act. The Party must particularly answer the specific question as to whether or not these trends have now brought about such a qualitative weakening of bourgeois democracy in this country that we can be said actually to be in the beginnings of fascism. We have learned from the disastrous experiences of the labor movement in other lands that nothing is more hazardous than to mis-evaluate the fascist danger. If this danger is overestimated it can lead to the abandonment, as hopeless, of practical means of struggle and to leftist moods of "let us go down with our flag flying", and if the danger is under-estimated, this can cause a Rightist failure to arouse the workers and their allies to fight a political menace which, if neglected, can become catastrophic for them.

Germany in 1930, living under the reactionary Bruening Government, was rapidly moving toward fascism. On December 2, of that year, in estimating the situation, *Rote Fahne*, official organ of the German Communist Party, declared that, "We are now living in a fascist republic. The Bruening Cabinet has become a fascist dictatorship." The Communist International, however, promptly and correctly (on December 30) disputed this analysis, on the ground that it was premature and that consequently the workers would be dis-

armed for further struggle by believing that fascism was not as terrible as it had been painted by the Communists. In the United States, however, at this moment, the main danger is that the masses of the workers will not understand the grave peril involved in the present strong fascist trends, and thereby will be hindered from taking sufficiently united and vigorous steps to combat them.

FASCIST ELEMENTS IN THE REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE

The mass of reactionary legislation passed recently in the United States by Congress and by the various state legislatures, under both the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, is not merely reactionary in the traditional sense. There is also a new and sinister element in it, of a definitely fascist character. Among the major examples of this are: the Smith Act, under which a hundred and forty Communists, here, in Hawaii, and in Puerto Rico, have been arrested, framed-up, and jailed upon the lying pretext that they have taught the violent overthrow of the United States Government; the Taft-Hartley Act, which puts the trade unions under unprecedented controls, limits the right of the workers to strike, restores the use of the court injunction in labor disputes, and forces all labor officials to take oaths that they are not Communists; the McCarran Acts, which, together with grave attacks upon the rights of foreign-born workers, require the Communist Party and other progres-

sive organizations to register with the government as foreign agents, and which have set up a whole number of concentration camps for use in an "emergency"; and now there is the Communist Control Act which, besides formally outlawing the Communist Party, gives the ultra-reactionary Subversive Activities Control Board the arbitrary power to outlaw or to license such trade unions as it sees fit to condemn or to endorse.

All this anti-Communist, anti-trade-union legislation stinks of fascism. So also does the whole mess of other ultra-reactionary laws and policies, adopted upon a national, state, and city scale, including the numerous loyalty tests in the government civilian services, in the armed forces, in the school system, in the industries, in the cultural field, etc. Capitalist justice has especially been further distorted by the growth of the monstrous informer system in the courts. On top of all this, the country is being plagued and be-devilled nationally and locally by endless thought-control committees and investigators—led by Velde, Jenner, and the vast number of smaller-fry reactionaries in the various states and cities. This system reaches its worst expression in the monstrous activities of Senator McCarthy, the grand chief inquisitor. Never were the American people even remotely so ideologically brow-beaten and terrorized as they are by this all-pervasive, fascist-inspired campaign of intimidation.

The first aim of the most extreme

reactionaries is to cripple or destroy the Communist Party, a goal which is always the prime purpose of fascists. This is because they know that our Party, although small, speaks with a strong and clear voice; that it is, in fact, the vanguard of the proletariat. In their increasingly critical economic and political situation at home and abroad, the ruling circles are afraid of its potential mass leadership. Such an anti-Communist attack is always an indispensable part of every fascist offensive. The assault upon the Party, as we know so well, has resulted not only in the arrest of over a hundred of our best leaders and the formal outlawing of the Party, but also in denying to individual Communists many of the most elementary Constitutional rights, including those of free speech and assembly, of fair jury trials, of working in industry and in government posts, of serving in the armed forces, of acting as trade-union officials, of teaching in schools, of immunity from being forced to testify against themselves, of the right to travel, etc., etc.

The drive of reaction, with its strong fascist content, is especially being directed against organized labor. For the trade unions, with their 16,000,000 members, are always a great potential menace to monopoly capital and its plans of war and intensified exploitation. The attacks upon the Communist Party and upon popular liberties generally in the draconian anti-Communist laws are, of course, at the same time at-

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attacks upon the trade unions, but there are also direct assaults upon the latter. The general purposes of the Taft-Hartley Act and of the Butler bill provisions in the Communist Control Act (not to mention the innumerable dangerous anti-trade-union laws in the various states and cities) are to bring organized labor more and more under the control of the monopolist dominated government, to permit government bureaucratic intervention increasingly in the internal life of the unions, to hedge the workers about with crippling restrictions of their right to strike, and generally to intimidate the unions and to undermine their fighting initiative and power.

That this fascist-reeking legislation is a serious threat to the unions, even the most conservative and complacent labor bureaucrats have had to acknowledge. The direct attack upon the unions has not (at least, not yet) assumed the violent, head-on character that it does with regard to the Communist Party, with an obvious determination to break up the unions, in the Hitler manner. This is partly because of the capitalists' fear of arousing the working class to action and especially because of the necessity for Big Business, in its basic need of the support of the labor bureaucracy for its aggressive foreign policy, to restrain somewhat, at least temporarily, its violent anti-union tendencies. Monopoly capital needs the misleaders of labor to poison the workers in this country with imperialist propaganda; it needs them as

its ambassadors abroad to confuse and cripple the workers' resistance to the aggressive plans of American imperialism.

The Negro people, always a major target in every offensive of reaction, are also not being overlooked this time. The developing fascist trends are especially dangerous to them. As the Communist Party *Program* points out, "The growing menace of McCarthyism confronts the Negro people with a new and grave danger. The drive towards fascism and war threatens to block further progress towards economic, political, and social equality and imperils the very existence of the limited gains thus far attained." This danger is concretized in the present gross discrimination against Negroes in the widespread layoffs taking place in industry, in the recurring hooligan-organized clashes over the housing of Negro families, in the widespread police brutality against Negroes, and especially the reactionary resistance now being arrogantly exhibited in the South by the Ku Klux Klan, and its brother organization, the so-called National Association for the Advancement of White People, against the application of the Supreme Court's recent decision condemning racial segregation in the schools. Also the working farmers whose price-support system, which was won after long and hard struggle, is now being undermined; and the foreign-born are being brutally stripped of American citizenship rights and deported as never before.

Another special target of the reactionaries, particularly of the fascist-minded congressional and state investigating committees, are the liberal intellectuals, especially those who in any way have ventured to criticize the war policies of American imperialism. This anti-intellectual drive is taking place among the Hollywood people, among the scientists, in the schools, on the radio and television, in the press, in art and literature, in the pulpit, etc. The pro-fascists are trying to stultify and silence the whole body of intellectuals who dare in any shape or form to speak up in favor of peace and democracy, and in so doing they have developed a reign of terrorism without parallel in American history.

A further distinctly fascist element in all these reactionary developments is that they are being inflicted upon the American people to the accompaniment of a wild campaign of intense warmongering and anti-Communist hysteria. Hitler and Mussolini never made a more intense Soviet-hating, Red-baiting drive than that presently going on in the United States. These fascist dictators, in their day, declared that they were acting to save their countries from being engulfed by the Communists within their nations. The American reactionaries can hardly say this plausibly, but they accomplish the same end by pouring out lies to the effect that the Communist-led nations are about to overrun the world in a great military offensive.

In addition to all the above, two

more pro-fascist developments of deep significance are, a) the loading up of the Eisenhower Government executive with direct representatives of Wall Street big capital, who come from the very source of the fascist infection in the United States, and b) the increased role of the military big brass in shaping government policies. The Pentagon, whose thinking is dominated by such ultra-reactionary elements as MacArthur, Ridgway, Radford, Clark, etc., represents one of the most dangerous aspects of the fascist menace in this country.

IS THERE FASCISM NOW IN THE UNITED STATES?

These ultra-reactionary and fascist developments emanate from Wall Street, and they are part and parcel of the drive of American monopoly capital for fascism and war, with maximum profits garnered along the way. Their basic aim is to so demobilize the working class and the broad masses ideologically and organizationally as to render them powerless to resist successfully the world conquest war drive of American Big Business. The fundamental similarity of all this pro-fascist offensive to Hitlerism is obvious.

In pointing out this fascist danger, the *Program* of the Communist Party thus correctly analyzes the objectives of McCarthyism, the most virulent expression of American fascism:

McCarthyism aims to impose fascism

on this country, to take it over through a program of unbridled intimidation and demagoguery. . . . It is trying to browbeat into submission every independent point of view, every thinking person. It burns books and destroys art and culture. It aims to smash the labor movement, to further enslave the Negro people, to stir up racism and anti-Semitism, to gag and brutalize the young generation, to wipe out all vestiges of liberty. McCarthyism seeks to turn America into a land of yes-men and informers, a land where patriotism is replaced with jingoism, independent thought with conformity, courage with servility.

That these ultra-reactionary developments constitute the gravest peril to American democracy; that they are a growing process of fascization, is unmistakable. The progress of this process to date, over a several years' period, clearly poses the question as to whether or not this fascization has advanced to a point where it can and must be said that our present political situation constitutes fascism in its early stages.

In answering this question, let us first of all recall the basic definition of what fascism is, made by the 7th Congress of the Communist International in 1935. Dimitroff then declared "fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital". Clearly, we do not yet have in the United States a situation conforming to this basic Marxist-Leninist definition of fascism. The group most representative of "the most re-

actionary, the most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital" is typified in Congress by such as Senators Knowland, McCarthy, Humphrey, Mundt, Jenner, and Governors Byrnes and Talmadge and many others. They are very powerful, but they are not (yet) in decisive control of the government.

The American big bourgeoisie, including monopoly capital, is definitely oriented towards another world war as the means to establish their hoped-for world domination. This war orientation is the chief breeder of fascism in this country, and the monopolists have generally supported the major steps taken so far towards fascism; but not all of the capitalists are ready to draw from the war orientation the full implications of fascism, as expressed by McCarthyism. Their current internal economic and political quarrels, especially the election struggle and the mess over McCarthy, are proof of this lack of unity of monopoly capital for a final drive for an all-out fascist system. Let us remember in this connection that the demagogue President Truman, who spoke for a large section of monopoly capital, vetoed the Taft-Hartley and McCarran laws—though he never distinguished himself fighting against them.

The Eisenhower Administration is not a fascist government as such, but its general orientation is in a fascist direction. This is what the Party *Program* means when it says: "The present Republican Administration,

despite certain disagreements with McCarthy, is itself embracing McCarthyism." This trend is taking place not only in domestic but also in foreign policy. *Weg und Ziel* (Vienna, October, 1953) remarks: "In its war policies American imperialism depends ever more clearly upon the fascist powers in this world; on Adenauer and Syngman Rhee, on Franco and Chiang Kai-shek."

Undoubtedly the reactionaries and the more conscious fascists have been able to undermine seriously popular democratic liberties in this country, which were supposedly guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, and they have also weakened the general position of the labor movement. But this attack has not reached the stage of actual fascism, early phases or otherwise. Bourgeois democracy has been badly damaged, but not basically abolished. The workers and other democratic strata still possess the elementary rights to organize, to strike, to vote, and to discuss the various issues confronting the country.

At this point we have to distinguish between fascist trends and an actual fascist regime. That there is a strong fascist trend in the United States is incontestable. But, for the reasons already stated, this trend has not reached the stage of becoming what may be properly designated as a fascist political regime. Whether or not the current powerful fascist tendencies will culminate in actual fascism only the future can answer. This will depend fundamentally

upon whether or not, in the interim, the working class and its anti-fascist allies can mobilize their forces and defeat the forces of fascism.

In characterizing the political situation in the United States in connection with the passage recently of the vicious Communist Control Act, the Communist Party statement of August 27, in line with the Party Program, called the new law "fascist in character", and "a long step toward a police state." This is correct, but it does not amount to stating that the United States is already in the early stages of fascism.

In an article in the *World Trade-Union Movement* (June 20, 1951) the editor, S. Rostovsky, discussing whether or not there was fascism in the United States, summed up his general conclusion as follows: "In actual fact, what is happening in the U.S.A. is that there is a fairly rapid drive towards fascism which, if not halted, can lead to open fascist dictatorship, with all its consequences. This conclusion was correct at that time and it still remains essentially so, despite the sharp stepping up of the tempo of fascist development which has since taken place, including the offensive of McCarthyism and the passage of the sinister Communist Control Act.

The *New Times* of September 4, 1954, states that "the 83rd Congress just dissolved, passed a number of terroristic, ultra-reactionary measures meant to suppress the labor movement." And, "the Smith, Taft Hartley and the McCarran Acts rep-

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represent an integral legislation, a police-state code that supersedes the Bill of Rights and the Constitution." *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, of August 20, 1954, speaks of an "orgy of fascist reaction in the United States." It characterizes the situation as "an intensification of fascist reaction", and it states that, "It is directly connected with the preparations of the U.S. imperialists for a new world war." Although sharply warning of the increased fascist danger in the United States, these writers do not state that a definite fascist regime already exists here.

Writing in *Kommunist*, Moscow (May, 1954), theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, V. Zorin declares that McCarthyism is "an American variety of fascism," that the McCarthyites are "direct tools of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of American finance capital," that they are "following in the footsteps of the Hitlerites", and that "reaction is pushing McCarthyism to the forefront, hoping by means of fascist terror to intimidate the masses." All of which amounts to, not the existence of actual fascism in the United States, but the presence of a serious and rapidly growing fascist danger.

These analyses confirm the validity of the Communist Party *Program*, both in its analysis and its indicated line of anti-fascist struggle. The *Program* points out that, "The danger of McCarthyism, of American fas-

cism, is real, grave, and growing"; that it aims at "the gradual whittling away of our basic democratic liberties", and that it proposes to take over our country "through a program of unbridled intimidation and demagoguery." The passage of the fascist Communist Control Act is in line with this whole reactionary trend, as signalized. In our concluding section, we shall show that the main political tactics outlined in the *Program*, far from being outdated, are now more urgent than before.

IS THE FASCIST DANGER GROWING?

The vital question as to whether or not the danger of fascism in the United States is on the increase must be answered in the affirmative. There must be no illusions that the current setback to McCarthy means that the fascist danger is diminishing. The increase in the fascist danger is manifest from the many pro-fascist developments in the post-war period as indicated above. The general perspective, unless altered by vigorous counter-action of the workers, is for a further increase in the fascist danger. Although the monopolists still have many resources and much maneuvering ground, they are finding it ever more difficult to maintain their rule, their maximum profits, and their aggressive foreign policies under traditional forms of bourgeois democracy. With the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the weakening of the general position of American imperialism, and these are

the sure prospects from now on, decisive sections of United States monopoly capital will tend more and more to adopt the methods and perspectives of fascism. It would be grave folly to expect any different course than this from American monopoly capital.

In estimating the growing fascist danger in the United States, our Party must keep clearly in mind Dimitroff's warning at the Seventh Comintern Congress that, "The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume different forms in different countries, according to historical, social, and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country." Concretely, with regard to fascism in the United States, Dimitroff stated that, "In contra-distinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and American democracy." This makes the approach of fascism in the United States all the more cunning and dangerous.

Dimitroff's Marxist analysis has been entirely justified by the development since of fascist trends in the United States. Here, as yet, there is much less of the denunciation of democracy as such and worship of the leader principle, glorification of war, open and blatant propagation of fanatical anti-Semitism and "Aryan" superiority, such as characterized the Hitler movement from its

earliest stages, although these trends are definitely present and on the rise. American extreme reaction, up to this point at least, is, in the main, trying to entrench itself in power under the most elaborate demagoguery of peace, democracy, and tongue-in-cheek concern for the welfare of the common man. This is a basic reason why many reactionaries, who agree with McCarthy in principle, nevertheless discountenance his methods—as these tend to expose before the masses the true fascist nature of monopoly capital's reactionary program and thus to arouse a broad opposition against it among the masses.

In estimating the elements against the development of McCarthyism and of fascism in general in the United States the great significance of the pressure of the democratic forces of the outside world must not be lost sight of. The United States in its desperate (and unavailing) efforts to build an all-capitalist wall front against the USSR, People's China, and the European People's Democracies, finds it necessary to maintain some pretenses of being a democratic country. Especially it has to strive not to expose itself before these world democratic forces. Already, the world's workers and other democratic elements are more than suspicious of the "democratic" make-up of the United States. This same consideration was of decisive importance in bringing about the recent Supreme Court decision against Negro segregation in the schools and also in certain other political conc-

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sions of late to the Negro people.

Fear of the hostility of the democratic forces abroad thus acts very considerably as a brake upon the monopolist cultivation of outspoken fascism in the United States. It is this situation that has much to do with capitalist opposition to the crude and revealing tactics of McCarthy, including the rebuke of him by the Watkins Committee, and also with Eisenhower's reluctance to accept officially the ferocious prison sentences for Communist Party membership proposed by the erstwhile New Deal Democrat, Senator Humphrey. The pressure of this powerful international democratic sentiment is a force of major significance in the fight against fascism in the United States, and we must not overlook it.

One of the specific characteristics of the fascist trend in the United States is that, unlike the movements of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and other European fascists, it does not organize itself in a separate and distinct political party (although there are some tendencies in this direction, notably that being featured by Colonel McCormick's *Chicago Tribune*.) So far, big capital has been able to use successfully the two major parties as its instruments of ultra-reactionary policy. Traditionally the main party of monopoly capital is the Republican Party, but it also has a solid control of the Democratic Party and readily makes use of that party, as witness the reactionary Truman policies. It is a significant fact

that up to this time all the reactionary legislation, particularly that herein signalized as essentially fascist in character, as well as the carrying out of Wall Street's ultra-aggressive foreign policy, has been done primarily upon a bi-partisan basis. The strongest concentration of fascist elements is presently in the Republican Party, but the Democratic Party, despite its far greater measure of working-class support, is also heavy with fascist influences. Such men as Senators McCarran and Byrd, and Governors Byrnes and Talmadge, and other Southern Dixiecrats made this fact known long ago, and it was dramatized afresh recently by the sinister fact that it was Democratic leaders in Congress, headed by Senator Humphrey, who literally dynamited through Congress the notorious Communist Control Act, the most definitely fascist piece of legislation ever enacted by Congress.

The growth of McCarthyism during the past few years is one of the many signs of the sharpening trends towards fascism in the United States. It marks the passage of certain reactionary monopolist elements to the adoption of open fascist methods, such as were generally characteristic of European fascism. Our Party Program is fundamentally correct to single out McCarthyism for special attack, and also, while doing this, not to neglect those broad reactionary currents which are the feeding forces for McCarthyism and every other aspect of fascism in the United States.

FASCISM IS NOT INEVITABLE

That there is a grave and rising danger of fascism in the United States is clear; but this by no means signifies that fascism is inevitable in this country. Fascism has never come to an industrial nation until first the working class has been decisively defeated or betrayed. There is no record of fascism being introduced in a country without the workers making a fight against it as best they could. And if, upon various occasions, the workers and their allies have been defeated in this anti-fascist struggle, it has always been basically due to Social-Democratic treachery, both at home and abroad.

If Mussolini was able to lead fascism to power in Italy, this was primarily because of the Social-Democratic betrayal, which enabled the capitalists to defeat the great revolutionary general strike of 1920 of the metal workers in that country. Hitler also came to control the government in Germany in March 1933 as a result of a long series of defeats suffered by the working class, caused by the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders. The same was true of the rise of Austrian fascism, led by Dollfuss in 1934. And the Spanish fascists, headed by Franco, could come to power only after a bitter three years' civil war which was crassly betrayed by the Social-Democrats, especially on the international scale. The same story of Social-Democratic treason and working-

class defeat attended the pre-war introduction of fascism in various other countries.

It was not foreordained, of course, that the workers had to lose in all these struggles. With Marxist leadership, they and their allies could readily have abolished capitalism and established Socialism in Italy, Germany, and Austria, and with proper support from the socialist-controlled labor movements of the capitalist world, the Spanish war also could have been won. Thus, in France, the fascists, in 1936, made a desperate grab for power, but were decisively beaten, primarily because of the fact that the Communist Party was strong enough to give militant and decisive leadership to the people's front of the aroused anti-fascist masses. And let it not be forgotten that it was also basically the workers and their allies, all over the world, who militarily smashed fascism in World War II and saved humanity from the worst slavery it had ever known.

From the foregoing historical experience the conclusion must not be drawn, however, that the working class and its allies automatically and inevitably respond and defeat the fascist danger. It is not written in the books that the present trend in the United States, to sneak the people into fascism under hypocritical slogans of peace, prosperity, and democracy, may not succeed. On the contrary, the masses will eventually triumph over fascism in this country only on the basis of clear-sighted and

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resolute mass struggle. By the same token, the strong democratic traditions in the United States are, of themselves, not an infallible barrier to fascism in this country. These traditions, of course, are a vital force, but they must be supported by powerful action by the working class and other democratic strata. The workers must be aroused to the dread terrorism, destitution and destruction involved in the question of fascism in this country.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in 1935, in theorizing and cultivating the People's Front policy, pointed out the type of people's coalition needed to defeat fascism. These, in terms of the United States, are the working class, the indispensable leader of the movement, the working farmers, the Negro people, the intelligentsia, and large sections of the lesser business elements. These forces constitute an overwhelming majority of the American people and properly educated, organized, and led, they possess the potential power to defeat monopoly capital and its forces upon any and all the fields of the class struggle. The creation of this broad People's Front movement, however, is no simple, straight road; it is a question involving complex strategy and tactics, of successive stages in the struggle, as we shall see further along in commenting upon the Communist Party *Program*.

At the present time there are undeniably deep currents of discontent surging in the ranks of the Amer-

ican working class and other democratic strata. These masses are deeply disturbed at the worsening economic situation; they are aroused at the menacing growth of McCarthyite fascism, and like the peoples in all other countries, they are alarmed at the war danger threatening the world. These are the moods out of which grows successful struggle against the fascists, profiteers, and warmongers, and they are bound to increase in scope and intensity. The same basic forces that are bringing about the growth of fascism—the deepening economic crisis, the frantic drive of monopoly capital for maximum profits, and the continuing war danger—also cause the growth of the elementary People's Front movement to combat these threats to the people's freedom and general welfare.

Throughout the world, in answer to the drive of American imperialism towards fascism, war, world domination, and intensified exploitation of the peoples, there is a swiftly developing mass movement for peace and democracy. This has especially been stimulated by this country's obvious intent to use, if it can, the A- and H-bombs. The American people, although with a somewhat less intensity and at a slower tempo, are playing an important part in this worldwide struggle against the ultra-reactionary program of Wall Street. Already this movement has, in its fight for a policy of peaceful co-existence between the countries of capitalism and of Socialism, dealt sev-

eral smashing defeats to American foreign policy—in the Korean and Indo-China truce, in the collapse of E.D.C.—and it has just about rendered that world policy bankrupt. The prospect is for a continued rise of this democratic wave, with further and eventually decisive defeats for American imperialism. An enormous role in this world democratic awakening is, of course, played by the U.S.S.R., by People's China, and the Peoples' Democracies of Europe and Asia.

A further characteristic of the present world situation is that considerable sections of the world bourgeoisie, with their own fish to fry, are increasingly reluctant, and often hostile, to the world conquest program of Wall Street, which is being carried out under the Hitlerite slogans of the anti-Communist crusade. Such oppositionist capitalist elements are to be found in Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Germany, and elsewhere. They are to be found, too, in the United States, and their number is bound to increase with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the worsening of the imperialist position of the United States. Communists must know how to utilize all these divisions, contradictions, and splits in the ranks of the bourgeoisie; but while doing this, it would be folly to rely upon any section of United States monopoly capital to fight against fascism. That is the historic task of the democratic forces going to make up the People's Front, and, properly organ-

ized and led, these are thoroughly capable of doing the job effectively in all the capitalist countries. In no sense of the word is fascism inevitable.

THE MASS ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

In the United States the mass struggles against the developing economic crisis, against fascism, and against war, although all parts of the general struggle against the whole program of American monopolist reaction, are not carried on by the working class and its allies with equal understanding, intensity, and militancy, nor as an integrated whole, but in accordance with the varying degrees of pressure that they feel in the respective spheres. It is, therefore, one of the basic phases of our Party's task not only to participate in all these mass struggles, but also to help make the workers understand their fundamental inter-connection.

The American workers, at present, are making their best fight on the bread-and-butter questions of the worsening economic situation. This is natural, for here the pinch is the sharpest and the most obvious. Many recent strikes illustrate the high state of militancy among the workers, and their willingness to fight. They are also deeply stirred by the growing army of unemployed—at least five million are now without jobs and many more on part time, and the prospect is for a much worse situ-

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ation this coming winter. On these economic questions the workers' pressure has been so strong that even the self-complacent bureaucrats at the head of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have been forced to show some signs of life and to develop some semblance of anti-depression programs. This economic fight is the doorway to more advanced political struggles. It has to be broadened and politicalized, to include every form of the growing fascist menace.

On the question of McCarthyism, the workers have also shown much political understanding and militancy. In consequence, the A. F. of L., C. I. O. and many other labor organizations, as well as various groupings of the Negro people, the farmers, etc., have gone on record against such pro-fascist legislation as the Taft-Hartley, Smith, McCarran, and Communist Control Acts. The labor movement has also dealt some real blows in behalf of equal rights for the Negro people. But there is also much confusion in this sphere of struggle. The greatest mass weakness is that, in general, organized labor does not clearly grasp the elementary fact that the wild Red-baiting and fiercely repressive laws now being directed against the Communist Party are in reality levelled also against the whole labor and progressive movement. Thus there was the tragic spectacle of the United Steel Workers (CIO) at their recent national convention, on the one hand condemning McCarthyism and the whole spate of fascist legislation, and

on the other hand, going beyond the proposals of even the most extreme fascists by denying Communists the right of union membership and thereby of employment in the steel industry.

On the question of the fight for peace—the workers and other democratic masses in the United States also share the hatred of war common to peoples all over the world. Unfortunately, however, the top leadership of most of their organizations are committed to the aggressive foreign policies of American imperialism, and constantly busy themselves with peddling the war program of Wall Street in the shape of hypocritical peace slogans, among their masses. Thus, the "peace" program adopted by the recent A. F. of L. convention might well have been written by Senator McCarthy. In consequence, in the peace issues, the working masses have been largely leaderless, save for what direction they get from the Communist Party, from the progressive and independent unions, and from a few other sources. Nevertheless, the workers and other anti-war forces have been able to develop much resistance to aggressive American imperialism and even to win some important victories against it. Among these successes may be noted the long and powerful mass opposition to universal military training, the popular outburst against the proposed A-bombing of Chinese cities, the resolute hostility to participation in the Korean and Indo-China wars, and

the active support given to the world demand of the peoples for armistice in these wars, despite Wall Street's obvious determination to keep them going.

These great, largely spontaneous American mass peace movements are, of course, highly vital, and must be cultivated by every means at our disposal. But, like the fight against fascism in general, spontaneity is not enough. The great mass organizations of the workers, the Negro people, and other democratic strata, must be won for a united struggle. This is absolutely indispensable. The current fascist threat also enormously stresses the importance of the role of the Communist Party and the imperative need for it to stand its ground in the face of every attempt of the Government to cripple or destroy it.

In the fight against fascism and war, the basic danger and obstacle confronting the workers and the masses in general are the opportunist reformist leaders now standing at the head of the A. F. of L., C. I. O., Railroad Brotherhoods, Coal Miners and the reactionary independent unions, as well as of various other people's organizations. For the most part, brazen advocates of capitalism, they constantly poison the minds of the workers with imperialist slogans. They are road-blocks against every step forward by the working class and its allies. Many of them, undoubtedly, if their monopolist masters demanded it of them, would march right into fascism and war,

and also try to drag or coerce the labor movement to follow them. They would do this on an even broader scale than was done upon the approach of fascism, by the Right Social-Democrats in Italy, Germany, Poland, and elsewhere. Their betrayal is doubly dangerous in this period of rising fascism in the United States.

It would nevertheless be a grave mistake to conclude from all this that these reactionary bureaucrats have a death grip upon the labor and progressive movements and that nothing can be done about it. On the contrary, in the post-World War II period, a pronounced feature of the situation in many capitalist countries has been, under the pressure of the Communist Party and the awakening masses, that the great organizations of labor can be spurred into action and sections of the trade-union bureaucracy forced to take some kind of a progressive position. This differentiation in the ranks of the union leadership will grow with the increase of the fascist menace. But it will not come without struggle. In our own country, a striking example of such a progressive movement was that which gave birth to the C.I.O. twenty years ago. Already, with occasional labor leaders speaking up on various issues, signs are beginning to multiply that such developments will take shape in the serious struggles lying immediately ahead of the American labor and progressive movements.

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ANTI-FASCIST, PRO-PEACE POLITICAL ACTION

The passage of the Communist Control Act signifies a serious sharpening of the fascist danger in this country. From this increased menace, the Communist Party and the whole labor movement must draw not only the necessary analytical, but also tactical conclusions. This means that in order to fight the warmongers and the fascists every people's organization must be stirred into action and the fight conducted with redoubled energy upon every field of the class struggle. Especially these democratic-peace forces must also be united for a central political struggle, in a broad popular coalition, as our *Program* puts it, "based upon the joint and parallel action of the working class, the working farmers, the Negro people, and small and middle-sized business."

The imperative need for such a broad political movement confronts, however, the chronic difficulty that the broad working masses in this country have no independent political party of their own. It is clear that the working class and its political allies cannot begin to play a maximum political role until they have a great political organization of their own—a broad Labor-Farmer Party, eventually to form the basis of a people's front. It is a tragic weakness unparalleled in any other industrial country, that the toiling masses in the United States still remain tied to the political parties of the bour-

geoisie. This hamstrings all their political action. But the present anomalous situation will soon come to an end. The development of the growing economic and political crisis of American imperialism must result in such a sharpening nationally of the class antagonism between the workers and the capitalist class as to result in the former cutting the latter's leading strings and embarking upon a course of independent political action. A broad Labor-Farmer party is on the not distant political agenda in this country. The Communist Party must persistently explain and champion this cause.

The forces making for such a great party—of the working class, Negro people, working farmers and other democratic elements are, however, not yet matured, and the formation of this broad party is not yet the immediate issue. The overwhelming masses of these elements are still supporting the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties, especially the former, and it is within the sphere of the two major parties that they must be organized. This the *Program* of the Communist Party makes clear.

The *Program* states:

The key to both the crucial 1954 and 1956 elections lies in the ability of organized labor to come forward as a distinct political force even within the framework of the present two-party system. Labor must come forward with its own clear-cut progressive program for the nation, its own ties and allegiances with other independent elec-

toral forces, and its own highly organized and efficient election machinery. Its objective must be to help bring about a regrouping and realignment within the Democratic Party nationally and within the Republican Party in local areas.

In various places, the *Program* indicates, independent tickets may be required, to be formed through such organizations as the Progressive Party, American Labor Party, or united labor tickets.

The immediate objective in 1954, [continues the C. P. *Program*] must be to prevent the Eisenhower Administration and Congress from taking the country further down the road of McCarthyism. Defeating McCarthyism requires turning the present Administration out of political power, first by changing the composition of Congress in 1954, and then by electing a new Administration in 1956. This requires a new political majority so strong that it not only changes Administrations but imposes on a new Congress and a new Administration a new course in domestic and foreign affairs.

But the *Program* continues that, "The answer to our national plight is not a switchback to another Truman-type Administration. . . . What is needed is a new Administration which starts to build again where the New Deal left off." As the *Program* stresses, it is upon the basis of such political activities "that the perspective of subsequently electing a new type of government, a farmer-labor government, will begin to arise in our country."

It cannot be the purpose of this article to evaluate the application of this election tactic in the 1954 elections, because as this is being written, the election struggle is just getting well under way, and the article will be on the press when the election proper takes place. What is necessary, however, is to restress the correctness of the general election policy stated in the Program of the Communist Party, particularly as some have seemed to think that this policy has become invalid after the passage of the Communist Control Act. The reality is that this fascist law makes even more urgent the resolute application of the general election tactic laid down in the Program.

Communists work among the masses, and they work among them within the Democratic Party, not because it is a progressive party but because great masses of workers are there. The top leadership of the Democratic Party, despite the millions of workers who are following their general lead, have entered into a sort of competition with the heads of the Republican Party to suppress the McCarthy issue and also to determine which are the most virulent Communist and Soviet haters. Thus, we see Truman, Stevenson, Douglas, Harriman, *et al.*, trying to make as chief issues in the election campaign the contention that the Republican Administration, by its "soft" international policies, has lost world imperialist leadership for the United States Government (which they had built up) and that, by its alleged re-

ductions in armaments appropriations, it has sacrificed the national defense in the face of the "enemy". And thus, in Congress, there was the bizarre spectacle of Humphrey and other Democratic leaders dynamiting through Congress the Communist Control Law, with penalties so ferocious that even the Eisenhower Administration had to oppose them. Without this Democratic intervention, the Administration could not have passed its reactionary Butler Bill, which is a central feature of the Communist Control Act. All this, however, is not a signal for us to abandon to such reactionary leaders the workers following the Democratic Party, but, on the contrary, to fight for them all the harder along the line laid down in the Communist Party Program. Particularly because organized labor is following them, the reactionary Democrats must be exposed and fought.

Such a struggle within the Democratic Party, as our Party *Program* warns, will not transform that Party into a farmer-labor party. Labor must set its sights in the direction of a great party of its own. But the struggle can unite the masses of toilers now following the Democratic leadership, force divisions in that leadership, and prepare the workers for the next big step forward. This consideration makes necessary the strengthening of the American Labor Party and the Progressive Party.

The workers and other democratic forces in this country are now going

through a process of political awakening, under the increasing pressures of the worsening economic and political situation of American imperialism. Nor can the strong fascist trends now being cultivated by monopoly capital, disrupt and repress this growing movement of anti-fascist, anti-war resistance and of defense of the people's living standards. During the 1930's the workers of this country, especially in their historic drive to organize the basic, trustified industries, gave a decisive example of their high fighting qualities under heavy economic political pressures. Such pressures are now accumulating upon an ever greater scale and the response of the workers and their allies will eventually be even more sharp and far-reaching than it was during the years of the New Deal. But reliance upon mass spontaneity would be a disastrous mistake.

The vast workers' organizations must be won for this struggle. It is the supreme task of the Communist Party to give all its possible practical leadership to these stirring masses, despite every persecution by the Government. This means it will have to heighten its militancy and improve its methods. It must fight both the Right and "Left" dangers because both flourish in the present situation. The American labor movement is heading into a great forward stride, one that will bode ill for those reactionary forces which want to sink the United States into a deadly morass of fascism and war.

Journey into the Future

By Tim Buck

(EDITORIAL FOREWORD)

November 7 will mark the thirty-seventh year of the founding of the Soviet state. The celebration of this anniversary will not be confined to the 200 million citizens of the USSR. It is an event of vital concern to the peoples everywhere, including the American people, in this hour of life-and-death struggle to safeguard the peace of the world.

Never before have the annals of history recorded a phenomenon like the rise, in less than four decades, of this mighty power, built on new socio-economic foundations, whose world role is so decisive for the shaping of international relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

To mark this momentous occasion, we publish here two documents. First, there is the inspiring article by Comrade Tim Buck, National Leader of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada, recently returned from the Soviet Union, which presents in his characteristically fresh and vivid manner his observations of the country's mighty progress along the path of transition to Communism. Second, we print the full text of the recently effected accords between the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic. These accords hold tremendous meaning for the further consolidation of the world peace camp, and in this connection are a model in international relations based upon the principles of equality, regard for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for mutual benefit.

These historic documents, as well as the article by Comrade Buck, serve to shed the bright light of truth upon central aspects of Soviet life and policy. In doing this, they serve to refute imperialism's big lie concerning Soviet "aggression" abroad and "misery" at home. Refuting these slanders is vital to a grasp of present-day reality and to the struggle here in the United States against war and fascism.

Significant is the statement in the Joint Declaration that "the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China will continue to base their relations with the countries of Asia and the Pacific region, as well as with other states, on strict adherence to the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity . . . equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence, which opens up broad opportunities for the development of fruitful international cooperation."

Thus is the way pointed toward the effectuation of a drastic change in U.S. foreign policy in the direction of establishing U.S.—Soviet amity, to which all democratic and peace-loving Americans must dedicate themselves—*The Editor*.

DURING MAY AND JUNE of this year I enjoyed the great privilege of visiting the Soviet Union. I travelled quite extensively, visiting, in addition to Moscow, the cities and areas of Leningrad, Stalingrad, Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog on the Azov Sea, Kharkov, Kiev, and Lvov in the Western Ukraine.

I had visited the Soviet Union several times since the Great Russian Revolution, first when wooden plows were more common than iron ones and it was not uncommon to see farm implements pulled by men and women for lack of draught animals. I had seen the introduction of the First Five Year Plan of Great Works in 1929 and I saw the tremendous changes brought about by the first and second five year plans when I visited the Soviet Union in 1938.

Thus I was in a very favorable position to measure the economic developments there—both the miracle of reconstruction by which the desolation wreaked by the Nazi armies has been made good and the qualitative advance which marks the beginning of the gradual transition to Communism by the Soviet people.

OF WORLD IMPORTANCE

The development of socialist economy in the Soviet Union is a matter of crucial interest to all mankind. The future of the world is inseparable from the future of the 900 million people in its socialist half. The Soviet Union is the first exam-

ple of a working-class state building a socialist economy and it is already the classical example of the transformation of an economically backward country into a technically advanced country at a tempo of which there is no parallel in history. It is the proof that socialist society is free from the inherent contradictions that have brought capitalism to chronic crisis. It is proof that socialist society is the necessary next progressive stage for all mankind.

The attempts of the government and the capitalist news services in Canada to suppress the truth about Soviet economy are injuring the people of Canada rather than the people of the Soviet Union. Misrepresentation does not affect the decisive fact that the magnitude and the quality of the advance of Soviet economy leaves every example of large-scale economic development in the capitalist world far behind.

There has never been a development like it either in magnitude, all-sidedness, or speed, anywhere before.

In addition to deliberate misrepresentation by governments and capitalist news agencies there has been until recently a large amount of self-deception by wide circles of the bourgeoisie, including the self-styled practical business men. Insisting stupidly upon describing Soviet society as "an experiment", they have substituted the wish that it might fail for critical examination of its achievements. They have given fat rewards to dishonest journalists who describe the

Soviet Union as they would like it to be, and blackballed those who have tended to describe it as it is.

The extent to which this capitalist deception of the masses of the people can become self-deception was reflected in 1941, in the hopelessly wrong estimates of the military capacity of the Soviet people by military authorities in London and Washington. I am referring to the responsible military authorities and not only to the vaporings of such "experts" as Colonel George Drew. He advocated an end to what he called the "suicidal war" against Hitler and a war alliance with Hitler. . . . What this sort of "analysis" of Soviet society can lead to was illustrated vividly and conclusively by the shattering and decisive defeat of Hitler's Wehrmacht by the Soviet People and their Red Army and its capture of Berlin.

But, the evil consequences of such systematic misrepresentation are not limited to the sphere of military operations. Today its adverse economic consequences for Canada can be measured in hundreds of millions of dollars per year being carelessly brushed aside by the federal government precisely when the Canadian economy needs it badly. Its consequences through lack of adequate cultural and political intercourse cannot be measured in dollars. It is expressed in the contrast between the successful negotiation of a settlement at Geneva, of which Anthony Eden said "We have prevented a third

world war," and the efforts of John Foster Dulles to make of Geneva a step towards world war instead of settlement.

THE JOY OF LIFE

The most pervasive feature of the profound changes that are evident all over the Soviet Union is the universal sense of betterment expressed by the people. I was impressed by that and by their superb confidence everywhere that I went. It is evident in the enthusiasm and gaiety of their stupendous sports events, in the seemingly innumerable excursionists and vacationers that one meets in various parts of the country. It is evident in the strikingly beautiful new cities that they are building, their homes, the changes in their clothes, in the nightly crowds at the ballet, the opera, the drama, the comedy theatres, concerts and so on, everywhere one goes in the Soviet Union. Incidentally, the extensive cultured enjoyment of life which distinguishes the Soviet Union from capitalist countries is indicated by the fact that the Soviet theatre audiences have no less than 37,000 permanent theatres. Even relatively small towns have their permanent theatre. I was in one such in a city with only seven thousand population. "Of course," said the mayor, "it isn't only ours, it belongs also to every farmer who comes into Periyaslav." Movies are not less popular than in Canada but in the Soviet Union they are a sup-

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THE SOURCE OF CONFIDENCE

The confidence that is universal throughout the Soviet Union stems, quite evidently, from the unprecedented expansion of the economy that has characterized the post-war years. Gone are the days when shops were sold out of many products before the end of the shopping day. In 1950 I saw signs in numerous shops informing would-be purchasers that this or that article or type of product was sold out for that day. Then I saw people line up before the shops open to buy radios, television sets, electric sewing machines, shoes and so on. There is no scarcity of such products today. Shelves are well stocked with all manner of consumer goods from shoes and underwear to electric appliances and television sets. New shops are being opened continuously and even the seemingly unlimited buying is met by adequate supplies of new products. And, further, the quality, variety and colors, particularly noticeable in the clothes of the younger people, reflect clearly the fact that, in matters of apparel, people no longer buy with an eye to necessity alone.

There is one exception to that general rule, namely, automobiles, especially the smaller models, "Moskvich," and "Pobyeda." I learned that the total potential production of the auto factories is sold out months in

advance. The capacity to produce "Moskvich" and "Pobyeda" cars is being doubled, Czech automobile production is being expanded. Poland is now producing her own automobiles and very fine ones, but the prospect is for continued expansion of consumer demand as fast as production can be increased, for some considerable time.

The fact that a Soviet citizen desiring to buy an automobile must order it months in advance is one of the most evident signs of economic advance. The speed with which production will be expanded, entirely out of the inner resources of Soviet economy will demonstrate its productive capacity. The beautiful new cities that the Soviet people have raised on the ashes of the historic old cities destroyed by Hitler's vandals, are themselves inspiring evidence of tremendous productive capacity. They are even more impressive evidence of productive capacity when it is realized that all the great new machines and other technical innovations, which lighten the physical labor of construction while speeding it up, are the products of Soviet industry. The beautiful, quiet, swift, and rapidly expanding subway system which serves the people of Moscow is a particularly striking illustration of the capacity of Soviet industry to produce anything that can be produced by industry anywhere—and to place it at the service of the people.

CATCH UP WITH AND OVERTAKE

Stalin fought tirelessly for years to show every Soviet worker and farmer the necessity for speed in carrying through the successive plans of great works. He set before them the task to "catch up with and overtake the technically advanced capitalist countries." When Stalin first uttered that slogan, the so-called economic experts of the capitalist class in Canada and the United States ridiculed it. The total coal production of the Soviet Union at that time equalled less than a tenth of the coal produced in the United States and production of other industrial raw materials was in about the same proportion. The disparity between Soviet and United States' production of finished manufactured products was even greater. Many of the complicated machines and products then being produced by United States industry had not yet been produced in the Soviet Union and there was not yet the industrial development necessary to start their production; still less to design and build the machinery and equipment required to establish industries for their production. The shortsighted superficial "economists" no less than the uninformed journalistic hacks felt quite safe in assuring the capitalist class that Stalin's proposals were mere propaganda, that "backward Russia" could not hope to catch up with the advanced capitalist countries; certainly not for

several generations.

That was less than twenty-five years ago. Today, even the men who paid for that vicious nonsense are glad that it is forgotten. Stalin's call to "catch up with and overtake" does not seem at all extravagant now; on the contrary, it is on the order of the day. Soviet coal production which then equalled only ten per cent of coal production in the United States now equals U.S. production. Production of steel, which then equalled less than eight per cent of steel production in the United States, now equals considerably more than 50 per cent. Complex products and machines which then seemed far beyond the possibilities of Soviet industry for generations to come are now being produced, from giant electric generators to marvels of electronics, far beyond the capacity of any other country except the United States. In certain fields of very advanced coordination of the application of science and technique, as for example in the use of atomic energy in industry, to produce for peace, the Soviet Union has overtaken the U.S. and is now far out in front.

There is nothing accidental in the rapidity with which Socialist economy is expanding; it derives from its inherent superiority over the profit system. Furthermore, the rate at which it will gain upon capitalist economy will continue to increase. The confidence voiced by Stalin, affirmed repeatedly by Comrade Malenkov, Molotov and other lead-

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ers of the Soviet people, that socialist society would quickly demonstrate its superiority in peaceful competition, is based firmly upon this fact and the complex of social advantages that derive from it.

THE FIRST BORN OF COMMUNISM

A mighty example of the capacity of Soviet industry is to be seen in the completion of the historic Volga-Don waterway, establishing continuous navigation between five seas: the White Sea, the Baltic, the Caspian, the Azov and the Black Sea, and dozens of industrial centers. The full significance of the completion of the great Volga-Don waterway and power and irrigation developments is not understood in Canada and other capitalist countries but sooner or later its importance will seep through the U.S. dollar curtain.

Already the more responsible capitalist journals are printing grudging admissions of its tremendous importance to the economy of the Soviet Union. To continue to deny such an obvious fact now would only discredit them. But it shows something of even greater importance. It illustrates the remarkably high technical level of Soviet industry. It is a fact of historic significance that, while building hundreds of cities, resetting seventy million people, replacing destroyed machines and equipment for agriculture and raw material production, rebuilding indus-

tries, railways, bridges and power plants on a scale that had never been known before, they were able to carry through this greatest single construction job ever undertaken.

Sailing down that great waterway I realized immediately its tremendous importance to the economic life of the Soviet people. The endless stream of freight, coal from the Donbas and Donetz coal mines, iron ore from Krivorog, tankers freight-ing oil from Batum, logs, pit props and sawn lumber from Karelia, finished manufactured products from north and south, provide concrete evidence that the freight it carries would, otherwise, require an additional double-tracked railway. But, impressive as that was, its full meaning became clear to me only as I became seized with the magnitude and far-reaching character of the complex of related developments which, combined, constitute the great Volga-Don navigation-power-irrigation and industry system. That achievement as a whole is a concrete example of what Engels visualized when he wrote, in describing the historical leap from capitalism to socialism: "The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which hitherto have ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization."

The Volga-Don waterway system

includes a dozen canals and each one of them is an essential part of the system as a whole. Similarly, each of the great hydro-electrical power plants is an essential feature of the system as a whole because of the relationship of the power supply to industry and navigation. But the feature of the system that can correctly be described as its "key link," is the great canal which connects the Volga with the Don. Linking together those two great inland navigation systems, that canal makes water transport available all the way from the central Ukraine to the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea and up to Moscow and Leningrad.

The canal is eighty miles long. The works connected with it, which have raised the water level in a vast area of the Don Valley forty to fifty feet above its previous level (thereby accomplishing a miracle in the soil and the climate) stretch for more than a hundred miles further down the river to the great dam at Tsimlyanska. South of that dam the Don flows quietly to the sea. But, today, it flows at a constant level instead of in turbulent flood for a few weeks and a diminishing flow through the rest of the year.

In the course of its eighty miles from the Volga river to the Don, the locks of that great canal lift the vessels passing through it two hundred and eighty feet up to the level of the prairie which spreads smoothly between the two rivers. The locks alone are a revelation because of

their complete push-button control and the speed with which they fill to raise a vessel twenty-two feet, or empty to lower it depending upon which way it is going. In addition I was struck by the beauty of the design and construction everywhere. I remarked about that to the engineer in charge. His answer was similar to the answer I had received from workers on the Moscow subway. "You know," he said with just a suggestion of a smile, "this canal is going to be here for a long time. Millions of people will pass through it and, eventually, upwards of a million will live along its banks. Don't you think it is good that it should be beautiful as well as useful?"

After lifting shipping up from the Volga two hundred and eighty feet the canal, at its western end, lowers it again over a distance of a hundred and thirty miles, almost a hundred and forty feet to the level of the Don. As part of this process two great reservoirs are maintained on the plateau. One of the reservoirs is fifteen miles long and seven wide, the other somewhat smaller. I asked the engineer, whom I had already questioned so much that he was now addressing me as comrade, why it was necessary to lift the shipping so high. "Wouldn't it have been more economical in the long run," I asked "to have cut the canal deeper, and avoid the tremendous permanent cost of maintaining deep water here on the plateau?" He invited me to a small cabin up forward so

could illustrate his answer with maps. "You see, comrade," he said with a note of pride in his voice, "it depends upon what you think is most economical. We were concerned not only to save money, that is our own efforts, but to improve our country. To have cut the canal through here deep below the ground level would have drawn away the sub-soil moisture which already was deficient. Our aim was to increase the supply of moisture in the sub-soil not to diminish it." Then, carefully tracing their courses with a pencil, he showed me the streams which, previously rushing down to the Volga or the Don, will feed the new reservoirs. This plateau, which previously was good only for grazing at a limited period during the year, is now green for miles on both sides of the canal. Eventually it will be self-watered and fertile throughout its length and breadth. The change is reflected already in the spirited exchanges of conversation at the numerous canal ports (villages) at which the excursion steamers stop. Cossacks are diversifying their agriculture on a scale which will make Sholokov's masterpiece *Virgin Soil Upturned* the story of a previous age.

The western entrance to the Stalin Canal proper is near the town of Kalach. The entrances to the canal at both eastern and western ends are marked by strikingly beautiful statues of Stalin, the inspirer and master architect of the entire vast project.

Sailing, in my case it was steaming—no, it was diesel-power—southward, one enters the Tsimlyanska Sea right after leaving Kalach.

The Tsimlyanska Sea is fresh water. In Canadian terms it is a great lake. But it is a special sort of great lake because it has been created entirely by modern engineering. In size and shape it is comparable with Lake Eric. Five years ago, the land that it covers was a depression in the vast dust bowl of south Russia. A dam thirteen miles long across the depression, and control of the natural flow of water has transformed a dust bowl into a great lake; more than a hundred miles long, from 12 to 25 miles wide, in some places fifty feet deep. The water level of Tsimlyanska is approximately forty feet higher than was the previous level of the Don. As a result irrigation is natural. A Cossack farmer assured me "Our climate is *different* now." Where irrigation ditches are necessary, the water flows them by gravity and re-enters the Don below the Tsimlyanska dam. The hydro-electrical power plant at the dam makes what is almost the final use of the now controlled flow of the Don. The power generated there supplies new industries making the transformation of what used to be a thinly populated drought-stricken area complete. In addition to all that, nature has asserted itself and the Tsimlyanska provides wonderful fishing. I was amazed to see four and five-pound beauties (one nearly

3 kilos) pulled out of where only gophers lived five years ago.

PROUD PEOPLE

Soviet people are proud of their achievements—and well they can be. The striking and very important thing about their pride though, is the way in which it expresses supreme confidence in Socialism and in the cause of Peace. In every case where I conferred with workers—in plants, on big construction jobs, on trains and river steamer—I was impressed strongly by his or her conscious pride in reminding me that "it is ours" and by the fact that virtually every one of them frankly based his hope of enjoying the full fruits of socialist abundance upon the possibility of avoiding a third world war.

Those characteristics are of particular importance because they are part of the evidence that the new type of person, the product of socialist society, is already a big factor in the Soviet Union. I am referring not simply to the change from technical backwardness to familiarity with the most advanced technique, although that is an important feature of the deeper change. Obviously a farmer who uses a tractor and a combine, artificial fertilizer and seed vernalization, is very different from the typical peasant in tsarist Russia. Similarly with workers in industry, etc. But, the fundamental change in the Soviet people is more profound and

dynamic than familiarity with technique. It is from being helpless victims of their environment and history to conscious makers both of their environment and history. The transformation of people from passive victims of history to conscious molders of history, from victims of capitalism to builders of communism, is a complex social process but it has to be organized in part by man himself; it does not come into operation full fledged and spontaneously.

How do people acquire the new characteristics? They acquire them in the course of their daily lives in socialist society in which collective effort for collective advantage replaces the jungle law of capitalism—the ruthless search for personal profit at the expense of others. The relation of the individual to the group in capitalist society, in Canada today for example, is dominated by the all-pervasive struggle for personal profit at the expense of the group. In socialist economy the relation of the individual to the group is dominated by the fact that he benefits only as a part of the group. He benefits himself in the process of effort to achieve collective benefit.

Obviously men and women who have risen above the ambition to secure personal profit at the expense of their fellows represent a higher social organization. Their personal ambitions and the methods by which they seek to achieve them, reflect already the fact that there is no capitalist class in the Soviet Union. The

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means of large-scale social production all belong to everybody. No capitalist ownership, no exploitation of man by man. When they directly and naturally identify themselves completely with the achievements of the collective, see its gains as gains for themselves, and have no thought of gain excepting as part of the collective, they are indeed people of a new type—socialist people.

That is why pride in their accomplishments has a special significance. It is pride in socialist achievements. At Taganrog, on the shore of the warm, sun washed Azov sea, I visited a big agricultural machinery plant. Second only to their pride in showing me the brush cutting and other special machines that they are shipping out to the young people who are pioneering east of the Urals, opening up millions of acres of virgin lands, was the pride with which the workers demonstrated for me improvements made recently in the mechanical cotton picking machine built at the plant. The mechanic who explained it added, quite naturally, "It will save us millions of kilos of cotton." What struck me was the natural way that he spoke of the cotton crop as "ours" and the savings to "us."

In Leningrad work on a far-flung subway system is well advanced. I had been under the impression that the nature of the substrata beneath Leningrad made the building of a subway there almost impossible. I mentioned that to the Intourist

guide, who was helping me to get a picture of the contrast between embattled Leningrad during the last days of the siege and the stately city of today. His response was, "Let's ask some of the men on the job." The men on the job, especially a stationary engineer operating a compressor, explained it readily. "True," he said, "we couldn't have done it when the Moscow subway was started, we didn't have the equipment. Now, though, we have resources and equipment and engineering experience to do anything. If it were needed we could build a subway along the bottom of the Neva." He didn't say it boastfully, just as a matter of fact. The only time he boasted during our half hour of conversation was at its end. I had commented that the Moscow subway was so beautiful that even to walk through its stations was a delight. "Yes," he said, "but ours is going to be even more beautiful, it will be worthy of Leningrad."

NEW TASKS FOR SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

Soviet planning has to be carried on with a great deal more than economic quantities alone in mind. It must reflect class relationships and their development. It has to do with and correspond with the needs for changes in the very warp and woof, the texture, of society. Furthermore, Soviet planning is not an experiment, performed in the calm atmosphere of a laboratory, it is an integral

part of the daily lives of two hundred million people, transforming their society from the old order to the new.

That is the sense in which the changes now being brought about in Soviet agriculture must be understood. The nonsense being printed in the capitalist press to the effect that Soviet agriculture is in a crisis is but another example of their systematic description of socialist society as they would like it to be instead of as it is. If they wanted to print the truth they would describe actual farms, such as I visited, where Ukrainian Simmental cows are delivering an average of 11,760 lbs. of milk per year. One cow gave 40,054 kilos (24,000 lbs.) last year. Where sows produce an average of 20 live piglets per year. Or another upon which the sugar beet crop averaged 430 metric centers per hectare.

The big changes being introduced in Soviet agriculture are being carried through to solve problems of growth—growth of socialist economy—and the new demands thereby placed upon agriculture. From a predominantly agricultural society, with the overwhelming majority of its people living upon farms, the Soviet people have transformed their vast country into a modern industrial state with a predominantly urban population. The very much smaller percentage of the people who now live on the farms must produce, not simply as much as was previously produced by 80 to 90 per cent of the

population, but a great deal more.

Agricultural production must be increased and diversified: (a) to meet the rapidly rising standards of life and dietary habits; (b) to provide more and more industrial raw materials from the farms—sugar, cotton, silk, linen, edible oils, etc.; (c) to provide a wide variety of crops which previously were not raised or were raised very little—tea, citrus fruits, wine, etc.

Those increases will be achieved by: (a) bringing millions of acres of new virgin lands under cultivation; (b) more extensive agriculture; (c) increased specialization by which crops will be produced where they can be grown most advantageously, instead of the present traditional practice of every farm growing almost everything.

Obviously these are big and far-reaching changes. In some cases it takes time and patience to convince the members of a collective it is to their advantage to carry them through. When the simultaneous agreement of perhaps four or five neighboring villages is required there is bound to be a great deal of discussion and, some of it is likely to be loud. It is a part of the social process by which Soviet agriculture is advancing and preparing itself for its ordered transition to Communism.

A RICHER LIFE

In this article I have dealt mainly with the tremendous material ad-

vance that I saw all over the Soviet Union. The people there also are intensely interested in the problems of material advance. But they never fail to point out that the purpose of it all is to provide the possibilities for a richer life. Furthermore, they are not waiting until their economic developments are all finished; they are enjoying a richer life now.

I mentioned the richness of the arts in the Soviet Union at the beginning of this article. That is natural; it was one of my first vivid impressions. It became stronger when I learned that every boy or girl in any drama group, dance ensemble of choir throughout the Soviet Union has ready opportunity to develop their talents to the full, right up to the Bolshoi Theatre if the talent is there.

As I met more people and had time to compare conversations and impressions, however, I realized that the most important single expression of the universal aim to enrich life is to be seen in the sphere of education — from kindergarten to university.

It is a striking fact that the Soviet Ukraine, with its population of forty millions, has more students in its institutions of higher learning than have Britain, France and Western Germany combined. The number of students is not the only criterion; even more important is the public attitude towards education, including very definite emphasis upon the responsibility that it brings.

When I was visiting the historic old city of Lvov in western Ukraine, the young man who was showing me its great new industries and its interesting and historic places brought me to the Ivan Franka University. He said to me: "You know, comrade, Ivan Franka was never permitted to teach here while he lived, but now it bears his name." To him that was complete.

The new Moscow University expresses perfectly the high place that education and the provision of opportunities for education has in the Soviet Union. That striking, beautiful city, because it is in fact a university city, embodies an educationist's dream of what a university should be. The sixteen-year old girl student to whom I spoke, in English, exemplifies the type of student for whom the state should provide such facilities. Her mother is a widow, a worker in the conserve industry. She, the girl, earns her university education by proving herself worthy of it as a student.

FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The foregoing is only a cross-section of my experiences and impressions in the Soviet Union. My experiences during my extended visit to Czechoslovakia afterwards were very similar and provide material for another article at least as long as this one. It would be wrong to conclude this article however without emphasizing the importance of

those developments to Canada.

It is quite evident now to all who are not wilfully blind that the new relationship of world forces is here to stay. That fact is forcing itself upon sections of the bourgeoisie, especially in Britain and western Europe. It is precisely because sections of the bourgeoisie are being forced to accept that fact that the foreign ministers of Britain and France negotiated with the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and People's China at Geneva, in defiance of the threats of John Foster Dulles, and achieved a settlement.

Some sections of the bourgeoisie are beginning to realize that trade with the socialist part of the world in peace, would be much more to their advantage than their present

precarious dependence upon U.S. plans for war. That is why trade between the countries of Western Europe and the socialist part of the world is growing. That is why the prospects for peaceful co-existence are somewhat brighter today than they were a year ago.

Canada needs trade. We need more trade in overseas markets to help free our country from United States domination. Trade is one of the vital factors for peaceful co-existence. Every Canadian who loves peace, who wants our country to be free and independent, should demand that the federal government drop the barriers by which it is preventing mutually advantageous trade between Canada and the Soviet Union, now.

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Agreements Between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic*

A Government Delegation of the Soviet Union, which came on the invitation of the Chinese Government for the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the People's Republic of China, stayed in China from September 29 to October 12. The delegation consisted of N. S. Krushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; N. A. Bulganin, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; A. I. Mikoyan, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; G. F. Alexandrov, Minister of Culture of the USSR; D. T. Shepilov, Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda*; E. A. Furtseva, Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU; V. S. Nasriddinova, Minister of the Building Materials Industry of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic; V. P. Stepanov, head of a department of the Central Committee of the CPSU; and T. F. Yudin, USSR Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

During the sojourn of the Soviet delegation in the PRC, negotiations on questions of Soviet-Chinese relations and the international situation were conducted between members of the delegation on the one hand, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council and Foreign Minister of the PRC, Chen Yun, Peng Teh-huai, Teng Siao-ping, Teng Si-huei and Li Fu-chung, on the other hand.

A part in the negotiations was also taken by Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the PRC, Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the PRC, and Liu Shao-tsi, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives. The negotiations proceeded in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and mutual understanding.

Herewith are published joint declarations of the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China on Soviet-Chinese relations and the international situation and on relations with Japan, a joint communiqué regarding the Port Arthur naval base, on the existing mixed Soviet-Chinese stock companies,

* Official translation of text as published in *Pravda*, Oct. 12, 1954.

on an agreement concerning scientific-technical cooperation, and on the building of the Lanchow-Urumchi-Alma Ata railway line.

In addition, an agreement was signed on the granting of 520,000,000 rubles on long-term credits by the Government of the USSR to the Government of the PRC and a protocol on aid by the Government of the USSR to the Government of the PRC in building additionally 15 industrial establishments and on increasing deliveries of equipment for 141 industrial establishments, envisaged in the agreement signed earlier, with the total value of the additional deliveries of equipment from the USSR to exceed 400,000,000 rubles.

**JOINT DECLARATION
BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION
OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the People's Republic of China note the existence of full unanimity of views both as regards the developing all-sided cooperation between both countries and on problems of the international situation.

During the five years which have elapsed since the historic victory of the Chinese people and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, relations have been developed between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China based on close cooperation in full conformity with the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance of February 14, 1950. This treaty is founded on the sincere desire of the Chinese and Soviet peoples to render each other mutual assistance, to facilitate the economic and cultural progress of both countries, the continued consolidation and expansion of fraternal friendship between them and thereby to promote the consolidation of peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations.

Experience has demonstrated the great vital force of the cooperation established between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China which is a reliable bulwark of peace and security in the Far East and an important factor in maintaining universal peace.

The Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the People's Republic of China have declared that the friendly relations between the USSR and China which have developed are the foundation for the continued close cooperation between both states in conformity with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Both governments are unanimous in their striving to continue to take part in all international actions designed to strengthen peace and will consult each other every time questions arise affecting the common interests of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, with the objective of coordinating the actions

directed at safeguarding the security of both states and maintaining peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

The Geneva Conference, which brought about a cessation of hostilities in Indo-China and opened up the possibility for regulating the situation in Indo-China in conformity with the legitimate national interests of the peoples of that area, demonstrated the great significance for the cause of peace of the participation in examining pressing international problems of all the Great Powers upon which the United Nations Charter places final responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. It also demonstrated the complete groundlessness of the policy pursued by leading circles of the United States which are preventing the People's Republic of China from taking its lawful seat in the United Nations.

Such a policy, as well as direct active aggression committed by the United States against the People's Republic of China, and especially the continuing occupation by the United States of part of the territory of the PRC, Taiwan Island, as well as the military and financial support given to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which is hostile to the Chinese people, are incompatible with the tasks of maintaining peace in the Far East and easing international tension.

Both governments consider abnormal a situation in which Korea continues to remain divided, despite the natural desire of the Korean people for national reunification into one peace-loving democratic Korean state. Recognizing that the unification of Korea is a major task whose accomplishment would be of great importance for the consolidation of peace in the Far East, they consider necessary a convocation of a conference on the Korean question in the immediate future, with the broad participation of the countries concerned.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China resolutely condemn the establishment of an aggressive military bloc in Southeast Asia, since this bloc is founded on the imperialist aims of its initiators, directed first and foremost against the security and national independence of the Asian countries and against the interests of peace in Asia and the Pacific.

They consider it necessary to declare that the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China will continue to base their relations with the countries of Asia and the Pacific region, as well as with other states, on strict adherence to the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression and mutual non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence, which opens up broad opportunities for the development of fruitful international cooperation.

Both governments are deeply convinced that such a policy conforms to the fundamental interests of all peoples, the Asian peoples included, whose security and well-being can be safeguarded only through the joint efforts of the states in defending peace.

The Soviet Government and the Government of the People's Republic of China for their part will exert all efforts to promote a settlement of all outstanding international issues, including problems pertaining to Asia.

ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

After the end of the Second World War, Japan, as envisaged in the Potsdam Agreement, was to receive full national independence, establish its democratic institutions and develop its independent peace economy and national culture.

But the United States of America, as the chief occupying power in Japan, charged with the main responsibility for the implementation of the Potsdam decisions, has flagrantly violated these decisions and, trampling upon the interests of the Japanese people, has imposed on Japan the San Francisco "peace treaty" and other agreements which run counter to the aforesaid agreements of the powers.

Nine years after the war ended, Japan has not received independence and continues to remain in the position of a semi-occupied country. Its territory is covered with numerous American military bases set up for purposes that have nothing in common with maintaining peace and securing Japan's peaceful and independent development. The industry and finances of Japan are placed in dependence on American military orders. Japan is restrained in its foreign trade which has a ruinous effect on its economy and chiefly on the peace industries.

All this cannot but insult the national sentiments of the Japanese people, create an atmosphere of uncertainty among the Japanese and fetter the multifarious abilities of the Japanese people.

The present situation in Japan arouses among the peoples of Asia and the Far East legitimate apprehensions that they might be utilized for aggressive plans alien both to the interests of the Japanese people and to the maintenance of peace in the Far East.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China express profound sympathy with Japan and the Japanese people, who find themselves in a difficult position as a result of the aforesaid "treaty" and agreements dictated by foreign interests. They believe that the Japanese people will muster sufficient strength within themselves to embark on the path of liberation from foreign dependence and regeneration of their homeland, to the path of establishing normal relations, of broad economic cooperation and cultural relations with other states, with their neighbors in the first place.

The Governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China proceed in their policy in relation to Japan from the principle of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social system, confident that this conforms to the vital interests of all nations. They stand for the development of broad trade relations with Japan on mutually advantageous terms, and for the establishment of close cultural ties with it.

They likewise express readiness to take steps to normalize their relations with Japan and declare that Japan will meet full support in its desire to establish political and economic relations with the USSR and the PRC and that any step on its part designed to secure conditions for its peaceful and independent development will likewise meet with full support.

ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET MILITARY UNITS
FROM THE JOINTLY UTILIZED CHINESE NAVAL BASE
AT PORT ARTHUR AND THE COMPLETE TRANSFER OF THIS BASE
TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Taking cognizance of the change in the international situation in the Far East in connection with the end of the war in Korea and the reestablishment of peace in Indo-China, and also taking into account the consolidation of the defense capacity of the People's Republic of China, the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the People's Republic of China, in accordance with the relations of friendship and cooperation between both states, which have developed and are growing ever stronger, have agreed that Soviet military units shall be withdrawn from the jointly utilized Port Arthur naval base, and the installations in this area shall be handed over without compensation to the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Both sides have agreed to charge the Soviet-Chinese joint military commission at Port Arthur, formed in accordance with the agreement of February 14, 1950, with carrying out measures pertaining to the withdrawal of Soviet military units and the transfer of installations at the Port Arthur naval base area to the Government of the People's Republic of China.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops and the transfer of the installations to the Government of the PRC in the Port Arthur naval base area shall be completed by May 31, 1955.

ON THE TRANSFER OF THE SOVIET SHARE
IN MIXED STOCK COMPANIES
TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Four mixed Soviet-Chinese companies were set up on a parity basis in 1950 and 1951 by agreement between the Soviet Government and the Chinese Government:

The company for the mining of non-ferrous and rare metals in Sinkiang Province of the People's Republic of China,

the company for the extraction and processing of oil in Sinkiang Province of the People's Republic of China,

the company for the building and repair of ships in Dalny, and

the company for the organization and operation of civil air lines.

That was the time when the young People's Republic of China was faced with the rehabilitation of the national economy. The formation of the Soviet-Chinese companies made it possible to organize in a short period of time the operation of the establishments belonging to these companies, to expand their production capacities and raise their technical level substantially, utilizing the advanced Soviet experience in economic development. Thereby the mixed companies played

their constructive part and made a definite contribution to the rehabilitation and development of Chinese economy.

Today, when the People's Republic of China, having restored its economy, is successfully carrying out its first five-year plan, Chinese economic organizations have accumulated the necessary experience and are able themselves to manage the operation of the enterprises belonging to the mixed companies, the Governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have reached agreement that the Soviet share in the mixed Soviet-Chinese companies shall be fully transferred to the People's Republic of China as of January 1, 1955. The value of this share shall be compensated for during a number of years by deliveries to the Soviet Union of goods which are usually exported from the People's Republic of China.

Thus the establishments now belonging to the mixed Soviet-Chinese companies will completely become state establishments of the People's Republic of China.

Both governments unanimously hold that this decision of theirs is in line with the relations of friendship established between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and will promote further economic cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual assistance and respect for each other's interests.

ON THE SIGNING OF AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Negotiations concerning Soviet-Chinese scientific-technical cooperation were conducted between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the People's Republic of China in Moscow and Peking. The negotiations, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, ended in the signing in Peking on October 12 of an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of China. On authorization of the Soviet Government the agreement was signed by Comrade A. I. Mikoyan, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and on authorization of the Government of the People's Republic of China by Comrade Li Fu-chung, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Under this agreement the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the People's Republic of China have agreed to effect scientific-technical cooperation between both countries through the exchange of experience in all branches of national economy.

Both sides will pass on to each other technical documents, exchange corresponding information and also send specialists to render technical assistance and acquaint both countries with scientific-technical achievements.

Both sides will pass on technical documents without any compensation, paying merely the actual cost involved in making copies of the documents.

A Soviet-Chinese commission has been formed to draw up measures for effecting cooperation and to present the corresponding recommendations to their governments. Seven members have been appointed to the commission by the USSR

and the PRC respectively. The sessions of the commission will be called not less than twice a year in Moscow and Peking alternately.

The agreement is signed for a term of five years. If one of the sides does not declare its desire to terminate the operation of the agreement one year prior to the expiration of the aforesaid term, the agreement shall remain valid for the next five years.

The conclusion of the Soviet-Chinese agreement on scientific-technical cooperation is another important contribution to the further cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China in the interests of both countries and also in the interests of consolidating peace.

ON THE BUILDING OF THE LANCHOW-URUMCHI-ALMA ATA RAILWAY LINE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF DIRECT TRAFFIC

With the objective of strengthening mutual economic and cultural relations, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the People's Republic of China have agreed that both sides shall in the near future begin the building of a railway line from Lanchow via Urumchi, on Chinese territory, and to Alma Ata on Soviet territory. The Chinese Government undertakes to build the line on Chinese territory and the Soviet Government undertakes to build the line on Soviet territory. During the building of the aforesaid line on the territory of China, the Soviet Government undertakes to render all-sided technical assistance to the Chinese Government. Construction of a section of this line from Lanchow to Yumen was already started in 1953.

ON THE BUILDING OF THE TSINING-ULAN BATOR RAILWAY LINE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF DIRECT TRAFFIC

The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of China and the Mongolian People's Republic, with the objective of strengthening economic and cultural relations among themselves, signed an agreement on September 15, 1954, on the building of a railway line from Tsining on the territory of the People's Republic of China, to Ulan Bator on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. This line will be joined with the line running from Ulan Bator to Soviet territory. The Government of the People's Republic of China undertakes to build the line from Tsining via Erlan up to the Chinese frontier, and the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Mongolian People's Republic undertake to build the line from Ulan Bator via Dzamyn Ude to the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic. The three contracting governments have agreed fully to complete construction and the junction of the aforesaid line and to organize direct traffic in 1955.

On the Fight for Legality

By Henry T. Goodwin

OVER A YEAR AGO, the report of Comrade Stevens to the National Conference of the Communist Party noted the new opportunities that were emerging in the fight for peace and democracy.* That these perspectives were fully warranted has been shown by the welcome developments since that time that were likewise noted in the Party's Draft Program last spring and in Comrade Perry's report at the National Election Campaign Conference in August: the cease-fire in Korea and resultant relaxation of tensions; the resumption of negotiations among the great powers and the growing popularity of the idea of peaceful co-existence; the refusal of the American people to tolerate intervention in Indo-China and the subsequent truce.

On the home front, the past year has seen the powerful mass upsurge against McCarthy, as well as a growing revulsion against the Big Business policies of the Eisenhower Administration and the beginning of the reflection of these currents in electoral activity.

* Andrew Stevens, *New Opportunities in the Fight for Peace and Democracy* (New Century Publishers, 1953).

Nevertheless, the reports and program of the Party stressed the increasing menace of the monopolists to the peace, security and democratic rights of the American people. The war provocations have continued, and in some respects intensified. The series of legislative and legal attacks upon the American working class and upon its vanguard, the Communist Party, initiated with the Taft-Hartley Act and with the original indictment of our National Board, have been stepped up during the past year through the infamous "Brownell package." These attacks have now been crowned by the passage of the Humphrey-Dies-Butler Bill outlawing the Communist Party amid scenes of chaos, hysteria and class hatred comparable only with Hitler's Reichstag.

* * *

In some quarters the passage of this bill has given rise to certain Leftist estimates: that the struggle for legality is now at an end, that this law "means fascism," and that as a result, the Party now needs to revise its whole program and policy.

Such a view not only constitutes an incorrect estimate of the law, but reveals at the same time a serious misunderstanding of the Party's program and policy.

The act outlawing the Party does not signify the transition to fascism in the U.S., though it is a major step in the fascistization process. But one has only to re-read Dimitroff's classic analysis and picture of fascism to distinguish between what already exists, and what is still chiefly potential in the U.S. today. Or among more recent material, to re-read the discussion of this question in the pamphlet by Joseph Rockman, *Broaden the Struggle for Peace and Democracy* (1952). Or the brief reminder in Comrade Gannett's Report at the National Election Conference (*Political Affairs*, Sept. 1954, p. 50).

Those holding this view make a mechanical application of the generalization that in many countries, the outlawry of the Communist Party has been the first step in the immediate accession of fascism. In many countries, however, e.g., Canada, Australia (temporarily), some Latin-American countries, etc., this has not been the case. What is decisive regarding the accession of fascism is not just the question of outlawing the Communist Party, but the whole objective situation in the country, the nature and degree of the crisis in the policies of Wall Street, the attitude of the masses, whether they can be prevented from effectively defending their basic

rights as well as their economic conditions—and many other considerations.

Even if the outlawry of the Communist Party did represent the "first step," there would still be no ground for fatalism, for struggle could prevent further steps and eventually reverse the course. Furthermore, while the outlawry bill has been passed and signed, this does not yet mean the outlawry of the Party *in fact*. The act was passed in complete disregard of the Constitution, and we should not forget the experience of the Australian Communist Party, which through mobilizing the people, secured the reversal of an outlawry act by the Australian Supreme Court.

As to the argument that the passage of the outlawry act requires a revision of our program and policy, this would imply that the act was a total surprise to our Party, that such an event was not envisaged in the program or policy, and that the present policy is not adapted to this situation, and must be changed.

This, of course, is not so. Thus the Stevens Report (Summer, 1953) points out:

The present moment is characterized by the preparation of new blows against the Party on the part of the Eisenhower Administration, through continuation of Smith Act indictments, vigorous application of the McCarran Act, and growing tendencies to press for a direct outlawing of the Party.

At the same time, and as a direct consequence of the changes maturing

on all fronts, we must declare that new possibilities are emerging for defeating all attempts to bring about the complete illegalization of the Communist Party.

The realization of these new possibilities is endangered by: tendencies to capitulate before the attacks upon the Party, resulting in a voluntary surrender of legal and mass positions without a struggle; a fatalistic acceptance of the inevitability of the illegalization of the Party; liquidationist concepts presenting themselves in the form of proposals for the creation of "a broader legal Marxist party."

In the same way, the Draft Program declares:

The gradual whittling away of our basic democratic liberties is not some post-war madness which will pass of itself. It represents an ominous and monstrous trend toward a full-fledged police state and fascism. . . . McCarthyism is the ugly face of American Hitlerism, American fascism. . . .

The attack on the Communists, the witch-hunt, the attack on the whole New Deal and Fair Deal has nothing to do with the nation's security. It is an expression of ruling-class fear of the re-emergence of the progressive majority in which the American Communists were a part and a stimulating force. . . .

The attempts to outlaw the Communist Party and to deprive Communists of their citizenship rights must be defeated.

The healthy working-class optimism of our program and basic statements of policy are not based

upon Pollyanna-ism—on a refusal to face the dangerous possibilities that the future holds. On the contrary. The new opportunities they stressed are opportunities *for struggle*. Our program is a call to the American people to recognize and understand the menace of war, depression and McCarthyism, and a proposed line of united mass struggle to defeat these threats and regain the path of progress.

Reactionary and negative developments such as the outlawry act can by no means be excluded in such a perspective, and can call only for our Party to get still closer to the masses, not for sectarian retreats. Said Stevens:

Our ability to take full advantage of the new possibilities which are opening to defeat all efforts to completely outlaw the Party, is endangered by methods of struggle which isolate the Party from the masses, through a failure to involve them in defense of the Party's legality.

Only those who misunderstand our election policy as *reliance* upon the Democrats backed by labor, etc., could be totally disoriented by the demagoguery and stupidity of the Humphrey-Morse-Kennedy group in pushing the outlawry amendment. But those who understood the policy as the development of an independent political coalition, with labor and the mass struggles of the people as its base, influencing and determining the actions of the candidates they

support, recognized that this remains more than ever the basic political task.

* * *

On the other hand, there have been certain tendencies to *under-estimate* the significance of the outlawry act, to consider it just another in the long series of illegal attacks on the Party in the last several years. But this is also a serious error, and would lead to failure to mobilize in the fight for the Party's legality.

The statement of the National Committee characterized the law as

a major triumph for McCarthyism . . . the most extreme step ever taken against political and democratic liberties in the history of our country. It is a sharp break with the Constitution and the theory of government on which it is based. It is a long step towards a police state. . . .

It contains the Butler Bill, which under pretext of "Communist infiltration" or "domination" undertakes to establish a system of government licensing of American trade unions in accord with their opinions and programs. . . . The move is a stab at the vitals of the trade unions under cover of the McCarthyite witchhunt for "subversives." . . .

No American can feel safe in his opinions as long as this law stays on the statute books. (*Political Affairs*, Sept., 1954.)

The passage of the outlawry bill, however, is not yet the outlawry of the Party in fact. A major fight for

the legality of the Party still lies ahead.

Legality is a changing concept, determined by struggle. What is illegal at one time is legal at another. Historically, in relation to the rights of the people, "legality" represents the recognition by the ruling class of the rights that can no longer be denied to the oppressed classes, or on the other hand, the proclamation of its refusal to recognize such rights.

Thus the American people refused to accept the Constitution as a legal framework until the ruling classes recognized that the Bill of Rights could not be denied to the masses who had carried through the Revolution. And when the reactionary forces sought again to withdraw these rights through making the Alien and Sedition Acts the law of the land, the mass upsurge under Jefferson drove them from office and repealed those laws.

In the 1830's, trade unions were considered illegal and their organizers prosecuted and imprisoned for "conspiracy." In the course of years they became legal, but the bitterest struggle went on in the factories and mines as to whether they had the right to exist. Not until the Wagner Act in 1935 were they given legal recognition. And some ten years later, the legality and rights of the unions were already being circumscribed and restricted by the Taft-Hartley Act, and now again in less than ten years, dangerously crippled by the licensing provisions included

in the act outlawing the Communist Party.

The history of the struggle of the Negro people against slavery and for equal rights is replete with examples of the enactment of enslaving legislation, its nullification by struggle, and the winning of legal recognition for the rights of the Negro people. The recent overthrow of the hallowed "separate-but-equal" doctrine for the schools in the Supreme Court is a case in point.

But in every case when the bourgeoisie seeks to deny rights or withdraw those previously won by the people, the attack takes place under the cover of a Big Lie that the interests of the nation are being treacherously endangered—a Big Lie intended to confound and paralyze popular resistance. Thus the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed under the same Big Lie of "foreign agent"—in this case Jefferson and his supporters who were denounced as agents of revolutionary France. The trade unions were convicted in 1836, in the words of Judge Edwards, as "of foreign origin and, I am led to believe, mainly upheld by foreigners." And the trade unions are to be licensed and the Communist Party outlawed today under the same hoary slander of "foreign agent" and "subversive."

The measure of these slanders can well be gauged by such a simple example as unemployment insurance. When first raised and fought for by the Communist Party in 1931, it was

denounced by President Hoover and by William Green alike as "a Moscow plot to wreck the American economy." Yet today, it becomes Eisenhower's election campaign boast that he has extended the unemployment insurance system.

Thus the fight for the legality of our Party is not a fight for something that is gone, but a critical step in the never-ending struggle of labor and the whole American people for *the guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights*; for the improvement of their economic conditions; for the safeguarding of peace; for Negro equality; and for a right guaranteed in the First Amendment—a right that concerns all, though practiced at present only by the Communist Party as an organization—the right to agitate for socialism.

It is in this way that Communists should carry on the fight for legality—not as a thing in itself, an interest only of Communists, but as part of the struggle of the whole people, especially labor, against McCarthyism, depression and war and for Negro equality.

* * *

The passage of the bill dramatized for the whole country the basic fact that the leaders of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. have been trying to deny or ignore: that the struggle for the rights of the unions and for the rights of the Communists, are inseparable. The Bill threw them together in a single package.

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The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leadership had expressed their strong opposition to the Butler Bill as a bill to license unions, and correctly rejected the thin pretense that it would be used only against "Left unions." The labor-backed group of Democrats in Congress were fighting the bill. But, once envisaging the maneuver of the Humphrey amendment, the Democrats, in their eagerness to outlaw the Communist Party, suddenly lost their repugnance to the anti-labor bill. The Republicans, on the other hand, in their determination to get ahead with their main aim—the crippling of the labor movement—accepted the outlawry amendment despite their tactical preference for less brazen methods that would cause less alarm at home and abroad. And with two exceptions, everybody voted for this anti-labor package to prove that they were not "soft on Communism"!

The anti-union, "Communist Control" Act was the crowning achievement of the 83rd Congress. In this act it summed up its whole character as the Congress of Big Business and reaction. This Congress, labelled by labor the "Give-away, Take-away Congress" has given to Big Business and taken away from the people. It passed the Brownell package which takes from the people still more of their cherished constitutional rights. The 83rd Congress has a record despised by labor. The fight to repeal the mis-named Communist Control Act should be carried on, first and

foremost, as a fight against the record of the 83rd Congress.

The press of the entire country was virtually unanimous in its astonishment, disgust and condemnation of the bill and the method of its passage. The New York *Herald Tribune* declared "If the Senate and House had gone collectively mad in these last days of the session, they could hardly have acted more wildly." The *Providence (R.I.) Journal* called it "a cynical political maneuver born in midnight confusion." These are not ordinary statements of opposition, but reflect the widespread feeling that this law must be re-considered by the next Congress in an atmosphere of sanity.

It is by no means too soon to call for the organized expression of such sentiment and to develop the mass movement for repeal of this Act by the next session of Congress. In the discussions and visits that labor and other people's representatives and delegations will be carrying on with the newly-elected or re-elected Congressmen and Senators, this issue should bulk large among the measures to undo the wrongs of the 83rd Congress, and to fulfill the needs of labor and the people. The argument will again be heard "Leave it to the Courts." But it is Congress that wrought this misbegotten legislation and Congress should repeal it.

A major phase of the fight for repeal will be the fight of the trade unions against the union-licensing

provisions. The U.E. has already initiated a campaign, calling for support from other unions and declaring its confidence that it is possible to "render the act inoperative and repeal it. . . . Unmistakable signs are already indicating," said the U.E. in a letter to 6,000 unions and community leaders, "that Congress miserably misjudged the temper of the people."

* * *

It was not long after the signing of the bill by President Eisenhower that the meeting took place of Eisenhower, Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover to discuss "next steps." It was the same day the National Security Council met to discuss the collapse of the E.D.C. and the question of Quemoy. War plans abroad, and war plans at home. The Brownell-Hoover meeting issued a communique that had all the ring of a military Order of the Day. They would now proceed to "utterly destroy the Communist Party." This is indeed a new and ominous note, but it cannot fail to bring to mind how often in history, the same delusion has been voiced that a people's opposition, having its roots in the objective conditions of the classes and the class struggle, can be "utterly destroyed."

To the spokesmen of the reactionary ruling classes, such movements and organizations are always "conspiracies" and can therefore be "destroyed." But experience shows that Communist Parties emerge again from periods of illegality — and

emerge strengthened. This is because the leading bourgeois circles legalize a Communist Party only in order to facilitate increased reactionary attacks on the conditions of labor and the people. The struggle of the working class against these attacks cannot fail to develop new Communists, to strengthen the ties of the Communists with the masses, to develop additional leaders tested in struggle, and to overcome in the minds of the working class the slanders against the Communist Party.

The truth about the Party will eventually prevail over the collection of gutter slanders contained in the preamble to the outlawry act—a passage so hysterical that Arthur Krock, the conservative columnist of the *New York Times*, called it "a stump speech." The truth will prevail through the actual struggle of the Communists for peace, against depression, for democratic rights and for Negro equality.

A powerful instrument for spreading the truth against the slanders of the outlawry act is the recently adopted Party Program. Not one word in the legal slanders answers the realities of the condition of our country as placed before the people in the Party Program.

Another instrument for spreading the truth about our Party is the campaign for Amnesty for Eugene Dennis and all political prisoners. For the character, the record of activities on behalf of the American people, of the comrades of our Na-

tional Board and leadership, their steadfastness under attack, are also a major part of the true picture of our Party.

No Administration, or succession of Administrations, can keep talking out of both sides of the mouth, and retain ideological dominance over the minds of the American people. On the one hand to put on a huge propaganda campaign about "man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof," and on the other hand to put men and women in jail for "con-

spiring to teach" Marxism-Leninism!

The American people show no willingness to cooperate in the "destruction" of trade unions or of the Communist Party. They are going to demand the *reality* of the democratic rights of which government spokesmen are so constantly boasting; and no democratic rights can be secure for the people unless they are guaranteed to trade unions and guaranteed to the Communist Party.

William Weiner: An American Communist

By Lem Harris

EARLIER THIS YEAR, William Weiner, an outstanding and much beloved Communist, died.* To his family and many close associates, his untimely death brought to a close a rich and wonderful association. To the wide circle of people who knew him as editor of the *Freiheit*, as President of the International Workers Order, as President of New Century Publishers, as Treasurer of the Communist Party, his death vividly underlined the "special mold" of those who devote their lives and energies to the defense of democracy and peace, to the task of bringing a Marxist-Leninist program for the American people.

Thus even in his death, William Weiner focuses attention on the howling contradiction of our times: the fact that Communists are motivated by the highest moral responsibility towards the hopes and aspirations of mankind in contrast with the familiar and endless repetition of the "big lie" against Communists.

What kind of people are the Com-

* A memorial meeting in honor of the late William Weiner was held in New York City on October 27—Ed.

munists who in every country have held firm against the most brutal measures of reaction? What kind of people dare openly to oppose Korean adventures, the napalming of Asian peoples, the restoring to power and rearming of German fascists and militarists? What kind of people keep warm the democratic traditions of Jefferson and Lincoln, at a time when these are increasingly attacked as subversive? What kind of people stand up against the current hysteria, and pour scorn on the futile but destructive violence of the reactionaries?

* * *

In the life of William Weiner, we find in rich measure the qualities that distinguish leading Communists everywhere. We find his life totally devoted to the best interests of the working class, thereby upholding the best interests of his country. It is a measure of our society that this man lived for many years under the threat of criminal prosecution and deportation. It is a measure of the man that he never gave an inch of ground but fought devotedly

for his high principles at all times.

It was his fighting qualities that called forth the government persecution which was mounted against him for many years. He stirred the people by his ceaseless opposition to fascism and reaction and aroused the hope in people's hearts for a better life, a better America.

William Weiner was a deeply cultured man. Though his formal education was limited to grade school, he developed a habit of retentive reading of the literature of all countries. Books were a major part of his life, not to be read and forgotten, but to be called upon to enlighten discussions, to help with the analysis of events.

With him, casual conversations had a way of leading into deep and stimulating channels, provoking each to bring out his best thinking. There was always a sense of history in what he said, a sense of the dynamics of life, developing in many ways but according to ascertainable laws.

Perhaps this sense of where society is moving, the desire to aid the people's struggles for security and peace, is the unforgivable sin which the reactionaries are most anxious to destroy. In this light, the facts of William Weiner's life take on much significance.

Weiner's first industrial job was in the Westinghouse plant in Pittsburgh. He moved to Detroit at the time of post-World War I anti-labor witch-hunting. Towards the end of President Wilson's Administration,

Attorney General Palmer, assisted by J. Edgar Hoover, was carrying on mass "Red Raids," arresting thousands of workers, while judges, after high-speed trials, were handing out twenty-year sentences for "sedition."

Weiner was Detroit representative of the *Freiheit*. His apartment was raided by Palmer's men and he was seized, threatened with beating and deportation, but, aided by the intervention of an A. F. of L. official, he was released.

For several years he was employed by Parke-Davis pharmaceuticals where he developed a specialized skill. Had he wished to settle down to the life of a skilled worker, the way was open; but his employment with Parke-Davis came to an abrupt end when he aided some unskilled women workers to form a union.

These young women set up a union, offered the presidency to Weiner, which he accepted, and struck for higher pay. The strike lasted ten days; the women were forced to go back, and Weiner was fired.

These experiences and some years as a machine operator in the Ford plant constituted the industrial background of this working-class leader. He moved to New York to become the secretary of the Jewish Workers' Federation and assistant labor editor of the *Freiheit*.

The Great Economic Crisis was devastating the land, growing numbers of workers were unemployed, farmers were being put off their land, the Negro people were suffering most

acutely—the Hoover depression was in full swing.

Everywhere the spirit of fighting back began to assert itself. The unemployed were organizing, farmers formed the National Farm Holiday Association, big strikes were occurring in many industries, later the vast campaign to organize the unorganized into the C.I.O. got under way.

Weiner was a part of the councils of all of these popular movements. But he was best known as the leader of progressive national group organizations. Arising from the Workmen's Circle, the International Workers' Order grew into a large fraternal federation with Jewish, Russian, Finnish and many other sections. Weiner was associated with it from the start and was its president during most of the 'thirties.

* * *

During the years of his presidency, the Order grew into a mass fraternal organization with chapters all over the country. Under his direction, it developed an insurance department designed to meet the needs of working-class people. In fact the IWO policy offered advantages which none of the multi-million dollar stock or mutual insurance companies has ever matched.

But in addition to a record of solid benefits and creative fraternal activities, the IWO gave political leadership on the public questions of the day. Uppermost amongst such

questions was the rising menace of fascism with its anti-working class, anti-Negro, and anti-Semitic atrocities. Fascism's genocidal pogrom against the Jewish masses especially horrified all decent humanity.

Weiner was quick to recognize the fascist use of anti-Semitism as not only an attack upon Jews, but as a step in the preparation of a world war of conquest.

"We shall not have learned anything," he wrote, "if we have not learned this lesson about the six years of Hitler in power: It is a threat to the peace of the world; it seeks the destruction of democracy everywhere, including the United States."

Because the older Jewish organizations in this country were not protesting the slaughter of their people, except in mild statements, he sparked the formation of the Jewish People's Committee which aimed to speak out in a manner that would compel attention. One of the committee's major acts was the calling, in November 1938, of a vast overflow rally against fascist anti-Semitism, held in Madison Square Garden, in New York.

Prominent public figures were there, including Lieutenant-Governor Polletti. Weiner, as President of the Committee, made the main speech of the evening, aimed to rally the widest support. He used the occasion to commend President Roosevelt for his public denunciation of the "unbelievable" atrocities of the German

fascists. "The Jewish people hold nothing against the German people," he told the gathering. "And let us remember that they (the German people) suffer more than does the outside world the full effects of Hitler's program of mass brutality."

The Garden meeting was followed by tours, conferences, articles and pamphlets. Weiner gave his life and energy to the whole campaign, doing his best to arouse all Americans to the menace of fascism and the need for the united front of all democratic forces. Always he involved the interests of the Jewish masses with those of the American people as a whole, repudiating those who looked upon the anti-Jewish program in "clannish isolation." "The problems of the Jewish people and of democracy are indivisible," he said.

He poured scorn on those who tried to find differences between brands of fascists. "There is no good fascism," he said, referring to certain wealthy Jews and reactionary Jewish publicists who had nothing but praise for the "'cultured' Mussolini, so unlike the crude Hitler."

"To our sorrow," he reported to the Jewish People's Committee, "Our warnings have come true. Every variety of fascism is now seen to have anti-Semitism as a core, even when as in Japan there are no Jews. Fascism invents 'a Jewish problem' in order to whip up race hatred and conceal its aims of conquest and loot from the masses of the people."

1936 found him in Geneva, a delegate to the World Jewish Congress, fighting for the united front of all forces against fascism and war. There he clashed with the Zionists who even at that late date failed to understand, or refused to understand, that German fascism was the main menace against fulfilling the democratic aspirations of the Jewish people. They succeeded in barring him from the official sessions, but he made dramatic appearances before the Congress hearings and conducted many important interviews.

William Weiner saw in Socialism the liberating goal of the working class and of all humanity. And he hailed, therefore, the Great October Revolution as the central event in history and remained, throughout his life, a devoted friend of the Soviet Union. He knew that in U.S.-U.S.S.R. amity lay the key to world peace, and so he strove, on all occasions, to build such friendship.

In the midst of his energetic efforts to arouse the American people to the mortal danger of fascism, Weiner himself was made the victim of fascist-minded persecution. He had become Treasurer of the Communist Party and this, plus his work in the IWO, made him the object of prolonged government persecution. He was threatened with prosecution, deportation proceedings were instituted, and for the remaining years of his life, a period of some twelve years, he was subject to constant harassments.

A severe heart attack in 1940 curtailed his public work and mass activity. He shifted life-long habits and adjusted to a new and unfamiliar mode of life. During this period he became the President of New Century Publishers, concerning himself with the business and literary problems of that publishing house. Writers, poets and artists quickly found in him a valued critic and modest advisor. They knew that William Weiner sought only to bring out the best they had and to help them contribute to the progressive movement.

Many of his associates have spoken of his genius for making suggestions that added purpose and impact to a proposed piece of writing. He understood socialist realism and urged that creative writers and artists seek out the direction and force of the forward movement of society at a given period. This requires recognizing reactionary influences, often subtle and concealed, and exposing them to public view. It also requires the sensing of the true and healthy instincts of the people and bringing into view the fuller life to which they aspire. This is Marxism in action. This is how the cultural world can best contribute to the advance of all society.

Noteworthy, too, is the fact that in exchanging his ideas and opinions with writers he never replaced their personal qualities by inserting his own. He did not dominate; he encouraged and he brought out the best in others. In this respect, too, he

demonstrated a basic principle of human relationships in a socialist society. Have we not been inspired by the warm humanist qualities of the works of art which have been given to the world by socialist nations?

Warm tribute to his creative influence has been paid by the editors of the cultural publication, *Masses and Mainstream*. Weiner's death did more than deprive them of a valued and beloved friend. As the editors wrote, at the time of his death: "He inspired his many writer and artist friends to combat the far-spreading decay of capitalist culture by creating working class and people's works—works of realism, of struggle, of high artistic quality. And particularly he stressed the importance of making America's democratic traditions come alive in the fight against McCarthyism and war."

In Weiner, the editors of *M & M* recognized that special quality most needed to win out against reaction's terror. So, in furtherance of their desire to keep warm his memory, and in an effort to help preserve the sense of responsibility that a creative worker feels to the people, they established the William Weiner Literary Awards. These are to be presented annually to the contributors of the outstanding prose and poetry appearing in the magazine.

William Weiner stands out as one of the great Communists in the history of the American movement. With no vestige of brittle dogmatism,

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Weiner always applied his understanding of the laws of society as a guide to the solution of all problems. Many a mass leader lacks the ability to analyze conflicting sets of factors and extract the essential facts that form the basis for policy. Many a person who has studied the classics of Marxism finds himself unable to apply theory to the problems of life. But Weiner shared with other mature Marxists the ability to combine theory with practice.

Again in common with other great Communists was his good hu-

mor and optimism. He enjoyed people and they enjoyed him. There was no artificiality about his gaiety, like the forced cheerfulness to be found in the drawing rooms of polite society. He was gay because he carried with him a sense of making progress, of moving forward, of winning humanity's great fight. He hated all forms of discrimination, exploitation, domination of peoples by monied interests. He saw these evils losing out. He foresaw the people's victory.

WAR ECONOMY AND CRISIS

By David Goldway

War Economy and Crisis, by Hyman Lumer, International Publishers, N.Y., \$2.75 (paper, \$1.75).

Today, with a full-scale depression brewing, the question of a war or peace economy is the pivotal issue on the economic front. On the one hand, the desperate men of Wall Street itch for full-scale war as the solution to their economic as well as political problems. On the other hand, the building of an effective anti-depression fight requires above all a decisive break from the grip of the war-budget mentality. For years the American people, and especially the organized labor movement, have been deluded by the myth that war spending is the guarantee of prosperity. Even the generally sound anti-depression programs enunciated by the major AFL and CIO unions still accept this proposition, some openly, some tacitly. But the truth of the matter is the opposite: war economy is the destroyer of jobs, the underminer of living standards, the breeder of crisis. Like imperialist war itself, war economy brings benefits only to the giant monopoly capitalists. To everyone else it means misery, ruin and tragedy.

Overwhelming proof of this latter thesis is provided by Hyman Lumer in his timely and important book, *War Economy And Crisis*. We have in this work a cogent and lucid study of the

anatomy of war economy and its relation to the crisis of modern capitalism. The basic economic questions facing our nation are here analyzed and answered. A rich body of factual data, carefully digested and integrated, is presented; and this empirical evidence is built into a powerful case exposing capitalism at its most degenerate extremity—that is, when its normal mode of existence requires, as Stalin pointed out, “wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits.”

Lumer begins with an examination of the “theory” of permanent war economy. This vulgar “theory” has its roots in the Keynesian notion that present-day capitalist economy can circumvent its inherent contradictions by programs of government spending. And what form of government spending better suits the maximum profits interests of monopoly capital than war spending? “Armaments,” says *U. S. News and World Report*, “is the great new industry of the 1950’s. It’s here to stay.” Such prosperity-through-war-ideas, of course, are not new. They were the keystone of the *Wehrwirtschaft* (the economic basis of Hitler’s New Order).

Lumer proceeds with a detailed and devastating examination of what war economy really entails. He shows who pays for war, what it does to real wages, to employment and to working

conditions, how it affects the farmers and the Negro people, and what profits this most lucrative "business" brings in. He then goes into a discussion of a number of more theoretical questions: war economy and the cyclical crisis; the relationship of war economy to the general crisis of capitalism; and the nature of the wartime state. He concludes with an outline of a program for peace and security and a discussion of the kind of fight necessary to achieve this program.

The method of the book is to examine each of the questions under review from both a theoretical and a historical-analytical point of view. In the process, Lumer provides an excellent summary of the economic experience of World Wars I and II, the "cold war" of 1947 to 1950, the Korean War, and the present post-Korean War period. At the same time, he answers many questions on which there exist gross misconceptions and fuzzy half-recollections in the minds of even advanced workers. Among them are such questions as: Did World War II really improve the condition of the workers? What has been the trend of real wages since World War II? What is the impact of a colossal and mounting national debt? Precisely what happened in the recession of 1948-49? What has been the effect of war production on women workers? How has war production aggravated the farm crisis? What economic gains did the Negro people actually make in World War II? What has happened to those gains since? Has war economy brought industrialization to the South? How has the embargo on trade with the socialist countries affected the trade of the capitalist world?

The most significant thing about the book, however, is not the factual data it presents, invaluable as these are. Rather it is the theoretical questions it deals with and the polemical arguments it provides. For example, it makes a genuine contribution in answering the "guns and butter" myth. Lumer explains that the experiences of World War II can be understood only if we recall that:

In 1939 the United States had only partially recovered from the depression of the thirties . . . nearly 9.5 million were unemployed, and there was much unused plant and equipment. By putting the unemployed workers and unused capacity to work it was possible for a time to expand both military and civilian output. *But this could continue only up to the point of relatively full employment. After that, increased military output could be obtained only at the expense of the production of civilian goods . . .*

Today the gap between actual and full utilization of resources and manpower is far less than in 1939, and the impact of full-scale war production is therefore bound to be far more severe.

A major high spot of the book is its handling of the question, "How does war economy affect the boom-and-bust cycle inherent in capitalist economy?"

War economy, [says Lumer] does not halt the maturing of a crisis; it only alters the *form* of its maturing, and in such a way as to render its ultimate outbreak all the more violent. . . . In its resort to war production as a panacea against economic crises, monopoly capital resembles nothing so much as a drug addict, in whom a dose of his drug at first produces a pleasant sense of well-being. But this is soon followed by the painful after-effects which, in turn, can only be relieved by another, larger dose of the drug. . . . Such (with due recognition of the limitations of such an analogy) are the 'shot-in-the-arm' effects of the war economy.

In reading a good book there is

always the urge to ask for more. With due recognition that it is not fair to demand that *everything* be covered by a single work, I still feel that the book would have been improved by one additional chapter—on war economy and the labor movement. While this subject does get some attention at a number of points (especially in the last chapter), it could, I believe, have been given fuller treatment and thus have rounded out the subject under discussion.

At the same time, such a chapter might have counter-balanced an almost inevitable tendency in a study of this kind to hammer away at the predatory, oppressive and parasitic features of monopoly capital and its war economy, without giving adequate attention to the restraining influences resulting from the struggles of the workers and their allies. The fact is that even with the betrayal of the major leaders of the labor movement and despite the many weaknesses of the working class, monopoly capital in the United States has thus far been kept from a full unfolding—thus far been kept from a full unfolding of its drive towards war and fascism. This is an important fact about war economy; and without an analysis of it, with all its plusses and minuses, a study of the subject, in my opinion, is not complete. Such an examination is also extremely important in the present period, when we need precise knowledge of what basis actually exists for the nurturing of new opportunities in the fight for democracy, peace and jobs.

I am also tempted to ask for other

things from Lumer's book, like a discussion of American bourgeois and labor theories in relation to war economy, which would entail going into the subject of Keynesism more thoroughly than has thus far been done in this country. Or a detailed analysis of divisions and differences in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and how these are, on the one hand, covered over, and on the other, aggravated, by the development of war economy.

Perhaps the fact that reading Lumer stimulates such desires is one indication of the great merit of his work. For with its publication we can say that an extremely important area in the realm of American political economy has now been covered with authority and precision. The American working class and Marxist movements are richer for it.

Before concluding, a word must be said about how this book can be used. We have here a scholarly study, carefully documented, theoretical, serious. Yet the last thing that can be said about it is that it is a heavy book, or that it is limited in its potential audience. On the contrary, rarely have we seen an economic study that carries its statistics more gracefully, that is more quickly paced, more lively in style, more polemical and persuasive in its approach. It is a book that every advanced worker (and I use this term in its broadest sense) can readily understand and appreciate. It is a book of which the whole working class of our country can justly be proud.

WAR ECONOMY AND YOUTH

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

The Game of Death—Effects of the Cold War on Our Children, by Albert E. Kahn. Cameron and Kahn, New York, \$3.00 (paper \$1.00).

The alarming increase in crime among young people during recent years, widely heralded in the press and of growing concern to everyone, underscores the great value of *The Game of Death* as an aid to building the people's coalition for democracy and peace. Next to the material requirements of life, the masses of men and women are most concerned about the education and welfare of their children; and this book, more than any other I know, lays bare the immediate cause of the recent upsurge in juvenile crime—the calloused exploitation, persecution and brutalization of children in the interests of monopoly profits and the Cold War.

As this is written, the press of New York City carries banner headlines about a gang of teen-age boys, "all from good homes," who confessed to two especially heinous murders and numerous brutal beatings of unoffending people—with no apparent motive other than to "get a kick." This incident is but one unusually horrible example of the growing pattern of youthful sadism and crime reported from all parts of the country.

Confronted with this development, pseudo-scientists are busy with all kinds of "explanations"—"child neuroses," "insufficient parental affection," "too much parental affection," inborn "criminal instincts," and similar nonsense. Meanwhile, practical men of affairs press for the only corrective

they can conceive: Get tough! "CITY LOSING GUERRILLA WAR TO TEENS," shouts the *New York World-Telegram*, developing the thesis that "the cops must handle them with a modified version of total warfare." The police begin nightly round-ups of hundreds of so-called "young hoodlums" in Times Square, Harlem, East Harlem and other working-class areas; and the Commissioner of Police calls for "at least 7,000 more men" to supplement the present force of almost 20,000.

Thus do the ideologists and administrators of a decadent ruling class shadow-box with the symptoms of a fundamental ailment whose roots they are afraid honestly to disclose—a foreign and domestic policy which calls for the deliberate and systematic glorification of violence and contempt for human values to the end of preparing our whole population, and especially our youth for atomic mass murder abroad and for fascism at home. The young people of our country are bombarded on all sides with governmental and "private enterprise" propaganda designed to fulfill the unusually candid "educational" prescription of Director of Selective Service Major General Lewis B. Hershey: "What the nation needs are killers for survival"; yet, when the growth of young killers is fostered, all officialdom claims to be "baffled."

One notable exception to the prevailing obfuscation emanating from bourgeois "scientists" and governmental agencies is Dr. Frederic Wertham's partial answer to the question: "Why

Do They Commit Murder?" (N. Y. *Times Magazine*, Aug. 8):

Very important is a general atmosphere of violence, for violence is as contagious as the measles. The more we inculcate in young people the false idea that there is something courageous about killing, the more do we foster it in susceptible individuals.

Wertham does not define the economic and political inspiration of this "general atmosphere of violence"; but that job is done most effectively in Albert Kahn's *The Game of Death*, with abundant factual proof and an emotional fervor to which all parents will respond.

The first four chapters of this book expose the concerted drive to transform public education into a Cold War appendage of the State Department, into what President Eisenhower calls an "instrument of national policy." Here described, in dramatic detail, are the A-Bomb drills and identification tags imposed on school pupils in many communities; the widespread and deliberate efforts to militarize youth through the introduction of "warmaking" into school and college curricula, through "selling" young men and their parents on the glories of military life, and through ever-recurring legislative attempts to foist Universal Military Training on our country. Here also are vivid accounts of how hundreds of fine and devoted teachers are being purged for suspected "disloyalty" to this destruction of true educational values, together with facts and figures on the scandalous deterioration taking place in school facilities and personnel as a result of the priority given to armaments in the national budget.

Another chapter details the "Niagara

of Horror" to which many millions of children are subjected, day after day, through "comic books," movies and so-called "children's programs" on television and radio—a vast and profitable industry for the perversion of children. The distinctive features of its output are violence, murder, sex and moral degeneracy; and its dominant themes are anti-Communism and war. There is also a chapter dealing specifically with the growth of juvenile delinquency—dope, prostitution, arson, gambling, theft, gang wars, cynical and violent assaults on people—and with the virulent anti-Semitism and white chauvinism so prevalent in such outfits as the "Hitler Youth Group" in Philadelphia, and among the "Jungvolk" whose violence shocked the whole world at Peekskill, New York, in the late summer of 1949. A notable feature of this latter chapter is analysis of the very substantial contribution which so-called "reformatories" make toward strengthening this anti-social trend among young people.

One chapter—"Vengeance on the Young"—tells the revolting story of the F.B.I.'s hounding and persecution of the young sons and daughters of Communist leaders victimized under the Smith Act, and also of the heroic counter-offensive of these children and their families—who "refused to be intimidated or demoralized." Another—"Loyalty Program for Parents"—counts dramatically three celebrated cases in which our war-bound government forcibly separated children from devoted and effective mothers who were "accused" of being Communists or of teaching their children to respect Negroes as equals, or of advocating peace; and here, again, one sees the

heroic struggles of these mothers to hold and protect their children. Still another—"Infamy of the Nation," the second longest chapter of the book—pictures the special oppression of Negro children against the background of that hollow "Pledge to Children" adopted by the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. This latter chapter concludes: "No section of the population has been more grievously victimized than the Negro people by the repression of the Cold War; and no section of the population is doing more to forge a future peace and true freedom for their children." There follows a discussion—although brief—of the "appalling . . . conditions under which American Indian children live today," along with simply passing reference to "the deprivations, discriminations and hardships endured by the children of Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and other minorities in the United States."

In the "Foreword" of this book, the author declared:

The harsh and tragic fact is that of the whole population, children are paying the most heavily for the Cold War. So heavy, indeed, is the price being exacted of them that this question must inevitably arise: is our nation, in the name of defending its children, actually ravaging their security, deforming their characters and imperiling their lives?

The obvious affirmative answer, abundantly documented in these pages (including nearly two dozen pages of pictures), is driven home with great power in the tenth and final chapter—"Way of Life—which contrasts the enormous sums our government spends for war with its meager allotments for health, housing and education; the un-

precedented Cold War profits of Big Business with progressive deterioration in the general welfare of millions of American children and the continuing A-Bomb threat to their very lives.

All who read *The Game of Death* will understand the phenomenon of teen-age "thrill-killers" far better than the "experts" and police commissioners being quoted in the newspapers; and they will also know what must be done to combat the more general problems of crime among young people. As the author states in his moving postscript: ". . . each of these problems stems in its present form from the Cold War, and none can be truly solved while the Cold War continues."

How decadent and immoral this social system which feeds its youth into the maw of Mammon! How refreshingly different the universal solicitude for child health and welfare in socialist lands! Without ever saying so, *The Game of Death* provides devastating proof of the inherent rottenness of monopoly capitalism, and of the necessity for a socialist America.

The fact that this book exposes so effectively the misanthropy which inheres in U.S. imperialism's drive to war probably explains in large measure the acclaim with which it has been received by the people's forces in other countries. It has been translated into nearly a dozen languages. It was featured in *Teachers of the World*, the official publication of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions. And it was given an extended, laudatory review in *For A Lasting Peace, for A People's Democracy!* which concluded: "*The Game of Death*, which deserves to be translated into all the languages

of the world, will kindle hatred in the hearts of all for the criminals who use little children as guinea pigs in their attempt to win their parents for the policy of preparing war."

There are, however, at least two serious limitations of this volume; and they seem to flow from a one-sided approach to the politics of our day. *First*, the exclusive and somewhat sensational emphasis on the corrupting influences and anti-social practices among young people tends to strengthen the distorted picture which the gutter-press tries to give of a young generation steeped in crime. But the dominant and more significant fact is that, despite the conditions under which they live, the overwhelming mass of our young people—all but a very tiny fraction—have not been debased. They are not a generation of criminals; rather, they are normal, wholesome young people, with social problems, true, but not won over to McCarthyism and war, and deserving a more equitable and beautiful America. *Secondly*, the absence of any interpretation of the growing people's democratic movement in our country tends to feed unwarranted moods of defeatism. We can stir our countrymen to greater struggles for peace, not alone by picturing the horrors of war and

preparations for war, but even more by giving them a basis for confidence that the achievement of peace is within their power. In both these respects, *The Game of Death* seems to reflect an overestimation of the strength of imperialism and an underestimation of the strength of the democratic forces of the people. In so doing, it tends to undermine its own effectiveness in helping to build that people's coalition which alone can impose democracy and peace on the imperialist rulers of the United States.

The technical excellence of this volume is fully consistent with what we have learned to expect on the basis of previous books by Albert Kahn—*High Treason: The Plot Against the People*, and (in collaboration with Michael Sayers) *Sabotage, The Plot Against the Peace* and *The Great Conspiracy*. The importance of its message has been enhanced by developments since it was published. And its rich store of facts, most effectively presented, should prove extremely useful to progressives who have come to understand the great *political* potential which is inherent in the deep concern all people share for the education and welfare of their children.

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POEMS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

The Prisoners, by Walter Lowenfels. Whittier Press, Philadelphia, 50 cents.

The morning newspaper carries a picture of "9 PHILADELPHIANS CONVICTED AS REDS"; and sitting in the forefront among them, head held high in seeming defiance, is a 56-year-old poet from whose pen I read: "Peace itself is the poem of our time."

The line comes toward the end of *The Prisoners*, and is followed by this moving summation of the author's "Credo":

Each generation lives its own morality. Ours is being born right now—in the flame of being, all of us together, for peace, to win peace, to bring peace from its long orphanhood, its million-year embryo—into the warm human embrace of being alive,
now.

It was to be expected that the war-bound Eisenhower Administration would try to silence so powerful a voice of peace, and that poet Walter Lowenfels would join his Philadelphia comrades and seventy-two other working-class leaders who have been "convicted" of the new crime of *conspiracy to teach and advocate* the scientific world-view of Marxism-Leninism.

But the dozen brief poems in this volume alone—some tender lyrics, others stirring calls to battle, all precisely turned, beautifully symbolic and deeply significant—attest that this eloquent voice will long be heard and honored by the peoples for whom it speaks. And the message of Lowenfels' verse is imperishable:

A song is sung and dies away
but out of every hill
the freedom song we hear in jail
is never, never still.

The dominant theme of *The Prisoners* is expressed by its subtitle, "Poems for Amnesty". The "Dedicatory Sonnet", for Eugene Dennis, identifies the cause of amnesty with the supreme political issue of our time:

The loveliest prisoner of today, peace,
awaits eternal freedom from her chains;
She lies with us The Burned, The Jailed, The Banned.

For Elizabeth Gurley Flynn there is a poem of Biblical symbolism which concludes:

Goliath seemed a giant
till David laid him low,
the strength of all his people
in one great freedom blow.

There are also sonnets for Ben Davis and for Claudia Jones, a stanza "For A Political Refugee", a warm and highly perceptive "Letter to Steve Nelson"—"You who wash so freshly the human name", and this challenge to the whole American people in "On Bail":

My first night out. I wander through the house
 touching things, making as if free.
 At my side eight whispering voices
 saying: *Remember me, remember me!*
 I drink a cup of coffee, draw up plans
 to help set my eight companions free,
 one hundred and sixty million other voices
 whispering: *Remember me, remember me!*

Interspersed among these poems are brief quotations from great champions of freedom throughout history—from Da Vinci: "It is easier to resist at the beginning than at the end"; from Bruno: "Those who condemn us are in greater fear than we who are condemned"; from Goethe: "He alone earns his freedom, his existence, who conquers them freshly every day"; and others from Emerson, Montesquieu, John Brown, Shaw, Douglas, Lincoln, Du Bois, Dennis. They further heighten the fighting quality of this little volume.

Lowenfels writes as a Jew, and his verse reflects notable sensitivity to the oppression of other peoples.

I saw the martyrs of my land
 Indians and slaves freed
 the Hyam Solomons from whom I come
 planting the liberty seed.

And from the "Sonnet for Ben Davis":

Six million Jews speak here in us: *We*
your outposts, sentries watching sun or rain
challenging—must the dead be dead again?
His prison measures all your liberty
as we did once. Read us! Our empty faces
were human once like you—
washed, combed, curled,
fresh-cheeked like you, we say!

What jail he paces!—
 not one black man, not Africa only—the world
 beats from his bars—peace truth, all human graces
 cry out, and freedom's thunderbolts are hurled.

Commenting on Lowenfels' imprisonment under the Smith Act, Louis Aragon—in an article translated by Mike Gold from *Les Lettres Francaises* and here reproduced—cries out: "Let our France, which saw the youth of this poet, listen now to his Prayer written from prison, and sent to free men everywhere like a solemn warning. Let the voice of freedom ring with bold and powerful echoes here and everywhere, rising from the heart of man *and from his anger, rising from that enormous power which is the love of peace and which is capable of breaking all man's chains.*"

Such is also the message of *The Prisoners—Poems for Amnesty*. The fighting power of this little volume of verse reflects a consummate artistry which has matured through deep understanding, direct participation and confidence in the working-class and people's struggles. It should be made the property of thousands who cherish freedom and peace.

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