

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

A Marxist magazine

devoted to the advancement of democratic thought and action

EARL BROWDER, *Editor*: EUGENE DENNIS, *Associate Editor*: V. J. JEROME, *Managing Editor*

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AUTHORS AND TOPICS

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, a Vice-President of the Communist Political Association, is a veteran of the American labor movement; this year marks the 50th anniversary of his activity and leadership in the trade union field. He is the author of several books and scores of pamphlets, of which the latest, *The Coal Miners*, has just been issued by New Century Publishers. * * * **ALEXANDER BITTELMAN**, General Secretary of the *Morning Freiheit* Association and author of two recent pamphlets, *Jewish Unity for Victory* and *The Jewish People Will Live On*, is an outstanding Marxist scholar. * * * **BLAS ROCA**, General Secretary of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, and Representative to the Cuban Congress, is the author of *Los Fundamentos Del Socialismo en Cuba (Foundations of Socialism in Cuba)*, of which sixty thousand copies have been sold to date. * * * **JOSEPH STAROBIN** is Foreign Editor of the *Daily Worker*. * * * **ELIABETH GURLEY FLYNN**, a Vice-President of the Communist Political Association, has for decades been a leader in the American trade union movement. * * * **DONALD MACKENZIE LESTER** is Upstate Representative of the New York State Committee of the Communist Political Association. * * * **ANNA LONG** is a specialist in the field of women in industry and a leader of women's trade union auxiliaries.

Almost 4,000 new subscriptions to *Political Affairs* have been received since the first issue appeared in January, with every promise of reaching the goal of 10,000 new subscribers and a total circulation of 25,000 in the next few months. We urge all readers of *Political Affairs* who have not yet done so, to subscribe at once and to participate actively in securing new subscribers. Letters of praise and appreciation of the new format continue to come to us, and a number of readers have sent in useful suggestions and criticisms. We welcome such communications.

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DECISIONS OF THE CRIMEAN CONFERENCE

TEXT OF THE WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE
BIG THREE CONFERENCE, RELEASED FEBRUARY 7, 1945.

THE PRESIDENT of the United States of America, the Premier of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, accompanied by their chiefs of staff, the three foreign secretaries and other advisors, are now meeting in the Black Sea area.

Their purpose is to concert plans for completing the defeat of the common enemy and for building, with their Allies, firm foundations for a lasting peace. Meetings are proceeding continuously.

The conference began with military discussions. The present situation on all the European fronts has been reviewed, and the fullest information interchanged. There is com-

plete agreement for joint military operations in the final phase of the war against Nazi Germany. The military staffs of the three governments are now engaged in working out jointly the detailed plans.

Discussions of problems involved in establishing a secure peace have also begun. These discussions will cover joint plans for the occupation and control of Germany, the political and economic problems of liberated Europe and proposals for the earliest possible establishment of a permanent international organization to maintain peace.

A communique will be issued at the conclusion of the conference.

TEXT OF THE REPORT ON THE BIG THREE CONFERENCE IN THE CRIMEA, RELEASED AT THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 12, 1945.

For the past eight days, Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain; Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, and Marshal J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have met with the Foreign Secretaries, Chiefs of Staff and other advisers in the Crimea.

In addition to the three heads of Government, the following took part in the conference:

For the United States of America:

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State;

Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, U.S.N., Chief of Staff to the President;



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Harry L. Hopkins, Special Assistant to the President;

Justice James F. Byrnes, Director, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion;

General of the Army George C. Marshall, U.S.A., Chief of Staff, United States Army;

Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, U.S.N., Chief of Naval Operations and Commander in Chief, United States Fleet;

Lieut. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army Service Forces;

Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administrator;

Maj. Gen. L. S. Kuter, U.S.A., Staff of Commanding General, United States Army Air Forces;

W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.;

H. Freeman Matthews, Director of European Affairs, State Department;

Alger Hiss, deputy director, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State;

Charles E. Bohlen, assistant to the Secretary of State, together with po-

litical, military and technical advisers.

For the United Kingdom:

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport;

Sir A. Clark Kerr, H. M. Ambassador at Moscow;

Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of the War Cabinet;

Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff;



JOSEPH V. STALIN

Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Charles Portal, Chief of the Air Staff;

Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, First Sea Lord;

Gen. Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defense, together with

Field Marshal Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean theatre;

Field Marshal Wilson, head of the

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British Joint Staff Mission at Washington;

Admiral Somerville, Joint Staff Mission at Washington, together with military and diplomatic advisers.

For the Soviet Union:

V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.;

Admiral Kuznetsov, People's Commissar for the Navy;

Army General Antonov, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Red Army;

A. Y. Vishinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.;

I. M. Maisky, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.;

Marshal of Aviation Khudyakov;

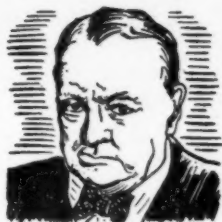
F. T. Gusev, Ambassador in Great Britain;

A. A. Gromyko, Ambassador in the United States.

The following statement is made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the results of the Crimean conference:

THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY

We have considered and deter-



WINSTON CHURCHILL

mined the military plans of the three Allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three Allied nations have met in daily meetings throughout the conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer coordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close-working partnership among the three staffs attained at this conference will result in shortening the war. Meetings of the three staffs will be continued in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to them-

selves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

THE OCCUPATION AND CONTROL OF GERMANY

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control have been provided for under the plan through a central control commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four Governments concerned through their representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the re-

surgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations.

REPARATION BY GERMANY

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied Nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

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UNITED NATIONS
CONFERENCE

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of the United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco, in the United States, on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Government of China and the Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime

Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

DECLARATION ON
LIBERATED EUROPE

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three Governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former

Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (a) to establish conditions of internal peace; (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build, in cooperation with other peace-loving nations, world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that

the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

POLAND

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of western Poland. The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present Government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall

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When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the Government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and will exchange Ambassadors by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of Government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line, with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

YUGOSLAVIA

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasitch that the agreement between them should

be put into effect immediately and that a new Government should be formed on the basis of that agreement. We also recommend that as soon as the new Government has been formed it should declare that:

1. The anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation (A.V.N.O.J.) should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (Skupschina) who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament; and,

2. Legislative acts passed by the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a Constituent Assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

MEETINGS OF FOREIGN SECRETARIES

Throughout the conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of Governments and the Foreign Secretaries, separate meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries and their advisers have also been held daily.

These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals,

the first meeting being held in London, after the United Nations' conference on world organization.

UNITY FOR PEACE AS FOR WAR

Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and under-

standing among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, “afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.”

Victory in this war and the establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
J. STALIN

February 11, 1945.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT ON FREED PRISONERS

A comprehensive agreement was reached at the Crimea conference providing detailed arrangements for the protection, maintenance and repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians of the British Commonwealth, Soviet Union and United States liberated by the Allied forces now invading Germany.

Under these arrangements each Ally will provide food, clothing, medical attention and other needs for the nationals of the others until transport is available for their repatriation. In caring for British subjects

and American citizens, the Soviet Government will be assisted by British and American officers. Soviet officers will assist British and American authorities in their task of caring for Soviet citizens liberated by the British and American forces during such time as they are on the Continent of Europe or in the United Kingdom, awaiting transport to take them home.

We are pledged to give every assistance consistent with operational requirements to help to insure that all these prisoners of war and civilians are speedily repatriated.

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THE BIG THREE IN THE CRIMEA

By EARL BROWDER

WHEN THE COMMUNIQUE came reporting to the world the decisions of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, meeting in conference in the Crimea on the Black Sea, there arose a violent anger over the radio from Berlin. And in America, as well as in Britain, the public was again given the opportunity to identify Hitler's spiritual brothers, as they all, with various degrees of frankness, reflected the disappointment of their master. Hitler's last hope, in the breakup of the Coalition, was smashed.

In contrast with the anger and disappointment of the Hitlerites, and all their first, second, and third cousins throughout the world, it was joy and confidence that greeted the Crimean decisions from the democratic peoples of the world, and from all public spokesmen who base themselves upon the people.

The whole world is divided into two camps by these two contrasting receptions to the Crimean Conference. This is the showdown. Now comes the separation of the sheep from the goats.

CRIMEA BUILT ON TEHERAN FOUNDATIONS

There is nothing new in principle in the decisions of Crimea. At Yalta the Big Three built upon the foundations already laid at Teheran, and at the Moscow Conference of Eden, Hull and Molotov that preceded Teheran.

The historic significance of Crimea consists precisely in the fact that it undeviatingly continued and further developed the line already indicated clearly at Moscow and Teheran.

I wrote a book about Teheran and its consequences. That book assumed that Teheran would be followed by just such a Conference as that recently concluded at Yalta. If the Crimean Conference had been different, my book would have lost much of its practical validity. Because Crimea was the logical continuation of Teheran, that book is today confirmed. There is nothing new in principle to add to that analysis.

There is, however, much to record,

analyze, and digest that was only forecast and promised at Teheran, but is now being realized in the events of life as a result of Crimea.

The Teheran line was applied and proved itself in the military conduct of the war. Its fruit was the successful opening of the Second Front, with the liberation of France, much of Belgium, and a part of Holland. This helped the Red Army achieve its annihilating offensives which "tore the guts out of the Nazi beast," and brought the Soviet forces into the areas of Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna in the weeks preceding the Crimean meeting. All of Hitler's allies and quislings were knocked out, and the war was brought onto German territory from East and West.

On the political and diplomatic field, the line of Teheran had been applied with less consistency. Such notable progress as that registered at Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods was clouded by the deadlock of the Aviation Conference in Chicago. It was this fact that gave Hitler hopes that the Coalition would be split by the divergences that began to appear. In Belgium and Greece (and, in a different form, in Italy), the power of British and American armed forces were thrown into the scales against the native liberation forces, for the preservation and utilization of collaborationist circles—in the name of "maintaining order." In Greece, bloody civil war raged for six weeks, with the

British Army fighting side by side with those Greek armed forces that had been in the service of the Nazi occupationists. The world was given a small laboratory sample of what all Western Europe would become if there was not a quick return to the principles of Teheran.

After Teheran, every clear application of the policies there laid down brought advances toward victory, and additional guarantees for the orderly construction of a stable and prosperous world thereafter. Every departure from the policies of Teheran brought comfort and hope to Hitler, delayed the victory, and threatened to sow the seeds of civil wars now and eventually a new world war.

That was the experience leading up to the Crimean Conference, making necessary and inevitable, given the high statesmanship of the three principal leaders, that the decisions there made should be an emphatic reaffirmation of the Teheran line, and its concrete extension to all the most burning problems of Europe in the stage of the war where the final smashup of Hitlerism impends. The last remnants of that concept of three separate and conflicting policies for Europe were removed. The concept of one common over-all policy was put into practical terms. The hopes of Hitler were banished beyond recall. Europe and the world were denied the disruptive choice between three rival leaderships, and were given instead the unified and unifying leadership of a firmly con-

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THE COMPLETE LIQUIDATION OF NAZISM

At Moscow and Teheran, at the end of 1943, the general goal of complete extirpation of Nazism was agreed upon. Aside from the military task of crushing Hitler's armies, the means of attaining this goal was not defined. In Crimea this definition was given.

Germany will be subjected to military occupation by the Big Three Powers, plus France, in four zones of occupation, under a unified commission of the Coalition Powers which will lay down common detailed policy. Germany will be disarmed, the German General Staff and Army will be abolished, all war criminals will be punished, industries of war purpose or potentiality will be removed or controlled, the last remnants of Nazism will be rooted out. Germany shall make the fullest possible reparation of the destruction wrought in occupied lands, the amount of which is to be determined by a commission working from Moscow. As and when these aims are established, the German people are to find a place again in the comity of nations. These are the main practical features of the policy of unconditional surrender.

That there could be no other practical policy toward Germany was established by events in the fourteen months from Teheran to Crimea.

In this period, when the inevitable military debacle of Nazism was established, there had yet emerged no effective leadership within Germany able to offer itself as an alternative to Nazism, and able to surrender Germany. There exists no internal force within Germany capable of challenging Nazism. There is no alternative, therefore, to the occupation of Germany until Nazism is rooted out, and new forces have had time and opportunity to grow again from a purified soil.

The provision of a common center of Coalition policy for all Germany, closes the door to the rise of conflicting policies among the main allies which would provide crevices for the Nazis to creep back into power again. It is the key and symbol of the unity of Coalition policy toward the problems of Europe as a whole. It is the negation of the concept usually spoken of as "spheres of influence," which is another way of speaking of conflicting policies, the concept that there is no long-time common interest but only a temporary and opportunistic compromise of conflicting interests. It assumes, on the contrary, that the common interest of the great Allies is existent, and that it is the determining factor.

Separate zones of occupation, under the common direction, serves to guarantee the stability of common policy, by making clear where responsibility lies for its application at all times and places. It leaves room

for the free play of all secondary differences of preconception, ideology and understanding, which manifestly exist among the great Allied Powers, but places them under the grave responsibility to prove by results that these differences are not obstacles to the common policy but rather can be made to serve it. Whenever secondary differences of this sort accumulate to the point of impairing the common policy, then the joint command of the Coalition is present to iron out the difference and impose a united course. Each occupying Power will work under the necessity to prove by results that it advances the common policy, and there may well be friendly rivalry to see who can show the best record of achievement.

POLAND, YUGOSLAVIA AND LIBERATED EUROPE

A joint attitude toward the problems of Poland and Yugoslavia, defined by the Big Three at Yalta, gives the pattern for all liberated Europe. It is the policy of encouraging and supporting the broadest democratic unity within each liberated country, recognizing that priority in leadership belongs provisionally to those who earned it in battle against the German invaders, and guaranteeing the free self-determination of each nation in choosing its permanent institutions.

In the case of Poland, this means that the mischief-making "government-in-exile" in London is finally

consigned to the scrap-pile of history. The government that is actually operating on the soil of liberated Poland is to be asked to broaden its composition, under the advice of a three-Power commission, to include some additional outstanding democratic leaders within Poland and from abroad, who have hitherto withheld their participation awaiting the united invitation of the Big Three. The eastern borders of Poland shall be approximately the Curzon Line, which are those of ethnographic Poland; while the western borders, to be precisely determined after the war, shall be adjusted westward at Germany's expense, to provide security for Poland, a broad coastal access to the Baltic, and the integration of all Polish populations.

The definition of attitude toward Yugoslavia is even more simply stated, and the same in substance. The Yugoslavian government that arose under Marshal Tito, and as modified by the agreement with Subasich, who represents the regime-in-exile, is unconditionally recognized, with a recommendation for the inclusion in the provisional national assembly of some additional former members of the pre-war parliament who did not compromise themselves with the Nazis. The efforts of the youthful King Peter to intrude his personality as a decisive factor in settling Yugoslavia's present problems are pointedly ignored, and, in the classic phrase of Churchill, "his consent is assumed."

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All other liberated countries are dealt with in the published communique by the general formula, without specific mention. It is obvious, however, that the general policy enunciated is backed by a more concrete common understanding of what it is to mean in practical application, than has hitherto been the case. It is equally obvious that there is confidence among the Big Three as to its mutual application. The fact that Churchill and Eden went from Yalta to Athens, must be expected to bring the situation in Greece into line with the policy publicly enunciated for Poland and Yugoslavia. In Belgium, the situation did not wait on the Crimean meeting; Pierlot resigned, and a coalition cabinet moving in the direction of the people came into being. Today there is not a government operating on the continent, outside the Nazis and the so-called neutrals, without Communist members, and ranging the democratic political gamut to and including the Catholics—except that of Greece which remains for the moment purely a British construction.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Big Three decided to call into general assembly all the United Nations, in San Francisco on April 25 of this year, to act upon the Dumbarton Oaks plan of general world organization; with France and China requested to join in the invitation as initiating Powers. It was an-

nounced that agreement had been reached on those points which had been left open at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, with the exact form of the agreement to be officially announced after France and China had been consulted. Unofficially it has been made known that the question of voting procedure, the chief item of former differences, had been resolved to the effect that the requirement of unanimity among the permanent council members in dealing with issues of aggression shall apply only to the stage of deciding upon economic or military sanctions.

Coincidentally with the calling of the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations, President Roosevelt sent to Congress the projects of the Bretton Woods Conference for international economic collaboration, with the request for its immediate consideration and adoption. Since America's wholehearted participation in the orderly economic reconstruction of the world after the war is a condition precedent to any successful political structure on the Dumbarton Oaks model, prompt action by Congress in approving the Bretton Woods plan would do more than all else to assure success and to strengthen the leading role of the United States in the San Francisco assembly of the United Nations.

HOW CRIMEA AFFECTS THE FAR EAST

Decisions reached in Yalta speci-

fically concerned only the war against the Nazis, and not the Far Eastern aspect of this World War. Yet Crimea, of course, has the most profound consequences in the Pacific, since this remains one world and substantially one world war. The doom of Hitler, at the moment America is able to cut Japanese sea lanes to the South Pacific, occupy Manila, and carry on sustained bombing of Tokio, writes the death warrant for Japanese imperialism as well.

There is still much unclarity in American public opinion, however, as to the precise consequences that flow from the conception of one world war, and not of two quite separate wars. Some circles from malicious intentions, and others from innocent confusion, have assumed and propagated the idea that if the Soviet Union accepts the principle of a single war of world proportions this should mean that she should become a belligerent and that the Red Army and Air Fleet would and should assume the chief military tasks in the Far East as they have in Europe.

Of course, a single moment of un-biased thought on the matter reveals that the force of logic runs in the opposite direction. If it is one world war we are engaged in, then it follows inevitably that since the Soviet Union has borne the brunt of its European phases, to such a degree that her military casualties run some fifteen or twenty times

those of America (not to mention civilian casualties!!!), therefore in its Far Eastern phase we have no right to demand further action of the Soviet Union until we have engaged our own forces there on about the same relative scale as the Soviets have done in the European phase. And in figuring out the relative contributions in the Far East, we must be prepared to give full weight to the fact that the Siberian Red Army, by its very existence, has immobilized more Japanese forces in Manchuria than have been engaged in all other phases of the Pacific war. Any other approach to this question by Americans has the result merely to reveal us as either innocent of the facts of life, or men of bad faith, and in either case not very good allies.

Of course, the Soviet Union is an inevitable factor in bringing victory in the Pacific, and in establishing there a stable and lasting peace. But the precise form in which that role shall express itself is not a matter on which America can make demands.

Where America can and must begin to make demands, is in relation to China's role in the war. It has become impossible any longer to tolerate the arrogant, incapable, and now disintegrating Kuomintang dictatorship in China. The only acceptable road for China, from the standpoint of American interests, is that one recently demanded by the ten most influential Chinese newspapers outside of China—the only ones, by

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the way, which enjoy free expression—namely, the course of dissolving the Kuomintang dictatorship and its substitution by a coalition government of all parties including the Communists.

THE BATTLE ON THE HOME FRONT

Now we enter the fight to rally America overwhelmingly in support of the policies formulated in the Crimean Conference. This battle on the home front is engaged under favorable auspices, but it is still a fierce struggle, because for the reactionary enemies of the Coalition policy it is the showdown—to be or not to be.

Americans welcomed with joy and enthusiasm the Crimean agreements, like all other peoples of the world. But only America has such a constitutional system that the minority opposition still holds the possibility of veto against the majority. Senators Vandenberg and Taft lead a potential bloc of obstruction in the Senate which might prevent the realization of the necessary two-thirds majority for the ratification of treaties. That obstructionist bloc can only be surely broken up if the whole

country is awakened to the true issues involved, and the obstructionists are revealed in their role as saboteurs of American national interests and of the prospects of a peaceful world.

It was, therefore, wise statesmanship for President Roosevelt to appoint Vandenberg as a member of the American delegation of eight to the San Francisco gathering of the United Nations. With Hull and Stettinius leading that delegation, Vandenberg will be forced to reveal himself early in the game either as a supporter of his nation's policy or as an irresponsible wrecker with ulterior motives. His dilemma is already revealed in his hesitation to accept the appointment immediately.

What all Americans must understand today is that every one takes part in making this decision, and not merely a few Senators. The whole country must be aroused and fully informed of the issues. There must be organized behind the President such an irresistible and unbreakable unity of the vast majority, that the reactionary opposition will find its own supporters deserting it, will see the handwriting on the wall, and will surrender to the expressed will of the people.

FROM TEHERAN TO CRIMEA

By JOSEPH STAROBIN

IN THE LAST DAYS of November, 1943, the leaders of Great Britain and the United States met in the capital of old Persia with the Premier of the Soviet Union, two and a half years after the mightiest attack which any nation in history ever had to withstand, and two short years after Pearl Harbor had made it one war between two worlds.

Until then, the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition had not succeeded in establishing military coordination. Despite the immense work of cleaning away the accumulated obstacles of a generation of hostility, it was still not clear whether the partners brought together by the blows of the Axis would remain together after victory.

The contrast between the immediate collapse of the criminal Munich promise of "peace in our time" and the deepening cooperation of Teheran after 13 months—as revealed at Crimea—is more than a matter of time. It is a contrast in content. This contrast tells us that cooperation with fascism is not only impossible but can only bring chaos to the world where attempted; on the other hand, the collaboration of the three great democratic powers at Cri-

mea means the early destruction of fascism, a long era of peace, democratic advance for all peoples and the assurance of world order.

From Teheran to Crimea lies a span of the most difficult military battles, the most complicated political problems in a score of European nations emerging from the grip of fascist disorder, the beginnings of reorganization amid the final problem of destroying fascism inside of Germany itself. Yet so much has been accomplished, and so much is promised after 13 months, that we can truly call this period a turning point for all of humanity.

It is the turning point toward world order. From Teheran to Crimea we have the curve of an ascending spiral. We have the perspective of a world center of harmonious power guiding the development of new democracies in Europe, forming a world organization against future aggression, giving to the United States and Great Britain a way of modifying their economic rivalry by the rebuilding of Europe and the rapid industrialization of the world's backward areas. From Teheran to Crimea we have the birth of a new epoch, opening up the possibility of fundamental changes in the capitalist world which can checkmate inherent tendencies toward reaction and place humanity as a whole on to the rails of democratic evolution and prolonged freedom from warfare.

* * *

American Communists, under the leadership of Earl Browder, were the first in this country to estimate in its full implications the Teheran concord. They were among the first Marxists in the world to make a thorough-going analysis of its significance and to make the necessary changes in their approach to American politics. There could have been no harsher test of a political line than the complex developments of the year in every field. In face of skepticism and open opposition to Teheran (embodied in the hard-fought election campaign, above all), the judgment of the American Communists 13 months ago has certainly been upheld.

The Crimean agreement not only registers the truth of the Teheran perspective but raises it to a new level, and enables the United Nations to move forward into the even more difficult problems arising out of the approaching defeat of Germany. The Crimean agreement fortifies American Communists with a verification of their perspective, through which they will be enabled to strengthen their contribution in building an unbreakable national unity in the hard battles ahead, in the transitions from war to peace, and the peace itself.

* * *

On the military plane (which remains the key to how quickly other issues can be tackled with full ener-

gies), the record since Teheran speaks for itself. The invasion of France on June 6, 1944 for the first time really gripped the Reich in a



MARSHAL GEORGI ZHUKOV

war on two major fronts. Within three weeks, the Red Army coordinated its action on a front from Finland to the central Ukraine. While the Anglo-American armies, setting off a tremendous internal uprising in France, swept to the borders of Germany in a short summer on the West—liberating France, Belgium, Luxemburg and a section of southern Holland—the Soviet armies broke through the fortified positions from Lake Ilmen to the Pripet Marshes. The Soviet Ukraine, Byelorussia, Esthonia and Lithuania were cleared, Latvia almost entirely. And a whole section of Poland up to the Vistula was liberated by the beginning of August.

While Paris was celebrating her freedom on August 23, the first of Germany's satellites to break away after Teheran sued for an armistice—Romania. Within three more

months, the military position of Germany changed drastically. In the West, the Anglo-American armies were able to bring up forces and supplies for several million men on French soil, despite the tenacious grip which German garrisons still retained on the major French ports; in Italy, minor forces were able to move up slowly to the highlands above the Po Valley.

Meanwhile, the Red Army outflanked the powerful Nazi position in the Carpathian mountains, bringing about a collapse of Bulgaria, a juncture with Marshal Tito's partisans in Yugoslavia and the virtual liberation of that country. By bottlenecking the German armies in the Vardar river valley, the stage was set for the British landing in Greece, which cleared that country within a few days of German and fascist Bulgarian troops. It was at the same period, last autumn, that Finland sued for an armistice and thus broke the Nazi sway in the Baltic Sea, opening a way for the partial liberation of northern Norway. Only Hungary remained in the war, until Budapest itself was threatened.

From June of last year, the four-year Nazi domination of the continent was broken; the initiative was snatched entirely from Nazi hands. And the necessity of reckoning with two-front warfare was so real to Hitler that he attempted in the middle of December to throw back the American armies in Belgium, anticipating that an Allied drive across

the Rhine and a Soviet drive across Poland would completely destroy every prospect of defending the borders of Germany itself.

Hitler did understand this, at least. His thrust into Belgium was followed on January 12 (exactly one month later), by the epic Soviet power-drive across the Vistula and into East Prussia. Within a month, the Soviet armies had liberated most of western Poland, had virtually liquidated the Nazi position in East Prussia, had isolated the important industrial zone of Silesia and was thrusting across southern Germany toward Dresden. And this was clearly preliminary to the envelopment of the last Bohemian plateau from the west, accompanied by the advance of Soviet armies into Czechoslovakia and Austria from the east. Berlin itself is threatened by a vast envelopment, which is meanwhile smashing the Nazi hold in Silesia and pushing entire German armies into the Baltic Sea. And the dramatic coordination of the Anglo-American air operations in central Germany with the Red Army's offensive approaches a virtual merger of the front, an advance indication of the military decisions at Crimea.

In the latter phases of this operation, Canadian forces were making their way into the difficult area around the bend of the Rhine in Holland, heralding the outflanking of the Rhineland and the next phase of Allied blows into Germany's plains on the west.

"Nazi Germany is doomed," says the Crimea communique, pledging new blows from every point of the compass, after a frank exchange of information and plans among the general staffs of the three powers. Eight months after the basic military agreement at Teheran was fulfilled, it was further extended by a new agreement, under immensely more favorable circumstances, for crushing the enemy completely before eight months more have passed.

* * *

We turn now to a second problem: the political developments in liberated Europe. The question still remained twelve months ago whether the concord of Teheran would be implemented to avoid a series of civil wars within the liberated countries, whether the unity of patriotic forces achieved during the war would surmount the tendencies toward their disintegration and conflict.

Implicit in this question was another: whether the unity of the great powers would survive the tremendous tensions created in Europe in the transitions from war to peace, and whether the world democratic forces of the United Nations could bring into reality the long-range prospect of a new type of democratic reorganization of Europe, a durable peace and the extended unity of the best forces which had contributed to the resistance movements and the liberation itself.

The experience of the year has brought forward many different kinds of development, many departures from the Teheran perspective, but no long-term breach in it.

First of all, there are the former enemy nations, satellites of Germany. In no case has there been an open civil war destructive of national unity in the liberated satellites; the tendencies toward it in Italy have thus far been muted and overshadowed by the continuing unity of the Committee of Liberation and the prestige of the democratic parties, overcoming all the obstacles of an unsatisfactory, pre-Teheran armistice and the long-delayed measures of economic rehabilitation and of the purge.

On the other hand, in Finland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, governments have arisen in which the democratic forces have gained legality and influence. Punishment of war criminals has proceeded most rapidly in Bulgaria; land reforms are begun in Hungary; the struggle to fulfill the armistice terms has already changed the Romanian government in a more democratic direction; elections are being held in Finland this March in which the Left-Socialists and now legalized Communists are united in an alliance, while the most pro-German Social-Democrats like Vaino Tanner are being pushed out of political life.

In every country the working-class parties have been legalized; they are leading wider masses in the struggle for democratic reforms; hard po-

litical battles are being fought with reactionary concentrations in Finland and Bulgaria, but all within the framework of political democracy such as none of these countries had seen in 25 years.

And the terms of these armistices are resulting, on the one hand, in reparations to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and on the other, in the revival of economic life of the respective countries. In each case, there has been a genuine participation of the new governments in the armed struggle to oust and defeat the Germans—on a fairly small scale in Finland, on a very large scale in Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria. The armies of these three nations combined probably equals the total Anglo-American forces in France itself.

If we include Italy and Greece, the problem has presented itself differently in those portions of Europe occupied or liberated by the Allied armies. But the essence of the problem is the same. France offers the best example in western Europe of how unity of the patriotic forces has been maintained, a strong army has been called to the colors (needing only a good supply of arms) and the beginnings have been made toward far-reaching economic reforms, ranging from labor-management councils in all factories with more than 100 workers, to the nationalization of the coal mines, the aircraft industry and some of the automotive works. The purge of the most notorious Vichy-

men still lags; it has thus far been concentrated largely on journalists, and if the purge comes to a close in April (as now planned) it will almost certainly enable powerful pro-Vichy industrialists and political figures to escape public trial and punishment. But political democracy has revived in France; so has an entirely renovated French press. Local and departmental elections are now being prepared for the spring.

On the other hand, Belgium, Italy and Greece offer examples of how serious any departures from Teheran can become. Even the departures in those countries, however, aroused such a storm of protest, and confronted the western Powers with such overwhelming problems that the most responsible circles have recoiled, and are compelled to return to the Teheran perspectives, now made more concrete at Crimea.

Belgium, last November, offered a typical example of a government-in-exile returning to a country without having accepted the clear program of the resistance movement at home; the result was a crisis over the demobilization of the Front of Independence, coupled with the rise of an uncontrollable black market in the hands of men who had cooperated with the Germans, added to a sabotage of production in such basic industries as coal.

In the same month, Italy offered the example of a far-reaching attempt to break up the Committee of Liberation government and force a re-

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turn of Marshal Badoglio and reactionary Social-Democrats to power; behind this crisis was the issue of whether the Italian partisans would be allowed to continue fighting in a new national army, and whether the first steps of the purge would continue.

In Greece, we had a combination of both the Belgian and Italian crises: a coup d'etat by reactionary elements formerly in exile, in a close liaison with the openly pro-German collaborators inside the country. The result was a forty-day civil war, bringing into the open all the conflicts that were latent in Italy and Belgium.

While the implications of this civil war should not be underestimated, particularly the readiness of Great Britain to divert armed forces into support of a reactionary camarilla in Athens—nevertheless, on balance, the Greek, Belgian and Italian episodes actually compelled a recognition that a continuation of such policies would directly undermine democratic Europe as a whole and lead to a rupture of the coalition against Germany.

The experience of November, December and early January aroused tremendous opposition in Great Britain itself; it disclosed a real cleavage in policy as between Britain and the United States; it revealed that even if the patriotic forces in Greece could not win a civil war, neither could the reactionary elements win by themselves. And the projection of this conflict into Europe as a

whole meant frightful chaos and paralysis, with no end in sight and no clearcut victory for any side.

In this sense, the departures from the Teheran perspective forced a return to it. Significantly, the Belgian government was compelled to resign, while the Big Three were en route to Crimea. Belgium returned to a national front embracing its Catholic, Socialist, Liberal and Communist leaders, with a premier dedicated to avoid the mistakes of his predecessor.

In Italy, the skillful leadership of the Italian Communists, based on their firm pact of unity with the Socialists (coupled with unmistakable cooperation of the United States in a progressive direction), reorganized the Ivanoe Bonomi Government, without breaking up the Committee of Liberation.

In Greece, the E.A.M. has remained in existence, despite the unequal pressure against it. The Plastiras Government has been compelled to come to an initial agreement, which, through applying the principles of the Yalta accord, will give the Greek people another opportunity to realize a fuller national unity, a clean-up of the quislings, and early elections on the monarchy and the composition of a new government.

A third category of peoples are those members of the United Nations—Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia—which are being liberated almost completely by the Red Army itself. Yugoslavia should certainly be

mentioned first as an example of internal unity forged by the brilliant and effective partisan movement, under the leadership of Marshal Tito. Yugoslavia gave an example of how to unite many different peoples of differing faiths and levels of development in the very midst of the occupation. Immediately after the Teheran meeting, negotiations for unity between the best elements of the exiled government and the Anti-Fascist Council at home were begun; and these were substantially concluded by the time of Crimea; the decisions of the latter conference has simply removed the final obstacles.

Czechoslovakia is an example of a minimum of friction between the exiled government and the fighting underground at home, especially after recognition by Premier Eduard Benes of the Slovak National Council last autumn. And Benes' pledge to form a new government based on a national front of all democratic parties as he reaches Czechoslovak soil demonstrates his statesmanlike approach to the living application of the Teheran policies to his own country.

In Poland, on the other hand, we had the most serious example of how the stubborn and reactionary policies of the emigres strove toward internal conflict and counted openly upon no less than a rupture of relations among the Big Three. While the solution was given at Crimea, it should be remembered, however, that the Teheran conference itself resulted in

a far greater unity of view among the Big Three than was actually reflected in the specific developments of the year. It was shortly after returning from Teheran, that Winston Churchill emphasized his agreement with Stalin on the justness of the Curzon Line frontier and the importance of territorial changes for the new Poland at the expense of Germany.

As the Committee of National Liberation arose in July, 1944, and proceeded to carry out the decisive measure of land reform, reviving political democracy in eastern Poland, and attempting to bridge differences with the Mikolajczyk Cabinet in London, it also became clear that the most reactionary sections of the London emigres were determined to carry through in Poland exactly what their counterparts were doing in Greece. This meant another threat of civil war in the very forefield of the decisive battles with the enemy.

The Crimea accord has settled the issue in the only way it could have been settled, especially after the Red Army's lightning winter offensive, and the transformation of the Liberation Committee into the Provisional Government. The fact and the character of the settlement strengthen the fulfillment of Teheran. It was clearly acknowledged that only the liberation movements of any European country can fully realize the Atlantic Charter; the most stubborn elements in all the exiled governments are deprived of their demagogic misuse of the Charter; unity on the basis of a

democratic program, confirmed by early elections, is admitted as indispensable. And, finally, all the great Powers agree on closer coordination of their political policies, on consultation and speedy action wherever situations of the Polish, Belgian or Greek type arise.

Despite the^e heavy tasks which remain, it will be clear from this brief review that the perspective of avoiding civil war, of the broadest unity on a program of democratic reform in economic and political life, of further strengthening the unity of the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition, and of building the system of enduring world peace, has been upheld. This perspective has become the formal and open policy of the great Powers and the line of advance for all the United Nations.

* * *

A third phase of the Teheran perspective—the economic reconstruction of Europe and the rapid transformation of the war-time unity into a peace-time world organization to keep the peace—has definitely moved forward in these 13 months, although much remains to be done.

The single greatest achievement, of course, is the decision to form a world security organization. Last spring, the former Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, in conjunction with a bi-partisan committee of the House and Senate, elaborated the American proposals to this effect, and took the

initiative in calling a series of interim conferences with the other major allies. This was in direct fulfillment of the Moscow Conference promise. From August to October, the conferences with the Soviet Union and China took place at Dumbarton Oaks, in Washington. Out of them came the preliminary plans, subsequently circulated among all the United Nations.

The decisive questions here were whether the world organization would be formed early, and whether there would be sufficient unanimity in the voting procedures of the executive organ of the new body to ensure its real functioning. Or, to place the problem differently: would the world security body express the unity already established, or would decisive questions in the relations among the big Powers have to follow the formation of the organization? In the first case, the organization would be real; in the second case, the organization could not really function and would only become an instrument to disunite the great Powers themselves.

Senator Arthur Vandenberg's position, in his Senate speech of January 10, 1945, and in a subsequent speech in Detroit on February 5, made this very clear. Instead of accepting the present Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition as final, and its decisions in the military and political sphere as binding upon all its partners, Vandenberg proposed to use the organization to review and upset the unity of the great Powers and to negate the

validity of their decisions in Europe.

In his Detroit speech, he drew the full conclusion from his position; he intimated that future aggression could come only from the Soviet Union, that the United States should not bind itself to the use of force against future German or Japanese aggression through a world security body, and that this body should be employed to achieve a unilateral revision of the coalition after the war.

This represented a great shift of ground by the Republicans: not a shift toward the Teheran perspective, but a maneuver that would give the United States an independent position with imperialist perspectives calculated to rupture the coalition and impose the will of a reactionary American policy upon the peoples of Europe.

The Crimean conference rejected Vandenberg's position. It determined upon the early formation of a world security organization. It settled the voting procedures in the Security Council. It established a common line of policy for Europe and for the Big Three which cannot be revoked without turning the now-established American policy back upon itself.

Much less progress can be recorded on the economic counterpart of Dumbarton Oaks—the steps toward implementing the important Bretton Woods proposals. Originally adopted after the conference last July, the two aspects of Bretton Woods—the currency stabilization fund and the international investment bank—now

come before the American people for ratification. On this ratification depends the future of international economic cooperation. For, without such agreement by the United States, neither the fund nor the bank will have any meaning or life. Unless the United States agrees, the necessary ratification by 65 per cent of the membership will not take place, and Bretton Woods will not go into force.

The result would be a great aggravation of Anglo-American rivalry tending to put the control of American economic policy into the hands of its most reactionary circles, while impelling Great Britain to develop economic warfare against the United States by tightening her grip upon her empire and pressing for bilateral, bloc arrangements with her weaker allies. And the reconstruction plans of Europe as a whole would depend almost entirely on its own efforts, even though with reparations by Germany—inadequate to restore rapid productivity and expand the world market.

The refusal to abide by the Bretton Woods concept of cooperation was best indicated at the aviation conference in November. In the absence of the Soviet Union, in the absence of an approach such as is written into the Bretton Woods terms, the antagonism between the American and British position widened very rapidly into definite conflict in this field. Already, the United States has made bilateral agreements with fascist Spain, and with Iceland, Sweden

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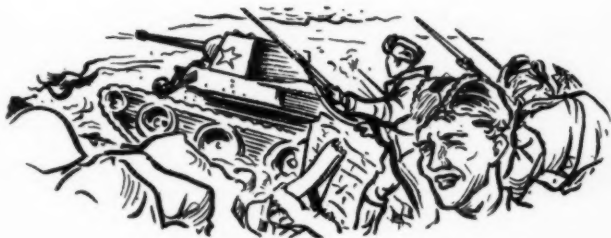
and Denmark, while Britain has renewed her own bilateral agreements with Argentina and threatens to check any American share in the air commerce of Europe and the Mediterranean as a whole.

The failure to ratify the Bretton Woods agreement, without crippling amendments, would speed up the tendencies revealed by the aviation conference. The most responsible British journals have already said as much. Britain is certainly preparing defenses for her position on the chance that the United States will not carry the Bretton Woods plans into life. Certainly, without action in the spirit of the Teheran and Crimean agreements on the economic field, the solution of political issues, and the approach toward world or-

der in the economic field, would be greatly impaired.

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Thus, the Crimean conference, to which the American people contributed by their decisive electoral battle last November, has upheld the mandate which the United States gave to President Roosevelt in that battle. It is not too much to say that we face another battle this Spring to implement the Crimea decisions, especially as regards the world organizations and the Bretton Woods proposals. World developments which offer the United States an unparalleled perspective of peace and prosperity in turn demand that the American people rise to their opportunity and obligation.



THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The World Trade Union Conference, which opened in London on February 6th and is still in session as *Political Affairs* goes to press, is the largest and most momentous gathering ever held in the history of the world trade union movement. Some 240 delegates, representing over 60,000,000 workers of 35 democratic and peace-loving nations, have assembled in London to deal with the gigantic problems confronting the workers of the world, as well as the rest of humanity, in the winning of the war, the rooting out of fascism, and the building of a durable and democratic peace. The workers represented include the British, Soviet, French and other European, Latin American, Chinese and Indian Unions, as well as the American C.I.O. and five Railroad Brotherhoods. The one important labor organization missing at the Conference is the American Federation of Labor, although over 175 lesser officials of the A. F. of L. unions sent greetings to the Conference.

The London Conference is the trade union counterpart to the great

meeting of the "Big Three" statesmen just concluded in the Crimea, which has given the world such a brilliant perspective of victory and democracy. The London Conference is the labor expression of the world's democratic peoples who are now destroying the fascist monster by force of arms and who are also laying the foundations of a new and better world. The Conference adopted the following ringing resolution, upon receipt of the famous communiqué of the Crimean Conference:

Delegates from 35 countries, attending the world trade union conference in London and representing over 60,000,000 workers of freedom-loving countries have learned with deep satisfaction the results of the Crimea conference.

We hail the announcement that leaders of the British, United States and Soviet nations, together with their general staffs, have agreed upon measures for even further accelerating the war against Hitlerite Germany and bringing it to a speedy and victorious conclusion.

We fully support your declaration that every vestige of the hateful fascist regime must be eradicated and the practical measures that you have adopted to bring about this result and to guarantee that it shall be uprooted and completely destroyed.

We welcome your determination to proceed at once to perfect an international organization along the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal to prevent aggression and to maintain peace. We are in full accord with your declaration on liberated Europe to assure the people of the liberated lands the fullest

democracy and self-determination, and we hail your reaffirmation of the great principles of the Atlantic Charter—the rights of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live.

The great achievements of the Crimea conference and the unity of its historic decisions fully confirm the faith of all freedom-loving people that the problems of winning speedy victory in the war and establishing a just and enduring peace can and will be solved and all difficulties overcome.

Meeting here in London to perfect the unity and close collaboration of working people of freedom-loving nations, we pledge our full support to you in carrying out the decisions which you have reached.

We pledge ourselves to guard and protect the unity of the United Nations in war and in peace and to work together unceasingly to secure our great common objectives—speedy victory and enduring peace.

The great breadth of the work of the historic London Conference is indicated by its agenda, released to the press shortly before the Conference began, as follows:

1. Furtherance of the Allied War Effort.

2. Attitude of the trade unions toward the anticipated peace settlement, including such topics as formation of a world peace organization, Allied occupation of enemy countries, reparations, treatment of Germany, rehabilitation and post-war reconstruction, and representation of the trade unions at the peace conference.

3. Basis for world trade union organization.

4. Immediate trade union demands for the post-war period.

5. Problems of reconstruction: general principles of the social and economic demands in the national and international field; fundamentals of social security and full employment.

At the time this article is being written, final decisions have not yet been taken by the Conference upon all the questions on this agenda; but it is already clear that the work of the Conference will enormously help to speed the realization of the decisions arrived at in the Crimea Conference of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

The London Conference will also undoubtedly make vital contributions to such urgent special trade union questions as the formulation of the workers' economic demands, the rebuilding of the European labor movement destroyed by Hitler, and the securing of labor representation at all conferences having to do with the making of the peace. On this latter point, Sidney Hillman, head of the C.I.O. delegation, stressed the need for labor being present at such gatherings as those at Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks, as well as at future conferences contemplated by the United Nations.

Among the important resolutions adopted in the agenda, one called upon the United Nations "to reconsider economic and other relations with Franco-Spain and Argentina and all other fascist countries which, under the pretense of neutrality, are rend-

ering aid and assistance to our enemies." It also urged the Allied governments to prevent Sweden and Switzerland "from continuing to supply Germany with food and raw materials and to exact from them guarantees against giving refuge to war criminals."

Another resolution provided for world-wide adoption of a forty-hour week, housing programs, government rest homes for workers, and two-week vacations.

THE QUESTION OF A NEW WORLD TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION

At the Conference there is a practical unity of opinion among the many delegations upon the major political questions confronting them. If there are any believers in a "soft peace" for Germany, such as was advocated by R. J. Watt, A. F. of L. delegate, at the I.L.O. Conference in Philadelphia last May; if there are any who support William Green's ideas that Germany should not be required to repair the war damages it has done; if there are believers in the official A. F. of L. thesis that the Soviet trade unions are not genuine labor organizations and should, therefore, be excluded from the international labor movement, they have not yet spoken out. The one major question upon which there is any considerable difference of opinion is that of forming a new world labor organization to supercede the old International Federation of

Trade Unions, often called the Amsterdam International.

The demand for a new world labor organization is coming from the overwhelming mass of the organized workers of the world. The great majority of the British unions are backing the demand, although a number of their leaders are rather lukewarm. Supporting it, too, are the C.I.O., the Soviet trade unions, the Latin American Confederation of Labor, the French unions, and the labor movements of India, China and various European countries liberated from the Nazi yoke. Undoubtedly, also, the great bulk of the A. F. of L. members would support it, if they had a chance to vote on the proposition. The proponents of continuing the old I.F.T.U. as the world organization of labor have considerable strength among certain antiquated British and Continental trade union officials, but the strongest pro-I.F.T.U. support comes from the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

The question of whether or not a new world labor body shall be formed is not merely an organizational matter; it also has deep political significance. Those who are for building the new world labor organization are in step with the great movement of the world's peoples toward unity and organization for the destruction of fascism and the building of an enduring, democratic peace; those who are trying to preserve the obsolete I.F.T.U. are either victims of confusion and con-

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servatism or are working consciously in alliance with reactionary forces for their own sinister objectives.

Recently, the Soviet trade union paper, *War and the Working Class*, called the I.F.T.U. "bankrupt," and this sharp characterization is borne out, especially by that organization's miserable role during the past dozen years of crucial world developments. In the pre-war period, when fascism was preparing itself to deluge the world in blood, the I.F.T.U., dominated by conservative Social-Democrats, refused to take action against the fascist menace. Throughout the Spanish war and the fight led by the Soviet Union for international collective security, the I.F.T.U. was chiefly interested in fighting against Communists and in slandering the U.S.S.R. and refused to make a united front with them and other anti-fascist forces against the common enemy. During the present war, too, the I.F.T.U. has remained quite inert, absolutely ignoring the burning need for international trade union unity in meeting the multitudinous war problems directly affecting the workers. Moreover, the I.F.T.U. was principally a West European organization, it refused to include the Soviet trade unions and it ignored or played down the unions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Its policy of admitting only one national federation from each country also narrowed its ranks by excluding such strong independent organizations as the C.I.O. Whereas,

contrary to all this, the great trade union forces now meeting in London are truly global in character, including in their ranks not only the 27,000,000 Soviet workers, but also the increasingly important unions of Central and South America, and the Far East. The I.F.T.U., as if to make it indisputably clear that it is unfit to represent this vast new labor movement, decided at the meeting of its Executive Committee in London on the eve of the World Conference, upon the initiative of the A. F. of L., not to admit these great organizations into its ranks and shoved the whole question of their affiliation into the indefinite future. The A. F. of L. *Weekly News Service*, on February 6, 1945, actually boasted of this sabotage of international unity as follows:

Led by Robert J. Watt of the American Federation of Labor, the general council of the International Federation of Trade Unions refused to favor a change in the I.F.T.U.'s constitution to permit the entrance of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Soviet trade unions."

Thus, the I.F.T.U., at the dictation of the A. F. of L., demonstrated its inability to serve as the world trade union center and virtually abdicated this position which it had previously presumed to hold.

The Soviet trade unionists have been ardent advocates of a new, truly representative world organization. Vassily Kuznetzov, head of the So-

viet trade union movement at the Conference, said: "The Soviet trade unions will specially welcome the creation of a new strong, international trade union organization." The C.I.O. also has actively advanced world labor unity, through the writings of Philip Murray and otherwise. Accordingly, at the London Conference, Sidney Hillman proposed the following plan for a new world labor organization, as reported by the *New York Times* on February 12:

First, it must be established at once.

Second, it must unite in one body all labor organizations which are sincere opponents of fascism and consistent defenders of the rights and interests of the working masses.

Third, it must be democratically constituted. It must admit all trade unions of free countries on the basis of equality and relegate none to a secondary place.

Fourth, while assuring the widest democracy in its procedure, an effective international federation must be capable of acting quickly and decisively without hesitation or prolonged consultation. To this end the executive body of the federation must be clothed with broad powers to take all action required for the effectuation of the settled policies and decisions of the organization.

These proposals, departing widely in substance from the weak, narrow and disjointed I.F.T.U., were enthusiastically greeted by the whole Conference, except by such figures as Walter Schevenels, Secretary of the I.F.T.U., Sir Walter Citrine, head of the British Trade Union Congress

and also of the I.F.T.U., who has been very hesitant upon the question of founding a new labor international.

On the basis of the Hillman proposals, the Conference voted unanimously for the formation of a new world trade union organization. The report said: "The Conference records its earnest desire and firm resolve to work together for the creation of a powerful democratic world trade union federation at the earliest practicable date." The Conference set up a Continuations Committee of 41, fully representative of the many organizations present. The Continuations Committee, among other tasks, was instructed to act as the authority of the World Trade Union Conference, to prepare a draft constitution and submit it to labor organizations throughout the anti-fascist world, to reconvene the World Trade Union conference not later than the end of 1945 in order finally to adopt the constitution, to act as the agent of the Conference so as to insure trade union representation at the coming peace conference and all preparatory commissions or conferences, and to establish headquarters of the Secretariat of the Continuations Committee in Paris. Thus, this great new world organization of the workers was started upon its fateful history.

THE A. F. OF L. AND WORLD TRADE UNION UNITY

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about the London Conference was the disruptive, abstentionist attitude of the A. F. of L. towards it. The A. F. of L. refused to send delegates itself, upon the untenable grounds that it would not sit with representatives of the C.I.O. and the Soviet trade unions and that the Conference was a "dual" movement to the I.F.T.U. It also denounced the Conference in unmeasured terms, Mr. Green even having the insolence to state that the Conference was nothing but a Soviet plot to split the international labor movement. In order, if possible, to disrupt the Conference at the last minute, the A. F. of L. sent the notorious hatchet man, R. J. Watt, to London to attend the executive meetings of the I.L.O. and the I.F.T.U., which were held just prior to the opening of the World Conference. At these gatherings Mr. Watt lost no occasion to slander the Soviet trade unions and the Conference in general.

This shameful attitude on the part of the A. F. of L. was quite in line with the destructive position taken by that body's official leaders all through the war towards international trade union unity. Hardly had the United States become involved in the war in December, 1941, then the British and Soviet trade unions, which had already formed the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, proposed to the American trade unions that they join with them in meeting the heavy war problems of labor by affiliating themselves to

their existing committee. This the A. F. of L. Executive Council refused to do. To justify their course, they argued that the Soviet workers, who, with the Red Army, were then saving world civilization at the gates of Moscow, were not good enough trade unionists to measure up to the high standards (*sic*) of Matthew Woll, William L. Hutcheson, David Dubinsky and the rest of the reactionary clique now dominating the leading body of the A. F. of L. These worthies proposed instead the formation of a joint committee between the British unions and the A. F. of L., a device to save the virtuous A. F. of L. officialdom from contamination by the Russians. Citrine and the conservative British trade union leaders, flouting the unity spirit of the mass of British workers, agreed to the disgraceful proposal of the A. F. of L. So that, after much jockeying and time-consuming maneuvers, the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee was established in January, 1943. The C.I.O., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Soviet unions protested vigorously against the narrow attitude of this body.

The Anglo-American trade union committee was still-born, as the A. F. of L. leaders knew it would be. After a few meetings, it faded out of the picture. Meanwhile the demand for real cooperation among the labor movements of the world spread throughout the United Nations. This resulted in a call, upon the initiative of the British Trade Union Congress,

for a world conference to take place in London in June, 1944. The proposal for this international Conference (which eventually had to be postponed until February, 1945, because the invasion of France began in June) immediately called forth the opposition of the A. F. of L. leaders. They tried in vain to have their conservative British friends abandon the Conference altogether. Seeing that this could not be done, the A. F. of L. leaders suddenly blossomed forth as the champions of the almost forgotten I.F.T.U. Disinterring this body which, to all intents and purposes, had been dead all through the war, the A. F. of L. leaders paraded it over the world as the international labor organization. But their lack of success in this effort is sufficiently attested to by the unprecedented massing of the legions of labor at the present historic World Trade Union Conference in London.

The explanation for these harmful activities by the A. F. of L. leadership in the international field is to be found in the conservative makeup and reactionary connections of that leadership. The A. F. of L. Executive Council, or rather the dominating Woll - Hutcheson - Meany - Dubinsky clique (soon apparently to be reinforced by John L. Lewis), have no conception either of the international unity of labor or unity of the anti-fascist peoples. On the world scale, wherever they operate, it is to sow disruption and dissension. Their chronic anti-Soviet campaign is a

standing danger to the United Nations; their so-called Free Trade Union Committee, with its fund of \$1,000,000 to "rebuild" the labor movement of the liberated countries, is designed to maintain the old-time, "Right-Left" split and is a menace to the solidarity of European labor; their machinations in Latin America are a maneuver to line up the fascists and other reactionaries against the progressive unions in the countries South of the Rio Grande, and their present attacks upon the London Conference are an offensive against the interests of the workers of the world. These actions against world unity by the reactionary A. F. of L. ruling clique are directly tied up with their assaults upon national unity in this country, marked by such activities as their constant warfare upon the C.I.O., their long-continued discrimination against the Negro people, their alliance with the most reactionary sections of big business, and their attempt to defeat President Roosevelt in the recent elections.

AMERICAN WORKERS AND THE CONFERENCE

The work of the World Trade Union Conference, especially the laying of a basis for a new world organization of labor, will enormously strengthen the efforts of the United Nations to destroy fascism and to construct a peaceful and prosperous world. It also represents a tremendous advance for world labor in strength and prestige. The Confer-

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ence should, therefore, be given the strongest support of the American working class. The dog-in-the-manger attitude of the American Federation of Labor's top leadership represents neither the interests nor the will of the great body of American workers, including those in the A. F. of L. Instead, it dovetails into the policies of those powerful reactionary interests in the United States, typified by the names of Hoover, Taft, Dewey, Wheeler, Vandenberg, *et al*, who are trying to weaken the structure of the United Nations so that they may more effectively maneuver to realize their imperialistic aims.

The refusal of the A. F. of L. to participate in the London Conference is an attempt not only to split the international labor movement (even as the A. F. of L. reactionaries have divided the labor movement in this country), but also to cut off the American workers from the great democratic movement of the world's peoples generated by this war against fascism. The Wolls, Hutchesons, Meanys, Dubinskys and their puppet, William Green, must not be allowed to perpetrate this treason to the labor movement. Nor will they be. This time, in their eagerness to do the work of reaction by splitting world labor, they have over-reached themselves. The world labor organization is now being established in spite of their attempts to prevent it. No doubt these reactionaries will resort to further obstructionist and splitting maneuvers, at which they are past

masters. But it should not be forgotten that more than once in the past, the A. F. of L. antideluvian officials have been compelled by progress to retreat, and they will have to do it again in the matter of international trade union unity. World labor refuses to be blocked by a little clique of reactionary officials, and the American workers will show that they, too, share this determination.

In fact, there are a number of important leaders of national A. F. of L. unions who have publicly manifested their solidarity and cooperation with the trade unions of the other United Nations and who favor the establishment of all-inclusive international trade union unity.

Obviously, therefore, the great body of the A. F. of L., working harmoniously on the question with the C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods, should give hearty endorsement to the program and organization produced by the historic World Trade Union Conference and insist that the A. F. of L. join in the new world movement. International unions, State federations of labor, central labor councils, and local unions should speak out categorically on the matter, demanding that the Executive Council reactionaries abandon their destructive opposition to world labor unity. If the A. F. of L. membership thus raises its voice on a sufficiently wide scale, and it eventually will surely do so, the Executive Council will be forced to retreat from its untenable position and per-

mit the affiliation of the A. F. of L., with its 7,000,000 members, to the new world organization. In the recent Presidential elections the great masses of the A. F. of L. members and progressive officials defeated the plottings of the Woll-Hutcheson-Meany clique to put the ultra-reactionary Dewey in the White House; now they must smash the attempt of the same clique to split the world labor movement and to deepen the cleavage in American trade unionism. The A. F. of L. will eventually affiliate to the new world labor organization, the Wolls, Hutchesons, Dubinskys, Meanys and Greens notwithstanding.

The United Nations are winning the war and smashing the forces of reaction all over the world. But many serious and difficult tasks still lie ahead. The solution of these tasks demands the aid of organized labor on a world scale. This is true for the maintenance and strengthening of national and international unity, for the raising of war production to the highest levels, for the carrying through of the great post-war economic program on a world scale. The American labor movement must and will do its full share toward the fulfillment of these tasks, shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the workers of the democratic world.

AT LONG LAST . . .

At long last international labor unity is on the order of the day. . . .

When the full strength of American labor is joined with that of its brothers of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the other democratic countries there will be a great added assurance that victory will be won more speedily, that the coalition of the United Nations will endure, that democracy everywhere will be reinforced, that powerful unions will be established in the liberated countries; that the forces making for an enduring peace, for prosperity and freedom for all peoples, will be strengthened.

—From *Resolution on International Trade Union Unity* adopted by the Constitutional Convention of the Communist Political Association, May 22, 1944.

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CARTELS AND THE ECONOMIC DISARMAMENT OF GERMANY

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN



THE PROBLEM of international cartels, as it arises at the present time, is part and parcel of the task of winning the war and organizing the peace. In a narrower sense, and as part of the organization of peace, the problem of international cartels is the problem of the economic disarmament of Germany.

It is pretty well agreed among the United Nations, although continually challenged by the pro-fascist forces both here and in England, that following her defeat Germany will have to be disarmed, not only militarily and politically, but also economically. The purpose here will obviously be to destroy the economic basis of German imperialism in order to guard against the rebirth of its military and political power, its power to attack and wage war again. Only in this way will the United Nations be able to tackle effectively the task of preventing the renewal of German aggression. Japan presents a special problem in relation to economic disarmament, one which is in many essentials similar to the German problem.

The economic basis of German imperialism is the German trusts and

monopolies and their role in international cartels. The leading role which German monopolies, in most cases, played in the international cartels was due to Germany's geographic position; her economic strength—that of the strongest European capitalist power—in relation to the other capitalist states; and, not least, the economic rivalries among the capitalist countries, chiefly between America and England. The dominating role which the German monopolies were thus enabled to play in the international cartels, before the war, gave German imperialism a most powerful economic base for aggression and war.

The conclusion, therefore, is that German economy must be so reorganized as to effectively check the rebirth and growth of German monopolies. Further, there must be agreement among the United Nations to achieve this economic disarmament of Germany, lest German monopolies once more become a leading and dominating factor in international cartels, which would give to German imperialism a new economic base for the renewal of aggression.

Naturally, the solution of this prob-

lem involves many others, such as agreement among the United Nations to establish among themselves economic collaboration, the problem of economic policy by the leading powers in the United Nations toward the smaller countries and in relation to the undeveloped countries. For the United States, it involves the internal problem of the mutual relations between the government and the big corporations and monopolies in the realization of our nation's major economic policies at home and abroad. A similar internal problem faces England. These we shall discuss as we proceed. The point to be stressed here is that notwithstanding all the manifold problems involved in the problem of cartels at the present time, it is primarily one of the economic disarmament of Germany, within the large framework of winning the war and winning the peace.

This, in substance, is the manner in which President Roosevelt has presented the question on several occasions, thus making it the basis of national policy. Also the Kilgore Committee—the Senate Sub-Committee on War Mobilization—has adopted the same approach to the question of international cartels and German monopolies. In fact, the main theme of its investigations is "Cartels and National Security." The prevailing standpoint in the camp of national unity seems to be of the

same nature, namely, that the question of international cartels is largely one of preventing German aggression after her defeat and of protecting the national security of the United States.

But this position, as is known, is being seriously challenged and even threatened by pro-fascist elements in the United States as well as in England, who are seeking a so-called negotiated peace with Germany in an effort to save German fascism and imperialism from complete destruction. Senator Wheeler speaks for these elements, as do Hearst, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News*. Substantial elements in the Republican Party leadership share a similar orientation. These elements, it should be perfectly clear by now, will continue to do all in their power (which is not negligible) to prevent our complete victory in the war; and the least they will seek to accomplish is to prevent the economic disarmament of Germany after victory.

Taking the longer view, the pro-fascists in our country are considering the prevention of Germany's economic disarmament as the "next best" to preventing her military defeat. This is undoubtedly correct from the standpoint of those who seek to save German fascism and imperialism for "another day." Leave German economy in a position to generate new monopolies, with their inevitable domination of international cartels,

and you have planted the seeds of new German aggressions and a new world war.

Our pro-fascists can therefore be expected to wage a last-ditch fight to prevent Germany's economic disarmament. If not tackled in time, this can become a serious difficulty. It may become serious, not alone because of the inherent strength of the pro-fascist elements themselves (though this should not be underestimated), but also because influential conservative business circles, moved by narrow and selfish group considerations, are also inclined toward going easy on the economic disarmament of Germany. These conservatives fear the rising democracy of the peoples of Europe and are intent, at the same time, upon keeping Britain down. And whom in Europe could they have as "allies" for that? German fascism and imperialism, of course. That is why our conservative opponents of the economic disarmament of Germany are in danger of tying up with our pro-fascists, thus presenting a serious obstacle to our country's drive for victory and for organizing the peace.

Clarity in regard to the nature of the problem is becoming a primary objective. This is so because of the many current efforts to obscure the problem and to turn our attention away from the economic disarmament of Germany. The most curious feature of these efforts is that many

of them are exerted under the false banners of fighting cartels and monopolies "in general." So "general" have some of these fights become that the *German* monopolies and *German* domination of the international cartels are practically out of the picture.

Moreover, in some circles the fight against cartels manages to go hand in glove with the fight for a soft peace for Germany. We find this very peculiar combination among the anti-Soviet and anti-United Nations social-democrats, among such people as Matthew Woll, David Dubinsky, and the whole *New Leader* crowd. In the hands of this gentry, the fight against cartels has been made a weapon for the economic upbuilding and rehabilitation of Germany instead of her economic disarmament. Some of our conservative business leaders tend in a similar direction, a direction in which Senator Vandenberg seems to be pointing, and which the Wheelers are trying to exploit for their pro-fascist purposes of saving German imperialism and fascism.

We also find that the fight against cartels is being made a weapon for the economic disarmament of England and of Germany. Certainly, this is the meaning of the anti-cartel campaign carried on by the leading lights of the National Association of Manufacturers. The leaders of this organization have taken the popular anti-cartel issue and are trying to turn it away from Germany, direct-

ing it, not only against England, but also against the economic leadership of our own government and against the economic collaboration between the governments of the United Nations after victory. This is a most peculiar transformation of an issue, one which, it should be noted, is shared by such an influential business leader as Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the board of directors of the Chase National Bank and newly elected President of the International Chamber of Commerce.

But most amazing is the way some of our liberals have been handling the cartel issue. We refer here especially to the editors of *PM*. They started out right enough. They started out from pointing to the dominating role of the German monopolies in the international cartels, through which German imperialism and fascism were able to influence the policies and work of many important American corporations, to the detriment of our economic war mobilization and general war effort. But instead of proceeding from this good beginning to the struggle for the economic disarmament of Germany, in accord with President Roosevelt's position and with the findings of the Kilgore Committee, some of our liberals have apparently decided to go in for what they thought was, a "broadening and deepening" of the issue, but which in fact was nothing of the kind.

Instead of broadening the issue by placing it where it objectively belongs—in the general framework of winning the war and winning the peace; instead of deepening the issue along the lines of its objective development, namely, for reinforcing the struggle for national unity and for the isolation and defeat of the pro-fascist forces in our country which are obstructing our victory and the economic disarmament of Germany; instead of doing this, some of our dear liberals, doubly confused by the editors of *PM*, have opened up a full-scale crusade, first, against cartels in general, and then against monopoly in general. With the result that German imperialism and fascism have disappeared from the scene; the economic disarmament of Germany and the prevention of German aggression have become totally detached from the cartel issue, the issue itself losing all meaning as a weapon of winning the war and the peace; and, finally, tendencies toward national *dis*-unity have been encouraged instead of combatted, thus creating new protections for the pro-fascist reactionaries whose main work is to save German imperialism and fascism.

It is therefore necessary to hold on to the real task and to try to solve the real problem. This is the task and problem of achieving the economic disarmament of Germany in addition to her military and political

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disarmament. The problem of international cartels is the problem of *securing the agreement of the United Nations* for disarming Germany economically and keeping her that way. It is the problem, therefore, of the United States adopting external and internal policies which will contribute to that end. This requires the further building of American national unity, resting upon the cooperation of all classes and economic groups (including Big Business) under the leadership of the government, and seeking the isolation and defeat of the fascist and pro-fascist elements in our country.

WILL AMERICAN MONOPOLIES AGREE?

A key question here is the present-day role and position of the monopolies in the United States. Will they agree to support a national policy calling for the economic disarmament of Germany? What is their attitude to the question of international cartels?

Let us restate that the question of the economic disarmament of Germany is a component part of finishing victoriously the concluding phase of the war and—most particularly—of organizing the peace. It is the question of preventing future German aggression. Will Big Business in the United States support such a national policy?

It should be stated at the outset

that this policy, which has the support of the large majority of the American people, can be carried out by the United States effectively, in unity with the Soviet Union, England and the other United Nations, either *with* Big Business or *against* it. It will not be done with Big Business remaining passive in the situation. We must not and cannot assume that if Big Business were to oppose solidly the national policy, the nation could just go ahead and put it into effect, as though there were no opposition. On the contrary, in such an eventuality, the realization of the national policy would call for the most determined struggle to *break* the opposition of Big Business, and eventually also to break Big Business itself.

That is why it is important to inquire into the present-day role and position of the American monopolies. In doing so we shall find, first, that although the economic position of Big Business in our national economy has become infinitely stronger during the war years, its political power and moral prestige have not grown at all. They have rather decreased.

All figures show a tremendous rate of concentration and centralization of capital in the United States since 1939, accompanied by an unprecedented mortality rate of small business. All figures also indicate an unparalleled accumulation of capital by

the large corporations. From this it is clear that the economic specific gravity of the monopolies in our national economy has never been greater.

But not so politically, nor in the matter of moral prestige and leadership. It has become a recognized fact that the majority of the American people are nowadays expecting *the government* to make sure that there will be full production and employment after the war. This expectation is not confined to the working people alone; large sections of business, small and big, share the same general expectation.

This does not mean that we are witnessing the rise of some mass movements against Big Business. The general feeling in the country seems to be that the decisive sections of Big Business have collaborated with the nation's war effort satisfactorily, if not always smoothly, and that these business leaders have made a substantial contribution to our war economy. The prevailing attitude seems to desire the continuation of Big Business in the national economy, requiring, however, that it adjust *its* policies to the *national* policies, in the field of economics as well as in the field of foreign policy. The people look now for leadership in all these matters *to the government*, to the Administration of President Roosevelt, and they want and expect Big Business *to collaborate with the*

government. The people want such collaboration in winning the war, in organizing the peace, and in assuring full production and employment after victory.

Large sections of Big Business, perhaps its decisive sections, seem to be conscious of these contradictory trends in their position—their economic strengthening and their political weakening. This fact is having a powerful influence in promoting further the developing political differentiation in Big Business circles. We saw this process very clearly during the last national election campaign. It is definitely gaining momentum. Decisive sections of Big Business are turning toward the policy of collaboration with the government in the realization of the national objectives while powerful groups and elements in Big Business are, on the contrary, intensifying their opposition both to the national policies and to the national government.

From the foregoing the conclusion is inescapable that the nation has to adopt a *differentiated* approach toward Big Business. The national policy has to be based on the idea that the most important sections of Big Business are capable of continuing in the American national unity, that they can be won over to collaboration with the people and government for the realization of the national policies, while other sections of Big

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Business, less decisive and important, those definitely in the pro-fascist camp, will have to be fought, isolated and defeated. There would seem to be no doubt that this is the kind of approach to Big Business followed by President Roosevelt. He has shown it very clearly in his reorganization of the State Department under Stettinius. He has shown it no less clearly in asking for the resignation of Jesse Jones from the Commerce Department and in nominating Henry Wallace for the post.

The task is by no means an easy or simple one. Big Business is monopolistic, and monopolies are the economic base of imperialism. Monopolies continuously tend to generate and reproduce political reaction and economic oppression and discrimination. These Marxist-Leninist truths are as true and vital today as when they were first discovered and stated. But they operate in a new and unique framework of economic and political developments, and it is this most important fact that makes possible the collaboration of Big Business in the United States with the people and government for the realization of progressive national objectives.

Yet the task becomes further complicated through certain relationships that have existed and in part continue to exist between American monopolies and German monopolies joined together in international cartels. This

country has paid a heavy price for this hook-up between American and German monopolies, as was disclosed by the investigations of the Kilgore Committee and of the Truman Committee.

Summarizing the findings of these Senatorial Committees on the German-American cartel arrangements, Wendell Berge, the Assistant Attorney General, wrote as follows:

The conduct of cartels before and during this war has been one of the tragic pages of our history. The shortages of aluminum and magnesium resulting from cartel restrictions forced us to strip the kitchens of America and scar our public squares with scrap piles. The scarcity of rubber is a never-ceasing threat to our productive effort. Our armed forces plead with us to contribute our binoculars. The lack of vital drugs and medicines has jeopardized our men fighting in fever-stricken areas. In fact, almost wherever there was a cartel there was a shortage. (*Cartels*, by Wendell Berge, p. 11.)

Investigations have disclosed German-American cartel agreements to have been of a nature that has done infinite harm to our national interest in Latin America, agreements covering such wide fields as drugs, metals, precision equipment, and even munitions.

By giving German industry virtually a free hand in Latin America, and by agreeing not to compete, American cartelists made possible the creation of a

German sphere of influence. Nazi propaganda, espionage, and subversive activity all stem directly from this unhampered German penetration. (*Ibid.*, p. 12.)

Furthermore, agreements have been revealed for post-war arrangements:

We find American and British cartelists agreeing to preserve the German position in Latin American markets after the war. (*Ibid.*, p. 12.)

The dangerous role played by the German monopolies in the international cartels, and their influence upon American and British monopolies, has been well summarized by the Kilgore Committee report on "Cartels and National Security." There we read:

The German industrial group has been the mainstay of the international cartel system. In their agreements with American and British companies, the German cartelists specifically provided that in the event of war cartel arrangements would be resumed when hostilities were terminated. Any effort to retain the international cartel system will therefore help to keep in power the German militarist-industrialist clique who have already planned and launched two world wars. (*Ibid.*, p. 9.)

The concluding point made here regarding the danger of retaining "the international cartel system" may need a certain change of emphasis. What must be emphasized is *the destruction of the German monopolies*, the reconstitution of German industry in such a way as will make

impossible the rebirth and growth of German monopolies. True, the Kilgore report demands this, but putting the weight of emphasis on the destruction of "the international cartel system" tends to blur the needed emphasis on the destruction of the *German* monopolies, economic disarmament of Germany, and economic collaboration between the United Nations. Once this is accomplished, there would be no room any more for the old international cartel system, whatever other forms economic collaboration may eventually take between America and England, and the Soviet Union and all the other United Nations. It would be a different world in which even cartels would have to behave differently.

President Roosevelt reasoned along such lines when he wrote about curbing "cartel practices" on the basis of an economically disarmed Germany and within the framework of economic collaboration between the United Nations. In his famous letter on the subject of cartels to former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, the President wrote:

The history of the use of the I. G. Farben trust by the Nazis reads like a detective story. Defeat of the Nazi armies will have to be followed by the eradication of these weapons of economic warfare. But more than the elimination of the political activities of German cartels will be required. Cartel practices which restrict the free flow of goods in foreign commerce will have to be curbed. With international trade in-

olved, this end can be achieved only through collaborative action by the United Nations. (New York *Times*, September 23, 1944.)

Collaborative action by the United Nations is, of course, the main answer to the problem of international cartels as related to the economic disarmament of Germany. Numerous American monopolies, not only the Du Ponts and various branches of Standard Oil, have been tied up with German monopolies in international cartels; and pro-fascist elements, aiming to save German fascism, are to be found in positions of power and influence in many American large corporations, if not actually in all; yet it remains true that the basic economic interests of Big Business in America today are not in serious contradiction with the broad national interests of economic collaboration between the United Nations on the basis of an economically disarmed Germany, although there are serious disagreements between the nation and Big Business which may cause temporary difficulties. Therefore, the possibility definitely exists for decisive sections of Big Business to collaborate in the national unity of America for the realization of the national objectives.

SOURCES OF DIFFICULTIES AND THEIR ELIMINATION

It is important, however, to see clearly the sources and the nature of

the difficulties which the nation will encounter—is already encountering—in the very process of collaborating with Big Business for the realization of the national peace objectives.

A source of continual difficulty is and will continue to be the pro-fascist elements in Big Business operating to disrupt the cooperative relations between business and the rest of the nation. The strength of these forces must not be underestimated. Many of them still retain their old connections with the German monopolies and are still collaborating with them. It is this collaboration which has built up what Senator Kilgore calls "economic outposts of Nazism" (*Free World*, December, 1944). These are new factories and other business centers in Spain, Portugal and Switzerland controlled by German monopolies, in addition to the older economic outposts of Nazism in Argentina and other parts of Latin America. It is for good reason, therefore, that Senator Kilgore says:

The elimination of German aggressive forces requires also the liquidation throughout the world of the economic outposts of nazism. (*Ibid.*)

Many an influential element in American monopolies is still collaborating with German monopolies to build and maintain these outposts which will also be used as a basis for the revival of the might of the German monopolies. What is required

here is that the nation be fully aware of the dangers stemming from these elements and that it pursue a deliberate policy seeking to isolate them from the rest of Big Business. It is again the idea of a differentiated approach to Big Business.

Another source of difficulty with Big Business is the wrong conclusions it tends to draw from the immensely increased strength of the United States, its economic, political, and military power. President Roosevelt and the bulk of the American people are drawing correct conclusions from this increased strength of our country, namely, that the United States can best exercise its world leadership, to which it is entitled, by collaborating with all the other United Nations, primarily with the Soviet Union and England. This means economic collaboration as well as military and political, because without the first, collaboration in the military and political spheres will not endure for long.

But Big Business in America does not see it quite that way. Most business leaders support military collaboration. They are in favor also of political collaboration on certain conditions. But when it comes to the task of economic collaboration, a large number of business leaders are definitely opposed, while others still waver. It would seem that at the present time only a section, though an important one, is definitely sup-

porting economic collaboration as projected in Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods.

What is the reason for this? The current answer is that the United States is now so strong economically that it does not need to collaborate with anybody. It is said that since we can now "out-produce and out-trade everybody," why economic collaboration? This would seem to be the prevailing mood, if not the deliberate attitude, even of the bulk of those sections of Big Business which support military and political collaboration with the Soviet Union, England and the other United Nations. At this point rivalry with England plays a very decisive role.

Still another source of difficulty is the distrust of the people's democracy of Europe and other parts of the world, a distrust shared by large sections of American business and which the pro-fascist elements in it are trying to fan into a fear also of the Soviet Union, in the expectation that this will strengthen the tendencies for a negotiated and "soft" peace to save German fascism from complete destruction.

It is not to be expected that the pro-fascists will be very successful in this. For life is already beginning to demonstrate that the greatest *stabilizing force* in Europe, next to the Soviet Union, is precisely the anti-fascist and intensely patriotic people's democracy which is genuinely friend-

ly to the United States and desirous of American collaboration and leadership. Yet to the extent that sections of American business distrust this European democracy, as they do our own, our pro-fascists may register certain headway, and to this extent tendencies will be cultivated among Big Business to hesitate even on the question of disarming Germany economically. This will undoubtedly produce difficulties, even though of a transitory and not very serious nature.

Further, if the policy of economic collaboration among the United Nations—especially among America, England and the Soviet Union—should encounter serious difficulties, this will tend to strengthen those elements within American Big Business which would like to save "something" of German imperialism and fascism as a weapon against both world democracy and British rivalry. In practice, however, such an orientation is more likely to produce a new combination of Anglo-American-German pro-fascist and fascist monopolists, similar to the old-style international cartels, in which German monopolists would eventually get the upper hand, and the basis would thus be laid for new aggressions by German imperialism as well as for the revival of fascism.

Historically, such an orientation and its possible practical consequences have not the slightest chance

of being realized, seeing the world as it now shapes up. But that in itself would not prevent the orientation from being crystallized within American Big Business, if economic collaboration among the United Nations meets serious difficulties or is delayed for a long time. In such an eventuality, the strengthened orientation within Big Business to try to save German imperialism and fascism would add another difficulty to the economic disarmament of Germany and the economic collaboration of the United Nations.

Last, but not least, are the difficulties which are arising and will continue to arise with Big Business in its relations with labor and the democratic forces of the people generally. The effect of these difficulties is to weaken national unity, to cultivate internal strife, and thus to strengthen the pro-fascist forces among Big Business. This will tend to create new obstacles for the realization of our national peace objectives. However, something very significant is making its way in the United States. It is the growing realization on the part of the people and important sections of Big Business that in America, too, the stabilizing force that makes for national prosperity and greatness in the present world situation is precisely *the cooperation of all the major classes and economic groups in our country*, including Big Business.

This fundamental new conception in American life, so brilliantly propounded by Earl Browder in his *Teheran*, is the winning conception in the longer run. It is becoming the property of the overwhelming majority of the American people and of important sections of Big Business. Yet we must anticipate transitory, though soluble, difficulties with Big Business in its relations with labor, with other democratic forces, and with the government on the issue of government economic intervention. Reactionary politicians will try to exaggerate these difficulties and to exploit them. But the camp of national unity, following the President, possesses sufficient power and resources to encounter these tendencies and to neutralize them. They will be overcome through consistent struggle for our national policy, the policy of disarming Germany economically as well as militarily and politically and of establishing economic collaboration of the United Nations in addition to military and political collaboration.

PROBLEMS IN ECONOMIC COLLABORATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The policy of economic collaboration among the United Nations, to which our government is committed, rests upon the acceptance of the following propositions.

First, there has to be a United Na-

tions. An organization has to be set up representing all peace-loving nations to maintain and protect peace and security.

Second, firm agreement and collaboration have to be developed among the United States, the Soviet Union and England as the backbone and leaders of the United Nations.

Third, the economically stronger members of the United Nations will assist the other members to rehabilitate and restore their national economies, and will pursue such economic policies as will help industrialize undeveloped and underdeveloped countries and regions, with a perspective of expanding industry and trade and a generally rising standard of living.

It will be found that our government has embodied these propositions in such documents of national policy as the master Lend-Lease Agreement and the Dumbarton Oaks document for the setting up of the United Nations, as well as in the Bretton Woods agreement for the organization of an international investment bank and stabilization fund.

Several key problems are involved in these propositions. One is the need and possibility of economic collaboration among members of the United Nations having *different economic and social systems*. Most important here is the economic collaboration between capitalist countries and the Socialist country.

There will probably arise a large number of new *problems*; but these need not necessarily spell obstacles. Rather, they will open opportunities for economic expansion on a scale undreamed of. And since the United States is economically the strongest capitalist country, it is in the most advantageous position to gain by such a development.

It is clear also that no difficulties are likely to arise from the economic collaboration of capitalism and socialism in the *economic* sphere. As long as the leading United Nations work jointly and harmoniously in the building of this organization for the maintenance of peace and security, that is, as long as there is military and political collaboration between capitalism and socialism, economic collaboration between them will present no special difficulties.

That this is so, has already been indicated in the course of the war, in the economic exchanges and relations between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the United States and England, on the other.

Another key problem is the economic collaboration between the two major capitalist countries, the United States and England, within the framework of the United Nations. Here there are quite a number of economic difficulties. And the peculiarity of the situation is such—in distinction from the relations between capitalism and socialism—that the

maintenance of military and political collaboration between America and England does not by itself either eliminate or settle their mutual economic difficulties. Here a special understanding has to be reached on the nature of their economic relations, on the respective position of each in the economic scheme of the world.

Now, it has been stated several times by Churchill and other British leaders that the United States is the strongest country in the world. This means that, as between England and America, America is the first and leading economic power. It calls for recognition of the fact that America has vital economic interests in all parts of the world which it is entitled to assert and protect. But it is precisely this conclusion that British leaders have not yet drawn. Yet without it, no real economic collaboration will be possible between England and America.

On the other hand, spokesmen of Big Business in the United States are giving too rigid and inflexible an interpretation of America's economic leadership in respect to England and the capitalist countries in general. According to them, if America is to exercise economic leadership, it has to be first in every economic sphere and relationship; and not only first, but also second, third and fourth, etc., leaving to England ninth or tenth place, and to the rest—no place at all. Obviously, this sort of inter-

pretation and the failure to recognize Britain's political interests in many parts of the world, cannot work for economic collaboration within the framework of the United Nations.

Let us take some of the specific issues between the two countries. England hangs on to its position in the Middle East, makes little accommodation to American economic interests there, while preparing to claim a substantial part of business opportunities in China as well as to resume on the old basis in Latin America. England wants no change in its relative position in world shipping and communications (as compared with its pre-war status), but insists on an equal position with the United States in commercial aviation. England would like a dominating position in the national economies of the Western European nations and a leading position in Africa.

From this partial list of issues and British attitudes in regard to them it is pretty clear what the present line is: hold on to what you have and had before the war and try to get as much in addition as possible. Maybe it is a bargaining position. Very likely it is. But it certainly does not rest upon the recognition that the United States, as the leading economic power in relation to England and the other capitalist countries, has economic interests in all parts of the world, for many of which it can claim and assert a priority position.

On these same issues the American position does not seem to be much more collaborative than the British. We seem to want free access and first place everywhere, not only economically but also politically, regardless of existing positions and situations. We do not want anybody else in Latin America, and almost the same in China. We correctly look for broader opportunities in world communications and shipping, but are very inflexible in commercial aviation. We are looking for major control of key raw materials, without considering too much the needs of other United Nations.

The existence of these Anglo-American differences and rivalries need not cause any anxiety as long as the orientation both here and in England is maintained that the settlement has to be achieved *within the framework of the United Nations*, under the joint leadership of America, the Soviet Union and England. The trouble begins, and may grow serious, when Churchill, for example, starts dangling before American Big Business a non-existent Communist danger which he would be willing to keep down for a certain consideration.

This whole business of assuming reactionary political obligations for economic concessions is not only dangerous to the unity of the United Nations but very impractical as well. For Churchill may be willing, but

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the British people are not, and British strength generally is not what it used to be when it comes to contemplating the suppression of European democracy.

But more relevant is this consideration: if Churchill were to succeed in convincing decisive sections of American Big Business of the "dangers" of rising European anti-fascist democracy, which he will not, then he would find an entirely different result. American Big Business, having no confidence in Churchill's ability to swing England into a reactionary course and considering his "economic price" too excessive, would rather turn to "good, old" German fascism and its agents in other countries, in the hope of restoring a collaboration with German imperialism through some form of international cartels.

It is, of course, possible that British Big Business might counter this with a similar British orientation. In fact, such tendencies are already present in pro-fascist circles in England, as they are in the United States. Which only shows that the moment a solution of the English-American economic rivalries is projected *outside* the framework of the United Nations and of the American-Soviet-British alliance, it becomes a move *against* the United Nations. It becomes an indication of a new rivalry—a rivalry of who will best succeed in saving German imperialism and fascism. The outcome of this may be

a new variation of Munichism, and a new world war.

The prevailing forces in the United Nations seem to be strong enough to help direct Anglo-American economic rivalries into such channels of solution as will lay the basis for the economic collaboration of the United Nations, along the lines of Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods.

A further issue of importance is the economic policies of the major United Nations for the restoration of peacetime industry and trade, assistance to economically weaker countries, industrialization of undeveloped and under-developed regions.

Here is where the United States can play a really leading and decisive part, insuring for our own people post-war full production and employment and helping to initiate a movement of unparalleled industrial and business expansion in the world. Henry Wallace knows that very well, as do the President, labor, the bulk of the farmers, and large sections of business, big and small. But there are important sections of Big Business, speaking through Winthrop W. Aldrich, which have not yet arrived at this realization. They still seem to believe that they can force England to weaken the Empire and to accept peacefully a tenth rate economic position in relation to the United States, in which case America would step forward into the world for a good,

old-fashioned attempt at economic conquest.

This is, of course, sheer illusion, but dangerous illusion, for its logic (illusions too have their logic) would lead to a pro-fascist outlook for the restoration of the power of German imperialism, with which we have dealt before.

This illusion rests on a failure to realize the following key things. One is that in the coming world of peace the dominating force in all liberated countries will be the anti-fascist democracy of the peoples, intensely patriotic, and jealous of its national rights and liberties. Secondly, this democracy will be the only stabilizing force in the world, next to the Soviet Union, while reaction in any form will be a disturbing and upsetting force, working for civil strife, war and chaos. Thirdly, this democracy will want friendship and collaboration with the United States as a leading power in the United Nations and as the leading economic power in the capitalist world.

One can see this outline already in the liberated countries. President Roosevelt and Henry Wallace understand this very well. Wendell Willkie had an inkling of it. The economic policies of the President are based upon an understanding of these post-war moods and attitudes of the peoples. From this standpoint, the economic policies of Henry Wallace are a thousand times more realistic and

practical than are those of Winthrop Aldrich or of Wallace's Senatorial opponents.

American business, in collaboration with the government, can orientate toward an expanding world economy in which it will play a major and leading part. This demands friendly collaboration with the anti-fascist democracies of the peoples of the world, within the framework of the United Nations, led by America, the Soviet Union and England. This is the course taken by history. All major world forces work in that direction. In taking this course, American business will also continue as part of the national unity of the American people, making its contribution to the realization of the national policies.

From all indications, this outlook is making steady headway among wide circles of American business as well as among many leading influences in Big Business. Its further progress lies with the steady and active support by the American people of the policies of our government as reflected in the agreements of Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods.

This brings us once more to the central proposition of the present discussion, namely, that the question of international cartels can find its solution at the present time only in the economic disarmament of Germany, the reconstitution of its economy in such a way as to make impossible the rebirth of monopolies which are the

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economic base of German imperialism; that the economic disarmament of Germany is a first condition for the economic collaboration of the United Nations (assuming the military and political disarmament of Germany); that many new forms of international economic collaboration are appearing and will continue to arise, such as, collaboration among business groups of various countries, among private corporations, between governments and private corporations, and among governments them-

selves *within a new world framework—the United Nations.*

These new forms will constitute progress. The main thing is that whatever the exact forms of economic collaboration among nations and among business groups of various nations, all these should be within the framework of the United Nations, under the leadership of America, the Soviet Union and England, *and on the basis of an economically disarmed Germany.*



THE GREAT LAKES-ST. LAWRENCE REGION

31% of U. S. population
 41.5% value of industrial products
 37% of all wage earners
 75% of steel production
 84% of iron ore production
 41% of bituminous coal production
 76% of the value of all automotive production

81% of production of machinery
 36% of chemical production
 43% of all farm property value
 70% of corn production
 36% of wheat production
 56.5% value of meat packing products
 68% of all butter and cheese production

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THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY AND POWER PROJECT

By DONALD MACKENZIE LESTER

THERE IS A growing recognition that no post-war public project is of greater importance to the United States than the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development now awaiting Congressional approval.

President Roosevelt, addressing himself to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway Conference in 1936, said of it, that "an opportunity is presented to complete a seaway comparable in economic value to the Panama Canal," a seaway to which, "the public development of St. Lawrence power is inseparably linked."

Four years later, in the light of the tremendous needs of America's defense program, the President, addressing the Conference, said of the Seaway, "It was then (in 1936) an opportunity. It is now a vital necessity."

As the President predicted, the failure to have developed the St. Lawrence project cost America heavily in the battle for production. The crises in transport, shipbuilding, aluminum production and electric power would have been much less critical had not a handful of vested

private interests balked his far-sighted appeal in the 'twenties and 'thirties on behalf of the Seaway.

However, the St. Lawrence project has lost none of its key importance for our national welfare. The economic perspectives of the great concord of Teheran presuppose for the United States a tremendous increase over pre-war standards of production and foreign trade. In these facts resides the renewed urgency of immediate action in developing the St. Lawrence Seaway to which Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont refers as "the greatest national resource and most important undeveloped waterway in the world."

WHAT IS THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY?

Popular misconception to the contrary, the St. Lawrence Seaway is not a new project. It is merely the further development of an already existing waterway linking the Great Lakes with the Atlantic.

For more than four centuries explorers, traders, statesmen, and latterly industrialists, have been intrigued with the possibilities of a deep water seaway that would link the great land-locked continental heart of America with the Atlantic and the world. Since 1535, when Jacques Cartier explored the St. Lawrence in his search for a route to China, men have been concerned with this seaway. In 1700, Canadians made the first effort to develop an 18-inch waterway along the Upper St. Law-

rence. However, it was not until 1882 that the Canadian government began to construct a fourteen-foot canal to by-pass the International Rapids of the Upper St. Lawrence. Completed in 1901, the Great-Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway, despite the limitations of its depths, has become one of the major waterways of the world, carrying more than 9,000,000 tons of cargo in 1938.

The economic value of this development by the Canadian government spurred the movement for a full-fledged deep water seaway to make the great inland industrial cities of Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and Duluth, with their rich agricultural and mining hinterland, world seaports.

In 1932, the Canadian government again took the initiative by building the Welland Ship Canal. This 25-foot-deep canal made it possible for ships to scale the Niagara escarpment of 325 feet between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. This development, together with others in the Detroit, St. Clair and St. Mary's rivers, has made possible a deepwater seaway for 2,250 miles of the 2,300 miles that separate Duluth from the Atlantic. All that remains in realizing this great seaway is: a deep water canal lock system to bypass the 48 miles of the International Rapids (Long Sault Rapids, Soulanges Rapids, Lachine Rapids) which lie between Ogdenburg, New York, Prescott, Ontario and Montreal; a new lock for the St. Mary's River; the dredging of the

St. Mary's River, St. Clair River and Detroit River to 27 feet; and the deepening of the Welland Ship Canal from its present 25 feet to the 27 feet projected for the International Rapids development.

Inseparably linked with the development of the St. Lawrence is the great hydro-electric project in connection with the harnessing of the International Rapids and the re-development of Niagara Falls power. The Seaway projects calls for realizing a capacity of 2,200,000 horsepower from the St. Lawrence and adding 787,500 horsepower to the present capacity of Niagara Falls power available to the United States. This is far more than the mighty T.V.A. The hydro-electric development would mean an abundance of cheap electric power for New York and the other states within a 300-mile radius round the International Rapids. It would give a great impetus to the program of rural electrification in New York, Vermont, New Hampshire and Northern Pennsylvania. It would speed the industrialization of Northern New York and would play a major role in the industrial and commercial future of Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Schenectady and other cities.

The potential value of St. Lawrence power is clear when it is recalled that as early as 1920, Hugh L. Cooper & Company, an engineering company, retained on behalf of the Aluminum Company of America, General Electric and Du Pont, offered

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to develop the seaway and present it to the United States and Canadian Governments in exchange for the power rights!

The total cost of the project, both its navigation and power aspects, based on carefully prepared estimates by the U. S. Army Engineers, is 429 million dollars. The United States share of this amount is 285 million dollars, of which the New York Power Authority has agreed to pay 93 million for the power development. Thus, all the great economic benefits of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power project will be available to the United States for less than 192 million dollars.

THE SEAWAY AND POST-WAR ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

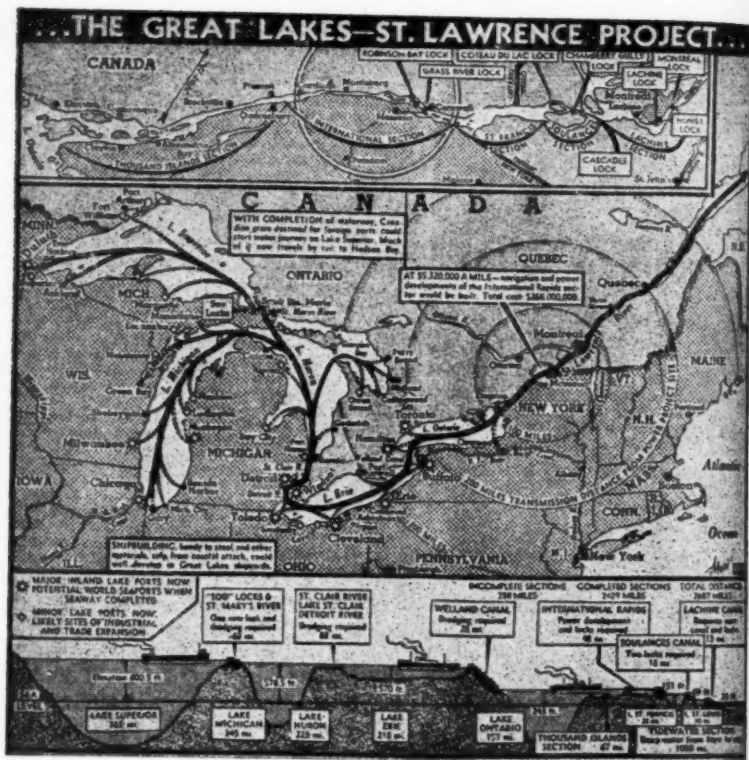
Since 1882, when the Canadian government launched the building of the 14-foot Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway, the Middle West has grown from a relatively sparsely settled agrarian hinterland into the populous, industrial heart of North America. Pre-war figures already attested to this tremendous growth. In the area tributary to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence route, are forty millions of our population, producing 25 billion dollars' worth of manufactured products, or 42 per cent of our total production, and more than 50 per cent of the nation's agricultural production.

Furthermore, there is a unique character to this development.. For the first time in history a great in-

dustrial region developed without cheap, deep-water transportation. The great cities of the Middle West have grown, despite their isolation from low-cost transportation to the markets of the world. True, within this area, the Great Lakes have provided a medium of low-cost transportation. Actually, nearly a quarter of the United States total shipping moves through the Great Lakes. But the relatively shallow waterway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic still acts as a limiting factor on the continued development of mid-America.

Hence, the post-war perspectives made possible by the concord of Teheran are intimately linked with the carrying through of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Sixty million jobs and a 150-200 billion dollar national income make it imperative to provide new means of low-cost transportation.

A single example, one of many, will serve to dramatize the economic importance of the Seaway. In 1940, 85 per cent of the automobile industry was located in the Great Lakes region, with an annual capacity for producing more than 5,000,000 cars annually. With the Seaway, cars can be shipped from Detroit to West Coast ports such as Los Angeles, San Francisco or Seattle, \$26.80 per short ton cheaper than rail rates current in 1940! Over-all estimates for the automobile industry indicate an average saving of \$12.24 per short ton for all autos and auto parts



WHAT ST. LAWRENCE-NIAGARA POWER WOULD MEAN TO NEW YORK STATE ALONE

\$26,000,000 saving each year to electric power consumers.

50,000 new jobs in Upstate New York.


7,000 new jobs in electro-process industries.

18,000 new jobs in other industries.

25,000 new jobs in service and associated industries.

Extensive rural electrification for farm production and living.

Post-war electrification of homes for 20th Century living.



shipped by the Seaway. That this estimate is not exceptional, it should be noted that a Department of Commerce survey estimated in 1940 a minimum saving of approximately \$4 per ton for all American cargo moving through the Seaway, or a total saving of \$40,000,000 on the assumed ten-million ton annual cargo. This survey, made with conditions of the 1930's largely in mind, represents a very inadequate estimate in the light of the perspectives created by the development of American industry during the war and the prospects of post-war production and foreign trade.

IS THERE SUPPORT FOR THE SEAWAY?

The St. Lawrence Seaway has never been without wide support. It has been backed by every President of the United States from Theodore Roosevelt to Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Tidewater Association, an organization for promoting the Seaway, not only had by 1932 enlisted the support of 21 states, but was financed by the legislatures of the member states. These States were: California, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. In addition, the Seaway had strong support from the Great Lakes Har-

bor Association; the National and many state organizations of the Grange; industrial associations; Chambers of Commerce; labor unions; and literally hundreds of city, township, county and state governments, Democratic and Republican alike, from Maine in the East to Montana and the Coast States in the West.

In Detroit, recently, a new organization of leading industrialists interested in the Seaway was formed, the National St. Lawrence Association, under the chairmanship of Julius H. Barnes, twice president of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Despite this imposing array of support, the St. Lawrence Seaway measure has not yet received the necessary approval of the United States Congress. That it will not receive this approval without a struggle was demonstrated in the Senate defeat of Senator Aiken's amendment to the Rivers and Harbors Bill in the closing hours of the 78th Congress.

THE OPPOSITION TO THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

The opposition to the St. Lawrence Seaway is made up, on the one hand, of those private interests determined to maintain their monopoly position in transportation or power, and, on the other, of those reactionaries who have no faith in America's future—her further economic development and her share in the greatly

increased post-war world trade projected by the Teheran concord.

The vested interests in opposition to this development can be singled out as: (1) the Niagara Power and Light and associated utility interests; (2) the New York Central Railroad and its subsidiaries; (3) the Pennsylvania mining interests (mine owners and John L. Lewis); (4) certain Buffalo, Boston and New York City navigation interests; and (5) Southern shipping interests operating through the Port of New Orleans.

Prior to the war, in the days of economic crisis, depression and shrinking world trade, it is understandable how a handful of vested interests and reactionaries of little faith, could block the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power project. While cheap transportation and power were then, as now, desirable, nobody could argue any critical shortage of transportation or power. Nevertheless, America paid a stiff price when confronted by the demands of her greatest war effort for the failure to have developed the St. Lawrence River.

The war and the post-war perspective have served to cancel whatever validity there may have been to pre-war opposition to this development. The war must be followed by a great era of expanding world trade and commerce in which low-cost water transport to and from the industrial center of the nation is a key prerequisite. The new industries that have developed during the war, es-

pecially the chemical, aluminum and plastic industries, many of them located along the St. Lawrence, require huge quantities of cheap electric power. An abundance of cheap electric power in the important area around the St. Lawrence-Niagara power development would not only stimulate the growth of these industries, but, through rural electrification and increased urban consumption of power, create a vast market for every variety of electric machine and appliance. Last, but not least, the development of this great national resource, undertaken immediately after the war, would provide, directly and indirectly, thousands of jobs for men and women precisely when these jobs will be most needed to tide over the reconversion period.

As to the vested interests opposing the St. Lawrence project, they have been adequately answered with carefully documented studies by the United States Department of Commerce in the comprehensive series, *The St. Lawrence Survey* (7 volumes, Washington, 1941). For our purposes it is sufficient to note:

1. The Niagara Power and Light case against the project is purely of the dog in the manger variety. The participation of these utility interests in the 1920 offer to make a gift of the Seaway in exchange for the right to private exploitation of the power resources, indicates that they fully recognize the value of the power project, the availability of a ready market for the power generated, and

the feasibility of the navigation project. It is clear that their opposition is designed to force the turning over of these rich power resources to private development.

2. The opposition of the New York Central and associated railroad interests is of the same character as that of the utility interests. The U. S. Department of Commerce, estimating Seaway traffic at 10,000,000 short tons, demonstrates that this is but a fraction of the expected increase in demand for transportation in the 1950's. Furthermore, the peak of transportation in this area comes in September and October, a period when the St. Lawrence is navigable, and the Seaway would save the railroads the past uneconomic necessity of maintaining large aggregates of rolling stock used for the peak traffic period and which is idle the rest of the year. However, the most telling argument against the claims of the railroads, aside from the savings with regard to transportation costs, is that expansion of railroad facilities to meet the anticipated increased demand would cost a minimum of \$311,000,000 as against the \$192,000,000 cost of the Seaway. The resultant national saving on this score is clear.

3. The argument of the Pennsylvania mining interests that the hydro-electric development linked with the Seaway would affect coal consumption is not borne out by experience. Low-cost hydro-electricity creates a demand for coal, both by

expanding industrial production and by creating new demands for steam-generated electric power. In 1934 coal consumption in the Tennessee Valley area was 540,000 tons for electric power production. By 1940, the figure had increased to 1,891,000 tons, despite the fact that during this same period hydro-electric sources of power had increased by 250 per cent!

4. The contentions against the Seaway on the part of ports like Buffalo, Boston, New York City and New Orleans, are in the last analysis traceable to a lack of confidence in the growth and development of American economy and an inadequate analysis of the origin and destination of cargo to and from the Middle West. Without going into detail, let us note the conclusions arrived at by the cited Department of Commerce study on this score (Volume 7, page 45-6):

The study indicates that New York will lose some foreign traffic and that Buffalo will lose some of its grain transfer business. On the other hand, New York Harbor will acquire new water-borne traffic to and from the Great Lakes area. Similarly, Buffalo also will gain new traffic, both domestic and foreign. In each case, the additional traffic will more than offset the losses. The net gain for Boston will be the largest of all.

As for Buffalo and the other Lake ports which are also centers of the steel industry, they might note that the rapidly depleting reserves of iron ore in the Mesaba Range mines will

make low-cost deep-water transportation an essential element in holding their world dominant position in steel production. The Department of Commerce *Foreign Commerce Weekly* for the first week in January 1945 records that "foreign ores are beginning to occupy more and more attention from steel makers." The St. Lawrence Seaway will play an important role in bringing Norwegian and Brazilian ore directly to the great steel centers of the Great Lakes region.

The through traffic to the Chicago district, which is handled through the Gulf Port of New Orleans, comes mainly from the Caribbean area. The shortness of the sea route, coupled with low-cost river transportation, will assure the continuance of this traffic, despite the Seaway. Furthermore, the recent increase in industrial production in the Mississippi River Valley region, with its post-war prospects of expansion, will create future traffic far in excess of any possible diversion to the St. Lawrence Seaway.

THE PROSPECT FOR THE SEAWAY

It is hardly necessary to point out that insofar as Buffalo and other Northern New York industrial centers are concerned, both the Seaway and the Power Project will alone assure them the post-war industrial importance that they have achieved through the impetus of all-out war production.

If the St. Lawrence Seaway is to become a reality in the immediate post-war period, the 79th Congress of the United States must act in its behalf. To bring this about will require a major mobilization of labor, farmer, business and industrial support. The measure is at the present time bottled up in the Sub-Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the Senate Committee on Commerce, whose Chairman, Senator Overton of Louisiana, has succeeded in keeping the measure from the floor, except by way of an amendment by Senator Aiken, which was defeated. Senator Overton leads those Senators who are trying to kill the measure by insisting that it go first to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. This is designed to force the Seaway measure to require a two-thirds vote by charging that the Agreement between the United States and Canada, signed in 1941, is really a treaty and is subject to a two-thirds vote in the Senate for approval. The underhanded character of this maneuver is best seen when we reflect that, not only is the 1941 Agreement fully in order, but the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty with Canada fully provided for subsequent agreements with regard to the development of the St. Lawrence River on the basis of concurrent legislation by the two parties to the Treaty.

However, this attack upon the 1941 Agreement has implications reaching far beyond the question of the St. Lawrence Seaway. It reflects an ef-

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fort on the part of the Senate reactionaries to set a precedent for subjecting *all economic agreements* arrived at by the United States with foreign governments to the two-thirds provision for Senate ratification. This is a covert attack upon the Bretton Woods conference and all related efforts at laying the economic foundations for post-war world collaboration projected at Teheran.

While support for the Seaway is bi-partisan, and various national and State conventions of both major parties have endorsed it, the reactionary Republican leadership has given it, at best, lip service. A case in point is Governor Dewey's recent report to the New York State Legislature. In this message Governor Dewey demagogically calls upon the State of New York to build the Seaway if the Federal Government is "unable or unwilling" to carry through the project! This is a typical Deweyan maneuver. Not only does it overlook the fact that if a United States-Canadian agreement is not acceptable to the Senate reactionaries, obviously a New York State-Canadian agreement would be less so, but also, it should be noted, that when the Aiken amendment was before the Senate three weeks prior to the Governor's message, Mr. Dewey, titular head of the G.O.P., made no effort to line up support for the measure. It is likewise of more than passing interest that the opposition to the Seaway

in the New York Legislature is being organized precisely by Governor Dewey's Republican colleagues. Furthermore, this Republican-organized opposition to the Seaway is being used as a screen for a legislative campaign to abolish the New York Power Authority. This Authority was set up by Franklin D. Roosevelt, when he was governor of the State, to protect the public interest in the State's hydro-electric resources. The current attack against the Power Authority is designed to pave the way for handing over the unrivaled Niagara-St. Lawrence power potentialities to the private utility and related interests. In addition, a part of Governor Dewey's "concern" for the St. Lawrence issue stems from the fact that Senator Mead, often mentioned as a gubernatorial candidate in 1946, has allowed the unfounded fears of special interests in the Senator's home city of Buffalo to place him in opposition to the Seaway. *

The mere fact that so few dare to oppose the project openly, and that those who oppose it do so by such devious means, is a testimonial to the validity of the St. Lawrence Seaway and an indication of its wide popular support. It is also proof, if proof be needed, that a well organized, concerted drive for the Seaway could rapidly overcome all opposition and achieve the necessary Congressional approval before the end of the first session of the 79th Congress.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY — 1945

By ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

A DEMONSTRATION to demand the right to vote was held thirty-seven years ago, on March 8, 1908, by a group of New York East Side working women and mothers. It lit an unquenchable spark which spread around the world. The date was universally adopted by the international Socialist movement of that time, to celebrate victories won in the struggle for the rights of women and to press forward for further demands. International Woman's Day is identified with the names of Clara Zetkin, who as a leading Communist member of the German Reichstag, early warned of the dangers of fascism; and of Polish-born Rosa Luxemburg, famous martyred Communist woman leader in Germany, who was murdered by the forerunners of Hitler. International Woman's Day coincided in Czarist Russia with the beginning of the February Revolution of 1917, when 90,000 workers downed tools and demonstrated in Petrograd (now Leningrad) for bread and against Czarist oppression. It is identified with the struggle against fascism in Spain, which will not be finished until the bloody Franco is overthrown. On March 8, 1936, 80,000 women demonstrated in Madrid for "progress and liberty." They were led by Dolores Ibarruri (Pasionaria), who is now temporar-

ily a refugee from her native land, in a safe haven—the Soviet Union. In the last few years International Woman's Day has been commemorated behind the enemy lines, among guerilla forces in China, Czechoslovakia, and wherever brave women fight for freedom beside their men.

International Woman's Day, 1945, will be celebrated on a far wider scale than was possible during all the past horrible years of Nazi aggression. Now the beast is being driven into his lair by the Red Army from the East and by the British and American armies from the west. Its extermination is at hand. The last strips of Soviet soil, as well as of France, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Poland, and Hungary, are being cleared and cleansed of the invaders. The horizon of victory is near in Europe. Freedom can be shouted aloud where it was whispered but recently underground, in dark dungeons and concentration camps. In January of this year, slogans of the Italian woman's suffrage movement appeared on the walls of buildings in Rome—"Women want to vote to defend their sons and assure freedom—women have suffered and are suffering as much as men in this war—why deny the vote to them?" The Italian Women's Union has distributed thousands of pamphlets, "Why Italian

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Women Should Vote." As a result, the Cabinet ordered the local prefects to include women's names in the registration lists now being prepared. The elections to be held this spring will be the first in Italy since Mussolini seized power twenty-two years ago. The enfranchisement of Italian women is a great historic event, a beginning of the sweeping away of fascist ideology in relation to women.

Working women, as well as university and professional women, who took part in underground activities, are resuming organized public educational activity, preparatory to the first participation of French womanhood in elections. In Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito proclaimed that women have equal right to vote with men, in the civil governments of liberated territories. Women, now twelve in number, and Communist women among them, are representatives in the enlarged Consultative Assembly in Paris. Women are taking their places in the re-organized government agencies of liberated countries. The women of Europe have won their rights through blood and sacrifice, in courageous resistance to fascist tyranny.

American women have made great progress—economic, political and social, since 1908. They have voted since 1920. They have co-educational institutions; work in basic industry; are members of the armed forces, of

trade unions, of political parties and a host of clubs and associations of a progressive character. Millions of women, Negro and white, have participated in the war effort and in the re-election of President Roosevelt. It is imperative that we women now face the vast possibilities of the post-war world for peace and security with a realization of our great responsibilities as citizens, workers, mothers, with full knowledge of its problems and a determination to guard and exercise our rights for the best interests of our national unity and democratic world cooperation. International Woman's Day, 1945, must be dedicated by us first to an all-out effort to hasten victory and exterminate fascism; then, to help build a secure and peaceful world. It is necessary to combat organized reaction in our own country and its evil influence even on certain elements in the labor movement and among some progressives, who unconsciously fall prey to its sophistry, especially in relation to woman's role in society. The article in this issue by Anna Long deals with some of the specific problems of industrial women, which must be faced, understood and solved correctly, if we are to have women's full contributions toward winning the war and building an enduring peace and an economy of abundance in a secure post-war world.

WOMEN WORKERS AFTER THE WAR

By ANNA LONG

IN 1940 there were approximately eleven million women at work, and about two and a half million more women looking for work. Today there are almost nineteen million women employed. Thus, almost eight million women not employed previously have gone to work during this war period, in the shops, offices, stores and on the farms, skilled and unskilled, black and white, married and single. What will happen to these women workers after the war?

Many of the younger women will resume their studies or interrupted training; others will get married and stop working in industry; many wives of servicemen will leave their jobs when their husbands return. But there are countless others—the wives of servicemen who are killed or permanently disabled, the single women, the widows, the women who want to retain the security and independence they have gained through working. To those millions of women who want or need to work after the war, the only answer to their problem is to be found in the achievement of an economy of full employment. By full employment we must mean a goal of no less than the sixty

million jobs proposed by President Roosevelt, supported by the C.I.O. Convention, and which is now being discussed by Congress.

JOBS FOR WOMEN LINKED TO POSTWAR FULL PRODUCTION

A return to pre-war economic conditions would be courting disaster. A study by the Office of Price Administration shows that if 1939 hours, distribution of employment among industries, and levels of employment are restored, the total decline in payrolls of manufacturing industries would be 57.7 per cent below 1943 levels; for all civilian non-agricultural industries, the decline in total payroll would be 36.9 per cent. This decline would take place even without any change in present straight-time hourly wage rates.*

Because of increasing productivity, and the increase in the labor force, the number of unemployed workers would be, according to a Department of Commerce estimate, at least 80 per cent higher than it was before the war, and would reach proportions of 18 or 19 million.** Instead of two or three million unemployed women, we would have four or five million women looking for work. Women are always the first victims of unemployment. If we have mass unemployment, women, as a group, are the first laid off in most

* *Effect of Restoration of 1939 Hours and Percentage Distribution and Total Volume of Employment on Salaries and Wages*, O.P.A. Division of Research, August, 1944.

** Quoted in an O.P.A. memorandum by Chester Bowles, October, 1944.

cases. In the face of a national depression, it would be difficult to maintain the position of the progressive unions for upholding a woman's right to a job, when her working might deprive a man with a family of his job. That is why the future of women workers is so inseparably linked with the future progress of America. That is why the program for realization of 60 million jobs in the post-war period has such a vital significance to American women. In an economy of 60 million jobs, more than one-fourth of these jobs would be filled by women. We have at present about 52 million workers and an additional twelve million in the armed forces. Assuming the retirement from the labor force of three or four million older workers, students and women, the 60 million jobs would still provide work for some 15 to 17 million women. The United States Women's Bureau has estimated that after the war there will be two or three million more women in the labor force than in 1940, when there were 13½ million women at work or looking for work. The percentage who, in the post-war period, will be "at work" rather than "looking for work" depends directly on our success in achieving a post-war economy of full production and full employment. Every step we take in furthering cooperation with the United Nations, through Bretton Woods, through Dumbarton Oaks, through establishment of an under-

standing with Great Britain on sharing an expanding foreign market—every one of our present actions will determine whether or not this nation will be able to provide sufficient jobs for all who want or need to work. Some unions are beginning to take these facts to their membership. The C.I.O. Convention resolutions on foreign policy showed a highly mature approach to the problems of our nation and the relation of these problems to the labor movement. A special effort must be made to make these points crystal clear to the women workers, so that they will see how their future, and the future of their loved ones in the armed services are tied up directly with the success of the policies outlined by the leaders of the United Nations.

WOMEN'S WORK IN "MEN'S JOBS"

Unfortunately, there are those, including even certain progressives, who envisage full employment that excludes women. Some groups, yielding to reactionary influences, envision a post-war America where women will become "convinced" that their only place is in the home. The *Wage Earner*, organ of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in Michigan (which, on most issues, supports the policies of President Roosevelt and Philip Murray, and has rendered consistent support to the C.I.O.'s fight to uphold the no-strike pledge) strayed onto dangerous ground in an

editorial dated October 6, 1944, on women workers. That publication took the position that women should be discouraged from further employment in factories, insisting that "nature designed men to earn a living for the family, and woman to keep the home." The editorial attacks the efforts of civic-minded Detroiters to continue the nursery schools for children of working mothers after the war. It claims that a woman worker is preventing the employment of a Negro family-head, and categorically declares that "a mass production factory is, generally speaking, a bad environment for women." The *Wage Earner* argues also that "there are physical and mental differences between men and women . . . nature designed man to earn a living for the family and woman to keep the home." Its argument is climaxed with the assertion that women are "biologically" and "spiritually" unfitted for factory work.

This opinion of the intelligence and ability of women workers reflects the propaganda of reactionary forces who consciously attempt to drive women from the factories, keep them domesticated, and consequently backward and uninformed. These forces seek to utilize women for the formation of a mass anti-labor and pro-fascist movement.

It was such Nazi philosophers as Oswald Spengler who first insisted that "woman is to be neither comrade nor beloved, but only mother." In

Mein Kampf, Hitler argues at length about the inferiority of women, pointing out that the "one absolute aim of female education must be with a view to the future mother."

Although they have been forced by the exigencies of war to recruit women for work in the shops and on the farms, the Nazis are guarding lest any confusion be created with the German public over the exploding of one of fascism's pet theories. Editorials and articles written by the Nazi manpower authorities appearing in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* some time ago explain that while a German woman had the "duty to work" in wartime, this does not establish for her any right to work after the war.* The plan of the Nazis was to drive the women out of the factories, with the ending of the war. As to the "mental" and "spiritual" inferiority of women for factory work, countless authorities, governmental, labor, and business, disprove this theory. The United States Women's Bureau has published numerous pamphlets describing the wide range of work done by women. The United States Employment Service has estimated that 85 per cent of all war jobs can be performed by women. We have the testimony of President Roosevelt, who, paying tribute first to the magnificent participation of the women in our armed forces, declared on Nov-

* See *International Labor Review*, published by the International Labor Office, issue of September, 1944.

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ember 2, 1944, in a speech from the White House, that "the millions of women who have gone into war industries . . . are greatly responsible for the fact that the munitions and supplies to our men at the front have gone through to them on time." The National Industrial * Conference Board,* an employers' research organization, questioned 146 executives on the production of women workers as compared with that of men on similar work. Over 60 per cent stated flatly that the production of women on so-called "men's jobs" was equal to, or greater than, the production of men. About 15 per cent stated that the production of women depended on the type of jobs; on some it was better than men's, on others it was inferior. Only 25 per cent said that they thought women on "men's jobs" produced less than the men, while many qualified their answers by saying that, afforded more experience, women could probably equal men's production.

WOMEN'S RIGHT TO PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT

These women war workers do not primarily consider themselves as "emergency workers" recruited for the duration only. A recent study by the U. S. Women's Bureau** shows that approximately half the women now employed in factory war jobs

were working before the war in some other industry. Almost all single women, and widowed and divorced women in the labor market are the sole support of themselves, and many have dependents. Approximately 43 per cent of all women workers today are single; about 13 per cent are widows or divorced. Even among the married women, many are the sole support of a family, or are forced to work because their husbands' earnings are insufficient. Even before the war, a fifth of all women workers were the principal wage earners in the family. It is clear therefore that the majority of women now working will need a job in the post-war period. Nor should it be overlooked that with casualties in the armed forces of 764,000 (as of February 8, 1945), many women who did not have to work before the war will have to do so after the war. To attempt to solve post-war employment problems by any statistical or theoretical "elimination" of women from the labor force is the highest kind of irresponsibility toward the national welfare.

Surveys show, that in addition to the women who will have to work after the war, many women want to work even if it is not an economic necessity, because they have found they can manage both a home and a job, and the added income raises the family standard of living. For example, answers received from 81,000 Kaiser shipyard workers showed that 67 per cent of the women wanted to

* N.I.C.B. Study, *War Time Pay of Women in Industry*, October, 1943.

** *Changes in Women's Employment During the War*, U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1944.

remain in industrial jobs after the war.* A survey by the United Auto Workers (C.I.O.), of its women members showed that 85 per cent would continue to work after the war if jobs were available.** Interviews with 500 machine operators in a large Chicago plant showed that 70 per cent intended to continue to work after the war, two-thirds of them preferring factory work.***

It does not need to be further established that there will be a very large number of women in the labor market after the war. Millions of women will need work, and work must be provided for them, together with the men now employed and those returning from the armed forces. We cannot afford to think in terms other than full employment and jobs for all, regardless of race, sex or creed. No woman worker, or male worker, for that, wants to be put in a position of depriving a veteran, or a Negro family head, of a job. It is imperative to start planning now for the kind of economy where there are jobs for all men and women who need or want to work. This nation has utilized the skills and abilities of women in wartime; we have had full employment at the peak of the war effort. We are surely as capable of making use of our workers in peacetime production. The Administration

* *Des Moines News*, March 1, 1944, a United Press account.

** *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, May, 1944, p. 1030.

*** Herbert E. Flemming, "Women War Workers Look Ahead," *Survey Graphic*, October, 1944, p. 6.

has set the realizable goal of 60 million jobs for the post-war period. This program has the support of labor and the forward-looking sections of industrialists.

During the 1930's, millions of women, along with men, were denied employment and were forced to take their place in the breadlines. The unemployment of women was possibly less recognized than that of men, because women were so actively discouraged from seeking employment that their unemployment was hidden from public knowledge. But, as the National Women's Trade Union League has aptly written, "the women of America formed a hidden army upon which Hitler in his madness failed to count. That once hidden army of women is now in the open. We must face it realistically and guard against the creation of another 'hidden' army of unemployed."*

American women remember the depression of the 1930's; they remembered it last November 7, and voted overwhelmingly to repudiate the candidate of Hoover and his false-prosperity shouters. The millions of women workers, together with the wives of workers, played a leading role in the campaign to reelect President Roosevelt. But it is not possible now to rest back and believe that full employment is assured; for the reactionary forces which were set back in the

* *Life and Labor Bulletin*, published by the National Women's Trade Union League; issue of December, 1944, pp. 6-7.

elections were by no means destroyed.

Already, certain employers are trying to push women out of the factories. They try to force women to quit, by various ruses, such as making the job unpleasant by requiring too much lifting, by denying rest periods or adequate sanitary facilities, or by denying merit raises to women. In many labor shortage areas, it has been found that factories which are crying about the "manpower shortage" are refusing to hire women who have been laid off from other plants. An illustration of how the recent cut-backs have affected women can be seen in the lay-offs in the Detroit area in the first eight months of the past year; women were 35 per cent of the workers laid off, although the percentage of females to total employment was only 29 per cent.* Little effort is made to provide other jobs for these women, and it is said that the women who are laid off "disappear from the labor market." An investigation by the War Manpower Commission in a number of cities where women have been laid off from war plants showed why such a high percentage of them "disappeared from the labor market."** The "mental," "spiritual," and "biological" inferiority which the *Wage Earner* suggests is not among the causes.

Among the four leading causes why these women did not find other

employment the War Manpower Commission listed the following:

1. The rate of pay on those jobs open to women in the community was far too low—often 35¢ and 40¢—when they had been earning \$1.00 or more on war jobs.

2. Jobs that were available did not give them any opportunity to use the skills and training learned in war plants.

3. While seeking other employment, they came up against "male labor only" signs and attitudes.

4. Jobs offered were far too heavy or too difficult, as, for example, heavy foundry jobs.

Actually very little has been done, particularly in recent months, to help laid-off women workers secure other jobs with decent pay and working conditions.

The U. S. Women's Bureau has issued a "Reconversion Blueprint for Women,"** adopted at a conference held in December, 1944, at which representatives of thirty national organizations, representing management, labor, and other groups, were present. This Blueprint makes some valuable suggestions, including the following points:

1. An analysis should be made of those jobs for women which will evaporate and those new jobs which will open up.

2. Discrimination in lay-offs should be guarded against.

3. The public employment services

* According to data released by the War Manpower Commission in Michigan.

** The W.M.C. publication, *The Labor Market*, October, 1944.

* Published in mimeographed form on December 5, 1944.

should be geared to handle women workers, include counseling and special advice.

4. Adequate counseling and retraining facilities for women should be provided for.

5. Adequate minimum standards should be established in traditional women-employing industries.

6. Women should take part in the responsibilities of employment, including collective bargaining.

To an increasing degree organized labor supports a program to safeguard women workers during the period of transition to peacetime economy. But labor sees that the answer can be found only in terms of a long-range basis for the provision of full employment. President Philip Murray of the C.I.O. has said that "women who need or wish to work should have the opportunity. Full employment would mean that no capable person would search vainly for a job."* R. J. Thomas, President of the United Auto Workers, stated: "I have never had any sympathy for those who want to follow up a victory over Hitlerism by applying Hitler's formula of 'no jobs for women'. . . . If this country can provide wartime jobs for all, certainly labor, management and government can work out a plan for peacetime production which will provide useful employment for every person, man or wo-

man, white or Negro, who wants or needs a job.*

President Roosevelt appointed a special Woman's Advisory Committee to the War Manpower Commission. After lengthy research on the status of women workers, the Committee reported:

The number of women who want and need to work has increased enormously during the war. There will be an even higher proportion of unmarried women in our population. There will be many women who must accept the permanent responsibility of breadwinner because of the loss of husbands in the war. And there are the women who have adjusted their family life and found a new, often hard-won economic status which they do not wish to lose. Prospects for job security and other new opportunities after the war are as important to these women as to men.**

Enlightened industrialists no longer take the attitude that the employment of women is a "temporary" or "emergency" measure. Henry Kaiser, shipyard and aircraft employer, was asked whether women's working after the war would tend to destroy the home. Mr. Kaiser replied:

Of course they will continue to work, why shouldn't they? By bringing in extra incomes they will have better homes. The pioneer women of this country worked and also made their homes. We are still living in a pioneer

* From an article in *American Women in the Post-War World*, a booklet published by *Newsweek Club Bureau*, 1944, containing speeches of labor leaders, industrialists, etc.

* From a press release dated March 12, 1944.
** From an Advance Press Release of the O.W.I. dated for the afternoon newspapers of December 2, 1943.

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age. The new inventions and discoveries have opened up new horizons. Housework need no longer take up all of a woman's time. She must find other things to do. She must work—no one can be happy who is idle.*

Eric Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, told newspaper reporters that "there should be no reason why anyone who wants to work and can work shouldn't have a job. . . . I'm no believer in this economy of scarcity. . . . Women will be able to keep almost every gain they have made in industry—in numbers employed, in better types of jobs, in higher wages."**

Even the National Association of Manufacturers has issued a special pamphlet, *Women in Postwar Industry*,*** which asserts that women workers will have a place in the post-war world. Behind the N.A.M. statements, of course, lies the hope on their part that women will be willing to work for lower wages and to take the undesirable jobs. Labor is aware of this fact, and has campaigned, with considerable success, for the abolition of wage differentials and for equal pay for equal work. Average straight-time hourly rates of women in the U.A.W., for example, increased 49 per cent between 1942 and the end of 1944, from an average of 74 cents to \$1.10. This increase was almost all directly attributable

to the application of the equal-pay-for-equal-work principle through collective bargaining and War Labor Board orders, and to the upgrading of women. And labor, particularly the C.I.O., knows that in an economy of full employment, it will be possible for women to take the jobs which they prefer and for which they are qualified. Women who like riveting or operating a lathe must not be forced into restaurant or domestic work, on the grounds that there are no other jobs open to them.

PEACETIME CONSOLIDATION OF WOMEN'S WARTIME GAINS

In order that wartime gains and working conditions for women shall not be lost, it is essential that principles established and legislation passed for "the duration" be made permanent. For example, the War Labor Board's orders on equal pay for equal work can be supplemented in peacetime by passage of a Federal and also State "equal pay" laws, as five States have already done,* and by incorporation of "equal pay" clauses into union contracts. Support of the Pepper Senate resolution for a 65-cent minimum wage is particularly important to the millions of women in the low-paid textile and service industries. Passage of State minimum wage laws is also essential. In-plant eating facilities, established in wartime, must be con-

* New York Times Magazine Section, October 29, 1944.

** New York Times, April 1, 1944.

*** Published in 1944.

* The States are: Illinois, Michigan, Montana, New York and Washington.

tinued. The nursery school and canteen system for children of working mothers should be incorporated into our peacetime school system. The creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee is imperative to safeguard the right of all women, but particularly the Negro women, to jobs in industry. Lay-offs have borne down with particular weight on Negro women, who, for the first time, during the war, have had the opportunity to take jobs in factories. The thousands of women already laid off from war jobs need an opportunity for counseling and retraining. Such opportunities must be provided with State and national funds, much as they are already being provided for veterans.

Keeping in mind the importance of full employment in the post-war period, one must also be careful not to overlook the fact that during this particular period of cut-backs, women are often discriminated against in lay-offs. Management frequently violates the seniority rules. In other cases, union contracts provide for "separate seniority lists" by sex, whereby women can be laid off ahead of men, regardless of seniority. The United Electrical Workers Union has taken positive steps to eliminate such practices in its plants. The U.A.W. convention resolution called for the elimination of all discriminatory clauses affecting women. Many locals have already taken such steps. At the U.A.W. Women's Conference held

last December, many of the delegates tried to reach a constructive solution of the seniority problem, but were prevented from taking a positive approach by the Red-baiting and domineering tactics of the conference chairman, Victor Reuther. To the pleas of several delegates that the union give special attention to the widows of servicemen and wives of disabled veterans, Reuther callously answered, "Well, how about the husbands of the WAC's?" The resolution on seniority, drawn up by a committee of Reutherites, stated that there was discrimination against women, called for the elimination of such practices, but failed altogether to take a strong stand for the right of women to work or to relate the seniority question to the problem of full employment. In Flint, Michigan, and in other cities where the General Motors Corporation has U.A.W. contracts, thousands of women, including servicemen's wives, have been laid off, while men with less seniority are kept on. The G.M. Corporation contract with the U.A.W. negotiated by Walter Reuther gives the Company the right to set up separate male and female seniority lists by which all women may be laid off first, unless the Local Union can negotiate otherwise. And the Flint Local Unions, led by Trotskyites and John-Lewisites, have not seen fit to negotiate otherwise.

The C.I.O. Convention held in Chicago in November, 1944, called

for protection of women's employment rights through the seniority clauses of union contracts. All C.I.O. National and Local Unions would do well to examine into all their contracts, as many have already done, and to eliminate at once any provisions denying the women the basic right of seniority. Many A. F. of L. plants are laying off women with scant regard to seniority, but to date the A. F. of L. has not taken nearly so strong a stand as the C.I.O. to protect and defend its women members.

The question of post-war employment of women must be examined by the unions just as closely as they have looked into, and planned for, protection of the rights of veterans, and as they are beginning to examine into post-war employment rights of the Negroes. There are today over 3 million women in trade unions, a peak figure in our history. Women, Negroes, servicemen, and the entire

labor movement must work together for a post-war America, where, instead of pitting one group against another in a battle for a restricted number of jobs, there will be full employment, jobs and security for all.

The labor movement cannot allow women to be driven out of the factories. Such a course would deprive millions of women of their right to work. It would mean loss of assistance from these millions of women's hands in the building of a post-war economy of full production and mounting standards of living.

Those who seek to destroy the democratic citizenship of woman in the nation's economy, to isolate her from the processes of social production, or to confine her to the areas of children, church and kitchen, fail to realize that *progress for the nation is inseparable from progress for the tens of millions of its working women.*



THE UNITED STATES, TEHERAN AND LATIN AMERICA

A LETTER TO EARL BROWDER

By BLAS ROCA



Mr. Earl Browder,
New York.

My dear friend:

I HAVE JUST FINISHED reading the Spanish translation of your admirable book *Teheran*, and I would like to congratulate you on this latest contribution to the victory of the United Nations, and to the attainment of better inter-American understanding through which peace and prosperity will be assured in the post-war. I have wanted to write to you at some length about your book; but I have been extremely busy with the recent electoral campaign and the problems arising from it, which made it impossible for me to write before. Although ashamed of this delay, which I trust you will forgive and excuse, I am very happy to be able to convey to you, as the best possible way to congratulate you on behalf of the Cubans, the news that we have sold 21,000 copies in the short space of four months.

In spite of your saying that your book is a "specific study from the United States' standpoint of the world situation," it is, nevertheless,

a very valuable document for all the Latin American peoples, and a great contribution toward a better knowledge of present-day problems from a scientific, Marxist viewpoint.

Teheran, much more than *Victory—And After*, gives us a picture of world relations in the present war, what victory will mean and the obstacles to be overcome in order to attain it, and it presents and analyzes with masterly insight the road that should be followed by the United States, and how her people must be made to put American national interests before those of individuals, parties or groups, in the present historical crisis.

The position taken by the United States in the present crisis, and that of all the Great Powers involved in the war, affects the world in general, and every region and country in particular. More, by reason of her colossal economic development, her geographical situation, and her historical, political, and commercial relations within our continent, it is clear that any action taken by the United States not only affects the situation within the countries of Latin Amer-

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ica, but also, in many cases, determines it. Thus, the comprehensive and knowledgable study from the viewpoint of the United States of the world situation which you have given us, Comrade Browder, in *Teheran*, is as of much importance to the peoples of Latin America as to those of the United States.

The national interests of the United States, as you see them and expound them in your book, oppose neither the *national interests of the Latin American countries* nor our desire for national liberty, well-being and progress. On the contrary, the two completely coincide, for which reason, the program which you put forward for world action, including the relation of the United States with Latin America, can be entirely *understood and upheld* by our peoples.

The understanding and the backing of our peoples for this program is as indispensable for its realization as the firm determination in the United States to put it into practice. Its success requires the greatest degree of coordination and collaboration humanly possible, within the framework of present relations.

It is for this reason that I think I should make some comments with reference to some of the principal problems mentioned in your book, especially Chapter 8, concerning Latin America.

NAZI MANEUVERS ARE INTENSIFIED IN LATIN AMERICA

As you point out, with reason and

justifiable alarm, at this moment, when they are facing defeat in the rest of the world, the Nazis are making advances in our continent. They intensify their tactics of sowing seeds of confusion and division, taking advantage of the weaknesses and contradictions of national, democratic movements. In spite of the bold action of Cordell Hull, the working-class movements in our countries, the C.T.A.L. (Confederation of Latin American Workers), and Lombardo Toledano, its head, Nazi intrigues continue to spread and multiply, and they are emerging into the open with increasing audacity. The Argentine G.O.U. (Group of United Officers, headed by General Peron), chief point of Nazi agents and Falange activity in America, sends its agents to our countries to carry out a methodical, silent plan of infiltration. This pernicious activity, while not attaining spectacular triumphs, nevertheless influences and receives the backing of individuals and groups, and instills life into the reactionary sectors of our society, constantly provoking trouble and disturbances. The Farrell-Peron government spreads disorientation among the American peoples, poisons inter-American relations, and instills alarm with its war preparations. It is putting obstacles in the way of a durable world peace, and is converting Argentina into a refuge for the Nazi beasts, who are already planning to make it the center of their economic, and political come-back.

In Bolivia, a new military coup d'etat has reinforced the fascist elements in the government—closely related with the G.O.U.—and they are being allowed to carry out a brutal repression of all who oppose them, despite the protests of all the countries of the American continent.

Chile, disturbed by the Argentine threat of armed aggression, on the one hand, and strongly pressed by the pro-Nazi clique still holding positions in the army, on the other, has not been able to pull out of a prolonged political crisis, which is endangering the democratic gains and social progress made during the long period of collaboration between the most important political parties.

Certain military groups in Peru, probably in cooperation with the Argentine fascists, or at least strongly influenced by them, intrigue against President Prado, threatening a coup d'etat and an armed attack on the Colombian border.

In Colombia, the pro-fascist forces headed by Senator Laureano Gomez and stimulated by the Argentine and Bolivian examples, plotted to overthrow the Government, first through a clever conspiracy intended to force President Lopez to resign, and later (last July), through a putsch following the Nazi pattern and organized by Colonel Diogenes Gil in Pasto. It was only thanks to the energetic action of the Colombian workers and their Confederation, under the influence and political direction of the Communists (now integrated in the

Democratic Socialist Party), that Colombian democracy was saved, the fascist conspiracy was smashed, and the forces of democracy both of the army and the entire nation responsible for the failure of the Pasto putsch were greatly strengthened.

In Brazil—the largest country in Latin America and the only one to send her troops to the battle fronts—after considerable advances toward national unity and democracy, Nazi intrigue, backed by the Argentine threat, has recently had several successes. Vargas has again turned back and has given way to "integralismo."* Several democratic publications which had appeared during the last two years have been shut down. Foreign Minister Aranha, well-known defender of the unity of the American continent and firm upholder of democratization of the Brazilian regime, was forced to resign, and his friends in the government were thrown out. The situation of Prestes, together with the rest of the anti-fascist prisoners, has grown notably worse.

In Central America, including Panama, the situation has become so confused, what with the changes of government and the continuous threats of coups d'etat organized against each country in the neighboring countries, that we have

* The Integralista Party in Brazil was the first fascist party formed in Latin America, with a fascist corporative program. It was formed by the Nazi Plinio Salgado, who is now in Portugal. The Integralista Party, was led and financed by Nazi Germany after the Integralista Putsch of 1937.

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In Santo Domingo, Trujillo, well known for his past Nazi connections and the intrigues against Haiti (whose President, Lescot, has made some frankly democratic declarations), continues in power through a coup d'etat and the application of a series of repressive and reactionary measures.

In Cuba, the Falangist elements, speculating with the national sentiments of our people and the resentment still felt against past imperialist activities, have started a series of provocations and are carrying on an undercover campaign in favor of the fascist regime of Farrell-Peron.

We have, then, in all the countries of Latin America, growing activity on the part of the political agents of the Nazis and Falangists. They conspire, spread undercover propaganda, seek to foment division and disorder, coups d'etat, and frontier disturbances, hoping thus to put in power the forces opposed to the Teheran aims.

THE REASONS FOR THE FASCIST ADVANCES

Faced with this fact, it is necessary for the pro-Teheran forces of the American continent, the forces who seek to create a just and enduring peace following the victory of the United Nations, to increase their activity and to present to the masses

of the people a clear and convincing program.

How is it possible to explain the fascist advances in Latin America, in the face of the growing pro-democratic feeling of her peoples, the activities of organizations such as the C.T.A.L., and the powerful influence of Roosevelt's policy?

How is it possible to explain the fact that Argentine influence has reached such an extreme that the Farrell-Peron actions received a certain amount of support even in some openly democratic sections of the Cuban Congress?

These things can be explained only by the objective factors favoring the Nazi maneuvers.

In your book, you point out three main factors favoring Nazi intrigue in our hemisphere:

1. The United States has not offered sufficient proof that the Good Neighbor Policy is a permanent policy.
2. The United States has not always known how to distinguish between its friends and enemies in Latin America.
3. Great Britain and the United States are engaged in a rivalry for the markets and investments of Latin America.

Already before, in *Victory—And After*, you pointed out that the main problem was the economic situation of our countries in relation to the great powers and the world market.

You wrote then:

Not the least of the problems which disturb relations between the United States and Latin America, and lend themselves to Axis manipulations, are economic.

And you explained this as follows:

All the republics to the south suffer from a system of world economy in which the great powers control commerce for their own benefit primarily, and siphon off most of the benefits of this commerce, which should be mutual, to their own side.

The three stated characteristics of the present situation which you describe in *Teheran*, combined with the permanent economic basis of the status of our republics, as defined by you in *Victory—And After*, are the objective realities explaining the Nazi successes on our continent. If the Nazi intrigues are not more successful it is because of the strength of the democratic sentiments of our peoples and the organized action of labor movements.

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY

The economic problems faced by our countries, and aggravated to a certain extent by the war, have not been sufficiently taken into consideration by the United States, nor have they been treated, on the whole, in the spirit of the alliance which we maintain or of the Good Neighbor policy.

This has been one of the chief causes why some social sections of

our countries have listened to Nazi-Falangist intrigues.

Even during the time when the military and civil necessities of the countries at war have meant the expansion of our production, American interests have impeded the development of a series of economic activities. These projects would have proved of great help in solving the many acute problems of provisions in time of war, but would also have meant, to a certain extent, the economic development of our countries.

Very recently in Cuba, we have seen the pressure brought to bear by North American interests against the attempts to form a small national merchant marine and against all proposals to initiate some productions of our own for establishing an independent trade with other Latin American countries. North American pressure was also felt in the attempt to impose an anti-national Treaty of Residence and Navigation and to obstruct the distillation of alcohol and the exploitation of oil wells, which had been undertaken with the idea of finding a solution to the acute fuel problem. Some North American entrepreneurs, such as Nikaro Nickel, backed by the United States authorities, have imposed extremely oppressive conditions on Cuban workers, including a ban on trade union organization.

Even in the present negotiations for the sale of sugar, the Cuban people feel something of North American pressure, as though it were a

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transaction carried on between two traders, and not one concerned with the basic problems of the mutual relations between the two countries. It is true that this attitude is assisted not a little by the landowners and capitalists of our country, who seek at all costs, to take advantage of the crisis arising out of the situation to obtain exaggerated profits. The situation served as a pretext for the Falangist *Diario de la Marina* to initiate a vile campaign against the United States. The campaign received the blessing, or at least the approval of some personalities and sections of our economic and social life who were unable to realize the fascist, anti-Cuban basis of the campaign.

The general line of the Good Neighbor policy, whose positive value has been applied consistently in political relations, has not proved sufficiently efficacious in the economic field.

The Good Neighbor policy has been notably successful in eliminating many of the old resentments against past imperialist intervention. However, it has not, so far, been able to offer our peoples a guarantee of liberty to develop economically. Until now, and particularly during the course of the war, the practical application of the Good Neighbor policy to the economic problems of Latin America has been at the mercy of reactionary influences within the State Department. It has been subservient to the interests of certain

big enterprises which have done everything possible to benefit from the situation, subjecting our peoples to the worst forms of exploitation.

Without this type of American policy, the coup d'etat of Bolivia against Penaranda, for example, would have been impossible. That it was able to take place was due to the fact that it could count on the backing or at least the neutrality of the miners, and of large sections of the population chafing against the government. For, while declaring (and maintaining in foreign relations) its stand on the side of democracy and the United Nations, the government used its power within the country to defend in the most brutal manner the interests of the tin magnates.

It is necessary, then, for the United States, not only to ratify her national intention to uphold the Good Neighbor policy, but also to take measures to uphold its principles in the field of economic relations.

The freedom of Puerto Rico, as you point out, would have great reverberations on the whole continent. It would deprive Nazi propaganda of a strong prop and would show once and for all that the United States does not intend, as has been suggested, to occupy or colonize any territory of Latin America.

If the declaration establishing the basis for Puerto Rican independence were accompanied by a clear demonstration that the United States is not interested in maintaining economic colonies in a state of misery and back-

wardness and subjected to the degrading mono-cultural system, this would deal a successful blow against the very source of the Nazi poison which is permeating the relations between the United States and Latin America, and between the various Latin American countries.

This can be done only if the United States will clearly state now her decision to put into practice an economic program such as you suggest, and will begin immediately to take measures accordingly.

If the United States truly intends to start an economic program in the post-war period which will signify a certain degree of industrialization of Latin America, the conditions necessary for its realization must be created now. It must be demonstrated by the manner in which present problems are handled.

Such an attitude on the part of the United States would greatly help us Latin Americans in the task of destroying those who oppose our constructive proposals for an increase in diversified products, those who, if left unchecked, will ruin the proposed program.

ON DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN FRIEND AND FOE

The second characteristic of the present situation, which you show to be one of the factors responsible for Nazi triumphs in our continent, is equally important.

As you so rightly say, the United States still does not know how to

distinguish, in her foreign policy, with respect to Latin America, between her friends and enemies. She allows herself to be largely guided by anti-Communist, anti-labor prejudices. We have been particularly aware of this in Cuba.

It is evident that the Cuban Marxists, first organized in the Partido Union Revolucionaria Comunista, and now in the Partido Socialista Popular, have been the most tenacious and consistent defenders of the unity of our country with the United States in the present crisis, and at all times the strongest enemies of those who are now fighting the United States: Nazi Germany and Japanese militarism.

Since 1938, no one has done so much as we to eradicate the strong resentment felt by the masses of the people because of former imperialist methods, or to combat the enemy propaganda which exploits the healthy national feeling, love of independence, and the desire for national development. No organized political party has fought so strongly during this period to awaken the public to the necessity for close collaboration with the United States. No one has done more, or, indeed, as much, to demonstrate to the people what Hitlerism means, or to make them realize the urgency of destroying the worst enemy of humanity. No political party has done so much as ours to lead the workers to support the war unreservedly, to declare themselves against strikes,

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and to cooperate in fund drives and the many other forms of helping the cause of the United Nations. No nucleus organized in Cuba has so effectually combated the Falange, rightly called by Sumner Welles the spear-head of Nazi penetration in America.

I could adduce much documentary proof to sustain these affirmations, but, notwithstanding their great importance, I will limit myself to excerpts from two speeches of my own.

At the first great legal meeting called by the Communist Party of Cuba, on November 12, 1938, which was attended by more than 40,000 people, I expressed the basic line of the Cuban Marxists as follows:

Colonel Batista's journey to the United States, and the meeting he had with that great democrat, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is of transcending importance. . . .

We hope that out of this meeting will grow a closer co-operation between the peoples of Cuba and the United States against the world threat of nazism, and a closer cooperation to destroy here in Cuba the audacious agents of the authors of this war.

This statement, as well as my proposal for Cuban collaboration with the United Nations in improving the American Naval Base at Caimanera and for Cuban military cooperation with the United States, was officially accepted by the delegates present at the Party's first legal Congress in January, 1939.

With the entrance of the United

States into the war in 1941, we further speeded our fight to arouse the public consciousness to the desirability of the unity of our two nations and of a continental and world-wide collaboration of the democratic, peace-loving countries.

As we were intensifying our campaign, the Falangists launched a poisonous, anti-United States propaganda offensive, published principally in *Diario de la Marina* and *Alerta*, of which the following is typical:

The Communists and other red-sympathizers in this island are rejoicing because of the attitude adopted by the United States toward Hitler, because he is doing the same in Europe that they are doing in Puerto Rico, Panama and Caimanara. . . . The war will be a very pleasing one for the Jews and Communists, because, should the United States win, it is they who will be the conquerors. (*Alerta*, March 25, 1939.)

Pepin Rivero, owner of *Alerta* and director of *Diario de la Marina*, has died. The United States honored him with the Mary Morss Cabot prize* and he was invited to conduct propaganda on its shores shortly after Pearl Harbor.

Even today, well-known Falangists are granted every facility for going to and fro between the Latin American countries and the United

* An award of \$1,000 granted annually to a Latin American journalist who is considered to have distinguished himself by his work in improving the relations between his country and the United States. The prize is awarded by Columbia University, upon the recommendation of the Cultural Relations Division of the State Department.

States. Their only needed recommendation is that they show themselves to be enemies of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party. Yet no member of the Popular Socialist Party may travel on American territory whatever his reasons for wishing to do so, not even if the Cuban Government solicits the visa.

This strengthens the position of the Nazi conspirators and the Falangists, facilitates their work of spreading anti-Communist and anti-United Nations slogans and pro-Nazi propaganda, and helps them to sow disunity and confusion among our people. It hampers the relations between the labor movements of Latin America and the United States, relations that are the best guarantee of good-will, understanding and American unity both in peace and war.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RIVALRY

It is indisputable that the rivalry existing between Great Britain and the United States is another factor favoring Nazi-Falangist intrigue. This rivalry is at times, and in various ways, aggravated by certain Latin Americans.

In some Latin American countries there exists a theory, by now almost traditional, which is based on the illusion that by keeping both rivals interested and not allowing either to gain complete control, by backing now one and then the other, a given

country is in a position to defend itself.

It is possible that in the past under certain historical circumstances, such a policy favored the interests of some of the Latin American countries. But now, with Nazi-Falangist agents overrunning the continent, it is a dangerous fallacy, which can only result in smoothing the way for our enemies and destroying the hope for democratic progress in the Latin American countries.

True, this theory carries little weight today. That it still exists at all is due to the fact that the British, North Americans, and others do not at all times know how to distinguish between friends and enemies. In a country like Argentina, where British influence predominates, the North Americans have had a better attitude toward the democratic labor movements, whereas in Cuba, where North American influence predominates, the British have evidenced a more comprehending approach toward labor. Public opinion is complacent before this rivalry, basing itself on the following reflection: In today, in open competition for our markets and to win the good will of our people, the two contending powers agree to oppose all economic advances or popular movements would there not be a stronger opposition to our national aspirations if both rivals agreed to divide our markets and fields of investments?

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way to meet this situation is for the British and the North Americans to realize who their friends are, and, above all, for both powers to approve a joint program of economic collaboration now and in the post-war period, following the lines laid down at Teheran.

The program outlined by you, which seeks, principally to find a solution for the grave economic problems that will arise with the end of the war, is the basis for ending present conflicts and for strengthening collaboration between the United States, Great Britain, and Latin America, more so because their vital interests are fundamentally connected with this program.

THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM

If your program demands that the economists and politicians look to new horizons, this is as vitally necessary for the capitalists, landowners and traders of our countries, many of whom are terrified at the thought of the slightest economic progress.

In order that Latin America may be able to import \$6,000,000,000 worth of goods from the United States—and, of course, a growing amount from Great Britain and other countries—it requires such a gigantic increase in our buying power that not even our boldest economists have, until the present, been able to grasp the extent, using, as they do, the measuring rods of the past. Nevertheless, this program is, generally speaking, completely realizable.

Latin America holds enormous riches, as yet unexploited. The greater part of her land is either insufficiently cultivated, or entirely uncultivated. As a result, a great proportion of her population can barely subsist.

Today, in the gigantic world war, in which we are all involved, there are still many unemployed in the greater part of our countries although production has increased considerably during the past three years.

In the United States there is full employment, or even lack of manpower.

In Cuba, although the production and export of tobacco have reached heights unequalled for many years; although many more mines are being exploited; although the production of pea-nuts and pea-nut oil, rice, condensed milk, etc., has greatly increased; and although the last sugar harvest yielded almost 5,000,000 tons of sugar, with a consequent employment for thousands and thousands of workers, we still have considerable numbers of unemployed, not including the seasonal unemployment of the sugar workers.

On the other hand, the greater part of the workers receive salaries which keep them at starvation level, in spite of the wage increases and other social improvements attained in recent years, particularly since 1940.

If we could find the means to increase reasonably the purchasing power of the workers at present employed; if we could make it possible

for the great mass of the agricultural workers now ground down by backwardness and misery to participate in the market; and if we could guarantee work for the thousands of unemployed, both permanent and seasonal, who are a dead weight on Cuban economy, then we could contribute our part to broadening Latin American markets, even to the extent of the \$6,000,000,000 worth of imports from the United States.

Taking as a basis the figure of \$6,000,000,000 and the Latin American imports of 1943, it will be necessary to increase those imports seven and a half times before that figure is reached.

Applying the same basis, Cuba would have to import between \$900,000,000 and \$1,000,000,000 from the United States, although when an all-over view of the possibilities of the continent is taken, this figure might be rather less.

Although, as you mention, these figures may be somewhat arbitrary, and granting that careful calculation is necessary for the sake of definiteness, Cuba's part in the practical development of your suggested program would, as I see it, be the following:

1. That Cuba maintain her production of sugar at about the 5,000,000-ton mark. Permission should be given to carry out the process of refining in Cuba, which would mean a national income of about \$550,000,000, at the present rate. Further, the sugar industry could absorb ad-

ditional loans of several million dollars to:

a. Renew antiquated industrial equipment, thus making the whole process more economical and efficient.

b. Reorganize the method of sugar cane cultivation, using more intensive processes and a better utilization of the land. At least half the land at present controlled by the sugar centrals could be used for other purposes.

c. Install additional machinery for the exploitation of sugar by-products. The greatest contribution which the sugar industry could make to the expansion of our import market, apart from the above, would be to grant an appreciable rise of the minimum wages earned by the sugar cane cutters and the other agricultural sugar workers, and a proportionate rise in those of the sugar industrial workers. The diminution of profits this would entail would be compensated by the expansion of the industry, and by a stable world, free from the convulsions of international and civil wars.

2. That Cuba reorganize the tobacco industry, using, on a larger scale than at present, the methods of production that are today in use in the United States, so that the total Cuban production may be manufactured at home, thereby placing us in the category of exporters of the finished article, and not only leaf tobacco.

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will put an end to the abnormal prices of today, I can assure you that if cigar factories are established here, it will give employment to thousands, will make salary increases possible, and will be a notable contribution to the expansion of the market.

3. Road construction should be started on a big scale between all the outlying regions of the island. The already existing roads should be widened and repaired, and extended particularly so that direct communication is established between the ports of the northern coast and those of the south, above all in Oriente Province.

4. A comprehensive program of Public Works should be initiated, including:

a. Utilization of the rivers for electric power, irrigation, etc.

b. Erection of school buildings.

c. Erection of hospitals and health services.

d. Adequate water supply for all towns and villages.

e. Paving and draining all the principal cities.

f. Construction of official air ports facilitating the development of air communication.

5. Industries already established, such as leather goods, foot-wear, textile, rubber tires, cement, building materials, foundries, oil, food-stuffs, condensed milk, and butter, should be further developed by:

a. Providing better industrial equipment.

b. Assuring an adequate supply of raw materials so that some, at least, may immediately double their production, thus covering a great part of the national consumption.

6. An increase in the planting of rice, beans, textile fibres, oil-producing seeds, etc., through the use of half of the land today controlled by the sugar centrals, and an improved irrigation system.

7. The exploitation of the sources of naphtha, oil, and asphalt, as required by domestic consumption.

8. A program to maintain existing mines in full production and to establish foundries, exporting the partially refined product.

9. A plan for the exploitation of our hitherto untouched mineral wealth, for introducing new methods and establishing new industries as far as lies within our possibilities.

10. A firm policy of maintaining the wage scale at a reasonable level, with adequate possibilities of work for all, and the introduction of an efficient insurance system for the working population of both town and country.

11. A guarantee of the purchasing power of the agricultural workers and small farmers through tax regulation and the abolition of "censos,"* the assurance of a fair price for their products, and the elimination of the factors of parasitic profiteering which

* *Censo* is an agreement by which a peon acquires the right of receiving a fixed annual pension from the purchaser of his real estate, in excess of the price of sale.

exploit the farmers, without any benefit to society.

Clearly, to draw up a really comprehensive, detailed program to enable Cuba to import so many million dollars' worth of goods from the United States, is something which neither I, nor anyone else in Cuba, can today undertake to do. I wish merely to suggest the general outline on which a detailed program can be based, and to emphasize that the proposed expansion is entirely feasible.

I have based this general outline on the following fundamental ideas:

1. To be practical and feasible, the plan for Cuba's expansion, within the framework of your suggestions, must be based on our country's actual resources and present level of development. Hence, I attach great importance to everything relating to the increase of our national income through the two traditional products of Cuba, *viz.*, sugar and tobacco, as well as to the further development of a series of industries already established.

2. It is necessary to develop, to a certain extent, some of our unexploited sources of wealth for the expansion of our market on so great a scale. There is no other way to establish employment, raise wages, and increase purchasing power.

3. To reach the projected import figure, Cuba must shift from exporting raw materials or partly finished products to exporting finished goods, at least as far as its principal products

are concerned. Only industrialization of the Latin American countries can raise their national incomes sufficiently for large-scale importation of goods. Only if the United States will buy our sugar, tobacco and minerals already refined, will it be possible for us to buy machinery, chemical products, automobiles, trucks, refrigerators, and all classes of manufactured goods, including food-stuffs, to the value of \$900,000,000 or \$1,000,000,000.

Although these basic concepts follow the traditional line of Cuban economy, which is the exportation of tobacco and sugar almost solely, they nevertheless represent considerable progress in national economy, because:

a. They defend manufacture of the two products within Cuba.

b. They would mean an increase in national wealth, which would make possible the development of other products, which in turn, would mean a more harmonious, less unilateral economy.

It is obvious, even to those who know nothing about economy, that such a program can be carried out in Cuba, only with the collaboration of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Only these three great Powers are able to insure the correct world conditions for expanding markets for our increasing production; only the first two can insure the financial and technical means which such a program demands.

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Obviously, for the United States to adopt such a program as the basis of her official, national policy toward Latin America, it is necessary that there should predominate in her government, and particularly the State Department, pro-Teheran, democratic, anti-imperialist forces, who will allow the economic development of our countries and the strengthening of our national independence and democracy, and who will be capable of taking definite stands on concrete cases as they arise, within this general framework.

In Great Britain, logically, a similar relationship of forces must exist; for only then will that country collaborate in the triangular program for the pacific development of Latin America in the interests of an expanding world trade.

In order that Latin America accept and sincerely collaborate in the realization of the program for progress and world peace, the popular, democratic masses of the national liberation movements must be given, within the framework of national unity, a responsible part in the government, from which the feudal groups and the parasitical, anti-nationalist cliques must be eliminated.

I imagine that you are referring to this, when you say, "What is still missing from the picture are the factors of moral and political prepared-

ness," adding, with reason, "These must be created before the detailed blue-prints can be brought into existence.

The creation of these moral and political factors is, then, the most immediate task before us. The Teheran accord offers the opportunity for Latin America to reach a higher level of economic development, national independence, and public well-being, which will enable it to contribute effectively to the prosperity of the world through the economic collaboration of the United States, and Great Britain, the two Powers with the largest amount of investments, properties, and commercial interests in our countries.

We have maintained until now, that only through nationalizing foreign investments and properties, in violent opposition to British and North American interests, would we be able to reach a higher degree of economic development, to exploit our enormous natural resources and to raise substantially the standard of living of our peoples. The collaboration established by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union at Teheran opened up new perspectives to us. It opened up the perspective of achieving these progressive results through collaboration in a program such as you suggest, which would yield a reasonable interest to the British and North American investments, properties and commercial enterprises in our countries.

Only the collaboration of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union as outlined in the Teheran agreement, opens up this perspective, because without it the post-war world would be a stage set for a furious struggle among the principal capitalist countries in open competition for markets. This could only lead to a head-long race toward super-production and unemployment as in the crisis-years 1920 and 1930.

From the very beginning of our country's war with the Axis, we determined to subordinate everything to cooperate in the victory of the United Nations. This has facilitated the conclusion that we must collaborate with the United States, Great Britain, and any other country which has investments or interests in our country, in order to defeat our common enemies and to guarantee peace in the future.

In all Latin American countries, without exception, the organized working class movements, and the Marxist parties and groups, have been in the vanguard of the forces demanding that our peoples should participate fully in the task of destroying the Nazi-fascist-Japanese menace. Our most famous leaders and members of the rank and file of our organizations volunteered to serve on any war front. We demanded obligatory military service in those countries where it had not yet been introduced. We urged the formation of national armies, as well as a

combined Latin American Army, which would carry our flags to the battle fronts. We demanded the strictest economic cooperation of every country for the vital necessities of the war, and we proclaimed—and still maintain—a NO STRIKE policy. The labor movement and the Marxist groups and parties have been the most tenacious defenders of wide national unity, and of the strongest continental collaboration with the United States as a means of strengthening the world conception of the United Nations.

The organized labor movements and the Marxist groups have demonstrated, in action, that they are disposed to support such a program as you suggest, based on Teheran and the national interests of the United States, and corresponding to the national interests and the predominant sentiment in our countries.

But it is not only the labor movement and the Marxists who have maintained this attitude throughout. The greater part of the population of our countries has given indefatigable support to the continental policy against the Axis, and in all Latin America there is a steadily-growing movement in favor of the development of our economy, raising the standard of living and culture, and pulling our nations out of the present backward state toward democratic national independence. This is prominently expressed by the fact that all the recently organized large parties

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in our countries, and all the latest programs of the old parties, give a place of first importance to the problems of economic development and independence.

On the whole, it is easier for Latin America to understand and support the program you propose than it is for the United States or Great Britain, because Latin America stands to gain peacefully, after the violent defeat of the Axis, greater prosperity and, furthermore, greater national independence.

At the same time, we are still a long way from attaining the full maturity of the moral and political factors capable of guaranteeing the realization of your program.

It suffices to understand this if we make a survey of the political situation in the various countries of Latin America, and take into account the continental disturbance represented by the existence of the fascist clique of Peron-Farrell in the Argentine government.

When we, in Cuba, pause to consider the practical measures necessary to put such a program into practice, we begin to realize the many adverse factors and internal difficulties that we shall have to overcome.

Above all, there is still lacking in Cuba—as in all Latin American countries—a sufficient understanding of the extraordinary significance of the Teheran agreement, and of the perspectives and possibilities which they open up to the whole of the hu-

man race. The Cuban nation is not yet fully united morally as far as any fundamental suggestions for the solution of post-war problems are concerned. Many among us tend to get lost in subordinate and external aspects of the problem of the organization of the peace, instead of considering the forms of adjusting our structure to the new world which is arising out of the greatest battles of all time.

The political field is also sown with difficulties which will have to be overcome. Secondary disagreements, partisan disputes which ignore the great national problems, produce sharp division and impede the culmination of national unity indispensable for any truly constructive proposals.

We must, of course, accentuate our efforts to make our people aware of the perspectives offered by Teheran, and the possibilities of advantageous collaboration with Great Britain and the United States in a joint program for the harmonious solution of our acutest and most urgent economic problems. To that end, we are resolved to distribute your book even more widely, since the 21,000 copies sold to date have reached only those circles directly connected with our Party. We also propose to reproduce the chapter concerning Latin America, and to promote discussions around it, through reviews and the radio. This is of great importance, because not only will it help the

Cuban nation to understand better the general problems and the perspectives offered by Teheran, but it will also teach it to know that ever broader zones of the United States view our problems from the standpoint of an authentic Good Neighbor policy.

It is essential that we fight more definitely for the post-war program based on the concepts of Teheran.

We believe that if, in every practical problem arising out of the relations between our countries, the North Americans will raise their voices to condemn any anti-Teheran, imperialist and oppressive expression or tendency, we Cubans will also fight every tendency or expression of narrow egotism, undue profiteering, forgetfulness of the sacrifices demanded by the war. We will do all in our power to eliminate suspicions or misunderstandings between the two nations, thus strengthening the spirit of confidence and collaboration necessary for the triumph of the Teheran program.

We must, on the basis of such perspectives, intensify our war effort, and our contribution to victory. The recent German counter-offensive and the desperate efforts of the Nazis to divide the United Nations, clearly show that in order to win the war and guard the Teheran spirit, the most intense effort on the part of the people is still needed. Cuba should again offer her soldiers. Cuba should strengthen her vigilance against spies

and enemy agents, ruining their work and destroying their manuevers, which become more dangerous as they become more desperate. Cuba should offer the maximum solidarity to the Argentine people against the Farrell-Peron clique, which should be kept in strict diplomatic isolation and economically and politically boycotted.

We must maintain the unity of the workers in the central union, the CTC (Cuban Workers' Confederation), and we must fight more fiercely for national unity, eliminating existing factors of disunity. We must arouse the popular masses, within the framework of national unity, to their responsibilities. The fight for national unity has a wide scope and great possibilities in the economic terrain, as was demonstrated by the Conference for the Development of Cuban Economy and by the approbation with which public opinion acclaimed the efforts of the sugar workers to participate in the negotiations for the sale of the sugar crop to the United States.

These are, briefly expressed, the thoughts that have occurred to me with respect to our national problems, after studying your admirable book, *Teheran*.

I repeat my congratulations.

Forgive the mistakes which this long letter may have. It is written in the midst of my work and of the multitude of preoccupations and problems constantly arising.

My

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My fraternal greetings.

BLAS ROCA.

Havana, Cuba,

January 12, 1945.

[Since this was written, certain changes for the better have been evi-

dent in the attitude of the State Department with regard to Latin American personalities and groups, although there is still much to be desired in correcting the practices justly criticized by Blas Roca.—*The Editors.*]

"WORK FOR THE WORLD"—MARX

KARL MARX was one of those rare men who are fitted for the front rank both in science and in public life. So intimately did he combine these two fields that we shall never understand him unless we regard him simultaneously as man of science and as socialist fighter. While he was of the opinion that every science must be cultivated for its own sake and that when we undertake scientific research we should not trouble ourselves about the possible consequences, nevertheless he held that the man of learning, if he does not wish to degrade himself, must never cease to participate in public affairs—must not be content to shut himself up in his study or his laboratory, like a maggot in a cheese, and shun the life and the social and political struggles of his contemporaries.

"Science must not be a selfish pleasure. Those who are so lucky as to be able to devote themselves to scientific pursuits should be the first to put their knowledge at the service of mankind." One of his favorite sayings was, "Work for the world."

—From reminiscences by Paul Lafargue in
Karl Marx: His Life and Work.

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TO BE SCHOOLED IN THE BEST THOUGHT PRODUCED
BY THE SOCIAL SCIENCE OF OUR AGE—MARXISM—
READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

