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

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GREETINGS TO THE GLORIOUS COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA*

To the victorious fighters and leaders of the People's Liberation Army, led by the great Communist Party of China and its helmsman Mao Tse-tung:

Your mighty military advances coupled with the rapid consolidation of the Liberated Areas under your leadership are each day expanding and strengthening the forces of national independence, progress and peace and restricting and weakening the camp of imperialism. Your historic successes, and your approaching nation-wide victory, are helping decisively to change the face of the world.

We American Communists appreciate the significance of these events, including the leading role of the valiant Chinese Communist Party, particularly as your victories mean defeats not only of the hated Chinese reactionaries but also for Wall Street imperialism, the most dangerous foe of national freedom, peace and democracy in the postwar world.

We send this greeting to you on the occasion of your new and far-reaching military-political victories.

We also send this message on the occasion of the arrival in this country of the wife of the detested tyrant and traitor of the Chinese people, Chiang Kai-shek. Madame Chiang appeals to Wall Street and Washington at a time when your magnificent victories, and the growing anti-imperialist resistance of the peoples of Europe, as well as the U. S. A., have created new crises and difficulties among all imperialist circles.

However, we Communists and millions of American workers and progressives do not view this situation with complacency. You and your millions of compatriots are defeating the reactionary, bankrupt

* Text of cablegram sent on December 6, 1948.

(Continued on page 1140)

THE MAIN LESSONS OF THE 1948 ELECTIONS

By EUGENE DENNIS

FIRST, SOME FACTS: (1) The 1948 election was the closest in 32 years, and the total vote was the smallest since 1932. Nearly complete returns, as of Nov. 6, give Truman 23,386,093 popular votes; Dewey, 21,368,871; Wallace, 1,116,390, and Thurmond, 1,006,363.

(2) Truman's popular vote fell more than 2,000,000 below Roosevelt's popular vote in 1944. In the three key states of Ohio, Illinois, and California, Truman nosed out Dewey by a narrow total margin of 88,883 votes. A slight shift of votes in these states would have swung the election to Dewey.

(3) There was a large stay-away vote. Of an estimated 95 million eligible voters, some 35 to 37 million failed to register, and roughly one-third of the registered voters stayed away from the polls. In New York alone, approximately 1,000,000 who registered did not vote.

(4) Neither the Democrats nor the G.O.P. emerged as a majority party. Truman and the Democrats received about 20 percent of the eligible vote, 25 percent of the registered vote, and 49 percent of the total vote cast.

(5) There was no Truman landslide. The President's vote trailed the combined votes cast for Democratic

governors, Senators, Congressmen, etc. In a number of states, the Congressional and state slate carried Truman. For example, the President ran about 400,000 votes behind Adlai Stevenson and Paul Douglas in Illinois where the Democrats carried the state. In Pennsylvania, where the Democrats picked up over a score of Congressional seats, Dewey carried the state. In Ohio, 301,045 voters refused to support *either* Presidential candidate. In that state, Truman squeaked through with a margin of only 18,415 votes; whereas Frank Lausche, the Democratic candidate for governor, received a majority of 216,556.

(6) In the Congress, the Democrats won an unstable numerical majority, gaining nine seats in the Senate and 77 seats in the House. The Democrats also won a dozen gubernatorial contests and now control the governorships in 29 states.

* * *

What is the general significance of the election results?

The voters delivered a partial—yet important—electoral rebuff and setback to *some* of the most openly reactionary forces gathered around the G.O.P. and identified publicly

with Hearst and Col. McCormick, with the N.A.M. and the Chamber of Commerce. The voters returned an Administration which promised extensive social reforms but which continues to be *controlled* by the Wall Street monopolists committed to the bipartisan imperialist policy and war program.

The people condemned inflation and the Dixiecrats and repudiated the Taft-Hartleyites and the G.O.P.-dominated 80th Congress. They elected a Democratic Congressional majority composed of a number of progressives, as well as a group of Social-Democrats, a sizable bloc of "pro-labor" northern machine wheel-horses, and southern Bourbons. They reelected to Congress that outstanding progressive, Vito Marcantonio.

In this election, the masses rejected what they regard as the party of extreme reaction, of Big Business. Acting largely within the framework of the two-party system, they expressed, even if in a distorted way, their continuing adherence to the New Deal and the Roosevelt tradition.

They voted to repeal the Taft-Hartley law, to curb inflation, to solve the housing problem, and to secure the civil rights of the Negro people. While they did not directly repudiate the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, and the armament program, the masses did register their expectation and hope that U.S. foreign policy toward Israel would change and that a friendly

settlement with the Soviet Union would be achieved.

In this connection, Walter Lippmann correctly concluded from the election results that "the overwhelming majority of the people in both parties . . . do not subscribe to the theory of inevitable war, or to the idea that the great [international] crisis is insoluble by diplomatic and pacific means."

Finally, among those who abstained from voting, millions expressed both their disillusionment with the two old parties and their resentment against the bipartisan policies which both pursue, even though they were not yet prepared to embark on a course of independent political action through support to the new Progressive Party.

* * *

Why the "upset"?

Big Business, while controlling and supporting both major parties and candidates, counted on Dewey as sure to win. Misjudging the temper of the country, the Big Money was confident that the 1946 "trend" had gathered momentum and that a G.O.P. victory was in the bag. At the same time, while favoring Dewey to win, the monopolists sought to maintain the Democratic Party as a serious political force, in order to preserve their two-party system.

But the masses saw a victory for Dewey and the G.O.P. as a return to Hooverism, and rejected them.

Furthermore, large sections of the masses accepted Truman's demagogic New Deal promises at face value. They voted for the Administration as the "lesser evil," as the better of two "practical" alternatives. This was particularly true of large sections of labor, the Negro people, and substantial sections of the rural and urban middle classes. Above all, Truman's demagogic appeals to popular hatred of the 80th Congress evoked wide response.

The false and unstable "prosperity" produced by the developing war economy was also a factor. But here the rural and urban middle-class shift away from the G.O.P. is significant. For the farmers reacted swiftly to the G.O.P. threat to scuttle farm price supports, and in the cities the middle class, like labor, showed its resentment against the scuttling of O.P.A. Thus, in the midst of a war preparations "boom," the masses showed that they fear the coming bust and are determined to resist attempts to lower their living standards.

The bipartisan anti-Communist hysteria and Red-baiting witchhunts also affected the election outcome and were a serious factor in cutting down the Wallace vote. But even here the "lesser evil" theory operated, and the voters responded to Truman's demagogic criticism of the House Un-American Committee, to Attorney General Clark's criticism of McDowell and his assurances that the

Administration is "against" witchhunts.

* * *

What about the Progressive Party and the Wallace vote?

The low Wallace vote cannot negate or obscure the historic service the Progressive Party performed, or its important role in the campaign.

The Wallace forces demonstrated that it *is* possible to organize a third party in the United States and put it on the ballot. They created some of the prerequisites for assuring the new party's future growth in strength and influence as a mass people's party, as a united front anti-war and anti-monopoly party.

The Progressive Party also emerged as an influential force in the political life of the country *today*. It brought out the real issues facing the nation. It initiated or strengthened important broad mass movements for peace and civil rights. It forced Truman to maneuver on many issues, such as the projected Vinson mission, Israel, civil rights, the Taft-Hartley law, etc.

In many Congressional races, particularly in the industrial areas, the overall correct tactical line of the Progressive Party was a decisive factor in helping defeat scores of Taft-Hartleyites and in electing a number of progressives.

The Progressive Party is already giving the lead on a number of post-election problems. It is already laying plans to strengthen itself organizationally and to help further

the developing new political alignment and the forging of a mighty people's progressive coalition.

* * *

In view of this, why did Wallace get such a low vote?

Alongside of the "lesser evil" illusions and the idea that a vote for Wallace was a "wasted vote"—the idea so assiduously promoted by the trade union bureaucracy and Social Democrats — the masses remained confused and misled regarding the Marshall Plan and the bipartisan "national defense" war program

Because there was no big breakthrough here, the Progressive Party forces made only a limited breakthrough in their efforts to win the masses away from the Democratic Party and its social-reformist and social-democratic lackeys, away from Wall Street's two-party system. However, only a political idiot would measure the growing mass support for Wallace's *peace program* by the number of Wallace votes.

Moreover, certain political and organizational weaknesses in the election campaign prevented the Wallace vote from reaching its full potential. Politically, there was an inadequate linking up of economic issues with the central struggle for peace, as well as a one-sided concentration of attack against Truman. Generally correct tactics in Congressional and local contests were not always carried out with the nec-

essary skill and political independence. The limited number of local Progressive candidates, inevitable in view of the circumstances, militated against the new party's achieving its maximum total vote, statewide and nationally. The political-organizational weaknesses of the Progressive Party are not surprising in so young a venture, which had to match itself against unprecedented Red-baiting and intimidation, the entrenched machines, widespread "lesser evil" concepts, and imperialist reformist ideology and illusions.

Another serious factor in holding the Wallace vote to an *unnecessary* low was the very limited trade union base developed by the new party. Here the Left-wing trade unionists displayed serious political weaknesses which were reflected in the failure to take the offensive on many concrete issues of program and struggle, particularly in the fight for a democratic foreign policy, as well as in certain sectarian moods and practices.

The Left-wing forces, including many Communists, must also accept responsibility for the underestimation *in practice* of the need to wage a sustained and effective political-ideological struggle to combat and unmask the treacherous role and influence of the trade union bureaucracy and Social-Democracy. Seizing on events in the last weeks of the campaign, the Dubinsky-Reuther Social-Democrats, the A.D.A. and the labor reformists were able more effectively to promote the

"lesser evil" theory. They were able to do this particularly after Dewey's endorsement of the Taft-Hartley law and the 80th Congress, and after Truman's demagogic appeals to labor, the Jewish people, and the Negro people, and to the advocates of a peaceful solution of American-Soviet differences.

* * *

In view of the election returns the question is asked: Did the Communists "miscalculate," and consequently pursue an incorrect election policy?

It is true that we Communists estimated that Dewey would win, albeit by a close vote. It is true, too, that we worked for and expected Wallace to secure a larger vote. But here it must be said that as the situation changed, as the campaign unfolded, our estimate of the size of the Wallace vote changed. At no time, though, did we share the utopian dreams of some.

However—and this is what is decisive—we Communists and other anti-imperialists did *not* miscalculate when we said that the election of either Dewey or Truman would represent a victory for Wall Street and its bipartisan imperialist program.

We did *not* miscalculate when we emphasized that the times required, and made possible, the launching of a new people's anti-monopoly, anti-war party, when we worked toward that end.

We did *not* miscalculate when we pointed out that it was possible to defeat a host of the most rabid Congressional advocates of imperialist war and reaction and when we strove to help elect a substantial number of pro-labor and progressive Congressmen.

We did *not* miscalculate when we signalized the need for, and contributed toward the building of, the broadest possible people's democratic and peace coalition around concrete issues. Nor did we miscalculate when we predicted that it was possible, simultaneously, to increase greatly the size and influence of the Communist vote and participation in these elections, as the 150,000 votes for Si Gerson in Brooklyn pointedly testify.

Consequently, the Communist Party's main line on this historic election struggle was correct, regardless of a certain inevitable disappointment in the numerical size of the highly significant Progressive Party Presidential and Congressional vote.

In fact, it must be emphasized that without the Progressive Party in the field the results of this election would have been a complete reactionary sweep. By its presence in the field it forced the break between Truman and the Dixiecrats and it also forced the Democrats to make their main appeal to the Left as against vying with the Republicans in appeals to the Right. It was this that made possible the defeat of so many reactionaries in Congress.

What, we may now ask, are some of the main dangers in the post-election period?

For one thing, the Dewey-G.O.P. defeat undoubtedly creates some temporary illusions about Truman, the Democratic Party and the new Congress. But while the Administration may make certain maneuvers and concessions to the people, particularly in regard to domestic questions (*i.e.*, broadening of the social security act, enactment of a limited low-cost housing program, a compromise labor relations act, partial price controls, token civil rights legislation, etc.), and may go easy on frontal attacks against the trade union movement — it will proceed with the North Atlantic-Western Union war alliance and with other key aspects of the imperialist bipartisan war program. This will be its course regardless of a Cabinet reshuffle that may let out some of the most discredited generals and bankers, or of possible open “national unity” moves toward Dewey and Dulles and many of the Dixiecrats.

Secondly, while in New York the Liberal Party lost in votes and influence, on a national scale the reactionary Social-Democrats have, for the moment, strengthened some of their positions. With the election of Humphrey, Douglas, Bowles, etc., as well as through Reuther's role in the C.I.O., the A.D.A. crowd gained certain electoral advantages and will aspire to play a bigger part in the

Democratic Party and in national affairs.

This will undoubtedly create temporary difficulties for the Progressive Party, which will have to combat within some sections of its own ranks the dangerous notion that failure to “co-operate” with the Berles and Hendersons and failure to attack the Communists, is responsible for its relatively low nation-wide vote. Furthermore, the Social-Democrats and the top union officialdom—C.I.O. and A.F. of L.—will now be encouraged to redouble their efforts to sabotage militant united labor action around concrete issues of both domestic and foreign policy, and will reinforce their attempts to isolate the Left-progressive forces.

* * *

In view of this, do any new opportunities open for the progressive camp as a result of the elections?

The election results demonstrate that the majority of the people want economic security, civil and labor rights, and peace. They confirm what was already revealed in the pre-election strike struggles, in the fight against the Mundt-Nixon bill, in the political struggles around Israel and Wallace's proposals for American-Soviet friendship, etc., and in the emergence of the Progressive Party itself.

In this post-election period, now more than ever, the masses want peace and progress and they are in

a mood to struggle for what they want.

Many people believe they are going to get what they want from the Truman Administration and the Democratic majority in the bipartisan Congress. But these illusions will be — or, at least, can be — relatively short-lived. We are not entering another New Deal “era.” The Administration and the bipartisan Congress are committed to an anti-Communist drive at home and abroad, to an aggressive imperialist war policy and a war economy. This cannot but determine the character of, and set definite limits upon, the scope of Truman's promised social and labor reforms. Moreover, there is already talk of making “peace” with most of the Dixiecrats.

Clearly, the election returns show that the majority of the people want progress, want to move forward. Large numbers of the electorate have demonstrated a pronounced fighting spirit and a desire to work for and achieve what they thought they voted for on November 2. Obviously, the way to realize these aims is by initiating united mass struggles for the fulfillment of the peoples' expectations in the 81st Congress and by exerting mounting mass pressure on the Administration, as well as by struggles on the economic front. And here *the key task in advancing the cause of peace, security and democracy, is the fight for partial economic and political demands on the broadest united front basis.*

Thus, united labor struggle to prevent the *application* of the iniquitous Taft-Hartley Act *now*, must accompany the struggle for its repeal and for a progressive labor relations act.

Thus, the immediate issuance of an *executive order* to rid the armed services and all government agencies of Jim Crow must be demanded, while the fight for genuine civil rights legislation goes on.

Similarly, in the struggle to safeguard the Bill of Rights and enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, a renewed and concerted mass movement must now be unleashed to force the dismissal of the indictments against the 12 Communist leaders, to abolish the Un-American Committee, to unseat Parnell Thomas and to free all the victims of the pro-fascist un-Americans.

On the peace front, the immediate concrete struggles must take place not only around the demand for fulfillment of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements as the basis for immediate peace treaties with Germany and Japan. Simultaneously, an effective fight for peace must and can be waged around the demand for resumption of the Foreign Ministers' conferences on a quarterly basis and for direct negotiations with the Soviet Union, as well as around demands for a reduction of U. S. armaments, for the outlawing of the atom bomb, for dismissal of Dulles from the U. S. delegation to the U.N., etc.

Not reaction and war, but peace and progress—this is what the people want and expect now that the elections are over.

The post-election opportunities are very great indeed. Their promise can be realized if the Progressive Party and the Left trade union forces, Communist and non-Communist, stand boldly in the forefront of the approaching mass struggles—especially now with the opening of the new Congress—and boldly lead in building a great united front movement and people's mass anti-war, anti-monopoly coalition that can increasingly influence the course of events, including foreign policy.

These opportunities can be realized if the trade unions are strengthened on a militant basis, and if the unity of action of Communists and non-Communists, Negro and white, labor and non-labor, are reinforced on every front and level.

As regards the future of the new Progressive Party, it is no less bright than was the future of Lincoln's new party after its first showing in 1856. By 1858, the people had shed many illusions, and by 1860, the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln

had become the party of government. The Progressive Party and its supporters, looking back on these lessons, can say with confident determination: "What is past is prologue."

In this grave post-election situation, in a period of complex and sharpening political and economic struggles, our Communist Party is faced with increased responsibilities. To fulfill these obligations with honor and dispatch, we must strengthen our ranks, press, and mass activity. We must deepen our grasp of the science of Marxism-Leninism and reinforce our struggle on the political-ideological front, especially against the reactionary theories and policies of reformism and social-democratism. We must rouse democratic America to the crucial issues at stake in our trial and expand the fight for our *legality* and constitutional rights as an inseparable part of the people's struggle against war and fascism, and for extending the Bill of Rights. And everywhere we must pursue a correct united front policy of mass struggle for the vital demands and urgent needs of the working people—for peace, security, democracy and social progress.

THE NEW WAR ECONOMY

By JAMES S. ALLEN

A NEW phrase is becoming popular in Big Business circles to describe the present state of affairs in America. It is the expression "garrison state." These circles expect such a state to be with us for some time. The Committee for Economic Development, a leading business organization with a flair for planning, recently announced an extensive research program on the problems of "freedom in a garrison state." C.E.D. research is headed by Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of the billion-dollar General Electric Corporation. "International developments," he says, "promise to force us to live for some years to come in a garrison state." Explaining the meaning of this phrase, he said it was similar to "armed camp."*

The "garrison state" or "armed camp" now developing is directed toward world domination by American imperialism. Its intended victims are to be found not only abroad. The warmongering crusade, the drive to outlaw the Communist Party, and the growth of repression in general mark the beginnings of a fascist-type development.

A garrison state means the growth

* *New York Times*, August 27, 1948.

of a new war economy; for the objective of an armed camp can be only the eventual waging of war. A sizable sector of the national economy is already devoted to war preparations, alongside still booming peacetime production. And the growing war economy is hastening the concentration of monopoly power toward a level that could be found previously only in the total garrison state of Hitler-Germany.

Big Business still has a good distance to go before it achieves its ideal. It may never attain it, if the opposing forces are powerful enough. In the meantime, it is making big steps in that direction. The garrison state is beginning to assume concrete form. Even the C.E.D. research committee will find few traces of freedom in the emerging outlines.

EXTENT OF THE WAR ECONOMY

In the last fiscal year—from July 1, 1947, to June 30, 1948—over \$14 billion, or 34 percent of the federal budget, was allocated for military spending, not counting veterans' benefits and other obligations growing out of World War II. Current budget expenditures for military purposes are running at about the same annual rate. The \$14 billion now being spent annually for direct military ends is equal to defense expenditures in 1941, when we were supplying our Allies and preparing to enter the

war. If we include the appropriations for Greece and Turkey, and Marshall Plan funds used for war—such as “aid” to China, assistance to the Dutch in Indonesia and the French in Indo-China given indirectly through E.C.A.—military expenditures are higher by perhaps two or three billion dollars.

In the coming year, direct military spending is expected to reach at least \$20 billion, perhaps as much as \$25 billion, including arms “lend-lease” to Western Europe. This compares with \$32 billion spent for war in 1942, and with some \$90 billion in 1944, when war expenditures were at their height; these figures include outlays for food and goods now provided by E.C.A.

To take into account differences in the level of the economy, these figures should be compared in terms of national income. In 1940, when less than \$2 billion was spent on war preparations, the proportion represented 2.5 percent of the national income. In 1941, military spending was 13 percent of the national income; in 1942 about 23 percent; and in 1944 about 50 percent. Currently, over six percent of the national income is being spent for direct military purposes. Next year, assuming the national income does not fall, the ratio may reach ten percent; if the national income is lower, the armaments ratio will be correspondingly higher. This means that some ten cents out of every dollar

of national income will be spent on direct preparations for war, and perhaps another two or three cents on the dollar for E.C.A. and similar semi-military purposes.

Thus, even in relative terms, war expenditures are far beyond the 1940 level, and are approaching the level of 1941.

From this one should not draw the conclusion that war is practically upon us, since powerful world factors operate against the immediate outbreak of world war. Nor, on the other hand, should the significance of the very high level of war preparations be underestimated. Actually, the figures given above understate the present extent of the war economy, and do not take into account the potential for very rapidly increasing the tempo of war conversion.

War preparations proceed on a level of production capacity in the economy as a whole perhaps double that of the prewar period. The military forces are also much greater: the standing army is three times larger than before the war, and the draft is going into operation; a virtually new two-ocean navy is already in existence; and a 70-group air force is being created that will be fully equipped with new models in a few years. Many of the wartime bases abroad have been retained in active condition, and new ones have been and are being constructed. Although re-equipment of the armed forces with newer weapons is always a

problem, large reserves of equipment and materiel are on hand.

In other words, present war preparations are proceeding on top of an already high level of armament. This means that we are becoming an armed camp much more rapidly than is indicated by the proportion of the national income devoted to military purposes. It would take less time and less capital expenditure than during World War II to complete the turn to an operating war economy. As we shall see, this also raises serious problems with respect to the overall national economy that were not present during the recent war.

INCREASING ROLE OF THE MILITARY

With the growth of munitions production and the further development of an aggressive foreign policy, the military are playing a more prominent role in the economic, political, and social life of the country than even during the recent world war. Certain structural changes in the executive branch of the government since the end of the war emphasize this development.

These changes revolve around the unification of the armed services enacted under the National Security Act of 1947. As a result, one executive department now overshadows all others—the National Military Establishment. The “Department of Defense” holds more power in the

government today than did the War Department or all armed services collectively, in wartime. Despite continuing differences among the three armed branches, arising to an extent from dependence upon different sectors of the economy and also from varying professional and strategic concepts, the mere act of merger within a single department gives the military much greater weight in the determination of overall national policies.

Since its creation, the unified National Military Establishment has preempted many functions previously within the civilian sphere. The National Security Council, created by the Act of 1947 to advise on defense policy under direction of the President, is supposed to be a civilian agency standing above the military establishment; but actually it has become a creature of the Department of Defense.

On the other hand, the Munitions Board, which is part of the military establishment, has become an extremely powerful agency, reaching into many branches of the government and into the economy as a whole. Even if it were to remain within its proper field—the planning and co-ordination of procurement for the three armed services—the Munitions Board would still have great power as the central agency handling gigantic military contracts. But its activities extend beyond this into the realm of industrial mobilization, tra-

ditionally a civilian function even in wartime. According to the National Security Act the responsibility for industrial mobilization was to belong to the National Security Resources Board, an agency outside the military establishment. But until now this body has served as an adjunct of the Munitions Board, merely carrying out the plans prepared by the latter. This was readily admitted at hearings in October, 1947, before the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program. Arthur W. Hill, chairman of the Resources Board (on leave from his post as president of the Greyhound Corporation), was being questioned:

Q: Why could you not take it [industrial mobilization] over? As I understand it, it is a civilian function.

A: That is right.

Q: And this is not being done by the civilians?

A: That is right. They [the Munitions Board] are doing certain aspects of it, as I understand it. As I understand further, they propose, when they have completed those particular parts that they are doing, that they will be turned over to the Resources Board for study and correction and change.

Q: Is not that entirely different than your Board actually performing the functions? To get a plan after it has been set up appears to be quite different from having it actually prepared by your Board. . . .*

* *Industrial Mobilization for War*, Report No. 440, Pt. 4, p. 24.

Control of the armed forces, of military policy, of the allocation of munitions contracts, and of planning for complete war mobilization is now centered in a single military center, the Department of Defense. This in itself is a long step toward a garrison state.

MERGING OF THE MILITARY AND BIG BUSINESS

The military do not constitute a separate group with a distinct social base, as was true to a certain extent in Germany and Japan. Our military forces have never been big enough over a long period to create a military caste wielding great political power. But especially since the First World War, Big Business and the military have had an increasing affinity for each other. World War II has brought about an even closer merging of the two, to the point where the distinction between military and civilian in the upper reaches of government almost loses validity.

Many top bankers and industrialists became high military officers engaged primarily in production, fiscal, and other economic operations of the armed forces, as well as in departments of military governments abroad. On the other hand, many professional militarists leaving active duty after the war assumed leading posts in the corporations. A merging of the personnel of Big Busi-

ness and the military has taken place such as this country has never seen.

After the war a professional general became Secretary of State, and he brought along with him an entire tier of generals who serve as ambassadors and Department officials. James Forrestal, former president of the investment banking house of Dillon, Read & Co. (which as a rule moves within the Rockefeller sphere of influence), became head of the National Military Establishment. He brought along with him into various military agencies a veritable roster of Dillon vice-presidents and other bankers. Some are both military officers and bankers, such as General William Draper, Under-Secretary of War; General C. Saltzman, Assistant Secretary of State; or Rear Admiral Sidney W. Souers, a big insurance official, who is executive secretary of the supposedly civilian National Security Council.

Other corporation officials head various military agencies without benefit of military rank. D. F. Carpenter, president of Remington Arms Co. (an affiliate of the Du Pont chemical and explosives trust), was recently named chairman of the powerful Munitions Board. A Morgan utility magnate took Carpenter's place as chairman of the Military Liaison Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission. W. Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Department of the Air Force, was formerly with Emerson Electric and other business cor-

porations. His Under-Secretary is Arthur S. Barrows, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., who formerly served in the American Military Government in Germany; and his Assistant Secretary is Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, the race-horse millionaire and president of one of Morgan's copper companies (Hudson Bay). Ferdinand Eberstadt, a former Dillon partner and now head of an important investment group in the chemical industry, has his finger in every military pie as a personal adviser to Forrestal. R. E. Gillmor, vice-president of Sperry Corporation and a director of Fairchild Engine and Airplane, both of which have large defense contracts, is Vice-Chairman of the National Security Resources Board. Many other corporation officials are to be found in the various military departments and agencies.

If bankers and industrialists honeycomb the military establishment, retired generals and admirals are not uncommon in the board rooms of the corporations. General Leslie Groves, who was in charge of the wartime atomic project where the Du Pont trust enjoyed supremacy, is now a vice-president of the Remington Arms Co. General Brehon Somervell is now president of Koppers Co., a Mellon subsidiary, while General Hugh S. Minton is vice-president of the same company. General James H. Doolittle was awarded a vice-presidency in the Shell Union Oil Corporation, with which he was con-

nected before the war, while General Thomas Bayne Wilson, late of the Army Transport Corps, has resumed his post as chairman of the board of T.W.A.

Continuing the sampling, we find the admirals also well placed. Admiral Ben Moreel heads Jones & Laughlin Steel. Rear Admiral Harold Blaine Miller is now director of information for the American Petroleum Institute, the agency of the oil trusts. Rear Admiral Paul J. Halloran serves as vice-president of Foley Bros., Inc., which is building a \$60-million smelter in Chile. Admiral A. W. Fritch is with the General Tire & Rubber Co., which is in the synthetics field, while Vice Admiral William Alexander Glassford has thrown in his lot with radio and television.

A complete list would fill many pages, but the examples given are enough to indicate how the military men are being merged with Big Business. Undoubtedly shifts of personnel will occur in and out of government but the essential pattern will remain. The increasing prominence of the National Military Establishment within the government thus indicates the new role, not of the military alone, but of the military in closest association with Big Business. The military is being trustified, and trustified business is being militarized.

TOWARD A CARTEL ECONOMY

This significant identity of military officials and corporation presidents is part of a deeper process. War preparations serve to extend the control of the monopolies over the economy even beyond the new high levels attained during the recent war. The military agencies, where the monopolists and the military leaders are so closely integrated, have become a central medium for cartelizing the economy. The process is furthered by the awarding of current contracts for war goods and by preparations for more complete industrial mobilization. These functions are centered largely in the Munitions Board and the National Security Resources Board.

Expenditures approaching \$20 billion annually are in themselves a formidable weapon, especially when they can be manipulated from a single center. Everyone knows that the biggest corporations received the great bulk of war orders and of new, government-financed plants during World War II. A government agency has shown, before such revelations became suspect as seditious, that the 250 largest corporations, which in 1939 owned 65 percent of the national productive facilities, received 78 percent of all prime war contracts and operated 79 percent of the plants financed by the government during the war. Half of the

publicly-financed plants were operated by the top 25 corporations.*

Today, the awarding of military contracts is even more centralized than was the case during the war. It can therefore be assumed that current armaments contracts are at least as highly concentrated among the corporations as then. Despite the secrecy that surrounds current war preparations, some data are available. Thus, it is estimated that out of \$3 billion in aircraft orders to be placed by the end of the year, at least two-thirds of this sum is scheduled for six leading companies.** Labor Research Association finds that three giant worsted companies have received more than 70 percent of an Army order for five million yards of wool cloth, the American Woolen Co. alone being awarded 40 percent of the total.***

In fact, the entire procurement service is linked closely to Big Business through the personnel of the Munitions Board, the industry advisory committees of the various departments, the trade associations, and the war mobilization committees of industry. To work closely with the big corporations is the accepted principle of procurement. The operations manual issued by the Munitions Board in April, 1948, instructs the procurement officers of the armed

services to maintain liaison with ten industrial associations as their main source of information and contact. These are the associations specializing in military production, such as the Air Force Association, Army Ordnance Association, Navy Industrial Association, and the Quartermasters Association.

These bodies are controlled by the big companies. For example, at a recent convention Herbert H. Rogge, vice-president of Westinghouse, was elected president of the board of the Navy Industrial Association, and Frank M. Folsom, executive vice-president of R.C.A., chairman. Others designated to leading posts are Walter Geist, president of Allis-Chalmers; J. R. MacDonald, first vice-president of General Cable Corporation, an affiliate of American Refining & Smelting (copper); Admiral Ben Moreel of Jones and Laughlin Steel; and George W. Codrington, vice-president of General Motors.

Indicative of the functioning of these associations are the numerous working committees of the Navy Industrial Association. This Association has a series of "standing bureau contact committees" that work closely with specified military agencies on such problems as new ordnance, technical standards, procurement regulations, and technical problems of various kinds. These committees often determine how the contracts are to be allocated. There are also

* Smaller War Plants Corporation, *Economic Concentration and World War II*, Washington, 1946, Chapter 3.

** *Barron's*, October 18, 1948.

*** *Economic Notes*, October, 1948.

special "task committees" assigned to work out cost, profit and other regulations affecting the rate of profit, in whose interests can easily be guessed.

Joint planning by Big Business and the military is often carried on through the medium of the associations. A closed meeting was recently held at West Point of more than 40 top industrial executives under the auspices of the American Ordnance Association. After the meeting, J. L. Walsh, president of the Association, revealed that a five-point program had been discussed to speed up the production of new equipment for the armed forces based on the latest technique. For this purpose technical committees were being set up by industry to maintain liaison with the armed services. In the spirit of the entire undertaking, K. T. Keller, president of Chrysler Corporation, defined the central assignment before business as being "to keep alive an intimate acquaintance between the personnel of industry and the personnel of those segments of the military forces that are directly concerned with industrial production."*

INDUSTRIAL WAR MOBILIZATION

Current procurement is accompanied by preparations for complete industrial mobilization for war. In public it is said that the mobilization plan is necessary to ready the nation

for the "emergency" when it comes. It is pointed out that similar planning took place between the two world wars and that this is a "normal" function of "defense," all the more necessary today because of the tense world situation. But never before in our peacetime history, including the eve of our entry into World War II, was industrial mobilization undertaken with such vigor, nor was it spurred with the kind of warmongering as we witness today. The Big Business-military combination is itself creating the emergency.

An "Emergency War Powers Act," drawn up by business and military leaders, is reported ready for introduction in Congress. It is said to provide in a single act all powers necessary to establish war controls of production, transport, manpower, wages, prices, and profits. The objective, it seems, is to have Congress pass the bill immediately, with the provision that it can be placed into effect by a resolution of Congress and an order of the President "when the time comes." It remains to be seen whether such a catch-all bill, which necessarily includes many deeply controversial questions, can be passed at a time when the country is not at war.

In any case, whether such a bill is passed or not, working plans for industrial mobilization are being pushed energetically (and not only on paper); for they are being erected

upon the concrete foundation of a growing military economy. Moreover, this industrial mobilization planning has become part of the program of the top monopoly groups to extend their domain within the country.

From the start it has been a strictly Big Business and military affair. The heads of only the giant corporations were invited by the National Security Resources Board to the first major mobilization conference, held last January—General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Electric, American Telephone & Telegraph, Koppers Co., Owens-Illinois Glass and others. In every subsequent step industrial mobilization has remained firmly in the grip of the monopoly-military combination, although, as will be indicated later, top labor leaders will be increasingly used to impose the program on the workers, just as they are now employed to sell the Marshall Plan at home and abroad.

The real work has been carried on rather unobtrusively during the past year by the military agencies and special task committees designated by Big Business. The Munitions Board has already prepared a table of material requirements for munitions requisite for a full-scale war, something that was not ready for the recent war until we were well in it. This table of requirements serves as the basis for preparing the war conversion of industry.

One aspect of this program is entitled "Allocation of Private Industrial Capacity for Procurement Planning of the Armed Services." Out of the reportedly surveyed 86,000 enterprises engaging in non-agricultural production, the Munitions Board has chosen 11,000 plants that it considers eligible for war production. These factories have been "alerted" to begin their planning for war conversion in co-operation with the armed services. Current plans thus indicate that almost seven out of every eight industrial plants in the country, including practically all small and medium enterprises, are to be banned from access to scarce raw materials, manpower, transport and equipment.

Enterprises in the upper eighth category, after some weeding out, are to be favored by co-ordination into the mobilization program. "Phantom" orders for war goods are in preparation, indicating to what extent these plants will be required to produce for war, and under what conditions. In October, such standby orders were sent to the machine-tool industry for 100,000 tools, valued at between \$750 million and \$1 billion—three times the present annual production of the entire industry. The industry is to plan its mobilization on the basis of these orders and be ready to proceed as soon as the word is given.

Planning down to such details would presuppose that the military

* *New York Times*, October 16, 1948.

know exactly how, when and where the next war is to be fought. This would seem to be a partially tenable assumption only when the planners are preparing aggressive action, in war theaters of their own choice and with a supposed superiority of weapons. This underlying assumption of industrial mobilization, therefore, is a striking revelation of the aggressive character of the so-called defense economy, and the role played in top military circles of the theory of a "preventative war" to be launched with elements of surprise and overwhelming force. This is not the place for a detailed examination of these premises, which differ little from the concept of the Nazi high command in World War II, and which led to disaster for Germany. It must suffice to point out this central aspect of present planning for industrial mobilization only in passing.

A special effort is being made to inaugurate industrial mobilization on an "industry-wide" scale, in true cartel fashion, with the trade associations doing the planning. The first to draw up such a plan for its industry was the Radio Manufacturers' Association. The scheme was described as "the first industry-wide program for co-ordinating the production of a whole industry with the current procurement and mobilization plans of the defense agencies for an emergency."* Other industries are working on similar plans.

* *New York Times*, September 30, 1948.

So clearly do these plans involve the cartelization of industry and the combination of enterprises at a rate even higher than the present record wave of mergers, that the Department of Justice is requested by the war planners to exempt the participants from the provisions of the anti-trust laws. According to one account, the mobilization program as it is now being worked out is based on the following principles:

(1) Planning industrial mobilization on an industry-wide basis by each necessary industry individually; (2) co-ordination with the current procurement as an essential preliminary to placing each industry in readiness for an "all-out," effort; (3) participation by each plant in a ratio to its ability to produce under a "leader company" scheme, and (4) organization of a uniform flow of work to each plant to justify the establishment of departments suitably staffed and equipped.*

The "leader company" scheme is the same principle used in the organization of the trade associations, where the smaller companies must recognize the leadership of the bigger corporations within the industry on questions of price, production, labor, etc. In the preparation of a war economy, even more potent means are available for dominating and coercing the smaller firms. This fact is put bluntly by the Munitions Board in a booklet issued to guide

* *New York Times*, October 3, 1948.

industry in war conversion. The lesser interests among the owners of the upper 11,000 enterprises are told:

Should you be unprepared in time of emergency and unable to participate in production of essential goods, there would be no way in which you could be protected. Unless you can shift to essential production, your supplies of raw materials might be cut off and your labor forces drained away. The very existence of your company might hang on your preparedness for the emergency.*

In the early part of 1948, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces organized two-week Economic Mobilization Courses for corporation executives in various regions of the country. When the New York school was completed in May, the "students" organized a permanent Economic Mobilization Council for the eastern district, with the further objective of setting up similar bodies in other regions. Robert E. Condon, president of the new war mobilization outfit, boasted that this was the first time in the history of the United States that the armed forces and industry started to co-operate in mobilizing the economy for war before the actual outbreak of war. The executive board of the Council includes officials of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (\$8 billion of assets!), General Electric, American Telephone & Telegraph, Standard Oil of New Jersey—all in the billion-

* *New York Times*, June 1, 1948.

dollar class—as well as International Business Machines, Texas Co., and other multi-million-dollar corporations. Among the board members is Laurence S. Rockefeller, son of John D., Jr. and a director of Chase National Bank, International Nickel, and other companies.

Evidently, the atom bomb is not the only weapon of the war bully. The mobilization program is also used to force the smaller fellows into line, and to co-ordinate the economy under the dominant monopoly groups in the true fashion of the garrison state. This is good, corporate business practice. Small wonder that the monopoly giants are opposed both to a peace settlement and to disarmament.

CONTROLS AND ALLOCATIONS

One of the great obstacles facing the war planners is the difficulty of putting their plans into effect, because of the essentially chaotic character of capitalist production and the conflicting interests among rival monopoly groups and between industries. This is reflected, for example, in the struggle over government economic controls. However, no matter how their position may differ with respect to such controls, Big Business is unanimous in this: as government controls become necessary they must be devoted to strengthening the position of the

monopolies as a whole. During World War II, the system of allocations and controls operated toward that end under the constant supervision of the monopolies, although the trade unions were able to wrest important concessions. In current war preparations Big Business seeks unhindered hegemony.

Present controls indicate clearly the direction of the entire program.

First to be considered are the munitions enterprises under some form of military control. By mid-1948, aside from government arsenals, the Munitions Board had gathered a war pool of 423 plants that were built during World War II at a cost to the government of \$7 billion. This pool contains about half the federally-financed war plants. Included are aircraft factories, shipyards, and plants for making ordnance, combat vehicles, ammunition, chemicals, synthetics, specialized steel products, and other war goods. Some of these war enterprises are in stand-by condition, others are leased out to private contractors for military production, while still others are engaged in the output of peacetime goods after being leased or sold to the corporations. The plants that have been sold or are designated for sale from the war pool are to operate under the national security clause, which obligates the purchaser to keep them in readiness for immediate war conversion.

In addition to the munitions plants in the war pool, the military

establishment has already placed in reserve 200,000 machine tools built during the war at a cost of nearly \$1 billion, and expects to set aside another 100,000 tools.

One of the effects of maintaining this huge central pool of war plants and equipment is to maintain the high concentration established in the munitions industries during the recent war, and to use this level as a floor for still higher concentration in the new war economy. The biggest corporations are in firm control of most of the plants in the war pool, either as prime contractors and managers, or as owners. For example, a few top companies control the vast new aircraft and airplane-engine capacity which is now again being activated. The new synthetic rubber industry built with government funds during the war is controlled by the oil, chemical, and rubber-tire trusts. In the Munitions Board, which supervises the war pool, Big Business has a powerful instrument for forcing the pace of militarization of the economy, which, as we have seen, also means further concentration and cartelization.

The atomic energy industry should be considered part of the war pool, although it is not under the direct supervision of the Munitions Board. In a recent reorganization the military achieved even greater control of atomic weapons production, which remains the central base of the new atomic energy industry.

Government ownership of this industry serves as a façade behind which the electric equipment, utility, oil, chemical, and copper interests are struggling with each other for the most advantageous positions. In the meantime, this top-ranking war industry is being greatly expanded, especially in the production of plutonium, the basic ingredient of the bomb. This was revealed in the first annual report (February, 1948) of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Among other assets of the war pool should be mentioned the militarization of research, which is highly concentrated in the giant corporations. The Research and Development Board of the National Military Establishment now spends \$572 million annually, mainly in the form of contracts to corporations and universities closely associated with the corporations. If to this sum is added the \$600 million per year being spent on atomic research and development, also in close co-operation with the big corporations, the military research fund reaches well over \$1 billion. This exceeds government research spending even during the war, when over half of the research funds went directly to the corporations. These huge sums directed toward military research constitute a powerful means for militarizing the entire field of scientific and industrial research. Since the corporations retain control of most patents de-

veloped in the course of this work, the war research program increases the concentration of economic power.

Stockpiling of strategic raw materials is another important activity of the military cartelists. The Munitions Board supervises the five-year program for the acquisition of such materials by the government, with the aim of establishing autarchy in this field. According to the plan, \$3.5 billion are to be spent for stockpiling 67 metals, minerals, and other materials needed for war production. This amounts to one-fifth of the nation's annual consumption of these materials. Due to sharp competition at home and abroad only 20 percent of the scheduled stockpile was accumulated during the first two years of the five-year program. At the end of August, 1948, the Munitions Board announced a new policy of "accelerated accumulation," calling upon industry to make voluntary allocations from their private stockpiles. In October, the copper and other metal interests rejected the proposal to set aside stocks voluntarily, and the Munitions Board accommodatingly agreed instead to negotiate separately with each company for the purchase of stocks—at higher prices, of course, and perhaps also with government financing of new mining and smelting capacities, as well as subsidy payments for so-called marginal production.

Government stockpiling of essential industrial materials for which

there is great demand, coming as it does on top of highly monopolized control of these products, has contributed to raising prices. This is to the advantage of the integrated companies that control the raw materials, and also process the ores and manufacture semi-finished and end products. More profits are to be made in this way than by the sales of the raw materials to the government stockpiles; these companies therefore resist plans for setting aside stocks for the government from their own accumulations. Furthermore, inasmuch as the cornering of raw material sources becomes indispensable for obtaining fat war contracts even at present, the corporations are building up their own stocks. Government stockpiling is thus a useful means of raising prices, crowding out small producers, and gaining control of raw material sources abroad. Even now, by cutting into the scant supplies available to the smaller companies, government stockpiling is forcing many small and medium firms out of production. This provides a foretaste of what will occur increasingly as the war sector of the economy continues to grow.

With respect to foreign sources of supply, constant and growing pressure is being applied on the Marshall Plan countries by the European Cooperation Administration to turn over a portion of their strategic materials to the United States, and to grant "free access" to their colonial

supply sources. Under the E.C.A. law, five percent of the local currency funds which are set aside by each country in the amount of the grants received under the Marshall Plan, is to be made available for purchase of raw materials by the United States, or for the development of sources of supply. These funds are now mounting, and the Strategic Materials Division of E.C.A. is getting to work in earnest. Britain has been forced to allocate to the U.S. 25,000 tons of raw rubber, and to pledge a given portion of colonial production. Similar schemes are being worked out for the French, Dutch, and Belgian empires, and will no doubt also be tied in with arms "lend-lease."

Among other elements of the war controls program already in operation is the control of exports, which is closely tied in with the operation of the Marshall Plan. By July, 1948, according to the Office of International Trade of the Department of Commerce, more than half of all export shipments (excluding those to Canada) were subject to government license control. All exports to Europe are now under strict control, including a virtual American embargo on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Through their control of E.C.A. and the industrial advisory panels of the export control agency (O.I.T.), the great export interests manage the allocation of shipments. At the same time, the export agency

is being flooded with complaints from the smaller firms which find it more and more difficult to enter foreign trade. The license controls thus operate alongside the military program to increase the cartel aspects of the new war economy.

A so-called voluntary allocation program is also attempted for steel and a few other products. This applies largely to the use of these products in military production. Here we find that the steel trust, too, resists all pressure to broaden the allocation program at the present stage, in order to obtain the maximum profit from unhampered control of the steel supply. No more than ten percent of finished steel production is affected by the control program, but even this limited operation has choked off the steel supply to the smaller companies. If full-scale allocation were to be imposed, many firms would find themselves out of business overnight.

WAR ECONOMY AND CRISIS

What is the relation between the growing war preparations and the threatening economic crisis? No doubt military spending and exports nourished by government grants, which together now stand at more than 15 percent of the national income, have served to sustain temporarily the postwar boom. But this is insufficient to prevent the accumulation of the elements of crisis. If a

crisis is to be averted for the time being by expanding the war economy, the military cartelists must attempt to increase war expenditures in proportion as the peacetime market contracts, else they will be caught by a severe crisis before the turn toward total industrial mobilization has been made. It is the hope of the corporate planners of the "garrison state" to make the transition in time—and also while maintaining without let-up the current spectacular rate of profit.

That this is their hope is shown, not only by the rising scale of war expenditures, but also by the scope of the total mobilization plans. In addition to their previously-described aspects, these plans include such working details as the designation of personnel to be in charge of the war control agencies, the printing in advance of various forms and regulations, preparation of a system of costs and accounting, etc. Everything is to be ready on the supposition, not that we shall be "attacked," as is stated in justification of the war plans. The underlying consideration is to prepare for aggressive war. These preparations, motivated by the drive to eliminate all obstacles to U. S. world supremacy, are proceeding on the supposition that the transition to war conversion on a big scale can be made quickly and effectively, in time to avert a crisis or halt a crisis once it begins.

This underlies Big Business think-

ing on the problem of industrial mobilization. The fear of a crisis, coupled with the constant pressure of the warmongers, sometimes leads to near panic. In September, for example, large equipment manufacturers met behind closed doors in New York to consider a plan to meet any of three emergencies that "may occur within the next sixty days." These were defined as (1) a system of compulsory allocation of steel and other metals, in itself a serious war move; (2) a sudden turn to war production; and (3) the beginning of a crisis.*

For many manufacturers either a sudden turn to total war production or the development of a crisis would be a great calamity. But for the big fellows the question is quite different. It was put rather neatly by a financial writer, who said that in current discussion of industrial mobilization, business leaders were worried chiefly about two questions. One is that there should be no undue interference with civilian production in the initial phases of the war economy. The other is that conversion to war production should take place at a fast enough tempo.** These propositions would seem mutually contradictory. But logic is no barrier to men who want to hang on to every shred of peace-economy profits and then step directly into the bonanza of war profits.

In fact, the contradiction just noted is one of the main obstructions to a planned transition into a war economy. With peacetime markets still running high, and profits at unprecedented levels, Big Business will not give up a single present advantage for the sake of gains to be made in the future from a total war economy. They want both. And since no one threatens to attack the United States, the decision for making the turn to total industrial mobilization is entirely at the whim of the lords of Big Business. These men will attempt to maintain the present high level of profits at all stages of the transition to a total war mobilization, but they will also tend to delay the turn to total mobilization just as long as the boom continues. The beginning of a crisis will lead them to place fully into effect their present total mobilization plans. It is for such contingencies that they are preparing. Fear that the economic crisis may be imminent leads the war planners to push their schemes with great haste and make everything ready.

This focuses the spotlight on one of the major weaknesses of the entire war program. The best-laid plans cannot determine the timing of a crisis, the force of its initial impact, or the rate at which it will develop. Once it begins, a crisis will no doubt hasten conversion to a full war economy and hurry the fashioning of the garrison state. But it will also have

other at-present unpredictable political consequences arising from the sudden subjection of large sectors of the American people to unemployment and drastic reduction of living standards after a decade of relative prosperity.

It may be that for a time considerable sections of the people will be deceived into thinking that the new war economy will assure them relative well-being. But this deception cannot last long. Neither the economic nor political conditions exist for a war economy of prosperity, except for Big Business. And this it not to speak of the vast destruction that a future war would bring to this country, nor of the untold hardships and privations it would cause.

One of the main factors negating the illusion of a war economy "prosperity" is the extremely high productive capacity already in existence, as well as the huge mass of armament on hand or being produced in the midst of the postwar boom. Pooling of munitions plants, and stockpiling of equipment, raw materials, and armament discount in advance a goodly portion of necessary munitions production in a wartime economy. Figures have already been cited to show that half the government-financed war plants used in World War II are still on hand and part of a pool for war mobilization. Every expansion of armament production in the midst of the present still high level of the economy cuts down

by so much the stepped-up war production that may be expected temporarily to lift the country out of the threatening crisis.

Of course, retooling, new equipment, and the expansion of certain branches of industry would be required. But the new war economy does not start at the same level as in 1940-41, when productive capacity was half of what it is now and entire industries had to be re-equipped or new ones started. During the three years of the postwar boom, industry has been replacing obsolete machines, adopting new processes and materials, and expanding capacity at a rate far exceeding the wartime record. From 1946 to 1948 inclusive, \$46,850,000,000 was invested by private business for new plants and equipment. This is almost double the \$25 billion spent by the government and private industry during the five war years for new plant and equipment, although part of the increase is due to inflation and large inventories. Under these circumstances a war boom on the same proportions as occurred during World War II is unlikely.

What can be expected is that war production and profits will be centralized to an extent never before reached in this country, while the people's living standards will be drastically reduced from the present level by continuing inflation and other measures reducing real wages. Current planning for war controls is

* *New York Times*, September 19, 1948.

** *New York Times*, October 3, 1948.

aimed at establishing the present rate of profit as a floor under war profits and simultaneously freezing wages at the lowest possible point.

The present rate of profit is a banker's dream come true. According to the National City Bank of New York (one of the very big five), the annual rate of profit* of 525 leading corporations for the first six months of 1948 stood at 18.8 per cent. In some industries it was even higher, among them, autos and trucks at 25.1 per cent, and petroleum products at 23.1 per cent.** At this rate, profits in the auto and oil industries during four years would almost equal the entire capital investment of these industries. Such is the goal set by Big Business in the war economy.

This program can be assured, as some of the war planners admit, only by setting the standard of living at crisis levels. Discussing conversion to a war economy under present conditions, R. E. Gillmor, vice chairman of the National Security Resources Board, told a businessmen's convention:

At present the economy is fully loaded and therefore the diversion of agricultural and industrial capacity to war purposes would require a drastic decrease in the level of consumption for all. This cannot be accomplished without more extensive and more rigid eco-

nomics controls of every kind than we had in World War II.*

What the level of consumption is likely to be is indicated by a leading financial journal in a report from Washington of the new war powers bill:

Among some government advisers, the idea prevails for making the year 1932 a minimum base for the determination of civilian needs. That year was suggested because it reflects a low point in the depression—a period in which living standards were necessarily low, but one in which the nation was a safe margin from starvation.**

If profits are to be kept at 20 to 25 cents on a dollar of investment and the people at near-starvation levels, no wonder the planners are speaking of the need for "more extensive and more rigid economic controls of every kind."

And not only economic. This idyllic situation cannot be approached unless labor is thoroughly hamstrung by Taft-Hartley, or some modified version that will freeze wages, allocate and control manpower, legalize strikes, and squeeze out of the trade union leadership men who refuse to accept the fascist-type co-ordination of labor now being planned.

However, this program cannot be imposed easily upon labor, especially since the workers are called upon to

bear the main burden of war preparations. The task is further complicated for Big Business at the present stage by the election of Truman, who was forced by the Wallace movement to make certain commitments for various social programs, the implementation of which would be in contradiction to the bipartisan war policies. On the side of the progressive and peace forces, this situation presents certain opportunities for building up popular pressure for fulfillment of the election pledges made by Truman in the economic and social sphere, *but at the expense of war appropriations*, and for taking steps toward a peace settlement.

On the other hand, as a result of the elections, the war planners are confronted with the necessity of granting a bigger role to top labor leaders in the entire war mobilization program, in order to appease and mislead the workers into compliance with total war mobilization.

Already in October, when a Dewey victory was expected, Forrestal called a ten-day secret conference on "national defense" to meet soon after the elections. The participants included selected labor and professional leaders as well as industrialists and bankers, but the conference turned out to be more of a briefing and survey gathering than a working body. Some trade union leaders have already taken part in consultations with the war planners on the proposed emergency war act. Soon after

the elections, steps were hastened to involve the trade union leaders. Thus, the National Security Resources Board invited top labor leaders to a full-scale conference to be held sometime in December to discuss the wage, manpower, and other provisions of the war emergency act. The shameful Red-baiting and splitting actions of the top leadership at the national conventions of the two labor centers in November, at the expense of the demands of the membership for defense of their declining living standards, were preparations for fuller participation in the cartel-like, co-ordinated mobilization program.

Total mobilization cannot be approached without increasing war-incitement; much less can it be maintained for long without waging war. As the war economy grows, the monopolists become bound more and more by the inner necessity and the logic of the garrison state—the necessity of making war and the logic of adventurism.

The war planners may hope to calculate the precise point in world affairs when war will become a risk worth taking, just as they may hope to evade a crisis; but not everything depends on them. On a world scale the forces arrayed against the war-makers are formidable, and are growing in strength. In the colonial sector, the great victories of the People's Army in China are changing the relations rapidly in favor of the libera-

* Defined as the ratio of net income (after payment of taxes and all charges except dividends) to net worth, which is the outstanding capital stock and surplus.

** National City Bank of New York, *Monthly Letter*, August, 1948.

* *New York Times*, October 13, 1948.

** *Barron's*, October 11, 1948.

tion forces in Asia and the world. At home, the immediate perspective is growing resistance to mass impoverishment, and sharpening class battles as the signs of a crisis are increasing, while the race to offset the crisis by expanding the war economy creates new conflicts and contradictions.

The war planners can be blocked before they make war inevitable, providing the forces opposed to war and fascism work untiringly to build and lead the popular resistance to every attack upon the living conditions, democratic rights, and the peace of the American people.

“These gentlemen [the bourgeois economists] forget that crisis cannot be considered an accidental event in the system of capitalist economy. They forget that economic crises are the inevitable result of capitalism. They forget that crises were born with the birth of capitalist supremacy. For over 100 years periodic economic crises have been taking place, repeated at intervals of twelve, ten and eight years or less. During this whole period bourgeois governments of all ranks and colors, bourgeois politicians of all degrees and capacities, have all, without exception, tried their hand at ‘preventing’ and ‘abolishing’ crises. But they all suffered defeat. They suffered defeat because you cannot prevent or abolish economic crises while remaining within the framework of capitalism.”

Joseph Stalin, *Leninism: Selected Writings*, Vol. II, p. 252.

THEY MUST GO FREE!

By ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

THE TWELVE LEADERS of the Communist Party, U.S.A., who will soon be on trial are well known to the readers of *Political Affairs*. They are also well known to many American workers. Their names must become known and loved in every worker's home. The indictments against them constitute a carefully-prepared plan to send these outstanding American Communist leaders to prison for long terms, and, by the same blow, to outlaw the Communist Party.

There are thirteen indictments. One for “conspiracy” is against all twelve defendants together, and there are twelve individual indictments charging “membership” as a crime. The time schedule calls for all to be tried together on the conspiracy charge, and then each to be tried individually on the membership charge. The latter trial could take place even if the joint trial ended in acquittal. The law under which these indictments are brought is the Smith Act of 1940, a modern version of the Alien and Sedition Acts. *The penalty is 10 years in prison and \$10,000 fine on each conviction.*

THE ADVOCACY OF IDEAS IS ON TRIAL

The only activities the defendants are charged to have engaged in are

of an ordinary character, those common to all political parties, educational organizations, trade unions, and so on. A convention; a draft resolution to be discussed there; the setting up of a party; appeals for membership; publication of books, magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers; conducting schools and classes—these are set forth as aspects of the “conspiracy.” Normal, routine, legal activities are construed to be criminal because of their theoretical foundation—*Marxism-Leninism*. A definition of fifteen words in this indictment declares the objective of this theory to be “*the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence.*” Thousands of books, pamphlets and articles have appeared in every language and in every country in the world during the course of more than a century on the social philosophy and economic theories of Marxism, which are thus arrogantly capsuled into a single curt and lying phrase by the so-called Department of Justice. Advocacy of Marxism-Leninism is the pivot of this case. It will be a trial for the advocacy of ideas.

There is no charge of commission of overt acts. There are no charges of use of force or violence. There are no charges that the defendants are “foreign agents” and “spies.”

This is *not*, as Judge Medina claims, "just an ordinary criminal case." This is thought control! This trial is the Truman version of the Mundt Bill. This is no theoretical discussion to settle the correctness of Communist theories—as some complacent liberals argue, but an attempt to "frame," to outlaw a working-class political party by railroading its leaders off to prison.

The unseemly haste of United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey to rush the trial before the elections, regardless of the serious illness of the Chairman of the Party, William Z. Foster; the prosecution's refusal to furnish a "bill of particulars" which could have immeasurably expedited the work of the defense attorneys; the evident prejudice of Judge Medina, who insisted on trying the case himself after indicating that he had prejudged it; the blue-ribbon, ruling-class character and publicity antics of the Grand Jury—all these should convince even a novice that this is a political case of far-reaching consequences.

The case undoubtedly would have been pressed regardless of which of the two Wall Street candidates became elected on November 2. For this is the U. S. Big-Business version of the Reichstag Fire frame-up. This is an integral part of the war drive, of the desperate effort of U.S. imperialism to dominate the world, which is accompanied by the drive to fascism at home. And true to pattern, the attack upon the Commu-

nists initiates the reactionary assault on the entire labor movement, on the people as a whole. Just as the Reichstag frame-up trial in Berlin in 1933 foreshadowed the war-incendiarity of Hitler Germany, so too the present trial plainly signals the war-provoking aims of fascism-bent monopoly capital.

The European workers see this clearly. They remember Germany.

What is at stake here is not alone the freedom of twelve men or even of the political party they head. Also hanging in the balance are the democratic rights and liberties which the American people have won over the generations through continued and difficult struggles.

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION IS RESPONSIBLE

Any notion that there is a possibility of a dismissal now "because the Democrats won and they don't need the trial any more," is a dangerous delusion, downright self-deception. *The Truman administration is responsible for this prosecution.*

Attorney-General Tom Clark complained during the recent election campaign that the 80th Congress had refused him legislation to set up concentration camps for 3,000 foreign-born "subversives" if he could not deport them. And President Truman said at Oklahoma City on September 28: "My administration

has been steadily and successfully fighting Communism. *We have acted instead of just talking. . . . On the basis of evidence collected by the F.B.I. and submitted to the Grand Jury, twelve top Communist leaders will go to trial in New York on October 15th.*" During the campaign each of the two old parties tried to outdo the other in vilifying the Communist Party. The fact that Truman was obliged to label the "spy" scares of the G.O.P.-controlled Un-American Committee "a red herring" does not in any way absolve Truman's own Red-baiting or the repressive acts of his administration.

Let us have no illusions on this score. In relation to these cases, Truman did not even make any "promises."

Mr. Truman said the day after election: "I'm through giving them hell. Now we'll work together." Undoubtedly he meant the Dixiecrats, the tory Republicans, the "slackers" within his own party—but unless he hears more clearly and decisively about it from the American people, he will not dismiss this case against the Communist leaders and the Communist Party. He made many glittering promises on price control, the Taft-Hartley law, and the civil rights of the Negro people. He condemned the Un-American Committee. In the last period of the campaign, he stole whole chunks from the program of Henry Wallace in order to catch votes.

Many Americans are sick and tired

of Red-baiting and labor-baiting. The recent defeat of Congressmen Vail and McDowell of the Un-American Committee and the dumping of Kersten, Schwabe, Lewis and Mitchell of the notorious Red-baiting Hartley House Labor Committee shows that their extensive Red-baiting did not help them, but served rather to expose their reactionary policies all the more. It would be well for Mr. Truman to reflect on the fact that these gentlemen were all defeated by larger votes than he himself received in their districts. Eighty-three anti-labor Red-baiters will be among the unlamented missing in the 81st Congress.

The present danger, of course, is that President Truman will backtrack or compromise on many of his fine pre-election promises, and that Attorney-General Clark will proceed full steam ahead against the Communist leaders via deportation and contempt cases, and Grand Jury witch-hunts (as in Denver and Los Angeles)—all with the full knowledge and consent of Truman. A further danger consists in the fact that, although the Taft-Hartley Law may be modified, a new anti-labor technique has been introduced by the Atomic Energy Commission, which also uses "anti-Communism" as its fulcrum.

THE TRIAL IS A DAGGER AT THE HEART OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

I heard a prominent labor lawyer,

who represents a large C.I.O. union, make a few extremely significant remarks at a recent Civil Rights Congress meeting. "*This attempt to outlaw the Communist Party is the most important single thing on the labor horizon today,*" he said. "*It is connected with the very existence of the labor movement.*"

Of course, we all say this in one way or another. But do we all really believe it or merely pay it lip service? I am profoundly convinced, after more than forty years' experience in labor-defense struggles, that the outcome of this trial and the survival of the labor movement are indivisible—far more so than was the situation in the Mooney case, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, or any of the other famous frame-ups which shook labor to the very fiber of its being. This is not oratorical speech—but a hard, cold fact which we must bring to every labor convention, every top committee, every local union, every union member.

This trial follows the pattern which introduced fascism in other lands. Can it be brushed aside on the grounds of differences of political opinions? That's what was done in Germany.

This labor attorney placed the matter so sharply that it gripped the attention of all present. He argued that primacy must be given to the case of the twelve Communist leaders. He said:

Recent events in the labor movement

should shock every trade unionist into realizing that defending the legal existence of the Communist Party is the core of all work now.

The events referred to occurred recently in Schenectady, New York. The Atomic Energy Commission ordered the General Electric Company to cancel its contract with the U.E. (United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union). The reasons provided were (1) the union's officers refused to file non-Communist affidavits; (2) there is alleged Communist "affiliation" and "association" of various officers of U.E.

Thus, a labor union is virtually outlawed by decree. If it can happen to one union, it can happen to any union anywhere. This outgrowth of Taft-Hartleyism almost makes Taft-Hartley obsolete. Consider the full meaning of this order. It deprives workers of the right to be represented by the union of their choice; it outlaws the Communists; it establishes guilt by association; it enforces thought control to preserve what it defines as "loyalty to the interests of the United States." In this way, union men and women who demand better conditions or oppose atomic war can be branded as "disloyal" to their country.

Can the American labor movement, including Mr. Murray and Mr. Green, be satisfied with the amendment or even possible repeal of Taft-Hartley, with one Truman hand, while he wields this new black-

jack with the other? As the lawyer to whom I have referred concluded: "*Only a smashing victory in the case of the twelve Communist leaders, and a complete vindication of the legality of the Communist Party, can stop this kind of attack upon the labor movement.*" That's why this case involves the defense not only of civil liberties, but of the very existence of the labor movement.

BUILD A MASS DEFENSE

There must be a mass outcry, a mass defense, a mass protest.

Petitions, resolutions, picket lines, and delegations to Washington—of trade unionists, Negro spokesmen, the youth, women, church leaders, and professional people—are being organized by the Civil Rights Congress during December. Get the full time-table of action from your local C.R.C. or from the National Office, 205 East 42nd Street, New York City. The campaign centers around Bill of Rights Day, December 15th, and culminates in a national conference in January.

I say in all earnestness to everyone reading this, especially the Communists: these are our major assignments right now. While the C.R.C. should not depend on us alone, but must and can reach millions who voted directly for Wallace or for the "progressive" promises of Truman, at the same time we Communists cannot consign the defense of our leaders solely to capable lawyers or the C.R.C. and then go about our own

business as usual. *The first mass organization to be mobilized behind C.R.C. everywhere for the defense of our leaders must be the Communist Party.*

The legal defense of our comrades is being ably prepared by a splendid staff, who will fight every inch of the way. We must not consider rebuffs and setbacks any reflection on their abilities. The ideological defense of our Party is in the charge of the most trusted and responsible leaders of our Party—the defendants themselves. But let us have no legalistic illusions. Cases of this kind are not won in the courts alone.

Our job is twofold (and it has been unavoidably slowed down by our election responsibilities): (1) to help raise the \$250,000 Defense Fund required; (2) to arouse the American workers and the people generally through mass agitation in the best traditions of united front labor defense. Legal expenses, exclusive of lawyer's fees (which are not excessive), run high. For example, the printing of the record alone in the recent Eisler appeal cost C.R.C. \$8,000. There is a tremendous amount of research work to be done, witnesses must be summoned from all over the country, etc. You know without my listing it here whether your district tops the list in raising its quota, or lags behind. The funds must be raised, and quickly.

We did not seek this occasion; it was thrust upon us. But we must and will make full use of it to enlighten

the American people on the history, principles, program, and policies of the Communist Party. We will expose those who plot to bring about an atomic war, who have used and continue to use force and violence against the American people, who conspire to destroy the democratic achievements of the American people. We will, as Eugene Dennis announced in his Madison Square Garden speech, "*Indict the Wall St. Conspirators.*" Our defense is not separate from the struggle of labor and of the Negro people for civil liberties. They are one and indivisible.

Our indicted comrades personify all the past struggles of the American people. Is a great American working-class leader like William Z. Foster who laid the foundations for the C.I.O. and especially for a union in the steel industry to die in prison after a half-century of single-minded devotion to the labor movement? I believe every steel worker in America can be aroused to a white heat of indignation over this question alone. "We remember Ben," they say in the South of our valiant Councilman, Ben Davis.

Without in any way diminishing the unity of the case, we can dramatically utilize the role of each comrade, keep their identities clear, and present them not as an abstract "12," but as a splendid group of courageous human beings, as Communists who are flesh and blood of the American people. They have fought fascism, led the unemployed, organized the

unorganized, been in the forefront of strike struggles, defended other workers in prison, fought Jim Crow. They have championed peace and security. They have advocated Socialism—a better world for all. Let us be as bold in their defense, as have been their life-long struggles for the working class. In the fight for their liberty, we Communists must be in the "first line of defense."

Have faith in the people; the workers will respond. If we go to them, they will see this case clearly as bound up with their vital struggle against the fascist offensive. The foreign-born remember what happened to Sacco-Vanzetti and our magnificent fight to save them. They know what happened in Europe. The Negro people remember Herndon and the Scottsboro boys and what a mass movement can do. The A.F. of L. remembers the tragic McNamara case and the long but successful fight for Tom Mooney. Some of the new unions born in the "balmy" days of F.D.R., have yet to cut their teeth on labor defense. Let us not hesitate to go to all.

Thousands of committees with C.R.C. credentials should knock on every union door. There is a tradition of labor defense we must invoke fearlessly. First let's mobilize ourselves; then the Left-wing and progressive unions. Let's go further — into all the unions everywhere. Show them this trial is calculated to dynamite the rights of labor, to shackle the American workers to the chariot

wheels of war. Don't even wait for friendly top leaders to act. Go to the locals directly. This will help build a base to activate these leaders more quickly. It will put a fire under unfriendly union officials.

DISMISS THE INDICTMENTS!

Our objectives in this case are simple, yet all-inclusive and far-reaching. We should continue to demand from Truman the dismissal of these medieval-like indictments, which evoke memories of Galileo, the Spanish Inquisition, Joan of Arc, Roger Williams, the Salem witchcraft trials, and of Dimitroff in a Nazi court. If the case is not dismissed, our next firm purpose must be to secure an acquittal of these twelve leaders.

They must walk out of the court free and vindicated, as Dimitroff walked out at Leipzig. We are not fighting to legalize our Party. *We are fighting to maintain the legality of the vanguard Party of the American working class, the Party constantly in the forefront of the people's struggles, the Party that champions*

the growing movement for the full equality and freedom of the Negro people. In this fight to maintain the legality of our Party, we are defending the basic interests and fundamental democratic rights of the American people. One of the most fundamental of these is the right to advocate the establishment of Socialism—the social system which alone will banish capitalist exploitation and oppression, and the threat of fascism and imperialist war.

If we understand the full political significance of this trial, we will help build a mighty defense movement, broad and united, from coast to coast. We cannot delay. The enemy presses upon us. "If you are lost, we are lost!" a German deputy writes. French intellectuals have cried out their support. Workers in France, Australia and England have spoken out. We cannot fail to answer the question that resounds today from every other country in the world: "What are the American workers doing about this ferocious attack upon their leaders and their rights?"

"... Before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and institute a number of reactionary measures, which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory."

Georgi Dimitroff, *United Front Against Fascism*, p. 9.

THE ELECTION RESULTS IN NEW YORK

N. Y. STATE COMMITTEE, C.P.U.S.A.

ANALYSIS of the New York State election results, which are of national significance, must take into account the basic factors which operated in this election campaign. The division of the world into two camps, that of peace and democracy and that of war and fascism, was reflected in the political lineup in our country, with the two old parties of Big Business, Democrats and Republicans, carrying through a bipartisan war policy, and the Progressive Party directly challenging this policy.

The American people rejected what they conceived to be the *open, blatant* face of reaction, as shown in the Republican program and Governor Dewey's campaign. But their desires for peace, lower prices and democracy did not find clear expression in a major break with the two Big Business parties.

Under the impact of Truman demagoguery and the activities of Social-Democrats and Right-wing labor leaders, their progressive desires were misdirected into support for the *veiled but no less reactionary* aims represented by Truman and the Democratic Party. Yet, while a major break with the two-party system did not take place, the basis for a mass, potentially powerful, anti-imperialist coalition was created.

Whatever the limitations of the size of the Progressive Party vote, the Third Party campaign was a

decisive factor in increasing the people's consciousness of the sharpening war danger, thus erecting a greater barrier to war which, if extended, can upset the war time-table of American imperialism.

The New York State election results reinforce the view that the foundation of a national Third Party, capable of successfully challenging the reactionary program of American monopoly, was laid in this campaign. Some of the highlights here illuminate the future of the new party, and give solid ground for confidence in that future.

POSITIVE ASPECTS

The outstanding positive aspects of the results were the vote for Henry A. Wallace on the American Labor Party line, which exceeded the previous A.L.P. high with Roosevelt in 1944; the victory of Vito Marcantonio in the 18th Congressional District; the vote of some 150,000 for Simon W. Gerson, Communist-A.L.P. candidate; the substantial vote cast for Leo Isacson, which almost doubled the A.L.P. vote in the 24th Congressional District.

The increased A.L.P. vote is all the more significant because it was achieved under totally different conditions than in previous years. The entire Right-wing and Social-Democratic labor leadership in the state, many of whom were in the leader-

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ship of the A.L.P. in 1944, using the Democratic machine headed by Mayor O'Dwyer in New York City, had, as a major objective, holding the A.L.P. vote to an absolute minimum. The Liberal Party conducted a vigorous campaign aspiring to achieve the balance of power position in state politics.

In face of this, the A.L.P. received 508,000 votes, increasing from 11 percent to 13 percent in the city, an increase which extended to all four major counties, and in the Bronx going up to 17 percent. Thus, a major objective of these Right-wing forces was defeated. The A.L.P. emerged as a decisive factor in the political life of the state. This has great importance for the 1949 mayoralty campaign and the 1950 gubernatorial elections.

The A.L.P. vote is of a qualitatively different character than that cast for Truman. It was not only a vote against the 80th Congress and the fear of Hooverism. It was a vote against the Marshall Plan, against the betrayal of Israel, against Red-baiting and strikebreaking, which recognized the bipartisan responsibility for these policies! This vote is, therefore, a strong bulwark against the drive to war and fascism, which will proceed under Truman no less than it would have with Dewey as President.

DESPITE "LESSER EVIL"

The vote in New York State was achieved despite operation of the

"lesser evil" theory because the A.L.P., in existence for 12 years, has sunk deep roots among important sections of the working people, and even more, because of the vigorous fight on a whole series of issues in the past months—above all, on the issue of peace, against the betrayal of Israel and for the 5-cent fare. The candidacies of Marcantonio and Isacson and the active campaign conducted around scores of candidates throughout the city and state helped.

Another important factor was the correct two-fold policy followed by the A.L.P.: that of building the A.L.P. as an independent political force, while achieving electoral agreement to defeat the most reactionary candidates wherever this would advance the best interests of the progressive forces. The outstanding achievement of this policy was the election to the State Assembly of Bertram L. Baker from the 17th A.D., Kings, giving representation to the Negro people of Brooklyn for the first time.

In contrast, the traditional splitting and disruptive role of Social Democracy played by the Liberal Party was soundly rebuked by the voters, with the Liberal Party showing a decline of almost one-half of its 1944 vote. The Labor Party gained votes from former Liberal Party supporters, especially among the garment workers, who could not stomach refusal to endorse such fighters for the people as Marcantonio and Isacson, and the "spite" tactics of oppos-

ing all candidates, regardless of record, who accepted A.L.P. support.

MARCANTONIO WINS

Especially significant was the victory of Vito Marcantonio in face of an unprecedented line-up of big money, practically the entire commercial press, and Red-baiting hysteria which knew no limits. Marcantonio, appearing on the A.L.P. line only, for the first time, more than doubled the previous A.L.P. vote. The solidarity of this vote, and the increased understanding of foreign policy generated by the uncompromising Marcantonio campaign, were further shown in the vote for Wallace in the Italian area, double that previously registered for the A.L.P.

The Marcantonio victory proves not only that the Third Party is here to stay, but that it can become a winning party, based on a militant fight on the issues, year-round grass-roots contact with the people, and first-class political election district organization.

The vote of 150,000 for S. W. Gerson is another striking rejection of Red-baiting. It marks a new stage between Communists and other forces in the democratic coalition. It was a tribute to the correct policy of the Kings County A.L.P. and to the excellent campaign of the Brooklyn Communists and of the candidate, Si Gerson, a campaign which aided the entire Third Party vote. Continuation of such a policy in the

1949 councilmanic campaign can achieve even greater results.

The vote for Leo Isacson, though not enough to win the election because of the unholy alliance of Liberals, Republicans and Democrats, was a positive achievement, representing a real advance for the Third Party.

These important positive results do not, however, alter the fact that in New York, as elsewhere, the majority of the people chose Truman, rather than the real alternative, the A.L.P., as the means of securing their progressive aims. The actual vote on the Democratic line increased slightly both in New York City and in practically all industrial areas over that secured in 1944. The Republican Party, on the whole, ran behind its 1944 vote, with the biggest decline in New York City. Reflecting the same shift in sections of the farm vote for Truman nationally, though not to the same degree, the Democrats elected a Congressman from a rural area.

The big shift to the Democrats took place among the workers, the Negro people, the Italian, Polish, Irish, Jewish and other national groups, many of whom stayed away from the polls in 1946 or voted Republican. Some of the increase stemmed from the "new unity" of the Democratic Party, which can have only reactionary consequences, based as it is on concessions to Red-baiting and a rapprochement with the Farleys, the Catholic hierarchy and other anti-Roosevelt elements.

The shift to the Democrats was more marked in the Congressional races, with the vote exceeding in many places the total cast for Presidential candidates, underlining the sharp protest against the 80th Congress. Such notorious Taft-Hartleyites and Red-baiters as Potts from the Bronx, the three Queens Congressmen, and a number of other Republicans, went down to defeat.

However, despite these Democratic gains, the total vote in the state was some 200,000 under that in 1944, with the sharpest drop in the Negro and Jewish areas and in some predominantly Republican areas. This shows lack of enthusiasm for either old-line party among large sections of potential voters.

REASONS-FOR TREND

Why did the same factors which brought about the Democratic trend nationally, operate in New York State? The basic reason was that, despite the substantial influence and activity of the A.L.P., the majority of the people fell prey to the "lesser evil" theory—essentially because of the extreme demagoguery of Truman and the all-out efforts of the Social Democratic and Right-wing labor leaders, combined with fear of a Dewey victory.

This trend, while developing from the time of the Democratic Convention, took deep hold in the last few days before the election, as Truman's demagoguery reached new heights.

It is not too much to say that at

the last minute, thousands of Wallace supporters in New York State "voted for Wallace on Row B," because they feared a Dewey victory and had illusions about Truman.

The "lesser evil" theory was effective because most of the people mistakenly supported Truman on foreign policy under the illusion that his was a peace policy. They did not see the connection between the Truman foreign policy and their hatred of Taft-Hartley, desire for lower prices, for civil rights, etc. To the degree that the A.L.P. and Wallace forces conducted an effective campaign on peace, Israel, and other aspects of foreign policy, the A.L.P. held its own and made some new inroads.

A weak aspect of the fight for peace—aside from the almost complete absence of such a fight in the labor movement—was the failure to link it with these domestic issues. The drop in the A.L.P. vote upstate can be attributed not only to the greater strength of Right-wing labor leadership in the up-state cities, but to inadequacies of the A.L.P. as a year-round organization, active on issues.

EFFECTIVE DEMAGOGY

Particularly effective was the demagoguery around Truman's Civil Rights Program among the Negro people. The Democratic Party retrieved losses to the Republican Party suffered in 1946 in the Negro communities, while the A.L.P. lost ground in the key area of Harlem. The lower

A.L.P. vote among the Negro people resulted from the lack of an all-out fight on a national as well as state and local level for full rights for the Negro people by the progressive camp before and during the elections. It is a cause for alarm which must be met by a consistent fight for Negro rights and the establishment of progressive centers supported by labor among the Negro people.

Despite all these factors the Wallace vote could and should have been greater if the Left-progressive unions had been fully rallied in the fight to win the potential Third Party vote. The labor vote for Wallace proves that those labor leaders who hesitated to campaign actively for Wallace for fear of weakening progressive influence in the unions, seriously underestimated Wallace sentiment among their membership.

Far from weakening progressive influence in the unions, this vote strengthens it, and makes the continued efforts of the Right-wing elements to isolate progressives immeasurably more difficult. *The conclusion is obvious: an active fight for the Third Party in the shops is an important aspect of the struggle, together with the fight for united action on economic needs of the workers, to defeat the reactionary offensive.*

NOT LESSENER DANGER

In determining future policy based on the election results, two things

must be kept in mind: *First, the election of Truman and the Democratic majority in Congress has not lessened the danger of war and fascism; and, second, the overall outcome of this election has opened up new possibilities for more rapid mobilization of the people for a successful struggle against war and fascism.*

The key to dispelling the illusions created by this election and to realizing these new opportunities is the development of mass struggles on those issues which most deeply stir the people: Taft-Hartley, high prices, civil rights, and peace. This broad united front struggle must include those voters who voted for Truman as well as those who voted for Wallace.

While the starting point must be those issues on which the people are ready to unite, there can be no basic political realignment in our state or country unless at the same time the link between domestic issues and the bipartisan war policy is explained to, and grasped by, the people.

Our Party nationally and in New York State made a basic contribution in this election campaign by fighting for and organizationally helping to achieve the correct policy of building a new political party as the only way to defeat war and fascism. The fundamental correctness of this policy was confirmed by the election results.

Our Party members in New York performed a heroic and indispensable job. Their activities underline the

vital importance of the need for a stronger and bigger Communist Party.

The outcome of these elections permits of no breathing spell or gap in activity. Continued persecution of the leaders of our Party, stepped-up preparations for the North Atlantic alliance, and renewed attacks on the labor movement, even though different in form, are under way. The main outlines of our activity should be:

Help develop broad united front

struggles around the issues of Taft-Hartley, prices, rent control, civil rights, and peace. Community, city, and state legislature conferences, delegations to Congressmen, and other forms of activity should be aided.

Help to build in every way the Third Party movement; in this state, the A.L.P.

Above all, build and strengthen the influence of the Communist Party, which is the guarantee of success in the fight against war and fascism.

ROBERT THOMPSON, *State Chairman*
WILLIAM NORMAN, *State Secretary.*

“ . . . The history of the Party teaches us that unless it has wide connections with the masses, unless it constantly strengthens these connections, unless it knows how to hearken to the voice of the masses and understand their urgent needs, unless it is prepared not only to teach the masses, but to learn from the masses, a party of the working class cannot be a real mass party capable of leading the working class millions and all the laboring people.”

Joseph Stalin, *History of the C.P.S.U.*, p. 362.

LATIN AMERICA RESISTS MARSHALLIZATION

By CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ
*Member of the National Executive
 Committee, Popular Socialist Party
 of Cuba (Communist).*

ACT I: CHAPULTEPEC

THE "CLAYTON PLAN" is the name given to Marshallization in the field of world trade. It refers principally to the World Trade Charter provisionally adopted at Geneva, and to its extension through the International Trade Organization founded at the Havana Conference.

But Latin America has known long and well the ideas behind the plan and also its personification in William L. Clayton.* The "Clayton Charter," designed to organize the economic relations of all the Americas, was presented to the "Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace" at Chapultepec in February, 1945. Already at that time, the first signs of the postwar objectives of Yankee imperialism were making their appearance.

The date is important; it teaches us much about the unalterable essence of imperialism. In February, 1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt was still alive and Mr. Clayton was an official of his government. The "Good Neighbor Policy" was still the official attitude of the United States toward Latin America. Those were the days

* Assistant Secretary of State in charge of economic affairs, whose resignation was announced November 10, 1948.—*Editor.*

when Secretary of State Sumner Welles was announcing the death of the "era of imperialism." The promises made to the colonial peoples both in the Atlantic Charter and in the diplomatic agreements of Teheran and Yalta were being presented by apologists for imperialism as blueprints of the future. The theorists of this tendency were proclaiming a change in the relationships between the great powers of finance capital and the undeveloped countries.

This change was blueprinted in books by bourgeois economists such as Nathan, Condliffe, Staley, Hansen, and many others. Suffice it to quote one paragraph from a work by Alvin Hansen, then a close associate of Henry Wallace in the Commerce Department, to understand the thesis on which this philosophy was based:

There is a new outlook abroad in the world today. Now, everywhere the note is sounded that development, diversification and industrialization must be undertaken in the backward areas. We have come to realize that the future trade of the world cannot continue to run in the simplified terms of exchange of raw materials for finished manufactured products. . . . Large-scale developmental projects, industrialization to an extent that is economically feasible, and the diversification of agriculture; the development and improvement of human resources through improved health, nutrition and educa-

tion; the promotion of a higher standard of living, rising productivity, and increased purchasing power—those are the new world economic goals. They promise a more stable economy and better living standards everywhere.*

When Mr. Clayton went to the Conference of Chapultepec, on February 27, 1945, he could not cast aside altogether this prevailing idea. In his speech he appeared to share it, and he uttered numerous references to the need to "raise the standard of living" of the Latin-American peoples, for the "industrialization" which would "in turn develop better markets for our products," etc. But these phrases were only the sugar coating. Basically, throughout his speech and the concrete proposals which became the "Clayton Charter," there was ever present the imperialist aim of controlling Latin-American trade and eliminating the positive efforts taken thus far toward industrial diversification—of sweeping away the weak industries of the countries south of the border by an invasion of Yankee merchandise.

It is most important to understand this, because it proves again the danger of the illusion encouraged by Browderism, and confirms the inevitable necessity for imperialism to act against the independent development of colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

Already, in effect, Mr. Clayton

* Alvin Hansen, *America's Role in the World Economy*, Penguin Books, New York, 1946, p. 8.

was undertaking to dissipate these illusions, declaring, "As you know, it is one of the principles of the postwar commercial policy of my country to avoid [monetary] exchange controls,"* by which he meant the desire for the absolute domination of the dollar.

He added, in the same speech, that the Export-Import Bank would not lend money to enterprises "which can only make their way through government subsidies or excessive tariffs"*** — which meant cutting off credit to many nascent industries that might develop only if they receive such aid for a time.

(Mr. Clayton and all imperialist spokesmen seem to "forget" that the tariff system of the United States during the first 30 years of the 19th Century, and even later, served to consolidate U.S. industry against English competition.)

Making his central idea more clearly, Clayton declared a moment later, "To this end it is our intention to work actively for international agreements to remove all discriminations in trade, to reduce tariffs and other barriers to trade. . . .***"

The aims pursued were obvious. A century ago, in his "Discourse on Free Trade,"**** Marx explained that the principle of "freedom of trade" was only the tool of the more industrialized countries to conquer

* *The Department of State Bulletin*, March 4, 1945, p. 336.—*Editor.*

** *Ibid.*, p. 338.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 338.

**** Delivered before the Democratic Club, Brussels, Belgium, January 9, 1848.

the world market without tariff hindrances. England used the free trade dogma against the protectionism of the growing American industrialization. Now, the powerful U.S. imperialism takes the banner of "free trade" to smother the world beneath the weight of its merchandise.

Following this line, the "Economic Charter of the Americas" proposed by Mr. Clayton, after speaking in its preamble of the need "to achieve higher levels of living," goes on to insist on the necessity for "freedom of action in the economic field. . . ."

It sets forth the necessity that there be preserved and strengthened "an atmosphere of confidence based on freedom from *economic discrimination*"**—which means, as is explained later, a contest between native interests, or national industries, and foreign interests, or American imperialism.

To implement these ends, the U.S. delegation proposed in Article 3 of the Charter: ". . . To find a basis for practical and effective measures to *reduce barriers of all kinds to the flow of international trade,*" and to promote "the cooperative action which must be taken in other fields, particularly *the stabilization of currencies, and international investment.*"***

Article 4 is opposed to those cartels "which obstruct international trade, stifle competition," etc. Article 5 pro-

posed "to work for the elimination of economic nationalism in all its forms." Article 6 refers to the need "to assure just and equitable treatment and encouragement for the *enterprises, skills and capital brought from one country to another.*"*

In this way, Mr. Clayton, right in the Roosevelt era, gave us a view into the future of the plans of the imperialists who later eliminated even the very shadows of the so-called "Good Neighbor" Policy.

It must be said that the Latin American delegates saw the perils quite clearly. The Cuban delegate, Gustavo Gutierrez, reporting on the Conference in the *Revista de Economia Cubana*, March, 1945, said: "These Latin-American delegates trained in economics, as soon as they received copies of the Charter, warned that this policy of abundance held some dangerous implications for the economies of the Latin-American republics." According to Dr. Gutierrez, these problems were discussed with the U.S. delegation and "several amendments in behalf of their respective countries" were submitted.

Some of these amendments expressing, though very timidly and diplomatically, the resistance of Latin America to the plans of imperialism, were adopted; for the U.S. delegation could not put over its program completely. Thus, instead of the version proposed by the U.S. delegation, Article 3 as approved specifies that the elimination of the bar-

* *Ibid.*, pp. 348-349.

riers conform "with the purpose of assuring all peoples of the world high levels of living and the sound development of their economies. . . ."

Instead of proposing the elimination of economic nationalism, as Mr. Clayton asked, the Charter limited itself to condemning "excesses of economic nationalism."** The U.S. wanted to obtain a prohibition on government undertakings in the field of commerce—which was aimed at the Argentine and struck at the unification of merchant fleets with official participation; but the Latin-American delegations defeated this proposal.

ACT II: GENEVA

Chapultepec was the first act in a series of skirmishes in which the interests of imperialism clashed with the national needs of Latin America, sometimes in the open, sometimes behind the closed doors of diplomatic parleys. Geneva was the second stage.

The 18 nations that met in Geneva in 1947 had held a preliminary conference in London. They were countries of a high level of foreign trade, although some, like Cuba and Chile, could not be listed among the great powers economically.

At Geneva the U.S. imperialists labored to carry out on a world scale the decisions accomplished for the Americas at Chapultepec. To do this, they used every available means. It

is well known that they tried using a \$3.7 billion loan as a weapon to force Great Britain to renounce its imperial preferences and shed the protectionism of the Empire. Cuba, Brazil, and Chile were subjected to economic pressures and even more direct threats. The same policy was applied to France, and transmitted at that time to Leon Blum in Washington.

At Geneva, the Clayton Charter outgrew its Western Hemisphere boundaries and became world-wide.

However, the American delegation could not get all it asked for. In the case of Cuba, it had to retreat in several aspects of its policy. Great Britain also put up a fight. The imperialists prepared the ground for the next skirmish that was to take place at Havana. Geneva solved some of their initial problems; they saw that they would have to pull the diplomatic and economic strings more effectively if they were to win unconditional surrender at Havana.

ACT III: HAVANA

After Geneva, which achieved a preliminary agreement among the countries of the world, the Havana Conference was prepared for November, 1947. Here the Clayton Plan was already definitely under way. A Draft Charter was introduced which aimed at regulating world trade. This Draft follows the outlines of Chapultepec and Geneva. The very first article, although it lists among its objectives "to encourage and assist the industrial and general eco-

* *The Department of State Bulletin*, March 4, 1945, p. 347.

** *Ibid.*, p. 348.

*** *Ibid.*, pp. 348-349.

* *The State Department Bulletin*, March 18, 1945, p. 452.

** *Ibid.*, p. 452.

conomic development of Member countries, particularly of those still in the early stages of industrial development,"—this same Article I declares the aim of "the reductions of tariffs and other trade barriers and the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce. . . ."* Which is the same as saying: Clearing the way for world domination for U.S. export trade. Article 1 also talks of stimulating the international flow of capital for productive investment.

Articles 11 and 12 offer protection to foreign investment capital, forbidding any measure deemed discriminatory. That is an old imperialist ambition. (Back in 1941, the American magnates tried to impose on Cuba a "Treaty of Residence and Navigation" which would have given Yankee investors citizenship rights in Cuba. In return, the U. S. government promised any Cuban investors —!!— the same rights on U. S. soil.)

Article 18 requires members to renounce their sovereignty in tax policy, prohibiting the imposition of rates on foreign products higher than those levied on domestic output. It also forbids any requirement that native materials be used in factories within a country.

Another defensive weapon of the backward countries against the trade offensive of the U. S.—the import

quota system—is spiked by Article 25. An examination of this article shows the present imperialist policy in all its nakedness. At the same time that it forbids quotas on manufactured goods—that is to say, those which the U. S. exports in the main—it permits the imposition of quotas on agricultural or semi-processed raw materials. For example, while Cuba cannot restrict the entry of American products which are ruining our nation's industry, Cuban sugar and tobacco, the two basic export products, can be and indeed are submitted to the U. S. quota system that protects the inefficient beet sugar industry and the inferior cigar industry.

The above are a few examples of the spirit behind the Trade Charter. From them can be understood the character of this instrument by which the U. S. bankers and exporters aim at the conquest of world commerce according to the doctrines of Luce, Virgil Jordan, and Hoover, doctrines which Truman and Marshall have followed so faithfully. The Charter is but a phase of world Marshallization.

The same resistance that was expressed at Chapultepec and Geneva against the Clayton Plan, arose in Havana. Indeed, the Conference, which was to end on a fixed date, arrived at an impasse that threatened to break it up. The less developed countries of the world resisted the terms that the U. S. was imposing.

Behind the scenes, the American

delegation got tough, using its life-and-death power over the economic destinies of most of these nations. Grumbling, they signed the Charter, but not without making clear, in a semi-official manner, the protest of the nations defeated by the imperialist power.

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON LATIN-AMERICAN ECONOMY

As the Clayton Plan aims at the removal of tariff walls, the elimination of subsidies, the prohibition of quotas, and a free hand for investors, it can be seen that its authors in Wall Street and Washington well understand the weak points in the young economies of Latin America.

Observers have noted certain changes, important if not decisive, in Latin-American economy during World War II. These changes can be summed up as follows: 1) an increase in the proportion of industrial production as compared with production of raw materials and semi-processed goods; 2) an increase in trade among the Latin-American countries; 3) native capitalization.

Industrial development has been uneven in the various countries. The industrial potential of some, and the existence of adequate supplies of raw materials, have made possible the development of some basic industries—a beginning toward big industry—principally in steel, chemicals, etc. Such is the case in Mexico, Brazil (the Volta Redonda steel establish-

ment is the outstanding example), Argentina, and Colombia. Other countries have mainly developed light industry, particularly for internal consumption: textiles, food, shoes, etc.

It should be noted that this development has not been made at the expense of the former basic production, but alongside it; that is, the old exports increased in volume during the war. That happened with oil in Venezuela and Mexico, sugar in Cuba, coffee in Brazil, beef in Argentina, saltpeter and nitrates in Chile, etc.

This development arose because of *the interruption of foreign competition*. Europe, mainly Britain and Germany, formerly supplied a whole list of essential goods to South America, while the U. S. was the main source for the Caribbean and Central America. The war, by paralyzing European production and converting U. S. industry to war use, dammed the flow of foreign merchandise to our lands. In the case of essential goods, this made possible the rise of Latin-American industries, some crude, others advanced and tooled up-to-date, which took over the internal market without outside competition.

The result of this change can be realized when one learns that before the war industrial output was far less in value than the raw or semi-processed goods exported, while at the end of hostilities Latin industrial production was equal to either of these headings.

* United Nations Economic and Social Council, Report of the . . . Preparatory Committee . . . on Trade and Employment, Lake Success, 1947, p. 3.

This initial industrialization has, further, greatly stimulated trade between the Latin countries. Before the war, only 7 percent of the foreign trade of these nations was conducted within Latin America; after the war, more than 25 percent was intra-Latin-American, despite the obstacles imposed by the U. S.

An essential factor in the wartime industrial development is found in the possibility of *internal capitalization*. For the first time in a long period the Latin countries held exceptionally favorable trade balances. This was in large measure due to the fact that most of the durable goods (cars, radios, machines, etc.) that Europe and the U. S. formerly supplied were no longer available, resulting in a forced saving, while the basic export goods—wheat, meat, sugar, coffee, nitrates, oil, tin, etc.—reached high prices and were exported in an extraordinary volume.

This balance of dollars was available for the financing of many enterprises, although the lack of equipment, which was either not produced in the U. S. or was not exported, greatly limited the possibility for internal development.

Increase of the working population

Another distinctive element of Latin-American economy in the war period was the increase in the labor force, above all in the number of new industrial workers. This increase in the working population, on which there are as yet no definite figures,

contributed in turn to the development of native consumer industry, since it increased the local market. In Cuba, for example, the annual per capita consumption of tobacco in 1947 rose 66 percent over that of the period 1935-39. That of beer rose almost 100 percent in the same period. Consumption of meat and bread rose despite the speculative increase in prices.

The industrial bourgeoisie

On this base there has been developing an industrial bourgeoisie as a permanent factor in the national economy. This bourgeoisie was already in existence incipiently, but the war strengthened it. A large portion of these industrialists come from the ranks of the former exporters of raw materials, and they link their interests with those of the latter. Another group arose independently, and their outlook is completely opposite to that of the old export bourgeoisie.

THE DANGER OF THE CLAYTON PLAN

It is obvious that the Clayton Plan threatens these young industries. Born without competition and organized for a weak local market, they are in no shape to compete with U. S. exports. Only the system of protective tariffs, subsidies and/or quotas can save them. If native products are given "equal treatment" with their Yankee competitors, Latin

industry will quickly be wiped out. The weapon of "dumping," already being used skillfully, will destroy it quite easily.

The opening of the Latin market to the United States under the terms of the Clayton Plan will bankrupt the newer industrial bourgeoisie, reduce employment to the impoverishment of the working class, and halt the progress of Latin America toward independence.

If the Clayton Plan has its way, the countries to the south will return to their former economies based on the export of raw and semi-processed materials. Considering that a grave world crisis is in the cards, which will inevitably mean a sharp break in raw materials prices, it can be predicted that the victory of the principles set forth at Chapultepec, Geneva, and Havana will bring ruin to our countries.

That and nothing else is the aim of the imperialists. They must return to the golden days of dollar diplomacy, when they exploited the labor of the Cuban cane chopper, the Chilean miner, and the Mexican oil worker for a few cents a day.

Another aim of this policy is to find profitable investments for their surplus capital. It is well known that the rate of capital investments has dropped recently in the United States, and that industry is producing more and more on only a part of its productive capacity. At the same time, according to the estimates of North American economists, the saving capacity of the U. S. economy ex-

ceeds \$20 billion a year. The surplus of available and accumulated investment capital is enormous. And the imperialists are again seeking their favorite fields of investment: natural resources and slave wages. The whole tendency of American investment in Latin America has been toward this type of colonial exploitation (see Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investments*,* and the work of Elizabeth Hannan**).

The Clayton Plan to prohibit the regulation of investments, to prevent the limitation of profits by taxation, to require "protection" for investors, shows clearly that Latin America is regarded as a vassal. And it proposes to perpetuate the semi-colonial and dependent character of most of the southern countries.

THE PLAN IN ACTION

It should be noted that the Clayton Plan has been in effect for a long time. Even in the Roosevelt era, Wall Street was pulling wires in the State Department cancelling out the Good Neighbor promises of F.D.R.

We have referred to the proposed treaty of residence and navigation with Cuba. But we could multiply examples. Threats of reprisals abruptly terminated negotiations begun by Colombia, Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela for profitable trade

* The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1938.

** Willy Feuerlein and Elizabeth Hannan, *Dollars in Latin America*, New York Council on Foreign Relations, 1941.

with the U.S.S.R. During the war, the U. S. monopolized the basic products of all our countries to limit the possibilities for trade among ourselves.

There was the paradoxical situation of Mexico selling her grain and Cuba her sugar to the Commodity Credit Corporation, and then the C.C.C. selling the Mexican grain to Cuba and the Cuban sugar to Mexico.

When, a few months ago, Cuba sought to overcome her shortage of meat by importing Argentine cattle, the U. S. commercial attaché killed the deal by insinuating that the U. S. might reduce its purchases of Cuban products—including sugar—for fear of the spread of the hoof and mouth disease that the Argentine cattle might introduce into this country.

LATIN AMERICA RESISTS

Latin-American diplomacy, in resisting the most aggressive aspects of the Clayton Plan at Chapultepec, Geneva, and Havana, was only reflecting, sometimes too timidly, the sentiments of the respective countries.

The proletariat has been playing a vanguard role in this resistance. Through the Latin-American Confederation of Labor (C.T.A.L.) led by Vicente Lombardo Toledano and its affiliates in each country, the working class, assuming national leadership, has organized a collective protest against the American demands. The demonstrations in Venezuela

and Colombia when the U. S. tried to stop the formation of the Gran Colombiana joint merchant marine (with Ecuador), the resistance of the Cuban working class, the demonstrations in Rio and Sao Paulo, Brazil, against the submission of Dutra, the strikes in Chile, are clear signs that the most advanced section of the working class is taking the path of struggle.

Therefore, the first limited objective of imperialism is to break the resistance of the labor movement in order to disorganize the national protest in each country. In this aim it has had the aid, loyal if not effective, of its reformist, *aprista*, *autentico*, and Trotskyite stooges. Ibanez in Chile, Peruvian Aprism, Morones and the Mexican union splitters, Mujals and Cofino in Cuba—all directed by the trade-union bureau of the State Department (that is, by the A. F. of L. through William Green and Serafino Romualdi)—have striven to disorganize the labor movement by the creation of a new paper federation at Lima. They have not lacked help in their divisive work, from the top Catholic hierarchy. They have also had the cooperation of quisling governments. Videla in Chile, Dutra in Brazil, Grau in Cuba, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Carias, etc., have served as agents for persecutions, banning of organizations, and even for criminal acts such as the murder of Cuban sugar workers' leader Jesus Menendez. On the other hand, Peron in Argentina, conducting a

campaign of demagogy, has sought to turn the anti-imperialist resistance to his own ends, creating a base for a reactionary nationalist bloc in Latin America.

But the contradictions between the necessity for independent development in Latin America and the expansionism of the U. S. imperialists are so grave, and are worsening so much all the time, that not even these methods have been able to succeed. The alternatives, resist or perish, have forced even governments that had docilely submitted to Washington to voice a protest.

The Latin countries were forced early in 1946 to restrict imports. The avalanche of North American goods that flooded their markets even then was threatening to wash away all the dollars accumulated in the war years. They began to adopt various measures to counteract this. In 1947, Uruguay extended the list of articles on which import permits were required. In June, 1947, Peru assumed control of foreign exchange. Argentina suspended non-essential imports, and economic boss Miranda and his clique have controlled the dollar balance—in a most suspicious manner, however. In other countries—Brazil, Colombia—various forms of control were set up.

THE CONFERENCE OF BOGOTA

But the Trade Charter, as we have seen, tends to eliminate these defenses. So, on the eve of the Bogota Conference held in the spring of

1948, and during its sessions, opposition burst out that led to the defeat of Marshall as the spokesman of imperialism at the parley.

Mexican Foreign Minister Jaime Torres Bodet said in February, 1948, explaining his country's position and supporting it before the Inter-American Social and Economic Committee:

"Specifically, we have stressed that . . . the agreement should be oriented toward the advancement of the less developed countries. . . . We suggest that a regrettable void in the draft text be filled by a special chapter devoted to industrialization, and naturally to the guarantees, desired by nations that are primarily exporters of raw materials with regard to the supplying of tools and machinery for the better employment of their resources."

Carrillo Florez emphasized the necessity for facilitating the obtainment of equipment. He had in mind, of course, the exposure by the Chilean Communists that the rupture of diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia ordered by President Videla coincided with the final stages of negotiation of a pact guaranteeing Czech machinery for Chilean development projects.

On the floor of the Bogota Conference, Torres Bodet insisted that Latin America urgently needed help, and that the Marshall Plan could not serve as a pretext for stifling the development of the countries to the south. He pointed out that most of the latter "exist as wretchedly as the

majority of those (in Europe) that are clamoring for reconstruction." The Mexican minister proclaimed himself "against the colonial economic system under which countries have been used only as sources of raw materials."

Toward the same end, the Peruvian delegation proposed that steps be taken against "dumping," that export quotas be granted Latin America, and lastly that there be created an Inter-American Bank for the development of our countries. This was also proposed by Mexico, Argentina, and Colombia, although Marshall and the North American delegation succeeded in blocking its approval.

Another aspect of the contradictions was bared at Bogota when, against the express opposition and nay vote of the U. S., the majority of the countries approved a motion designed to obtain a fairer balance between the prices of the raw materials that Latin America exports, and the prices of the manufactured goods the U. S. sends them. Similarly, the conference voted, over American opposition, approval for regional trade preferences among blocs of countries.

When, developing the principles of the Clayton Plan, Commerce Secretary Harriman demanded protection for investments, a hostile atmosphere indicated the Latin-American opposition. Mexico, Uruguay, Guatemala, and other countries indicated the colonial character of these investments in the past, and the need for

regulation. The problem had to be postponed.

It is obvious that Marshall could not win in Bogota. His mission was defeated long before the events provoked by the foul assassination of Gaitan. From the moment that all these just demands of Latin America could not be allayed, and the Clayton Plan met sustained opposition, the farce could not go on. When Marshall was obliged to declare that Latin America could not expect help, since Europe was the center of U. S. interest, he admitted at the same time that the European objective of the Marshall Plan was strictly political.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

But the Marshallization of trade races along as the immediate objective of imperialism. It could not be otherwise. Before the end of the war, John H. Williams, Hansen, Harberer, and other bourgeois economists indicated that the export trade would be indispensable for the American economy. This necessity increases on the eve of a crisis. To soften the crash, the imperialist propose to sell between \$15 and \$25 billion of Yankee merchandise abroad every year.

Despite the growing resistance of the proletariat and the more belligerent section of the Latin-American national bourgeoisie, the nations south of the border have already experienced the effects of this trade offensive. According to economist J.

Torras, while Latin imports of American goods averaged \$530 million a year just before the war, during 1947 the Latins consumed seven times as much, exactly \$3,860,000,000.

Meanwhile the United States bought only \$2,150,000,000 from these countries. As a result of this unbalance and of further extractions by way of interest, shipping charges, insurance, and other items, the gold and dollar reserves of Latin America are evaporating at an accelerating rate.

Argentina, which held \$1,176,000,000 in its balance in 1945, retained only \$202 million. Mexico's dollars faded from \$344 million to \$90 million; as a result, she had to devalue the peso. (Although this devaluation was officially declared to be aimed at reducing imports from the U. S., it had other negative results, discussion of which is not relevant to this article.) Although some countries (Cuba, Venezuela) have increased their reserves, in general there has been a shrinkage that becomes more acute every day.

The battle of Latin America against the Clayton Plan continues, with no holds barred. Imperialism has not yielded in its designs. Mexico has had to contend with Washington's resistance to steps taken to defend the national economy. In Cuba, the workers and industrialists suffered a partial defeat in their effort to keep North American textiles from ruining their native industry. An ultimatum by the U. S. government caused the Cuban regime to defeat

a weak bill limiting the entry of foreign goods.

But as the imperialist aggressiveness grows, so the resistance mounts. The Brazilian people have just scored an important victory in defeating the treasonable attempt of dictator Dutra to surrender the nation's petroleum resources to Standard Oil. Wherever the proletariat has the maturity necessary to head the fight for national anti-imperialist unity, there we see developing an alliance of workers, peasants, the middle class, and sections of the bourgeoisie.

At Geneva, the workers and industrialists joined in their opposition to the Clayton Plan. Today there has arisen a tremendously important movement, which may become decisive in the struggle of the Latin American countries for their independence.

The C.T.A.L. at its last congress, put forth the idea of a conference of leading Latin-American personalities from all groupings to draft a plan for defense. In Cuba, a group of distinguished intellectuals, and labor and political leaders, wrote Gen. Lazaro Cardenas, revered former president of Mexico, suggesting that, in the face of the imperialist threat, he head this union of Latin forces.* Among this group were Fernando Ortiz, the most distinguished Cuban intellectual; historian Roig de Leuchsenring; Marquez Sterling, former president of the Constituent Assem-

* Since this was written, General Cardenas accepted the invitation.—*Editor.*

bly; former Attorney-General Gi-raudy; Lazaro Pena, representing Cuban labor, and Senator Juan Marinello, president of the Popular Socialist (Communist) Party. As a result, this Latin American Congress is making progress and is expected to start operating shortly. In this way the struggle of the laboring and peasant masses will be co-ordinated with the action of other social groups.

THE ROLE OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES

In this struggle between Latin America and the imperialist promoters of the Clayton Plan, the progressive forces in the United States have a decisive role to play. The program

put forth by Wallace, as opposed to the bipartisan policy, gives encouragement to the Latin Americans. In his letter to Lazaro Cardenas, Wallace declared:

"My friends in Mexico and Latin America know that I am opposed to the Yankee monopolists converting their countries into a vast plantation. . . . Latin America's living standard, improved health and cultural progress can only be assured by industrialization as a complement to its agricultural development."

North American labor and the democratic movement, collaborating with the resistance of our countries, can paralyze the Yankee monopolists. The defeat of the Clayton Plan is a part of the universal battle for peace, democracy, and the independence of the peoples.

"One of the greatest lessons American workers have to learn in general is to combat red-baiting. They must understand that red-baiting—the eternal denunciation of everything progressive as a "red" plot and the systematic conjuring up of the "red bogey" upon all occasions—is the Hitler tactic for confusing and demoralizing the popular mind. It is the greatest ideological danger that democracy has to face today. The workers must challenge it boldly and expose its fallacies. They must learn that the attack upon the Communist Party is part and parcel of the attack upon the trade unions, and that the unions cannot be defended without defending the Communist Party."

William Z. Foster, *The New Europe*, p. 124.

THE SOVIET 15-YEAR PLAN FOR AGRICULTURE

By LEM HARRIS

CAN THE WORLD feed itself, all of its members? It never has done so. Can we have a world without hunger? We have never had it. Few people in America realize that much of mankind lives on the brink of starvation, dependent on each crop, facing disaster in years of crop failure.

World War II has made the problem especially acute. The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.) reports that only seven nations, excluding the Soviet Union and the new democracies, raise enough food to meet their own needs.* These are Australia, Canada, Denmark, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, and the United States. The other fifty member nations of the F.A.O. have food shortages, with "per capita supplies of food and fibers far below prewar levels." This report of the F.A.O., dated November, 1948, lists "drawbacks" to increased world production which include: fear in the food exporting nations of "future unmar-

ketable surpluses" (1), loss of soil fertility and erosion problems, lack of improved seeds and fertilizers, shortage of livestock feeds and farm machinery, etc.

The sober fact which looms to haunt humanity is that if present destructive practices continue, world hunger can reach the acute stage within three generations. This is tomorrow on the calendar of mankind. Fairfield Osborn, president of the New York Zoological Society, writes: "Another century like the last and civilization will be facing its final crisis."

Confronted with this world problem, both capitalist and socialist states are reacting to it, each in its characteristic way.

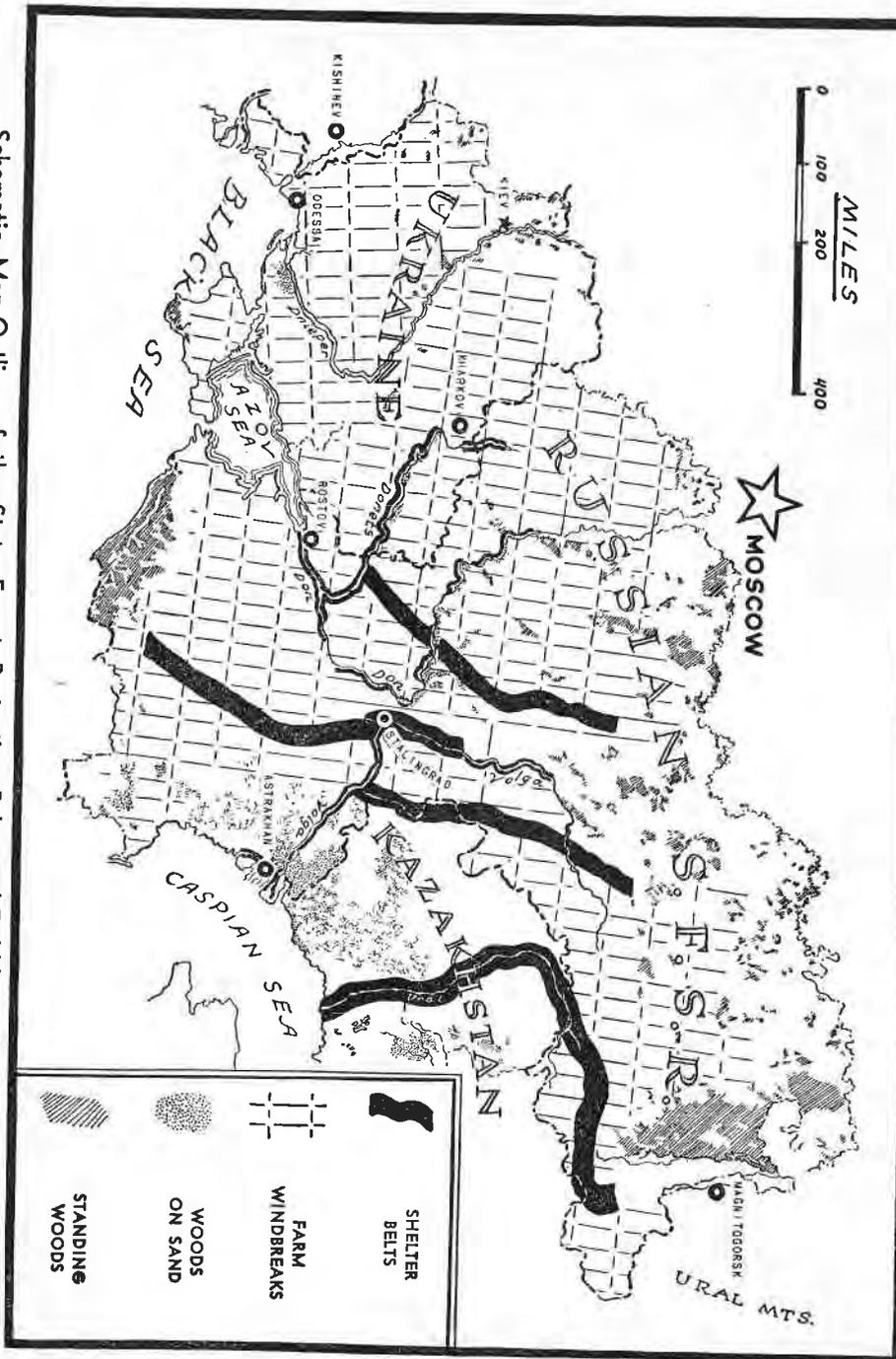
Which form of society is better equipped to handle such a problem? Can a government concerned with the profits of "free enterprise," or a socialist government, be more successful in inspiring the organized and planned co-operation of millions to conquer hunger? It is worth examining how the first socialist nation and the only remaining strong capitalist nation are addressing themselves to this problem.

SOVIET 15-YEAR PLAN TO END DROUGHT

On October 24 of this year, all newspapers in the Soviet Union dramatically announced a gigantic, yet detailed, plan for ending the menace of drought, conserving the

* *The State of Food and Agriculture, 1948*, a Survey by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization.

Schematic Map—Outline of the State Forest Protective Belts and Field-by-Field Shelter Belts.



soil, and increasing crop production throughout the entire steppe land-area of the European part of the Soviet Union. All that Soviet scientists have learned, all the experimental work in hundreds of institutes, the labor and enthusiasm of collective farmers on 80,000 farms, plus the resources of the Soviet Government—all this is to be mobilized to streamline Soviet agriculture in an area equal to three Californias.

In presenting the plan to the nation, one of the greatest of the Soviet scientists, E. V. Michurin, recommends it with the statement:

I am of the opinion that the collective farm system, working with the Communist Party, will carry out this great plan and thereby aid working humanity to achieve mastery over the forces of nature.

The opening section summarizes the results of years of experimental work in order to assure the collective farm members that the proposals are all based upon proven methods. The work of the Dokuchaev Experimental Station in the drought-ridden lower Volga, a special 1500-acre demonstration on the Giant State Farm, and experimental work at a group of collective farms near Stalingrad, are cited as instances where the new soil-building methods have been applied over a number of years and where shelter belts are already protecting the fields. In every instance improved crops have resulted, greatly in excess of the records of nearby

fields where the old, traditional methods continue to be practiced. The Soviet Government and Communist Party conclude that all the necessary conditions are at hand for carrying through the great 15-Year Plan.

Seven major steps are proposed:

1. Four great belts of forest barriers are to be planted so as to obstruct the hot, dry winds which blow in from the central Asian deserts and are the primary cause of drought and soil blowing. One belt runs from the southern end of the Ural Mountains to the Caspian Sea; a second parallels the Volga, but a hundred miles east; a third follows the Volga to Stalingrad, then cuts south to the Caucasus Mountains; the last forest barrier runs a hundred miles west of the Volga from the point where the natural pine forests begin in the north, running south across the bend of the Don River to the border of the Ukraine. Altogether, these forest barriers total some 3,000 continuous miles.

Included in this part of the plan is the reforestation of the denuded headwater regions of the main rivers, particularly the Volga and Don. Existing stands are to be safeguarded and lumbered on a scientific basis. It is well known that care of forests in the headwater regions will retain moisture in the soil, slow down the spring runoff, and prevent floods in the lower water courses.

The development of protective forest belts in the U.S.S.R. had already passed the experimental stage before

the war. Forest belts were planted on a large scale in the Ukraine, where the collective farms had set up a forest belt of more than 667,000 acres around their fields. This protective belt—much of which was destroyed by the German invaders—did not, however, have nearly the same size or qualitative significance as the huge program under discussion here.

Work on the forest barriers is to start in 1949, under the direction of the Ministry of Forestry. Where boundary problems involving collective farms may arise, these are to be resolved by joint agreements to be reached sometime in 1949. The cost of these forest barriers is to be borne by the state.

2. In addition to the continuous belts of forest barriers, shelter belts are to be planted for the protection of every field in the whole steppe land of the European part of the U.S.S.R., covering a total of 300 million acres. Five percent of the land, or 15 million acres, will be taken up by these shelter belts; but the experimental work has proved that average production can actually be doubled by following the recommended methods.

The carrying out of this giant program of planting and tending the shelter belts is left to the members of 80,000 collective farms, aided by the state. This aid includes technical assistance from agricultural scientists sent out into every community, and two-week training courses for the leaders of the brigades which are to

carry out the work. Every agricultural and forestry station is instructed to experiment with tree varieties and techniques in order to perfect the methods which the collective farmers will be employing in mass fashion.

The Machine Tractor Stations, and a new institution, Forest Machine Stations, are to be the agencies of the government which will work out the individual agreements with each collective farm.

3. Areas of thin or sandy soil are to be surrounded by shelter belts to prevent the blowing of these light soils onto the areas of greater fertility. Besides the planting of trees, the plan calls for the sowing of desert grasses, hybrid sorgums, etc., for transforming these wastelands into grazing areas and hayfields. The Stavropol Experimental Station is designated to supply the necessary seed for these plantings.

4. Great numbers of nurseries for supplying billions of seedlings and saplings are to be started this fall. Though the bulk of the seedlings will be supplied by the Ministry of Forestry, it is proposed that for each 5 to 10 collective farms there be one nursery organized to supply the local planting needs.

5. All the soil-building practices known to science are to be adopted as rapidly as local conditions permit. These include: contour plowing where the land is rolling; strip planting and strip fallowing where there is danger of blowing; planting of perennial grasses on steep slopes,

gullies, and water runways; plowing in the fall, as far as possible, which will leave the land surface rough for retaining the snow and permit the melting snow to soak into the ground; and greatly increased use of animal manure, mineral fertilizer, and green manure (plowed under young grasses).

Most important of all is the adoption of crop-rotation systems worked out on the Dokuchaev Experimental Station, the unique feature of which is the widespread use of perennial grains—a Soviet contribution to the agriculture of the world. These perennial grains, at present wheat and rye, not only outproduce other varieties, since they permit two cuttings per year, but provide, by virtue of their permanent root system, year-round protection for the soil, thus eliminating the twin menaces of erosion and blowing.

Finally, the increase in the amount of land available for grazing and raising fodder will permit the rapid stepping-up of the number of livestock in the country. With relation to this, it is also proposed that every collective construct tanks connected with the livestock barns for the retaining of liquid manure.

This application of modern methods throughout the main agricultural areas is expected to be under way by 1950 and in full operation on 80,000 collective farms by 1955. "At the present time," the plan states, "all the necessary conditions for mastering the grass rotation system are at hand. It will result in greatly in-

creasing the crop throughout the steppe land-area."

6. The plan calls for the construction of 44,000 sizable ponds and reservoirs by state and collective farms in order to propagate fish, provide irrigation, generate hydroelectric power, and maintain the subsoil water table.

7. In order physically to carry out this entire plan, all kinds of new and special machinery are to be made available. Financial outlays of collective farms for such mechanization are to be met by ten-year loans from the Ministry of Finance, with repayment starting only after five years from the date of the loan. Thus, the financial cost of this whole project presents no serious problem to the individual Soviet farmer.

In addition, some 570 Forest Shelter Belt Stations fitted out with a variety of heavy machinery are to be organized by 1951. This equipment will include ditch-digging machinery, graders, bulldozers, tree-planting machines with trailers, spray rigs, tank trucks, three-axle trucks, movable shops, electric welding apparatus, etc. These Shelter Belt Stations, like the well-known Machine Tractor Stations, will conclude agreements with the collective farms under which the various operations will be carried out, such as preparing the land for tree planting, planting and care of the trees, construction of ponds and reservoirs, etc. Under the agreements, the collective farms will select personnel who will receive training in the use of the new equip-

ment and then take charge of the work.

This, in outline, is the grand plan of the world's first socialist nation for modernizing agriculture and conquering drought, "man's ancient enemy." The Soviet Government proudly proclaims that only a socialist economy can harness the energies of the people and the resources of the country for a common peacetime purpose which will benefit all mankind.

CONSERVATION IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, the need for planning the conservation and development of our natural resources is no less urgent. For, though we possess the most advanced industrial base, the ruling class has been squandering our birthright with a profligacy which can turn the country's natural wealth to ashes. The consequences of capitalist recklessness now loom so threateningly that the government is attempting measures designed at least to slow down the rate of damage.

It is characteristic of bourgeois society that it feels incapable of applying the kind of sweeping measures which the situation requires because such plans inevitably clash with the interests of entrenched monopolies. Imagine the Bureau of Forestry proposing that all remaining stands of timber may only be lumbered in accordance with methods which will insure natural replacement! The whole

bourgeoisie would be in a frenzy over this "violation of the principle of free enterprise." Imagine a super-Farm Security Administration investing a fund of ten billion dollars for carrying through the terracing, soil rebuilding, erosion control, etc., of every small farmer and cropper who desired such aid! Such a program presupposes an end to the dominant influence of rich farmers and corporations over our agricultural policy. For that matter, such an investment in the rehabilitation of several million marginal farmers must also presuppose an end to Wall Street's aggressive foreign policy and a sharp curtailment of its military program.

But our capitalist economy requires that the state inevitably content itself with partial, and on the whole inconsequential, measures for conserving our national heritage. And even the low goals which have been set are fulfilled only partially, with no sense of urgency. Yet in actual fact there is great urgency.

Most obvious of the criminal practices is the reckless slashing of the nation's saw timber, whose reserves are approaching the vanishing point. In the past four decades, our timber reserves have been reduced by more than 40 percent, and we are continuing the destructive logging-off of the remaining forests at twice the rate of their regrowth. Even our national parks are endangered by the insistent timber interests, which are pressuring Congress to permit them to destroy such magnificent virgin stands as are still to be found in the

Olympic National Park in the state of Washington.

Ten years ago, the Forestry Service of the cut-over area of the Great Lakes states drew up a long-term plan for restoring this decimated region. Even though literally nothing remains of the former great stands in the northern halves of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, the forestry experts state that a giant program of clearing useless brush and birch, planting native pine, and providing elaborate fire protection could gradually restore the forests of this natural timber area. The plan proposed the utilization of the underemployed farmers of the region who barely subsist on submarginal farms.

The plan had one brief moment of prominence. Harold Stassen, running for Governor of Minnesota in 1938, made it the subject of one speech, presenting it as the kind of project the Republicans would sponsor, if elected. Stassen was elected, but the plan was forgotten.

Even more difficult to replace than stands of timber is our topsoil, which is being progressively blown away or washed into the sea. More than a quarter of all our farm land is destroyed or seriously damaged by water erosion, blowing, or single-crop farming. Congressman Hope of Kansas, who in the Republican Congress was chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, stated on the floor of the House that "we are losing about 500,000 acres of crop land each year through erosion, silting, improper land use and other preventable

causes." He added that our population is increasing by about 2 million each year, which means that the maintenance of present standards will require the annual cultivation of an additional 6,000,000 acres. Thus, we are actually falling behind by about 6,500,000 acres each year.* Our reserves of available land will not last long at this rate. The Congressman concluded that the "United States is approaching the point where it will not be able to feed and clothe its own people properly."

The year 1948 has highlighted the growing menace of destructive floods, which, it is well known, are one of the direct results of the denuding of the headwaters of our rivers of their natural forest cover.

This recital of the continued wastage of our natural resources is evidence enough that the government-directed efforts to correct the abuses have not been successful. Stirred by clear warnings of impending disaster, the government has taken some steps aimed to correct bad farming practices. Some 2,000 soil conservation districts now exist where farmers are supposed to be co-operating in applying approved farming methods. But we have the report of William Vogt, chief of the Conservation Section of the Pan-American Union, who told the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum:

I've driven for miles inside the soil conservation districts and had to hunt

* *Congressional Record*, April 1, 1948, page A 2152.

for evidence that the landowners had ever heard of the Soil Conservation Service. In these districts I have seen thousands of acres of the sort of land that the technicians—and landowners—know very well should be left in grass and timber. Now these vast areas have been plowed and we are only waiting for another dry year or two to have another dust bowl.

We have also made a start in terracing slopes, cultivating soil-building crops, plowing under green manure, improving grazing methods, and building ponds. We have had a shelter-belt program for ten years; but, though helpful in a limited way, the plantings adhere to no planned pattern. They occur in hit-or-miss fashion on those privately-owned farms whose owners have permitted the plantings to be made.

The Tennessee Valley can be named as the one area where, after many years of opposition from the private utility and fertilizer interests, a conservation project has made an important beginning. But the very accomplishments of T.V.A. are subject to continuous attack as being "socialist" and even "un-American." With the experience of T.V.A. as a guide, the great Missouri Valley Authority plan would be of great benefit to all the inhabitants of the Mississippi-Missouri basin. But even though President Truman, when a Senator from Missouri, was a sponsor of the M.V.A., his Administration has quietly shelved it in favor of the emasculated Pick-Sloan plan favored

by the private interests. A few large dams are being built and some land is being reclaimed; but the big job of restoring the headwaters cover, controlling the flow of a myriad of tributary streams, and developing hydroelectric power to serve every farm and village in this mid-continent region, not to mention flood control and conservation of fish—all these features of the M.V.A. are vetoed by private capital.

Thus the class interests of the rich farmers, the food processors, the banks and insurance companies which hold millions of farm mortgages, the utilities—ultimately Wall Street—oppose any kind of control over their ruthless exploitation of the nation's natural resources. Yet the interests of the working class, and of the working farmers, are identified with conservation. This fact should impel the people's organizations to undertake a closer examination of the rapacious destruction and squandering of the country's natural resources by a profit-mad monopoly capitalist system. The formulation of, and struggle for, a people's program of conservation would help cut the ground from under the twin parties of Big Business, both of which indulged in the most unrestrained demagoguery in the West and Midwest on this question of conservation during the election campaign. A welcome by-product of a progressive program and struggle of this kind, among other things, would be the counteracting of the barbaric neo-Malthusian propaganda line of many bourgeois

conservationists, according to whom "population pressures" need as their correction war and starvation. This reactionary line indicates their accommodation to the war designs of a Wall Street-controlled government which simultaneously spends billions for war preparations on the one hand, and slashes the budget of the Soil Conservation Service on the other.

Typical of the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie is Allen B. Kline, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, the farm organization controlled by the richest farmers and enjoying semi-governmental status. Commenting on the Soviet 15-Year Plan, Kline asserts:

The record of the United States farmer proves that greater conservation can be attained only through the minimum of centralized control.

Kline is in a strange position to speak ill of the Soviet plan to unite the power of the state and the farm population in a common effort to modernize agriculture. For the Farm Bureau employs the U.S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service, including the system of county agents, and state agricultural colleges, to promote its rich-farmer policies. Kline's objection, then, is not in principle directed against government aid to agriculture. He is opposed to the use of government resources for the purpose of increasing the efficiency and productivity of the masses of small farmers. In the South, the Farm Bureau is domi-

nated by the large planters who would violently oppose any conservation program that would benefit sharecroppers and tenants; yet, according to a study made in 1933, more than one-half of all eroded land in the United States was in the South.*

These considerations supply the basis for understanding that a capitalist economy—even the most advanced industrially and technologically—perpetuates a tremendous lag between industry and agriculture, between city and country. Nay, more, the very technological advances that could serve to improve the working and living conditions of the rural masses and benefit the people as a whole, are being used by the capitalists of farm and city as a weapon further to impoverish and subjugate the small farmers. This is one of the major instances of the truth long ago enunciated by Karl Marx, that the outmoded relations of capitalist production hold back the further development of the productive forces—a truth manifoldly evidenced in the epoch of monopoly capital.

AMERICAN REACTIONS TO THE SOVIET 15-YEAR PLAN

The Soviet Plan was announced to the world on October 24. On October 26, our newspapers carried the comments of our conservationists and experts. They were uniformly

* Cited in Harry Haywood's, *Negro Liberation*, International Publishers, New York, 1948, pp. 24-25.

hostile, reflecting the fact that scientists are far from immune from the national hysteria whipped up against the Soviet Union.

Thus, Fairfield Osborn, president of the New York Zoological Society and of the Conservation Foundation, the man who has lectured and written so eloquently on the "falling reservoir of the earth's living resources," objects to the Soviet plan because, as he puts it, it is "on a must basis; and we are doing it on a will basis." His book, incidentally, aims to prove that our conservation efforts have thus far been ineffective.

Kent Leavitt, president of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, calls it a "plan devised in Moscow to be inflicted on 80,000 collective farms." Geroid T. Robinson, director of the Russian Institute of Columbia University and touted as an agrarian historian, indulges in the demagoguery that this is a Soviet move in preparation for the next war. H. H. Bennett, chief of the Federal Soil Conservation Service, comments: "Under capitalism, the United States has pioneered in soil conservation work." In the spirit of trying to prove that we have done more and better, the *New York Herald Tribune* recalls Congressman Hope's resolution for the development of our soil and water resources—the nearest we have to a national plan. But on looking into this "plan," one discovers that it is merely a resolution introduced into Congress, as yet considered by no committee, and which, even if enacted, merely calls for "sur-

veys, investigation, and research," and "to conduct demonstrations."

A few days later, Albert J. Loveland, Under-Secretary of Agriculture, released a statement commenting on the main points of the Soviet plan and aiming to show that the United States is doing more than the Soviet Union on each point. Explaining that such comparison becomes necessary in view of the Soviet "charge that capitalism is incapable of such a plan," he deigns to add: "the Russian project appears to be a worthy plan and should be a fine thing for the Russian people."

Loveland compares the 3,000 miles of protective tree belts under the Soviet plan with the scattered plantings on our farms which add up to 18,000 miles. In actual fact, the United States, unfortunately, has no continuous tree belt for shielding such areas as the dust bowl. If a comparison is to be made, the United States has 213,000 acres of plantings for protecting individual fields; the Soviet Union plans 15 million acres of plantings to protect 300 million acres of cropland.

Loveland points out with considerable relish that the United States has built 680,000 ponds since 1936, while the Soviet 15-Year Plan calls for only 45,000 ponds and reservoirs. If anyone thinks there is any profit in such comparisons, he should balance off the relatively small ponds on individual American farms against the more sizable lakes averaging 40 acres which are planned on the Soviet collective farms. Then, too, one

would want to know if the bulk of our ponds are not to be found in the relatively humid areas, rather than where the subsoil water table is receding so dangerously.

For unvarnished ill will and ignorance Henry Luce's *Life* magazine reaches a low point. It avers that the aim of the whole Soviet plan is "obviously to take the peasant's mind off his own misery." It goes in for the quaint theory that Soviet farmers in the Red Army were upset by seeing the "individualistic cultures of Romania," etc. It is well known that Romanian agriculture down to the end of the war adhered to the feudal pattern of a few great landholders dominating a myriad of uneconomic peasant holdings. Such were the "individualistic cultures" for which *Life* & Co. mourn! The *Life* editorial concludes that "Stalin has become the greatest pie-in-the-sky artist since the Pied Piper of Hamelin." At the risk of injecting the reality of prose into the poetry of *Life's* editorial scribbler, be it remembered that the Soviet plan includes provisions aiming at the extermination of prairie gophers.

Brushing aside all such obscurantist reactions, there can be no question that farmers of all nations, including our own, will thrill to this grand plan. The Soviet press tells of the enthusiastic meetings of the collective farmers to discuss and vote on signing the necessary agreements with their Machine Tractor and the new Forest Shelter Belt Stations. Are there farmers in any country

who would not welcome such a project for more efficient and increased production, with all capital costs financed on a ten-year basis, first payments delayed five years, and with the heaviest and most expensive type of equipment made available for carrying through major improvements?

FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM

The launching of this comprehensive and revolutionary agricultural project, the 15-Year Plan, must be seen as an integral part of the systematic advance toward the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. What is signaled here is the incredibly rapid reconstruction of the Soviet economy, which, considering the destruction perpetrated on Soviet soil by the German invaders, is a miraculous achievement in its own right. The 15-Year Plan, clearly, is further proof of the enormous superiority of the Socialist system over moribund capitalism.

This all-too-brief presentation of the many, varied technical aspects of the 15-Year Plan should suffice to indicate that a project of this scope requires not only a Socialist state, but also an advanced industrial technique of considerable magnitude. It is clear, too, that an advanced, Socialist agriculture based upon a highly-developed mechanized technique, and developing a cultured and enthusiastic class of collective farmers, are prerequisites for the fulfill-

ment of such an enormous plan.

In this connection, it is interesting to reread Stalin's graphic description of the state of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. in 1924: "On the whole, agriculture at that time resembled a boundless ocean of small individual peasant farms with backward, medieval technical equipment."* Stalin went on to add, however, that "we now [1936—L.H.] have mechanized production, conducted on a scale larger than anywhere else in the world, with up-to-date technical equipment, in the form of an all-embracing system of collective farms and state farms."**

Up to the time of the Nazi attack on the U.S.S.R., Soviet agriculture continued to register great gains, participating in the general advance of Soviet society from Socialism to Communism. With postwar reconstruction largely completed, that advance has been resumed. The 15-Year Plan for agriculture boldly announces the intention of the Soviet people to conquer the forces of nature, thereby hastening the maturing of the first precondition of Communism—the availability of a superabundance of goods. The 15-Year Plan signifies the further technological transformation of the countryside, providing the basis for the complete elimination of the contradictions between town and country. A great forward step is thus under way toward realization of the Communist

motto: "From each according to his ability, to each in accordance with his needs."

Though not mentioned in the 15-Year Plan, the development of civil uses for atomic energy will undoubtedly greatly speed the revolution in agriculture and the progress toward Communism. The advent of cheap and virtually limitless power for both industrial and agricultural purposes will, under socialist conditions, free man from the drudgery and arduous toil which is the legacy of the past. The possibility of applying vastly increased power per acre will speed the day when agriculture can be brought abreast of industry, will open the door for further enormous advances in the conquest of nature and the progressive reforging of man.

THE 15-YEAR PLAN AND PEACE

The 15-Year Plan is the latest and most decisive confirmation of the peaceful intentions and profound commitment to peace of the Soviet people, their government, and the Bolshevik Party. In striking contrast to the capitalist states which are saddling the peoples with growing burdens of frenzied rearmament and hysterical war preparations, which are hatching the most aggressive plans for imperialist war—the land of Socialism is dedicating and directing its main energies and resources to a long-range project of peaceful construction, to the creation of a rich-

er and happier life. In relation to this actuality, the 15-Year Plan is integrally bound up with the Soviet proposals for disarmament, for the peaceful negotiation of all differences, for a prohibition on atomic weapons.

The Soviet 15-Year Plan constitutes a great stimulus and inspiration to the forces of peace the world over. It should hearten the truly democratic forces in the United States, who are striving to achieve an enduring peace, on the course of struggle to defeat the war plotters and to link our country in solid friend-

ship and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. as the indispensable guarantee for the peace of the world.

The Soviet 15-Year Plan gives new occasion to bring the truth of Socialism to great numbers of workers, farmers, and other sections of the population, to present this living refutation of the slanderers of the Socialist state, to demonstrate that Socialism is a system based on peace and plenty, not hunger and war, that Socialism will forever banish poverty, economic backwardness, crises, oppression, and war.

"In every movement, in every struggle of ideas, there are certain confused souls who are comfortable only in gloominess. As long as basic principles themselves are not clarified, these individuals are allowed free reign; as long as every one is fighting for clarity, it is not easy to recognize their pre-ordained unclarity. But when the elements divide, when principle stands against principle, then the time has come to dismiss those incompetents and definitely to settle accounts with them; then their emptiness is disclosed in startling fashion."

Frederick Engels, in *Literature and Art*,
by Marx and Engels, p. 86.

* Joseph Stalin, "On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.," *Leninism: Selected Writings*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, p. 380.

** *Ibid.*, p. 381.

MARXISM AND SCIENCE*

By N. SPARKS

In a recent pamphlet, *The Communist Answer to the Challenge of Our Time*, Dr. John Lewis, editor of the British *Modern Quarterly*, quotes a description of the intellectual bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie today from Alexander Miller's *Christian Significance of Karl Marx*:

Events are out of hand, our generation is in the grip of gigantic forces whose nature no man can understand and which are beyond the power of men or of democratic assemblies to control. The future of society is being shaped by influences impersonal, or demonic, so that intelligent intervention is impossible or meaningless. This sense of overmastering fate is shattering in its effect on personal responsibility. It takes the stuffing out of men, it creates numbness of mind and soul, a sense of helplessness and sheer frustration.

This is the way in which the decay of the bourgeois social order lays the basis for irrationalism and mysticism.

And from Professor Salvador de Madariaga, Dr. Lewis quotes a telling admission:

"The depth and gravity of the crisis may be measured by the fact

that a growing number of men of science are being converted to Communism."

What is it that draws scientists toward Communism, toward Marxism? It is the fact that Marxism is able to shape order out of the turmoil of new developments in science as in social life, which appear so chaotic to the bourgeois mind, and that Marxism is able to demonstrate man's capacity to dominate the gigantic forces of nature.

This is possible, first, because Marxism is itself a science. It is the science of human society and its development. It is based on the actual observation, not of some abstract, isolated Robinson Crusoe, but of concrete human societies. It analyzes their underlying motive forces, discovers and verifies the laws of their development, predicts their future course, and shows in what way active agents in society—the class forces—can influence and direct the development of society. It is a science that has been brilliantly confirmed by historical events.

But Marxism, as the science of the development of society, makes special contributions to all science. It does this in a number of ways. First, by demonstrating how science develops out of the needs of society, it clarifies the history of science and

establishes the connection of science at all stages with society and social development. Secondly, it contributes a philosophy—dialectical materialism—fully consistent with scientific observation and method, which greatly aids the conscious development of science. Thirdly, it extends science to the social field, thus opening up the opportunity for the greatest utilization of science for all humanity. Finally, it defends science against all its enemies—the obscurantists, the irrationalists, the political reactionaries, etc.

All science is a product of society. It develops, not out of *a priori*, abstract thinking, but out of the needs of society in the struggle for existence to harness the forces of nature.

The development of science has by no means constituted a peaceful intellectual process of observation and theory. On the contrary, science has developed, not only through man's struggle against the forces of nature, but also through a most embittered struggle against the reactionary forces of society. The ruling class, both under feudalism and in the later stages of capitalism, feared the revolutionary social ideas flowing from the development of science. Notorious is the attack of the Roman Catholic Church and its Inquisition upon science and scientists, a fact which apologists are now attempting to gloss over. It was not until Copernicus lay on his death-bed that he dared to give orders for the publica-

tion of his theory. And Galileo will always remain an outstanding symbol of mankind's struggle against reaction and clerical obscurantism.

The church fought against the Copernican system ostensibly because, by showing that man is not the center of the universe, it lowered the importance of man, and therefore of God. It hampered the development of anatomy and physiology as "leaving no room for the soul," and retarded the emergence of modern medicine. It fought the science of evolution for tracing man's origin to lower animals as against the "Creation" theory that man was fashioned "in the image of God." It fought against the theory of the evolution of society and of the family, as lowering the moral dignity of man. In reality, however, these discoveries, far from lowering man, aggrandized him and freed him from superstition.

But of greater and more lasting significance than the physical and political attack on science by the church has been the philosophical assault. Modern idealism, advanced by Bishop Berkeley in 1710 as religion's answer to the developments of science, has remained on the stage in various forms, contesting the objective reality of the universe. The new 20th century discoveries, which have again overthrown former mechanical conceptions, are interpreted by the idealists, "positivists," etc. (and even by some of the scientists themselves), as disproving the existence of matter, of space and time,

* A lecture delivered by the Los Angeles Country Chairman, Communist Party as one of a series of lectures on Marxism delivered by various California leaders of the Communist Party in Los Angeles and San Francisco, April and May, 1948, in commemoration of the Centennial of Marxism.

and of causality. Others among them would reduce the universe to a chaos of "statistics" about "sensations" presided over by a God.

Up to the 19th century, despite the great developments brought about by the rise of the bourgeoisie, science remained fettered by a mechanical outlook. Thus, Engels points out in his *Dialectics of Nature*:

... what especially characterizes this period is the elaboration of a peculiar general outlook, in which the central point is the view of the *absolute immutability of nature*. In whatever way nature itself might have come into being, once present it remained as it was as long as it continued to exist. The planets and their satellites, once set in motion by the mysterious "first impulse," circled on and on in their predestined eclipses for all eternity, or at any rate until the end of all things. The stars remained forever fixed and immovable in their places, keeping one another therein by "universal gravitation." The earth had persisted without alteration from all eternity, or, alternatively, from the first day of its creation. The "five continents" of the present day had always existed, and they had always had the same mountains, valleys, and rivers, the same climate, and the same flora and fauna, except in so far as change or cultivation had taken place at the hand of man. The species of plants and animals had been established once for all when they came into existence; like continually produced like. . . . In contrast to the history of mankind, which develops in time, there was ascribed to the history

of nature only an unfolding in space. All change, all development in nature, was denied. Natural science, so revolutionary at the outset, suddenly found itself confronted by an out-and-out conservative nature in which even today everything was as it had been at the beginning and in which—to the end of the world or for all eternity—everything would remain as it had been since the beginning. . . .

The first breach in this petrified outlook on nature was made not by a natural scientist but by a philosopher. In 1755 appeared Kant's *General Natural History and Theory of the Heavens*. The question of the first impulse was abolished; the earth and the whole solar system appeared as something that had *come into being* in the course of time.*

The Kant-Laplace nebular hypothesis is today considered as probably incorrect; but it was of tremendous significance, as Engels points out, in breaking the "petrified [mechanical] outlook on nature." It showed that the solar system, and inferentially nature as a whole, had a history. In his notes, Engels lists the succeeding breaches in this "petrified outlook" as follows:

The first breach: Kant and Laplace. The second: Geology and Palaeontology (Lyell, slow development). The third: organic chemistry, which prepares organic bodies and shows the validity of chemical laws for living bodies. The fourth: 1842, mechanical [equivalent of] heat. . . . The fifth: Darwin, Lamarck, the cell, etc. . . . The sixth: the

* Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, International Publishers, New York, 1940, pp. 6, 8.

comparative element in anatomy. . . *

Elsewhere, Engels lists the three great discoveries that broke through the mechanical approach and laid the basis for the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism: 1. The discovery of the conservation and transformation of energy; 2. The discovery of the cell as the unit of all living organisms; 3. Darwin's theory of evolution.**

Some of the principles which characterize the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism are: that matter is primary and is the substance of all objective reality; that matter and motion are inseparable; that phenomena do not exist in isolation but in interconnection and interdependence; that development proceeds through the interpenetration and struggle of opposites; that the unity of opposites is relative, while the struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute; that this struggle of opposites is the inner content of all development, which proceeds through the transition of quantitative changes into qualitative changes (leaps, mutations).

Only dialectical materialism can enable science to steer through the immense uncharted seas that have opened up with the overthrow of the old mechanical concepts by the new great discoveries of the 20th century. This overthrow came about primarily through (1) the famous Michelson-

Morley experiment, which demonstrated the invariability of the speed of light, forming the basis for Einstein's theory of relativity, which in turn dispensed with the hypothetical, and by then inadequate, conception of the ether; and (2) the discovery of radio-activity, which revealed the transmutation of the elements and eventually culminated in the discovery of the transmutability of matter and energy.

Thus, the discovery that matter is made up of electrons, protons, neutrons, etc., that matter can be converted into radiation, *i.e.*, energy, and vice versa, has been taken by idealist and positivist philosophers as evidence that "matter has disappeared."

However, Lenin gave the dialectical materialist answer to this "evidence" as early as 1908 in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. In answering the positivists of his day Lenin said:

... Natural science leads to the "*unity of matter*"—such is the real meaning of the statement regarding the disappearance of matter, its replacement by electricity, etc., which is leading so many people astray. "Matter is disappearing" means that the limit within which we have hitherto known matter is vanishing and that our knowledge is penetrating deeper; properties of matter are disappearing which formerly seemed absolute, immutable, and primary (impenetrability, inertia, mass, etc.) and which are now revealed to be relative and characteristic only of certain states of matter. For the *sole*

* *Ibid.*, p. 186.

** Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, International Publishers, New York, 1941, p. 39.

"property" of matter with whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up is the property of *being an objective reality*, of existing outside our mind.*

And Engels, as far back as 1878, long before these discoveries, showed in his *Anti-Dühring* that the transmutability of matter and energy is in harmony with the principles of dialectical materialism. Engels then said:

Motion is the mode of existence of matter. Never anywhere has there been matter without motion, nor can there be.**

The quantum theory of Planck: the discovery that radiation is liberated in discontinuous quanta or "packets," thus explaining among other things the separate lines in the spectra of the elements, likewise supports dialectics.

But the biggest idealist circus has been staged over its related "uncertainty principle." This principle declares that it is impossible to determine the speed and position of a particular electron at any given moment, because the light by which it is observed itself causes a change in the motion of the electron. The idealists have sought to apply the "principle of indeterminacy," or uncertainty, to all science, declaring that this principle proves that there is no such thing as causality in nature, that all nature is "unknowable," and that

the very basic structure of matter provides a place for "faith."

But, as Haldane has pointed out, this principle of indeterminacy is in full accord with dialectical materialism. In the words of Haldane:

There is no essential fuzziness about matter which prevents us observing it as accurately as we wish. . . . Simply, we do not know how much the velocity of an electron has been changed by the act of photographing it. . . . In other words, our observation of any object is, among other things, a physical process which affects the object observed. It follows that there are no observers who are only observers and merely sit back and take no part in the process of the universe. That is an extremely general principle of Marxism. Marx continually pointed out that observers of society are also active members of that society, that either they are producers or they do not produce. In each case, it will make a difference in their outlook. In general, it is impossible to get outside the universe.

Does this principle of indeterminacy negate causality and law in nature? By no means. It shows only that specific predictions cannot be made about a specific *individual* in the midst of a mass. But the law of the *mass* of cases holds true. Thus, there is no such thing as "the free will of an electron," a concept which Zhdanov so correctly ridicules in his discourse "On the History of Philos-

ophy."* Lenin explained what is wrong with those scientists who reject causality:

It is mainly because the physicists did not know dialectics that the new physics strayed into idealism. They combated metaphysical . . . materialism and its one-sided "mechanism," and in so doing threw out the baby with the bathwater. Denying the absolute character of some of the most important and basic laws, they ended in denying all objective law in nature and in declaring that a law of nature is a mere convention, "a limitation of expectation," "a logical necessity," and so forth.**

The emergence of the Einstein relativity theory showed the unity of the space-time continuum and the dependence of its magnitude and configuration upon the velocity of matter in motion. But this again was erroneously interpreted by many idealists as disproving the objective reality of space and time.

Lenin, affirming the objective reality of space and time, stated:

Recognizing the existence of objective reality, *i.e.*, matter in motion independently of our mind, materialism must also inevitably recognize the objective reality of time and space, in contrast above all to Kantianism, which in this question sides with idealism and regards time and space not as objective realities but as forms of human understanding.***

And Haldane points out that Einstein's theory of relativity improved

on the Newtonian theory by establishing the inseparability of space and time from matter:

. . . It followed that the classical theory of space and time must be rejected as being metaphysical, that is to say, as postulating something beyond matter, namely an abstract space and time which had properties apart from those of any events going on in them.*

In recent years, many idealist philosophers, and some scientists, have been attempting to prove that the universe is finite.

ON THE MILNE THEORY OF "CREATION"

Zhdanov points out, however:

Many followers of Einstein, in their failure to understand the dialectical process of knowledge, the relationship of absolute and relative truth, transpose the results of the study of the laws of motion of a finite, limited sphere of the universe to the whole infinite universe and arrive at the idea of the finite nature of the world, its limitedness in time and space. The astronomer Milne has even "calculated" that the world was created two billion years ago.**

Milne's theory referred to by Zhdanov deserves particular attention, since it alerts us to the danger of accepting at their face value the theories of bourgeois scientists, as distinct from accepting their concrete scientific findings. As we shall see, Milne's theory is intimately linked up, not

* V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Selected Works, Vol. XI, International Publishers, New York, 1943, pp. 316-317.

** Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p. 68.

* J. B. S. Haldane, *The Marxist Philosophy and the Sciences*, Random House, New York, 1939, pp. 84-85.

* *Political Affairs*, April 1948, p. 365.

** Lenin, *loc. cit.*, p. 318.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 235.

* Haldane, *loc. cit.*, p. 61.

** Zhdanov, *loc. cit.*, p. 365.

alone with positivist, but also theistic views.

Milne's theory is based on a picture of the universe described by Haldane as follows:

When we observe the spiral nebulae we find that they seem to be composed of stars much like our sun and its neighbors, and their spectra show the presence of the same chemical elements. But the spectral lines are all shifted towards the red, as are the spectra of stars which are known to be moving away from us. The speed of recession can easily be calculated from the shift, and it is found that the few bright nebulae which are believed to be nearest, are moving away most slowly, while the dim ones which are thought to be farther off, are receding more quickly. If the speeds are uniform, then about two thousand million years ago all the nebulae would have been concentrated into a small volume.*

This is, of course, the widely popularized theory of an expanding universe, which has been given varied interpretation by different scientists. To continue with Haldane's description of these theories:

Going back two thousand million years into the past, all the infinite number of atoms in the expanding universe were packed into an indefinitely small volume, from which they rushed out explosively. This explosion is identified by apologists of religion with the creation of the world by God, though it is not very like the accounts of that event given in the Bible and other ancient documents. The same figure of two

thousand million years turns up in many other connections. The atoms of the metal uranium break down at a constant rate, yielding lead and helium as end products. Analysis of rocks show nothing older than about fifteen hundred million years. The helium in meteorites agrees with an upper limit of two thousand million years for their age. Calculations regarding the orbit of Mars give much the same age for it.*

Milne's cosmological theory takes its position on the principle that there is no such thing as a fixed time-scale in nature and that "the adoption of a *scale* [my emphasis—N.S.] of time is an arbitrary act on the part of the thinker."** Milne develops a time-scale which he deduces from considerations of kinematics ("kinematic time"), and which has a zero point (*i.e.*, originates) at his moment of "creation."

He works out a simple mathematical formula by which events can be transposed from his "kinematic" time-scale to the ordinary, "dynamical" time-scale. The kinematic time-scale, he holds, "is appropriate to radiation," while the dynamical time-scale "is appropriate to material particles and events."***

The zero, or "creation point" on his kinematic time-scale becomes minus infinity on the dynamical scale—that is, it disappears, and "dynamical" time stretches backward infinitely. Thus, Milne presents (in

* *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
 ** E. A. Milne, "Cosmological Theories," *Astrophysical Journal*, Vol. 91 (1940), p. 157.
 *** *Ibid.*, p. 158.

* Haldane, *loc. cit.*, p. 66.

technical terms) two world pictures:

If . . . [we use dynamical] time, then the universe is not expanding, is infinite in spatial extent with an infinite past history and the appropriate public space is hyperbolic. If . . . an atomic frequency is taken as constant [kinematic time], then the universe is expanding uniformly, is finite in spatial extent with a finite past history and the appropriate private spaces are flat. . . . The existence of the two time scales is closely connected with the disjunction between matter and light.*

Each scale gives a different picture of the universe, explaining some of the puzzling phenomena; and on each of these scales certain of the inconsistencies are solved, while others remain unsolved. Milne asserts that there is no meaning to the question: which picture is correct? He claims that both pictures (which are inconsistent with each other, but mutually transposable) are simply different descriptions, from different viewpoints, of the same universe.

The gain that Haldane sees in Milne's theories is that they appear to make striking approaches and give tentative solutions to many problems of cosmology, and that they lead to a conclusion that the laws of nature are themselves evolving. The question that we must raise, however, is whether this conclusion is not obtained at the expense of more basic conceptions—whether Milne's two time-scales do not again divorce matter from energy and establish a universal dualism.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158.

It is significant that Milne's kinematic time-scale "appropriate to radiation" (energy) contains the concept of creation. Here we seem to have again the tie-up of energy (as apart from matter) with the concept of God. On the other hand, his dynamical time-scale "appropriate to material particles," having no creation and recognizing time as stretching backward to infinity, would seem to be in accord with materialism.

Cornforth's attempts to show that the contrasting world pictures based on the two time-scales are compatible with a materialist concept of the universe, since it is a matter of "convention" or "language" which system of time measurement we use, cannot be viewed as valid. Cornforth holds "that there can be a certain ambiguity associated with the word 'time'. . . . 'Time' can have a double meaning." It "can be used to refer to" a certain specific sequence of events whose periods can be measured on a definite time-scale; or "it *can* be used in a wider sense," to refer not to any specific measurable time-order, "but in a general way to any motion or sequence of events."* Thus, he maintains, time is *both* finite and infinite.

On this basis, Cornforth essentially accepts Milne's theory, although he denies the need to assume "an absolute creation." To quote from his work, *Science and Idealism*:

. . . We need not assume that any *date* in the system of the physical

* Maurice Cornforth, *Science and Idealism*, International Publishers, New York, 1947, p. 203.

world-series in which we live is the last and latest of any *infinite* series of dates, nor that any *period of time* is the last of any *infinite* series of such periods. For we need not assume that the series of periods and dates in question has been going on forever. On the contrary, we can assume that it had a beginning and is finite, even though that beginning was not an absolute creation.*

Haldane shows that Milne's moment of "creation," when viewed from the dynamical time-scale, stretches out over a period of billions of years.** But Milne's view of the relationship between time and space is such that immediately at the moment of "creation" the volume of the universe was that of a mathematical point.*** This means that not only did time not exist prior to "creation" on Milne's kinematic time-scale, but space did not exist either.

Thus, it is not the origin of a "time-order," "a given sequence," as Cornforth puts it, that Milne is talking about, but the origin of time itself, before which there was neither time-sequence nor space.

Milne himself says:

But no meaning could be attached to asking what was prior to creation. For as there were no observers to experience a temporal sequence, the notion of a temporal sequence, and so of time, prior to creation is without any significance.****

And similarly, on the *maximum* limitations of space, Milne is equally definite:

Can we observe material objects at arbitrarily large distances? This is the only meaning that can be given to the question: is space infinite? Our answer is: no! The measured distance of any material object, at any epoch of observation, is not only finite but less than an assignable bound, ct [*], and whether "space exists" beyond observable objects is not a question with a content.**

Milne alleges that he has been attempting to develop "physical science as a purely deductive branch of knowledge."*** He therefore maintains that he is doing the exact opposite of that for which Zhdanov criticizes him. Milne insists that it is conventional science (including the relativity theory) which attempts to build up a picture of the universe based on conceptions which are derived from small-scale considerations, are finite and limited and include tacit assumptions, etc., and do not fit the universal (kinematic) scale. He claims that he, on the other hand, deals directly with considerations on the universal scale and derives from them equations for phenomena that hold both on the universal and ordinary scales.

* The velocity of light in miles per second times the number of seconds since "creation."

** Milne, *Relativity, Gravitation and World Structure*, p. 132.

*** Milne, "Rational Electrodynamics," *Philosophical Magazine*, Vol. 34 (1945), p. 74.

But the fact is that Milne's approach is similar to that of the empirio-critical and logical positivist schools. Beginning with the statement that he bases himself on a principle put forward by Ernst Mach, he goes on to say:

As in geometry, observation vindicates not the truth of the theorems, but the applicability of the axiomatic definitions to the things occurring in nature.*

In connection with this denial of objective reality, Milne also rejects causality when he speaks of the "use for convenience [of] the language of the theory of causation."**

This position is strikingly similar to the views of Mach, as held up for refutation by Lenin in his major philosophical work. Thus, Lenin quotes Mach:

In nature there is neither cause nor effect. . . . I have repeatedly demonstrated that all forms of the law of causality spring from subjective motives and that there is no necessity for nature to correspond with them. . . .

Apart from *logical* necessity [Mach's italics—Lenin], no other necessity, for instance, physical necessity, exists.***

Milne further demonstrates his adherence to the logical positivists in the following passages:

It must be emphasized that the ideas about to be presented form a clean break with the traditional method of

approach to a question of physical generalization—the method of inductive generalization from experiment. The new ideas are logical not physical.*

Thus our abstract scheme pays due and full regard to the theory of knowledge, as this has been developed by philosophers from Locke to Russell.**

It is remarkable how throughout our analysis each situation insists on actuality. . . . Thus the mathematics insists on an extreme positivist outlook.***

It is not surprising, therefore, that as a result of his positivist approach, Milne ends up with the conception of limitedness of space and time as pointed out by Zhdanov.

How does Marxist philosophy view the question of limitations to time and space? Engels, in his polemic against Dühring, said:

Eternity in time, infinity in space, mean from the start, and in the simple meaning of the words, that there is no end in *any* direction. . . .****

And again:

So time had a beginning. What was there before this beginning? The universe, which was then in an identical, unchanging state. . . . The basic forms of all being are space and time, and existence out of time is just as gross an absurdity as existence out of space. . . .

If the world had ever been in a state in which no change whatever was taking place how could it pass from this

* Milne, "Rational Electrodynamics," cited, p. 73.

** *Ibid.*, p. 76.

*** Milne, "The Inverse Square Law of Gravitation," *Proceedings Royal Society, Series A*, Vol. 156, pp. 62, et seq.

**** Engels, *Anti-Duebring*, p. 57.

* Milne, "Kinematics, Dynamics and the Scale of Time," *Proceedings Royal Society, Series A*, Vol. 158, p. 326.

** *Ibid.*, p. 326.

*** Lenin, *loc. cit.*, p. 220.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

** Haldane, "A New Theory of the Past," *American Scientist*, Vol. 33 (1945), p. 129.

*** Milne, *Relativity, Gravitation and World Structure*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1935, p. 134.

**** *Ibid.*, p. 140.

state to a changing state? . . . A first impulse must therefore have come in from outside, from outside the universe, an impulse which set it in motion. But as everyone knows, the "first impulse" is only another expression for God.*

Haldane's designation of Milne as a theist ("As Milne is a theist, the idea of creation did not trouble him."**) is certainly true. For his fundamental work, *Relativity, Gravitation and World Structure*, Milne gives the motto: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." In presenting this theory, Milne completely subordinates science to religion. He declares:

This view contains no irrationalities save the one supreme irrationality of creation—an irrationality indeed to physics, but not necessarily to metaphysics . . . (p. 138). But creation demands a First Cause. . . . One can say if one pleases that we have found God in the universe. For the universe seems to be a perfect expression of those extra-temporal, extra-spatial attributes we should like to associate with God . . . (p. 139).

We say if we like that the complete contents of the system were created once and for all at $t = 0$ There if we like we may trace the finger of God in the divine act of creation (p. 134).

And, as a second motto at the head of his book, Milne quotes St. Matthew: "Except ye become as little

children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven."

Certainly, no one will deny the great contributions that have been made to science by many scientists, including Milne, who hold idealistic and theistic views. But for scientists who have reached the proud pinnacle of modern discoveries to reject the grandeur that this gives to the intellect of Man and to aggrandize innocence and artless ignorance is indeed a shameful retreat before the revolutionary implications of the social use of their knowledge. This path leads only to the strengthening and encouragement of anti-scientific mysticism and reaction, turning science against man and against science itself. In the words of Zhdanov: "It would probably be correct to apply to these English scientists [Milne, Eddington, etc.—N.S.] the words of their great countryman, the philosopher Bacon, about those who turn the impotence of their science into a libel against nature."*

MONOPOLY CAPITALISM HAMPERS SCIENCE

The attack upon science proceeds unabated on the moral and social plane as well. We frequently hear the familiar wail: "Science has gone too far!"; "Science is leading humanity to a materialist dead-end!"; "Science is destroying the world!" In its most aggressive form, this "theory," chiefly sponsored again by clerical reaction,

was put forward in a statement by the Reverend D. R. Davies in a series of broadcasts on "The Defeat of Modern Man":

Somehow or other, by hook or by crook, this world must be robbed of the importance which it has had in men's eyes for the last hundred years. There is another world, or order of life, which is more important still.

This statement was hailed with glee by Henry Luce's *Life* magazine, which today is leading the obscurantist attack of clerical reaction on the moral values of science. This "moral" attack gained prominence, not only since the development of the atom bomb, but already during the last economic crisis in connection with the growth of industrial rationalization which threw millions of people out of work.

The fact is that modern science has grown far beyond the conditions of the capitalist system. Most modern bourgeois scientists, unwilling to throw down the gauntlet to capitalism, ignore dialectical materialism, lead science toward sterile idealist disputations, keep science atomized in narrow, disconnected specialties, and fail to develop the great revolutionary sweep of the early bourgeois scientists with their unified approach to nature as a whole.

Atomic energy increases a hundredfold the basic contradiction of capitalism that Engels characterized in the classic phrase: "The mode of production is in revolt against the mode of exchange." We are there-

fore not surprised to see American capitalism attempting to suppress, not only the utilization of atomic energy in industry, but even any further study of its utilization, except for war.

Monopoly capitalism, throughout its existence, suppresses inventions as long as possible in order to safeguard its existing investments in processes and equipment to prevent their becoming obsolete. Inventions that were developed during the war are still being kept from the market under the pretense of military secrecy, or with no explanation at all.

But science is not only actively restrained under capitalism, but also steadily hampered by lack of planning.

Capitalists usually sneer at the idea of a planned science for the benefit of society as a whole. They claim that this stultifies the initiative of scientific genius. Actually, however, the big corporations, to increase their profits, organize large research staffs in a collective manner, involving hundreds of scientific workers.

American industry prides itself on the tremendous planned collective effort that made possible the development of the atom bomb. But the normal attitude of the capitalists toward the planning of science, except where warfare or their own immediate profit is involved, can be realized when we consider the amazing fact (as pointed out by Professor Bernal) that the two billion dollars spent by the American government for the atom bomb was larger than the total

* *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

** Haldane, *The Marxist Philosophy and the Sciences*, p. 68.

* Zhdanov, *loc. cit.*, p. 365.

sum spent on science since the beginning of history.*

By contrast, the development of science in the Soviet Union has amply demonstrated the tremendous possibilities inherent in the conscious planning of science. The directed conscious planning of science for social needs played a tremendous role in developing the mighty strength of the Soviet people as well as the high level of Soviet scientific accomplishments.

But Soviet planning has never neglected the planning of science along the line of the internal possibilities of science itself. The country has for years been covered with a whole network of scientific research institutes and has again placed scientific research as one of the central features of the postwar Five-Year Plan. Soviet science has always placed a high value on developments in so-called "pure science" and the extension of scientific theory, and has numerous achievements to its credit in this field.

The continued war-mongering of American imperialism and the building up of huge armaments for World War III have brought yet another and a new danger to the development of science in America. Viewed superficially, it might give the impression that the government, by placing tremendous budgets at the disposal of various laboratories, is providing scientists with opportuni-

ties for developing science while working on the needs of the war machine. But this is not so. Robert D. Potter pointed out in 1946 in his book *The Atomic Revolution*:

During this war few great achievements in any field have been based on knowledge gained since the war began. What happened during the intensive research drive of the war was that "the cream was skimmed off" the magic bottle that contained the scientific knowledge for generations past. Man thus . . . truly depleted his reserve of scientific capital, those basic facts of knowledge which he had carefully discovered and accumulated through the years.

But, says Potter:

One of the major consequences of the application of atomic energy for military purposes is that the science of nuclear physics, which perfected this great discovery, may find itself chained to the force it has liberated. . . . Consider especially the nuclear physicists. . . . These men, too, would like to return to days of peaceful research. But will they return, or will they be allowed to return? Until the day no threat of war exists upon the earth many of the most able men in nuclear physics will remain in the government-subsidized laboratories discovering new facts about the atom and how it may be used for new and still undreamed power for military purposes. . . . The skillful chain which nuclear physics has forged on the giant of atomic energy is a two-way chain that binds scientists in a firm grasp.*

* Robert D. Potter, *The Atomic Revolution*, McBride, New York, 1946, pp. 113-114.

The future of science, however, lies not in making man subordinate to itself or to machines, or to technology, but in making man the master of his surroundings and his own life. Science has not, as we so frequently hear from some popularizers and philosophers, reduced man to an insignificant pigmy on a tiny planet in a corner of the universe. On the contrary, it has freed man from superstition and enables him to establish himself as the true ruler of the earth, his mind able to embrace the complex laws of the universe. As Bernal points out:

Its material achievements themselves have made it possible for the whole population of the world to participate in the culture of the mind. It has liberated people's minds and given them the possibility of new judgments and values, of new purposes and new ways of acting together.*

Science has removed all limits to the further development of mankind. Only man's backward social organization retards this development. It is on the solution of this problem that Marxism concentrates its teachings and becomes in most direct form a guide to action. As Lenin said: "Marx taught the working class to know itself, to be conscious of itself, to put science in the place of dreams." It is the historic action of the working class, based on the science of Marxism, that leads to the solution of

* Bernal, "Dialectical Materialism," *Modern Quarterly* (British), Vol III, No. 2 (New Series).

the problem of man's social organization.

The *Communist Manifesto*, written a hundred years ago, analyzes the forces that underlie the basic world developments today. History has thus demonstrated that Marxism possesses the supreme objective criterion of every true science, that is: the power of prediction.

The bankruptcy of today's bourgeois social science, on the other hand, is tellingly described by Bernal:

The historian of today claims that there is no theory of history and that all he has to do is to describe events as actually as possible. The economist dissociates himself from actual financial events such as booms and slumps and discusses the theory of an ideal economics which would hold if it were not for the unfair existence of trusts and trade unions. The philosopher gives up once and for all the search for truth and concerns himself only with precision of language.*

In contrast to this pitiful retreat of the bourgeois social scientists is Bernard Shaw's tribute to the spirit of Karl Marx, never more alive than today in the world-wide movements of the millions who are guided in their struggles by his teachings:

He never condescends to cast a glance of useless longing at the past, his cry to the present is always, "Pass by, we are working for the future." Nor is the future at all mysterious, uncertain or dreadful to him. There is not a word of fear, nor appeal to chance, nor

* *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

* J. D. Bernal, "Is Science Destroying the World?" *The Communist Answer to the Challenge of Our Time*, Thames Publications, London, p. 18.

to Providence, nor vain remonstrance with nature, nor any other familiar signs of the giddiness which seizes men when they climb to heights which command a view of the past, present and future of human society. Marx keeps

his head like a god. He has discovered the law of social development, and knows what must come. The thread of history is in his hands.*

* As quoted by Lewis, *The Communist Answer to the Challenge of our Time*, p. 16.

“Nature is the test of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis Nature’s process is dialectical and not metaphysical. But the scientists who have learnt to think dialectically are still few and far between, and hence the conflict between the discoveries made and the old traditional mode of thought is the explanation of the boundless confusion which now reigns in theoretical natural science and reduces both teachers and students, writers and readers to despair.”

Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 29.

BOOK REVIEW

COTTON PATCH IMPERIALISM AND NEGRO FREEDOM

By Abner Berry

NEGRO LIBERATION, by Harry Haywood, International Publishers, New York, \$2.25.

The failure to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South after the Civil War has left as its imprint an evil legacy—the Southern plantation system, and with it, the special, brutal oppression of the Negro people. Rooted in the plantation system based on chattel slavery as it unfolded in the South, the Negro question, despite the abolition of slavery, has remained—in fact, grown—as a national issue of decisive importance.

All the force of bourgeois scholarship has been utilized to obscure the true nature of the Negro question in the United States. “Scholarly” books and monographs by the carload have been published to “prove” that the Negro is a good-natured, hard-working ward of American capitalist society and that persistent moral appeals to the “hearts” and “consciences” of “prejudiced whites” would eventually win acceptance by them of the Negro as a citizen.

Besides the voluminous outpourings of apologists for slavery and ideologues of Negro “inferiority,” there has been an equal flood of “liberal” literature

preaching “tolerance” and eventual “integration.” For years, the “liberal” school of “tolerance” literature concentrated on studies of small slices of Negro life. This school examined the social sore on the surface and wrote prescriptions for the treatment of the symptoms.

Now and then, the regionalists centered in the University of North Carolina have made studies of the Southern plantation system. But they usually conclude that the problem of the plantation is the problem of the Southern whites and that the Negro is merely an insignificant factor.

COMMUNISTS CUT NEW PATH

Adherents of Marxism-Leninism, of course, vigorously oppose all such “theories” and the false conclusions drawn from them. The Communist Party of the United States early cut through this patchwork maze of reformist notions by its analysis of the Negro question in the United States as a national question. The understanding which the Communists brought to the study of the Negro question was crowned by the Scottsboro victory, a victory resulting from an epic struggle, initiated and led by the Communist Party, which literally shook the country, marking the beginning of a new era in the campaign for Negro rights.

The pernicious revision of Marxism-Leninism which Browder undertook necessarily reflected itself with respect

to the Negro question. Browder "decided" in 1944 that the Negro question, in its fundamental aspects, had been "solved," thus writing off the national liberation struggles of the Negro people as having no validity in his projected postwar Utopia.

The "intelligent" imperialists toward whom Browder directed his sentimental appeals, and their Southern Bourbon partners, were not, of course, having any of Browder's neat scheme. On the contrary, hardly was the recent war over, when they turned with renewed vigor to mend their plantation fences and to patch up their Jim-Crow curtains wherever they had become frayed. The super-exploitation and violent oppression of the Negro people were becoming more and more aggravated, and not least of all in their Black Belt national homeland.

This development was foreseen in the year's discussion in the Communist Party, under the initiative of William Z. Foster, which was concretized in a resolution of its National Committee in 1946. This resolution on the Negro question reaffirmed and further developed the Marxist-Leninist characterization of the Negro question in the United States as a national question. Presented in a report by Benjamin J. Davis, this resolution constitutes one of the cornerstones of American Communist theory in the struggle against imperialism.

Harry Haywood's recently published book, *Negro Liberation*, is an elaboration and a detailed analysis of that theory. Polemical in tone, Haywood's book applies Marxist historical science to a study of Southern agriculture and traces the development of slavery as a stage in the development of the plan-

tation system. At the roots of the Negro question in the United States, Haywood proves, is the persisting plantation system in the Southern Black Belt, where the Negroes are a majority. The plantation persists, he shows, despite the wishful thinking from "Left" and Right about its actual or imminent "dissolution" as a result of urban industrialization and rural mechanization.

Negro Liberation presents the Negro question as it relates to the plantation system and to monopoly capitalism. The plantation system, center and source of the Negro question, represents:

. . . serfdom in the very heart of the most highly industrialized country in the world. Slave-whipping barbarism at the center of "enlightened" twentieth-century capitalist culture—that is the core of America's "race" problem (p. 11).

SOUTHERN REGIONALISM AND REALITY

This state of serfdom persists in its purest form in the plantation belt, its full weight borne especially by the 5,000,000 Negroes who live there. Professional sociologists, located mainly at the University of North Carolina, adhering to regionalism, have sought to prove that the Negro majority area is vanishing and that sharecropping serfdom is becoming more the lot of whites than of Negroes in the South.

While it is true, Haywood shows, that the landless Southern white victims of the plantation are more exploited than are whites of a similar status outside the plantation area, the basis of their victimization is the super-

exploitation of the Negro. Citing Macon County, Ga., as a typical Black Belt county, he drives home the point: The white family's annual cash income in 1934 was \$872.21; the average Negro family income was \$299.56. And the differentials in social and cultural terms—housing, schools, hospitals, etc.—were even greater. In another Georgia Black Belt county with a Negro majority, Negroes owned less than 5 percent of the land while "one-seventh of the white owners held more than half of all the land" (p. 46).

The area of Negro majority persists, Haywood contends, despite the heavy migrations beginning with World War I, and, to a much lesser extent, during the period from World War II to the present. There are still 180 counties of Negro majority remaining in the Black Belt. And the area of Negro majority transcends these county lines, spilling over into 290 other counties, where the Negro population constitutes 30 to 50 percent of the total.

IMPERIALIST "OXYGEN TENT"

The plantation system persists because of the alliance between the post-slavery Bourbon middle class and the Northern capitalists. Control of the economic life of the South gave Northern capital control of the world cotton market. The penetration of Northern capital was facilitated by the "essentially colonial economic structure" in the South. American imperialism emerging after the Civil War batted on the rotting remnants of the slave system, to the point where:

The Morgans, Rockefellers, Du

Ponts, Mellons are today the real owners of the South (p. 53).

Haywood shows how this fact prevents the break-up of the plantation system by any systematic development of industry, especially Southern-owned industry. Relying on the plantation for its labor reserve, and reaping a harvest of profits from the credit system based on, and also reinforcing, the croppers' exploitation, Northern Big Business:

. . . functions as a sort of oxygen tent preserving and continually reviving the aged and tottering plantation economy. Bulwarking its social, racial and legal controls with the might of the dollar, it helps to preserve pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, preventing rational scientific methods of farming and enforcing the ruinous singlecrop system. Its role is artificially to retard and distort the South's modern development (p. 57).

As for the plantation itself, the front men of Big Business, organized into the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, are cited by the author as proposing that the government "eliminate" from agriculture some four million families. The farm families to be eliminated are those which are the poorest, the producers on marginal farms. Such a policy applied to the South would serve further to strengthen the dominance of the plantations.

Imperialism, using as its shield and buckler all that is decadent in American society, not only preserves the plantation system as the basis of a sort of internal colony, but also amplifies and spreads the white chauvinism, and the

oppression of the Negro people, generated there. A thoroughgoing land reform, Haywood makes cogently clear, is therefore inseparable from the fight to end Jim Crow in America.

STRUGGLE FOR POWER

From the local plantation overseer through the county and state governments, right up to Washington and Wall Street, there exists "a system of special persecution and plunder of the Negro people." This system, Haywood points out, is "designed for the political suffocation and suppression of a people who comprise the majority of the population of a contiguous area, a people of common ethnic origin, with a common history" (p. 156).

Haywood rejects the popular fallacies of "race" as the basis of, or chief factor in, Negro persecution, and argues:

In reality, the so-called racial persecution of the Negro in the United States is a particular form and device of national oppression. The use by an oppressor nation's ruling class of such social differences as language and religion to preserve the isolation (and thus the economic and social inequality) of a subject people is common knowledge (p. 137).

But, "among American Negroes, physical difference becomes almost the sole characteristic" which marks off the subject people from the oppressor nation. "In the absence of such socio-cultural distinctions between white and Negro as language and religion, the 'racial visibility' of the Negro enables the Anglo-Saxon ruling clique to set him apart from all others among the

population as a permanent object of scorn and oppression" (p. 138).

In a word, the Negro in the United States has become, mainly because of the white chauvinism carefully cultivated and spread by all the instruments of bourgeois art, literature and propaganda — a "permanent alien." The struggle against this status has as its ultimate slogan "the right to self-determination in the Black Belt." Realization of this slogan implies "the elimination of the forcibly imposed distinction between oppressed and oppressing nations; it means the abolition of all and sundry privileges of one nation over the other" (p. 158).

The fight to realize the ultimate slogan, "for the right of self-determination," begins with the most minute demands of the plantation "serfs." "Their partial demands . . . are more revolutionary," Haywood writes, paraphrasing Lenin, "than the partial demands of the city industrial workers because they represent the belated and unfinished struggle against serfdom and feudalism" (p. 135).

Haywood recognizes the "wide gap between the predominant reformism of the Negro liberation movement today and the revolutionary political struggles inherent in the principle of self-determination for the Negro nation in the Black Belt" (p. 216). But, he shows, there is no contradiction between the principle which he defends and the generally agreed-upon goal of equal rights accepted by most Negro organizations. As for the slogan of "equality," it can have no real meaning and cannot be achieved fully without a "struggle for democratic land redivision and for self-government, including the

full right of self-determination" (pp. 216-217).

The author answers those who accuse the Communists of Jim-Crow politics because the Communist Party has adopted the slogan of the right to self-determination for the Black Belt, by showing that the *right* to separate does not involve a *duty* to do so. Haywood quotes Stalin on this principle:

A nation [says Stalin] has the right to arrange its life on autonomous lines. It even has the right to secede. But this does not mean that it should do so under all circumstances, that autonomy, or separation, will everywhere and always be advantageous for a nation, for the majority of its population, for the toiling strata (p. 158).

Haywood shows that the slogan of the right to self-determination should not be conceived as abstracted from the current phases of the liberation struggle, but rather as dialectically interrelated. This is so in the sense first, that the perspective of full self-determination can give the current movement direction and spirit, and second, that limited self-determination, taking appropriate forms and looking to eventual full exercise of this right to self-determination, is possible at the successive stages of the liberation struggle. In this connection, the author demonstrates that local self-government in the Black Belt may be won and exercised under the present federative system:

"While the right and exercise of self-determination is the inherent goal of the Negro struggle for national liberation in the Black Belt, self-rule in the partial form of local self-government within the existing federal state is a

first and mandatory step in its attainment. It is the *minimum requirement* for the recasting of the South's agricultural set-up along democratic lines, to guarantee to the Negroes the necessary political power for beginning the wide-sweeping economic and cultural reforms needed in that region" (p. 162. Author's emphasis).

"Self-government for the Black Belt region," the author shows, "implies . . . a regrouping of county and administrative districts to guarantee full proportional representation for the Negro people in all areas of government" (p. 165).

The author concludes his discussion of this question with the eloquent statement:

Self-government is a slogan which epitomizes the immediate political demands of the Negroes in the South. It would give the entire movement around these urgent demands of Negro equality—demands being accepted by ever increasing numbers of democracy-loving Americans—their proper focus and import. It would raise the struggle to a higher level, pointing this struggle to its ultimate goal—the achievement of fundamental agrarian reform and the full right of self-determination" (p. 167).

LIBERAL PROGRAMS EXAMINED

In one of the best chapters of the book, Haywood exposes the shortcomings of various "liberal" programs for "solving" the Negro question, because all such programs fall short of the imperative task of uprooting the plantation system. Following an extensive refutation of the liberal bourgeois ap-

proach of Gunnar Myrdal, this chapter evaluates the achievements and shortcomings of the New Deal policies with regard to the Black Belt. The author proves conclusively, on the basis of government statistics and private reports of investigators, that the New Deal benefits, because they were not connected with any program for uprooting the plantation, actually aided the further development of the plantation system.

It would have increased the usefulness of the book had the author included in this chapter a discussion of the regionalists and their program. This school of Southern "liberalism" was closely related to the New Deal and is still widely influential in political circles, being represented in the group of Southern progressives in the Wallace movement.

Haywood's concluding paragraph in his New Deal discussion does serve, however, as a partial answer to adherents of regionalist policies:

The F.S.A. [New Deal Farm Security Administration] foundered on the jagged reef of Dixie landlordism, and a similar fate awaits all programs having for their aim the benefit of the "common man" in Southern agriculture, unless they are planned as a part of a basic attack upon racial discrimination, plantation feudalism, and the forces of monopoly capital which profit from such exploitation (p. 65. Author's emphasis).

SOME SHORTCOMINGS

From the evaluation of the book thus far, it is apparent that *Negro Libera-*

tion stands out as a great contribution to the understanding of the Negro question in the United States. This is especially clear in its excellent analysis of the agrarian source and basis of Negro oppression in the Black Belt plantation system, as well as in its irrefutable exposure of Wall Street imperialism as the super-exploiter of the Negro people.

There are certain shortcomings, however, which need noting. These entail several direct omissions of significant points, or insufficient development of valid points in terms of what appears to us to be the overall needs of the book.

On page 166, the author states:

This demand [for self-government in the Black Belt] represents the basic interests of the impoverished white minority of the region whose backwardness and distress are anchored in the oppression of the Negro masses, since they can be freed only through uncompromising support for the full rights of the Negro people. Recognition of the right of self-government for the Black Belt Negroes is, therefore, basic to any permanent alliance between them and the southern white working people against the common enemy (p. 166).

This excellent presentation of the relation between the Negro and white masses in the Black Belt, and their mutual interests, is, regrettably, not sufficiently developed throughout the book to provide a basis for the cementing of the necessary alliance and common action.

In this connection, also, the alliance

of the Negro people and the white working class would be more clear to the reader, I believe, if there were a more detailed examination of the Negro working class, especially in the Southern industrial cities. Presenting the Negro workers as the link between the white working class and the Negro people, especially the farmers, requires a specific discussion of the conditions and problems of Negro workers, especially in the Black Belt. Such a discussion would clarify for white workers the part that they should play. Theory would thus be lighting the way to immediate practice, which is particularly urgent, in view of the postwar spread of white chauvinism within the ranks of labor, most noticeably in the South.

One feels, too, that the author has not brought forward sufficiently or with due emphasis the pioneering contribution of the Communist Party, in theory, program, and struggle, as the tried and consistent champion of the Negro national liberation movement.

An omission that must be noted concerns the Jewish people in the United States and the fight against the increasing anti-Semitism generated by reaction in its postwar drive toward fascism. In view of the fact, also, that the divisive policy of reaction assiduously seeks to instill anti-Semitism among the Negro people in order to rob them of an important ally in their struggle, this omission is to be regretted. Further, the establishment of Israel and the struggle of its people for an independent national existence against the machinations of Anglo-American imperialism, have inspiring meaning for the national liberation struggle of the Negro people

in the United States. A discussion of this point in the work under review would have enhanced its effectiveness as a weapon.

These criticisms do not negate the significant overall contribution *Negro Liberation* makes toward furthering a deeper understanding of the Negro question, and the translation of that understanding into effective struggle. Every person who wishes to know the relation between the fight to end Jim Crowism in the United States and the struggle for peace and democracy, between the struggles of the Negro people for national liberation and the general fight of the people against monopoly capital, would do well to buy and read Haywood's book, and assist in providing it the widest possible circulation.

The Communist Party should be proud that one of its members, a Negro worker, a self-educated Marxist scholar, should make such a theoretical contribution toward clarifying a major question which has long been systematically confused by the pseudo-scholarly purveyors of middle-class opinion.

The careful, scholarly annotation, and the inclusion of appendices detailing Northern monopoly holdings in the South add to the value of the book.

This review, we feel, cannot be better concluded than with the author's own closing statement:

The unsolved Negro question is a focal point of vulnerability of American imperialism. It is therefore a most vital part of concentration for attack by the working class and the masses of democratic Americans in their fight against the imperialist exploiters and war-makers. The Negro

people themselves are demonstrating the qualities of a decisive democratic force in American life. They have broken out of their isolation, and, once again, as at the close of the Civil War, they are determined to

proceed along the path of great historical decision. And there can be no doubt that they will give new and vibrant life to their old watchword—land, equality and freedom.

“Let me give you a word of the philosophy of reforms. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions, yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all-absorbing, and for the time being putting all other tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will.”

Frederick Douglass, *Selections from His Writings*, p. 61.

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of POLITICAL AFFAIRS, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1948.

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ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Felshin, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of POLITICAL AFFAIRS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1948.

MANUEL LICHTENSTEIN

(Seal)

(My commission expires March 30, 1949)

(Continued from page 1046)

and traitorous Kuomintang and are forcing American imperialism to maneuver and give ground. But the American imperialists have no intentions of giving more ground than they have to.

Here in the U. S. A., Wall Street forces are carefully staging a cool reception to Chiang's wife and emissary behind which they seek to cover up their imperialist program of new material aid to the bankrupt Kuomintang so as to harass in all ways possible the further advance and consolidation of the new People's Liberated China. In trying to carry out this policy the advocates of the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine are forced to adopt concealed tactics because the great mass of the American people is strongly opposed to intervention in China and instead demands a complete hands-off policy.

Under these circumstances, we and other progressives are placing major emphasis upon achieving among the workers and all democrats a greater and deeper understanding of the solidarity which must exist between the anti-imperialist forces in this country, particularly labor and its popular allies, and the democratic people of China.

Be assured, dear comrades, we shall play our part in the united mass struggle for effectuating the Cairo and Potsdam agreements, for stopping Wall Street's imperialist intervention in China, and for welding friendship among all peoples, especially between the peoples of the U. S. A., China, and the U.S.S.R.

We approach all of our work and policy—strengthened by your valor and successes and imbued with the great spirit of international solidarity and co-operation—invigorated by the knowledge that you, our heroic Chinese comrades, and countless of your patriotic countrymen, playing a leading role in the world-wide anti-imperialist camp, headed by the Socialist Soviet Union, are advancing the cause of national liberation, peace, democracy and social progress.

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TOMORROW'S CHINA

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Anna Louise Strong is the only foreign correspondent to have penetrated the Liberated Areas of China, including Manchuria, shortly after it fell under Communist control. *Tomorrow's China* is based on a year's stay, from July, 1947, to July, 1948, in these newly liberated areas, and her first-hand description of how the economic, administrative, and cultural life of these constantly expanding territories is developing and flourishing under the dynamic leadership of the Communist Party, makes enthralling reading.

By jeep, donkey and airplane, this indomitable reporter has visited places hardly to be found on maps. She has interviewed not only leaders like Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, but spoken to workers, peasants, factory managers, doctors, intellectuals, and hundreds of others. Her on-the-spot description of the agrarian reform, how Mao Tse-tung's military principles are applied in the fighting against Chiang Kai-shek's armies, Chinese attitudes to the Marshall Plan and U.S. intervention, and the developments leading to the establishment of a new democratic all-China government, throws a brilliant searchlight on the China of today and tomorrow.

Anna Louise Strong has become a fabulous figure in modern literary reportage, and in this book she carries forward brilliantly the rich journalistic traditions of John Reed, Egon Irwin Kisch, and Lincoln Steffens. Published by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

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