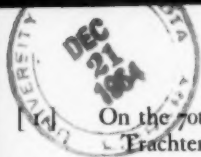


political affairs

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Greetings, Comrade Alex, On Your 70th Birthday!



ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

On the 70th Birthday of Comrade Trachtenberg

By National Committee, CPUSA

The National Committee, CPUSA, issued the following statement on November 23, the 70th birthday of Alexander Trachtenberg:

HEARTY comradely greetings to our dear indomitable comrade, Alexander Trachtenberg, on his 70th birthday! Homage to him for a lifetime of devoted and tireless leading activity in the labor and Marxist movement, for the great confidence and unremitting energy with which he continues his lifework in the shadow of a three-year prison sentence under the fascist thought-control Smith Act! For his steadfast dedication to the Communist principles for which he has always stood!

Alexander Trachtenberg is a bright example to all lovers of peace and democracy. His work covers a half century of uninterrupted leadership as administrator, editor, publisher, lecturer, writer, teacher, organizer.

Arrested with sixteen other Com-

munist leaders, he was placed in the dock, together with the Marxist-Leninist books he has published and distributed for thirty years. He staunchly re-affirmed his identity with the triumphant theory of social progress, Marxism-Leninism, and its deep roots in the American labor movement and cultural life in general.

In his own work and person, Alexander Trachtenberg embodies and defends the vital American democratic tradition, of which Marxism is an integral part. The monopolists and their prosecutors now try to make this tradition appear alien and hostile to the American way of life.

The Smith Act trials of books and ideas jail Communists because of their convictions. These notorious frame-ups threaten to bring the darkness of fascism upon all political and

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cultural life in the land. They aim to place the entire labor movement and the American people at the mercy of the warmakers. Defending his life-long activities, Alexander Trachtenberg defends the very cultural and political freedoms for which the American people have always fought.

Under his direction many writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, previously unavailable in this country, have been published. He brought the great works of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin to the American public.

Under his direction the writings of working-class and people's leaders in many countries have been translated and published, helping us understand the world we live in.

With his unflagging energy, he has helped build up a significant body of literature by American Marxist and progressive writers on U.S. history, the labor movement, the Negro people, the economics of the imperialist monopoly era, world affairs, the socialist policies and achievements of the Soviet Union, and numerous problems of current politics.

An outstanding contribution of Alexander Trachtenberg has been his indefatigable labors to bring the truth of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, to the workers and people of our country, and to promote friendship and lasting peace between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

He has kept alive the old tradition of popular and socialist movements in this country of mass literature distributions, of pamphleteering

for the laboring man and the common folk.

He has provided for our country a vast body of literature encompassing the greatest social theory of our time, the best world thoughts, as well as the best products of Marxist and progressive thinking in America.

This literature lives on. It cannot be jailed. It cannot be legislated or witch-hunted out of existence. It has been read by millions of Americans and is to be found in their homes throughout the land. It continues to inspire masses of people, who will not be scared out of thinking by the anti-Communist hysteria.

The beloved democratic traditions of our people live on. They grow in struggle against the fascist McCarthyites, the bookburners who would destroy the literature of social protest and progress. Wider and consistent distribution of this literature, in the face of its slanderous distortion and persecution by the enemies of democracy and peace, is in keeping with our best traditions.

Freedom for Alexander Trachtenberg, Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis, all Smith Act victims, and all political prisoners, to carry forward the American way of life as it was always understood and fought for by the people!

Good health, Comrade Trachtenberg, and many more years of glorious activity in the service of the American working class and nation, for the happiness and peace of all humanity.

The November Elections and the Party Program

By Albert E. Blumberg

ON November 2 more than 42,000,000 American voters went to the polls to pass judgment on the policies and performance of the Eisenhower-Big Business Administration and Congress.

The two years since the Eisenhower landslide of '52 had further increased the atmosphere of national fear and anxiety. The country was headed for an economic crisis, with unemployment already an urgent problem in the auto shops of Michigan, the steel mills of Pennsylvania and the coal fields of West Virginia. The nation's foreign policy continued to point toward the disaster of a third world war. The traditional American liberties were under unprecedentedly heavy attack from the fascist forces of McCarthyism, Dixiecratism and Brownellism.

Profound currents were stirring among the labor, Negro, farm and liberal middle-class electorate. Mass opposition to the Eisenhower-Big Business policies of war, depression and the embracing of McCarthyism had begun to express itself as early as the fall voting of '53. The 1954 Congressional and State elections, in the words of the Communist Party Program, *The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights and Democracy*, thus became "crucial in determining the path America will take."

The voting has now taken place. The conservative and reactionary press seeks to picture the outcome in terms of an "apathetic electorate," of voters who chose the "middle way." They would have labor and the people believe that, in Eisenhower's phrase, "Nothing happened."

What really did happen?

What do the returns mean in the light of the analysis and electoral objectives outlined in the Party Program, and developed in Comrade Pettis Perry's Main Report delivered at our National Election Conference?

What main lessons are to be drawn by labor and its allies for their independent political action in the period leading to the Presidential elections of '56?

How can the unions and other people's organizations move quickly into the next stage of struggle for their most urgent needs—in the shops and communities, and in the new 84th Congress, the state legislatures and the '55 municipal elections?

What was the role of the advanced and Communist forces? What major tasks do they face in the new situation following November 2?

THE NOVEMBER RESULTS

A proper estimate of the recent elections requires that we avoid two tendencies already at work in the "battle of estimates" following November 2.

The one minimizes the gains for labor and the people. It echoes the Eisenhower-Big Business propaganda that "nothing happened." In the name of realism it spreads defeatism and thereby impedes labor's mobilization for the struggles ahead. The other exaggerates the results. It converts partial gains into decisive victories. In the name of building confidence, it spreads illusions and thus disarms the anti-Administration camp.

The November results, while they reveal no decisive defeat, add up to an *unmistakable rebuff to Eisenhower, a serious defeat for the GOP and a sharp setback for the McCarthyites.*

The main features upon which this conclusion is based are:

(1) *The cause of the low turn-out:* Returns to date show a total vote of about 42 million for 1954. This is a fall-off of 32% (or nearly 20 million) from the '52 Presidential vote. Despite increases in population and registration, the turn-out just about equals that of the last mid-term election in 1950. The rough figures are:

COMPARISON OF '50 AND '54

(In millions)	1950	1954	% change
Potential vote	91	97	+6.6%
Registration	70	75	+7%
Top vote	42	42	0
Congressional vote	40	40	0
Congress (excluding the South).....	37	37	0

The striking fact, apart from the continued great gap between potential vote and registration, is the *increased* gap between registration and voting in '54. This, and the big decline from '52 are widely taken to prove that general "apathy" prevailed.

Why did so many registered voters stay home November 2? Was it predominantly indifference or a political act of abstention? Some clues are provided if we take the national decline from '52 (32%) and compare it with state and local percentages. The variation is over a wide range: Con-

necticut declined only 10%, Minnesota—18%, Michigan—20%, Pennsylvania—20%, Illinois—25%, New York—30%, Ohio—30%, New York City—34%, Cleveland—37%, the Southern states—60%.

These figures indicate, among others, the following points:

(a) Generally, the American voter abstains unless he sees something at stake. Thus, the sharpest decline from '52, 60%, was in the South. There the main battles are fought out in the Democratic primaries. The final turn-out is negligible except in a special situation like the Eisenhower-Stevenson election. This explains the sharp decline. But when it comes to a primary fight against the Dixiecrats, there is no "apathy." The Alabama spring primary in '54 actually turned out 20% more voters than the '52 Presidential campaign.

(b) Specifically, a large section of the Eisenhower voters of '52 stayed home in '54, particularly in the cities. In Cleveland, for example, while the total vote dropped from 374,000 to 237,000 or 37%, the GOP vote was cut to less than a half—from 150,000 to 71,000. Some 79,000 Eisenhower '52 votes failed to show up for GOP Senatorial candidate Bender. Allowing for local factors and some switching to the Democrats, it is clear that a large section of former Eisenhower supporters abstained. This was due not to "apathy" but to disillusionment with Eisenhower and the failure of the Democrats to provide an alternative that would attract these voters.

(c) Some abstention, such as the low registration and vote in Harlem and other Negro communities, was clearly traceable to the refusal of the Democrats (or the GOP) to champion the main needs of the voters. This was an act of protest, not of indifference.

(d) Contrariwise, where the issues of jobs and farm-incomes were sharpest, the turn-out of labor and the farmers limited the decline from '52, and raised the total vote substantially above '50 (Michigan rose 20%, Minnesota 11%, Pennsylvania 5%).

The low turn-out this year cannot be blamed on an apathetic electorate. It is due primarily to the kind of issues, candidates and alternatives offered. A major factor was the abstention of disillusioned pro-Eisenhower voters who have not been won by the anti-Administration camp.

(2) *The anti-Eisenhower, anti-GOP shift in the popular vote:* Within this low turn-out, there was a marked shift away from Eisenhower and the GOP.

Excluding the 12 Southern states, the GOP polled 55.3% of the Congressional vote in 1952 or 27 million; the Democrats 44.7% or 21.8 million. In 1954, the GOP percentage fell to 50.5% (or 18.7 million), the Democratic rose to 49.5% (or 18.3 million). The shift in percentage of vote cast was

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nearly 5 points, with the GOP vote dropping 8.3 million, the Democrats 3.5 million.

Figures for some major industrial and farm states, as reported in *U.S. News and World Report* (Nov. 19) are:

GOP % OF CONGRESSIONAL VOTE: '52 AND '54

	1952	1954	Decline in % Points
New Jersey	57.4	51.3	6.1
California	54.0	49.3	4.7
Michigan	52.6	48.1	4.5
Illinois	53.9	49.6	4.3
New York	54.5	51.3	3.2
Pennsylvania	52.3	49.3	3.0
Ohio	55.5	54.1	1.4
Wisconsin	61.2	52.4	8.8
Minnesota	54.0	47.2	6.8
South Dakota	68.6	59.1	9.5
Iowa	66.8	58.4	8.4

A 5-point percentage shift means a serious defeat for the GOP. But the defeat failed by far to reach the proportions foreshadowed by the Maine elections of September where the shift was 12 points.

(3) *The GOP loss of Congress and key Governorships:*

The GOP, despite Eisenhower's plea for a Republican Congress, lost control of both House and Senate. The figures—

House: Old D-215, R-219, Ind. 1
New D-232, R-203

a Democratic gain of 17 seats, including 3 in Pennsylvania, 3 in Illinois, 2 in Michigan.

Senate: Old D-46, R-49, Ind. 1
New D-48, R-47, Ind. 1

Moreover, the Republicans lost the politically strategic post of governor in seven states (in addition to Maine)—New York, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Colorado, Connecticut, New Mexico and Arizona. Of special note was the termination of the 12-year rule of the reactionary Dewey-Brownell machine in New York and the election, by a majority of 281,000, of the

first Democratic governor of Pennsylvania since 1934. The GOP suffered corresponding losses in the state legislatures.

(4) *Changes in the Composition of Congress:*

The changes in party vote and Congressional control are not without significance. The decisive question, however, is the *composition* of Congress. What happened in this regard?

The most striking change was the defeat of outstanding McCarthyites and pro-McCarthyites—Clardy and Ferguson (Michigan), Kersten (Wisconsin), Busbey (Illinois), Graham (Pennsylvania). This aspect of the election was further heightened by the smashing defeat of the leading McCarthyite aspirants—Meek and Vail (Illinois) and Shepard (New Jersey)—and the sharply reduced margins of reactionary incumbents like Coudert (New York) and Judd (Minnesota). In McCarthy's home state, the Democrats came within 30-odd thousand of winning the governorship. The Republican, Case (New Jersey), owed his election to the fact that McCarthy made him a national target.

The McCarthyites, under "field marshal" Nixon, defeated Condon (Calif.) and Taylor (Idaho)—thanks to the aid of reactionary and McCarthyite Democrats. But they failed in Oregon, Montana and Wyoming and against Holtzman in New York. The anti-McCarthy vote was dominant.

It cannot be said, however, that the election sent a bloc of "articulate and uncompromising opponents of McCarthyism" to Congress. Such a bloc is more possible after November 2 but it can be realized only through the pressure of the mass anti-McCarthy struggle of labor and the people. This is all the more essential because the Dixiecrat-McCarthyite elements in the Democratic party emerged with a certain increased strength as the result of the election of Thurmond (S.C.) and Tumulty (N. J.).

The defeat of McCarthyite war-mongers was a major gain for peace. But it was only in rare instances (Illinois, Minnesota) that candidates made any positive commitments in the field of foreign policy. A bloc of Congressional spokesmen for peaceful coexistence is still to be achieved.

As to the anti-depression struggle, labor's election box-score shows:

AFL-LLPE: Senate—30 endorsed, 18 elected; House—282 endorsed, 152 elected.

CIO-PAC: Senate—24 endorsed, 15 elected; House—256 endorsed, 126 elected.

The LLPE estimates that the election results increase the number of House members "consistently favorable" to labor to 176 (a gain of 23) and Senators to 40 (a gain of 4). Taking the endorsements at face value, this is

a modest gain and should facilitate the struggle for an anti-depression program in Congress.

In the area of labor and Negro representation in Congress, the outstanding result was Michigan. The election of Charles Digges increases the number of Negro Congressmen from two to three—the first gain since 1946. McNamara's victory sent the first trade unionist to the upper chamber in Washington.

Labor and Negro incumbents were returned to Congress with increased majorities. A number of increases were registered in State legislatures (notably Maryland, Wisconsin, Michigan), but no other changes in Congress. The Michigan successes are a standing challenge to the labor and Negro people's movement in such states as Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, Illinois, New York, and New Jersey.

THE NOVEMBER RESULTS AND THE PARTY PROGRAM

To evaluate these results in the light of the Party Program, it is necessary first to see what factors and forces produced them. Two questions require answers: Why did Eisenhower and the GOP suffer a serious defeat? Why did the widely-predicted anti-GOP landslide fail to materialize?

The reactionary press seeks to conceal the mass political significance of the GOP defeat. They ascribe it simply to a political "law of nature"—that, as the sun always rises, so parties in power always lose ground in mid-term elections. This "explanation" is the main prop used to support the Eisenhower-Big Business idea that "nothing happened" November 2.

Obviously, the "explanation" explains nothing. As a matter of fact, the ruling party sometimes makes gains, as in the first Roosevelt mid-term election in 1934. What really explains the exceptions and the rule are the sentiments of the mass of the electorate. Mid-term losses are due to mass disillusionment with the failure to keep Presidential campaign promises and mass opposition to policies hostile to the great body of labor, Negro, farm and liberal middle-class voters. It is this which explains the "explanation"; it is this which accounts for the GOP defeat of 1954.

The November results, seen against the background of the Eisenhower sweep of '52, revealed a powerful trend of opposition to the main policies of the GOP-Big Business Administration and Congress. This opposition reflected disillusionment with the peace promises of Eisenhower and Dulles and alarm at the war-now demands of the Knowlands and McCarthys. It reflected resentment at the Eisenhower-Wilson "dog-story" stand on unemployment, the Eisenhower-Benson attack on farm-incomes, the Eisenhower-

Brownell embracing of McCarthyism, and the Administration's rejection of civil-rights legislation, such as FEPC.

Labor was the main driving force in the GOP defeat. The Republicans suffered their heaviest losses in the highly-organized industrial centers of Michigan, Pennsylvania and West Virginia where unemployment was most severe. Labor, through the LLPE and PAC, was more united and more active politically than in years. The workers voted overwhelmingly against the GOP and the Cadillac Cabinet. An election-eve Gallup Poll (Oct. 19) on the question—which of the two parties is best for you?—provided a measure of organized labor's hostility to the GOP. Only 17% of the trade-unionists polled chose the GOP; 64% preferred the Democratic Party and 19% saw no difference or had no opinion.

The highly-conscious Negro electorate, despite the Democratic betrayal of civil rights and the GOP demagoguery, did not swing to the Republicans. In growing common action with labor, the main Negro centers of New York, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and Philadelphia overwhelmingly rejected the Administration—primarily on the issue of jobs. As to the farm vote, while no spectacular revolt took place, there was a considerable anti-GOP shift. This was general in the Dakotas, Minnesota and Iowa, but was particularly marked in the dairy regions of Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and southern Illinois. The GOP also lost some ground among the youth, the women, and the urban middle-class.

GOP losses were most severe where major mass struggles had been taking place during the period of the elections. The Joe-must-go Recall-movement, the Square D strike, and the Trumbull Park struggle against segregated housing were key factors in the Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois results. Likewise, the defeats were most striking where, as in the Illinois campaign against Meek and the Pennsylvania gubernatorial race, networks of independent citizens' campaign committees were at work in addition to the regular Democratic organization.

The reactionary election estimates with their "theory" of off-year elections are designed to conceal the powerful labor and people's opposition to the *policies* of the Administration. It is this opposition which accounted for the serious GOP defeat of November 2. It is this opposition which established the potential for a defeat of vastly greater proportions.

* * *

However, the widely-predicted anti-Administration sweep, in the main, failed to materialize. Why was this the case?

This is no idle question. It is vitally important that labor and its allies, while utilizing the gains of November 2, make this question the center of

a broad-ranging critical and self-critical examination of the '54 campaign. For upon the answer may well hinge the outcome of '56.

The reactionary experts have already come up with their "answer." They note the obvious: the November elections were indeed characterized by an exceptionally large number of narrow-margin photo-finish races—New York (Harriman-Ives), New Jersey (Case-Howell), Ohio (Bender-Burke), Oregon (Neuberger-Cordon), etc. From this they conclude that the Democrats failed to sweep the country because the voters were "groping for the middle-man," that the voters' mandate was for "moderation."

This "analysis," like the off-year "theory," attempts to cover up the mass opposition to the Eisenhower Administration upon which the Democratic trend is based. Because there was no Democratic sweep, it concludes that this opposition has ceased to exist.

An examination of the campaign, however, reveals a very different picture. *It shows that the Democratic sweep failed to develop in the first instance because the Democratic Party campaign instead of organizing and giving full expression to the anti-Administration sentiment thwarted and discouraged this sentiment.*

What kind of campaign did the top Democratic leaders conduct? In the first place they did not fight Eisenhower and his policies. Rather they sought election as the best supporters of Eisenhower. They dissipated the fighting anti-Administration spirit of labor and the people who wanted an energetic campaign for peace, against McCarthyism, for jobs, for Negro rights, for increased farm-incomes.

The Stevenson-Truman-Mitchell group (to say nothing of the Lyndon Johnsons, the Farleys and the Dixiecrats) continued their bi-partisan pro-war line and their demands for bigger war budgets. They joined with the Republicans to exclude McCarthyism as an issue. They kept silent on desegregation and the question of Negro rights. The only mass issue the Democrats developed was unemployment and, to a degree, farm incomes and natural resources. Under the pressure of the labor movement the jobs issue was featured in such states as Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois and West Virginia.

Moreover, the reactionary and conservative forces in the Democratic Party sought to prevent the growth of the influence of labor and the Negro people. The Farley and De Sapio-Tammany forces in New York, with the connivance of the Democratic national leadership, joined hands to prevent the nomination of F. D. Roosevelt, Jr. for governor. Compelled to give him a place on the state ticket, they openly "cut" him in the final elections and brought about his defeat in order to weaken the influence of the labor and

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people's forces who had grouped themselves around him. There were similar experiences in Connecticut, California, Idaho, and other states.

The result was an open door for the unscrupulous demagoguery of the GOP campaign—the high level demagoguery of the Eisenhowers, and the low-level out-and-out McCarthyism of the Nixons. After the Maine elections (September) revealed a Democratic sweep in the making, the GOP concentrated particularly on two things. The first was the Nixon-Brownell-McCarthyite offensive against the Democrats as “being soft on Communism.” The second was the increasingly demagogic exploitation of the peace issue. Aware of the great popular demand for peace, the Republicans hammered away at the theme—“Truman-Acheson got us into war; Eisenhower-Dulles got us out of war.”

It was peace demagoguery that became more and more the center of the GOP campaign in the closing weeks. Nixon's McCarthyism was given a pro-peace guise, and his peace demagoguery a McCarthyized historical setting. The GOP took credit for the Korea and Indo-China cease-fires which popular peace pressure forced upon them. At the same time, they attacked the Democrats for not converting these wars into World War III. The Democrats, lacking the elements of a positive peace policy, left the field wide open to the Republicans' peace demagoguery.

As the Democrats continued to make headway on the jobs issue, the GOP, after a flyer in fake statistics, set about tying up the jobs question with the peace issue. A last-minute nation-wide campaign was launched, with such slogans (*Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Oct. 29) as—“All-time low in nation's unemployment under Eisenhower,” “The Democrats have never been able to produce high employment except by going to war” and “Back Ike for Progress Without War.” The best the Stevensons could do was the election-eve accusation that the GOP was engaging in “Communist propaganda.”

Nixon's McCarthyism, while not without effect, did not yield the expected returns. Nor did Eisenhower's much-dramatized appeal for a heavy vote and a Republican Congress. It was the GOP peace demagoguery—tied up with the jobs issue—which was the principal factor enabling the Republicans to avert the anti-Administration sweep.

As in '52, the GOP parade as the peace party. But the Democratic leadership clung to their pro-war line and policy. And the labor movement, whose main Right-wing Social-Democratic and reformist leaders share this line, did not independently intervene with a positive program for peace.

Only where the jobs issue was most pressing did the GOP defeat take on the proportions of a sweep, as in Michigan and Pennsylvania. There can

be no doubt that a Democratic campaign based on peace and jobs would have swept the country. The Democrats offered jobs, the Republicans appeared to offer peace. What the mass of voters wanted was both peace and jobs.

This conclusion is strikingly confirmed by a study of '52 and '54 voting behavior in the industrial town of Pittsfield, Mass. (See *The Nation*, Nov. 20). First, the survey substantiates the anti-Eisenhower trend—25% of the '52 Eisenhower voters were undecided or pro-Stevenson, "slightly more than 50% of the former Eisenhower supporters came from the ranks of labor." Second, it shows that "the one major issue of crucial concern in both 1952 and 1954 was the threat of a third world war." Third, it shows that, while the question of peace was of great concern to all voters, "those concerned primarily with the issues of unemployment and the cost of living thought that the Democratic Party was better able to handle these problems"; whereas those "most worried about our foreign relations . . . leaned towards the Republican Party."

Thus, the answer to the question—why no Democratic sweep?—lies specifically in the refusal of Democratic spokesmen and nominees, in the face of GOP peace demagoguery, to budge from their adherence to the bipartisan war program of Big Business. This refusal curtailed the sweep of the anti-Administration trend. Continued into the post-election period, it now gravely endangers labor's prospects for ousting the Eisenhower Administration in '56.

Had the labor-endorsed Democrats campaigned for both peace and jobs, the LLPE-PAC box-scores would have shown a much higher batting average and the composition of Congress would have been substantially altered. Their failure to champion the elements of a policy of peaceful coexistence was directly harmful to labor's most pressing interests and to the interests of the nation. The responsibility for this rests basically upon the pro-war positions of the dominant reformist trade-union leadership.

From all these considerations, it follows that the elections constituted essentially a mandate against McCarthyism and for peace, jobs, equal rights. This mandate reflects the issues around which the labor and people's opposition to the Eisenhower Administration is growing and developing.

The Communist Party Program, distributed in more than 750,000 copies during the campaign, based its analysis upon this movement of opposition and its perspectives for growth. It reviewed the critical problems facing our country, outlined measures for their solution and charted a path of struggle for the realization of these measures.

In the electoral field, the Program proposed to labor and the people that

"the immediate objective in '54 must be to prevent the Eisenhower Administration and Congress from taking the country further down the road of McCarthyism." It called for unity to change the composition of Congress in '54—preliminary to changing the Administration in '56—by defeating all McCarthy-McCarran-Dixiecrat pro-fascists and war-mongers and electing to Congress anti-McCarthy fighters, spokesmen for peace, and more representatives of labor and the Negro people.

Viewed in relation to the Program, the November results show first that the Program deals with the real issues and movements that are at work in American political life; in other words, it talks sense to the American people.

Second, the results confirm the analysis and general perspectives set forth in the Program; they register significant gains and create new opportunities for struggle.

These gains, however, are as yet limited. They constitute but a first beginning. They in no way guarantee the achievement of the key task of this period—to bar the road to McCarthyism and war.

To achieve that task, it will be necessary (1) that labor—and above all, the Left and progressive trade-unionists—learn the main lesson of '54. *Labor and people's independent political action must reach a new level, a level in which a positive program for peace is placed in the very center of the anti-Administration movement.*

(2) That labor and its allies address themselves without let-up to the next stage of struggle following November 2 on the wage and economic front, paced by the coming auto workers battle with Wilson's General Motors, in the communities, and in the 84th Congress, the state legislatures, and the '55 municipal election in Chicago, Philadelphia, and other key cities.

The McCarthyite drive in the Senate special session to cancel out the anti-McCarthy mandate of November 2 must be a warning to all. The trade unions and people's organizations should plunge into this fight as well as prepare for certain major legislative struggles when Congress opens in January—on cloture and civil rights, for a farmer-labor anti-depression program and lower taxes, against the new UMT and German rearmament.

(3) That the Communist and other advanced forces in the electoral field review their role and contributions in the '54 elections and take new and decisive measures to strengthen their ability to influence the great struggles that will unfold as '56 approaches.

Some of the specific problems relating to these three questions will be discussed in an article to appear in our next issue—Ed.

Germany and Our National Interest

By Richard Walker

ON November 15, the Eisenhower Administration sent to a special session of the Senate a so-called "new" plan for the rearmament of German militarism within an aggressive anti-Soviet alliance. In submitting the plan, President Eisenhower said he hoped for its ratification soon after the new Congress begins in January. The plan is also before the Parliaments of Western European countries signatory to it, with debates on ratification scheduled to commence in December or January.

This haste in seeking ratification of a plan of such momentous import to the world, and to the peoples of the United States and Western Europe in particular, is attributable to two features of the international situation.

First, the prospect of reviving in the heart of Europe a German military force under Nazi leadership and with vengeful aims clearly threatens the national interests of the peoples of America and Europe. Moreover, at a moment when the method of negotiation has achieved a relaxation of world tensions and the possibility of agreement on disarmament, this project would obvi-

ously exacerbate differences between the powers, especially between the United States and the Soviet Union. It would, therefore, contribute to the heightening of international tensions and the creation of a war atmosphere. Understandably, then, its sponsors fear that if the peoples are allowed to learn the truth about it, they would unquestionably act to prevent its ratification.

The second feature is the existence of a practical, peaceable alternative for normalizing relations between the German people and other members of the family of nations, which, at the same time, would conform to the national security interests of other peoples. This alternative is the plan proposed over the last several years by the Soviet Union, with modifications submitted at the Berlin Conference last February, and in subsequent statements and notes intended to meet objections of the governments of the United States, Britain and France.

As outlined by Foreign Minister Molotov of the U.S.S.R. at the Berlin Conference, more recently in his speech in East Berlin on October 6,

and in the Soviet note of October 23, this Soviet plan envisions the unification of Germany on peaceful and democratic foundations, and the integration of a German state so constituted into a General European System of Collective Security. Such a system would pool the efforts of all European states, regardless of their state or social systems, in safeguarding the peace of Europe.

To facilitate agreement on this alternative, the U.S.S.R.'s note of October 23 to the United States, Britain and France proposed a meeting of the foreign ministers of the four powers "in November this year," and suggested this agenda:

1. The restoration of the unity of Germany on peaceful and democratic foundations and the carrying out of all-German free elections.
2. The withdrawal of occupation troops of the four powers from the territory of East and West Germany.
3. The convening of an all-European conference for the examination of the question of creating a system of collective security in Europe.

A Soviet note on November 13 proposed November 29 as the date of this Conference, and invited 22 other European governments, with copies to the United States and People's China.

Stressing the new possibilities for four-power agreement existing since defeat of the six-state European Defense Community project (EDC), the Soviet note of October 23 declared the government of the U.S.S.R.

was ready again to consider the proposals made at the Berlin Conference by British Foreign Secretary Eden and supported by the United States and France, for the holding of all-German elections.

The problem of German unification, the Soviet note said, should be solved

So that the peoples of Europe may be sure that a re-united Germany will not get into the hands of the sworn enemies of peace, German militarists and revanchists, but that she will firmly enter the path of peaceful development and the establishing of good neighborly relations with other countries. . . . At these elections the German people must have the possibility of expressing its free will so that a united Germany may be reborn as a peace-loving and democratic state.

Both Molotov, in his East Berlin speech, and the Soviet note remarked on the relation between efforts to solve the German question and attempts to reach agreement on world disarmament. Molotov cited arguments of both the advocates of German re-militarization and of some who opposed it, to the effect that progress on disarmament might facilitate the solution of the German question.

Molotov warned:

One cannot, however, submit a plan for reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons and, at the same time, proceed with the remilitarization of Western Germany, drawing it into military alignments. It is obvi-

ous that the one is incompatible with the other.

The fact is, moreover, that the Political and Security Committee of the UN General Assembly, acting on Soviet delegate Vishinsky's initiative, approved unanimously on October 27 a resolution embodying agreement between the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the United States, Britain, France and Canada on the other. This agreement on the general objectives and principles of disarmament, the first such "meeting of the minds" since December, 1946, demonstrated anew the merit of the method of negotiation and the feasibility of re-establishing normal relations among states.

The Soviet alternative to the plan for reviving the German militarist threat to Europe and the world holds a powerful attraction for the European peoples — including the German people. The note of November 13 cited support for the European Security Plan from Poland, Czechoslovakia and "broad public circles throughout Europe." The probability that, if given the opportunity to pass judgment on this plan, the people would either force their governments to accept it or render more difficult efforts to ignore it, terrifies the sponsors of a reconstructed Wehrmacht. They dread even to risk allowing public opinion again to consider the Soviet plan. Notwithstanding the good augury for four-power negotiations on Germany provided by the agreement on

disarmament and its unanimous adoption in the UN committee on October 27, President Eisenhower on the same day told his news conference that there would be no four-power talks on the German question before the "new" plan for German rearmament was ratified. And on October 30, he announced that he would "rush" this German Army plan, together with the South East Asian Treaty Organization project (SEATO), to the special session of the Senate which, ironically, was convened to administer a rebuff to McCarthyism! In addition, the sponsors of the German Army plan intend to delay till late November their reply to the Soviet note of October 23, calling for a four-power meeting in November. They intend to frame their reply—as the *New York Herald-Tribune* correspondent Joseph Newman reported from London—in an effort to provoke an "extensive exchange of notes . . . involving several months," by which time "it is hoped that the West European Parliaments, particularly those of France and West Germany, will have ratified the Paris agreements."

Needless to say, the haste and maneuvers of these circles will not succeed in lulling the peoples' sense of danger, but will be further ground for their distrust and alarm. European peoples are already demanding a full airing of this allegedly "new" and "safe" plan for restoring German militarism. Certainly, the regard for national security which moves the European masses should

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not be less in our country. Owing both to its threat to our own national security, and to the greater responsibility imposed upon us by reason of our government's determining role in efforts to revive German militarism within an anti-Soviet aggressive bloc, our concern with this move of the Eisenhower Administration warrants a searching examination of this plan.

THE LONDON-PARIS AGREEMENTS

The German rearmament plan which President Eisenhower has sent to the Senate for ratification was concocted mainly by the representatives of the governments of the United States, West Germany, Britain and France, with the support of other members of the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO). Utilizing the framework of the Brussels Treaty Organization, the notorious "Little Europe" alliance, these representatives produced in the course of negotiations at London from September 28 to October 3, and at Paris and Bonn from October 21-23, an elaborate scheme for the remilitarization of West Germany and its membership in NATO.

These agreements were instantly trumpeted to the world as the guarantee "of a lasting peace," a victory for the advocates of a "United Europe," a "safe and just solution" of the German problem. Propagandists of the sponsoring governments frequently reiterated that these govern-

ments are striving to promote peace and security, and that the London-Paris agreements will achieve these aims by means of the following provisions:

1. Termination of the occupation of West Germany and full sovereignty for the Bonn state.

2. Extension of the Brussels Treaty Organization to include West Germany and to strengthen the authority of the organization's Council.

3. A British commitment to keep four divisions and a tactical air force on the Continent until 1998, if a majority of the Brussels Treaty Organization desire it.

4. Admittance of West Germany to NATO membership according to stipulated principles, and an initial West German military "contribution" of 500,000 men and an air force of 1,350 planes.

5. Control machinery under the Brussels Treaty Organization determining maximum and minimum levels of armament and armed forces.

6. A Franco-German rapprochement including agreement on the Saar and an invitation to German capital to join French capital in the "economic development" of France and French overseas territories.

7. Formal undertakings by Adenauer that the Bonn state will never have recourse to force "to achieve the reunification of Germany or modification of the present boundaries of the German Federal Republic," and by the United States, Britain and France that the objective of their policy is the "peaceful reunification" of Germany.

Finally, while not explicit in the London-Paris agreements, the main

sponsoring governments have asserted their willingness to negotiate on the question of German unity with the U.S.S.R.—after the ratification and implementation of the foregoing provisions!

This is the "package" which President Eisenhower, after hearing the negotiation described by Secretary of State Dulles, called "the greatest diplomatic achievement of our time." But another estimate of the London-Paris agreements emerges from even a casual scrutiny of these provisions.

First, the claim that the agreements will end the occupation, and accord West Germany full sovereignty is a deliberate hoax to deceive the German people. It is obviously incompatible with the British commitment to maintain an armed force in West Germany—incidentally, a force equivalent to the British occupying forces. Moreover, Secretary Dulles affirmed the intention of the Eisenhower Administration to maintain U.S. forces in West Germany.

This means that West Germany will become a war base for Wall Street imperialism in the heart of Europe. In addition, the three western occupying states reserve their powers both in respect to the control of West Berlin, and in the most critical aspect of Bonn's foreign relations, namely, its relations vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic on the crucial question of German unification. Adenauer, therefore, may not enter any undertaking on unification with the Soviet Union and the East German

republic without the approval of the United States, Britain and France.

Second, the choice of the 1948 aggressive "Little Europe" military grouping of Britain, France and the Benelux countries as the device to replace EDC for bringing a German army into NATO provides no stronger guarantee against German militarism than did EDC. Indeed, this crude improvisation refutes the claim that the London-Paris agreements contain any fundamentally new plan for rearming the Nazis. President Eisenhower admitted this on November 4, when he said the agreements "preserve most of the values inherent in the original European Defense Community." Moreover, as we shall see in relation to the question of controls, the increased authority of the Council of the expanded Brussels Treaty Organization creates no difficulties for West German revanchism, armed to the teeth.

Third, the propagandists for the London-Paris agreements pretend to attach great significance to Britain's commitment of armed forces on the Continent. They claim this is a "revolutionary development," signifying Britain's return to its traditional role of maintaining a balance of power in Europe, and acting as "arbiter" between France and Germany. But it is important to note that Eden reserved Britain's freedom unilaterally to abrogate its commitment in the event of an "acute overseas emergency," and to seek revision of its commitment if that proves econom-

ically burdensome. Moreover, the stipulation that Britain will be governed by views of the majority in the Brussels organization actually permits the British to go whenever they choose. According to the *New York Herald Tribune's* Harold Calender:

A French official with long experience of international conferences remarked that the votes of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg were available to Britain in such conferences any time she wanted them. He added that these three small countries were members of the Brussels Treaty and that their votes plus Britain's would provide the majority required to let Britain out of her commitment if ever she wanted to get out of it.

So much for this "assurance" of a British guarantee! But in the event the British should choose to live up to this commitment, the "assurance" is still a weak one. For everyone knows that British troops were on the Continent in the early phases of World War II, and that they failed completely to deter the Wehrmacht. Far more meaningful than the British commitment is the policy behind it, which is a policy of restoring to power the revanchist and militarist circles within West Germany.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON CONTROL

Turning now to the points relating to Germany's initial military force within NATO, the alleged "controls" set up to keep the Nazis

in check, and the undertakings given by Adenauer and the three western occupying powers to employ only peaceful means in respect to Germany's unification and frontiers, a number of questions arise which, when answered, expose the fraud of the argument that these stipulations afford guarantees against new military adventures by the German militarists.

Q. What will be the character as to size and command of this new Wehrmacht?

A. Its size remains a secret. It is specified in a secret agreement drawn up in Paris two years ago, but not yet revealed. The representatives of the western powers say it will be 500,000 men and 1,350 planes, but these figures are not in the London-Paris agreements. The special agreement annexed to the EDC treaty which covers the actual size of the Wehrmacht remains suppressed. Herr Schmidt-Wittmack, the Christian Democratic deputy and top committee member in the Adenauer regime who recently moved to East Germany, said the actual German rearming plans "already completed" were not for 12 but for 24 divisions with a further reserve 24 divisions contemplated, that is, an army of two millions at the outset. There is also the experience of the German militarists' secret rearmament despite the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty. Already, similar "secret" rearmament preparations have made considerable headway behind the backs—or is it before the eyes?—of

the occupation authorities. As to the command of this Wehrmacht, which is to be independent with its own general staff, war ministry and budget, this will be the German General Staff and its Hitlerite corps of officers.

Q. How will the NATO framework operate to restrain the new Wehrmacht?

A. The inclusion of the German revanchists and militarists in NATO will strengthen the aggressive character of that already aggressive military grouping. But in addition, the London-Paris agreements expose the frailty of the Brussels Treaty Organization's control machinery by stipulating that "all the forces of the NATO countries stationed on the continent of Europe shall be placed under the authority of the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe . . .," and that these forces "shall be deployed in accordance with NATO strategy." Considering that the Supreme Allied Commander is an American and that "NATO strategy" is determined primarily by the Pentagon, this means that the agreements provide for the use of the Wehrmacht along the lines of the Pentagon's and State Department's rabidly anti-Soviet and anti-Communist orientation. Practically, this not only vitiates the assurances given by Adenauer and the three western representatives that they will seek unification and changes of German frontiers solely by peaceful means; it also means that if and when the U.S. government deems it

expedient to send German troops against the French or Italian working class, they can do so.

Q. Will the control machinery of the Brussels pact really limit the quantity and quality of German arms?

A. No. In the first place, the agreements provide that if the Bonn state obtains the support of the United States commander in Europe and two-thirds of the Brussels Council, it can proceed to make guided missiles, strategic bombers, and other forbidden weapons. Significantly, the London conference deleted a provision of the original Paris treaty to the effect that all nuclear fuel produced in any given year in excess of 500 grams was to be regarded as material expressly designed, or essentially important, for the manufacture of atomic weapons. The deletion of this provision gives Bonn a free hand in the production and accumulation of nuclear fuel, which leaves only Adenauer's promise not to make atomic weapons! One need only recall in this connection a report by the Washington columnist, Robert S. Allen, on September 4, 1953: "Western Germany is all set to spring, almost fully equipped, into the fateful field of atomic energy. The Germans have a stockpile of more than 15 tons of uranium, a large staff of gifted scientists and skilled technicians, and considerable laboratory and other essential equipment—all quietly assembled in the last three years. . . ." Nor, for that matter, are the Ruhr armament mo-

nopolists restricted to arms production *inside* West Germany. There is nothing to prevent their accumulating and manufacturing forbidden weapons and equipment outside Germany, in Fascist Spain, for instance. What is more, the agreements contain no restrictions on the use of such weapons. Finally, it must be observed that the actual control machinery under the Brussels Treaty Organization has not yet been finalized. The project is merely "under study."

Such are the realities of the "safe" plan for rearming the Nazi murderers and war criminals!

There remain the claims of the German Army sponsors that the London-Paris agreements include a Franco-German rapprochement on the Saar question, and that *after* the German revanchists and militarists have been restored to power, the sponsoring regimes will be willing to sit down and talk unification with the Soviet Union. As to the first claim, although French finance-capital may seem to have extorted a high price from German finance-capital in exchange for its approval of German rearmament, far from effecting a rapprochement with Germany, this has further embittered those elements of German imperialism which were already most violent in their threats to even scores with the French, and what is worse, has antagonized the genuinely patriotic German masses, who view the Saarlanders as part of the German nation. Consequently, Adenauer has

faced a revolt by these elements within his coalition regime, with the result that the question remains an open sore in the relations between the two countries. Uppermost in the minds of the revanchist militarists, however, is the thought that even if the scheduled plebiscite among the Saarlanders does not give them control of this 900-square-mile area of 976,000 people, with coal resources and its iron and steel industry—and they expect it will—the eventual disposition of the territory will be determined not by paper agreements, but by the greater military strength which West Germany will have in the Brussels organization, and the greater economic and financial strength which it already possesses through its links with Wall Street finance-capital and its bigger iron and steel industry.

Nor is the Saar agreement as one-sidedly in favor of French finance-capital as the press accounts and Adenauer pretend. For this "more favorable" position for the French monopolists was obtained at the price of renouncing part of their share of reparations from Germany, of agreeing to German participation in the exploitation of French African territories (a long-standing goal of German imperialism), and of accepting—at least for the time being—a subordinate position to that of the Wall Street-Ruhr magnates' partnership within the West European steel cartel.

This fundamental Franco-German imperialist antagonism focuses at-

tention, moreover, on the larger question of imperialist rivalries which the London-Paris accords, particularly the Saar agreement, attempt to conceal. Beneath the surface of the official platitudes about "Western unity" is a bitter and fierce struggle between the national groupings of finance capital. The French monopolists, seriously weakened in consequence of the Wall Street drive and the offensive of British and German imperialism, are striving to come to agreements with German imperialism at the expense of American and British imperialism. The British imperialists, perceiving behind the facade of the European Coal and Steel Community (Schuman Plan) the old West European Steel Cartel founded in 1926 by the German, French, Belgian and Luxembourg steel trusts, but now backed by Wall Street, realize that the ECSC's chief target is the British steel trust's market. The American imperialists, having financed the German steel trust's consolidation (*Vereinigte Stahlwerke*) and its initiation and domination of the European steel cartel, and now since World War II having established a co-partnership with the German imperialists, hope to use this partnership arrangement, as well as their independent penetration of and influence over French, Dutch, Belgian and Italian finance-capital, for the subjection of the economies of these countries and the entire economic life of Western Europe. And, of course, the German Nazi financiers have their own special objec-

tives in the struggle against the British and Wall Street imperialists.

We come now to the argument implicit in the London-Paris agreements and explicit in the official statements of the sponsoring governments, that *after* German militarism has been rearmed the powers will be willing to talk to the Soviet Union on the question of German unification. But neither the Soviet Union nor the German Democratic Republic, even if they believed a regime of German reaction would honor Adenauer's renouncement of forcible means, could place their state and national interests in jeopardy by further strengthening the industrial and manpower resources of the Nazi-led Wehrmacht.

The presence of Wall Street imperialism in force, and its veto power over any Bonn decision regarding reunification, renders the prospect of agreement after ratification extremely improbable. Hence, the frequent iterations by Soviet statesmen that the creation of a Nazi Army and its membership in an aggressive anti-Soviet military grouping would put obstacles in the path of German unification for a long time to come. Molotov, in his speech in East Berlin, put it this way:

In our day the question is as follows: either those upon whom it depends will do everything to examine and solve the most pressing problem—the restoration of Germany's unity—in which the German people and at the same time all peace-loving peoples of Europe are so greatly interested; or, if

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matters get to the point of reviving German militarism and drawing Western Germany into aggressive military alignments, the German nation will remain torn asunder for a long time to come and the remilitarized Western Germany will constitute a direct threat to the peace of Europe.

Soviet Deputy Premier Saburov, speaking on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the October Revolution, pointed out that the pretense of willingness to negotiate on German unification *after* the rearming of German militarism could not be taken seriously by anyone. The very crudeness of this pretense shows that it stems from the discredited policy of trying to deal with the Soviet Union from so-called "positions of strength," calculating on Soviet "weaknesses" and on the possibility of forcing the Government of the U.S.S.R. to surrender or retreat. It is, therefore, a demagogic cover-up for a provocative, war-instigating policy, which is altogether at variance with the professions of a willingness to negotiate and the renunciations of forcible means to effect unification and a change of West German frontiers. Moreover, such a policy reckons not only on the prospect of an eventual collision between the re-armed German Nazis and the Soviet Union, but also on the attempts of the Nazis to recapture the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia and the eastern territories from Poland.

In sum, therefore, the London-Paris agreements provide not for the

ending of the occupation and the granting of sovereignty to West Germany, but the maintenance of foreign troops on German soil for 44 years and the control of German foreign policy. Instead of furthering the unification of Germany, they would perpetuate Germany's dismemberment. Instead of strengthening the security of Western Europe, they would breed greater insecurity and heighten the threat of new wars in all of Europe, West as well as East. They are a device for re-establishing in the heart of Europe a hot-bed of war, for placing in the hands of the Belsen and Buchenwald assassins the political, economic, and military power, and the weapons (including atomic) with which to tread again the path of Hitler. This is the "new" and "safe" plan which President Eisenhower has urged the U.S. Senate to ratify.

THE THREAT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles represent this plan as a democratic, just solution of the German question, satisfying the aspirations of the German people, while simultaneously strengthening American national security. They claim also that since it is impossible as well as "unjust" to prevent the German people from having their own armed forces, it is better to have them subjected to controls. Mainly, they contend that the German army will "contribute" to the "free world's" de-

fense against "Soviet aggression," thereby strengthening American national security.

But Eisenhower, Dulles and the other proponents of this plan have odd notions of "national security," to say the least. In keeping with the dictum of Defense Secretary Wilson that "what helps General Motors helps America," they equate the maximum profits which a number of Wall Street trusts expect to derive from German rearmament and its consequences, and the bread-and-butter, life-and-death interests of the American people. The agreement between Dulles and Adenauer, during the latter's recent visit to Washington, provides for an outlay of three billion dollars during the next three years to rearm the Nazis. According to the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Dulles submitted to Eden and Mendes-France the plan by which U.S. trusts would supply the entire new West German Army with U.S. equipment. This prospect of a new government-paid bonanza which might check the decline of the faltering U.S. economy is undoubtedly intriguing to the Wall Street monopolists. The business analyst, Eliot Janeway, recently told a joint meeting of the Cleveland and Akron chapters of the American Marketing Association that German rearmament would drive the price of scrap steel "to within the range of the O.P.S. ceiling price of \$42 a ton." Certainly the prospect has sent armament shares soaring to new peaks on the German, French, Brit-

ish and Belgian stock exchanges. And behind this flurry of rising stock prices no doubt lies the dream of overcoming economic crisis and the calculation of resolving political conflicts among the imperialist groupings at the expense of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, and the working populations of the capitalist countries.

But such notions of "national security" have nothing in common with the security needs and aspirations of the nations, of the working masses who comprise the vast majority of the inhabitants of the United States and the countries of Europe. The further enrichment and strengthening of the West German monopolists, the dragooning of German youth into another aggressive military force, the continued dismemberment of Germany, and the continued dictation of West German policy are clearly incompatible with the needs and desires of the German masses for improved living standards, peace and national independence. This is why the Communist Party, the Federation of German Youth, the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party of West Germany, as well as numerous individuals and organizations of the middle class and intellectual circles, have denounced the drive for re-arming Germany within an aggressive anti-Soviet bloc, and insisted on a solution of the question of unification first.

One would hardly expect the German people themselves to oppose the creation of a national defense force

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for their country, which is the sovereign right of every independent nation. But a national military force for defense and the national security of the German people is something altogether different from the German Army projected by the London-Paris agreements. The Soviet proposals on the German question include the proposal for a German national defense force, as the sovereign right of an independent German state. The determining features of a German Army, however, are the political objectives and controls of which it is to become an instrument, its command and indoctrination. It is the reactionary, aggressive, undemocratic character of these features of the projected West German Army which gives rise to the threat of new aggressive acts not only against other peoples, but in the first place against the German people themselves. For the Dulles-Adenauer plan would make of German youth another vast cannon-fodder machine for new *Drang nach Osten* adventures on behalf of imperialism. Hence the concern of the six million West German workers, as reflected in the October convention of the Federation of German Trade Unions, which by a vote of 391 to 4 rejected the London agreement and remilitarization on grounds set forth in the following resolution:

The convention affirms regretfully that the London agreement would prepare the way for the incorporation of the German Republic into a power

bloc. This would prevent the relaxation of international tension and the reunification of Germany. For the German Republic rearmament means the development of a military state, which in turn means AN END TO THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY. This convention rejects any German contribution to defense until every effort has been made to institute negotiations aimed at bringing about international understanding and Germany's unification. (My emphasis—R.W.)

Here it is important to note that the German trade-unions' position accords in principle with that of the Soviet Union. This Soviet position, as set forth by Molotov at the Berlin Conference on February 1, is as follows:

The Soviet draft peace treaty with Germany provides that a democratic Germany shall have national armed forces required for the country's defense. In amplification of this point, we propose the following addition to the section "Military Clauses": "The size of these armed forces shall be designed to meet only tasks of an internal character, local defense of frontiers, and anti-aircraft defense."

This position disposes of the demagoguery of Dulles and the other proponents of a Nazi-led German Army linked to the aggressive NATO bloc, to the effect that one cannot forbid a sovereign Germany to have its own armed forces. What the Germans themselves desire and the So-

viet Union insists on is that such armed forces have a democratic, defensive political orientation and leadership. And this, both Germans and the Government of the U.S.S.R. have declared, cannot be guaranteed except by the solution of the problem of unification and the establishment of a German state on democratic and peaceable foundations, through genuinely free, all-German elections. Needless to say, this is the basic position also of the government of the German Democratic Republic, which has repeatedly addressed appeals, in vain, to West German leaders and the Adenauer regime to work out with the East German officials, a program for popular elections in order to establish democratic and peaceful foundations for an all-German government.

Similar concern for their true national interests is felt by the French, British and other peoples of Western Europe. At the 86th Congress of the British Trades Union Congress in Brighton last September, an amendment to the General Council's pro-rearming resolution submitted by six trade unions, expressing opposition to German re-armament and calling for continued efforts to bring about a solution through negotiation, was defeated by a majority of only 460,000 in a vote of nearly eight million. Later, at the Labor's Party's annual conference at Scarborough in September, the Executive once again obtained a very slim majority for its pro-rearming program. Since then, the opposition to German rearma-

ment has been intensified, with resolutions pouring into national union headquarters and Labor Party headquarters from branches, locals and groups of workers and Laborites.

In France, the powerful General Confederation of Workers (C.G.T.) on October 6 issued an appeal urging the workers to "do everything possible to remove the danger threatening our country." Since then, actions have been many and varied throughout the country. Opposition to the London-Paris agreements is pouring into the National Assembly, from railwaymen, engineering workers, building workers, electricians, gas workers, the French Confederation of Christian Workers and from thousands of individuals throughout the country. The same forces which united in opposition to EDC as a threat to French national security see in the London-Paris agreements no diminution of this threat, but owing to the scrapping of a number of the controls which were stipulated in the E.D.C. treaty, an even greater peril from German militarism.

Even in the United States, where the successive Administrations of President Truman and President Eisenhower have increasingly imposed thought-control repressive measures against opposition to Wall Street's foreign policy, there is a large body of opinion, representative of all classes and political persuasions, which sees the re-armament of the German militarists within NATO as a threat to American national security. However, the frequently re-

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peated arguments for this view tend to represent the actual danger in a distorted and hence ineffective manner. It is asserted that the rearmament of the German militarists and Nazis will "boomerang" against us because these circles will repeat the strategy of Von Seeckt and Hitler, and strive to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Soviet Union in order to obtain a free hand against the West. The target for these arguments becomes, therefore, the prospect of improved relations between the German and Soviet peoples. But this is to misrepresent, and also to limit, the nature of the real threat of West German remilitarization within NATO to the national security interests of the American people.

In the first place, this threat is both total and immediate. It is immediate in the sense that it will set in motion in the United States processes which would destroy the democratic and economic foundations of American society. It is total because it raises the threat of involving the United States in war through every aggressive act of the remilitarized West German state.

Those who see a possible danger to America arising only from a "betrayal" of their NATO commitments by the West German militarists ignore the immediate impact of German rearmament on economic and political developments in our country. Some of the Right-wing labor leaders are prone to join with the Wall Street monopolists in anticipating a new "shot-in-the-arm" from

the armaments boom which the new German army is expected to set off. They fail to see, however, that the billions of dollars in reparations from West Germany have gone to the monopolists, and have failed to relieve the tax burden on the American working masses. They fail to see that an increase in the prices of scrap steel, as Eliot Janeway predicted, will set off another inflationary price spiral, further cheapening the consumer's dollar. They fail to see that the continued emphasis on arms spending will aggravate the already acute financial crisis of the state and municipal administrations, bringing a further deterioration in housing, health, education and all other services for the people for which ample funds are required. They fail to see that the continued and increasing tax-load further exhausts the buying power of the masses, and that this, in conjunction with the declining rate of capital investment and foreign trade, will worsen the already serious crisis elements of the U.S. economy.

These circles also ignore the strengthened position Germany's remilitarization would bring to the forces of McCarthyism. But is it to be expected that the Government of the United States can ally itself with the Hitlerites, the racists and foul murderers who tried to destroy all human values and democratic institutions, without itself growing increasingly pro-fascist, intolerant of human values and democratic institutions? The effects of such a policy

have already manifested themselves. It was the "war-now" clique of Pentagon militarists and Wall Street financiers who sponsored the petition drive for ten million signatures to oppose the Senate move to censure McCarthy. One has only to consider the number of fascist refugee organizations which are subsidized by the Eisenhower Administration, whose members are being groomed as the component of a mass base for American fascism. And what of the ex-Nazis who are wined and dined in hotels which bar Negroes, who receive employment and housing accommodations where Negroes—and even non-Negro workers—are barred! What of the fundamental democratic ideology which buttresses our democratic institutions, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the inviolate rights of person, when our Government becomes partners of Krupp, the war criminal who helped subsidize the destruction of German democracy, and Kesselring, the butcher of Italy?

The argument that improved relations between the German and Soviet peoples represent a threat to the United States also ignores the *main source* of the war danger from a remilitarized West German state. This main source is the sharpening of imperialist antagonisms which the London-Bonn agreements would cause. We have already considered the motivations behind the Saar agreement. It is the growth and increased activation of already bitter rivalries between the German, French, British

and Wall Street monopolists which is already creating in Western Europe the groundwork for a new war.

The proponents of this "German betrayal" theory speculate on the possibility of aggressive German militarist actions in one direction—against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. They do not see that German aggression against France, or Belgium, or Britain, will involve the United States. And they completely discount the fact that, if the West German militarists are indeed rash enough to launch aggressive actions against the East, this also will involve the United States.

These circles have ignored altogether the possibility that the West German, British and French imperialists and the ruling circles of other West European countries, facing powerful opposition to aggressions against the East from their populations, and unable to resolve their antagonisms by means of an anti-Soviet war, will increasingly move toward such a solution at the expense of the United States. Yet, the public prints are full of articles describing the anti-American feeling throughout all Western Europe. And with the ratification of the London-Paris agreements, this feeling will be intensified. The peoples of Europe will tend increasingly to hold the United States responsible for the attempt to use their youth as mercenaries, and for the increased hardships which the rearmament burden will place upon them. Indications of the development of such

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a situation are already unmistakable. The four living ex-chancellors of Germany, for instance, have opposed the attempt to include West Germany in NATO, and have demanded an independent policy for the Bonn government. And Premier Mendes-France, it should be recalled, insisted on control of German rearmament by the Brussels powers, which excludes the United States. So, too, Britain first sought to replace E.D.C. with the Brussels organization, and Churchill's reluctant capitulation to Secretary Dulles' demand for NATO control does not eradicate the initial motivation. Increasingly, the United States is appearing to the peoples of Europe as the main foe of their aspirations for peace and national independence.

Such a development is full of peril for the American people. It is the real "backfire" of the Wall Street policy of bolstering reactionary and fascist regimes, of knocking together military groupings and trying to pit them against the Socialist world, of the attempt to build "positions of strength" so as to try to force capitulation on the Soviet Union, People's China and the People's Democracies. This policy is a war-breeding, war-organizing policy, having nothing in common with the words of peace uttered by President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles and other champions of the Administration's bipartisan foreign policy. It is a source of continuous danger to American national security.

REJECT GERMAN REMILITARIZATION, NEGOTIATE UNIFICATION!

The struggle for a settlement of the German question through negotiation of the unification of Germany on peaceful and democratic bases is one of the most important present concrete ways to fight for a change of our country's foreign policy. The need to fight for this kind of solution has an immediate urgency. As the Soviet Note of November 13, calling for a European Security Conference put it: ". . . ratification [of the London-Paris agreements] would in great measure complicate the situation in Europe and would undermine the possibility of settling unsolved European problems, and first of all the German problem."

However, in order that this struggle can be gotten off the ground in our country, it is necessary to combat the moods of complacency which have settled over some circles opposed to the revival of German militarism. In part, this complacency has been engendered by the Administration's calculated peace demagoguery. Reading the returns of the November 2 elections, and noting that its peace demagoguery helped to win votes for GOP candidates, the Administration has opened wide the spigot of demagoguery. President Eisenhower followed up his jobs-without-war pledge at Cleveland with a fervent plea for peace struggles to the National Council of Catholic Women. Secretary Dulles denied

that the Administration sought a "preventive" war. Administration spokesmen, as well as Democratic Party leaders, have begun to use the words "peaceful coexistence," though reading into these words, of course, their own meaning. Thus, the Administration has already sounded the call to battle for the 1956 general elections.

In addition, there has been a post-election revival of "peace-is-in-the-bag" sentiment amongst certain sections of American liberals and progressives and even some Communists. Conscious of the extent to which the world peace forces have made the idea of peaceful coexistence a goal of all peoples, these people see in the Eisenhower Administration's peace demagoguery more than a tactical maneuver. According to them, the Wall Street imperialists are already so badly defeated that Eisenhower and Dulles are seriously seeking a settlement with the Socialist world. By this logic, it is only the McCarthyites inside the Republican Party (as well as inside the Democratic Party) who represent any serious danger, and the argument goes on to say that even McCarthyism has been dealt a staggering blow by the "moderates" in the GOP. Eisenhower and Dulles therefore become "moderates," deserving of our support. In consequence, out of the window goes the Marxist theory of the striving for maximum profits as the basic law of monopoly capitalism, and of imperialism as the breeder and fomentor of war.

And all this is represented as the correct tactical position from the standpoint of maintaining close ties with the masses.

But the majority of Americans, if misinformed of the facts about this "new look E.D.C.," have no illusions about the specific intentions of the Nazis. A review of the struggle against the remilitarization of Germany over the past several years will attest to the breadth and fervor of the movement in our country. Hundreds of organizations and thousands of prominent personalities have spoken out on the question. They have represented all classes, faiths, political viewpoints, and sections of the country. In point of fact, prior to Wall Street's concentration on the Nazi revival as its prime instrument of policy in Europe, even the United States commercial press expressed hostility to the idea. And the organizations of the Jewish people, the Negro people and the workers were especially articulate in opposition to German remilitarization.

What is required now is to revitalize and pull together these various segments and to unite them with the new organizations and groupings of recent development. For such a task, the November 2 election mandate for jobs-without-war, has created new opportunities. The election struggles created some groupings on peace issues, even though the Democrats' collusion with the GOP and their failure to develop a fight on peace questions limited the growth of such groupings.

The struggle is on already to ratify the German army plan. All progressives should get into this struggle immediately, with the aim of mobilizing sentiment in support of a settlement of the German question through four-power negotiations. Usual grass-roots methods of work will prove effective in developing such sentiment, such as door-to-door canvassing, petition campaigns, letter writing to local newspapers and people's organization papers, to President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles and the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

But more than routine methods of work will have to be employed if any effective opposition to ratification is to be mustered in time. Requests to be heard in the Senate committee hearings on the treaties should come from every organization intent on defending our national security interests. Even individuals should ask for a hearing. Equally important will be personal visits to elected officials on federal, state and local levels, urging them to take a position in opposition to the German Army plan. Especially those congressional representatives to whom the trade unions and the Negro people gave their support should now be called on to carry through the popular mandate.

Decisive in this area of struggle,

as in every area involving democracy and peace, will be the weight of the working class. The trade unions and all working-class organizations must be won over to taking the most active and direct part in the movement to oppose the re-nazification and re-arming of West Germany.

We should recall that the popular forces who have successfully resisted the Pentagon's drive for universal military service achieved their victory by such an overwhelming representation of their views to Congress. These forces are all potential allies in the struggle against German remilitarization. They include vast sections of the people organized in religious, fraternal, pacifist and civic organizations.

The fight to prevent ratification, though difficult, will be far simpler than the fight to prevent the implementation of the London-Paris agreements if they are ratified. Hence, the urgency of the need for launching struggles immediately, with the objective of rejecting the London-Paris treaties and compelling the Administration to begin serious negotiations on the unification of Germany within a system of European collective security. This is the course which truly conforms to the national interests of the people of our country as well as to the interest of all mankind in a peaceful world.

The Doctrine of Criminal Conspiracy and the American Labor Movement

By Martin Chancey

THE American monopolists are finding it more and more difficult to carry through their pro-war policies in the face of the ever-rising popular clamor demanding peaceful negotiations and co-existence. In order to overwhelm the people's mounting resistance, they are increasingly turning to a twin program of naked, brutal repression, coupled with unprecedented demagoguery. For this purpose, they have seized upon the doctrine of criminal conspiracy as one of their most effective legal, political and propaganda instruments with which to undermine the trade-union movement, demolish the foundations of constitutional government, and open the way to fascism.

This doctrine is the main legal foundation for the Smith Act and the Communist Control Act. Charged with "conspiring to teach and advocate," scores of working-class leaders have been arrested and many of them imprisoned. Charged with "conspiring to commit espionage," the heroic Rosenbergs were sent to their death in the electric chair, and a brilliant young scientist, Morton Sobell, to thirty years at Alcatraz.

Now, with a new variant, "instru-

mentality of a conspiracy," the Communist Control Act extends this doctrine to such appalling proportions that a system of thought control is foisted on the American trade-union movement, a political party is branded as a criminal conspiracy, and its members as criminal conspirators—for the first time in the history of our nation.

There is nothing new about the legal doctrine of criminal conspiracy. It occupies a long and dishonorable place in our history as the most dreaded of anti-labor weapons and the most wicked of legal doctrines. It was used to illegalize the American trade-union movement at its very birth. The history of the labor movement for well over a century was the struggle to win its legality and abolish this vicious legal concept.

It seemed as if this century-long struggle had finally forced the courts and Congress to bury this doctrine forever. But today, it has been resurrected, expanded and stretched to frightening proportions.

This doctrine of criminal conspiracy, always the last resort of desperate, unscrupulous politicians and le-

gal tricksters, has been revised and streamlined to accomplish a particularly sinister purpose. In recent years, there has begun to emerge a whole system of law whose purpose is to subvert the constitutional liberties of the American people. With such laws as Taft-Hartley, Smith and McCarran Acts, and the Communist Control Act, and the numerous court decisions based on them, the McCarthyites are erecting a legal superstructure for a future American police state.

This body of legislation, observed Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, at the 1951 New York State CIO Convention, "has created in effect a parallel legal system superceding the Bill of Rights, the Constitution and our traditional body of law."

If in the period of its youthful vigor the American capitalist class used the doctrine of criminal conspiracy to restrict the rights and check the growth of the American labor movement, today a dying ruling class, fearful of its own people, is determined to take away all the rights of working people and destroy their organizations, including the vanguard Party of the working class.

In selecting the doctrine of criminal conspiracy as the main legal support for its structure of fascist enabling acts, the American ruling class is only reaffirming its own moral, political and intellectual corruption. This doctrine is universally dis-

credited and despised—not only in the ranks of labor, but also among jurists and legal historians. Thus, Professor Francis B. Sayre, a foremost legal authority, in an exhaustive study of the criminal conspiracy doctrine, wrote:*

A doctrine so vague in its outlines and uncertain in its fundamental nature as criminal conspiracy lends no strength or glory to the law; it is a veritable quicksand of shifting opinion and ill-considered thought. That this uncertain doctrine should be seized upon, perhaps because of its vagueness, as one of the principal legal weapons with which lawyers press their attack in labor controversies and in which judges find an easy and frequent support for their decisions, is nothing short of a misfortune.

USE OF CONSPIRACY DOCTRINE

In its determination to halt the rise and growth of labor organizations, the American capitalist class resorted to the use of force and violence to a degree unsurpassed in any other country. Their arsenal of weapons included scabs, Pinkertons, spies, private armies such as the coal and iron police, blacklists and lock-outs. When all this failed to break the workers' militancy and solidarity, the bosses would invariably fall back on their most potent weapon—the criminal conspiracy indictment in Federal court. This began when

* *Harvard Law Review* (1922), XXXV, p. 393.

labor was still in its swaddling clothes, and continued in one form or other up to the time of the New Deal era.

The conspiracy doctrine was resorted to generally when the class struggle was sharpest, when labor was using its strength to score significant gains, and when the employers were unable to find any other remedy to halt labor's advance.

Time and again an aroused labor movement succeeded in forcing the courts and legislators to bury this doctrine, only to have it disinterred and put back into use against labor when another crisis arose.

THE FIRST LABOR CASE

This doctrine was first applied against American labor in the notorious cordwainers [shoemakers] case of Philadelphia in 1806. The case grew out of a strike of shoemakers for more pay. The bosses cast about for a means of breaking the strike after all other methods had failed. Seizing upon the medieval doctrine of criminal conspiracy, they arrested eight strike leaders and charged them with a "conspiracy to raise their wages." Although the arrest of its leaders resulted in breaking the strike, the employers continued to push the indictment. They were interested in bigger stakes—to establish a precedent for use against all labor.

The indictment charged:
George Pullis, *et al.*, not being con-

tent to work at the usual prices . . . did combine, conspire, confederate and unlawfully agree together that they would not work but at certain large prices . . . to the damage, injury and prejudice of the masters employing them . . . did unlawfully assemble and meet together and unjustly and corruptly conspire. . . .

Unable to find anything criminal in the object of seeking higher wages, or in the means used to attain it, the prosecutors and judge jumped on the notion of conspiracy, where the very fact of *combination* is the gist of the crime.

Like most conspiracy cases of that time, it was financed by employers. The case contained all the elements of judicial frameup so common today: a biased judge appointed by the Hamiltonian crowd, a hand-picked jury stacked with small businessmen and shopkeepers. The most important witness was a stoolpigeon who secretly scabbed on the union while serving on the strike committee. There was the most flagrant distortion and twisting of the law to guarantee a conviction.

Even the judge's antics in the courtroom were strongly suggestive of Judge Medina at Foley Square. When in the course of the trial the Judge thought he heard a murmur from the audience, he stopped the proceedings to investigate. An employer obligingly pointed to a worker sitting behind him and swore that this George Alcorn had whispered that "a scab is a shelter for

lice." The Judge then and there found said Alcorn guilty of contempt and duly passed sentence.

Caesar Rodney, attorney for the defense (later to become Attorney General in Jefferson's cabinet), argued that the criminal conspiracy doctrine was a feudal heritage that had never before been used in the colonies. In ridding America of its colonial masters, the common people had fought to rid this land of all feudal, colonial trammels. He warned that the workers who had shed their blood for America's freedom would never stand for the imposition of cruel, medieval laws by the new masters. He added that in England the charge of conspiracy related to the violation of a specific Act of Parliament forbidding "conspiracies to raise wages," but that no such law existed in this country. He further pointed out that the bosses—the master cordwainers—had themselves combined to maintain prices. Thus, they too would be guilty of conspiracy.

But to no avail. The judge charged the jury that a combination of workmen to raise wages may be considered in a two-fold point of view: one, to benefit themselves; the other, to injure those who do not join the society. The rule of law condemns them both. "There may be cases," he said, "in which what *one* may do without offense, *many* combined may not do without impunity." In plain words, there is nothing wrong with a single worker asking for more

pay, but when the workers get together to do so effectively and really threaten the boss' pocketbook, then the law steps in.

The jury performed its appointed task, and the verdict read: "We find the defendants guilty of a combination to raise wages."

The employers of course rejoiced. As one manufacturer put it, somewhat prematurely, "The verdict of that jury . . . puts an end to those associations which have been so prejudicial to the successful enterprise of the capitalists of the western country." Warning that trade unions had not yet been wiped out in all places, he urged employers in those areas to "watch these combinations with a jealous eye and to prosecute to conviction, and subject to the penalties of the law conspiracies so subversive of the best interests of the country."

Employers hastened to cash in on this precedent in the first recorded union-busting drive. Within a short period, nineteen conspiracy trials were undertaken.

The conspiracy charge was strictly a one-way street. All efforts to apply it to combinations of masters were summarily rejected. Thus, in *Commonwealth vs. Carlisle*, shoemakers in Pennsylvania brought action to convict masters for a combination to depress wages. Judge Gibson held that this was not a criminal conspiracy since it was a "combination to resist oppression."*

* This account is based on material in J. R. Commons, ed., *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, volumes 3 and 4.

LABOR AND ALLIES FIGHT BACK SUCCESSFULLY

The case aroused a political storm. The crass class nature of this doctrine—the readiness of the newly victorious American bourgeoisie to apply even more harsh measures than the British masters in repressing the toiling masses—all fitted into the general political struggle then raging between the Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians. This was a struggle between reactionaries, who wanted to use the newly won power solely in the interests of the “well-born and the able,” and those who envisioned a broadly-based democracy within which the masses would share fully in the fruits of the successful revolution.

After the Federalists (the authors of the Alien and Sedition Acts) were repudiated at the polls, but before leaving office, they created a whole number of judicial offices and filled them with their appointees so as to insure control of the judiciary. One of those so appointed, a Judge Levy, presided at the cordwainers' trial. The Jeffersonians fought against all repressive measures, including those against labor. They maintained that liberty was indivisible; that restriction on labor's right to organize was a blow at the fundamental rights of all Americans.

The Cordwainers case awakened the workers and farmers to the realization that despite their decisive role in the revolutionary war, they

had to continue to wage an unrelenting struggle to defend and extend their rights.

In an appeal published in the Jeffersonian paper *Aurora* in November, 1806, the master class was denounced as would-be tyrants who sought to deny to the poor the protection of the Constitution.

The name of freedom is but a shadow if, for doing what the laws of our country authorize, we are to be torn from our fireside for endeavoring to obtain a fair and just support for our families, and if we are to be treated as felons and murderers only for asserting the right to take or refuse what we deem an adequate reward for our labor.

The twin blows of the conspiracy doctrine and the economic crisis of 1819 wiped out most of the existing trade unions. But soon after the crisis, a virile and militant trade-union movement arose. The struggle for the 10-hour day began to sweep the country. Many important victories were achieved.

Defeated in their efforts to check labor's advance on the economic front, the employers once again turned to the courts and the conspiracy doctrine. With the use of these weapons, the employers were able to inflict many painful defeats on labor between 1819 and 1837. The indignation of the workers rose, and reached the boiling point in the New York tailors' strike in 1836, when twenty strikers were charged with

"conspiracy to injure trade; to riot, assault and battery." It took the hand-picked jury 20 minutes to find the tailors guilty. In pronouncing sentence, Judge Edwards denounced the strikers, saying: "They are of foreign origin and I am led to believe mainly upheld by foreigners."

All progressive America joined labor in condemning this trial. "If this is not *slavery*," wrote William Cullen Bryant, "we have forgotten its definition." John Greenleaf Whittier denounced the conspiracy doctrine as "borrowed from the feudal aristocracy of Europe"; as "unjust, oppressive and wicked. It ought not disgrace the statute books of a republican state."

Within two weeks, four labor papers were founded to fight this decision. In a proclamation headed "THE RICH AGAINST THE POOR," the workers denounced Judge Edwards as the tool of the aristocracy.

Mechanics and workingmen! A deadly blow has been struck at your liberty! The prize for which your fathers fought has been robbed from you! The freemen of the North are now on a level with the slave of the South.

This declaration, issued as a handbill and portraying a coffin, called upon the workers to join in a mass demonstration. Workers to the number of 27,000 answered the call, and massed at a meeting in a New York public park.

The storm of protest soon brought

results. Even while the meeting was in progress, news arrived that eight journeymen shoemakers had been acquitted in a conspiracy trial at Hudson, N. Y. A few days later, news came that a jury in Philadelphia had taken similar action.

Frightened by this tremendous outburst of mass indignation, the employers began to retreat. But the workers were not satisfied with these partial successes. They were determined to be rid of the entire legal doctrine and of all those who supported it.

They turned to independent political action. The New York General Trades Union decided to call a state convention to launch a fight for the election of a legislature pledged to remove all anti-labor judges. The labor publication *Union* called editorially for "cutting loose from both political parties and running a truly workingman's ticket."

At a convention attended by workers and farmers, representatives from all parts of New York issued a Declaration of Independence, in which the delegates decided to launch a new party independent of the old boss' parties. They adopted the name "Equal Rights Party." Their first venture into politics was singularly successful with the election of three labor-supported Congressmen and several state representatives.

Similar "Equal Rights" parties emerged in the late '30's, in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and elsewhere, organized around a program of the

10-hour day and of freeing the courts and government from domination by the propertied classes.

WORKERS WIN RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

These actions soon produced significant victories. President Van Buren issued an order establishing the 10-hour day without reduction in pay for government employees.

The most heartening victory was the decision of the highest court in Massachusetts, setting aside the conspiracy doctrine and, for the first time, recognizing the legality of trade unions. This decision was handed down in the case of *Commonwealth vs. Hunt* in 1842, one of the great milestones in American labor history.

This case grew out of a strike of Boston bootmakers. In the hysterical atmosphere surrounding the trial, in the use of scabs and perjurers as witnesses, in the prosecutor's playing on the strong bias of the jury of Boston blue-bloods against the Irish workers—in all these features, the case followed the pattern of the cordwainers and other conspiracy trials. The workers were found guilty.

But the verdict was reversed on appeal to the Supreme Judicial Court. Chief Justice Shaw ruled that associations may be entered into to adopt measures which "may have the tendency to impoverish another . . . yet far from being criminal and unlawful, the object may be highly

meritorious and public spirited." The court held that what one can do lawfully, several can. The fact of combination to achieve lawful ends is not illegal.

While reversing the established conspiracy doctrine, Judge Shaw left a big loophole when he added that the organization of workers is legal so long as it is not accomplished by unlawful means. Thus, he left the door wide open for employers to charge their striking workers with use of illegal methods. It is clearly recognized by labor and legal historians that the judge was very much influenced in his decision by the militant mood of that period, the trend toward labor-farmer independent political action, and the spread of Utopian Socialist ideas.

This decision called a halt to the use of the conspiracy doctrine against labor for the next three decades.

STRIKES OF 1877 AND "MALICIOUS" CONSPIRACY

The long depression of the 1870's and the unrelenting attacks of the employers greatly weakened the trade-union movement once again. Most of the strikes of this period ended in defeat. Whatever trade-union organization survived was driven underground.

But after many long years of suffering, terror and oppression, the workers struck back. A strike movement, beginning with railroad workers in 1877, quickly swept the country. For the first time in American

history, a strike movement spread from coast to coast. In the most militant struggle in labor history, the workers challenged their bosses on a national scale.

The employers were terrified by the scope and militancy of this struggle. They were alarmed by the wide support the strikers were getting from farmers and unemployed. The state militias called out to crush the strike in some cases joined with the workers. Once again the employers turned to the Federal courts, reviving the old conspiracy charge—this time as "malicious conspiracy." Federal troops were brought into action against the strikers. The strike movement was crushed.

But the employers had little time for rejoicing. In the 1880's the 8-hour day movement swept the country, accompanied by the tempestuous growth of the trade unions. This period marks the emergence of the modern trade-union movement.

The center of the 8-hour day movement was in Chicago, with anarchist leaders like Parsons and Spies playing a key role. This was the area singled out by the employers to crush the wave of organization. They started a series of provocations, attacks on union meetings, etc., culminating in the throwing of a bomb which killed a number of policemen and workers.

This was a situation made to order for frameup. A number of anarchist leaders were arrested. Before the trial even started, the bailiff al-

ready announced that "these men were going to be hanged as certain as death." Lacking any evidence whatsoever that these men threw the bomb, but determined to get their victims, the prosecution turned to the charge of "conspiracy to commit murder."

Judge Gary was forced to admit that there was no shred of evidence that these men personally committed any crime, but stated that in consequence of their "advice, in pursuance of that advice, and influenced by that advice, *somebody not known* did throw the bomb that caused Deagan's death." The facts at the trial did not show that the unknown offender who threw the bomb was in fact influenced by the speeches or writings of the accused. Nevertheless, seven innocent men were sentenced to die.

It was clear that the defendants were being tried not for any wrongdoing, but for their ideas.

"If I am to be executed at all," said Parsons, "it is because I am an anarchist, not because I am a murderer; it is because of what I have thought and spoken and written in the past, and not because of the throwing of the Haymarket bomb."

Thus the conspiracy doctrine again did its dirty work and proved its value to the employing class.

CONSPIRACY DOCTRINE LEADS TO LABOR INJUNCTION

With capitalism entering the stage of imperialism, and with the emer-

gence of powerful trusts, the class struggle began to take on a much sharper character. Using their great economic and political power, the trusts were determined to eradicate unionism. But the labor movement was equally determined to defend its economic gains and organizations. The strength of organized labor no longer permitted the use of the criminal conspiracy law in its old form. Therefore, the trusts combined the old conspiracy doctrine with the theory of the malicious interference with business and restraint of interstate commerce. These legal weapons were used against labor in the giant struggles at Homestead and the Pullman strike in the early 1890's.

Despite the use of Federal troops and proclamation of martial law, the railroad workers, led by Gene Debs, stood fast. They tied up three-fourths of all roads leading out of Chicago. Desperate for new weapons to crush the strike, the Pullman Company turned to the old reliable "conspiracy" charge, with a new twist. The strikers were charged with malicious conspiracy, interference with the mails, obstruction of interstate commerce, and insurrection. On this basis, the courts issued an injunction leading to the arrest of Debs and 16 other union leaders, and the smashing of the strike.

The use of injunctions now became the favorite weapon of strike-breaking bosses and the courts. It was even used to illegalize the unfair

list issued by the AFL. In 1908, Samuel Gompers and 12 other AFL leaders were indicted for conspiracy to issue a "Don't Patronize" list. Seeing this unfair list as a plot against the government, the judge said:

We are confronted with a deep-laid conspiracy to trample under foot the law of the land and set in defiance the authority of the government. . . . If authority of the government is to be maintained, it is not for the courts to treat lightly a conspiracy for its destruction.

To bolster their use of this discredited, malodorous doctrine, the courts turned to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, of all things. This Act had been passed in 1890 as a result of a tremendously powerful popular movement demanding that the monstrous trusts be curbed. Instead of using it against the trusts, however, the courts turned this law against their victims—the working people. Thus, taking a law which specifically labelled the trusts as "combinations in restraint of trade," the courts turned it into its opposite, into a weapon for destroying labor unions. This interpretation, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, was such a palpable fraud that Justice Brandeis, in his dissenting opinion, stated:

The Sherman Act was held to permit capitalists to combine in a single corporation 50% of the steel industry in the United States. . . . It would, indeed, be strange if Congress had by

the same Act willed to deny to members of a small craft of workmen the right to cooperate in simply refraining from work when that course was the only means of self-protection against a combination of militant and powerful employers.

But organized labor at the beginning of the 20th Century was no longer the infant that it had been a century earlier. It was no longer possible by a judicial decree, even of the highest court, to illegalize it. A powerful movement got under way to free labor from the shackles of the conspiracy hoax once and for all. This culminated in the passage of the Clayton Act in 1914, which Samuel Gompers hailed as the "Magna Carta" of labor.

The Clayton Act gave labor combinations a legal status, and specifically exempted them from the application of the anti-trust laws. But even this Act did not end the use of conspiracy charges against labor. No sooner was the ink dry on this new law than the courts went to work to turn it into an instrument against labor. Thus, in a case involving striking machinists, the court ruled that while trade unions are lawful, yet if they conduct a militant struggle to protect their organization, they thereby become unlawful, since Congress did not intend for a "normally lawful organization to become a cloak for an illegal combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade, as defined by the anti-trust laws."

Once again the employers had suc-

ceeded through court "interpretation" to nullify a law specifically passed by Congress to safeguard labor's rights. Once again the struggle was launched for passage of a new, fool-proof law which the courts would not be able to strangle. This resulted in the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932, which, it was hoped—falsely—would be such an act.

It was not until the emergence of the mighty coalition of labor and its allies around the Roosevelt New Deal government that the conspiracy racket was laid to rest.

History is now repeating itself, but in a more sinister form. The Butler-Brownell Bill, incorporated within the so-called Communist Control Act of 1954, supposedly aimed at the "Communist conspiracy," places in the hands of the McCarthyites the legal noose for the strangulation of *each and every union*. The Ives amendment was intended as a bribe to the top labor officials and as a trick to confuse and divide the opposition. It supposedly grants immunity to unions "whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Communist organizations," etc. But this creates only a legal "presumption" that they are not "Communist-infiltrated." What is to prevent the government from producing stoolpigeons to refute this "presumption" where a union is engaged in a militant strike?

The historic cycle will be com-

pleted if the newly-presented, Chamber of Commerce-sponsored bill is adopted, making unions subject to the anti-trust laws.

Commenting editorially on this bill, the newspaper of the Railroad Brotherhoods, *Labor*, said on September 25, 1954:

No businessman ever has been sent to jail for violating these [anti-trust] laws, or received anything more than a "slap on the wrist" fine. But if [Secretary of Commerce] Weeks succeeds in putting labor under the anti-trust laws, they undoubtedly will develop long and sharp "teeth."

WHY THE CONSPIRACY DOCTRINE HAS BEEN REVIVED

One searches in vain through the extensive literature on this subject to find any word of respect for this conspiracy doctrine as having the remotest relationship to equity or fairness. Why then is it now revived?

The answer to this seeming contradiction was provided by Supreme Court Justice Jackson, in his concurring opinion in the Dennis case. After apologizing that, "I consider criminal conspiracy a dragnet device capable of perversion into an instrument of injustice . . ." and further that "I happen to think that it is an awkward and inept remedy," he goes on to say that "*The law of conspiracy has been the chief means at the Government's disposal to deal with the growing problems created*

by such organizations" [as the Communist Party]. For this reason, he concludes that he is opposed to "taking this weapon from the government."

In other words, the ruling class is making use of this foul doctrine because it is so awfully useful. If nothing else can be said for it, it is at least a sure-fire legal device for putting innocent people in jail. And that is no small asset in the eyes of a panic-crazed ruling class—fearful of the rising popular opposition to its pro-war program.

Following are some of the reasons why the conspiracy hoax has such irresistible charms in the eyes of the McCarthyites:

1. A PROPAGANDA WEAPON

It is an unexcelled propaganda device to whip up an atmosphere of frenzied hysteria—so indispensable in conspiracy cases to secure convictions of members of trade unions and workers' political organizations.

Conspiracy charges against American trade unionists were always framed primarily with an eye for their effect on the jury and public rather than any particular concern for spelling out the crime or any regard for the facts. The Pullman strikers were charged with "insurrection"; the Molly Maguires, with "conspiring to overthrow the government"; the publication of an AFL Unfair List was treated as a conspiracy to undermine the author-

ity of the government.

This propaganda-legalistic trickery has now been perfected to a fine art. The vast machinery of public misinformation has been set to work to link in the public mind the words Communist and Conspiracy as one hyphenated word. This has now been incorporated in the Communist Control Act as an official finding by Congress.

Thus, with the newspapers and radio blaring "Communists, spies, traitors," with intimidated juries, prejudiced judges and a prosecutor ranting "conspiracy, subversion, treason," a conviction is assured before the trial ever gets under way.

2. CONVICTING PEOPLE WITHOUT ANY PROOF OF CRIMINAL ACTS

This has been one of the chief "merits" of conspiracy indictments. Even such a conservative scholar as Professor E. P. Blair bitterly complained against the "tendency in this country to extend the doctrine of criminal conspiracy and use it for the indictment of persons suspected of crime of which there is difficulty in obtaining sufficient evidence."*

Throughout history despots have been scheming up stratagems for putting their critics out of the way without having to bother with proof of their guilt. In present-day conspiracy trials the monopolists have per-

fectcd a streamlined device which should excite the envy of every tyrant.

Prior to the passage of the Smith Act there were already laws on the statute books penalizing attempts or conspiracies to overthrow the government by force and violence. The trouble with these laws was that they required evidence of such attempts, which the government well knew it could not produce against Communists. It therefore became necessary to devise some subterfuge whereby this obstacle could be bypassed altogether. The Smith Act provides the answer. They have perfected what they consider an un-failing device which can turn the most innocent statements or even complete silence into overt criminal acts.

The very charge in the indictment is a model of duplicity. The crime charged against the defendants is 3 or 4 steps removed from any acts against the government. Defendants are charged with "conspiring to advocate"—at some future time—the overthrow of the government. Advocating is already one step removed from action. Conspiring to advocate is two steps removed from action and one step from speech. Now another step is added in the Communist Control Act: *instrumentality* of a conspiracy to advocate. By this sleight-of-hand the government, "Makes speech do service for deeds which are dangerous to society" (Justice Douglas).

* Blair: "The Judge-Made Law of Conspiracy," *American Law Rev.*, XXXVII, p. 33.

Once the conspiracy is established it is necessary to link the defendants with it through overt acts—such as:

"On or about Oct. 1, 1949, Pettis Perry, a defendant herein, did leave 35 E. 12th St."

"On or about Sept. 1, 1949, Marion Bachrach, a defendant herein, did prepare the contents for and did mail approximately 50 envelopes from 35 E. 12th St."

Anthony Krcmarek is charged with speaking at a public meeting which never even materialized since it was broken up by a gang of hoodlums aided and abetted by the police.

Martin Chancey is charged with attending a public farewell affair tended him by his friends.

At the trial an FBI informant is produced who testifies that he heard some Communist teacher or member, at a class or meeting, use the phrases "proletarian revolution" or "revolutionary change." A garbled version of Marxist classics, torn out of context and "interpreted" by the stool-pigeon is presented as the views taught and advocated by the defendant. No proof is offered that the defendant was present or knew about such statements or even agreed with them. This hearsay evidence of what the informer reports a certain teacher may have said somewhere, at some time, is admitted as evidence on the legal ground that the declarations of a third-party conspirator in furtherance of the conspiracy, are binding on all members of the conspiracy. This is so even if the latter

were not present when the statements were made and knew nothing about them. Thus, a person can be sent to jail for 5 years without proof that he uttered a single word, let alone committed any criminal act. That is the main "beauty" of a conspiracy indictment!

Since the government has no evidence that the defendants did or said anything about overthrowing the government, it is necessary to prove that they secretly "intended" to say such things in the future, which they hadn't said yet. But this presents no formidable problem. The FBI informant is called upon to read the defendant's mind, and he swears on his honor that the accused really had criminal intentions. The fact that this stoolie is getting paid for these figments of his imagination and that he had already perjured himself on half a dozen occasions, in no way seems to impeach his credibility.

Stoolpigeons, scabs and similar characters have always borne the main burden of producing evidence at conspiracy trials, since it is the only way that proof can be manufactured.

3. A DRAGNET DEVICE

Reactionaries have always found this feature of the conspiracy law particularly valuable for use against whole groups of unionists and class-conscious workers. It can be extended without limit. Once the conspir-

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acy is established it can be made to include any individual or group the government is out to get—by simply *linking* him to the conspiracy. Under the 14 points listed in the Communist Control Act for identification of members of the so-called Communist Conspiracy, the government can link anyone who was on a mailing list, who contributed money to win freedom for the Scottsboro Boys, who distributed literature calling for outlawing the H-bomb, who actively supported a program of social security in the 30's—in short, the great majority of the adult population of this country.

By adding to the indictment of conspiracy the phrase "and with divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown," the charge is made so conveniently vague that neither the indicting jury nor the defendants, nor anyone else for that matter, knows how far and wide the net is being extended.

A more ideal dragnet device for use by a police state can hardly be conceived.

Probably the most concise characterization of this subject is to be found in the concluding words of Professor Sayre's study of this doctrine:

Such a doctrine grew out of a historical mistake, and has no real bases in our law. It is logically unsound and indefensible. Moreover, it is dangerous. It tends to rob the law of predictability and to make justice depend

too often on the chance prejudices and convictions of individual judges. It has tended to make the law chaotic and formless in precisely those situations where the salvation of our troubled times most demands a precise and understandable law. Because under its cover judges are often free to legislate or decide great social issues largely in accordance with their personal convictions it has rendered the courts open to the bitter and constant cry of class partisanship. . . . It is a doctrine which has proved itself the evil genius of our law wherever it has touched it. May the time not be long delayed in coming when it will be nothing more than a shadow stalking through past cases.

LESSONS FROM LABOR'S PAST

Today, when the weapons forged against labor are being turned against all the people, the lessons of this century-and-a-half struggle can be of great help in meeting the current challenge.

This history points up the ruthless persistency with which the ruling class fights for its property rights. It demonstrates the servility of the judiciary on behalf of the ruling class. It teaches that no matter how great the victories, labor's gains are always transient so long as the monopolists dominate political life.

What stands out with even more dramatic force is the indestructibility of the labor movement and its irresistible power when it makes use of its gigantic strength in a conscious

manner. History shows that the American workers, though patient, do surge forward with great speed and force once they begin to move.

The American capitalist class failed in its 150-year effort to destroy the trade-union movement because it attempted to go counter to the main current of history. The very conditions for the development of capitalism also brought into being a working class.

The monopolists today will fail in their efforts to destroy the Communist Party. With its roots sunk deep into the soil of American life, the Communist Party emerged out of the conditions of social development in the United States. It represents the immediate and long-range interests of the American working class. Like the working class which gave

it birth, the Communist Party, too, is indestructible.

Today the American labor movement faces a greater challenge than ever before—the mortal danger of fascism. A historically doomed ruling class seeks now not only to check the growth of the labor movement; it is determined to wipe it out altogether and with it the liberties of all the people. This struggle will be won by the forces of progress.

We Communists, guided by our Party's *Program*, can and will play an important part in building the unity of the working-class and democratic forces generally. This united force, aroused to increasingly independent political action, will prevent war and fascism, and will advance the causes of peace and of the people's welfare.

CORRECTION

In the article, *William Weiner: An American Communist*, by Lem Harris, which appeared in last month's issue of *Political Affairs*, two errors of fact appeared. The position held by William Weiner at New Century Publishers was in the administration of sales and circulation. His post on the Jewish-language newspaper, *Freiheit*, was that of assistant labor editor.—*The Editor.*

Mightier than the Sword

(ON THE 30th ANNIVERSARY OF
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS)

By Joseph Fields

A DECADE ago, addressing a national conference of literature workers, bookshop managers, and others interested in problems of literature and education, Alexander Trachtenberg, the founder and active head of International Publishers since its formation in 1924, reminded his listeners of the then more than 90-year-old history of Marxist thought in the U.S.A.

A massive body of works by American Marxists, as well as classics of Marxist-Leninist theory, had already been published under his dynamic leadership, and a growing cadre of Marxist writers were creatively exploring and interpreting vital fields of history, philosophy, science, economics and culture. Pointing to the impressive evidence of their contributions, Comrade Trachtenberg declared to the conference his earnest conviction that, "We have a right to feel that in our fight for Marxist thinking in our country, this growing arsenal of literature has been a very important factor indeed."

Today, ten years later, Marxism as a current in American political life, thought and activity has passed the century mark. International Publish-

ers is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary of continuous production, and its tireless and indomitable helmsman, Alexander Trachtenberg, on November 23rd reached his seventieth birthday.

These anniversaries coincide at a point in history when the torch knocked from the hand of the incendiary Goebbels, has been seized by a new gang of book-burners, headed by McCarthy, Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover; when the writings not only of Marx and Engels, of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, but of Henry David Thoreau and Mark Twain are removed from libraries by government decree, and when the "literature" of a Mickey Spillane pushes from library shelves the poetry of Pablo Neruda and Nazim Hikmet.

These anniversary occasions coincide, too, with the shameful enactment into law, by a reaction-ridden Congress, of a bill to outlaw a political party, imprison its members, license trade unions, and rob the American people of the right to read, write, publish, buy, sell, give, or even discuss any book that does not have

the official stamp of approval of McCarthyism.

It is under such conditions that Alexander Trachtenberg, revered by thousands as a leader, teacher and guide, may have to leave his beloved labors of thirty years as people's publisher to serve three years in prison.

What is the evidence that the Government has marshalled with much effort and at great expense to establish "beyond a doubt" the "crime" perpetrated by this "criminal"? It will serve a useful purpose, on this thirtieth anniversary of a great American publishing organization, to survey this "evidence."

At the time of the founding of International Publishers, in 1924, a rich tradition of socialist literature had already taken root in the American working class. The ties established between the International Workingmen's Association (First International) founded in 1864 by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and the leaders of American labor, developed in a period of great upsurge in the labor movement. The half-century of correspondence between Marx and Engels on the one hand, and Friedrich Sorge, Joseph Weydemeyer, William Sylvis, Florence Kelley, and others in the U.S.A.,* served to strengthen interest in the concepts and theories of Marxism and in the study of the history and development of various utopian and socialist movements, both in Europe and the

United States. A small Chicago publishing firm, Charles H. Kerr, had begun to issue occasional socialist studies and translations of some of Karl Marx's writings, thus helping to popularize socialist ideas. The *Appeal to Reason* had, over the years, been circulating in millions of copies, not only in big industrial cities but among farmers in the countryside, and was a powerful influence in bringing about a degree of unity between workers and farmers on the basis of socialist ideas.

Even before World War I, Yale, which Alexander Trachtenberg attended in his youth, found it necessary to institute a course on Socialism to meet the persistent demands of the student body, and he, himself, became one of the foremost leaders of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded by Jack London and others. Rich insights into this vital period of growth in the socialist movement are to be found in William Z. Foster's comprehensive *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, published by International in 1953.

The great Socialist October Revolution of 1917 further spurred interest in Marxism, although at that time the already substantial body of Lenin's theoretical writings was almost completely unknown in American socialist and labor circles, and the name of Stalin practically unknown. While works by Marx and Engels had been translated, these appeared for the most part in distorted versions and, in some cases, in trans-

* Published last year under the title, *Letters to Americans: 1848-1893*.

lations deliberately falsified by leading Social-Democratic "theoreticians."

By the end of its first decade of publishing activity, International Publishers had added a new dimension to American publishing history. The many important works by American Marxists that had been made available in the space of ten years were harbingers of the rich arsenal that was to nourish a generation of working-class leaders. These works were already then helping to forge a vanguard for the American labor movement.

The 1929 crash, the Great Depression, and the deep ferment among the masses of unemployed, profoundly influenced and helped shape the character of the constantly growing International list of publications.

For it was first and foremost in the labor movement, in the heart of the American working class, among the millions of workers, Negro and white, men and women, young and old, that Marxist-Leninist teachings took deepest root and made their greatest contribution. William Z. Foster's many pamphlets addressed to workers in steel, coal, and railroad, and dealing with the question of tactics and strategy of labor struggles were read, studied and discussed by hundreds of thousands of workers in basic industry. These were later collected into a single volume, *American Trade Unionism*, which became for advanced workers and trade-union leaders a manual on organization and strategy in the class struggle.

The first *Labor Fact Books* had already begun to appear, and with them a series of studies prepared by Labor Research Association on the steel, coal, auto, textile and other basic industries. Anna Rochester's *Rulers of America* was the first in a long chain of Marxist studies of finance capital, which led, eventually, in 1953-54, to Victor Perlo's *American Imperialism* and the newly-published, basic Marxist analysis, *War Economy and Crisis*, by Hyman Lumer. Bill Haywood's book, with its epic account of labor's heroism in the bitterly fought struggles against the mine and mill bosses, foretold the new epic of the rise of the C.I.O. that was then about to unfold. Advanced workers were studying the lessons of Bimba's *History of the American Working Class* and *The Molly Maguires*, which paved the way for Philip Foner's later *History of the Labor Movement in the U.S.*, the second volume of which is scheduled for publication in 1955. Pamphlets like Alexander Trachtenberg's *History of May Day* and his *The Heritage of Gene Debs* helped keep alive the rich traditions of militant struggle in the socialist and labor movements.

James S. Allen's *The Negro Question in the United States*, followed soon thereafter by his *Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy*, which appeared in the mid-1930's, opened a wide window on the field of Negro history. His writings were a bright portent of the major works soon to come by Marxist scholars

and historians like Herbert Aptheker, Harry Haywood, author of the outstanding and basic volume, *Negro Liberation*, and several others, culminating in the publication earlier this year of William Z. Foster's monumental *The Negro People in American History*.

In 1934, International issued *Letters from Prison* by the world-renowned anti-fascist hero, George Dimitrov. It also published Stella Blagoyeva's biographical study of the great anti-fascist fighter. Following the Seventh Congress, it issued all of his speeches and writings on the United Front in a single volume. R. Palme Dutt's *Fascism and Social Revolution*, which went through several editions, was followed a few years later by Magil and Stevens' *The Peril of Fascism*, and a whole number of new works appeared dealing with key aspects of the struggle for the united and people's front against the world fascist danger.

An especially notable role was played by International during its first decade in breaking through the officially-inspired hostility to the U.S.S.R., particularly in popularizing the achievements of socialist construction and the Soviet Union's consistent peace policy. These efforts to promote friendship and peaceful co-existence undoubtedly played a part in the recognition of the U.S.S.R. that came in 1933, during Roosevelt's first administration. Not only reports and speeches of Soviet leaders dealing with aspects of the Five-Year plans, of Stakhanovism, of problems

of education and child care, but, notably, the famous interviews of H. G. Wells and Roy W. Howard with Joseph Stalin, presenting the views of the head of the Soviet State on vital questions of international import, reached hundreds of thousands of Americans in all walks of life. Some of the earliest eye-witness reports, describing actual experiences of visitors to the Soviet Union, began making their appearance, the most popular of which proved to be the reports of trade-union delegations to the U.S.S.R. Dr. Harry F. Ward's *The Soviet Spirit*, dealing with the little-understood question of incentive to achievement under Socialism, was also widely read and discussed. But the highpoint in this field of literature was the Dean of Canterbury's *The Soviet Power* which, on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, in June, 1941, was issued in an abridged, tabloid edition of one and a quarter million copies. To hundreds of thousands of Americans, this intimate, human and dramatic account, by so distinguished a churchman and scientist, came as a revelation and helped prepare public opinion for the powerful alliance soon to be forged between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. in the war against the fascist Axis.

In the field of science, International pioneered in bringing to American students the discoveries of Pavlov in conditioned reflexes, and Speransky's conclusions in medical theory, followed in the ensuing years by a succession of important

new works in biology, genetics, and other scientific fields.

In literature and belles lettres, too, International made important contributions. *Proletarian Literature in the United States*, containing stories, reportage, essays and poetry by 60 American writers, was a landmark in publishing history. Important, too, were Mike Gold's three volumes of writings, novels by Meridel Le Sueur and other American working-class writers, Soviet novels dealing with themes of labor heroism and critical studies by Maxim Gorky, Ralph Fox, and many others.

Notable, too, was the steady expansion of International's arsenal of books and pamphlets dealing with American history. The genuinely democratic and revolutionary heritage which had been either glossed over, ignored or distorted by bourgeois historians, was found replete with lessons for our time when approached by the compass of Marxist theory, and one of the most valuable accomplishments in that period was the development of a group of able historians who opened new insights into the most important epochs, conflicts, and personalities in American history.

Another vital contribution was in the sphere of literature on the land and agrarian questions in which important works were written by Anna Rochester and others.

Perhaps its most vital role was performed by International in the publication in our country for the first time, in correct translations and fully

verified and authoritative texts, of many of the great classics of Marxist theory.

Steadily, year by year, new works by the titans of scientific socialism were added to International's list so that the worker, teacher, student, school, and library were eventually able to secure all the major works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in carefully edited and annotated English editions.

The widespread interest in Marxist theory was reflected in the rapid growth of schools, classes, discussion groups, and self-study. William Z. Foster called on advanced workers to "burn the midnight oil," not to succumb to practicalism but, on the contrary, to drink deep from the fountain of Marxism-Leninism as a source of strength for the entire working class.

In 1934, under the driving leadership of International's director, a hitherto undreamed-of goal was achieved for the first time with the successful publication and distribution of a 100,000-edition of a basic theoretical work—Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*. This completely new departure in publishing was followed later by equally large mass editions of *The Communist Manifesto* and *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, and shortly thereafter by Lenin's *Letter to American Workers* and *Imperialism*. A few years later, Stalin's *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* was published and successfully distributed in a first printing of 100,000 copies. It

added a glorious new page to International's achievements in popularizing theory and bringing it to broad masses of workers.

As always, International has continued in the past decade to produce books that defend the economic welfare, peace, freedom and culture of the people. To combat the sharpening reaction of the postwar years, the mounting inflation, heightened war danger, intensified attacks on civil liberties, International published important new works on aspects of American imperialism, on the liberation struggles of the Negro people, on monopoly capital, colonialism, the narrowing war economy and threatening economic crisis. Books on New China, Israel, the Philippines, Africa and British Guiana, France, Great Britain and Germany, rolled off its presses in a continuous stream.

For the occasion of its 30th anniversary, International has just published a unique volume containing writings from "works in progress" by nineteen of its authors, with illustrations by eight noted American artists. This sparkling volume, aptly titled *Looking Forward*, gives a rewarding insight into the type of books International plans to publish during the next two years. Each article, essay and extract in *Looking Forward* represents part of a book which is on International's publishing schedule for 1955-56.

And what a treasury this unique and irreplaceable publishing house has in store for its readers for the

next period!—William Z. Foster's coming history of the world socialist movement; a new people's history of the United States, by Herbert Aptheker; Victor Perlo's study of present-day finance capital; a second volume continuing Philip Foner's history of the American labor movement; biographies of Charles Ruthenberg, by Oakley Johnson; of Robert Minor, by Joseph North; of Peter V. Cacchione, by Michael Gold; and of veteran steel worker Pat Cush, by Art Shields; a book on the *Revolution in Philosophy*, by Howard Selsam; a survey by Doxey A. Wilkerson of Marxism in the universities; Samuel Sillen's new appraisal of Henry David Thoreau; a new critical work on music, by Sidney Finkelstein; a study of Pavlov and Freud, by Harry K. Wells; two economic studies by Labor Research Association, one on East-West trade and what this means in terms of jobs, the other on U.S. monopoly penetration of Latin America; a novel by Albert Maltz; a work of literary reportage by Meridel Le Sueur on her own family and its roots in America's far Northwest. This, of course, is but a partial tabulation of the rich, varied, meaningful list of books on International's publishing schedule for the next two years—a list which by any but McCarthyite standards would be regarded as a major contribution to the cultural and intellectual life of the nation.

Yet, this is the program, this is the 30-year-old publishing house, this is the beloved 70-year-old dean of

American publishers, which the Eisenhower-Dulles Administration is set upon destroying. These are the books the McCarthyites are determined to bury, together with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Rightfully, the publication of each one of these books is a significant event, warranting a promotional campaign on its own merits. Yet, such has been the fury of the fascist-like onslaughts directed against democratic and peace forces—but aimed with special ferocity against the Communist Party—that serious reverses have been experienced in the past few years in the distribution of Marxist-Leninist literature. In turn, the study of that literature has suffered.

Illegal search, seizure and arrests, confiscation of Marxist libraries, raids on progressive bookshops, flagrantly unconstitutional "laws" that place the stamp of criminality on Marxist theory and literature, the use by Government prosecutors of books as "evidence" in the long series of Smith Act trials, the hounding, firing and imprisonment of educators, scientists, novelists, screenwriters, publishers, the banning of books from libraries and schools, and the issuance of lists of proscribed authors—all this has taken a severe toll in the serious decline of literature distribution.

These attacks must be rolled back. The battle must be mounted to establish the full citizenship of Marxist ideology and literature in the political, intellectual and cultural life of our country. The books must be

defended, the book-burners disarmed.

What the McCarthys and Brownells fail to comprehend is that these books *cannot* be destroyed. Their ideas have germinated, their seeds have taken root, they have thrown up powerful shoots.

That is the profound meaning of Comrade Trachtenberg's calm declaration to the Court which imposed upon him a sentence of three years in a prison dungeon: "There are millions of these books abroad in the land today, and I am happy in the knowledge that they will continue to bring light and warmth and love and comradeship among the men and women, Negro and white, in whose homes they live. I salute them in the hope that there will be more books coming out to keep them company. Of this I am sure."

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of International Publishers, scores of thousands join with Comrade Trachtenberg in saluting these books which have served as a powerful rampart against obscurantism, against the degradation of human values, against the despair of bourgeois culture.

And in doing this, we salute the wise, seasoned, exemplary leader who, more than any other, helped provide the indispensable weapon of Marxist literature which has armed the working class and its vanguard in the difficult, many-sided, continuing struggle for jobs, peace, equal rights, democracy and, eventually, for the highest form that democracy can achieve—Socialism.

Soviet Stress on History Writing

[A LETTER TO THE EDITOR]

By William Z. Foster

Editor of *Political Affairs*:

A most important development in world culture is the strong impetus now being given in the Soviet Union to historiography. A few months ago it was stated officially that Soviet historians were engaged upon writing a multi-volumed Marxist history of the world, several sections of which were already completed. Now comes the indication of a general stimulation of history writing in the USSR. This information is conveyed in an editorial article in the Soviet magazine, *Problems of History*, of July 1954.*

The Soviet writers of the article, while giving credit for the vast amount of historical work done in past years by Marxists, declare that, nevertheless, generally speaking the whole field of historiography is being seriously neglected. The result is that this vital area has been largely abandoned to bourgeois historians, who know how, in their numberless historical works, to twist and distort the facts of history into a defense of the capitalist system.

Among the many major historical tasks thus neglected by Soviet writers, the above-cited article lists, "an utterly inadequate" study of the main country of imperialism, the United States, analysis of the development of the general crisis of capitalism, the history of

the two world wars, the history of Social-Democracy and of the Communist International, and the formation of the peoples' democracies in Europe and Asia, etc. To which list might also be added such much neglected questions as Keynesism, the armaments economy, American capitalist hegemony, the "welfare state" and many more.

The Soviet article also deals extensively with Marxist methodology in writing history. The writers warn against such malpractices as stringing together a lot of Marxist quotations in lieu of original study and analysis, erroneous habits of proceeding from generalizations to facts instead of vice versa, inadequacy of research work in many cases, tendencies towards "a modernization of historical events" by projecting the present situation back into the past and making incorrect deductions therefrom, various trends to vulgarize and oversimplify Marxism, etc. Important, too, is the writers' broad conception of what constitutes history—which embraces every field of human thought and activity.

"A knowledge of the recent history of the capitalist countries," says the article, "is of tremendous importance in the Soviet people's struggle for the victory of communism and in the liberation movement of the working people of the whole world." This is why all the great Marxists, from Mar

* The full text of this article will appear in next month's issue—ed.

on, have been outstanding historians. For only by knowing the major lessons of the past, especially in the development of world capitalism and of the forces of Socialism, is it possible to make a correct analysis of the current economic and political situation and to project a sound forecast of the developing course of events.

It is to be hoped that Communists everywhere will take example from the Communist historians in the Soviet Union, and be stimulated also to tackle some of the many vital, but largely neglected, historical tasks now confronting them. This neglect is all the more to be deplored because Communist parties nearly everywhere have in their ranks numerous Marxist intellectuals and political workers who are quite well qualified for the task of history writing. Of course, there is a lot of detailed and specialized history writing going on, but this, although very valuable, is distinctly not enough. Broader and more general projects must also be undertaken.

Every Communist Party confronts certain basic tasks in this respect, which, short of the grossest neglect, cannot be avoided. Among these are to write, a) a history of the Communist Party; b) a history of the national trade-union movement; and c) a history of the nation itself. Of course, there are many other urgent historical tasks as well, but the above are the absolute minimum. It is, for example, no credit to many Communist parties that they haven't even a worthwhile history of themselves. How then do they expect the youth and newly-recruited workers to know anything about the movement they have joined?

The American Party is by no means

the worst offender. Besides many good historical studies of limited subjects, we have at least a history of our Party. Important Marxist work has been done and is in process on the history of the trade-union movement and much has been done on the history of the Negro people. Now in preparation also is a short history of the United States. But all this is only just a start. Our historians must make a much broader and deeper attack upon this whole question. We must have the best Marxist histories upon every phase of our working-class and national life. There is no country where the Communist Party needs to be more alert against bourgeois distortions and prostitutions of history than in the United States. Here, our whole history, every branch of it, as Comrade Aphetker has so well demonstrated in his *Laureates of Imperialism*, is being systematically rewritten to the glorification of the role of monopoly capital and to the detriment of the working class.

In writing such basically necessary works of history as enumerated above, three elementary considerations, among others, should be borne in mind. First, the writers should deal basically with the main question in hand, and not simply dabble with odds and ends of it. Workers are not professional researchers, and they should not be required to fill in the gaps left by the historian. Second, the history should be written simply, comprising a compilation of the facts and a theoretical explanation of them which will be clear to the inexperienced youth and the broad masses, but which, at the same time, will also contain the deepest Marxist-Leninist conclusions on the subjects. And, third, Marxist historians

must learn to write briefly and compactly. They must not forget that we are living in the age of radio and television and that people are economizing on their times for reading. Marxist historians should also remember that they are writing, not for a few cloistered and highly specialized professors, but for the broad masses. There is nothing so complicated that it cannot be said in a form that the workers and their political allies can readily understand.

Too long the bourgeois historians have had virtually a free hand to miswrite history, to distort the national and working-class traditions, to poison

the minds of the people. But it was not always thus—with the many works of the classical Communist historians, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and in the earlier years of the Second International, of such Social Democrats as Kautsky, Mehring, Plekhanov, Bebel, Gustavus Myers, and many more, who produced historical studies of real importance. Let us hope that the new emphasis upon history-writing in the USSR presages a vastly increased Communist activity in this very vital field in various other countries. This would indeed be an event of world political importance, and another whole row of nails in the coffin of world capitalism.

Book Review

THE LAST ILLUSION

By William Weinstone

The Last Illusion: America's Plan for World Domination, by Hershel D. Meyer. Anvil-Atlas Press, N. Y., \$3.00.

This volume explores the danger of world war as a result of U.S. imperialism's plan for world domination. It sets out to prove that this plan is an illusion—the last illusion of declining imperialism—but one which acutely threatens the peace and civilization of the world. The purpose of the book is two-fold: to arouse the people to the relentless drive for unleashing a world war and also to make them realize that it is possible to defeat that drive and achieve lasting peace.

Centering on the events since World War II, the author amasses a host of facts to show that the U.S. ruling class is hell-bent on war in order to maintain its huge profits, to escape the danger of economic collapse, to destroy world Socialism and to establish world rule for Wall Street.

The third world war which is being feverishly prepared, the author points out, is not for defense, not for democracy, but a war of aggression, of enslavement, a new and last Hitler-like attempt of a doomed capitalist society to blast its way out of the contradictions which are ripping it apart.

To achieve its aim, U.S. imperialism has launched an aggressive economic,

political and military expansionist program. It ruthlessly penetrates the territories of the British, French and other imperialists, dominates West Europe, rings the world with bases, militarizes the economy of the U.S. and other countries, and is introducing a police state at home and bringing the fascists back to power in other lands.

The book shows that U.S. imperialism keeps the world in a cold war, has made war on Korea, helped prolong the war in Indo-China, and while compelled to accept peace in Korea, seeks feverishly for opportunities to open new wars and to unleash war on China and the Soviet Union. It reveals the main springs of the U.S. policy of conquest, its need for markets, cheap labor and raw materials, for maintaining its fabulous profits and preventing economic collapse by a huge armaments program, and above all, its fear and hatred of the powerful Soviet Union and the advancing new people's democracies, whose territories and wealth the American tycoons covet.

The book shows that the foundation of the towering edifice of American capitalism is exceedingly shaky, and that for all its "gleaming chrome and steel-plated facade," American capitalism is in decay. It was pulled out of the depths of the last crisis and stagnation only because of the all-out war and maintains a high level of produc-

tion today mainly because of armaments and war, while threatening clouds of a new depression are already on the horizon.

Exploding the myth of a high standard of living for the mass of the people, the book cites figures which show widespread poverty and a worsening in the living conditions of broad masses.

The author details the full-scaled offensive directed towards establishing fascism in the U.S.A. He describes the many-sided assaults on the rights and liberties of the people, the anti-Communist hysteria, the offensive on morals and culture, the widespread corruption in high places and in capitalist life generally, the horror of the crime against the Rosenbergs, the legal lynchings of Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven, and the terror against the Negro people—all part of the war drive and the designs for a fascist America. And he shows the people in resistance. It is a merit of the book that it boldly asserts that the Communists are attacked because they are foremost fighters for peace and democracy. Valuable and forthright is the documented exposure of the origin and development of the war against the Korean people, the unpardonable crime of using germ warfare on Chinese territory, and the beatings and torture of Chinese prisoners on Kojé Island.

The book discusses the consistent and undeviating Soviet peace policy and its striving for peaceful co-existence with the capitalist states, the possibility of which the Soviet leaders have repeatedly affirmed. By fact and quotations, the author shows that the American monopolists oppose peaceful co-existence because they fear it would bankrupt their plans, reduce their co-

lossal profits derived from war production, and because they profoundly hate Socialism and fear peaceful competition between the two systems. The choice facing the people in all capitalist and colonial countries is, therefore, between the world peace camp headed by the Soviet Union which regards peaceful co-existence as possible and supremely necessary for the very existence of mankind, and U.S. monopoly capitalism which says that its vital interests require the forcible destruction of the socialist world sector.

Meyer shows that the people the world over are choosing the first path of peaceful co-existence. He shows that the chasm between the people and the war-makers is widening, that the people are fighting relentlessly throughout the world and are awakening to resistance in our own country. In addition the U.S. war-makers are meeting with rebuff in their plans from allied imperialists because of sharpening rivalries. The world's population, he shows, never before so well organized and united for peace, are winning victories against the war-makers and possess the power to compel the imperialists to abandon their war program. He warns that the ruling group is losing its sanity and that, before the die is cast, the people must act in the widest unity "to compel our rulers to abandon the war program and replace it by one of peace and co-existence."

The book is written with verve and force and wrathful comment appropriate to the subject. It has apt turns of expression, although the author at times allows the glittering phrase to obscure his meaning.

The book presents its facts and quotations vividly and forcefully. Their cumulative effect strikingly reveals a

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cunning, brutal and desperate ruling class which, while pretending to serve the cause of peace and democracy, is feverishly preparing for war and seeks to provoke war situations, is ready to commit and has already committed the most heinous crimes in the interest of its sordid profits.

Particularly effective are the chapters on colonialism, in which U.S. imperialism is shown as an enslaver which aligns itself with every reactionary force to wring its tribute from the people of Mexico, Central and South America, from the Near East and Africa, from the people of the Far East, and also from the Negro people at home, particularly in the South. At the same time, the author shows that the knell of imperialism has sounded, and "that close to one billion people are rising to break the chains of enslavement while advancing the cause of peace and democracy for humanity as a whole."

The historical significance of the defeat suffered by the war plotters in Korea, their aims and motivations, are effectively handled, indicating that its lessons "furnish a graphic preview of history's verdict should U.S. and world imperialism unleash a third world war." Despite these lessons, the volume shows that the warmakers continue along the path of adventurism, the foiling of which demands the greatest vigilance and united peace action on the part of the American people.

• • •

In noting these valuable qualities, it is necessary to add, however, that the book is not without some weaknesses and shortcomings.

While the basic approach of the volume is Marxist-Leninist, its treatment of the significance of the fundamental

laws governing present-day monopoly capitalism is often sketchy and lacks precision. There is also insufficient analysis, particularly in economics. This fault is especially apparent in the opening section dealing with monopoly capitalism and in the sparse consideration of the sixty-year-old history of the development of that monopoly capitalism.

It would have helped the reader to understand more solidly the aggressive drive of U.S. imperialism for world domination—the fact that it is not a passing phenomenon but a fundamental orientation of U.S. capital—if the *economic* roots and class forces behind that drive had been shown by an analysis of the nature of American monopoly, its great power before World War II and its vast growth during that war which heightened its dominance over the economy and state power of the country and subjugated the latter completely to its will.

Only in the light of that knowledge can one grasp clearly the reasons for the extremely reactionary features of U.S. capitalism today.

The central weakness of the book is a certain tendency to underestimate the possibility of co-existence, a certain bowing to moods of the inevitability of the outbreak of World War III, which U.S. imperialism is planning. This tendency is present despite repeated statements that World War III is not inevitable and despite valuable material showing the growth and power of the peace movement. Notwithstanding the value of the book in exposing the war plans, this regrettable tendency may serve to induce passivity. The ideological basis of this weakness lies in a somewhat oversimplified and one-sided concept of the general crisis

of world capitalism and of the relationship of world forces.

This is evident in the author's views of the present period as "imperialism's terminal phase," a concept which recurs in the book. He writes:

The present period when 800 million people are already beyond the reach of imperialist exploitation, when the remaining colonial areas are rapidly shrinking could therefore be called imperialism's terminal phase. For the time span of its present war and crisis period is severely limited and can only end in the further weakening and dissolution of the world imperialist system after which the term 'world imperialism' will no more designate an actuality. In the terminal phase of the general crisis of capitalism everything the imperialists do—or don't do—advances the cause of Socialism (p. 39—emphasis added).

In a broad historical sense it is correct to say that we are approaching the end of imperialism, the decline of which has been more rapid since World War II than in the period between the two world wars due to the severity of the general crisis of capitalism. The question here is not that of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism; Meyer bases himself on that classical definition of Lenin. What is involved here is Meyer's formulation that we are now at the "terminal phase" of capitalism's last stage. Already to forecast and predetermine the speedy dissolution of the world system of capitalism, as the direct result of the "present war and crisis period," as is done here, is misleading. It can only be understood as referring to the current period of war danger and hence lead to the idea that the author thinks imperialism faces imminent collapse on a world scale through a world war. Since the book repeatedly states that such a war is not inevitably this appraisal can only lead to confusion.

Stalin, in his *Economic Problems*, has defined the present stage of capitalism as that of the "further deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system," as the "second stage" of that crisis "especially after the European and Asian People's Democracies fell away from the capitalist system." He did not, however, describe it as the last stage of the general crisis which the Meyer concept suggests.

And for good reason. While the balance of forces has shifted on a world scale in favor of Socialism, capitalism still prevails in many major countries, still encircles Socialism, as Premier Malenkov pointed out in his report to the 19th Congress of the CPSU, and is bitterly fighting to maintain and extend its system. The relationship of the two systems (war or peace), the tempo and forms of that struggle are not a simple matter and are not predetermined as Meyer seems to imply, but are complex and subject to many factors both objective and subjective.

It is, of course, possible that world imperialism may make war on the socialist countries, which would end capitalism, as has been stated many times by the Communist leaders. But there are other perspectives which are growing, despite the still acute danger of war, including the perspective of the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems for a long period of time.

Peaceful co-existence is a policy of both competition and compromise, of both struggle and agreement. It does not exclude the further progress of mankind to Socialism, since war is not an essential condition for the establishment of Socialism. The advance of mankind to Socialism will not take place without struggle, but the existence

of peaceful co-existence provides a path, as Togliatti said "ensuring the necessary progress for civilization with the least sacrifice and the least risk" (*Political Affairs*, Jan. 1952).

Peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Socialism is not new. What is new is on the one hand the extension of the socialist world which explains the especially desperate strivings of imperialism to destroy it and, on the other hand, the greater possibility, nonetheless, of maintaining peace precisely because of the 900 millions in the camp of Socialism, the deepening crisis of capitalism, and because of the mounting strength and struggle of the camp of peace and of Socialism.

As for the statement that "everything the imperialists do or don't do advances the cause of Socialism" this is unfortunately, an extreme oversimplification of the correct idea that the imperialist can't stop the course of progress and Socialism—which is probably what the author meant to say. As it stands it can only breed passivity or reliance on spontaneity or the automatic course of history.

This tendency to regard capitalism as practically done for colors the author's views on the peace movement. Summing up a very fine account of the militant and widespread character of the peace movement, the author refers to the great power for peace of the Socialist one-third of the world and that "within the imperialist camp, life is teaching millions who never read Marx or Lenin to reach some of their conclusions." Meyer adds: "All this means that mankind is travelling away from the epoch of untrammelled imperialist rule. It is moving toward a point of momentous qualitative historical change

where certain hitherto inevitable scourges will become preventable" (p. 265).

The author does not explain what he means by "momentous qualitative historical change." But in the context of the paragraph which discussed the war-breeding nature of capitalism, and from the very words themselves, one is logically led to believe that the meaning here is Socialism.

Coming as the concluding points of a chapter on the peace movement, this statement can only narrow the concept of the nature and scope of the peace movement. It is true that the Socialist one-third of the world, and the Communist parties, stand in the forefront of the peace movement, but the two must not be confused, since, as Stalin pointed out, the peace movement does not have Socialism as its aim but "confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace."

This tendency to consider capitalism on the verge of collapse of necessity leads the author to offer unreal alternatives to the capitalists in place of war. Quoting Premier Malenkov, that by peaceful relations there is offered the prospect of large-scale trade between the socialist and capitalist countries which could keep the mills and factories of the latter working for years, the author adds: "The American capitalists could look forward therefore to years of profitable trade and business. Of course the big trusts will be confronted with the 'hideous problem' of how to survive the 'shock' of a peace economy. *Peaceful co-existence would require their shift from a carnivorous type of diet (war and armament profits) to a more herbaceous one*" (emphasis mine—W. W.). He continues:

They would have to invest their surplus capital, for example, in large-scale projects within the U.S.A., in roads, reforestation, flood control, eradication of slums, in building schools and health centers, in large-scale public projects of all kinds. The purchasing power of American workers and farmers would have to keep on rising in line with the growth of production. General Motors, du Pont, Standard Oil, U.S. Steel and others would have to be content with much less than thousands of dollars annual profits on each worker employed (p. 319).

Stating that the monopolists would resist this with all their power because of their desire for maximum profits through armament and atom bomb orders and because of their fear of peaceful co-existence, Meyer adds that the "American kings of finance and industry like those of Western Germany, Japan and/or Britain will not change their habits, not without being first collared by an awakened American people" (p. 320). Peace, he concludes, must therefore be imposed upon the monopolists.

It is correct that peace must be imposed upon the monopolists by resolute struggle. But the question still remains: if peaceful co-existence is established, will American monopoly capitalism change its habits, whether or not collared by an awakened American people; will it cease being aggressive and imperialistic (meat-eating) and become more peaceful (grass-eating), apparently developing into a type of "progressive capitalism" in which the monopolists would be investing their surplus capital in the people's needs and in which "the purchasing power of American workers and farmers would have to keep rising in line with the growth of production"?

What the author seems to be saying, although not directly, is that the final alternatives facing the imperialists is

survival for a time by establishing peace and *basically* changing their ways, or more quickly ending their existence through war followed by the inevitable rise of Socialism on a world scale.

The danger of this way of thinking is that it can lead to the fatalistic conclusion that if the monopolists must change their nature as a result of co-existence, they will prefer to fight it out and go to war.

Peaceful co-existence would mean further relaxation of international tensions, the removal of the present threat of war, the extension of commercial relations and trade among capitalist and socialist countries, etc. It would increase, too, the possibility of achieving more favorable economic and political conditions for the masses. It would mean negotiations in a more peaceful atmosphere for banning the production or use of the A and H bombs, and for the reduction of armaments, and for the solution of other issues, as Germany, Korea, etc. In turn, the achievement of each of these needs contributes towards easing international tensions and consolidating peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence would cut down armaments, but large-scale armament production would continue and make up a distinctive feature of capitalist production. This is characteristic of present-day capitalism, a point correctly noted by the author in an earlier discussion in the book (p. 60). The amount of armament production under conditions of peaceful co-existence would naturally vary according to the economic conditions, the war danger and the struggle of the people against such production and in favor of welfare expenditures.

As for the investments of monopoly

capital, they would still be along the lines of obtaining the maximum profits, despite the danger of the outbreak of an economic crisis. As Stalin pointed out, "if capitalism could adapt production not to the obtaining of utmost profits . . . not to the export of capital but to the systematic improvement of the material conditions of the workers and peasants there would be no crisis. But then capitalism would not be capitalism."

Peaceful co-existence, then, would be a tremendous triumph for the peace forces and a great setback for the war-makers. But the establishment of peaceful co-existence would not mean that U.S. capitalism would cease to be aggressive, would cease to strive for world domination, would cease to work for war—the only way to win world domination. The lion would not be turned into a lamb and give up his carnivorous for a herbaceous diet. Peaceful co-existence must not be interpreted to mean that monopoly capitalism will become peaceful.

The drive toward war is of the essence of imperialism; but whether or not the drive, at any particular time, eventuates in war, is another question. Peaceful co-existence is indeed possible, but how long and how durable peace-

ful co-existence will be depends upon continued and resolute struggle of the world peace forces and of the people of our own country against monopoly capitalism. That is why to maintain *long-term* co-existence it is necessary to build a people's democratic front to curb the monopolists. To guarantee lasting peace, to end the inevitability of imperialist wars, it is necessary to end the power of monopoly capitalism. Every victory against a particular war danger strengthens the forces for ultimately achieving this goal.

* * *

I have dealt, at some length, with what I feel to be unclarities and weaknesses in this volume, because they are matters of considerable complexity and vital importance. Let it be re-emphasized, however, that the main aim of the book is to argue strongly for peaceful co-existence. In doing this, the work offers very valuable material for partisans of peace. It has found a welcome reception among peace fighters here and abroad. It has been favorably reviewed and widely quoted in the world peace press. Meyer's volume is an effective weapon in the supreme task of our day—the preservation of world peace.

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