

# political affairs

MARCH 1954 • 25 CENTS



NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
CPUSA

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

JOSEPH STALIN

MARY NORRIS

JAMES S. ALLEN

DAVID R. HAYNES

VICENTE MERISCHI

- [ 1 ] On the Michigan Smith Act Convictions
- [ 3 ] To the 2nd Convention of the Labor Youth League
- [ 9 ] Criticism and Self-Criticism
- [16] The Economic Situation: Proposals for Action
- [32] The Negotiations on Atomic Energy
- [41] Neo-Malthusianism and Marxism
- [58] Present Tasks in Argentina

**SPECIAL 24-PAGE SUPPLEMENT**

**Reader's Guide to**

**Foster's "The Negro People in American History"**

**WILLIAM WEINER**  
**(September 5, 1896—February 20, 1954)**

*Upon the death of our beloved comrade, William Weiner, the National Committee, CPUSA, issued the following statement—The Editor.*

On Saturday evening, February 20, one of the best loved American Communist leaders died at his home after a prolonged illness. William Weiner was a true American, upholding our country's best democratic traditions, and he was a staunch Communist. He led a rich and useful life, and made many contributions to the struggles of the American people for peace, economic security and full democracy. He died as he lived, confident that his people would one day embark on the American road to Socialism.

Weiner was born of the working class and devoted his whole life to the cause of the working people, Negro and white, native and foreign-born. As a young worker on his first job in Pittsburgh, he joined the Young People's Socialist League. When he moved to Detroit to work in a chemical plant, he continued active in the Socialist movement.

A talented writer and speaker, he came to New York to become assistant labor editor of the *Jewish Daily Freiheit* shortly after the paper was launched. He was a dynamo of energy on the paper, and, in addition to his editorial work, imbued its many Jewish readers with enthusiasm by organizing lively affairs and mass outings.

The International Workers Order soon recognized Weiner's rare organizing ability and deep understanding of the problems of the many national groups which made up the 140,000 membership of this mass fraternal organization. He became its second president and served in that office from 1931 to 1940.

Then he became treasurer of the Communist Party and a member of its national committee, a close co-worker of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis.

Besides ability, energy, steadfast courage, and Marxist understanding, William Weiner brought a warm personality and great humanism to all his work. These were qualities which endeared him to so many, and inspired all who had even a passing acquaintance with him. His consideration for others, his indomitable fighting spirit, and his ever-ready humor, made him a true comrade, in the deepest sense of that honored word. He has bequeathed to thousands of his fellow Americans his confidence in the working class and his devotion to the struggle for peace and ever widening democracy.

To his beloved family, we extend our deepest sympathies and we share with them the sorrow brought to our whole Party by the loss of this dear comrade.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
PETTIS PERRY

Vol. X

By N

The  
Febr  
Act,

THE  
which  
all six  
ants  
fascis  
Act i  
contin  
speech

All  
per e  
comp  
ing-cl  
Thom  
liam  
Schat  
hours  
"G

As  
not a  
cribed  
cause

Re-ent  
under  
Public  
corres  
and Ca  
PRINTS

A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

## On the Michigan Smith Act Convictions

By National Committee, CPUSA

*The National Committee, CPUSA, issued the following statement on February 18, 1954, following the conviction, under the fascist-like Smith Act, of six Michigan Communists and working-class leaders:*

THE UNPRECEDENTED HASTE with which the Smith Act jury convicted all six Michigan Communist defendants graphically confirms the profascist frameup character of the Smith Act itself. It gravely emphasizes the continuing threat to freedom of speech and constitutional liberties.

Alloting approximately one hour per defendant—after 14 weeks of complicated testimony—these working-class leaders — Saul Wellman, Thomas Dennis, Nat Ganley, William Allan, Helen Winter and Phil Schatz—were found “guilty” in six hours and 23 minutes.

“Guilty” of what?

As in all other Smith Act trials, not a single overt act could be ascribed to the defendants, simply because there aren't any. This was a

trial of books and ideas, of teaching, and independent political advocacy.

As in other Smith Act trials, a McCarthyite atmosphere of intimidation, prejudice, suspicion and accusation prevailed in the courtroom and in the public press.

The basis of the government's prosecution was the stoolpigeon testimony from the Ford Motor Co.'s anti-union spy set-up. The Michigan Communists rendered a great service to the workers of Detroit in exposing the continued operations of this notorious anti-union set-up which was supposedly abolished when the first union contract was signed with the Ford Motor Co. in 1941.

Most ominous was Judge Picard's proclamation that the Michigan Communists constituted a “clear and pres-

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

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

209

ent danger" to the nation. In his charge to the jurors, Picard assailed the defense assertion that what really was on trial were the issues of peace, democracy and security. Thus, in re-assertion of the Big Lie, once again the biased judge and biased jury contravened the U.S. Constitution and the First Amendment. This frameup verdict furthermore indicates that a mass movement of the people is necessary to compel any review of the "clear and present danger" basis on which the Smith Act was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1949.

Is the "clear and present danger" the Communist Party of Michigan, or is it the growing unemployment of thousands of auto workers in Detroit, over whom hangs the fear of starvation, of loss of homes, and dreams for their children's future?

Is the "clear and present danger" the Communist Party of Michigan, or is it the McCarthyite menace to civil and constitutional liberties, the attacks on the foreign-born, the monopoly drive on the unions, the growing violence against the Negro people?

Is the "clear and present danger" the Communist Party of Michigan or is it the threat of a new "Korea" in Indo-China?

The record of the Michigan Communist Party is clear. The judge was compelled to instruct the jurors to disregard the proud record of the Communists in Michigan in the fight for rent control, trade-union organ-

ization, higher wages, opposition to racism of all sorts, the fight for peace in Korea and for negotiations of outstanding differences between nations.

Dozens of auto workers and other citizens attended this frame-up trial. They saw the callous and inhuman refusal to sever the case of Helen Winter, seriously and painfully ill, forcing her to attend court for 14 long weeks on a stretcher. They saw for themselves the role of the Ford Motor Co. and its labor spy set-up. In contrast, they saw the heroic stand taken by the Michigan Communists who went to jail rather than turn informer, as demanded by the McCarthyite prosecutors.

The Eisenhower Administration and his Cadillac Cabinet are determined to behead the Michigan Communist Party because they fear its courageous defense of the living standards of the people and its fight for peace and democracy.

The National Committee of the Communist Party urges all Americans to:

*Protest the frameup verdict of the Michigan Communists!*

*Demand their immediate release on bail!*

*Fight for repeal of the Smith Act!*

*Fight for amnesty for all Smith Act victims!*

William Z. Foster  
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn  
Pettis Perry

By  
Cha

MAY  
your  
you  
izati  
attac  
how  
affili  
Now  
steel  
lying

In  
I sha  
on sp  
confi  
tions  
try, a  
the p  
inter

The  
ican  
period  
domin  
ness,  
in the  
cialism  
lish it  
tries.  
To see  
tal is

\* Hel

# To the 2nd Convention of the Labor Youth League

By William Z. Foster

*Chairman, Communist Party, U.S.A.*

MAY I EXTEND my best greetings to your Convention\* and congratulate you upon the brave way your organization is now standing up under the attacks of the reactionary Eisenhower government and its McCarthy affiliates. This is a time of testing. Now is when your League is being steeled for the great class struggles lying directly ahead.

In my remarks of greeting to you I shall not undertake to advise you on specific youth problems, but will confine myself to those broader questions in which the youth of our country, as well as the broad masses of the population in general, are deeply interested.

The main characteristic of American imperialism in this post-war period is a ruthless drive for world domination. Wall Street Big Business, the most powerful imperialism in the world, is resolved to wipe Socialism from the earth and to establish its control over all other countries. This is a vain and futile hope. To secure world control finance capital is quite prepared to plunge the

world into another great war, a horrible atomic war, and is orienting upon this basis. This is the meaning of the current gigantic militarization going on in this country and throughout the capitalist world, for which our government, since the end of World War II, has squandered no less than 250 billion dollars. The whole drive is based on the double big lie of a "Communist menace" and of the inevitability of war.

This huge militarization campaign is bringing about a sharp drop in American living standards through skyrocketing prices and taxes, and growing unemployment. It is also the basic reason for the deadly growth of McCarthyism in the United States. McCarthyism is fascism, American-brand. Its aim, in the imperialist interest of Big Business, is, by curtailing the liberties of the American people, to undermine their capacity to fight against the Wall Street profiteers and warmongers. The extreme demagoguery of the Republicans in the present campaign reflects the dangerous growth of fascism in the country.

\* Held in New York City, February, 1954.

During the years of the "cold war," the American working class, Negro people, poor farmers, and other democratic strata, have developed much effective opposition to those who would lead our country into economic crisis, fascist slavery, and world war. The supreme expression of this opposition to date was the forcing through of the truce in Korea in conjunction with peace-loving peoples all over the world in spite of desperate efforts of President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles, and their co-workers, to keep the war going. This was a great victory for the people; it greatly eased international tension and it opened the door for new and still greater successes for the forces of world peace.

But the struggles of the American people against the exploiters and warmongers have been much hindered by the existence of crippling illusions among the masses. Among them were the illusions that the industrial boom, based on munitions making, would last indefinitely; illusions that the red-baiting Smith Act and other fascist-like laws, under which Gene Dennis, Ben Davis and scores of others were jailed, affected only the Communists; illusions that conveniently blamed the war danger upon the Soviet Union and gave the Wall-Street government a clean bill of health as an innocent defender of world peace and democracy.

The situation is now radically changing. The general course of economic and political events is tending

to disillusion the workers and their allies regarding those things mentioned above, which they took for granted only a few months ago. It is, therefore, not difficult to forecast that within the near future the United States will be the scene of big and hard-fought class struggles, in which the toiling masses will take some long steps forward.

To begin with, the election of Eisenhower as President, his loading up of his Cabinet with Big Business men, his unfolding of a drastically anti-labor program, and his moving in the direction of McCarthyism, have caused serious disillusionment and generated opposition far and wide among the toiling masses. This is reflected in the wide anti-Eisenhower spirit in the A.F. of L., C.I.O., etc. The workers and others, awakening from their false belief under the Truman Administration that it was "their" government, are now coming to realize that this is a government of, by, and for Big Business. This is a long stride ahead, and it will be followed by a more effective political opposition to Wall Street's reactionary policies and the development of more independent working-class political action.

Secondly, with the serious decline in production, with some 4,000,000 workers without jobs and with the army of the unemployed growing rapidly from month to month, the workers are very alarmed and are increasingly in a mood to take vigorous steps to guard their jobs and

livi  
be  
wo  
the  
earl  
mil  
C  
pres  
gove  
John  
goo  
a ne  
theo  
tion  
C. E  
Gen  
Unit  
prog  
istr  
serv  
prof  
milit  
again  
Th  
head  
howe  
be b  
plet  
indus  
tions  
upon  
that  
profit  
gram  
ning  
such  
maint  
rates,  
ment  
establ  
with

living standards. One thing we can be sure of—never again will the workers of this country submit to the outrageous unemployment of the early 1930's, when from 10 to 17 million walked the streets jobless.

Obviously, the so-called anti-depression program of the Eisenhower government, based on the theories of John Maynard Keynes, bodes no good for the workers. It sums up to a new version of the "trickle down" theory of the Hoover Administration. This was lately expressed by C. E. Wilson, as "What is good for General Motors is good for the United States." The whole economic program of the Eisenhower Administration aims at two things—the conservation and increase of capitalist profits and the building of a great military machine for eventual war against the U.S.S.R. and its friends.

The workers' program must collide head-on with the reactionary Eisenhower-Keynesian program. It must be based on peace, breaking completely with the idea of keeping the industries running by making munitions wholesale. It must also be based upon a whole series of propositions that cut directly into the monster profits of the capitalists. Labor's program, as the unions are now beginning to understand, must include such anti-Keynesian measures as the maintenance and increase of wage rates, jobs for all, a vast improvement in the social security system, establishment of the thirty-hour week

into monopoly prices, drastic cuts in workers' taxes, huge public works programs of housing, road, hospital, and school building, reforestation, flood control, opening of East-West trade, etc., etc. The workers are now getting ready to fight for such demands. This is a political fact of tremendous importance.

Third, the workers, Negro people, and others, observing with alarm the great growth of the McCarthy fascist movement, on the basis of a rabid anti-Communist hysteria, are coming to understand that red-baiting affects not only the Communist Party, but also the whole democratic body of the American people. Now they see the alarming situation of not only "Reds," "socialists," and "liberals" being red-baited and intimidated, but Stevenson, Truman, Marshall, and even the whole leadership of the Democratic Party. "Twenty years of treason," bellows McCarthy in characterizing the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations. Treason in wartime, which is what McCarthy is accusing Truman and Marshall of, gets the death penalty. Your organization, too, is feeling the lash of this fascist drive.

A broad wave of anti-McCarthy spirit is now rising among the working masses. It is the duty of every progressive organization, including especially yours, to help to give clarity, understanding, direction and drive to this new and dynamic anti-McCarthy movement. And one of the

without pay reduction, sharp slashes major demands we should never

forget in this fight is for the release of Gene Dennis, Ben Davis, and the many others who have been railroaded to jail under the Smith Act and other fascist-like thought-control laws.

The workers are increasingly in a mood to attack this outrageous legislation, as we see more and more from the actions of the A.F. of L., C.I.O. and other labor and progressive organizations. This trend, too, is a hopeful political fact of major significance.

Fourth, the workers are also taking a new look at the war program of American imperialism. Their opposition to it grows more widespread, more determined, and more clear-sighted. This is especially true in view of the Administration's so-called "liberation" policy of starting civil wars in various opposing countries, and its open threats to use the A-bomb at any time and any place where Dulles and Company decide that a Communist "aggression" has taken place. Since the Soviet Union broke the A-bomb and H-bomb monopoly, great masses of the American people have come to realize more than ever that a major war today would result in the annihilation of American cities and the death of tens of millions of our people; and they want none of it.

The people's success in forcing through the Korean truce was a victory of world-wide proportions for international peace. It gives great encouragement to the masses, show-

ing them that if they will but act together they can balk and defeat the warmongers. The truce has greatly eased world tension and made it vastly more difficult for the warmongers who are trying to develop a world war.

But we cannot conclude from this peace victory that the war danger is past and that all we have to do now is to rest upon our oars and let things drift. This would be a most serious political error. Andrew Stevens, in his pamphlet *New Opportunities in the Fight for Peace and Democracy*, gave us a most timely warning against making just such a mistake. Instead of slackening our peace efforts, we must intensify our struggle against every manifestation of militarism and the war spirit.

A serious war danger remains in the world, as long as American imperialism spends 50 times as much for military preparations as it did in 1938; as long as the United States has over 400 highly organized air bases throughout the world, with all their guns pointed against the Soviet Union; as long as the United States is desperately trying to rearm militaristic West Germany and Japan; as long as the United States continues to mass A- and H-bombs and refuses to outlaw them or to pledge itself not to use them in war; as long as this country keeps to its so-called liberation policy of fomenting civil wars in other countries; as long as the United States continues to build NATO, the war alliance against the

Soviet  
to ba  
Nazi  
regim  
war;  
grow

As  
hibit  
impe  
will t  
must  
so far  
for w  
fight  
warn  
folly  
relax  
not t  
but t  
we w  
advic  
Comm  
in th  
*Affair*  
easing  
that  
world  
every  
tions.

He  
intern  
such  
bases  
direct  
the int  
states,  
cign  
who v  
tional  
which,  
alliance



Soviet Union; as long as it continues to bar People's China from the United Nations; as long as it continues to regiment millions of our youth for war; and as long as McCarthyism grows in this country.

As long as the United States exhibits all the aggressive, militarist, imperialist qualities, just that long will there be a war danger which we must fight. If the peace forces have so far blocked the Wall Street forces for war, it is because of the stubborn fight they have made against the warmongers. It would be criminal folly if the peace forces were now to relax their guard. Now is the time, not to slacken the fight for peace, but to strengthen it. In this respect, we would do well to hearken to the advice of Togliatti, the great Italian Communist leader. He warned us in the February issue of *Political Affairs*, after pointing out the recent easing of the international situation, that if we want further to relax world tension, we must fight against every manifestation of war preparations. Togliatti wrote:

He who wants a lessening of the international tension must condemn such actions as the building of war bases on foreign territories and the direct and even armed interference in the internal life of free and independent states, the favorite method of the foreign policy of the United States. He who wants a lessening of the international tension must reject those alliances which, by the very way they arise, are alliances for preparing war.

This is especially significant advice for us here in the United States, the home of American imperialism, the only real source of war danger now in the world. Above all, we must be especially conscious of the danger of aggressive imperialism and lose no opportunity to fight against it. The Labor Youth League should be highly active in the fight for peace, for more than all other people the youth are the greatest sufferers during war or intensive preparations for war. The warmongers are the special enemies of the young people whose lives they ruin.

War is not inevitable, as the reactionaries are shouting. Far from that, the masses can stop the warmongers cold any time they see fit to act. As we have seen, they have, in the recent past, won many big victories for peace, and they can knock out the warmongers altogether and establish solid guarantees for world peace. But this big job will take real struggle, especially in the months and years immediately ahead. The only thing that is inevitable is the ultimate victory of the workers and their allies in the realization of Socialism.

I regard as still timely some remarks I made in an article, "The Battle for the Youth," in 1947:

As matters now stand in the United States, the youth are being sadly neglected by the various sections of the labor and progressive movement, even more so, in many respects, than the way these same forces neglected them in Europe in prewar days. . . . There

is no assurance that the youth will be automatically on the side of progress. The most powerful reaction in our country is avidly striving to capture and use the youth for its own profit-hungry, warmongering purposes. Therefore, if labor and the progressive forces want the youth, they must fight for them. The question of who will win the Battle for the Youth now going on in our country, is one of the most decisive political issues that the American people have to confront.\*

We are living in difficult times. Left-wing fighters are being subjected

\* *Political Affairs*, October, 1947, pp. 870-71.

to all kinds of persecution. But we will not allow ourselves to be intimidated by this terrorism. Now more than ever, we must maintain and support our organizations and keep a resolute front in the face of the barbarous capitalist enemy. The day will come before long when you young women and men will be doubly proud because you were members of the Labor Youth League during this stormy period. Those who stand and fight when the battle is difficult are those who really count in this world. The working class is invincible.

By  
O  
pres  
from  
Part  
C  
a Co  
learn  
the  
the  
histo  
publ  
and  
discu  
the  
the l

THE  
ceive  
ment  
Party  
Cong  
sition  
the P  
W  
is the  
or al  
and t  
over  
itself  
Party  
the d

\* Fr  
sian ed  
\*\*

# Criticism and Self-Criticism

By Joseph Stalin

*On the occasion of the first anniversary of the death of Joseph Stalin we present to our readers, translated for the first time into English,\* an extract from a Report made by him to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on April 14, 1928.*

*Criticism and self-criticism is indispensable to the sound functioning of a Communist Party. The application of this principle requires study, requires learning from the whole century-long experience of the working classes of the world and their vanguard Marxist Parties. Particularly instructive are the lessons inherent in the application of criticism and self-criticism in the history of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the extract published below, Joseph Stalin, foremost disciple of Lenin, reveals, richly and convincingly, the dialectics of criticism and self-criticism. Although the discussion in this contribution centers about the situation then obtaining in the Soviet Union, the lessons inherent in it are of universal significance—the Editor.*

THE SLOGAN of self-criticism has received a particularly strong development since the XV Congress of our Party.\*\* Why? Because after the XV Congress, which defeated the opposition, a new situation took shape in the Party, which we cannot disregard.

What is new in the situation? It is the fact that we have no opposition or almost no opposition any longer, and that in view of the easy victory over the opposition, which victory in itself represents a serious plus for the Party, there may arise in the Party the danger of resting on our laurels,

of succumbing to inertia and shutting our eyes to the shortcomings in our work.

The easy victory over the opposition is a very great plus for our Party. But hidden in it are special minuses, consisting of this—that the Party might become imbued with a feeling of self-complacency, of smugness, and would rest on its laurels. And what is the meaning of resting on laurels? It means to put an end to our forward movement. And if this is not to take place, we must have self-criticism, not the kind of criticism, malicious and essentially counter-revolutionary, which was carried

\* From Vol. XI of J. V. Stalin's *Works* (Russian edit.)

\*\* Held in December, 1927—ed.

on by the opposition, but honest criticism, open, Bolshevik self-criticism.

The XV Congress of our Party took into account this circumstance and issued the slogan of self-criticism. Since then the wave of self-criticism has been rising, placing its authority on the work of the April plenary session of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Party.

It would be strange if we were to fear that our enemies, the internal as well as the external enemies, will exploit the criticism of our shortcomings, make a to-do about it: Aha, all is not well with the Bolsheviks. The strength of Bolshevism is precisely in this, that it does not fear to acknowledge its mistakes. Let the Party, let the Bolsheviks, let all honest workers and toiling masses of our land, expose the shortcomings in our work, in our construction; let them indicate the paths toward eliminating our shortcomings, so that there will be no sluggishness and dry-rot in our construction, so that all our work, all our construction will improve from day to day and proceed from success to success. This is the chief requirement at present. And let our enemies babble about our shortcomings; such trifles cannot and should not embarrass Bolsheviks.

Lastly, there is one other circumstance which impels us to self-criticism. I have in mind the question of masses and leaders. Lately certain peculiar relations have begun to arise between the leaders and the masses.

On the one hand, we have the crystallization of a historically developed group of leaders whose authority is rising ever higher and which is getting almost beyond reach of the masses. On the other hand, the masses in general are developing very slowly, they are beginning to look up to the leaders and they not infrequently hesitate to criticize their leaders.

Of course, the fact that in our country there has developed a group of leaders who have risen very high and are possessed of great authority, is itself a great achievement of our Party. Clearly, without the existence of such an authoritative group of leaders the guidance of a great country is inconceivable. But the fact that the leaders, in rising upward, separate themselves from the masses, while the masses begin to look up to them, hesitating to criticize them, this fact cannot but create the danger of a separation of the leaders from the masses and the masses from the leaders.

This danger might lead to a situation in which the leaders would become self-inflated and regard themselves as infallible. What good could come of such a situation in which the leaders become self-inflated, would begin to look down upon the masses? Clearly, the outcome of this would be doom for the Party. But we do not want doom for the Party; we want to move forward and improve our work. Precisely in order to move forward and to improve the relations

between  
we  
val  
cure  
tunit  
critic  
the l  
and  
them  
So  
and l  
tion  
is in  
with  
leade  
most  
We a  
prese  
forem  
stant  
them  
ing w  
by m  
cism  
public  
public  
as a li  
to the  
leader  
to reta  
and o  
In t  
press,  
truly i  
cannot  
Pravd  
of V

\* The  
was pub  
15, 192  
in Collec

between the masses and the leaders we must constantly keep open the valve of self-criticism, we must secure to the Soviet people the opportunity to "lambast" their leaders, to criticize them for mistakes, so that the leaders should not become smug and the masses should not separate themselves from the leaders.

Sometimes the question of masses and leaders is confused with the question of promotion. This, comrades, is incorrect. What we are dealing with is not the promotion of new leaders, although this task merits the most serious attention of the Party. We are dealing with the question of preserving the already promoted and foremost leaders by organizing a constant and unbreakable bond between them and the masses. We are dealing with the question of organizing, by means of self-criticism and criticism of our shortcomings, the broad public opinion of the Party, the broad public opinion of the working class, as a living and vigilant moral control, to the voice of which the foremost leaders must pay heed, if they desire to retain the confidence of the Party and of the working class.

In this sense the importance of our press, the Party and Soviet press, is truly immeasurable. In this sense we cannot but welcome the initiative of *Pravda* in organizing the "Bulletin of Worker-Peasant Inspection,"\*

\* The "Bulletin of Worker-Peasant Inspection" was published periodically in *Pravda* from March 15, 1928, to November 28, 1933. (Reference in *Collected Works*, p. 358.)

which carries on systematic criticism of the shortcomings in our work. It is necessary only to strive that the criticism be serious and deep and not merely touch the surface. In this sense we must also welcome the initiative of *Komsomol Pravda*, which attacks the shortcomings in our work vigorously and sharply.

Sometimes the critics are scolded for the imperfection of their criticism, for the fact that it is sometimes not 100 percent correct. Not infrequently it is demanded that the criticism be correct on all points, and should it not be correct in everything it is berated and denounced.

Comrades, this is wrong, this is a dangerous misconception. Put forward such a demand and you will close the lips of hundreds and thousands of workers, of worker-correspondents, of peasant-correspondents, who desire to correct our shortcomings but who are sometimes unable to formulate correctly their thoughts. This would mean death and not self-criticism.

You should be aware that workers sometimes hold back from telling the truth about shortcomings in our work. They hold back not only because they might be "told off" for it but also because they might be "laughed out of court" for imperfect criticism. How can a simple worker or a simple peasant, who feels the shortcomings of our work and of our planning on his own back, how can he formulate his criticism ac-

ording to all the rules of the art? If you will demand from him criticism 100 percent correct, you will thereby destroy the possibility of all criticism from below, the possibility of all self-criticism. That is why I think that if a criticism is even five or ten percent true, such criticism should be welcomed, and listened to attentively, and the healthy kernel taken into account. Otherwise, I repeat, you would have to shut the mouths of all those hundreds and thousands of people who are devoted to the Soviet cause and who are not sufficiently experienced in their critical work, but through whose lips truth itself speaks.

Precisely in order not to dampen self-criticism but to develop it, it is necessary to listen attentively to every criticism by Soviet people, even though it is sometimes not fully or not in all parts correct. Only under such conditions can the masses get the assurance that they will not be "told off" for imperfect criticism and that they will not be "laughed out of court" for some errors in their criticism. Only under such conditions can self-criticism acquire a real mass character and a real mass response.

It should be self-evident that we are not speaking of "any kind" of criticism. The criticism of a counter-revolutionist is also criticism. But it is aimed at undoing the Soviet power, at undermining our industry, at disrupting the work of our Party. Obviously, we are not dealing here with

such criticism. I speak not of such criticism, but of the criticism which comes from Soviet people, criticism aimed at improving the organs of the Soviet power, improving our industry, improving the work of our Party and the trade unions. We need criticism, not to weaken, but to strengthen the Soviet power. And precisely in order to strengthen and improve our cause, precisely with this aim in view the Party has proclaimed the slogan of criticism and self-criticism.

What do we expect, in the first place, from the slogan of self-criticism, what results can it bring us if carried out correctly and honestly? It should produce at least two effects. It should, first, raise the vigilance of the working class, sharpen its attention to our shortcomings, facilitate correction of these shortcomings and render impossible any kind of "surprises" in our work of construction. It should, secondly, raise the political maturity of the working class, develop in it the feeling that it is the master of our country, and facilitate the training of the working class in the task of governing the country.

Have you noted the fact that not only the Shakhta affair but the economic procurement crisis in January 1928, as well, have come to many of us as "surprises"? In this respect the Shakhta affair is especially characteristic. For five years the counter-revolutionary group of bourgeois specialists carried on activities under direc-

tives  
of in  
ou  
uted  
cision  
coal  
upgr  
syste  
it w  
and  
sabot  
For  
tiona  
sabot  
boiler  
we pr  
And  
out o  
Is  
opini  
To st  
out  
stance  
some  
giving  
Bolsh  
order  
to ha  
is not  
It is  
of lea  
and ta  
work,  
either  
on the  
shortc  
are th  
that y  
But i  
gether  
comra

tives from anti-Soviet organizations of international capital. For five years our organizations wrote and distributed all kinds of resolutions and decisions. Of course, the work of our coal industry nevertheless was on the upgrade, because the Soviet economic system is so vital and powerful that it won out despite our carelessness and our mistakes, and despite the saboteur activity of the specialists. For five years this counter-revolutionary group of specialists carried on sabotage in our industry, blowing up boilers, destroying turbines, etc. And we proceeded as if nothing was amiss. And then "suddenly"—like a bolt out of the blue the Shakhta affair.

Is this normal, comrades? In my opinion it is more than abnormal. To stand at the helm and look without seeing anything until circumstances bring us face to face with some misfortune, this does not mean giving guidance. That is not the way Bolshevism understands guidance. In order to give guidance it is necessary to have foresight. And, comrades, it is not always easy to have foresight.

It is one thing when ten or a score of leading comrades look out for and take note of shortcomings in our work, while the working masses either do not wish to or cannot be on the look out for or take note of shortcomings. Then all the chances are that you will overlook something, that you will not notice everything. But it is quite different when, together with ten or twenty leading comrades, hundreds of thousands and

millions of workers are on the look-out for and take notice of the shortcomings in our work, exposing our mistakes, harnessing themselves to the common task of construction and indicating the path to improve the work. This will offer greater assurance that there will be no surprises, that negative phenomena will be noticed in time and that measures will be taken in time to eliminate such phenomena.

We must shape things in such a way that the vigilance of the working class will be developed and not stifled, that hundreds of thousands and millions of workers will harness themselves to the common task of socialist construction, that hundreds of thousands and millions of workers and peasants, and not merely a score of leaders, will be alert to the course of our work of construction, will take note of our mistakes and will bring them into the open. Only under such conditions shall we have no "surprises". But in order to achieve this, we must develop from below criticism of our shortcomings, we must make of criticism a mass task, we must take hold of the slogan of self-criticism and carry it out in life.

Finally, in connection with the realization of the slogan of self-criticism, we turn to the question of the uplifting of the cultural forces of the working class, the development of the aptitudes in the working class for governing the country. Lenin said:

The main thing we need is cultural

development, the ability to govern... Economically and politically, the New Economic Policy fully assures us the possibility of building the foundation of a socialist economy. The question depends "only" upon the cultural forces of the proletariat and its vanguard.\*

What does this mean? It means that one of the basic tasks of our construction is the development within the working class of the aptitudes and the ability to govern the country, to manage the economy, to administer industry.

Is it possible to cultivate in the working class these aptitudes and this ability without freeing the forces and capacities of the workers, the forces and abilities of the best among the workers to criticize our errors, to point out our shortcomings and to move our work forward? Clearly, it is impossible.

And what is required to release the forces and capacities of the working class and of the toilers in general, and to give them the possibility of acquiring the aptitudes to govern the country? We require for this, first of all, the honest, Bolshevik implementation of the slogan of self-criticism, the honest and Bolshevik implementation of the slogan of criticism from below of the shortcomings and mistakes in our work. What does it mean if the workers make use of the possibility openly and directly to criticize shortcomings in our work, to improve our work and to direct it forward? It means that

the workers become active participants in the leadership of the country, its economy and industry. And this cannot fail to arouse in them the feeling of being masters of their country, to raise their activity, their vigilance, their cultural level.

The question of the cultural forces of the working class is one of the decisive questions. Why? Because, of all the ruling classes that have existed up to now, the working class as a ruling class has a somewhat special position in history, a not altogether favorable position. All former ruling classes, the slaveowners, landed gentry, capitalists, were also rich classes. They had been able to train their children in the knowledge and aptitudes essential for governing. The working class differs from them, among other things, in that it is not a rich class, it did not in the past have the possibility of training its children in the knowledge and aptitudes for governing and has acquired this possibility only now, after coming to power.

This incidentally, determines also the acuteness of the question of the cultural revolution in our country. To be sure, in the ten years of its rule, the working class has achieved much more in this respect than the landlords and capitalists in hundreds of years. But the international and internal situation is such that the results attained are far from adequate. Therefore any means which can raise the level of development of the cultural forces of the working class, any

\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 3rd Russian edition, Vol. XXVII, p. 207.



method which can facilitate the task of developing in the working class the knowledge and capacity for governing the country, of managing industry, any such method must be utilized by us to the utmost.

But from all that has been said it follows that the slogan of self-criticism is one of the most important means for the task of developing the cultural forces of the proletariat, for the task of developing in the working class the capacity to govern. From

this flows, then, one other reason showing that the realization of the self-criticism slogan is a vital task for us.

These, in general, are the reasons which dictate to us the slogan of self-criticism as the slogan of the day.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the work of the April Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission proceeded under the sign of self-criticism.

# The Economic Situation: Proposals for Action

By Mary Norris

*(In our last issue appeared an article, by the same author, dealing with the nature of the economic decline in 1953, the immediate economic outlook, and the differences between the situation in 1929 and at present.)*

## THE POLICY OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL

ECONOMIC CRISES have never been considered an unmitigated evil by Big Business. Indeed monopoly capital has consistently utilized periods of economic decline to extend its domination of the economy through wiping out smaller producers, and to increase its profit margins through pressure of mass unemployment on wages and working conditions.

This approach is still characteristic. But today, the great corporate interests seek these objectives within the context of efforts to hold the developing crisis to a "limited adjustment" or at most a "controlled recession." Their policy is directed toward restricting the depth and duration of the downturn, while making sure that its costs are loaded on the masses. Their basic method is maintenance of the arms economy, combined with certain additional features of state monopoly capitalism. The theoretical elaboration of their

policy is Keynesism, which (unlike earlier capitalist economic theories) admits that depressions can develop from "maladjustments" within the economic system, and advocates government intervention to avert or overcome them.<sup>1</sup>

Why does monopoly capital advance such a policy today? Essentially, because Big Business fears the *political* consequences that would attend any fresh edition of the severe crisis and prolonged depression of the 1930's. As that experience proved, cyclical crises which occur during the general crisis of capitalism have much more far reaching results than they did in the earlier days of capitalism when the system had not yet reached its historical limit and could still find new fields to conquer as the solution for each periodic collapse.

The economic rulers of this country remember well the tremendous

<sup>1</sup> Thus Keynesism provides the theoretical framework for such widely varied programs as that of the Nazi State, the New Deal, and the policy of the British government under both Labor and Conservative parties.

leap in organization and consciousness of the American working class and its allies which resulted from the economic and political struggles they conducted in the 1930's. The popular coalition which emerged during the New Deal was able, with all its limitations and weaknesses, to inflict important defeats on the entrenched monopoly interests. Big Business recognizes that any comparable crisis today would speed up a fresh alignment of forces which would take much greater strides in curbing the power of monopoly.

Moreover, they must take the international consequences into account. Since U.S. imperialism occupies an even more dominant position within world capitalism than it did in 1929, and since that system as a whole is much shakier today, a severe U.S. economic crisis would have drastic results abroad. Other capitalist nations are already seeking a partial solution to their economic problems through expanded trade with the socialist, democratic nations, and are evidencing increasing resistance to the dictates of U.S. imperialism. An acute crisis would undoubtedly lead to much more extensive changes in their economic and political life, up to and including the departure of additional countries from the capitalist sector of the world.

The economic policy of U.S. monopoly capital cannot be separated, therefore, from its general objec-

tives, namely, world economic domination, fascization at home, and the drive toward an anti-Soviet war. The centering of monopoly economic policy on the arms economy as a means of limiting, if not averting, a crisis dovetails with this overall strategy. Moreover, it represents the most effective method for extracting maximum profits both at home and abroad. There is, consequently, fundamental agreement upon this policy in the ranks of Big Business, although tactical differences as to its specific application, scope, and tempo are developing. Both the basic harmony and the secondary differences in policy are revealed in an examination of the economic programs of the Republican and Democratic parties.

#### THE PROGRAM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Republican Party's program was spelled out in a series of messages which Eisenhower sent to Congress dealing with the budget, social security, his report on economic conditions, etc. The Eisenhower Administration, and main leadership of the Republican Party, while minimizing the character of the present economic decline, have publicly espoused a Keynesian policy of government action to curtail the "fluctuations of the business cycle" and have particularly emphasized the need to avert any severe or prolonged crisis.

Although Eisenhower speaks demagogically of transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy, the cornerstone of the government program is continuation of the arms economy. The real thinking of the Republican high command on this question was indicated in the remarks of Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense: "We can't operate the defense business as though we operated in a vacuum with no effect on the economy of the country. We must realize that if . . . we upset the economy of the country and have an important recession, we'd contribute more to the success of the Russians than most anything else that could happen."<sup>2</sup>

Within this framework, special emphasis is laid on those measures which most directly and openly underwrite high profits for Big Business and extend monopoly domination of the economy. Meanwhile, Republican leadership spearheads the drive to eliminate, or at least whittle down, those remaining New Deal reforms which were of the greatest benefit to labor, the Negro people, and the working farmers.

The most important specific features of the Administration's economic program include:

(1) Continuation of a high level of war expenditures. Eisenhower's budget proposes war spending of

\$44.6 billion for the 1954-55 fiscal year, as compared to \$57.3 billion for 1953-54. Moreover, the perspective calls for "stabilizing" such expenditure at an annual level of roughly \$41 billion. Obviously, this represents no transition to peace-time economy.

(2) Financing the arms economy at the expense of the people. Fresh tax concessions are planned for Big Business, while no lightening of the load on the average taxpayer is envisaged. Indeed a stepping up of such taxation is in prospect, including the possibility of a general sales tax. Moreover, to the extent that budget deficits continue and are met by increasing the national debt, there will be further inflationary pressures on consumer prices.

(3) Increased government inducements to private capital investment, which the Administration regards as the most important and satisfactory means of maintaining production and averting a crisis. The preferred method is new tax "inducements," especially adoption of the rapid tax write-off of new capital investment, to be applied to *all* business enterprises as a *permanent feature* of tax policy. This would enable corporations to charge off the cost of new plant and equipment against taxes over a five-year period, instead of the fifteen-to-twenty-year depreciation periods previously employed. Also envisaged is the right to carry

<sup>2</sup> *U.S. News and World Report*, November 13, 1953.

back losses for three years, thus reducing or eliminating profits for tax purposes over this period.

Simultaneously, the "give-away" program is being palmed off as a further incentive for private capital investment, *i.e.*, private corporate exploitation of the remaining water, mineral, and land resources of our country.

Widespread Federal underwriting of private lending, credit, and insurance agencies is also endorsed, while government agencies or policies that in the past extended at least limited credit to the small producer or home owner are systematically undermined or eliminated. This, too, falls under the heading of incentives for private investment.

Finally, should the above prove inadequate, Administration spokesmen have spoken of large-scale direct loans to Big Business, bringing back memories of the R.F.C.'s early history in rescuing the banks, railroads, and insurance companies.

(4) Direct government investments to be maintained in instances where Big Business finds this the most profitable and expedient method (for example, the basic atomic energy plants which represent nearly eight billion dollars of government investment, but which are directly managed by the most important corporations in the United States). This is the case primarily when even the great monopolies are

unable or unwilling to undertake the scale of investment required.

In keeping with this approach, any program of public works or housing proposed by the Administration as the result of pressure would undoubtedly be directed through private channels rather than undertaken directly by the Federal government.

(5) A calculated policy of squeezing out small producers in both agriculture and industry. This is the essence of the Administration's farm program. "Flexible" parity spells lower prices for farm products. This will strike hardest at the small and middle farmers who cannot compete with the large producers in terms of unit costs, which the wealthy farmers can reduce through extensive mechanization, employment of masses of low-paid agricultural workers, or the system of sharecropping and tenant farming. The discriminatory character of Federal farm-credit policy works in the same direction, with working farmers, and Negro farmers above all, finding it almost impossible to get adequate assistance. All this is aimed toward the goal frankly stated by the N.A.M. several years ago—that is, to drive one-third of America's farmers from the land.

Smaller, and even not-so-small industrial producers are also being forced to the wall. Business failures in 1953 were up 50% from 1952. Many Administration policies contributed to this, including the award-

ing of contracts to the most "efficient" producers (read: largest monopolies). In June 1951, 61.2% of all defense contracts had been awarded to 100 large corporations; a year later, 62.4% was awarded to them; and by mid 1953, the figures had risen still further to 64%. General Motors led the pack, with 7.2% of all contracts.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, the Eisenhower Administration is engaged in removing most of the "anti-trust" camouflage with which the Truman Administration attempted to veil its pro-monopoly policies: for example, note the revision of "anti-trust" policies currently being prepared by the Department of Justice.

(6) Continued reduction in real wages as a means of maintaining or raising profit margins. This is being undertaken in a number of ways: (a) The rise in unemployment is minimized or even justified by the claim that "nearly full" rather than full employment, should be the government's goal. The need for direct government measures to provide work or larger benefits for the unemployed is thus dismissed, and the pool of unemployed can more readily be used by Big Business as a means of pressure on wages and job conditions. (b) Maintenance of the arms economy also means continuation of high taxes and inflationary consumer prices, both of which reduce real

wages, and benefit the corporate interests either directly or indirectly. (c) Refusal to enact F.E.P. legislation, since this would be a step toward elimination of Negro-white wage differentials which serve today as a major brake on real wages. (7) Certain limited concessions aimed primarily at the middle class, including white collar and professional workers, and accompanied by considerable demagoguery. In this category fall Eisenhower's proposals to expand social security (mainly to the self-employed, government workers, and similar groups) as well as his plan for government reinsurance of private medical plans whose membership is drawn largely from the middle class.

(8) A foreign trade policy aimed at expanding U.S. private investment abroad (which will also serve as the main means of financing U.S. exports) and at increasing imports to the U.S., especially in cases where these originate from foreign subsidiaries of U.S. concerns. This is an essential aspect of the drive for world economic domination. It also represents an effort to shift the weight from government "aid" to private corporate financing, with the government supplying necessary "guarantees," as to profits and the security of the investments.

The Administration is simultaneously maintaining the U.S. embargo on trade with the socialist, demo-

<sup>3</sup> *New York Times*, January 19, 1953.

cratic  
to da  
Uni  
surp  
ernm  
of b  
large  
to p  
tion,  
mean  
(Ch  
The  
give  
respe  
pelle  
try a  
sition  
come  
elem

W  
some  
lican  
prog  
read  
Wes  
the f  
outli  
the a  
Rep  
doub  
port.  
Th  
polic  
econ  
as f  
prog  
of t  
stim

cratic nations, as witness the refusal to date to accept offers by the Soviet Union to purchase nearly half the surplus butter held by the U.S. government. However, certain sections of business, including some fairly large corporate interests, have begun to press for an easing, if not elimination, of the embargo as a major means for enlarging their markets. (Chrysler, large exporting firms, etc.) The government has already had to give ground on this question with respect to its allies, and may be compelled to alter it for our own country as well. The most vigorous opposition to any such change, of course, comes from the fully open pro-war elements headed by McCarthy.

\* \* \*

While there will undoubtedly be some tactical conflicts within Republican ranks over specifics of the above program (note, for instance, the already voiced opposition of some Mid-West Republican Congressmen to the farm parity proposals), the broad outlines of this program represent the approach of the major sectors of Republican leadership and will undoubtedly receive Congressional support.

The consequences of Republican policy in relation to the developing economic crisis can be summed up as follows: Certain aspects of the program, notably the continuation of the arms economy and various stimuli to private capital investment,

may delay the onset of the acute crisis phase somewhat, and cause it to develop in a distorted, uneven fashion (as described in our article published last month). However, the basic effect of these measures and of the overall policy of the Administration is further to undermine mass purchasing power, to enlarge still more the gap between productive capacity and consumption, to intensify the farm crisis, and to aggravate the contradictions between the monopoly and non-monopoly sectors of the economy. This adds up to an intensification of all the basic crisis elements in the economy, and thus to paving the way for a more severe crisis. Moreover, these same measures insure that the burdens of the crisis will be borne by the majority of the American people, while the profits of the largest corporations are protected.

#### THE PROGRAM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Judging by Stevenson's Philadelphia speech, and by numerous articles in the *Democratic Digest*, the Democratic Party leadership is aware of its opportunity to make political capital of the current economic decline. Stevenson's speech was devoted in the main to the present economic situation. He introduced the topic with the observation that, "Depression is a real fear for many of us," followed by the warning that, "talk

alone won't prevent a depression or cure it either," coupled with glowing references to past reform measures enacted during the New Deal.

However, the balance of his speech failed to set forth any specific program to combat the developing crisis. In fact, its substance, like the actions of the majority of Democrats in Congress, revealed an approach basically in harmony with that of the Eisenhower Administration, with differences that must be termed secondary (and largely verbal). This is understandable since many features of Republican economic policy were initiated under the Truman Administration, though the Eisenhower regime has, of course, added many distinct touches of its own.

The chief characteristics of the Democratic party's economic policy at present appear to be as follows:

(1) Continuation of the arms program as the chief form of government intervention in the economy and the main "alternative" to economic crisis. Stevenson avoided discussing this crucial issue in Philadelphia; but by his silence certainly gave assent to the actions of the Democratic party leadership which is demanding even larger military appropriations than those proposed by Eisenhower. Truman, of course, takes a very blunt stand on this, in keeping with the record of his Administration which initiated the cold war, the Korean war, and the arms economy,

while undermining and whittling away the welfare measures remaining from the Roosevelt period.

(2) While the Republicans engage in demagoguery about the transition to a peace-time economy, the Democratic party leadership reiterates the need and feasibility of a "guns and butter" economy. This was the line consistently adopted by the Council of Economic Advisors under Truman, and it continues to be the Democratic party approach today. Since the mass base of the Democratic party is the labor movement, the Negro people, and the working farmers, its public policies contain a heavier emphasis upon the need to provide some degree of economic protection to these sections of the people. And, under Truman, it was compelled to make a few concessions in this direction (such as maintenance of farm price parity). In Stevenson's speech, however, the "butter" aspects were left at the level of broad generalities, such as the need for constructive public works, "readjustment of tax burdens to release money for private spending," adequate monetary and credit policy, improvements in social security and in farm policy. There was not one word on F.E.P.C. or the special needs of the Negro people. He went out of his way, moreover, to comment that "perhaps most important, we must give more emphasis to the part that business must play in an anti-depression program."

(3)  
the D  
gener  
Adm  
emph  
on th  
"aid"  
bargo  
Chin  
count  
ment  
allies  
of su  
trade  
grow  
starve  
they  
ever,  
Stass  
F.O.  
with  
cratic  
positi  
Th  
whic  
polic  
twee  
cratic  
prog  
leade  
of hi  
posee  
inter  
soil  
dercu  
er p  
been  
aspe  
such



(3) With respect to foreign trade, the Democratic leadership echoes the general objectives of the Eisenhower Administration with perhaps more emphasis on increasing imports and on the need to maintain government "aid" to other nations. On the embargo of trade with the Soviet Union, China, and the eastern European countries, Stevenson added the comment that ". . . if our friends and allies can't find markets and sources of supplies outside the Iron Curtain, trade with the Communist orbit will grow. I doubt if anyone is going to starve to prove how anti-Communist they are." This general point, however, has also been made by Harold Stassen, Republican Director of the F.O.A. On the matter of U.S. trade with the socialist nations, the Democratic leadership has taken no new positions.

Thus, the only major point at which a sharp difference in economic policy has developed in practice between the Republican and Democratic leadership has been the farm program. By and large Democratic leaders have favored the maintenance of high parity supports, and have opposed other attacks on the farmer's interests such as the closing of many soil conservation offices and the undercutting of federal water and power programs. Of course there have been skirmishes over certain other aspects of the Republican program, such as the "give away" of our na-

tional resources, but so far these have been rather limited.

The cleavage on farm policy indicates that the working class, the Negro people, and the working farmers can—if they make their concrete demands and independent political strength felt—compel the Democratic party to adopt a more specific economic program adapted to the interests of the majority of the people. To achieve this, however, labor and its allies must acquire a deeper understanding of several important points.

First, the Truman "guns-and-butter" policy is illusory so far as the "butter" is concerned. The Democratic party leadership was able to promote this line mainly because it rode the crest of two post-war booms, during which family incomes were sustained to some degree by overtime wages, several employed workers in one family, utilization of consumer credit, etc. But, as we have seen, the war economy has been steadily undermining the real wages and incomes of the majority of the American people, and has aggravated the crisis elements in the economy. The result—butter has increasingly disappeared from the table of the American people; its fate—as surplus in government warehouses—is a harbinger of the economic future in general.

Furthermore, the Truman Administration undertook major cuts in

federal welfare expenditures, which are carried still further by the Eisenhower regime. And it was the Truman Administration which initiated the embargo on East-West trade which is today depriving both the United States and other capitalist nations of the most stable and promising foreign markets available.

All this is the inevitable logic of the war economy and the pro-war policy of monopoly capital which has dominated the economic program of the Democratic party.

Consequently, pressure on the Democratic party to adopt a concrete program to delay the developing crisis and to protect the people from its worst results will be fully effective only if it is coupled with the demand for a peace policy. Such decisive economic measures as the reopening of East-West trade, and the adoption of a large-scale government welfare program cannot be separated from the adoption of a foreign policy which accepts the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Such a change in the economic policy of the Democratic party will be brought about only to the degree that labor and its allies develop their own independent program and channels of action, as a means of exerting the necessary pressure.

The possibilities of such change were indicated in February by two "anti-depression" bills introduced into Congress by Democratic legisla-

tors. Senator James Murray of Montana introduced a bill calling for a higher minimum wage (\$1.25 an hour), a shorter work week (37½ hours at once, 35 hours after two years) and broader coverage under the law. And Senator Douglas of Illinois and Representative Bolling of Missouri introduced bills calling for considerable expansion in a Federal public works program. These bills merit energetic support.

There is at present no deep-going split in the ranks of monopoly capital comparable to that which developed for a time during the 1930's. In those days, a reactionary, pro-fascist wing on the one hand, and a liberal, reformist grouping on the other, tended to find political expression through the Republican and Democratic parties respectively and in the economic programs of Hooverism versus the New Deal. Even then, it was a serious mistake for labor and the people's forces to tail the leaders of the Democratic Party. Today, however, such a policy is suicidal, since the monopolists are fundamentally united behind the drive for world domination. The differences which exist in the ranks of monopoly capital and its political representatives are much more limited than was true in the 'thirties. This does not preclude the development of further tactical differences. But these will be significant only to the degree that the developing people's coali-

tion v  
own P  
LABO  
PRO  
Aro  
in un  
ment  
grams  
sion  
numb  
nation  
and A  
union  
bor co  
cant  
U.A.V  
nearly  
to W  
mapp  
presen  
of sig  
Wisco  
deleg  
ers' u  
hard-  
Mo  
tain  
includ  
(a)  
chasin  
the d  
one f  
mum  
emple  
fits, a  
for  
U.A.  
mora

tion utilizes them to fight for its own program and policy.

### LABOR'S "ANTI-DEPRESSION" PROGRAM

Aroused especially by the growth in unemployment, the labor movement has begun to take action. Programs to combat the onset of depression have been put forward by a number of unions, including the last national conventions of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L., various international unions, and some state and local labor councils. One of the most significant developments was the special U.A.W. conference which brought nearly one thousand auto workers to Washington for the purpose of mapping out a policy to check the present economic decline. Likewise of significance was the very recent Wisconsin conference attended by delegates from C.I.O. unions, farmers' unions, and the Mayors of several hard-hit cities.

Most of these programs have certain positive features in common, including:

(a) Measures to increase mass purchasing power. These revolve around the demand for increased wages in one form or another, higher minimum wage standards, expanded unemployment and social security benefits, and a reduction in income taxes for lower income brackets. The U.A.W. conference also called for a moratorium on consumer debts for

unemployed workers, a proposal which might well be extended to the most distressed sectors of the working farmers.

(b) Large-scale government welfare programs. These embrace extensive public works (especially schools, hospitals, highways, and water and power development), public housing on the scale necessary to insure the construction of two million new family dwellings a year, and a government sponsored health program.

(c) A program to maintain the income of working farmers. While the unions have not elaborated this as fully as other points, there has been considerable labor support for maintenance of 100% parity, and other measures to protect the small and middle farmers.

Certain unions have added specialized proposals for their own industries. For example, Right-led maritime unions recently organized a special conference on the critical situation in that industry, where a number of specific proposals to expand employment and maintain wages were worked out. Progressive-led unions in this industry have for some time been advancing a program aimed at expanding foreign trade as a key to meeting the problem of unemployment. The Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union has put forward a program addressed to the particular problems of the non-ferrous metal miners and processing

workers. A.F. of L. Building Trades Unions are laying particular stress on the need for an elaborate government construction program. Many other unions likewise face special problems which require concrete approaches, such as textile, coal mining, and railroad (where certain long time trends in the industry are aggravating the current economic decline).

*Thus what is emerging is the outline of a common "anti-depression" program around which labor as a whole can rally, combined with additional, special demands to meet the needs of workers in individual industries. This represents a real starting point for united labor action on all levels.*

However, there are as yet very serious weaknesses in the position taken by the main centers of the labor movement which, if not corrected, will tend to undermine labor's struggles.

The most serious of these is the open or tacit support given by the leadership of the Right-led unions to the arms economy. This is actually in direct contradiction to the proposals advanced to combat depression, since the war economy is aggravating factors leading to crisis, while the huge arms budget makes impossible the very program of government welfare spending which labor advocates. Abandonment of this "guns-and-butter" illusion is thus es-

sential to the struggle for a real peacetime economic program. And it is in keeping with the sentiment of most workers who are searching for an alternative to the twin evils of war and economic crisis.

There are also important omissions in program. One of the most glaring is the absence of a demand (in both A.F. of L. and C.I.O. bodies) for expansion of foreign trade, particularly the ending of the embargo on East-West trade. The fact is that to date a more forthright stand on this question has been taken by some business men than by the main sections of labor leaders in the United States. Yet this is a step which would have the most profound and positive results in terms of production and employment for a whole series of industries, including auto, machine tools and machinery of all types, steel, textiles, food products and other consumer goods, as well as maritime.

A number of progressive-led unions have called for reopening of East-West trade, including the I.L.W.U., Mine Mill, U.E. and Fur. More recently, however, the National Maritime Union, through an editorial in the *Pilot*, called for an end to the embargo, observing that, "Under the capitalist system, there must be trade. . . . The world has long thrived on trade . . . our Western allies in one way or another are trading with the Soviet Union. Yet while the world goes on trading, the men

who  
Ameri  
mark  
tic app  
led un

Ano  
of mar  
for F.  
part  
grams,  
directe  
economi  
worker  
wage  
and u  
wome  
all dri  
crease  
the ma  
ference  
pointe  
particu  
this as  
and in  
volved  
of wor  
States.

A fu  
is the  
of L.  
wage  
to by-  
speed-  
tributi  
unemp  
cases (

4 Andre  
Figh  
Publis

who run this country are letting American ships rot." This may well mark the beginning of a more realistic approach to this question by Right-led unions.

Another critical gap is the failure of many unions to place the demand for F.E.P. legislation as an integral part of their anti-depression programs, together with other demands directed toward meeting the special economic problems of the Negro workers. Yet the struggle against wage differentials, the fight for jobs and upgrading of Negro men and women, are vital aspects of the overall drive for higher wages and increased mass purchasing power. As the main report to the National Conference of the Communist Party pointed out, "The white workers particularly must take the lead in this as a matter of the most direct and immediate self-interest, for, involved in this struggle, is the nub of working-class unity in the United States."<sup>4</sup>

A further programmatic weakness is the tendency apparent in both A.F. of L. and C.I.O. leadership to tie wage increases to productivity, and to by-pass entirely the fight against speed-up which is one of the contributing elements in the growth of unemployment. Moreover, in some cases (as for example a recent state-

ment by President Meany of the A.F. of L.) top officials are backing away from the fight for higher wages, despite the fact that monopoly prices, high taxes, and huge corporate profits make this demand both necessary and feasible.

A serious weakness is the tendency, most glaringly exemplified by Reuther, to try to subordinate or tie in labor's anti-depression program with the Eisenhower Administration. Waiting upon or calling upon that Big Business regime to take the initiative in "helping" labor overcome the effects of the economic decline which its own masters produce can only tend to immobilize the labor movement and deter it from strong, independent action.

Finally, it must be understood that virtually all union anti-depression programs are essentially Keynesian in character and tend to embody illusions as to the possibility of completely averting economic crisis through government intervention. While advanced workers should be aware that crises cannot be eliminated under the capitalist system, and should help other workers to get a deeper understanding of this question, another mistake must also be avoided. That is fatalistic acceptance of war or economic crises as the only alternatives. The key point to be driven home is that labor and its allies can intervene in the economic situation in such a way as to

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Stevens, *New Opportunities in the Fight for Peace and Democracy* (New Century Publishers, 1953), p. 68.

substantially delay the onset of acute crisis and depression, and to provide protection for the masses against the worst results of an economic decline. This requires a united fight for a peacetime economic program, directed against the policies of monopoly capital.

*The above errors, omissions, and unclaritys, however, can best be overcome in the course of an active fight to compel action on the anti-depression program being evolved by the labor movement.* Even those unions with the most advanced and well rounded programs have barely begun to develop the forms of struggle essential to effective action. Yet labor has much accumulated experience in this field. Mass conferences, caravans to Washington, public rallies, delegations to Congressmen and state legislatures, demonstrative actions on the job, joint union committees and the like are required to translate programs from paper into organized political pressure. In this respect the experience of the Washington conference of the U.A.W. as well as the cattlemen's caravan, should be seriously studied by all labor bodies.

Furthermore, labor needs to develop systematic cooperation with its allies on this question. Small but important beginnings have been made in the support given by several unions to the demands of working farmers, expressed in some cases by

direct union participation at hearings organized on the farm crisis by touring Congressional committees. There is an even more extensive background for collaboration with the Negro people's movement, stemming from past joint action for F.E.P. in many communities and states. Broad possibilities also exist for cooperation with small business and the urban middle class generally, which is affected by many of the same problems as the workers. All these efforts need to be placed on a more comprehensive, permanent footing, with varied forms of united action to develop and back up a people's peacetime economic program, as against the war and crisis policy of Big Business and its government. Given a real lead by labor, the possibilities are tremendous.

#### THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNISTS

The most urgent responsibility facing Communists today is to plunge fully and boldly into the struggles which are developing as a result of the present economic situation. The majority of the American people are deeply disturbed over the course of economic events; they are searching for some alternative to the path of war and crisis laid out by Big Business. Moreover, there are beginnings of an active fight against the economic policies of monopoly capital

not o  
ing fa  
Co  
contr  
gles.  
the C  
vital,  
fight  
our  
empl  
curit  
mov  
ers'  
and  
ganiz  
in w  
man  
ful p  
As  
a ric  
it ca  
unfo  
of th  
nists  
of a  
bein  
espe  
shop  
be f  
Part  
and  
sibil  
velo  
assis  
in b  
gle.  
to h  
A

not only by labor, but by the working farmers and the Negro people.

Communists have an important contribution to make to these struggles. Over the last twenty-five years, the Communist Party has played a vital, often a pioneering, role in the fight for the economic well being of our people. The campaign for unemployment insurance and social security, the great mass unemployed movement of the thirties, the farmers' battles during the depression, and the organization of the unorganized were all facets of an upsurge in which Communists joined with many other forces to build a powerful people's coalition.

As a result, our Party accumulated a rich store of experience upon which it can draw in the fresh struggles unfolding today. And the first lesson of these past years is that Communists must become an integral part of all such struggles. This is already being done by many Communists, especially in certain basic industries, shops, and unions. But the fact must be faced that a large section of the Party still has not been mobilized and moved into action. Yet the possibilities which exist will not develop spontaneously. They require assistance, stimulation, and guidance in both program and forms of struggle. It is our Party's responsibility to help provide this.

At the same time, we must bear

in mind that past experience does not provide ready-made solutions, nor relieve us of the need to work out concrete answers for the new problems of the present. For example, consider the differences in the struggle for jobs today and that which took place in the 'thirties. The unemployed movement of those years was initiated and largely led by Communists; it developed, moreover, as an independent movement, separate from the unions which on the whole failed to give it the necessary support and leadership. Today, the greater strength of the unions, their increased consciousness on such problems and their longer experience in economic and political action on this type of issue has resulted in the emerging fight for jobs developing under the leadership of labor. Consequently, also, far broader forces are participating in forging program and tactics. Moreover, this is taking place in an economic situation which is in many respects far more complex than it was during the 'thirties. These factors effect every facet of the struggle. The demands of the workers today go far beyond relief or even unemployment insurance; they want jobs, in their own industry, utilizing their skills, and are prepared to fight for this. The forms of action will also be colored by the altered circumstances of the struggle.

These changed conditions and new

relationship of forces place fresh problems before our Party. The fact that the growing struggle for jobs (and for a more general anti-depression program) is receiving a lead, though unevenly, from the unions, is an important step forward. However, it also means that the contribution of Communists on program and tactics must be of a higher quality than in the past. Communists must be able from the outset to work in cooperation with broader forces, holding differing ideas on many questions of policy and form, and must know how to help build unity among these diverse forces. At the same time, with this must go more effective efforts to bring ideological clarity to the workers on many complex problems, especially in a situation where Big Business is making a much more conscious ideological drive through its representatives in the trade unions than it did in the 'thirties. Similar problems face us on all sectors of the economic front. There are new problems to be solved everywhere—in the field of wage policy, of farm program, of economic demands for the needs of the Negro people.

Consistent, sustained attention by all Party organizations is therefore needed along three main lines:

(1) To link our clubs and our members to the developing economic struggle in the most important

shops, industries, and unions, as well as among the working farmers and the Negro people. In this connection, it is essential to think through the specific program, tactics, and forms of struggle which will be most effective in each instance, and which will develop the broadest possible unity in the fight against the economic policies of Big Business and the Eisenhower Administration. Particular attention must also be given to the connection between these struggles and the 1954 elections.

(2) To put forward the Party's own immediate economic program which is aimed at slowing up the onset of economic crisis and at protecting the people from its worst ravages. This program was summarized in the main report of Andrew Stevens to the National Conference and does not require repetition here.<sup>5</sup> It will soon be elaborated for mass public circulation in a general national program of the Communist Party which should receive the widest distribution and discussion.

(3) To clarify the basic ideological problems arising from the present economic situation and from the widespread influence which Keynesian economic theory enjoys throughout the labor movement, as well as among other people's organizations.

<sup>5</sup> Stevens, cited work, pp. 64-68.

The  
quirin  
cated  
cluded  
econ  
the fa  
illusi  
nating  
ism t  
tion a  
basic  
its all  
mitig  
crisis;  
the u



The most important questions requiring such attention were indicated in the Stevens report and included: the relation between the war economy and the maturing crisis; the fallacies inherent in Keynesian illusions as to the possibility of eliminating periodic crises under capitalism through government intervention and a "managed economy"; the basic direction in which labor and its allies must move to postpone and mitigate the effects of the developing crisis; and the socialist character of the ultimate solution to these prob-

lems.

On the economic front, as in the fight for peace and democracy, a broad stirring and beginning of motion by the American people is apparent. But, as the National Conference emphasized, "These beginnings will not automatically transform the political picture; what is required is the most stubborn, skillful, and broad struggle to transform the potentials of a new situation into reality." This must become the keynote of our Party's discussion and action on the present economic situation.

# The Negotiations on Atomic Energy

By James S. Allen

THE RESUMPTION of American-Soviet negotiations on atomic energy, together with the reconvening of the Foreign Ministers Conference in Berlin, are a victory of the world peace movement. People throughout the world, including the American people, have lived too long in dread of atomic war not to welcome heartily any effort to halt the nuclear weapons race and to ease world tensions. It remains for the people to block any attempt to disrupt the resumed negotiations and to prevent the forces of McCarthy fascism in this country from turning to naught any understanding that may be reached.

Negotiations on atomic energy, which have been stalemated since 1948, are now reopened on a new basis. They revolve around President Eisenhower's proposal of December 8, 1953, for an international pool of atomic materials for peaceful development, and the Soviet proposal, contained in its reply of December 22, for an international undertaking by the Powers not to employ nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction. The issue of international control, which was at the heart of the long stalemate, is not raised by either proposal.

These overtures may open the way to a partial understanding, which in itself would lessen tension and also open the door to the reduction of nuclear and other armaments. As long as such possibilities exist, it is the task of the proponents of peace to do everything possible for their realization.

## THE EISENHOWER PROPOSAL

Addressing the UN General Assembly last December, President Eisenhower proposed that the countries involved contribute atomic materials, in a ratio to be determined by private negotiations, to an atomic energy development agency under the United Nations, which would make special efforts to provide "abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world." He suggested only small contributions of fissionable material, which would leave practically untouched the great stockpile of nuclear fuel for weapons, while providing only a bare fraction of what could be used for the production of power in the economically undeveloped areas. The President evaded the most pressing question, the need to ban entirely the production and use of nuclear weapons. At

the same time, he urged that no attempt should be made to set up "a completely acceptable system of world-wide inspection and control," thereby shelving the Baruch Plan, at least for the purposes of the proposed negotiations. Finally, and most important, he held out the hope that negotiations would "open up a new channel for peaceful discussion and initiate at least a new approach to the many difficult problems" of peace.

The speech itself was an admixture of what the President himself termed the "new language of atomic warfare," with its threat of utter destruction, and talk of peace. Nevertheless, the very fact that the President felt compelled to offer to negotiate with the Soviet Union reflected a significant change in the American atomic position. This change is compounded of at least these vital elements: (1) the loss by the United States of the temporary monopoly of atomic weapons and of the expected monopoly of the hydrogen bomb, due to Soviet accomplishments in this field; (2) the need to make some move or maneuver of a peaceful nature, in face of the world-wide clamor for peace and the difficulties confronting American foreign policy; and (3) international competition in the sphere of industrial atomic power, which threatens to leave the United States behind, with serious consequences also upon U.S. control of uranium sources in the colonial world.

Undoubtedly, the most important immediate factor is the loss of the

monopoly. In his UN address, President Eisenhower acknowledged that the Soviet Union had both the atomic and hydrogen weapon. He also had to admit that, despite intricate warning and defense systems, safety could not be assured our cities and people in case of war. This is recognition of the new reality, that for the first time in the imperialist era our own country would become a battlefield, an American Theatre of Operations, in case of a world war.

Thus, the situation has arisen which was foreseen by Stalin in his press interview of October 6, 1951, when he said: "The believers in the atomic bomb *might consent* to the prohibition of atomic weapons only when they see that they are no longer the monopolists" (italics added). The Soviet Union has been producing atomic bombs at least since 1949, and in the cited press interview Stalin revealed that the Soviet Union was already (in 1951) experimenting with nuclear weapons of all calibers and types. Since then, Britain has also begun producing atomic weapons, entirely on its own. And last year, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission conceded that the Soviet Union had exploded a hydrogen bomb at a time when the United States had not claimed a completed hydrogen weapon, but only experiments in that direction.

In view of these developments, the American military planners can no longer be sure that they have superior weapons or even that the

weapon stockpiles give them a decisive advantage. Furthermore, the uneasy alliance put together by American atomic diplomacy has been seriously shaken by the breaking of the American atomic monopoly, which has given rise to stronger neutralist tendencies within the bourgeois circles of Western Europe, including Britain. Consequently, while the Eisenhower Administration obviously has no intention of discarding atomic arms, it may be forced, by the conjuncture of world forces, to talk about armament reduction.

#### THE "NEW LOOK"

The Eisenhower proposals were also made with an eye upon the widespread opposition to the American imperialist power policies and the growing demand for peaceful settlement of differences. "Let no one say that we shun the conference table," the President proclaimed in defense against the demand for peaceful settlement. His speech was widely hailed as an effort to gain the "peace initiative" from the Soviet Union. And no doubt his proposals on atomic energy were made in an effort to recoup some of the positions and influence lost as a result of the continuing American aggressive policy at a time when the charge of Soviet aggression had become a transparent hoax.

Indeed, one of the principal aims of the atomic proposals is to cover up the hectic stockpiling of atomic arms in this country. For not only do the

proposals by-pass and evade the central question of banning atomic arms, but they seek to provide, in the form of a UN agency, a facade behind which the United States can continue to produce weapons without hindrance. While the Baruch Plan, rooted in the supposition of American atomic monopoly, is shelved because it is antiquated, the very idea of effective global control to assure the elimination of nuclear weapons from all national armament is dropped.

The Eisenhower Administration does not intend to turn its atomic weapons into power stations for the simple reason that these weapons play a central role in current military planning. This has become clear in the new program of the Department of Defense, since confirmed by the President's State of the Union message and the new Federal Budget. The military program for the next four years calls for slight cuts in Army and Navy strength, but provides for a sharp increase in the Air Force from 110 wings to possibly 137 wings. While giving priority to the Air Force, this so-called "New Look" of the military places greater reliance upon nuclear weapons of all types. According to Secretary of Defense Wilson, these weapons will give us "a bigger bang for the dollar." But the "New Look" is not only supposed to save money (the tax burden remains just as heavy upon the people); it enshrines the belief in super-weapons as a great

retalia  
win,  
York  
new  
a prin  
force,  
attack  
Time  
An  
this p  
as "d  
of ch  
the c  
over  
polic  
prog  
of o  
anoth  
tion  
nicio  
atom  
of  
"the  
idea  
the  
very  
new  
boas  
capa  
an  
afte  
told  
tion  
"the  
prin  
inst  
our  
war  
use  
ato  
tim

retaliatory threat. Hanson W. Baldwin, military editor of the *New York Times*, states bluntly that the new military program includes "as a principal deterrent and retaliatory force, massive atomic and hydrogen attack upon cities." (*New York Times*, Dec. 13, 1953.)

An attempt is being made to sell this program to the American people as "defense at bargain rates," a piece of cheap demagoguery aimed at allaying the deep concern among the people over the warlike course of national policy with promises that the new program will lead to reduction of our overseas forces and prevent another costly Korea. But this deception cannot hide the particularly pernicious doctrine of "retaliatory" atomic war, which lies at the heart of military planning. The new "theory" is just as dangerous as the idea of "preventive war," which was the rage only a few years ago. In the very speech in which he made his new atomic proposals the President boasted of this country's "retaliation capabilities," so great as to lay waste an entire country. Barely a month afterward, Secretary of State Dulles told the Council on Foreign Relations that the government has taken "the basic decision . . . to depend primarily upon a capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing." This is a broad warmaking doctrine, which can be used to justify the launching of atomic war anywhere and at any time. But it is also irresponsible ter-

ror talk, bordering on sheer adventurism, in view of the fact that the country against which this talk is directed also has the very same "retaliatory" means at its disposal.

Having adopted the doctrine of "retaliatory war," the military-monopoly combination which runs the government is accelerating the build-up of nuclear weapons. The present expansion of the atomic industry is the biggest in its history. It is aimed, says Gordon Dean, retired chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in his recent book, *Report on the Atom*, at "optimum atomic strength in this country as soon as possible." Three new major production centers are under construction, each costing over a billion dollars, and bringing the total investment in the nuclear weapons industry to \$12 billion. The older facilities are also being greatly expanded, including the operation at Sandia, New Mexico, where the weapons are assembled and military personnel trained in their use. New weapon tests "of all categories," according to the official announcement, are under way in the Pacific Proving Grounds.

In view of these facts, it is clear that the Eisenhower Administration has no intention of banning atomic arms. What is new in the "new approach" is the attempt to assuage the world peace movement and to divert the growing neutralist trend within the countries of the "Western" alliance by offering a "peace" proposal in the field of atomic energy which

would leave the United States free to pile up atomic weapons.

### THE POWER RACE

The Eisenhower proposals also have specific aims directed at extending U.S. monopoly control over raw materials and over peaceful application of atomic energy on a world scale. They reflect growing concern over the "power race," the international competition for industrial atomic power. For while the United States has been devoting its energies and resources to the production of atomic weapons, other countries have made progress with their experiments on atomic reactors and other peaceful applications.

Over three years ago, in December, 1950, in a speech before the UN General Assembly, Vyshinsky challenged the United States to enter into peaceful competition with the Soviet Union in the development of nuclear power. "The work now being done in this field in the Soviet Union," he said, "convinces us that the production of thermal and electric power from atomic fuel is undoubtedly expedient and promising of full possibility for a further and vigorous advance of very many countries of the world along the road of progress." This offer was ignored; in fact, work on the only experimental power reactor has been cancelled by the A.E.C. in favor of the atomic submarine engine, which is to run the recently launched SS *Nautilus*. In the meantime, other countries have made prog-

ress, with increasing pressure for a share of the raw materials now monopolized by the United States for weapons. Today, the American atomic chiefs are worried lest the United States be outstripped by other countries in peaceful application.

Most revealing in this respect is a speech by Thomas E. Murray, Atomic Energy Commissioner and former industrialist-banker, before the Electric Companies Public Information Program in Chicago on October 22, 1953. In this speech, Murray announced plans for building a full-scale power reactor, to be finished in three or four years, the first project of this kind to be undertaken by the A.E.C. Explaining the reasons for this belated effort, Murray said:

This recent U.S.S.R. accomplishment [explosion of a hydrogen bomb], great as we must admit it to be, is less dangerous today . . . than would have been the case if the Soviets had announced that day that it had been successfully operating a practical industrial nuclear power plant—and was that day offering foreign nations nuclear power technology in exchange for uranium, coupled with other favorable economic and political agreements.

Evidently, according to Murray, this would have been a crime as great as the Soviet peace offensive. In any case, worry over this possibility is widespread. The Commissioner cited the following statement of Chairman Sterling Cole of the Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy:

The  
actually  
peace  
energy  
on ato  
blow t

The  
power  
ores i  
who  
progr  
nium  
with  
whose  
source  
foreign  
States  
how  
power  
rials.  
urge  
not f  
mean  
suppl  
Al  
rily  
the a  
about  
other  
missi  
a me  
calle  
Indu  
Yorl  
the  
ons  
pow  
dete  
out  
pow

The possibility that Russia might actually demonstrate her allegedly peaceful intentions in the field of atomic energy, while we are still concentrating on atomic weapons, would be a major blow to our position in the world.

The relation between atomic power development and uranium ores is also emphasized by Murray, who recalls that the U.S. weapon program depends upon large uranium imports from abroad. No doubt with Belgium principally in mind, whose Congo colony is the main source of supply, he points out that foreign countries expect the United States to provide them with know-how and help in building nuclear power plants in return for raw materials. The Commissioner goes on to urge a speeded-up power program, not for beneficent purposes, but as a means of safeguarding U.S. uranium supplies for weapons production!

Although they are worried primarily about Soviet accomplishments, the atomic chiefs are also concerned about the progress being made by other nations. Atomic Energy Commissioner Eugene M. Zuckert told a meeting on industrial atomic power called by the Big-Business National Industrial Conference Board (New York, October 29, 1953) that while the United States was making weapons other nations "hungry for power" are pursuing this goal with determination and vigor. Pointing out that there were at least 15 atomic power reactors in design or construc-

tion in various parts of Europe, he warned: "It is quite conceivable that the demonstrated scientific competence of European nations could result in important milestones being reached by others before us." In fact, Britain was far ahead of the United States in beginning the construction of an atomic power plant; and in the field of propulsion, other countries, notably Norway, are actively pursuing experiments in merchant marine atomic engines.

A healthy, vigorous international competition in the peaceful application of atomic energy would indeed be a welcome alternative to the atom weapons race. Unfortunately, the Eisenhower proposals have another objective, founded as they are upon enlarging the nuclear weapons arsenal. They are like a Point Four Program in the field of atomic energy, with the aim of monopolizing raw materials in return for carefully rationed bits of technology, worth only a fraction of the uranium extorted from the colonial world—uranium denied to other countries which are anxious to develop nuclear power plants.

#### MONOPOLIES AND NUCLEAR POWER

Weapons priority, tied to the doctrine of "retaliatory" war, and the wild schemes of so-called "liberation," is the main obstacle to the peaceful development of atomic energy in the United States. This is the position sustained by the mono-

lies, which manage and control the government-owned atomic weapons industry and which have cornered the know-how, patents, raw materials, scientists, and prime positions in the industry. The field of nuclear industrial power has remained a secondary consideration, with the two biggest electronic corporations, General Electric and Westinghouse, commanding the field within the AEC. Since May, 1951, various groups of private utility companies joined by some chemical firms have been investigating under A.E.C. sponsorship the feasibility of atomic power, with a view to undertaking independent activities along these lines. Although these studies have lasted three years, and are still proceeding, not a single corporation has yet come forward with an offer to invest capital in a full-scale power reactor as a private venture.

Actually, there is no reason why they should at this time, when the present arrangement has proved so profitable and the Eisenhower billionaire government is in the midst of a full-scale give-away program. General Electric made the point clear when it announced that it would build an industrial power plant only if the government footed the entire bill. The corporations are quite satisfied to have the government use billions of dollars of public funds to carry on necessary and costly experimentation and supply the raw material until such a time as the process proves profitable. In the meantime,

Big Business wants no significant departure from the weapons program which it needs in the drive for world expansion. Nor does it want a "premature" development of atomic power, which would interfere with extensive investment and the existing monopoly structure in the fields of electric power and the conventional fuels.

To be sure, atomic T.V.A.'s are to be avoided at all costs. As Commissioner Murray put it, "We are convinced that getting industry into the atomic energy program, on a privately financed basis, is essential to the attainment of our new urgent national goal—development of economic [that is, profitable] nuclear power. . . . As privately financed efforts gain momentum, the work should gradually be transferred from the Federal Government so that eventually industry will be carrying the greater part of the burden of this industrial development." Revisions now being prepared to the Atomic Energy Act are intended to establish the conditions for turning over atomic power to private ownership. Commissioner Zuckert told the N.A.M. Congress of Industry last December that the revised legislation should: (1) guarantee profits to industry in the power program; (2) provide for private, not public, ownership of power reactors; (3) transfer government-owned fissionable material to industry on a basis that would compensate for private plant investment; and (4) provide that the government



bear the cost of the expensive development job.

These preliminaries to transferring public atomic power to private ownership have a direct bearing on the Eisenhower proposals for an international pool. Obviously, the Baruch Plan, with its provisions for international ownership, can no longer apply if private ownership of atomic facilities is to be recognized in the United States. Furthermore, the monopolies controlling atomic power technology in this country would want to assure themselves a world monopoly in this field. They can attempt to do this through their corporate and cartel structure abroad, but they can simultaneously use the power of government and of international agencies dominated by them to control the development of atomic power in other countries. Just as the Baruch Plan, imposed upon a dependent majority in the UN, served to extend the world weapons cartel, such an agency as is proposed by Eisenhower might also be used to sanction and protect a world atomic power cartel.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR AGREEMENT

We have indicated the principal factors involved in the Eisenhower proposals, and also some of the forces at work in favor of an initial understanding.

In accepting the invitation to open negotiations, the Soviet Government welcomed any move to ease

international tension and to reduce the threat of atomic war, and at the Berlin Conference private discussions were begun between Molotov and Dulles. The Soviet position was put forth in the statement of December 22, which called attention to the basic weakness of the American proposals: the absence of any restrictions upon the production and use of nuclear weapons. "Any agreement among the countries," it said, "that is limited to the assignment of only a small fraction of their atomic materials to peaceful purposes and that imposes no restraint on continued production of atomic weapons would in effect be a direct sanction for the manufacture of atomic weapons."

Reiterating its basic stand for total prohibition of atomic weapons and for the utilization of all nuclear materials for peaceful development, the Soviet Union also advanced its own proposal for examination in the negotiations, alongside the American proposal. The Soviet statement recalled the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and pointed out that it had served as an effective restraint in World War II. It then suggested that the nations adopt an "unconditional undertaking not to employ atomic, hydrogen, and other weapons of mass destruction."

This proposal differs from the previous Soviet plan in that it does not call for an immediate unconditional prohibition of atomic armament and

an international control system to put the ban into effect. Instead, a partial, although significant, step in that direction is suggested, in the form of a pledge not to use such weapons. If such a protocol can be achieved, it might be followed by a disarmament conference, as has been suggested for this year by Molotov to the Foreign Ministers in Berlin.

There are many obstacles to such an understanding, especially the "retaliatory war" doctrine with its reliance upon nuclear destruction. But there are also powerful forces at work in its favor, including the realization that atomic war would leave no belligerent country untouched. Like the other peoples of the world, the American people would hail with relief an agreement, even of limited

scope, that would reduce the danger of war. But to achieve anything along these lines a determined struggle will have to be carried out by the peace forces, especially the labor movement. For the most aggressive monopoly circles, utilizing fascist McCarthyism, will stop at nothing to prevent any understanding, no matter how tenuous or partial. No sooner was the Berlin Conference announced, for example, than the campaign for the Bricker Amendment was let loose, with the aim of nullifying any agreement that would ease war tension. Concentrating upon the pressing dangers of fascism and war, labor and the fighters for peace generally can rally the American people to restrain the war forces and achieve international agreements for peace.

By

(On

THE

400,

1,500

state

ferin

pett

resp

of t

how

pen

A

stil

the

ual

swa

swa

tow

dov

ma

pe

is

car

sc

the

ga

ste

co

hy

di

T

-

e

i

# Neo-Malthusianism and Marxism

By David R. Haynes

(On the 71st anniversary of the death of Karl Marx)

THERE LIVE in the world some 2,400,000,000 human beings. Of these 1,500,000,000 live in a permanent state of hunger. The filth and suffering associated with the life of perpetual starvation is described with respect to that "autonomous ward" of the U.S. to which President Eisenhower has so recently offered "independence"—Puerto Rico.

Along the shores of Puerto Rico the stilt-like mangrove trees put out into the sea, and in shallow bays they gradually win back from the ocean a few swampy acres. Over such a mangrove swamp, "The Little Mire" stretches out toward the sea. Piles have been driven down and planks nailed to them to make a rickety framework. Here the people live in one-room hovels. There is no sewage system—the sea takes care of that, but not by the clean tidal scouring of Venice's canals. Caught in the mangrove roots, the excrement and garbage of a city makes a frightful stench under the tropical sun. For cooking and drinking water, there are hydrants on the shore—a half mile distant.<sup>1\*</sup>

These conditions are not unusual. They abound in Latin America, in

the Near East, in the Far East, in short, wherever the grasp of imperialism has not yet been broken. Hunger follows imperialism.

Today millions throughout the world are beginning to recognize imperialism as the cause of the widespread plague of starvation, war and disease. The colonial-liberation movement, the movement to Socialism in the "home" countries, each day grow stronger. Therefore, together with their time-tried methods of brutal repression, the imperialists are engaged in a gigantic campaign to confuse their victims. They insist that poverty, slums and wars are not their responsibility; the responsibility lies with the people themselves. The fundamental problem, they are saying now, is human fertility. You breed too much, they accuse.

This "theory" is not new. Its name, "neo-malthusianism" harks back to the Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus who lived and wrote in England in the early 19th century.

\* \* \*

In view of the widespread attention being directed towards neo-malthusianism, and the increasing number and authority of its sponsors to-

\* See on this: William Z. Foster's *The Crime of El Fanguiso* (New Century Publishers, N. Y., 1948).

day, the appearance of the new work edited by the British Marxist, Ronald L. Meek (*Marx and Engels on Malthus*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1953), is most welcome. In this book, Meek assembles from the widespread writings of the founders of Marxism all the major references to Malthus and his theory. Particularly useful to those anxious to do battle with this reactionary theory is Meek's introductory essay, "Malthus Yesterday and Today."

In all three volumes of *Capital* Marx makes but one direct reference to Malthus' *An Essay on the Principles of Population* and that in a footnote. The summary dismissal of the population theory espoused by Malthus cannot be ascribed merely to Marx's evaluation of the essay as "a schoolboyish, superficial plagiary of DeFoe, Sir James Steuart, Townsend, Franklin, Wallace, etc. [which], does not contain a single sentence thought out by himself."<sup>2</sup> In their earlier works both Marx and Engels (1844-1845) spent considerable effort in the refutation of Malthusian population theory, when this theory commanded a considerable following. The small place of Malthus' population "theory" in *Capital* reflected the decreased importance of his ideas in the middle of the 19th century.

When *Capital* was being written, the following of Malthus among bourgeois economists had dwindled, although it continued to be expressed in scientific literature, as in the writ-

ings of Spencer and Darwin. Even though at first sight the bourgeoisie had clasped the misanthropic theories of Malthus to its bosom, like other amours of the bourgeoisie, neither the first flush of love nor the later disaffection were without business-like calculation.

Malthus' tract was written (1798) at a particularly disturbing moment in the life of the still young bourgeoisie. Spurred on by the French Revolution, at that time still in progress, Utopian Socialism was taking root among advanced thinkers in many countries of Europe. The quest for a life of relative abundance fired the imagination of the poor from one end of Europe to the other. In England, Robert Owen proclaimed that if the fruits of labor were but more rationally distributed, man could abolish the sordid misery into which so many had fallen. Owen, who was already proceeding with the organization of his co-operatives, was in fact a main target of Malthus. In the first edition of the *Essay*, Malthus writes as follows:

... but in the plan which he [Owen] has proposed, he seems totally to have overlooked the nature of the problem to be solved. This problem is, *how to provide for those who are in want in such a manner as to prevent a continual increase in their numbers and of the proportion which they bear to the whole society.* And it must be allowed that Mr. Owen's plan not only does not make the slightest approach

toward  
seems  
effect  
it, the  
numb

Ag  
was  
partic  
Malt  
Pover  
from  
law

popu  
metr  
while  
unde  
to h  
sibly  
in a

Gi  
sion  
atten  
ing  
of li  
act  
tem  
popu  
wou  
ing  
ism.  
ched  
vers

T  
strai  
clud  
vice  
cont  
tion  
ther  
wh

toward accomplishing this object, but seems to be peculiarly calculated to effect an object exactly the reverse of it, that is, to increase and multiply the number of paupers.<sup>3</sup>

Against the argument that poverty was man-made—a consequence of particular economic relationships—Malthus proclaimed the opposite: Poverty is biological. Poverty results from the operation of an inexorable law of nature. And the law? That population tends to increase in geometrical proportion (1:2:4:8, etc.) while “. . . the means of subsistence, under circumstances most favorable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in arithmetical ratio (1:2:3:4:5, etc.) . . .”

Given these premises, his conclusion is inevitable. It is quite futile to attempt to abolish poverty by providing the poor more of the necessities of life. Such a superficially attractive act would disturb the “natural” system of checks to a rapid increase in population. Man’s multiplication would soon outstrip resources, reducing not just a few, but all to pauperism. And what are these “natural” checks preventing this horror of universal starvation?

The positive checks [to “unrestrained” population growth] . . . include every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree contributes to shorten the natural duration of human life. Under this head, therefore, may be enumerated all unwholesome occupation, severe labor and

exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, large towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, plague, and famine. . . .

A magnificent theory! Not only do the most degrading consequences of capitalism become the result of natural law, but attempts to mitigate them by improving the material conditions of life only make conditions worse.

Malthus then goes on to suggest that the true panacea lies in curbing the “passion between the sexes.”

In the field of economic theory, as Meek points out, Malthusianism makes use of the so-called Law of Diminishing Returns, and the theory of “Effective Demand” reincarnated today in Keynesianism.

The Law of Diminishing Returns, which is cited as the main proof of the Malthusian contention that the increase in the means of subsistence cannot keep pace with population increases, states that as added increments of labor and capital are applied to the land, each subsequent increment yields a lesser product than did the former.

Engels (1844), and later Lenin, subjected this argument to withering criticism.

The area of land is limited—that is perfectly true but the labor power to be employed on this area increases together with population; and even if we assume that the increase in output associated with this increase of labor is not always proportionate to the lat-

ter, there still remains a third element . . . namely, science, the progress of which is just as limitless and at least as rapid as that of population.<sup>4</sup>

Lenin states:

The law of diminishing returns does not apply at all to cases in which technique is progressing and methods of production are changing; it has only an extremely relative and restricted application to cases in which technique remains unchanged.<sup>5</sup>

The same can be said of the theory that population growth forces into production land really unfit for cultivation, thus explaining the extreme poverty of certain strata of farmers. This obviously is a variant of the Law of Diminishing Returns. Its refutation also lies in the fact that the law makes no allowance for the progress of agricultural techniques coincident with the advance of science.

Comrade Foster and others have supplied a detailed critique of Keynes and his theory of "Effective Demand." Suffice it to point out here that Keynes is greatly indebted to Malthus for his views.

Malthus' suggestions on population were received with mixed feelings on the part of the capitalist class. First, as we shall discuss later, population—a large population—providing a reserve of potential laborers, is not only a consequence of, but is a basic requirement for capitalist accumulation. Any theoretical formulation which tended to interfere

with the rapid growth of the working class could not be looked upon with equanimity, no matter how desirable the theory might be in other regards. Second, while Malthus' theory and its effects on the Poor Law Legislation aided the industrial bourgeoisie, it was mainly offered in the interests of the "land owners" upon whom the burden of the "poor rate" (tax for relief) fell with the greatest force. Malthus was first and foremost the spokesman of the landed proprietor. "His writings of 1815" declared Marx, in his *Theories of Surplus Value*, "on protective tariffs and ground rent were intended . . . to defend reactionary landed property against . . . capital, and above all to justify a retrograde piece of legislation put forward in England in the interests of the aristocracy against the industrial bourgeoisie."<sup>6</sup>

Ricardo, the spokesman of the industrial bourgeoisie, was a bitter opponent of Malthus, and ultimately drove Malthus from his position of leadership in the field of political economy.

The passage of the new Poor Laws in 1834 marked the height of Malthus' influence. But shortly thereafter, together with the class he represented, Malthus' star waned. The shock of the French Revolution was over. It had become apparent that the Utopian Socialist schemes offered little threat to the continued existence of the capitalist system and furthermore the dominance of the landed aristocracy was passing. Loose talk about

restr  
of th  
Th  
wit  
and  
of th  
(Eng  
quen  
desp  
emp  
to st  
ing  
Th  
migr  
cities  
natio  
The  
labor  
the  
natio  
bour  
larg  
letar  
A  
the  
its t  
into  
ing,  
capit  
few  
crisi  
devel  
tion  
ism  
affe  
r.  
000,  
talis  
reg  
as

restricting population dropped out of the economic literature.

The 19th century moved forward with an ever-increasing expansion and accumulation of capital. In many of the highly industrialized nations (England, U.S.A.) capital was frequently faced with labor shortages, despite periodic episodes of mass unemployment. Measures were devised to stimulate the growth of the working class.

These were the years of the vast migrations from the farms to the cities, from the backward agrarian nations to the industrialized ones. These were the years in which child labor became a widespread plague to the life and health of the English nation. Even in periods of crisis the bourgeoisie fought to maintain a large reserve army of industrial proletarians.

\* \* \*

As the conditions of existence of the capitalist system change, so do its theories. Capitalism has developed into the stage of Imperialism—decaying, parasitic capitalism. The world capitalist system has been for the last few decades in a state of general crisis. Prominent among the theories developed under these new conditions we find a revival of Malthusianism. How do the new conditions affect population theory?

1. One-third of the world, 800,000,000 people, has been lost to capitalism. The imperialist bourgeoisie regards the growth of these peoples as a menace to its own existence.

They are the "Asiatic hordes," the "hordes of the East," etc.

2. Considered as a world system, the special stimulus to accumulation provided by the opening of new markets is over. The imperialist bourgeoisie has to face not only the loss of the socialist sector, but growing opposition from colonial peoples and increased competition among the rival national imperialist groupings.

3. With enormous concentrations of wealth dominated by gigantic financial oligarchies, comes the ability sharply to increase the proportion of constant capital to variable capital. This process accentuates the historical tendency of capitalism to create a relative surplus population by greatly increasing the quantity an individual laborer is able to produce.

Unlike the earlier days of capitalism when the relative surplus population assumes crisis proportions only in the comparatively short periods of economic slump, in the era of imperialism the laws of capitalist development cause the population question throughout the capitalist world to become an ever-present and pyramiding problem.

It is under these conditions that Malthus is revived. And the objectives of Neomalthusianism are as clear as were those of Malthus. These are:

a) To divert the growing impatience of the working class with the capitalist system. It is not the system but the unfortunate habit of procreation that dooms such large segments

of humanity to pauperism!

b) To win the working class of the imperialist country to the support of war and conquest. This road, imperialism preaches, is the only way to survival in a world in which there are already far more mouths than the good earth can feed.

In the era of imperialism the main political significance of Malthusianism is its role as a major ideological prop of Fascism, preaching chauvinism and war. To underline this fact two quotations from *The Road to Survival* by William Vogt are offered.<sup>7</sup>

We read: "The greatest tragedy that China could suffer, at the present time, would be a reduction in her death rate" (p. 24). And: "One of the greatest national assets of Chile, perhaps the greatest asset, is its high death rate" (p. 186). It is this learned work, with its "penetrating" comments on the "national assets," not only of Chile and China, but also of India, Puerto Rico, Mexico and certain sections of the U.S., that Bernard Baruch graces with an introduction. Mr. Baruch, the elder statesman of the "American Century," states that Vogt's "work not only deserves but requires careful thought and evaluation at this troubled period of the world's history." Careful thought indeed! No doubt the same careful thought which Hitler induced the German people to give to almost identical arguments and so led them to condone and participate in the monstrous crimes of genocide

and imperialist war.

Further, and even clearer, evidence of the ideological union between fascism and neo-malthusianism, is shown in another recent work, Robert Cook's *Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma*, which among other things is a popularization of bourgeois genetic theory.

The introduction to this book is by Professor Julian Huxley, himself a well-known geneticist, and author of the work, *Soviet Genetics and World Science*. Says the Professor:

Human population is probably the gravest problem of our time—certainly more serious in the long perspective than war or peace. . . . In almost all the industrially and socially advanced countries, the level of innate intelligence, and probably of other desirable genetic qualities, is decreasing generation by generation. Furthermore, we can be certain on theoretical grounds that the relaxation of natural selection brought about through our medical knowledge and social care must be causing slow degeneration of the stock, through the accumulation of harmful mutations.

In his book, *Soviet Genetics*, Huxley wrote: "There is now a party line in genetics, which means that the basic scientific principle of appeal to fact has been overridden by ideological considerations." A party line indeed! But now the Professor takes the line of the National Socialist Party!

Mr. Cook, himself, writes:

The people with less than average

intelli  
cannot  
lack  
ability  
to ex  
group  
ily th  
avera  
as ma  
ity, t  
and  
favor  
less t  
genes  
certa  
and  
to th  
indiv  
press  
port  
popu  
then  
fortu  
gene  
ques  
and  
decl  
S  
reac  
hav  
tim  
pet  
mo  
Ag  
the  
out  
Da  
cor  
to  
"  
de  
er  
re



intelligence include both those who cannot be stimulated and those who lack stimulation: those who lack innate ability and those who lack the training to express their abilities. Since this group averages more children per family than those who display at least average intelligence, and nearly twice as many children as those of high ability, the effect of rural-urban migration and the differential birthrate tend to favor reproduction of a group having less than the average number of plus-genes. [Mr. Cook means by plus-genes certain mysterious characters in sperm and ova which set a preordained limit to the development potentialities of an individual]. The result of this selection pressure is to reduce slowly the proportion of all the plus-genes in the population rather than to eliminate them. As this process continues, the fortunate combinations of many plus-genes in one individual occur less frequently; the average level of intelligence and the proportion of gifted individuals declines.

Should the feeble-minded level be reached, most of the plus-genes will have been eliminated. But before that time growing inefficiency and incompetence would cause the collapse of modern industrial society. The Dark Ages which spread over Europe with the fall of Rome were a cultural black-out that lasted a thousand years. The Dark Ages which would be caused by continual gene erosion could last five to ten times as long (p. 260).

In the next paragraph, Cook states: "At present no data are available to determine exactly how rapidly gene-erosive forces in modern society are reducing the intelligence of future

generations."

No data. But this does not prevent the "appealers to fact" from assuring one and all that the intellectual inferiority of the oppressed has been established, indeed "scientifically" established!

To summarize the argument of the eugenically-oriented malthusian:

1. Poor people are largely stupid people.
2. People are poor because they are stupid.
3. Poor people procreate at a more rapid rate than well-to-do people.
4. Stupidity is a hereditary quality.
5. Ergo, the stupid will inherit the earth!

How easy it is to move from such an argument to the justification of genocide.

But what is the scientific content of these views?

1. Genes themselves are hypothetical. They are an invention of genetics to explain in a formal way certain elementary observations about inheritance under invariant environmental conditions. The gene theory provides no information on the dynamic relationship between environment and development, nor the effects of this relationship on hereditary qualities.

2. Modern Soviet genetics has shown that many of the hereditary qualities said to be invariant by bourgeois genetics are in fact the opposite. The hereditary "nature" of a host of plants and animals (e.g., wheat, potatoes, apples, cows, chick-

ens, etc.) has been changed by appropriate manipulation of the environment.

3. Genetic theory is not in the proper sense of the word a scientific theory, but a theory that relies on faith. If genes are assumed, if the number of genes that can be assumed are without limit, if further, one allows these genes to transform themselves in unpredictable ways, one can explain the results of any breeding experiment in advance. A theory which has built-in answers and is not amenable to proof or disproof in the very area where it pretends to explain phenomena, has no scientific validity.

4. Especially the eugenic aspects of genetic theory constitute a "scientific" theory whose political ends (the apology for the brutalities of capitalism) are its main features and whose data are selected to justify its conclusions.

5. To blame poverty on the masses themselves by virtue of either their "unfit" character or their stupidity is an apology for capitalism, not a fact. The tremendous outbursts of working-class ingenuity and accomplishment seen in the Soviet Union, China, the New Democracies, etc., testify to the wealth of human intelligence ready to burst forth once given the opportunity.

6. An important base for eugenic views is the Darwinian-Spencerian conception of the "survival of the fittest." This view holds that *plant and animal life tend to increase in*

*geometric proportion.* Since the food resources are limited, only the most fit are able to survive. Darwin credits this view to his reading of Malthus. Marx, in his *Theories of Surplus Value*, points out the contradiction into which he had fallen. The base of Malthus' view was that *human food resources (plant and animal life) increase in arithmetic progression and only humanity in geometric progression.* If Darwin is right then Malthus is wrong. If Malthus is right then Darwin must be wrong. The fact is of course that both are wrong. This aspect of Darwin's views has recently come under sharp criticism by Soviet scientists who contend that co-operation is at least as important a phenomenon in plant and animal life as competition in explaining the development of species.

One further fact of eugenics requires passing attention. Many humanists, even some strongly influenced by socialist ideology, have become proponents of eugenics. Such individuals, seeing the unspeakable conditions under which the most oppressed sections of the population live and work, have sought for quick and easy solutions. Ignorant of the Marxian theory of population, they urge the working class "to beat the game" by just having fewer children. Such proposals, no matter how nobly motivated, miss the entire point of the problem, its causes and cure, and therefore play into the hands of the most reactionary fascist elements.

Later  
nature  
fertility

That  
thusian  
surpris  
tions  
tive su  
jective  
presse  
exist f  
becom  
as to  
particip  
instru  
argum  
must  
work  
need  
huma  
malth

No  
impli  
can e  
cal e  
social  
work  
and  
for p  
neo-  
with  
mad  
but  
ized  
i.  
she  
is a  
plac  
Mal

Later on we shall examine the true nature of the problem of "differential fertility."

\* \* \*

That the arguments of neo-malthusianism fall on receptive soil is not surprising. Both the objective conditions (the actual increase of the relative surplus population) and the subjective conditions (the desire of oppressed humanity to find a solution) exist for its spread. That peoples can become so enmeshed in its flimsy lies as to justify imperialist war and participate in genocide is shocking but instructive. It teaches: a) that the arguments of neo-malthusianism must be known and fully exposed by working-class ideologists, and b) the need for forceful presentation of the humanist, socialist alternative to the malthusian predictions of doom.

No theory with as many sadistic implications as neo-malthusianism, can exist without attracting the critical examination of humanists, both socialist and non-socialist. Many fine works have appeared in book form and in periodicals which have point for point shown the various tenets of neo-malthusianism to be at variance with the facts. No attempt will be made here to detail these refutations, but the main points will be summarized.

1. In many relatively well-nourished and developed countries there is actual decline of the birth rate in place of the increase predicted by Malthus.

2. The malthusian contention that food production must lag behind population increase has been shown to be historically wrong. Sir John Boyd-Orr, many years director of UNESCO, writes in an introduction to Robert Brittain's *Let There Be Bread*:

In the next fifty years (1850-1900) . . . although the population of Europe increased by another 150 millions, the supply of bread increased even faster. . . . Bread was now so plentiful and so cheap that in England and other western European countries actual hunger almost completely disappeared. . . .

The book goes on to itemize the huge food potential available as follows:

a) The conversion of desert and eroded lands into farm lands by the application of well-known methods.

b) The magnificent success of the Soviet Union in opening the Arctic wastes to economic cultivation.

c) Of 50% of the world's soil which can be cultivated (with present knowledge and techniques) only 10% is presently under cultivation.

d) And ". . . enough has been done to prove that there are incredibly vast reserves of food, of water, of certain minerals, and of power [in the sea] which have hardly been touched. What is more, the work that has already been completed along a dozen different lines has provided us with the knowledge and the technical ability we need to draw on these reserves."<sup>17</sup>

It is clear, then, that, as we have said, hunger follows imperialism.

There is no simple correlation between population density and the poverty of a nation as might be predicted from the theory of Malthus.

Josue de Castro, long-time associate of Lord Boyd-Orr's in UNESCO, drives this point home with a mountain of statistics. In his *The Geography of Hunger*, we read:

There is not a single country in South America in which the population is free of hunger. . . . An area . . . of extremely defective nutrition . . . (which) embraces three-fourths of the land surface of the continent and includes the following regions: Venezuela, Columbia, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Chile, the northeast and extreme south of Argentina, the western half of Paraguay and the northern half of Brazil.

He asks: "Is it possible that the land is overcrowded, and the starvation is due to overpopulation?" And he answers:

Far from it. . . . A population of only 90,000,000 inhabitants is scattered over an area of more than 7,000,000 square miles—among the lowest in the world. . . . The prevailing starvation in South America is a direct consequence of the continent's historic past. This history is one of colonial exploitation. . . . One finds a whole region giving itself up entirely to the monoculture . . . of a single product . . . wasting material wealth and neglecting the potentialities of regional food supply. . . . The Brazilian northeast is a good example. . . . It had a climate favorable to agriculture. . . . Today the all-absorbing, self-destructive sugar industry has stripped all the available

land and covered it completely with sugar cane; as a result this is one of the starvation areas of the continent (pp. 79-80).

De Castro moves from one major exploitation area to another, from the Caribbean to the south of the U.S.A., from the Near East to the Far East, from Africa to Europe, showing point for point, place for place, how the ruthless exploitation by imperialism destroys the economy, prevents a rational agriculture and thus throws hundreds of millions into poverty and starvation.

\* \* \*

But these refutations of Malthus, as devastating as they are, do not constitute a theory of population. Nor do they explain the "disproportionate" growth of the most destitute sectors of the population.

Population has grown from 1.6 billion in 1900 to about 2.4 billion in 1950. If the present rate of increase is maintained there will be some 4 billion human beings in the year 2000.

What does explain the past and present fluctuations in the level of population? Is there a theory which will uncover the causes behind these fluctuations and thus be able to make reasonable predictions of future population trends?

Such a theory exists. The laws of population growth were discovered by Marx. Their accurate depiction of the population trends both prior to and subsequent to their discovery

conf  
It  
law  
M  
Eng  
pher  
und  
nal  
ficial  
basis  
of M  
Th  
"the  
at a  
the c  
stage  
law  
To  
emer  
latio  
one  
the g  
the l  
THE  
O  
Th  
tion  
accu  
prod  
living  
Th  
grow  
other  
"Acc  
wrot  
creas  
Un  
richn  
early

confirms their correctness.

It is to a consideration of these laws that we now turn.

Meek points out:<sup>9</sup> "To Marx and Engels, any explanation of social phenomena such as overpopulation under capitalism in terms of an 'eternal law' was bound to appear superficial and inadequate. This was the basis of their main *general* criticism of Malthus' theory of population. . . ."

Thus Marx and Engels denied that, "the law of population is the same at all times and at all places." On the contrary they maintained, "every stage of development has its own law of population."

To understand the reason for the emergence of "relative surplus-population" under capitalism, says Marx, one must consider the influence of the *growth of capital* upon the lot of the laboring class.

#### THE MARXIAN THEORY OF POPULATION

The process of capitalist production is a process of accumulation; an accumulation of both the means of production (constant capital) and living labor power (variable capital).

The growth of capital involves the growth of its variable portion (all other factors remaining constant). "Accumulation of capital," Marx wrote in *Capital*, "is therefore, increase of the proletariat" (I, p. 673).

Under the special stimuli to enrichment which characterized the early stages of capitalism, such as

the opening of new markets or of new types of industry (as railroads), because of newly developed social needs corresponding to this stage of development of society, because of the plunder of the colonial peoples, the scale of accumulation underwent periods of sudden expansion. Population growth was unable to keep pace. "At certain periods in the history of England, for example, during the whole of the 15th century and in the first half of the 18th, considerable lamentation was heard on this score" (*Capital*, I, p. 672).

At such periods the entire state apparatus was employed to increase the number of laborers available. The working force was increased by dispossessing the agricultural population, by the importation of slave labor, by the employment of child labor. Certain nations, for example Ireland, had as their main "trade" the export of labor. During the years 1861 to 1874 the total number of emigrants amounted to 2,325,922.

Under such encouragement the population of some of the nations developing industry increased at unheard-of speed. It is interesting to examine some of the statistics of population growth since the beginning of the 19th century to see how closely population growth conforms to the capitalist development of a nation.

The rapid spurts in the population in Germany and Japan are particularly instructive. The main capitalist development occurred in these na-

tions for the first time in the middle of the 19th century and we see clearly the reflection of this development in the population figures given below.

How then does a *surplus* population appear?

The argument thus far has assumed that the ratio of constant to variable capital remains the same. The fact is that the organic composition of capital is not a constant. The proportion of capital invested in the means of production steadily increases compared to the portion invested in variable capital. That is, the productivity of labor constantly increases. Or, saying the same thing in another way, the mass of means of production set in motion by the individual laborer constantly in-

creases. This of course does not mean that the relative decrease in variable capital causes a fall in its absolute quantity.\*

Such changes in the composition of capital are an inevitable consequence of the capitalist productive relation. "All methods for raising the social productive power of labor . . . are at the same time methods for the increased production of surplus value or surplus product, which in turn is the formative element in accumulation" (*Capital*, I, p. 684).

The inner necessity of capitalist development is accumulation. At first slowly but with ever increasing speed, and as a function of the amount of capital accumulation, a continuing

POPULATION GROWTH SINCE 1800  
(in millions)

Decade	Japan	Germany	Italy	England & Wales	Ireland
1800	25	23	18	9	5
1810	26	25	18	10	6
1820	26	27	19	12	7
1830	27	29	21	14	8
1840	27	32	23	16	8
1850	27	36	24	17	7
1860	30	38	25	20	6
1870	33	41	26	23	5
1880	36	44	28	26	5
1890	40	47	30	29	5
1900	44	55	32	32	4
1910	49	64	34	36	4
1920	63	62	38	37	4
1930	64	65	42	37	4
1940	74	68	44	42	4
1950	79	72	46	42	3

\* Marx' explanation of the increasing organic composition of capital and its effects was reviewed

recently in Welland's article "On the Law of Maximum Profits," *Political Affairs*, January and February, 1954.

technical revolution goes on. A major consequence of this process is the relative diminution of the portion of capital expended on labor power as compared to means of production.

The laboring population therefore produces, along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which itself is made relatively superfluous, is turned into a relative surplus population; and does this to an always increasing extent. This is a law of population peculiar to the capitalist mode of production; and in fact every special historic mode of production has its own special laws of population, historically valid within its limits alone (*Capital*, I, pp. 692-93).

But a relative surplus population is more than just a product of accumulation. It becomes a condition for existence of the capitalist relation. Marx wrote:

With accumulation, and the development of the productiveness of labor that accompanies it, the power of sudden expansion of capital grows also; . . . There must be the possibility of throwing great masses of men suddenly on the decisive points without injury to the scale of production in other spheres. Overpopulation supplies these masses. The course characteristic of modern industry, *viz.*, a decennial cycle (interrupted by smaller oscillations), of periods of average activity, production at high pressure, crisis and stagnation, depends on the constant formation, the greater or less absorption, and the re-

formation of the industrial reserve army of surplus population. In their turn, the varying phases of the industrial cycle recruit the surplus population, and become one of the most energetic agents of its reproduction. This peculiar course of modern industry, which occurs in no earlier period of human history, was also impossible in the childhood of capitalist production. The composition of capital changed but very slowly. With its accumulation, therefore, there kept pace, on the whole, a corresponding growth in the demand for labor. Slow as was the advance of accumulation compared with that of more modern times, it found a check in the natural limits of the exploitable laboring population, limits which could be only got rid of by forcible means to be mentioned later. [Marx had reference here to the eviction of the agricultural population, the attraction of people from backward nations, the growth of child labor, slavery, etc.] The expansion by fits and starts of the scale of production is the preliminary to its equally sudden contraction; the latter again evokes the former, but the former is impossible without disposable human material, without an increase in the number of laborers independently of the absolute growth of the population. This increase is effected by the simple process that constantly "sets free" a part of the laborers; by methods which lessen the number of laborers employed in proportion to the increased production. The whole form of the movement of modern industry depends, therefore, upon the constant transformation of a part of the laboring population into unemployed or half-employed hands (*Capital*, I, pp. 693-94).

In addition to being a fluid reserve of potential variable capital the industrial reserve army has another role. The existence of the industrial army places a brake upon the wage demands of the employed workers and compels them to submit to speed-up and more intense exploitation.

Relative surplus-population is therefore the pivot upon which the law of supply and demand of labor works. It confines the field of action of this law within the limits absolutely convenient to the activity of exploitation and to the domination of capital.

Still another aspect of the population problem under capitalism must be considered. The surplus population itself is a self-propagating element. Furthermore this segment of the population increases at a proportionately greater rate than do the other segments of the population.

Marx noted this fact:

In fact, not only the number of births and deaths, but the absolute size of the families stand in inverse proportion to the height of wages, and therefore to the amount of means of subsistence of which the different categories of laborers dispose (*Capital*, I, p. 701).

The statistics below from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Differential Fertility, 1940 and 1910" serve to substantiate this point.

Similar trends can be discerned among the most exploited colonial peoples (China before this decade, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and many other countries of the Far and Middle East and in Latin America).

The "disproportionate" growth of the most pauperized sections of the working class has become a major element in the neo-Malthusian argument. As shown earlier, neo-Malthusianism here reveals its misanthropic character, its pseudo-science as no-

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN PER NATIVE WHITE WOMAN\*  
AGED 45-49 YEARS IN 1940<sup>10</sup>

Monthly Rental Value of Home	Number of Women	Children per Woman	Gain or Loss %
under \$5.00	177,140	4.50	103
\$5.00-\$9.00	262,560	3.93	78
\$10.00-\$14.00	277,820	3.31	49
\$15.00-\$19.00	249,080	2.93	32
\$20.00-\$29.00	469,260	2.52	15
\$30.00-\$39.00	369,260	2.15	-3
\$40.00-\$49.00	235,480	1.90	-14
\$50.00-\$74.00	286,580	1.75	-21
\$75.00-\$99.00	84,880	1.71	-23
\$100.00 & up	91,920	1.85	-17

\* The inclusion of Negro mothers in the statistics would not change the conclusion. Negro

families in the lowest income groups replaced themselves at about a 2-1 ratio.

where  
conclu  
fact of  
be rec  
The  
compe  
logical  
compl  
increa  
this ne  
under  
of tec  
ing. T  
such  
engin  
count  
more  
such  
becom  
for ex  
mally  
himse  
traini  
willin  
first 2  
can h  
famil  
severe  
Conse  
work  
dren.  
in bi  
to th  
of th  
winn  
high  
nomin  
with  
finan  
is sho  
birth  
categ



where else. The refutation of the conclusions drawn by it from the fact of differential fertility need not be recapitulated here.

The increasing rise in the organic composition of capital, the technological revolution, the increasing complexity of the machine, demand increasingly skilled labor. To meet this need mass education is developed under capitalism, with long periods of technical or apprenticeship training. Thus the cost of production of such labor (highly skilled workers, engineers, chemists, physicists, accountants, etc.) increases. Furthermore the time of reproduction of such members of the community becomes greater. When an engineer, for example, plans a family, he normally thinks in turn of reproducing himself at least on the same level of training. But to do this he must be willing to support his son for the first 20-24 years of his life; only then can his son be self-supporting. A large family under such conditions is a severe drain on the family economy. Consequently the more highly skilled workers in general have fewer children. Statistics show that the drop in birth rate is in strict proportion to the cost and time of reproduction of the skills of the family breadwinner. Thus, despite the relatively high income of an engineer, economically he is in a difficult position with respect to raising a family. That finances are in fact a limiting factor is shown by the table on differential birth rates. In the \$100 and over category, where the financial pres-

ures on the family lighten, we note a distinct upturn in the birth rate.

Among the lowest-paid strata of the working class, among the farm proletariat, and in the colonial countries a rather different situation exists. There conditions of life are miserable, almost beyond belief; but even this miserable existence is under constant threat of absolute extinction. To face their economic problem they must constantly seek to add as many wage earners as possible to the family unit to avert impending doom. In the terrible conditions of life in which they are forced to exist, a child is a minimal expense. Furthermore, at the age of 5-6 years he is already an economic asset. An Indian family, where the average life span is in the neighborhood of 25 years, is always burdened down with the worn out, the crippled and ill, in a word the casualties of imperialist exploitation. To such a family a child is an economic necessity, a bread-winner whose presence may mean the difference between total extinction and the ability to survive.

Thus it is that under capitalism on the one hand there develops a body of skilled workers and professionals with a lower birth rate and on the other hand there continue to exist large masses of hand laborers in industry and on the land with a higher birth rate.\*

\* Stalin points out in his *Economic Problems* that side by side with developed techniques, capitalism also resorts to hand labor wherever the latter yields the highest profits. See Perlo's discussion of sharecropping in *The Negro and Southern Agriculture*, especially Chapter VIII.

## THE FUTURE OF POPULATION TRENDS

What of the future of population? What can be said of the population trends in the future communist world?

This question was asked of Engels, and he replied, in a letter of 1881:

There is, of course, the abstract possibility that the number of people will become so great that limits will have to be set to their increase. But if at some stage communist society finds itself obliged to regulate the production of human beings, just as it has already come to regulate the production of things, it will be precisely this society alone, which can carry this out without difficulty. . . . At any rate, it is for the people in the communist society to decide whether, when, and how this is to be done, and what means they wish to employ for the purpose.<sup>11</sup>

The first population problem in the Soviet Union has been one of too few people. In a society where the fruits of labor are enjoyed by the producers themselves, a remarkable transition has taken place. In 1800 there were some 40,000,000 people in Russia. These people suffered from all the effects of supposed "overpopulation"—extreme poverty, high death rate and mass unemployment. Today it is estimated that some 200,000,000 people inhabit the Soviet Union and there is no overpopulation, no poverty, no unemployment.

In the Soviet Union today there is

a shortage of labor in all categories of employment. In fact, the Soviet Government, when faced with the decreased birth rate associated with the first changes following the revolution, took firm measures to reverse this trend. At the present stage of development of the Soviet Union and for the foreseeable future, overpopulation is an impossibility.

The Soviet Union is in the stage of Socialism. Its basic economic law is the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the people. It is in transition to Communism. To accomplish this transition it is necessary, said Stalin:

To secure such a cultural advancement of society as will secure for all members of society the all-round development of their physical and mental abilities, so that the members of society may be in a position to receive an education sufficient to enable them to be active agents of social development, and in a position freely to choose their occupations and not be tied all their lives, owing to the existing division of labor, to some one occupation.<sup>12</sup>

No wonder such a society is the mortal enemy of misanthropic neo-malthusianism. Under the conditions which exist in the Soviet Union today, one factor required for rapid advancement to the goal of Communism is more people. In a socialist society more people mean the ability to create a greater wealth for all. And as the wealth, both material and cultural, of the Soviet Union builds up,

so w  
be a  
B  
whe  
toget  
will  
to C  
recu  
popu  
by t  
in h  
their

so will the transition to Communism be accelerated.

But no doubt a day will come when the people of the Soviet Union together with the people of the world will have completed the transition to Communism. In such a society the recurring shortages and "excess" of population will then be determined by the free choice of the individuals in harmony with the conditions of their society.

## NOTES

1. Robert C. Cook, *Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma* (N. Y., 1951), p. 18.
2. Marx, *Capital* (Kerr edit.), I, p. 676.
3. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, ed. by E. Rhys (Everyman's Library, N. Y.).
4. Meek, cited work, p. 63.
5. Lenin, "The Agrarian Question and Critics of Marx," in *Selected Works* (International Publishers, N. Y.), II, p. 54.
6. Meek, p. 122.
7. William Vogt, *The Road to Survival* (N. Y., 1948).
8. Meek, p. 124.
9. Meek, pp. 25-27.
10. Table from 16th Census of the U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945.
11. Meek, pp. 108-09.
12. J. V. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* (International Publishers, 1952), p. 29.

# Present Tasks in Argentina\*

By Vicente Merischi

*Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina*

OVER TEN YEARS have passed since the group headed by the former Colonel Peron came to power in Argentina as a result of the military *coup* of June 4, 1943, and nearly eight years since the election of February 24, 1946, made General Peron President. Thus enough time has passed for the purpose of comparing the words and deeds of the Peron Government, of looking at the promises and seeing what exactly this Government has given to the working class and the people.

What did the Peronists promise the people when seeking their support, and what have they done for them in reality?

They promised to abolish the privileges of the landlord oligarchy, to carry out agrarian reform and to transfer the land to the peasants and agricultural workers. As is known, the Peronists fought the election in the countryside under the slogan "Land to the tillers." But the privileges of the landlord oligarchy have not been abolished nor has the land been transferred "to the tillers." As

was the case before, the latifundia—the scourge of the Argentine economy—not only continue to exist, but are multiplying in a number of provinces. Last June the President assured the big landowners and the joint-stock companies owning land that the Government had no intention of infringing on their "lawful" interests, in other words, had no intention of carrying out an agrarian reform.

The Peronists promised to abolish the exploitation of man by man and, by means of a "sharing of the profits" of the employers among the working people, to abolish the privileges of the foreign monopolies and of big capital. However, exploitation of man has not been abolished (its abolition is impossible under capitalism), it has, in fact, been intensified, with the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer. Unemployment is growing day by day, while wages are frozen and prices rising all the time. There is a shortage of goods of prime necessity.

They promised to mobilize all the national resources for a rapid and independent development of industry

\* Reprinted from *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, January 15, 1954.

and agriculture and to see to it that foreign capital did not penetrate into the economy of the country. In fact, however, foreign capital has not in the least been prevented in any way from penetrating our country. At the moment there is even a law in our country favoring foreign investments. At the same time the government has abandoned the policy of nationalizing the big imperialist enterprises operating in the country (Electric Company, Standard Oil Company, meat-packing enterprises, etc.). What is more, the contemplated participation of American capital in the exploitation of the state oil fields would signify the transfer of our oil into the hands of the U.S. monopolies.

They promised to rule on the basis of democratic principles. Instead of the promised fidelity to democratic and republican principles, martial law has been proclaimed for an indefinite period, individual guarantees and the rights of citizens have been suspended and a regressive reform of criminal and procedural codes effected, etc. A whole series of reactionary laws, aimed at turning the country into a state of the corporative fascist type, are now in force.

Playing with the slogan of a "third position" they promised to conduct an independent and peaceful foreign policy. Instead, the Peron Government has ratified the aggressive pact foisted by the United States of America in Rio de Janeiro on the coun-

tries of Latin America and, more than once, has expressed its solidarity with the aggressive policy of the United States.

And so, even though the Peronist leaders claim that a "national-liberation revolution" has taken place in Argentina, the old social-economic structure remains intact: the countryside is dominated by the latifundia, while foreign monopolies dominate the nationalist economy. This explains why our country, while portrayed as being an independent country, is in fact dependent on the imperialist powers. This also explains why Argentina trades almost exclusively with the United States and Britain, instead of with those countries who have no imperialist aims and whose trade relations are based on principles of mutual benefit and respect for national independence.

Owing to the fact that the promised deep-going transformations have not been carried out, the economic crisis in the country has been further aggravated.

\* \* \*

Until recently the Peron Government persisted in denying the existence of a crisis in the country. Confronted with grim reality the Peronist leaders are now forced to admit that there is a crisis, but they still try to prove that it has arisen for reasons that "do not depend on the will of the Government," referring to drought at home and signs of crisis in other capitalist countries, which have narrowed the market.

Actually, although drought has afflicted the country for two years in succession, and has left its mark on economic conditions, it is not a cause of the crisis. The real cause lies in the economic structure of the country itself.

And the reason why the signs of crisis in the big imperialist countries are felt so strongly in Argentina is that our economy has been tied to the economy of the U.S.A. and Britain. This is evident from the increase of the production of raw materials and foodstuffs for export, the quantity and low prices of which are fixed by the imperialist monopolies, and from the imports of fuel, machinery, spare parts and other goods, the high prices of which are also fixed by the monopolies.

Another factor which causes a sharpening of the crisis in the country is the tendency of the Peron Government to adapt Argentina's economy to the war economy of the imperialist countries and to the preparation for a third world war which Peron has always regarded as being inevitable. He takes this perspective as the starting point for his home and foreign policy which he has subordinated to the so-called "Western" camp headed by the United States.

A considerable section of the people had no clear idea of the perspective from which Peron proceeded in charting his foreign policy—the perspective of a third world war, because this was concealed by the

smoke-screen of the so-called "third way" between the camp of war and the camp of peace. But the "third way" was abandoned every time the American imperialists insisted that the Government express itself in favor of their aggressive policy.

The object of the recent visit to Latin America by Milton Eisenhower, brother of the U.S. President, was to secure for the American monopolies the raw materials of this part of the continent for the needs of their industry, markets for their goods, guarantees for capital investments and support for their aggressive policy. And despite the fact that the unilateral trade agreements imposed by the U.S. on our country during almost the eight years of the Peron Government proved detrimental to the Argentine national economy, Peron resolutely orientes himself on the U.S. market and on American capital, asserting that this will "help to overcome" the crisis and to "stimulate" economic development.

For a period of years the Peronist ruling circles have deceived and confused the working masses by their anti-imperialist, and anti-American demagogy. They have claimed that they are carrying out "a revolution" and defending the "national independence," backing their demagogy with all kinds of propaganda.

But shortly before Milton Eisenhower's visit and chiefly after his negotiations with General Peron and members of the Peron Government,

the Government-controlled press relinquished the campaign against the landlord oligarchy, against the foreign monopolies and especially against American imperialism. Why? Because it was necessary to pave the way for the so-called "national alliance" between the Peronist reactionary circles and the reactionary circles of the Opposition, which the Peron Government needed to fulfill the undertakings given to Milton Eisenhower. According to these undertakings, Argentina opens its doors to American capital, ensuring for it the maximum profit, as testified by the recently adopted law in relation to foreign capital investments.

For what purposes will this capital be used? During the Parliamentary debate on this question it was said that the capital would be invested in vital branches of the economy such as the oil industry, mining, transport, etc. In this way, predatory American capitalism, allegedly driven out of the window as a result of the nationalization of a number of enterprises, would enter the country through the front door and under the protection of law.

\* \* \*

To the extent that these concessions to imperialism and the landlord oligarchy become known they evoke profound indignation among all progressive and democratic sections in Argentina.

So strong is the indignation that the Peronist press has been forced to deny the carrying out of a policy of

subordination to the oligarchy and foreign capital. For example, *La Epoca* wrote on August 28, 1953, that foreign capital would enter the country "in order to accelerate development of the national economy as envisaged in Government plans, and for the purpose of basing the new economy on a solid foundation."

So, according to Peronist logic, American capital enters our country not for the purpose of getting maximum profit, not to plunder our national resources and brutally exploit the people but for the purpose of "accelerating" development of the national economy!

But our people have not forgotten that it was Peron who, on October 11, 1951 published an article headed: "This is how the devil pays," in which he wrote, "international supercapitalism deprives other countries of the necessary resources," "does not live up to its words," "systematically does not fulfill its solemn promises and obligations," "organizes blockades, sabotage and slander."

In fact, by the time of Milton Eisenhower's arrival in Argentina the Peronist Government had already taken a "new course" with the result that on July 16, 1953, Peron declared: "There are no unsettled problems between Argentina and the U.S.A." Thereafter the Peronist press "forgot" all about American imperialism and began to sing the praises of Milton Eisenhower's mission and of the U.S. Government.

As we see, prior to the "new

course" the Government and the Peronist press proclaimed that American capital invested in our country would pursue colonial and predatory aims. With the adoption of the "new course" they changed their tune and now say that American capital is a "progressive" capital which will contribute to the "development" needed by the country and will confine itself to moderate profits, relinquishing the idea of maximum profit.

This propaganda pursues the aim of convincing public opinion that in America, with Eisenhower's advent to power, there is "no longer any" American imperialism. The ruling circles of Argentina would like the working class, the entire people to relinquish their well-grounded conviction that American capital is invested in Argentina for the sole purpose of ensuring maximum profits for the U.S. monopolies.

\* \* \*

It is not fortuitous that Peron's appeal for "national agreement" was immediately taken up by the leaders of the National Democratic Party (a conservative party), the main representative of the interests of the landlord oligarchy, and by other reactionary politicians. The "national agreement" found favor also among leaders of the Progressive-Democratic Party, in the so-called "Socialist movement," which has nothing in common with Socialism, and among the higher clergy. Such are the people who backed the Peronist "new course."

On July 10, 1953, the Government summed up the results of these declarations and announced that since the other parties had not accepted the "agreement" in the way the Government understood it, the martial law will be prolonged. Facts show that the "agreement," lauded by the Government, signifies the subordination of the political parties to the Government. Speaking in Parliament on July 30, the Peronist deputy, Gomez, disclosed the real intentions of the Peronist circles: to do away with the political parties and complete the construction of the state which is to rely on a unified party of a fascist corporate type.

To achieve this aim, measures are being taken such as restricting the activities of the non-Peronist parties, prolonging martial law indefinitely, arresting members of the other political parties and planting agents in the parties with a view to paralyzing their activities and disintegrating them.

But should the other parties, despite these measures, reject the government-dictated "agreement," then the so-called "movement" is to be launched which will unite all those expelled from their respective parties for the undermining and disruptive activity which they carried out in these parties; these people will then be given a name and the title deeds to the property of the parties from which they have been expelled. This exactly is the way things stand with the "Socialist movement" Party

head  
othe  
The  
main  
ate a  
exist  
outli  
its a  
prog  
ties,  
choo  
port  
will  
of a  
T  
is fi  
wor  
ant  
Na  
wo  
of  
to  
aim  
7  
all  
nat  
"n  
wi  
it  
the  
(  
m  
na  
gr  
so  
fo  
Bu  
pr  
an  
ai  
m



headed by Enrique Dickman and others.

The Argentina Communist Party maintains that it is necessary to create an atmosphere of democratic co-existence in which each party could outline and explain its program and its aims, counter-posing them to the programs and aims of the other parties, and thus let the people freely choose the Party they wish to support, the Party that in their view will champion their interests best of all.

The Argentina Communist Party is fighting to win the support of the working class and the people for an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy National Democratic Front that would contribute to the preservation of world peace and give its backing to a government working for these aims.

The founding of such a front is all the more necessary because, if the national policy pursues the Peronist "new course," the economic crisis will become still more acute and with it the discontent felt in society and the political instability.

Over a period of years the Communist Party has been fighting for national unity with a view to a progressive solution of the economic and social problems of the country and for ensuring its national sovereignty. But national unity to be genuinely progressive must have democratic, anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist aims. The so-called official "agreement" does not bear a democratic

character, being proposed in conditions of the martial law, and is not progressive since it is designed to preserve the backward social-economic structure; it is not national because it is designed to protect the handful of oligarchic families and big capitalists and opens the doors to foreign capital, to the detriment of the interests of the vast majority of the people of Argentina.

The Communist Party maintains that in order to take the country out of the present grave situation it is necessary to achieve unity of action by all the progressive forces: workers, peasants, people of the free professions, intellectuals, small traders and industrialists, those sections of the national bourgeoisie whose interests are not linked with the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism; the Communists, Socialists, Peronists, the Radicals and Liberals and non-party people, religious people and atheists.

As a result of persistent efforts by the Communist Party, unity of action is being realized daily in numerous actions in defense of the economic and social interests of the working class and of the people as a whole, in defense of democratic liberties, national independence and peace.

But these joint actions are still not sufficient to exert a decisive influence on the course of events. Consequently, the Party is striving to ensure that everywhere the working class and the people engage in united action by forming committees of struggle for promoting the most varied

demands: defense of wages and the right to work, against high prices and high taxes, against eviction of peasants, for trade-union democracy, democratic liberties and civil rights, for the release of political prisoners and defense of peace.

The popularization of unity of action by the Party must lead to the formation of a broad National Democratic Front which would be the pillar of a people's and democratic government. This government would have to take the necessary minimum steps in order to save the country from the danger of economic catastrophe and create the necessary conditions for carrying out measures which would change the present social-economic structure with the view to transforming the country into a democratic and independent state, strong and prosperous and aligning itself with the countries fighting for progress, national independence and peace.

Realization of these aims is favored not only by the national but also by the international situation. In recent years the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism has become considerably stronger and bigger. Simultaneously, the camp of war, economic and social regress, fascist reaction and colonialism, is disintegrating and

shrinking. The firm and consistent stand taken by the Soviet Union in international politics, in the matter of upholding peace, is the main guarantee of the victory of the great movement of the peoples of the world for peace.

Consequently, all who are fighting in Argentina for the liberation of the country from imperialist bondage enthusiastically welcomed the trade agreement signed recently with the Soviet Union. The working people are watching vigilantly to see that this agreement is carried out and extended.

The Argentina Communist Party unswervingly defends the national interests and fights for unification of the working people, for the destruction of the grievous yoke imposed by the imperialist trusts, for active participation by Argentina in struggle with those countries who are firmly determined to preserve world peace.

Events are developing in favor of those marching along the pathway of democracy, progress, social well-being, national independence and peace. Victory will go to those taking this path. All the activity of the Argentina Communist Party is channelled in this direction.

**READER'S GUIDE**  
to  
**William Z. Foster's**

**THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY**  
(prepared by Elizabeth Lawson)

FOREWORD

TOPIC ONE:

*Origin of the Negro Question in the U.S.*

TOPIC TWO:

*Rise of Industrial Capitalism and Struggle to Abolish Slavery.*

TOPIC THREE:

*The Civil War.*

TOPIC FOUR:

*Reconstruction.*

TOPIC FIVE:

*The Negro in the Post-Reconstruction Era.*

TOPIC SIX:

*The Development of the Modern Negro Liberation Movement.*

TOPIC SEVEN:

*The Negro People and the Labor Movement.*

TOPIC EIGHT:

*The Negro People and the Marxist Movement.*

TOPIC NINE:

*The Negro People as a Nation.*

TOPIC TEN:

*The Negro People in the Fight for Peace and Democracy.*

**Special Supplement—Political Affairs**  
**March, 1954**

It is impossible to grasp the full meaning of today's struggles for peace, democracy and economic security without understanding the historic development of our country; and there is no way to understand the historic development of the United States without knowledge of the major role which the Negro people have played and continue to play in shaping the economic, political and social life of America. This is one general reason why William Z. Foster's *The Negro People in American History* should be studied carefully and systematically by all who seek to hasten social progress. Herein are theoretical insights and tactical lessons of major importance for the working class and its allies in all of the great struggles of our day.

There is another, more specific, reason why this book should be studied by everyone associated with the labor-progressive movement—to obtain a deep, well-rounded understanding of the past, present and future of the Negro question in our country. Never before has there been so perceptive an analysis of the relations of the Negro people to the whole period of American history; and along with and flowing from this history there is substantial analysis of current developments and perspectives in the struggle for Negro freedom.

Comrade Foster's new book is a major achievement in historiography. Its data and insight are based upon the works of hundreds of previous students—notably such outstanding Negro historians as Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. Du Bois, and such Marxist scholars as Herbert Aptheker, Harry Haywood, Philip Foner, and James Allen. Its basic premises and methodology are those of Marxism-Leninism, developed in many lands over the past century. Thus, *The Negro People in American History* represents the culmination of an enormous amount of work in this and related fields. The whole is supplemented and woven into a comprehensive, highly illuminating and fast-moving analysis by the foremost Marxist scholar and working class leader of our country. Here, indeed, is a valuable weapon in the ideological struggles of our day.

In the "Preface" to this volume, Comrade Foster states that the Negro people "are a decisive force in our general political life, and their fight against gross injustice and oppression has become an issue of major importance in the growing worldwide struggle of the oppressed colonial peoples for national liberation." It will make a big difference in the life of our country when scores of thousands of progressives come to grasp fully the meaning and implications of that generalization. And the labor-progressive movement will make great strides toward that end if it uses the accompanying study-guide as the basis for widespread, organized, systematic study of *The Negro People in American History*.

DOXEY A. WILKERSON

Topic One: **Origin of the Negro Question in the United States**  
(Chapters 1-6)

- A. Negro history as a weapon in struggle for Negro liberation. (Introduction)
- B. African background. Economic, social, political, and ethnic situation in Africa before European invasions. Its cultural contributions. (15-20)
- C. The rape of Africa. (20-31)
  - 1. The European merchant capitalists' grab for African wealth and labor-power.
  - 2. Resistance of Africans.
  - 3. Beginnings of Negro slavery and of international slave trade.
  - 4. The slave trade as a major method of primitive accumulation of capital, (See also Marx, *Capital* (International Publishers), I, 775, 784-785.)
  - 5. The horrors of the slave trade.
- D. Slavery in American colonies. (32-41)
  - 1. Beginnings of American plantation system, a typical colonial system of agriculture, producing crops that did not interfere with British economy. The plantation system as a form adapted to gang labor, therefore to slavery.
  - 2. The search for labor-power for the plantations. Slavery and indenture as methods of solving the labor shortage.
  - 3. The grafting of slavery, a pre-capitalist form, onto a country already on the road to capitalist development.
  - 4. Why slavery did not flourish in the North.
  - 5. Legalization of slavery.
  - 6. Adoption of slave codes.
- E. Early slave resistance in America, before the Revolution. (41-42)
- F. Negro slavery and the American Revolution. (43-50)
  - 1. The character of the Revolution; its causes.
  - 2. The Negro in the American armed forces.
  - 3. Efforts of the Negro people to gain freedom during the Revolution.
    - a. Flight from plantations.
    - b. Petitions for emancipation.
    - c. Slave revolts.
  - 4. Contradiction within the Revolutionary camp: continuation of slavery in a nation fighting for freedom.
- G. The young, independent nation and the growth of emancipationist sentiment. (56-62)

1. Abolition of slavery in North within twenty years after the Revolution.
  2. The Northwest Ordinance, 1787, and its prohibition of slavery.
  3. Early anti-slavery organizations.
- H. Negro resistance to slavery and Jim-Crow in the young nation. (62-66)
1. Beginnings of special organizations of the Negro people.
  2. Slave insurrections.
  3. Influence of Haitian Revolution on U.S. slave system.
- I. Slavery and the Constitution. (50-55)
1. Class character of Constitutional Convention.
  2. The Constitutional surrender to slavery.
    - a. Failure to abolish slavery.
    - b. Fugitive-slave clause.
    - c. Counting of 3/5 of slaves in apportioning representation.
    - d. Continuation of slave trade at least until 1808.
- J. The struggle against the growing international slave trade. (67-72)
1. Outlawing of international slave trade by Britain in 1807 and by U.S. in 1808.
  2. Reasons for American sentiment against the trade.
    - a. Democratic upsurge as result of Revolution and of subsequent movements for greater democracy.
    - b. Growth of profitable domestic slave trade within U.S.
    - c. Desire of big planters to protect price of slaves they already owned.
  3. Reasons for British sentiment against the trade.
    - a. Continued rise of manufacturers in opposition to landlords and merchants.
    - b. Desire for African trade in other commodities than slaves.
    - c. Mass activity, including activity of trade unions, against slave-trade.
  4. Rise of illicit American slave trade. The U.S. becomes the world's slave-catcher.
- K. The War of 1812 and the Negro people. (72-74)
1. Causes and character of the war.
  2. The Negro in the armed forces.

*Additional Reading:*

1. Aptheker, Herbert: *The Negro in the American Revolution* (N. Y., 1940).
2. ———: *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States*, (pamphlet) (N. Y., 1939), 3-39.

3. ———: *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (N. Y., 1951). Documents 10b, 27, 28.
4. Franklin John Hope: *From Slavery to Freedom* (N. Y., 1945), Chapters III-IV, VI-VIII, X-XII.
5. Johnson, Howard: "Aspects of Negro History." *Political Affairs*, February, 1950.

## Topic Two:

### Rise of Industrial Capitalism and Struggle to Abolish Slavery (Chapters 7-19)

- A. Developments in field of production which encouraged slavery. (75-77)
1. Industrial growth in England and U.S., especially in textiles.
  2. Rise of cotton culture in U.S. to supply cheap fiber for textile factories.  
Marx: "The veiled slavery of the wage-earners in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world."  
(*Capital*, Vol. I, 785)
- B. The peculiarly brutal nature of the growing slave system in the U.S. (77-79; 152-163)
- Marx: "The meanest and most shameless form of man's enslaving in the annals of history." (*The Civil War in the United States*, 24)
1. The economic basis for the special horrors of American slavery. Transition from production for local economy, with self-limiting exploitation, to production for world market, with frantic search for surplus value. American slavery: a system superimposing on the horrors of ancient slave society, the horrors of modern capitalist exploitation. (See also Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, 218-219)
  2. The nature of slave exploitation in the U.S.: gang system with speed-up; starvation rations; extremely long hours; violence in handling slaves—use of lash, branding iron and other cruel punishments; lynching; lack of elementary civil rights; separation of families by slave sales; special exploitation of Negro women; slave-breeding; the internal slave trade.
  3. Effects of slavery on South as a whole, and on non-slaveholding whites. Retardation of industry and scientific agriculture; lack of land for white masses; depression of wage scales; lack of civil and political liberties; accentuation of violence; backwardness in education, culture, etc.

- C. Antagonism between slavery and industrial capitalism in the U.S. (79-85; 117-122)
1. Economic developments leading to the struggle.
    - a. Growth of cotton, sugar and tobacco production based on slave labor in South.
    - b. Growth of manufacturing and free-labor farming in North and West.
  2. Reasons for antagonism between the two systems; need by bourgeoisie of any country to take over and control absolutely the entire internal market of that country. But, under slaveholder domination:
    - a. British, rather than American capital, controlled Southern market.
    - b. South was not a field for Northern capital investment.
    - c. Planters controlled, through Congress, the economic and political policy of the nation—*e.g.*, policy regarding tariff, banking, undeveloped western lands, national improvements, as railroads, etc.
    - d. In a time of labor shortage, Negro people were removed from free labor market. Capitalism's need for numerically flexible labor force, that can be hired and fired.
- D. The aggressive nature of the plantation system, its demands for new territory. The struggle over Missouri, 1820; annexation of Texas, 1845; the war with Mexico, 1846; Dred Scott decision, 1857, etc. (85-89; 122-125; 141-146; 173-182)
- E. Rise of national Abolitionist movement, one of the greatest bourgeois-democratic movements in world history. (105-116; 128-129; 132-137; 182-186; 201-208)
1. Its material and class base. Industrial capitalists; wage-earners; independent farmers of North and West, and in some parts of South; the Negro people.
 

Engels: "The final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange, changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping." (*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Chapter III.)
  2. The special stake of labor in Abolition. Slavery worsened conditions of white workers, lowered their wages, deprived them of western



lands, nullified their civil rights. Labor as the most reliable ally of the Negro people. The two-sided character of the struggle: liberation of the Negro people requires alliance with labor; the advance and eventual victory of the labor movement requires alliance with the Negro people.

Marx: "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."  
(*Capital*, Vol. I, 287)

3. Establishment of first national anti-slavery organization, 1833.
  4. Terror against the Abolitionists, and denial of civil liberties.
  5. Internal dissension and split in Abolitionist ranks over issues of political action, religion, women's rights.
  6. The ideological struggle over slavery.
    - a. Defense of the institution by the slaveholders.
    - b. Ideological attack on slavery by the Abolitionists.
    - c. Special role of the Negro people in this struggle.
  7. Development of Negro-white solidarity, and broadening of struggle against white chauvinism.
  8. The special contribution of John Brown.
- F. Resistance of Negro to slavery; the Negro's decisive contribution to the struggle for his own liberation. (89-104; 126-127; 130-132; 137-140; 164-173)
1. Slave revolts.
  2. The struggle against colonization—the slaveholders' scheme to deport free Negroes.
  3. Negro Convention Movement.
  4. Negro press and church.
  5. Underground Railroad. The decisive role of the Negro people in building and maintaining it. Assistance by whites.
  6. The Negro in the Abolitionist movement; development of Negro-white solidarity.
  7. Outstanding role of Frederick Douglass.
- G. Political expression of the struggle between slavery and capitalism. (146-151; 187-198; 208-219)
1. Class realignments.
  2. Realignments and struggles within Whig and Democratic Parties.
  3. Birth of Liberty and Free-Soil Parties.

4. Formation of Republican Party.
  5. The role of Lincoln.
  6. The 1860 elections.
- H. The special role of Marxism and Marxists in the anti-slavery struggle. (198-200)

*Additional Reading:*

1. Aptheker, Herbert: *The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement* (N. Y., 1941).
2. ———: *American Negro Slave Revolts*, (N. Y., 1943).
3. ———: *Documentary*. Documents 30b, 32, 37, 39, 40, 41b, 42a, 47a, 48, 50-52, 57, 58, 63, 66, 72, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, 89, 90, 93, 96, 98, 102-04, 106, 108, 109, 111-15, 120-22, 125-29, 131-35, 138, 143, 153, 154, 161, 153-66, 169, 170, 173.
4. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Pathway Press edition, Chapters 1-31.
5. Foner, Philip, ed.: *Frederick Douglass, Selections from His Writings* (pamphlet) (N. Y., 1946), 46-61.
6. Franklin, John Hope. *From Slavery to Freedom*, XIII-XV.
7. Lawson, Elizabeth: *Lincoln's Third Party* (N. Y., 1948).

**Topic Three: The Civil War**  
(Chapters 20-25)

- A. Political character of the Civil War, a bourgeois-democratic revolution. (220-228; 238)

Lenin: "What a pedant, what an idiot is he, who denies the greatest world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War." (*Letter to American Workers*, 16)

The many-sided tasks of the war: to insure the victory of capitalism and the unfettering of capitalist development, which required freeing the Negro people from slavery; to defend the life and integrity of the nation; to advance democracy; to permit a freer development of the working class.

The opening of the war as the slaveholders' attempt at counter-revolution, the only real attempt in American history to overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence.

- B. The war potential of the two sides. (229-237)

- C. The radical forces in the war: their struggle for a correct political and military policy. (239-247; 268-270; 280-283)
1. The Radical Republicans in Congress.
  2. The Abolitionist organizations.
  3. Special contributions of the American Marxists.
- D. The Negro people in the Civil War. (242; 246; 248-257; 271-276)
1. The Negro people's program for Union victory.
  2. The progress of emancipation. Development of more conscious anti-slavery understanding as war progressed. Early Republican policy: to contain slavery and preserve the Union, with or without slavery, a policy gradually giving way to reality: to save the Union it was necessary to end slavery; to end slavery it was necessary for the Union to survive.
  3. Slave insurrections.
  4. Mass flights from plantations.
  5. The Negro in the armed forces.
- E. Foreign relations in the Civil War. (257-259; 282-283)
1. Attitude of ruling classes abroad.
  2. Role of international working class, an outstanding example of international proletarian solidarity.
  3. Special contributions of Marxists abroad, and of Karl Marx.
- F. The American working class in the Civil War. (277-280)
1. Its special stake in the outcome: impossibility of advancing the labor movement as long as slavery existed.
  2. Its activities.
- G. The Fifth Column in the North. (260-263; 265-268)

*Additional Reading:*

1. Aptheker, Herbert: *Documentary Documents* 173-176 and pp. 511-526.
2. ———: *The Negro in the Civil War* (N. Y., 1938).
3. ———: *To Be Free* (N. Y., 1948), 75-135.
4. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Chapters 32-33, and Appendix I.
5. Foner, Philip S., ed.: *Frederick Douglass, Selections*, 62-75.
6. Franklin, John Hope: *From Slavery to Freedom*. Chapter XVI.
7. Lawson, Elizabeth: *Thaddeus Stevens* (N. Y., 1942), 3-19.
8. Marx and Engels: *The Civil War in the United States* (N. Y., 1938).

Topic Four: **Reconstruction**  
 Chapters 26-31

- A. Tasks of Reconstruction. (284-286)
1. Confiscation of landed estates from ex-slaveholders and their distribution to Negro and white landless masses.
  2. Establishment of full bourgeois democracy and elimination of Jim Crow.
  3. Reorganization of political life of South to insure political control by Negro and white democratic masses and make return of ex-slaveholders to power impossible.
- B. Changes in class forces at end of Civil War. (287-291)
1. Industrial capitalists, now victorious class.
  2. Ex-slaveholders, defeated class, still powerful, especially because of continued possession of landed estates. Their appeals to chauvinist sentiment of petty-bourgeoisie and poor whites.
  3. Negro people, now mostly a class of farmers without land.
- C. First years of Reconstruction, 1865-1867, a reactionary era in which slaveholders tried to undo work of Civil War. (263-265; 291-296)
1. Reactionary legislation of this period, especially Black Codes to restore Negro people to slavery in all but name.
  2. Attempt to restore influential ex-slaveholders to political posts.
- D. Northern bourgeoisie, pushed by its desire to consolidate its victory, and by activities of Negro masses especially in South, opens fight against Johnson's Reconstruction plan. (296-298; 304-311; 319-324)
1. The state Negro conventions in the South, 1865, the Union Leagues, and other Negro organizations oppose reactionary trend of Reconstruction.
  2. Stevens' Reconstruction plan.
  3. The issue of Negro suffrage and the 14th and 15th Amendments.
  4. The Reconstruction Acts and the establishment of a progressive government in the South, with high level of mass participation.
  5. The attempt to impeach Johnson.
- E. The issue of land confiscation and distribution. (299-303)
1. Importance of the issue. Without land distribution, no real freedom for Negro people in U.S., and only severely limited bourgeois democracy in South.
  2. Small beginnings of land distribution during Civil War. Confiscation Act of 1862; Sherman's distribution in Sea Islands, 1865.

3. The Negro people's fight for land, during Civil War and Reconstruction.
  4. Stevens' land distribution plan.
  5. Why bourgeoisie feared to distribute the land.
- F. The era of Radical Reconstruction, 1867-1876. (312-319)
1. The new democratic electorate, Negro and white, in the South.
  2. The state constitutional conventions and new state legislatures.
  3. Content of the new state constitutions and work of the new state legislatures. Abolition of Black Codes. Provision for universal manhood suffrage. Equal civil rights, universal public education, poor relief, other social services. Abolition of imprisonment for debt and cruel and unusual punishments. Increased rights for women. Program of internal improvements and developing industry.
  4. Negro representation in government during Reconstruction. Two U.S. Senators and 14 U.S. Congressmen (including years to 1876 only); other major and minor offices in states.
  5. Degree of Negro-white unity achieved in era of Radical Reconstruction. The so-called "scalawags"—Southern whites allied with Negro people.
- G. Crushing of Reconstruction, betrayal of the Negro people, and of democracy in the south. (325-344)
1. The ex-slaveholders' attempts to institute counter-revolution.
    - a. Use of terror against Negro people, as creation of Klan, increase in lynching, forcible dissolution and even massacres of state conventions of Negroes and of meetings of Negroes with whites.
    - b. Efforts to end Negro-white coalition through intensified chauvinism and fraud.
  2. Industrial bourgeoisie, now fully established as ruling class, betrays Reconstruction and turns to full exploitation of nation as a whole and to beating down its new opponents: workers, farmers, middle class.
    - a. Failure to confiscate landed estates and to distribute land, the most fundamental expression of betrayal of the second American Revolution.
    - b. Failure to use nation's armed forces to maintain democracy and failure to arm Negro people.
- H. Formal end of Reconstruction: bargain between Hayes, Republican candidate in 1876, and ex-slaveholders. (336-337)

*Additional Reading:*

1. Allen, James: *Reconstruction, the Battle for Democracy* (N. Y., 1937).
2. Aptheker, Herbert: *To Be Free*, 136-163.
3. ———: *Documentary*. Documents 180c, i, 181a, 182, 185, 186, 187b,c, 188.
4. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Chapter 34.
5. Du Bois, W. E. B.: *Black Reconstruction*. Chapter X.
6. Foner, Philip S., ed.: *Frederick Douglass, Selections*, 76-92.
7. Franklin, John Hope: *From Slavery to Freedom*, Chapters XVII-XVIII.
8. Lawson, Elizabeth: *Thaddeus Stevens*, 19-28.

**Topic Five: The Negro in the Post-Reconstruction Era**  
(Chapters 32-36)

- A. The Negro in the early labor movement. (345-354; 359-360; 365-375)
  1. Growth of trade-union movement and its establishment on a national scale as the result of Civil War and emancipation.  
Marx: "Out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation."  
(*Capital*, Vol. I, 287)
  2. Growth of Negro proletariat, nationally, and in new industries of South.
  3. Super-exploitation of Negro workers, and oppression of Negro people, as drag on entire labor movement. Need of labor to grapple with Jim-Crow in industry and elsewhere, and overcome chauvinism in ranks of white labor.
  4. Formation of National Labor Union, 1866. Its attitude to South, to Reconstruction, to Negro people generally, and to Negro labor. Its considerable achievements, in general and on Negro question. Its failure, due in large part to chauvinism.
  5. Formation of Colored National Labor Union, 1869.
  6. Relations between N.L.U. and C.N.L.U.
  7. The Knights of Labor; its relations with the Negro people; achievements and weaknesses.
  8. The early A.F. of L., its relations with the Negro people. Retreat of trade-union movement on Negro question, with consequent betrayal of interests of all labor.
  9. The Marxists and the Negro workers in this era.
- B. The Negro people in the anti-monopoly farm movements of the post-Reconstruction era. (355-359; 376-386)

1. The consolidation of the Southern plantations on a basis of share-cropping and peonage. The nature of the peonage system. Use of terror and deprivation of civil rights to bolster this system.
  2. The Populist movement.
    - a. The Farmers Alliance.
    - b. The Colored National Farmers Alliance.
    - c. Formation of People's Party, 1892. Its state victories in 1890's.
    - d. Achievement of relatively high degree of Negro-white unity in Alliances and in People's Party, especially in early years. Struggles of white farm organizations against lynching, for Negro suffrage, representation, etc. Negro office-holders in the party.
    - e. Increased white chauvinist propaganda as weapon of landowners and employers in attacking farm organizations and Populist party. White chauvinism as a major cause of Populist decline and eventual defeat. Transformation of many Populist leaders—Tillman, Watson, etc.—from organizers of Negro-white unity into rabid chauvinists.
- C. The appearance of American imperialism. (360-363; 387-396)
1. The nature of imperialism.
  2. Special impact of imperialism on Negro people and on South. Establishment of permanent alliance between Northern monopoly capitalists and Southern planters. Increase of lynching, as method of imperialist rule. Legalization of Jim-Crow. Gutting of Civil War amendments. Disfranchisement by terror, poll taxes, fake literacy tests, grandfather clauses, white primaries in a one-party region.
  3. White chauvinism, born in invasion of Africa and slave-trade, and developed through years of American slavery, becomes a major weapon of American imperialism in its efforts to maintain Negro oppression, to crush American labor, to expand American domination outside the U.S. Further development of chauvinist theories by imperialism.
- D. Early Negro resistance to imperialist super-exploitation and terror. (361-364)
1. Continued use of voting strength, despite terror. Election of nine Negro U.S. Representatives from 1877 to 1901. Election of Negroes to House and Senate of many Southern state legislatures in this era. Election of Negroes to lesser offices.
  2. Formation in 1898 of Committee of Five Hundred Women. Formation in 1896 of National Association of Colored Women.
  3. Early Negro migration movements to Midwest.

*Additional Reading:*

1. Allen, James: *Reconstruction*, Chapter VI.
2. Aptheker, Herbert: *Documentary*, Documents 190c,e,f.
3. ———: "Imperialism and White Chauvinism," *Jewish Life*, July 1950.
4. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Chapters 46, 47.
5. Franklin, John Hope: *From Slavery to Freedom*, 328-338.
6. Haywood, Harry: *Negro Liberation*, Chapters II, III.
7. Rochester, Anna: *The Populist Movement in the United States*, Chapter VI.

## Topic Six:

### The Development of the Modern Negro Liberation Movement (Chapters 38-41, 44, 46)

- A. Increased class differentiation among the Negro people. Development of more numerous classes of Negro farmers, industrial workers, shopkeepers, small industrialists, professionals. (412-413)
- B. Booker T. Washington and his program. (408-414)
  1. Concentration on training for work in industry and on farms, to virtual exclusion of all else.
  2. Emphasis of acquisition of property, as solution of Negro question.
  3. Cultivation of Negro business institutions. Organization of Negro Business League in 1900.
  4. Playing down of political action, retreat from struggle, accommodation to ruling class and to segregation.
  5. Condemnation of labor unions.
- C. Growing mass opposition to Washington's program, and creation of new more militant organizations. (414-418)
  1. Progressive character of Negro intellectuals of the era, and their leadership in the new movements.
  2. Formation of early organizations to fight the retreat: National Association of Colored Men, 1896; National Association of Colored Women, 1896; American Negro Academy, 1897; Afro-American Council, 1899.
  3. Emergence of Dr. Du Bois as a militant people's leader.
  4. The Niagara movement, 1905.
- D. Formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1909. (419-424)



1. Its positive aspect: halting, in some degree, of retreat led by Booker T. Washington. Renewed struggle against lynching, disfranchisement, and all forms of persecution. Restatement of demand for full economic, political, social equality.
  2. Its negative aspect: petty-bourgeois in composition, therefore subject in some degree to influences of white ruling class. Reformist outlook, and influence of white ruling class, vitiated not only its activities, but its program, which was not as clear-cut as that of Niagara movement.
- E. Formation of National Urban League, 1911. (425)
- F. The Negro people in politics, 1900-1914. (427-429)
1. The Progressive Party, 1912. Its opportunities; its white chauvinism.
  2. Beginnings of Negro support to Democratic Party.
- G. The Negro people and World War I. (430-437)
1. Imperialist character of the war.
  2. Attitude of Negro people to the war; their struggles, along with white masses, for peace.
  3. The Negro in the armed forces.
  4. The impact on the Negro people of the Russian Socialist Revolution of 1917. Soviet Russia's proclamation of the right of self-determination of nations and equality of all peoples; its application of this principle in practice.
- H. The great migration to the North, 1915-1919. (437-439)
1. Increase in number of Negro industrial workers, who alone can lead the Negro liberation movement in the modern era.
  2. Development of Negro press, culture, organization, as result of migrations.
- I. The capitalist offensive after World War I, against the Negro people. (439-441)
1. Monopoly capitalism's offensive against all progressive forces: trade unions, farm organizations, etc. Union-busting, deportation drive, attacks on newly formed Communist Party, etc.
  2. Monopoly capitalism's special attacks on the Negro people.
    - a. Renewal and intensification of Klan terror in the South.
    - b. Increase in lynching.
    - c. So-called race riots, inspired by capitalists.
- J. The Garvey movement (Universal Negro Improvement Association). (442-451)

1. Its main base: Southern migrants to Northern cities—therefore, mass base among workingclass. Significance of movement as first Negro movement based on *workers*.
  2. Its petty-bourgeois leadership.
  3. Causes of its great growth and success.
    - a. Increased resistance to offensive of U.S. monopoly capital with its intensified oppression of Negro people.
    - b. Inspiration of Russian Socialist Revolution of 1917.
    - c. Failure of N.A.A.C.P. to give militant leadership.
    - d. White chauvinism of A.F. of L., Railroad Brotherhoods, Socialist Party, farm organizations, etc.
  4. Garvey movement as expression, although in distorted form, of growing consciousness of nationhood among Negro people.
  5. Garvey movement as expression of international solidarity of Negro people of U.S. with oppressed nations of world.
  6. Political decay of the Garvey movement.
  7. The movement as an expression of Negro bourgeois nationalism.
- K. The Negro people in the crisis years of 1929-1935. (479-480)
1. The special impact of the crisis on the Negro people, the first to be fired. Discrimination in relief, W.P.A., etc.
  2. Militancy of Negro people in struggles and organizations of the unemployed.
  3. The Communist Party's fight for unity of Negro and white in these struggles.
- L. Organization of share-croppers in this period. (481-482)
1. Organization of the Share-Croppers Union, sparked by Communist entrance into South.
  2. Its struggles and achievements.
- M. The Scottsboro struggle—a milestone in the history of Negro liberation. (482-483)
1. The frame-up as an example of the capitalist offensive against the Negro people, and as an example of Negro national oppression.
  2. The role of the Communist Party and International Labor Defense in this fight.
  3. The international character of the Scottsboro struggle.
- N. The Negro people and the New Deal. (483-486; 489-491; 499)
1. The 1932 elections. Beginnings of mass breakaway of Negro people from Republican Party.

2. The character of the New Deal period.
3. Roosevelt Administrations and the Negro people. Sharing—although not proportionally—of Negro people in various reforms, as recognition of right of unions to organize, establishment of social insurance system, etc. Measure of political and social recognition. Major grievances untouched by Roosevelt Administrations: lynching, poll-tax, segregation in armed forces, inequality and segregation in education. Continuation of Jim-Crow and discrimination in all aspects of life.

O. Organizational developments among Negro people during New Deal period, largely under impetus furnished by Communist Party. (486-488)

1. Founding of National Negro Congress, 1936.
2. Founding of Southern Negro Youth Congress, 1937.
3. Founding of Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938, a liberal organization of Negroes and whites.

P. The Negro people and the fascist danger. (505-508)

1. The nature of fascism.
2. Strong anti-fascist sentiment among Negro people, and their activities in fight against fascism.
3. The conquest of Ethiopia by Mussolini's fascist forces; repercussions among Negro people in U.S., including heightened anti-fascist sentiment and struggle, relief activities, etc.
4. The Negro people in the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War.

Q. The Negro people in World War II. (500; 509-517)

1. Character of the war.
2. Struggles for democracy in U.S. armed forces; continuation, with only slight easing, of Jim-Crowism in armed forces.
3. Struggles for democracy at home, for jobs, housing, education, suffrage, etc. Some improvements, but continuation of Jim-Crow and discrimination in all major fields of U.S. life. The F.E.P.C.
4. Temporary gains in industry, won through struggle.
5. Increased organization of Negro workers into unions during war; heightened Negro-white unity.
6. Migration during war, to West, and to Northern and Southern cities.
7. More numerous Negro working class, and coming forward of this class into leadership of national liberation movement.

*Additional Reading:*

1. Aptheker, Herbert: *Documentary*. Documents beginning on 649, 659, 737.
2. Du Bois, W. E. B.: *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chapter III.
3. Franklin, John Hope: *From Slavery to Freedom*. Chapters XXI-XXVII.
4. Haywood, Harry: *Negro Liberation*. Chapter VIII.

**Topic Seven: The Negro People and the Labor Movement**  
(Chapter 45)

- A. The numerical increase, both North and South, of the Negro industrial workers, the leading force in the modern Negro liberation movement. (514)
- B. The trade unions and the Negro workers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (426-427)
  1. Extent of labor organization.
  2. Lily-white practices of many unions, in admission to membership, and in barring Negroes from leadership.
- C. The policies of the Trade Union Educational League, founded in 1920; of the Trade Union Unity League, founded in 1929. Their spadework in bringing the Negro question sharply before the trade-union movement and organizing Negro and white workers into the independent unions then being formed. (459-460; 495-496)
- D. Continuing Jim-Crow policies of A.F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods in the 1930's. (492-495)
  1. Failure to organize basic industry, the concentration point of Negro labor.
  2. Systematic betrayal of interests of Negro workers, and therefore of interests of all labor.
- E. The C.I.O. and the Negro workers. (496-501; 503-504)
  1. Its founding in 1935 to organize the unorganized and establish industrial unionism. Importance to Negro workers, especially, of organization in basic industry, and along industrial lines.
  2. Participation of Negroes as leaders and rank-and-filers in the organizing campaign.
  3. Organization of almost 413,000 Negro workers by C.I.O. in 1945, with largest membership in steel and auto.

- 49, 659, XXVII, ent, Industrial movement, th and, ership, 1920; new work movement, hoods, Negro, ore of, ablish, ly, of, rgan-, 1945,
4. Special contributions of Negro and white Communists in campaign—*e.g.*, Benjamin L. Careathers, Gus Hall, etc.
- F. The labor-Negro alliance. The Negro people as the decisive and indispensable ally of labor; labor as the decisive and indispensable ally of the Negro people. The stake of the white masses in Negro liberation. (543)
- G. The National Negro Labor Council. (529-530; 561-562)
1. Its organization in 1951.
  2. Its function: not a dual union, but an organization to press (from the side of the Negro workers) for organization of Negro workers, for full equality of Negro trade unionists, for Negro leadership in unions, for jobs in industry and commerce.
- H. Problems of the labor movement today, in struggle for Negro liberation. (501-503; 530-534; 541-542)
1. Vital need for Negro-white unity in labor as basis for all progress in fight for peace, democracy, and improved conditions. The special responsibility of white workers.
  2. Partial retreat of large sections of labor movement from war-time position, under the growing imperialist pressure.
  3. The fight for jobs, training, equal wages, upgrading, seniority, and Negro leadership in unions. The fight for F.E.P.C.
  4. Special problems of Negro women.
  5. The need to organize the South. Failure of C.I.O. drive because of chauvinism and red-baiting.
  6. The fight against white chauvinism in labor movement. The responsibility of white trade unionists.

*Additional Reading:*

Articles in *Political Affairs* by John Williamson (November, 1947, June, 1949, November, 1950); Hal Simon (February, 1950).

**Topic Eight: The Negro People and the Marxist Movement**

- A. The Negro people and the early Socialist movements. (397-407)
1. Founding of the Socialist Labor Party, 1876.
    - a. Its positive contributions on the Negro question.
    - b. Its basic weaknesses on the Negro question: absence of struggle

- for Negro rights, failure to see the question as a *special* question; existence of strong chauvinist tendencies in its ranks.
2. Founding of the Socialist Party, 1901.
    - a. Its failure to recognize Negro question as a special question. Its attitude (in early years) to Negro question as a "pure-and-simple" class question. Its attitude (in later years) that Negro question is a race question.
    - b. Its white chauvinism, especially in South.
  - B. The position of international Marxism on the liberation of oppressed peoples. (452-454)
    1. National oppression as a pillar of capitalism.
    2. Super-exploitation of oppressed peoples by imperialism.
    3. Common anti-imperialist interests of oppressed peoples and workers of oppressing countries.
  - C. The Communist Party and the Negro question. (452; 454-462; 480-483; 486-487; 503-504; 543-545)
    1. Birth of Communist Party in 1919.
    2. Its break with the white chauvinism of the Socialist Party.
    3. Its early failure (1919-1921) to recognize the Negro question as more than a "pure-and-simple" class question.
    4. Its recognition, about 1921, of the Negro question as a *special* question, requiring special struggles against special oppression. A partial advance.
    5. The Communist Party early becomes known as the Party of the Negro people; development of program of struggle by Communist Party for full Negro rights in all areas of life.
    6. The Communist Party's fight against white chauvinism. The Yokinec trial, first public large-scale demonstration by C.P. of its determination to root white chauvinism out of its ranks.
    7. The Communist Party in the struggle for Negro representation. Nomination of Negroes to office on Party ticket, as nomination of James W. Ford for vice-president in 1932, 1936, 1940.
    8. Negro Communists and their participation in the leadership of the Party, as Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Henry Winston, Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones, and many others.
    9. Recognition in 1928 by the Communist Party of the Negro question as a national question, and of the right of the Negro nation to self-determination. (See Topic Nine)
    10. Communist participation and leadership in the struggles of the Negro people for jobs, union membership, participation in leadership of trade unions.

11. Communist participation and leadership in struggle for Negro rights and Negro-white unity in the crisis years, 1929-1935.
  12. Entrance of the Party into the South, 1930. Establishment of Communist Party state organizations; leadership in organization of sharecroppers; leadership in Scottsboro struggle; assistance to Southern Negro Youth Congress and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
  13. Participation of Communist Party in C.I.O. organizing campaign and in directing special attention to task of organizing Negro workers.
  14. The Communist Party's fight against Negro nationalism.
- D. The Negro people and Socialist society. (549-554)
1. The nature of socialist society.
  2. Socialism as the ultimate solution of the Negro question.

*Additional Reading:*

1. Davis, Benjamin J.: *In Defense of Negro Rights* (N. Y., 1950).
2. Foster, William Z.: *History of the Communist Party of the United States* (N. Y., 1953), chapters XVI, XIX, XXII.
3. Hall, Gus: *Marxism and Negro Liberation* (N. Y., 1951).
4. Mann, Charles P.: *Stalin's Thought Illuminates Problems of Negro Freedom Struggle* (N. Y., 1953).

### Topic Nine: The Negro People as a Nation

(Chapter 43)

- A. The nationhood of the Negro people. Theoretical pioneering on national question of Marxism-Leninism. Stalin's definition of a nation as "an historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." (*Marxism and the National Question*, 12.) (463)
- B. The national characteristics of the Negro people. (463-466)
  1. The common territory of the Negro nation: the Black Belt, including in 1950, 169 counties of absolute Negro majority, and other counties with heavy Negro population.
  2. The common language of the Negro nation.
  3. The common culture, psychology, and traditions of the Negro nation: literature, drama, historical work, painting, music, dancing, creation of special (national) Negro organizations, business institu-

- tions, educational institutions, etc. The common psychology of hatred of oppression. The tradition of three centuries of struggle and organization for freedom. The struggle against white chauvinism.
4. The common economy of the Negro nation, with the class divisions characteristic of a developing nation. Existence of strong proletariat, petty bourgeoisie (including small farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers, intellectuals, etc.) and weak but distinct class of capitalists and landowners.
- C. The oppression of the Negro nation: lynch terror, segregation, lack of representation locally and nationally, and deprivation of all other political and civil rights; deprivation of land and peonage on the land, super-exploitation in industry, restriction of Negro industry to the fringe of the business world, and inhibition of economic development in all respects. The poison of white chauvinism. (464)
- D. Some expressions of striving for national liberation in Negro history. The Negro Convention movement, various migration movements, Garvey movement; establishment of many and varied Negro organizations for liberation. Establishment of Negro institutions of all types, as business, educational, the press, church, fraternal, etc. Development by the Negro people of their own special culture. Consciousness of American Negro nation of their solidarity with oppressed Negro and non-Negro nations everywhere. Appeals to League of Nations and to United Nations by National Negro Congress, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Civil Rights Congress. Stress by Negro people on making known their history, as in establishment of Negro History Week. (466-469)
- E. The question of biological equality and of race. Scientific proof of biological unity and equal ability of all peoples. (469-476)
- F. The Negro national minority in the North. (474)
- G. The right of all nations to self-determination. (474-475; 477-478; 557-559)
1. Marxism-Leninism on the right of self-determination—the right of a nation to determine its own destiny.
  2. Its application to the Negro nation in the U.S.
  3. Lag in acceptance by Negro people of slogan of self-determination. Reasons.
  4. White chauvinist arguments of the white ruling class against right of self-determination for Negro nation.

Addi

1. A

fa

2. D

3. H

4. —

A

5. S

6. —

7. T

C

8. V

A

Top

A.

B.

C.



*Additional Reading:*

1. Aptheker, Herbert: "Consciousness of Negro Nationality," *Political Affairs*, June 1949.
2. Davis, Benjamin J.: *The Path of Negro Liberation* (N. Y., 1946).
3. Haywood, Harry: *Negro Liberation*. Chapters I, VII, and VIII.
4. ———: "Further on Race, Nation and the Concept 'Negro,'" *Political Affairs*, October 1952.
5. Stalin, Joseph: *Foundations of Leninism*, Chapter VI.
6. ———: *Marxism and the National Question*. (7-68)
7. Thompson, Robert: "Notes on the Negro Question." *Clarity*. No. 2. Questions 1-26 on pages 11-21.
8. Wilkerson, Doxey: "Race, Nation and the Concept 'Negro,'" *Political Affairs*, August, 1952.

**Topic Ten: The Negro People in the Fight for Peace and Democracy**  
 (Chapters 47-50)

- A. The cold war and the Negro people. (518-525; 528-529)
  1. The all-out drive of American imperialism, and world-wide resistance to it.
  2. Special impact of the cold-war drive on the Negro people.
  3. Effort of imperialism to corrupt section of Negro people.
  4. Emergence of new Negro leaders especially from proletariat.
- B. Negro Question in U.S. as international issue (526-28).
  1. Soviet Union and People's Democracies sharply raise question of Negro oppression in U.S.
  2. Work of World Federation of Trade Unions.
  3. The oppressed peoples of the world in solidarity with the American Negro people.
  4. The workers of the imperialist countries, led by the Communist Party, in solidarity with the American Negro people.
  5. The raising of the question of oppression, by the Negro people in the U.S., in international bodies as the United Nations. The appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. to the U.N. (*Appeal to the World*) and the appeal of the C.R.C. (*We Charge Genocide*).
- C. The status of discrimination today. (528-542; 559-561)
  1. Illegal terror and "legal" frame-up since the end of World War II. The Jim-Crow system in industry, on the farms, in professions, business, living standards, housing health, education, suffrage, representation.
  2. The false theory of "integration."

Hugh Bradley: "Far from granting total integration the bourgeoisie is intensifying Negro oppression all down the line, while trying to sell the world a false bill of sale on 'Negro progress.' These exaggerated claims on Negro advancement cannot stand the slightest examination, and they can and must be exposed as being completely fraudulent." (*Next Steps in the Fight for Negro Freedom*, 28)

- D. The struggle against white chauvinism. (543-545)
1. The Jim-Crow system a menace to peace, democracy, civil rights, living standards for white as well as Negro people.
  2. The need to combat white chauvinism to protect the future of peace and progress. The Communist Party's struggle against white chauvinism.
- E. The Negro people and the fight for peace and democracy. (545-549)
1. Need for a perspective of a Farmer-Labor Party in the U.S., a broad, democratic, pro-peace coalition, working towards a People's Front government and subsequently towards a People's Democracy.
  2. Necessity that this alliance embrace the demands of the Negro people.
- Bradley: "No other section of Americans have less to gain and more to lose by imperialist war than do Negroes." (*Next Steps* . . . , 4)
- F. The status of the Negro liberation movement today; perspectives for the future. (555-557; 561-565)

*Additional Reading:*

1. Aptheker, Herbert: *The Negro People in America* (N. Y., 1946).
2. ———: *America's Racist Laws* (N. Y., 1951)
3. Bradley, Hugh: *Next Steps in the Fight for Negro Freedom* (N. Y., 1953).
4. *Political Affairs*: Articles by Pettis Perry, Bob Thompson, John Williamson, James W. Ford, Carl Ross, Claudia Jones (June 1949); Samuel T. Henderson (December 1952 and January 1953); William Z. Foster (July 1953).
5. Hall, Gus: *Marxism and Negro Liberation* (N. Y., 1951).
6. Haywood, Harry: *Negro Liberation*, Chapters V-VI.
7. Perlo, Victor: *The Negro in Southern Agriculture* (N. Y., 1953).
8. Perry, Pettis: *White Chauvinism and the Struggle for Peace* (N. Y., 1952).
9. ———: *Negro Representation* (N. Y., 1952).
10. Current issues of *Negro Affairs Quarterly*.

## NEW AND FORTHCOMING TITLES

LAUREATES OF IMPERIALISM	.60
<i>by Herbert Aptheker</i> (Masses & Mainstream)	
THE LAST ILLUSION: AMERICA'S PLAN FOR WORLD DOMINATION	3.00
<i>by Hershel D. Meyer</i> (Anvil-Atlas)	
NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY	.25
<i>by Andrew Stevens</i> (New Century)	
NEXT STEPS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO FREEDOM	.15
<i>by Hugh Bradley</i> (New Century)	
ORGANIZING THE PARTY FOR VICTORY OVER REACTION	.25
<i>by Alex Parker</i> (New Century)	
ANARCHISM OR SOCIALISM?	.35
<i>by Joseph Stalin</i> (International)	
LETTERS TO AMERICANS: 1848-1895	\$3.50
<i>by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels</i> (International)	
FILM IN THE BATTLE OF IDEAS	Cloth \$2.00; Paper \$1.00
<i>by John Howard Lawson</i> (Masses & Mainstream)	
BURNING VALLEY	\$2.75
<i>A novel by Phillip Bonosky</i> (Masses & Mainstream)	
POEMS BY NAZIM HIKMET	Cloth \$2.00; Paper \$5.00
(Masses & Mainstream)	
CHINA'S NEW CREATIVE AGE	Cloth \$2.50; Paper \$1.50
<i>By Hewlett Johnson</i> (International)	
MCCARTHYISM AND THE BIG LIE	.05
<i>by Milton Howard</i> (New Century)	
JOSE MARTI AND CUBAN LIBERATION	.20
<i>by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez</i> (International)	

*Distributed by*

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS • 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

*A New Monumental Work  
of Marxist-Leninist Theory—*

# THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By **WILLIAM Z. FOSTER**

*AN INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS BOOK*

"Comrade Foster's new book is a synthesis and an analysis of all the Marxist writings of the past on the Negro question and on American history. It represents a monumental contribution towards an understanding of the struggles of the Negro people and of the development of the Negro nation. The book provides the necessary theoretical clarity for a comprehension of the significance of the national liberation efforts of the Negro people.

"The book will prove to be a great weapon in the hands of the American working class for it demonstrates the necessity for the Negro-labor alliance. . . . It shows, historically and conclusively, the tremendous importance of the struggle against white chauvinism, a struggle in the self-interest of the working class. . . .

"This most recent book will advance our whole understanding of the Negro question in the U.S. and of the colonial and semi-colonial status of the peoples of Latin America. I am confident that this book will be vigorously spread throughout the labor movement, the Negro movement, and throughout our Party."—PETTIS PERRY, in *Political Affairs*, October, 1953.

PRICE \$6.00

---

**NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS**  
832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

# E Y

the  
ican  
and-  
the  
or a  
the

neri-  
labor  
im-  
self-

the  
atus  
l be  
ment,  
Octo-