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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

After Five Years*

By Eugene Dennis

DEAR COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

It is mighty good to be with you again.

It is a good omen for our nation that we can assemble, and that this memorable 32nd anniversary celebration is being held in Carnegie Hall.

I am especially happy to be here as the fraternal guest of my favorite newspapers—the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*.

Take it from one who knows—when you're not free to read freedom's press, you really miss it!

To the voice of truth—once again edited by my comrade and prison buddy Johnny Gates—I wish a long and ever more fruitful life, with an ever expanding circulation!

A CRITICAL HALF-DECADE

These past five years have been one of the most critical periods in our country's history.

How perilous these times were now has been publicly, if brazenly, acknowledged by the Secretary of State.

During this grave period, the same evil forces that conspired against world peace also unloosed the scourge of McCarthyism, gutted the Bill of Rights, and enjoyed a profit orgy at the people's expense.

But this period of acute danger and severe hardship has not been all of one piece. For it also saw a new trend develop, with the rise of popular resistance to the ferocious attacks of the monopolists, their Cadillac Cabinet, and McCarthyite witch-hunters.

Our country is not out of the

* Speech prepared for delivery at the 32nd Anniversary Meeting of the *Daily Worker*, held in a packed Carnegie Hall, New York City, January 20, 1956. Due to the lateness of the hour, Comrade Dennis omitted several paragraphs on that occasion; we publish the complete text.—Ed.

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woods yet. But through the trees we begin to see growing patches of blue sky.

SALUTE TO FREEDOM-FIGHTERS

I would like to pay tribute tonight to those countless unsung heroes who, in a variety of ways, served the cause of freedom during these trying years. History will yet record the inspiring story of the great number who defied blacklists, witchhunts and the lynch-pack, and by their courage gave hope and confidence to hundreds of thousands.

I pay tribute to all the brave men and women—Communist and non-Communist, Negro and white—who have kept bright the flame of America's democratic spirit; and to their martyred heroes, the immortal Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the Reverend George W. Lee, and young Emmett Till.

Not least among the patriots who have added new lustre to our working-class and democratic traditions are the leaders and members of the Communist Party, whose chairman is that intrepid Marxist and great labor leader—William Z. Foster.

I particularly wish to salute those stalwart champions of the people who stood firm in prison and those who are still in prison, Gus Hall and Bob Thompson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry, and all the other Communist leaders. I salute Ben Davis who is illegally held in "con-

ditional release," in protective custody.

I salute those valiant patriots who are political exiles and refugees, as well as those other staunch working-class fighters who are now on trial or under indictment, or appealing their infamous convictions under the thought-control Smith Act.

To all these dear friends and comrades, and to their courageous families, I pledge anew that we Communists, together with all democratic Americans, will redouble our efforts to secure their freedom and restore the Bill of Rights as the shield of democratic liberty for all Americans.

"SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS"

The past half-decade, so fraught with danger and tribulation, has also been rich in new experience.

Some vital truths, once clear only to a small minority, have now become plain to many. Some of these self-evident truths, whose lessons are so meaningful for our country, need to be underlined anew:

1. Either the Bill of Rights exists for all, for Communist and non-Communist—or it exists for none!
2. Peace and civil liberty are as inseparable as the heart and bloodstream of the human body.
3. Wall Street's war program, cold or hot, plays havoc with the people's liberty, civil rights, and the general welfare.
4. Now as always, and especially in this so-called atomic age, American monopoly is the Number-One

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enemy of the nation. There is an indissoluble connection between the growth of monopoly reaction at home and Wall Street's aggressive military adventures and war alliances abroad. And the trend towards new mergers of the great trusts, including the malignant growth of state monopoly capitalism in this period, has furthered the militarization of the country, accelerated the process of fascization of the state apparatus, and tightened monopoly's stranglehold on the nation's economy, and the nation's life.

5. But, as recent history has reaffirmed, the monopolists are not invincible. They can be curbed now, and eventually defeated, by militant, united labor and democratic mass action.

The plain truth is: the men of corporate wealth who threaten the world with rule or ruin are not almighty and they can be thwarted! Three times the peace-loving nations of the world and the peace forces of our country and other lands, have prevented the atomaniacs from catapulting our nation and much of the world over the brink into atomic disaster, forced them to modify their course, and finally compelled them to climb up the hill to the summit, to Geneva.

Even though Dulles and his corporate companions travelled reluctantly and with ill-concealed hostility, their forced journey to the summit demonstrated anew that the road to a stable peace lies along the

path of peaceful co-existence, and that the people have the power to enforce this course. Although the advocates of atomic diplomacy now try to reverse their steps, the peoples are determined to go forward, and their will shall yet prevail!

The McCarthy-Eastland architects of an American form of fascism are not invincible, either. They have suffered some important defeats. And they can be licked to a standstill—if the American people really unite to put them to rout.

This most vital truth was stated many years ago in another critical time at the founding of our Republic:

"We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."—thus did Benjamin Franklin put one of the greatest lessons of all.

The simple fact is that monopoly reaction made such headway in the late 1940's and early 1950's because most of the labor and democratic forces in our country permitted themselves to be divided and disoriented.

But, in 1954, the growing pro-peace and anti-McCarthy forces began to "hang together," to find new avenues for joint and parallel action, and to develop some capacity for overcoming the poisonous effects of the Big Lie. It was then that the tide began to turn in our country against the most aggressive forces driving towards war and fascism.

If we have learned anything in these past years, we have learned that Communists and non-Communists must band together, or most

assuredly we shall all be hanged separately by our common enemies—the monopolists, the atomaniacs, the McCarthyites, the white supremacists, the open shoppers.

IDEAS CANNOT BE JAILED

One more very plain and self-evident truth: men and women may be blacklisted, persecuted, and put in prison. But it is impossible to jail ideas, or to halt the people's quest for truth and the advance of their popular and liberation movements.

Just look at what has happened to a few of the ideas that were supposedly locked away in prison with us Communist leaders in the summer of 1951.

One was the very tenacious idea—embodied in the Stockholm peace pledge—that all nations should renounce atomic warfare, that all testing of nuclear weapons should be halted, and that all nuclear instruments of war should be prohibited and destroyed.

This idea has now become transformed into a mighty world-wide movement embracing the vast majority of mankind, and scores of governments, East and West. To the growing roster of its great advocates, who range from Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung, to Nehru, Nasser, and the late Einstein—has now been added the influential voice of Pope Pius XII.

Surely, America's Catholics, especially those in the ranks of labor,

will give prayerful thought to the Pope's Christmas message, and will help popularize his plea to save mankind from the horror of atomic warfare.

Surely, too, most of America's Protestants and Jews, no less than we Communists, will also support this noble plea. If we peace-loving Americans, of different faiths and beliefs, concert our efforts, we can yet compel Washington to heed the universal popular demand to quarantine the A and H bomb!

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Only a short time ago it seemed that we Communists were virtually the only Americans to advocate the idea of peaceful co-existence among nations of different social systems.

But the historic sessions at Geneva have demonstrated that peaceful negotiations can take place, that they have the wide support of the people, and that they serve the best interests of our nation and the cause of world peace.

Nixon, Knowland, Dulles, the GOP Administration, with more than one assist from many Fair Dealers — are trying to bury the spirit of Geneva. But even if they succeed in muddying the waters and exacerbating world tensions from time to time, their provocative efforts are doomed to failure. For it was the hard facts of world relationships and trends, plus the popular will for peace mounting in our country, that made the summit meeting pos-

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sible. These ascendant peace forces are so strong that the historic promise of Geneva will yet be realized. And, before long the spirit of Geneva and Bandung shall also insure that the great People's Republic of China shall assume its rightful place in the UN and at all conference-tables at the summit!

How soon this shall be depends, in no small part, on how quickly and effectively the broad peace forces in our country unite and multiply their influence.

LABOR UNITY

We American Communists have long championed another idea that could not be jailed—the idea that united labor action and organic trade-union unity are essential to advancing the interests of America's workers.

Today, for the first time in modern American labor history, the trade-union movement has begun to unify itself. The monopolists are not pleased with this development. They insist that only the corporations have the right to arrange mergers.

The more thoughtful workers know that labor's marriage is not going to be all honeymoon. There will be some sharp and protracted struggles in labor's new house. Many problems, old and new, remain to be solved.

Yet it is already evident that the AFL-CIO merger, this mighty, united trade-union movement is a momentous event in the life of our

country. It has already spurred on united labor action and will, in due course, still further strengthen labor and promote the welfare of the nation.

The 15 million members of the new AFL-CIO see new threats to the gains labor made in past struggles. They have many grievances and urgent demands. The unfinished business of establishing the 30-hour week, and of organizing the unorganized, presses. Labor now faces big mass political and economic struggles, including major battles on the political-legislative front.

All these can be waged successfully only if the great membership and the key unions of the new AFL-CIO ensures trade-union democracy and autonomy, and, despite the George Meany's, pursues a militant pro-peace and anti-monopoly policy, and resolutely expands its independent political action in cooperation with the Negro people and the working farmers.

All labor will come to draw far-reaching conclusions from the obvious fact that the giant Westinghouse corporation makes no distinction between Negro and white workers, between UE and IUE members, when it comes to rejecting labor's just demands, or assaulting pickets.

The lesson that an injury to one is an injury to all has been learned and re-learned many times by American labor. At this late date, it should be clear that the time has come for labor to put an end in its own house

to jimcrow practices, to Red-baiting witchhunts, and to following the bipartisan imperialist program of General Motors and the DuPonts which Meany supports!

NEGRO LIBERATION

Not too long ago, the idea that the time is here for full equality and the liberation of the Negro people was labelled a Communist slogan.

Today that idea is really marching on!

In the states of Mississippi and Alabama, and elsewhere, where the Dixiecrats are trying to restore the Confederacy, the heroic and indomitable Negro people are on the move to make that idea a reality. And in solidarity with them move growing numbers of urban white workers and rural sharecroppers.

The Deep South is still what FDR called it in 1938—"the nation's Number One economic problem." But it has become more than that today.

It is the last refuge of the open shop — and therefore the Number One challenge to the united labor movement.

It is the stronghold of the Dixiecrats and Bourbonism—the Southern spokesmen of monopoly, and therefore the Number One challenge to the tens of millions of Americans, north and south, who seek a Congress more responsive to the popular will, who seek democratic advance!

The white supremacists in the South, allied with GOP-reaction, have become the instigators of a new

wave of terrorism and lawlessness, the center of a new conspiracy to subvert the American Constitution by incitement to force and violence.

In this connection, note should be taken of the fact that the Texas oil barons and the old Colonel McCormick crowd are promoting McCarthyism under new labels. And this new pro-fascist movement, which speaks at the moment through the voices of Eastland and Jenner, is not only avowedly anti-labor and anti-Communist, but more blatantly anti-Negro and anti-Semitic.

The broad, though loosely organized democratic movement which brought about the censure and rebuffs to McCarthy in 1954, now faces a new challenge. The new anti-Constitution and nullification movement spearheaded by the Mississippi Confederates and the McCarthyite Copperheads must be throttled in its infancy! The Eastlands, McCarthys and Jenners must be driven from public life!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS INDESTRUCTIBLE

Another truth should by now be self-evident to all thoughtful Americans.

The American Communist Party cannot be destroyed. It is indestructible because the American working class is indestructible.

Many Americans today are beginning to re-examine the malignant policy of anti-Communism pursued

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by the Cadillac Administration, as well as by its predecessor. Some people, who originally helped shape that policy, no doubt find the re-appraisal painful.

All the more reason then to applaud the honesty and the courage of various New Dealers, Socialist Party leaders, ADAers, and certain conservative labor spokesmen who, in self-preservation, have locked horns with the McCarthyites, and are learning from their own experience, and from their mistakes that the Bill of Rights is indivisible.

These people disagree with us Communists on many fundamental questions. But they have learned, as we have, that it is both dangerous and costly to permit differences in programs and social outlook to stand in the way of common action, to defend peace and civil liberty.

The anti-war, anti-fascist, and anti-monopoly struggle for the common welfare needs all who come to it, whenever and however they may come. A democratic coalition of the people necessarily involves wide differences of opinion on many issues.

We Communists respect the right of others to disagree with us. All we ask is an equal right to voice our beliefs and to try to convince others that our ideas have merit.

Free and honest debate and public discussion is the democratic method of enlightening public opinion and paves the way to joint and parallel labor-democratic action.

We American Communists wel-

come any opportunity to submit all our views and policies to the test of public debate and approval in the open market-place of ideas.

We American Communists, who have a sound perspective and a generally correct orientation, admit that we have not had all the correct answers to every problem in the past, nor do we have a monopoly on wisdom today. We have, like others, made not a few mistakes. New experiences help to expose past mistakes, and life itself suggests fresh answers to old and new problems.

Our American Communist Party, guided by the socialist principles and scientific outlook, is going to take a new look at all problems confronting our nation and our people. We will re-examine these, as well as our 1954 Program, in the light of recent history and experience. We shall do this with particular concern to search out what is new in the political situation and trends, to see what is positive and negative in our work, and to learn from any wrong judgments, tactical mistakes or theoretical errors we may have made. In this connection, we should deepen and carry forward much farther the initial re-examination of our Party program which was begun at the National Party Conference in December, 1955.

In doing this, we start with a feeling of the greatest confidence in our own, truly American working-class party. With all its shortcomings, our Party—the vanguard Party of Ameri-

ca's working people — has come through a long, hard struggle with flying colors. It has made many vital contributions and its staunchness and devotion to the interests of our country, our people, and our class are above challenge.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

The fateful year of 1956 is here. From close-up, it looks somewhat different from the view some took of it in 1954.

For our part, we Communists shall work to defeat, at all costs, the Nixon-Dulles-Knowland, McCarthy-Eastland crew—the most rabid warmongers, pro-fascists, open-shoppers, and white supremacists. But this does not mean that the American Left, which includes the American Communist Party, is going to tail after the Donkey while riding herd on the Elephant.

In accord with the basically sound electoral orientation mapped out by the National Party conference in December, 1955, we Communists, in unison with an ever-widening circle of non-Communists, workers and progressives, are going to promote united and independent political action everywhere. This is in accord with our determination to help forge diverse political combinations and alliances, capable of checking and defeating the sworn opponents of Geneva, the saboteurs of the Constitution, and the most aggressive ene-

mies of labor and the common welfare.

We realize that only through a policy of labor-democratic unity, coalition, and independent political action, based on a continuous struggle to promote popular mass movements around the key issues now confronting our people and nation, can we help influence the outcome of these crucial elections. Only thus can we help create conditions that will facilitate a new political alignment, a new climate favorable to the subsequent emergence of a mass, united-front party of organized workers, farmers, the Negro people, and other forward-looking Americans of every political affiliation.

But meanwhile, the crucial struggles of 1956 do not wait for November.

Congress is in session now. It should hear from an aroused people, from an articulate labor, farm, and Negro people's movement. The people's welfare must not be sacrificed further. Living standards, housing, health and education, civil rights and liberties, must not be kept in a deep freeze by those who would continue the cold war and the colossal arms budget!

There is already a strong popular sentiment for ousting the Cadillac Cabinet. But why wait until November to oust that arch war instigator, John Foster Dulles?

Certainly the murderers in Mississippi and the open shop and insurrectionist conspiracy organized by

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the self-styled Federation for Constitutional Government, should be stopped now!

Is it not high time to curb the powers of monopoly, especially of those ultra-rapacious and blood-thirsty trusts that now have their clutches on atomic energy, and seek to divert this great potential force for promoting the general welfare to amassing super-profits and gambling with the peace of the world?

Is it not high time to demand that the ownership, production, and control of all nuclear energy, resources, and know-how be nationalized — with full safeguards for labor's right to organize, strike, and bargain collectively?

THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Judging from the press and other sources, we Communists are still an enigma to many of our fellow-Americans. Not understanding what makes us "tick," many are confused, and some still are deluded by the Big Lie that, because we are different, we are "un-American."

Nearly everybody admits that our Party attracts to it some of the best men and women, Negro and white, old and young—from every segment of America's working people and from every sphere of its cultural, scientific and professional life.

There is no doubt about it—the American Communist Party is different from all other political parties in the USA. We are different because

we are an American working-class party, born and raised in struggle for all that advances labor's interests, and against all that harms labor. This makes us as different from the twin parties of Big Business as most of the unions of the AFL-CIO are different in their interests, structures and activity from that of the NAM and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The Communist Party is also different because ours is the Party of Negro-white unity and equality. This makes us as different from the two major parties as the NAACP is different from the racists and those who tolerate racism.

That pro-fascist legislative monstrosity, the McCarran Act, falsely alleges that our Party is un-American because it seeks to "surrender" the United States to "foreign domination and control."

But the fact is that we are basically different from the twin parties of monopoly because we seek the very opposite. We seek the return to the American people of the sovereign power claimed for them in the Declaration of Independence, and stolen from them by the robber barons and their corporate descendants. We seek not only to regain, but to extend the democratic sovereignty of the American people.

The American Communist Party differs from the existing major parties because it is the party of social progress. Our Party fights not only to defend the present interests and realize the immediate aspirations of

labor and the common people—it also strives to safeguard their future, and advance their fundamental interests.

THE PARTY AND SOCIALISM

Our American Communist Party has a glorious and bright vision of America's future. We see for our country a future free from war and the threat of war; a future without poverty, exploitation or oppression. We hold that the vision of such an America can become reality in the process of curbing the powers of monopoly, of forging a democratic coalition capable of electing a progressive government responsive to its will, and finally through effecting a socialist re-organization of American society that will bring about a fundamental social change in the ownership, management, and control of the basic machinery of production — and thereby make the working people of America the masters of their own house.

When, and how, Socialism shall be brought about is up to the majority of the American people. We Communists believe that ultimately some kind of workers and farmers government, based on a united and class-conscious working class and a militant alliance of labor, the Negro people and the toiling farmers, will effect the transition from capitalism to Socialism. Likewise, we are sure that this will be a truly American government. It will be headed by an

American president and act through an American Congress which would be—for the first time in our nation's history—genuinely of, for, and by the people. And as for us Communists, we desire and advocate that this people's democracy shall be established by constitutional and democratic processes!

The way of those who learn from the experience of others is never as difficult as the way of those who pioneer. We Communists have no doubt that the American people can and will learn much from history, and from the experience of other peoples who preceded ours on the road to Socialism.

Even the Pope in his recent pronouncement on painless childbirth recognized that Soviet science has eased the way to human birth. Is it not a fact too that the Russian people, through their historic and self-sacrificing struggles to establish and build the world's first socialist state, have eased the way for all other peoples to give birth to Socialism—to effectuate their own national and social emancipation in accord with their own aspirations and national traditions, and in their own way and their own time?

* * *

And, regardless how some may differ with this historical conclusion, is it not a fact that American-Soviet friendship, that peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition between the

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socialist USSR and capitalist America—which we American Communists zealously advocate—is in the best national interests of our people? Has not history proved — and proved again and again, as FDR once stressed—that friendly and peaceful relations between the world's two greatest powers are vital to our own national security and to the cause of world peace?

I realize that I have touched here on some problems of a highly controversial nature. But I think full and frank discussion of both the immediate and the long-range views and aims of the American Communist Party can only facilitate greater understanding, and promote greater cooperation, among all proponents of peace and progress.

THE CONFIDENCE OF COMMUNISTS

As the past eventful years have proved, time and again, America needs its advanced working-class party — the Communist Party! It sorely needs the united action of Communists and non-Communists! For without this, there can be no durable labor-democratic coalitions, no victorious struggle for peace,

equality, freedom and economic security.

Of course, this state of affairs places a heavy responsibility on us. As Americans, as Communists, we strive to prove equal to the challenge.

We American Communists are going to redouble our efforts to strengthen our ranks and our ties with the men and women of labor, to enhance our Party's contribution to the common cause, especially by resolutely fostering common action with all who seek to surmount the dangers confronting our nation, and to utilize the new and more favorable opportunities now unfolding to promote life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in a world at peace.

Come what may, we, the descendants of Thomas Jefferson and Frederick Douglass, of William Sylvius, Eugene V. Debs and Charles E. Ruthenberg — and guided by the liberating social science of Marxism, which like all true science is universal, is not the product nor the property of any one nation or people — we American Communists face the future with supreme confidence in our fellow workers, in the democratic spirit of our country, in the forward march of progressive humanity!

The Advance of Socialism to World Leadership

By William Z. Foster

FOR THE PAST FOUR DECADES, since the Russian Revolution of November 1917, the most important political fact in the contemporary world has been the growth of Socialism as an organized social system and the spread of its influence throughout the world. So rapid has been this growth that Socialism has become a decisive leading force in the world, actively challenging capitalism, in this respect, at every point. So far has this development gone that capitalism can no longer work its will on the world, economically or politically. It is now a matter of consideration for peoples of all political persuasions as to which world system is actually the stronger, capitalism or Socialism, and in just what respects. This is a complex question, with many facets. It is not a matter of mere intellectual speculation, but one of real political importance.

There are now 17 countries which are either actually building Socialism or are definitely orientating in that direction. These are the U.S.S.R., People's China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, Outer Mongolia, North

Korea, North Viet Nam, and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (which voted themselves into the Soviet Union) and Tibet which joined People's China. Together these countries embrace 900,000,000 people, or about 40 percent of the world's population. They constitute the beginning of the new Socialist world.

What we have in the world now are not merely two social systems both growing, in simple competition with each other. The situation is very different from that. On one hand, there is capitalism, a prey to its own contradictions and caught in an incurable general crisis, going rapidly into general decline, even though the volume of its production may temporarily continue to increase in some countries; and on the other hand, there is Socialism, robust, healthy, and continually on the upgrade. On the capitalist side there is a group of "neutralist" countries which are no longer in the imperialist camp, "imperialism" being a much narrower concept than "capitalism." The neutralist group is one of the big factors which must be taken into account in estimating the present-day relationship of strength, in

general and in particular, between declining world capitalism and rising world Socialism.

THE RECORD OF A CENTURY

Modern scientific Marxist Socialism, as an active force, dates back to the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. From that time to the Russian Revolution of 1917, the movement was developing its forces by clarifying its ideology and its mastery of working-class strategy and tactics, by educating the international working class, by laying the foundations of the workers' trade unions, cooperatives, and political parties, and by steeling itself in thousands of strikes and other battles with the bourgeoisie—in short, by organizing and preparing itself for the decisive revolutionary struggles that lay ahead.

In the great November 1917 Revolution in Russia—precipitated by causes needless to review here—the workers and peasants of that country, led by the Communist Party with the great Lenin at its head, made the first real breach in world capitalism and established the pioneer Socialist Republic, covering one-sixth of the earth's surface. So great was the impact upon world capitalism of this revolutionary blow by the toiling masses following the monstrous imperialist World War I, that it undoubtedly would have led

to the revolutionization of all or most of Central and Western Europe, had not the reactionary wing of the Social Democrats succeeded in sabotaging and defeating the German Revolution of 1918.

Socialism has always made its greatest progress when the workers were in a militant revolutionary mood. It also grows not only during periods of acute class struggle and imperialist war, such as that of World War I, but also during times when there is no war, as witness the decisive industrialization of the U.S.S.R. during the 1920's and 1930's, and the building of many Communist Parties and the carrying through of the great people's front anti-fascist movements during this period. After 1917 Socialism's next great leap forward came in the course of, and shortly after, the world-wide armed struggle of the peoples during the 1940's against fascist enslavement. Thus, during and immediately following World War II many countries, including great China, declared for Socialism. At this time, too, the main obstacle preventing the popular masses from dealing a final mortal blow to world capitalism was the Right-wing Social Democracy, which, together with the imperialist governments and clerical reaction, was able to maintain capitalism in such key countries as Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, and Japan.

Throughout the post-World War

II period the growth of world Socialism and the decline of world capitalism, which are the decisive political phenomena of this era, have gone on apace. On the score of Socialism, the European Socialist countries have all made a spectacular economic recovery since the war, without benefit of American loans or gifts, and they are now roaring ahead with their Socialist industrialization, at a pace far superior to anything ever accomplished by any capitalist country. The rapid industrialization of China and other Socialist countries, for example, is also a tremendous matter of decisive world significance. Of vast importance, too, is the fact that the united Socialist and peace forces scored an immense victory in Geneva in obstructing the war drive led by Wall-Street imperialism. Socialist prestige rapidly mounted throughout the world, and in all countries the peoples hailed the conference as a great success for policies of negotiation, as against those of war.

On the other hand and in contrast, the defects and difficulties of world capitalism constantly mount. The capitalist general crisis continues to deepen, although this is by zizzag course. One of the many major symptoms of weakening capitalism at present is the continuing break-up of the colonial system. This is an historic disaster to world capitalism as a whole. In this respect the British, French, Japanese, Dutch, Ameri-

can and other capitalist empires are being very seriously undermined. American imperialism, coming out of World War II rich and undamaged, sought to make itself master of the world through a great atomic war, and in the doing of this, to abolish finally the nightmare of a rising world Socialism and declining world capitalism. But American monopoly capital could not reverse the course of history. The world's peoples, with the Socialist countries in the lead, succeeded in at least temporarily blocking the Wall Street fantastic plan of trying to win world domination through a great war. The central thing accomplished by the first Geneva conference of 1955 was to register the bankruptcy of the monstrous war policy of American big capital, and to give an enormous impulse to the world peoples' program of the peaceful co-existence of the Socialist and capitalist nations. These were developments of supreme importance to the whole world.

BASIC CRITERIA OF SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST STRENGTH

The course of events over the past one-third of a century, with advancing Socialism and a decaying capitalism, amounts to a growing shift in power relationships between the capitalist and Socialist worlds, a shift which is definitely and dramatically in favor of the latter. This shift has now proceeded so far as inevitably

to put upon the world's agenda the question as to which of the two systems is presently the stronger, capitalism or Socialism, and in what respects.

Many years ago Lenin set as a basic task of Socialism, speaking particularly of the Soviet Union, "to overtake and surpass" capitalism. This, of course, holds good also for world Socialism. The task of the present article is to determine to what extent the forces of world Socialism have succeeded in putting into practice Lenin's great strategic principle. Let us, therefore, make an approach to this important question by analyzing some of the major features which, in the modern world, go to indicate the strength or weakness of a given country and its social system.

At the outset of this analysis we must sound a word of caution. In making an evaluation of the relative strength of capitalism and Socialism at this time, we must not underestimate the strength of capitalism in certain countries. That system, although clearly in decay on a world scale, still retains great power economically and otherwise, and to under-evaluate it would lead the workers into most dangerous errors of passivity and complacency. We must not mistake future perspectives for present actualities. By the same token, we must also not underestimate the strength of advancing Socialism. As Zhdanov once wisely

remarked, the biggest mistake we can make in this period would be to undervalue the strength of the world working class and its allies.

a) *Dynamic Trend of World Development*: One of the greatest advantages possessed by world Socialism over world capitalism is that the dynamics of social change all radically favor it. This is true, not only in a general but also in a specific sense. That is, in all the criteria of measurement that may be used in such an analysis as this, the powerful element of change is always to be found working in favor of increased Socialist strength. This decisive fact is central in a world situation in which Socialism is the ascending and capitalism the descending system.

b) *Territory, Resources, and Population*: In evaluating these three important spheres, capitalism, from a purely statistical viewpoint, plainly has much the best of the matter. That is, the ratio is very roughly, about two to one in its favor. But this is true only if the whole colonial and semi-colonial world is counted in the capitalist world, which is stretching the point very much. In reality, many of these countries—India, Indonesia, Burma, etc.—have become anti-imperialist and are now showing many trends in the direction of cooperation with the Socialist sector of the world. In this respect, the

Socialist influence of both the U.S.S.R. and People's China is of enormous importance. At this time the spokesmen of the imperialist big powers, notably the United States, are almost in a panic at the movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia and Africa (see the Bandung Conference, the new agreement between the U.S.S.R. and India, etc.) toward forming a bloc by themselves and also to enter into friendly collaboration in trade and other important respects with the Socialist countries of the world.

In considering the question of the world weight of population in our equation, it is necessary also to bear in mind that there are important oppositional forces in all capitalist countries. These are the huge masses of workers, peasants, and small middle class elements in the great trade unions, political parties, and other essentially anti-capitalist organizations in the many capitalist and colonial countries—including Britain, Italy, France, West Germany, Japan, India, Burma, Indonesia, and others. There is, of course, also a huge potential anti-capitalist force in the United States.

c) *Industrial Production*: Reliable figures are hard to get in the sphere of international industrial production. With world capitalism possessing somewhere in the neighborhood of two-thirds of all industrial production, it appears on the sur-

face as though that system therefore has a very commanding lead over Socialism in this most vital respect. But this lead, besides now diminishing swiftly, is quite deceptive. One would make a big mistake to conclude mechanically, that just because the capitalist world sector has something like double the value of industrial production of the Socialist sector, therefore, *ipso facto*, the former is twice as strong as the latter in the industrial field. This would be a conclusion far wide of the mark.

First, it must be understood that Socialist industry has been built according to the principles of planned economy and, therefore, that it is a "lean" and "muscular" economy, capable of meeting, at the maximum degree of effectiveness, all the specific tasks that a modern state has to face—of which more anon. Whereas, in contrast, the industry of the capitalist states, which has grown up planlessly, is flabby and weak in its fibre, being cluttered up with vast amount of fat—that is, with enervating luxury production carried on for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is correspondingly less able to meet the various tests of basic strength that confront states in the present-day world.

W. S. and E. S. Woytinsky, (*World Population and Production*, p. 1005) estimate (however inaccurately) the total U.S. industrial production in 1950 at 93.2 billion dollars and put that of the U.S.S.R.

at 38 billion. Almost panicky, the bourgeois economists are beginning to get an inkling, however, that such statistics do not mean what they seem to on the surface. For example, Walter K. Gutman (*New York Times*, Sept. 10, 1955), argues in substance that whereas the United States in 1954 could put 20 percent (or 17 million tons) of its steel into military production, the Soviet Union, with a little over half the steel production of the United States, was, under the sharp pressure of the cold war, able to apply no less than 27 million tons for military production, or 60 percent more than the United States. Gutman's example is doubtless an exaggeration of the real relationship in steel, but it at least illustrates the important point that the Soviet Union is able to make far more decisive use of its production than is the United States or any other capitalist country. This elementary consideration cuts deeply into the statistical advantage the United States has with regard to industrial production.

Second, it must be remembered also, that the ratio of world industrial production is swinging very rapidly in favor of the Socialist countries. Take, as the major example, the U.S.S.R.: M. Dobb (*Economic Theory and Socialism*, p. 125) estimates that the rate of the Soviet increase of production in heavy industry, over that of capitalist countries developing under favorable conditions during 1928 to 1954, (omit-

ting the war years) is: for metal, the U.S.S.R. nearly three times as fast as the strongest capitalist countries; for fuel, more than three times; and for power, not quite twice. What this disparity in growth-speed has meant over the past quarter century is made clear by G. Malenkov, (*On the Threshold of Communism*, p. 7) in the following (telescoped) table, indicating the expansion of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. and the major capitalist countries of the world for the period 1929-1951, in percentages of increase over their output in 1921: U.S.S.R. 1,266 percent, U.S.A. 200 percent, Britain 160 percent, France 104 percent, and Italy 134 percent. A. Alekseyev (*The Basic Economic Law of Modern Capitalism*, p. 62) states that, "The annual increase of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. for 20 years (1929-1949) averaged 20 percent, while that in the greatest capitalist country—the U.S.A.—hardly reached two percent." Frightened, Ex-Senator Benton says that the U.S.S.R. industrially is going ahead at 6 percent increase per year, as against 3 percent by the United States (*New York World-Telegram*, December 15, 1955).

As this article is about to go to press, an announcement from Moscow states that, under the 6th 5-year plan 1956 to 1960—there will be a 65% increase in the output of Soviet industry, a broad expansion of atomic energy production, and a doubling

of the output of agriculture. This tremendous industrial leap forward widely outdoes anything ever accomplished by a capitalist country, and it will go far towards eliminating the present industrial gap between the United States and the Soviet Union. Similar recent announcements from People's China also indicate very rapid industrial progress in that country.

d) *Economic and Political Stability*: Obviously also, a most important gauge of the strength of the capitalist and Socialist worlds, is the degree of stability of their economic systems and governments. In these spheres the Socialist countries are far superior.

The hodge-podge capitalist economic system, producing planlessly and based upon the exploitation of the workers, is essentially chaotic. It suffers fundamentally from overproduction; that is, as against the inability of the limited capacity of capitalist markets to keep pace with expanding production facilities. Consequently, capitalist history is dotted with a long series of devastating economic cyclical crises. It is nonsense, the boasts of the capitalist economists that, with their Keynesian policies of governmental subsidies and "managed economy," they have overcome this inherent capitalist tendency towards economic crisis and breakdown. The present international "boom" in capitalist production is

largely based upon repairing the damages and fulfilling the shortages created by the last war, and upon gigantic preparations for another war—its perspective is for an eventual economic crisis. Socialist economy, on the other hand, is founded upon planned production for use, for social welfare and advancement. There is established a scientific balance between production and consumption. Socialism is therefore immune to economic crises and mass unemployment. This fact it proved beyond all question during the great economic crisis of 1929-33, when it went ahead full steam in its rapid Socialist industrial development and full employment, while the countries of the capitalist world, without exception, lay prostrate economically and scores of millions of workers went jobless.

By the same token, capitalist political instability and decay, nationally and internationally, is a matter of daily manifestation. The capitalist countries are torn internally with the struggles of rival groups and classes; the big powers are weakened internationally by incurable conflicts of interest with each other; the imperialist states are in perpetual collision with the colonies, and NATO, SEATO, METO, and other capitalist war alliances are crippled by internal weaknesses and conflicts. An especially disruptive feature in world capitalism is the aggressive expansionism of Wall Street imperialism.

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In the early years of the post-World War II the United States, by squandering 51 billion dollars abroad in loans, gifts, and subsidies, and by putting practically all the capitalist countries on its dole, temporarily helped to shore up tottering capitalist Western Europe, and also succeeded in building up an unparalleled degree of world capitalist hegemony for itself; but now its boss position in the capitalist world, undermined by advancing Socialism and intensifying capitalist general crisis, is increasingly shaky. One of the great Stalin's very last writings was to point out the impossibility of world capitalism overcoming its internal and external rivalries, hostilities, and contradictions.

In contrast, the Socialist nations—containing among their number both the biggest country in the world—the U.S.S.R.—and the most populous one—People's China—are bound together internally and externally by a solid harmony of the economic and political interests of their peoples. Strategically situated in one great unbroken land mass, as against the scattered locations of the capitalist countries, they are also no less united in their general policies. This shows that, unlike capitalism, they are not based upon a predatory imperialism, but upon the cultivation of their mutual and harmonious interests. This basic economic and political unity enormously increases Socialist strength, actually and relatively, in

every respect as a world force. In the recent rift between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union the capitalists of the world gloated that they had finally broken the solidarity of the Socialist world; but as it has turned out, their joy was short-lived and misplaced.

e) *Leadership of the Labor Movement*: One of the most striking examples of the forces of world Socialism "overtaking and surpassing" those of capitalism is to be found in the international labor movement; in its rapid drift to the Left. Imperialism has always striven to control and paralyze the labor movement through the instrumentality of its political agents, the Right-wing Social Democrats. Up to the Revolution of October 1917 the Right-opportunists controlled overwhelmingly the labor movement of the entire world. But since that time, as Socialism has won one country after another, the Right-wing Socialist control of labor has progressively diminished on an international scale. The general crisis of capitalism is also the general crisis of Right-wing Social Democracy.

The present status of the advance of the world labor organizations to the Left is to be seen in the current relations of the strength between the progressive World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is led by pro-capitalist Social

Democrats. Of the total of some 140,000,000 trade unionists in the world, about 85,000,000 are affiliated to the WFTU and some 54,000,000 to the ICFTU. The main strength of the WFTU is in the countries of Socialism and people's democracy, but it also has powerful support in the capitalist countries — Italy, France, Japan, Great Britain, West Germany, Brazil, Australia, Canada, and many others.

f) *Ideology as a World Force*: In the present situation of the growing world competition between declining capitalism and rising Socialism, the question of the dominant and guiding ideology in the two respective major camps becomes an important matter of political and economic strength. In this respect the Socialist countries have an enormous advantage over the capitalist countries.

The time was, in the early stages of capitalism, when the capitalists had a firm and confident ideology, in that they at least believed unshakably in their system and feared no social rival. But for them such happy days are now forever past. The growth of predatory monopoly and imperialism, and especially the advance of world Socialism, have, from different directions, worked havoc with the capitalists' earlier complacent thinking, introducing deep ideological confusion and pessimism into their ranks. These tendencies, disintegrating to capitalism,

are bound to increase in the coming years. Capitalist political economy has degenerated into mere propaganda and wishful thinking, and the capitalist system has no sure idea whatever as to where it is heading, what ails it at present, or what is its future. German imperialist fascism, 15 years ago, tried by violence to impress upon world capitalism the arrogant Hitler "*Weltanschauung*"; but this attempt failed in a welter of blood. During the past several years American imperialism has also been trying to prepare the world, ideologically and otherwise, for Yankee domination through economic, political, and military aggression; but this program, too, has now gone bankrupt. Consequently, the capitalist system is drifting confusedly, without a pilot and without a charted course.

On the other hand, the Socialist world, in Marxism-Leninism, has a definite, dynamic, and powerful ideology, based upon scientific principles. It has brilliant guides in the living works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and now, it may be added, those of Mao Tse-tung. Scientific Socialism clearly understands the capitalist system, the social laws that are bringing it to its end, and the principles upon which the next stage of society, Socialism, is being built. These principles the many Socialist peoples are now putting into practice in their countries.

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ways united theory and practice. This unity of thought and action, historically has given it tremendous power. It has been especially manifest during the past few years, since the enormous increase in the extent of power of world Socialism. Marxism, or more properly, Marxist-Leninist theory, has become transformed into a great and powerful social force; one which moves and inspires millions and hundreds of millions of people to conscious united effort. Marxism-Leninism, in its practice, has become transmuted into a mighty means against capitalism and for the regeneration of mankind socially. Translated into terms of reality, the many-sided superiority of Marxist theory over capitalist theory, means in the field of production many additional millions of tons of coal, oil, and steel. Marxism-Leninism, expressed in the militant and progressive Communist policies of today, of itself goes far to cancel out the statistical advantages still held by moribund capitalism in various fields, as we have noted. Therefore, in any measurement of the relative strength of the world capitalist and Socialist systems, at their present stage of development, the matter of Marxist-Leninist theory and policy must be accorded major weight.

CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST STRENGTH IN THE TEST OF PRACTICE

In the previous pages we have re-

viewed briefly some of what may be called the organic strengths of the capitalist and Socialist systems, regarding the dynamics of social evolution, territory, natural resources, population, industrial production, economic and political stability, labor leadership and guiding theories. Now it remains for us to gauge the two systems as functioning currently in the supreme test of life itself; to measure the way these systems face up to the severe tasks and problems which they daily have to confront. Let us, therefore, take a look at some of these tests.

In doing this, however, we must not forget that there is a fundamental difference in the way the Socialist and capitalist worlds approach the broad question of international relationships. As Lenin and Stalin have stated upon innumerable occasions, and as 38 years of Soviet foreign policy have fully borne out, Socialist international policies are based upon the principles of the peaceful co-existence of all states, regardless of the nature of their internal regimes. This means that the inevitable competition between capitalism and Socialism, which will probably extend over a protracted period, should be carried on within the general framework of world peace and of the friendship of the many peoples. World capitalism, or more precisely, world imperialism, on the other hand, views Socialism as a mortal enemy which must be crushed, and

it has been trying to do this ever since the USSR was born in November 1917. Wall-Street imperialism, which has nothing in common with the interests of the American people, constitutes the worst expression of this militant capitalist hatred of Socialism. Its foreign policies, particularly during the cold war period, have generally been conceived and applied in the hope and expectancy of a broad capitalist war against the USSR and the other countries of Socialism.

a) *The Question of War and Peace*: In this basic world issue of these times, with the decay of capitalism and the advance of Socialism, the Socialist world is increasingly demonstrating its greater strength than that of decadent capitalism. Take World War II, for example. In line with its general peace policy, the USSR and the world peace forces fought to prevent this awful war, but the USSR was nevertheless forced into the war on June 22, 1941, by the treacherous attack of Hitler. The Soviet Union put up a fight that amazed the world, and it showed conclusively the superiority of Socialism also in this lethal field. Decades ago the general superiority of Socialism over capitalism was made manifest in the Soviet Union; it was especially confirmed in the basic experiences of World War II. Hitler had behind him virtually the entire economic system of Europe, as well as most of

its man-power, but he nevertheless went down to crushing defeat, mainly at the hands of the Red Army. In its great patriotic war the USSR, with its tremendous strength, utterly confounded the bourgeois military experts of the world.

In their recent great struggle around the basic issue of the war danger since the end of World War II the capitalist and Socialist systems also faced a crucial test of their respective strength and vitality. In a nutshell, the post-war situation was that world imperialism, led by a Wall Street seeking international domination, strove to embroil the world in a great atomic war in order to try to establish its world mastery; whereas, the peace forces of the world, headed by the USSR and other Socialist countries, and people's democracies, and embracing the bulk of the peoples in all capitalist countries, including the United States, fought against the war plan of predatory American monopoly capital. The Socialist and peace forces won this vast and decisive struggle, at least for the time being, by blocking the warmongers at Geneva and by easing the danger of a world war. Of course, this peoples' victory did not end the war danger permanently, as such a danger will continue as long as imperialism lasts, but it did greatly lessen international tensions.

It was a long and bitter struggle, in which the forces of peace and Socialism won a mounting series of

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victories, among them, the breaking of the A- and H-bomb monopoly—a success which hamstrung the war program of American imperialism; the bringing about of the settlement of the Korean and Indo-China wars, in the face of determined Wall Street efforts to continue and expand these wars; the accomplishment of the defeat of the repeated attempts of the Wall Street militarists to introduce the A-bomb into the wars in Asia; as well as various other victories along the same general line. The struggle over war and peace came to a crisis at the Geneva conference of July, 1955, at which meeting of the Big Four the United States reactionaries were compelled to shelve their war program. At first, the Pentagon warmongers tried to claim Geneva as a victory; but now, almost in panic, they are learning how completely mistaken they were. They are now trying feverishly to re-invigorate the cold war. Only the next years will demonstrate just how decisive was the major defeat of world imperialism in Geneva at the hands of the world forces of peace, democracy and Socialism.

During the sharpest phases of the cold war, in February, 1955, Foreign Minister Molotov of the USSR warned those elements who were plotting war against the Soviet Union. After reviewing the whole international situation and the forces in play, he declared, "If we compare the Soviet Union—with all its man-

power, with its immense material resources, with all its foreign allies—and take into account, moreover, the moral and political support the policy of peace commands among the masses in other countries—if we compare the Soviet Union, as it is today with the United States of America, taking into account in respect to that country the factors enumerated above, it should be perfectly clear that the Soviet Union is not weaker than the United States." (*Pravda*, February 9, 1955). This is the answer to those reactionary elements who still cherish the traditional bourgeois illusion that Socialism can be prevented or wiped out by war.

b) *Social Progress and Change:* This is the most basic of all the living tests of strength between the two current world systems of capitalism and Socialism. Broadly stated, the issue is whether ultimately the forces of the working class and its allies, working in the individual countries, can abolish capitalism and establish Socialism in their lands, or whether capitalism will be able to prevent this, and perhaps even to reverse the process by wiping out the existing Socialist states. The history of the past generation, with its growth of Socialism, now covering one-third of the world, has given the decisive answer to this fundamental test of the relative strength of the two social systems.

At present, the capitalist soothsayers are wishfully hoping that, with the help of the Right-wing Social Democrats, they have halted the vast post-World War II mass advance toward Socialism, at least in Europe. But all this is only a futile bourgeois dream. Socialism is both invincible and inevitable in all countries. In Asia, the forces leading to Socialism are currently more active, and in Europe, at most there is only a lull in the Socialist advance; that is, in the sense of Socialism winning in additional countries. We can be certain that, with the further deepening of the general capitalist crisis, the Socialist movement in Western Europe will soon take on a new burst of growth. Socialism in the world has progressed mainly in great revolutionary leaps, alternating with periods of relative calm. In this supreme test of strength between the two systems — whether or not Socialism can be born into the world and live — the forces of Socialism, during the past four decades, have proved by actual fact in the hard struggle that they have established such wide areas of Socialism despite the forces of world capitalism.

c) *Industrialization of the Underdeveloped Countries:* This question is also currently providing a basic test of strength between the capitalist and Socialist systems. Historically, the development of capitalist imperialism — of Great Britain, the

United States, Germany, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and Spain—fastened the economic and political fetters of colonialism and semi-colonialism upon most of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, whose population embraces a big majority of the human race, thus effectively preventing their industrialization. The first decisive blow against this monstrous system of human exploitation and oppression was struck by the Russian Revolution of 1917; for Russia, too, was largely dominated by foreign imperialists. The great Revolution profoundly stirred the colonial peoples all over the world, especially in view of the fact that the first Socialist Republic renounced the imperialist privileges of Czarist Russia in colonial Asia, and also because of the tremendous progress that was made by the national liberation and subsequent Socialist industrialization of the many erstwhile oppressed colonial peoples within old Russia itself. The Russian revolution, by establishing the national and racial equality of these peoples, also struck a mortal blow at Jim Crowism throughout the world.

The central purpose of the great national revolution now sweeping over Asia, and led by People's China, is precisely to break the fetters that the imperialist capitalist powers had fastened upon them in order to prevent their industrialization and general national development. The

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basic question at issue now, so far to full fruition and success, or whether the imperialists of the capitalist world will be able to stunt or abort it. There can only be one answer to this problem; the national liberation movement is invincible.

The world imperialists, viewing their vital colonial system collapsing, have suddenly become loud-mouthed "friends" of the colonial peoples, declaring that they want nothing better than to industrialize and modernize their countries. Thus, Great Britain has its Colombo Plan and the United States its Point Four Program. The essence of both these projects, however, is the cultivation of imperialist investments, not real industrialization, in the colonial world, with many strings of economic and political control attached. The imperialists' efforts in this direction are not to be minimized, however, as they have vast amounts of available capital, particularly those of the United States, and their shaky economic systems badly need the shots-in-the-arm that heavy foreign investments could give them.

In contrast to this active program of imperialist investment and domination the Socialist forces, in this case basically the Soviet Union, are, with economic cooperation and political solidarity, genuinely helping the peoples of the undeveloped countries to industrialize and to modernize their homelands. Thus, the USSR is lending both capital and

technicians on an increasing scale to many of these countries. Not to mention the Soviet Union's active cooperation with People's China, it is also in the process of developing various industrialization projects in India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt, Afghanistan, and other Asian lands, to the amazement and dismay of the big imperialist powers. People's China and India are also in active mutual collaboration, especially in the economic field. All this is very alarming to the Wall Street imperialists. John Foster Dulles, with the announced support of President Eisenhower, cried out in alarm (N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*, January 12, 1956) that "we" are in a contest with the USSR for the industrialization of the "underdeveloped countries." "Defeat in this contest," said he, "would be as disastrous as defeat in the armaments race." And he dreaded this defeat, "unless the country *as a whole* (his emphasis) wakes up to all its implications."

In the current industrialization of the erstwhile colonial countries, the outcome will be of measureless importance to the world, both economically and politically. At present the forces of Socialism are well in the lead in this constructive work. The very existence of the broad revolutionary colonial movement, with its basic stress upon industrialization, proves this. The financial power of the capitalists in this vital field is great; but their huge supplies of

capital will, in the end, not prove decisive. So far, one of the main things that the United States has won by its squandering of over 50 billion dollars abroad during the post-war period is the suspicion and hostility of most of the peoples of the world. Nor will the imperialist leopard be able to change its spots. The ultimate victory will rest with the forces of Socialism and democracy, which are animated by the desire for peace, by basic principles of genuine cooperation and of international friendliness and fair dealing with the peoples of all lands.

d) *Raising of Living Standards:* Always a fundamental test of a social system is what it does to raise the living standards of its people. In this respect, capitalism, which is based upon the ruthless exploitation of the toiling masses, has made a ghastly record. After some 200 years of existence, it had reduced the great majority of the world's toilers, especially in the colonial lands, to virtual starvation levels. In the capitalist countries themselves the bulk of the lesser skilled workers also remain in abject poverty, while the exploiting employers revel in boundless luxury. In the United States most of the workers are better off—due chiefly to the fact that this country escaped the ravages of the two world wars and now, in a dominant imperialist position, it has created for itself a false prosperity, built largely upon exploitation of the other peoples of

the world. But the American higher living standards rest upon precarious foundations, with the prospect of a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the eventual effects of this crisis upon our country's capitalist economy. Actually the high producing American workers are sweated out of more profits than are those of any other country, and, as a result, here the capitalists are wealthy beyond the wildest dreams of parasitic exploiters in other countries.

In contrast, world Socialism, although born only a third of a century ago, has already demonstrated its superior capacity to improve the condition of the masses of workers of field and factory. The Soviet Union has set up the 8-hour day in place of the 12-14 hour day of Czarist Russia, and, starting from an extremely low wage base, it has greatly improved real Soviet wages and working conditions. In this respect, however, the USSR has had to contend with a number of temporary adverse conditions that have definitely hindered the improvement of mass living and cultural standards, which is, in the end, the supreme objective of all Socialist regimes. Over the years it has had to build its present big industrial machine from the ground up under heavy pressure for time, necessarily creating also entirely new cadres of engineers and armies of skilled workers as it has gone along. It has also had to repair the enormous ravages and costs of World War

II, which destroyed most of the industry in the western USSR and devastated the country generally. And, not the least, it has been compelled, in order to counter the looming war threat of Wall Street imperialism, to construct, at terrific speed, an adequate national defense. These huge tasks have made heavy strains upon the Soviet national economy, and they have therewith definitely militated against the faster advance of mass living standards. People's China and other Socialist countries have all had to face similar monumental difficulties, forced upon them by the aggressive warlike cliques and moves of the decaying capitalist system.

But now, with the war danger reduced though not defeated, these big military non-productive drains upon the Socialist economies will diminish. This will, therefore, open the door to a more rapid improvement in the conditions of the producing masses. The Soviet Union especially is now on the eve of spectacular progress in this general respect, and the rest of the countries building Socialism will not be far behind. Capitalism has never been able to bring to the broad masses of the entire world, even in elementary forms, the blessings of steam, electricity, and electronics, and all the less will it be able to confer upon them the gigantic potential of atomic energy. The fulfillment of these basic tasks awaits the advance of world Socialism. In the fundamental matter of improv-

ing, in actual practice, the living standards of the peoples, Socialism has already decisively proved its superiority over capitalism.

e) *The Question of Culture:* The ability of a political system to produce a free life and a high culture for the masses of the people is another basic test of its social strength. In this respect, too, world Socialism has already, in the crucible of actual experience, demonstrated its superiority over decadent capitalism.

In the vital matter of democracy, for example, as capitalism sinks further into its general crisis it increasingly tends and strives to solve its insoluble problems by a resort to force—to fascist terrorism as well as to war. The great bulwarks of world democracy today are the Socialist forces and the big mass movements that are orientating in the general direction of peace, democracy, and Socialism. Capitalism, which in its early days was relatively democratic, has now, in its period of decay, become generally a malignant menace to democracy. It is only a decade since the democratic peoples of the world, with the USSR at the head, saved humanity from the fascist enslavement planned for it by world imperialism.

In the basic field of education also Socialism is now giving a practical demonstration of its superior strength over capitalism. At this time, notoriously, in the capitalist countries the educational systems are in deep crisis,

and nowhere is this crisis more striking than in the United States. In their wild rush for maximum profits and in their eagerness to create a mighty world conquering military machine, the capitalists have shoved away the vast task of properly educating the people.

On the other side of the picture, the Socialist countries are well known for their active cultivation of their educational systems, notwithstanding the heavy drains their economies have been subjected to, as noted earlier. Not only have they largely dissolved the vast oceans of mass illiteracy inherited from the rotten capitalism which they displaced, but they are also outstripping the best educational efforts of the bourgeois technicians and leaders. Reactionary American educational leaders bemoan this reality.

A recent article by N. T. Dodge (N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*, November 29), tells the story in a nutshell. On the basis of a personal investigation of Soviet high schools, Mr. Dodge says: "All students (in preparatory studies for university training) must take ten years of mathematics, including trigonometry, six years of biology, five years of physics, and four years of chemistry. During the last three years, over 40 percent of the students' time is spent on these four subjects. In contrast, only eight percent of our high school students take chemistry, five percent physics, and two percent trigonometry. Even

a watered down course such as general science is taken by only a little over one-fifth of our students." Small wonder, then, that American scientists, are themselves stating that both in number and in quality they are in danger of falling behind those in the USSR. Soviet science is now in the very forefront of world science. Outstanding Soviet progress in developing industrial techniques and technicians is fully acknowledged throughout the bourgeois world.

In art and literature Socialist progress is also being markedly demonstrated. Aside from the products of the democratic forces in the capitalist countries, in the main, art and literature in these lands, above all in the United States, is submerged by the ocean of filthy comic books, crime stories, and reactionary obscurantism. Unfortunately, this capitalist ideological trash has profound effects upon the minds of the workers. In the Socialist countries, on the contrary, although some of the art forms, under the new conditions of Socialism, are still working their way to maturity, others are blossoming and flourishing in a way quite unknown under capitalism. Already the world is becoming accustomed to the appearance of sensational Soviet cultural delegations in various countries, late striking examples of which were the dramatic successes of the Soviet pianist Gilels and Soviet violinist Oistrakh in American cities. The world is also used to accepting Rus-

sians as world champions at chess, and at the Olympic games it is learning something of the excellence of Soviet athletes. Blazing the trail for all the countries of the world, the Soviet Union is actually building a new type of man and woman.

THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM TO WORLD LEADERSHIP

The foregoing analysis provides at least an approach to an elementary answer of the general question as to what is currently the relative strength of the capitalist and Socialist worlds. In these respects it makes clear that in several very basic phases—including those of territory, natural resources, population, industrial production, available capital, and the political control of many important countries—world capitalism still possesses very considerable strength. However, as mentioned before, while the remaining great strength of capitalism must not be underestimated, nevertheless its specific power in these spheres is not to be calculated merely upon a statistical basis, for this would grossly overestimate it. There must also be considered the very important modifications as brought out above in our analysis, which, taken together, seriously diminish the significance and reliability of the current bourgeois statistical generalizations in all these spheres and for the capitalist system as a whole.

On the opposite side, it has also been demonstrated above that in

various vital respects Socialism, on a world scale, is definitely and concretely the stronger of the two systems. It has shown itself in practice to be the superior of the two systems. This is manifestly the case, as we have seen above, in its incomparably stronger theory, Marxism-Leninism; its far more rapid rate of industrial growth; its much greater ability to develop and apply modern techniques and to extend industrialization to the undeveloped countries; its spectacular advances in science and in the production of scientists; its far more fundamental democracy and racial equality; its more effective improvement of the living standards, health and general welfare of the masses; the greater political unity and solidarity of its peoples; its sounder educational system and general culture; its demonstrated ability to grow in a revolutionary way despite all capitalist resistance, and, last but not least, the leading position of Marxism-Leninism in the world labor movement. Of decisive significance, as the foundation of these several developments is the fact that the dynamics of social evolution, on every front, are operating in favor of world Socialism and against world capitalism.

The general picture which emerges from all this is that of a world society in which the forces of Socialism are becoming ever stronger, but in which sectors of the old capitalist system are still powerful. The center

of political gravity in the world, already far advanced in this respect, is still rapidly moving toward the Left. Lenin's famous slogan, calling upon Socialism "to overtake and surpass" the capitalist countries, which is already an accomplished fact in various very important spheres, is fast on the way to being decisively realized generally in the not very distant future. Molotov, in the remarks already quoted, put his finger on the situation, in stating that the USSR and its allies were not weaker than the United States and its allies.

The increasing specific gravity of Socialism in world affairs is bound to further deepen the world crisis of the capitalist system. It will have a corroding effect upon already seriously disintegrated and demoralized world capitalism. This capitalist decay will become particularly marked when the expanding pre-eminence of Socialism becomes a definite fact, obvious to all observers. The growing decay of capitalism and the advance of Socialism will intensify the currents of demoralization among the bourgeoisie, which are already becoming evident. Those "American exceptionalists" who believe that the United States economy, allegedly built of superior clay to that of the rest of the capitalist world, will never take the road that leads to eventual Socialism, are in for a complete disillusionment. The aggressive policies of monopoly capitalism in the midst of world capitalist decay, will even-

tually leave the American people no alternative but to begin to move toward Socialism. Among their many miscalculations, the "exceptionalists" greatly underestimate the present discontent among the American workers, and they will be astounded at the mass radicalization which will take place in the oncoming years, with the deepening of the crisis of world capitalism.

By the same token, the rapid increase of the specific gravity politically of Socialism in the world, and especially when Socialism is visibly becoming the dominant world trend, will give an enormous spur to the growth, enthusiasm, and fighting spirit of the world's masses who are struggling for emancipation. It will provide a powerful impetus to the development of the already existing Socialist countries; it will speed up the growth of Communist and Left Socialist parties, of the trade unions, and of other proletarian organizations throughout the capitalist world. It will hasten the growing orientation towards national liberation, democracy, and Socialism on the part of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world. The stronger Socialism becomes, the faster will be its growth. But there must be no underestimation of the long, hard fights against capitalism that still lie ahead.

The developing hegemony of world Socialism will also have profound effects upon the strategy and

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tactics of the many people's movements. Particularly the united front, in all its forms, will become applicable upon a much broader basis than ever before, both nationally and internationally. The vast world-wide pre-Geneva anti-war movement among peoples all over the world, led by the USSR and other Socialist countries, gave an inkling of the future possibilities in this respect. The present growing economic and political collaboration of the colonial and Socialist countries is also a case in point of the broader united fronts that will become possible with the continued expansion of Socialist influence in the world.

IMPROVED PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The most important practical consequence of the swiftly increasing weight of world Socialism—economically, politically, culturally, diplomatically—is that this growth, by the same token, will vastly improve the prospect for the peaceful co-existence of all nations, whatever the character of their internal regimes. The stronger becomes Socialism and the people's democratic organizations generally, the better will be the chances for the maintenance of world peace. The fight for peaceful co-existence will become more effective, not less so, in the coming period. As we have seen earlier, the imperialists have always followed a policy of hostile

encirclements of the USSR, and now also of People's China, and we may be sure that many of them, made desperate by the irresistible advance of world Socialism, will strive to continue and intensify such destructive policies. Rising world Socialism, however, instead of replying to these policies of repression and violence with a policy of counter-encirclement and of stamping out remaining capitalism, will redouble its efforts to maintain peace in the world and friendly trading and cultural relations among all the peoples. The development of peaceful co-existence of the nations, which is the central task of Socialist foreign policy, will, with the growth of world Socialism, become more realizable in the coming period.

The advance of the forces of democracy and Socialism internationally will greatly facilitate the struggle of the workers in all the capitalist countries for their economic and political demands. It will help everywhere the workers' fight for better wages and working conditions. Even powerful American reaction is already definitely feeling the constructive pressures of world democracy and Socialism. The most decisive example of this was the checking of the world war drive of Wall Street, as registered at the Big Four Geneva conference. International pressure by the world democratic and Socialist forces is also a powerful hindrance to the development of fascist trends

in the respective capitalist imperialist powers, including the United States, and it is a world force for the strengthening of civil liberties everywhere. Undoubtedly, the strong world Socialist and democratic opposition was a decisive element in the recent rebuffs to McCarthyism in this country. These same world forces have also been a basically important factor in compelling the Jim Crow government in the United States recently to make some concessions regarding Negro discrimination, particularly in proposals for the desegregation of the armed forces, of the public school system, and of inter-state travel. Opposition abroad has also done much to diminish the horrible practice of lynching in this country. And the Communist Party of the United States, during its current heroic fight in defense of the Bill of Rights, likewise has received no small support from the expressions of solidarity of democratic and Socialist forces in other lands.

Most important, too, the rise of Socialist strength and influence on a world scale, plus the recent great increase in the power of the democratic forces within the respective capitalist and colonial countries, definitely balances the possibilities for the workers to restrain and curb the violence of the capitalists in the class struggle. No Marxist, however, will ever forget Lenin's great lesson that in their desperate efforts to defeat advancing Socialism, the bourgeoisie

will resort to every possible violence.

Writing a quarter of a century ago, before the recent tremendous advances of world Socialism, Stalin (*Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 117) said:

No doubt, in the distant future, if the proletariat has triumphed in the chief countries that are now capitalist, and if the capitalist encirclement has given place to a socialist encirclement, it will be possible for a "peaceful" transition to be effected in certain capitalist countries when the capitalists, in view of the "unfavorable" international situation, will deem it advisable, "of their own accord," to make certain concessions to the proletariat. But this is to look far ahead, and to contemplate extremely hypothetical possibilities. As concerns the near future, there is no warrant for any such expectations.

Obviously, the world's workers have not reached the position of power laid down by Stalin as the condition for peaceful possibilities for Socialism, but just as obviously, they are rapidly moving in that general direction. Already the workers are ever more effectively resisting the capitalist militarists who, to further their imperialist aims to kill Socialism internationally and to dominate the world, would drench the world in the horror and blood of an atomic holocaust. So, too, the workers will increasingly and successfully undertake to bridle capitalist counter-revolutionaries in the various countries who, in their desperate efforts to block the irresistible advance of

Socialism, would embroil their countries with devastating civil wars. The time is approaching when the capitalist exploiters will be prevented generally from applying their murderous policies, nationally or internationally, to advance their parasitic and predatory interests. For the first time, the world will really begin to follow a rational and civilized course.

CONCLUSION

For the first 70 years of its existence, from 1848 to 1917, the progress of world Socialism was relatively slow, its activities being mostly expressed in the shaping of its revolutionary working class program, the cultivation of solid cadres of Marxist fighters, the building of political parties, trade unions, cooperatives, and other proletarian organizations, and the waging of numberless partial economic and political struggles. In the next stage of Socialist development, marked by the workers' victory in Russia and eventually in a number of other countries, the speed of Socialist advance was greatly stepped up. From now on, on the basis of a more or less prolonged period of peaceful co-existence, as Socialism begins to enter into the period of its developing superiority on a world scale, the tempo of its forward thrust will become faster. And when the movement actually and obviously goes "over the summit" and into "the down-hill pull," then we may

expect still swifter Socialist advances.

The lesson for Communists from the increasingly favorable international situation is not to rest upon their oars in a fatalistic conception that the historic world fight for Socialism is now about won; but, on the contrary, to redouble their activities, specifically and generally, against monopoly capitalism. The workers must strive to create democratic conditions, so that the warmongers will never again be able (as many of them are still trying) to re-create such a deadly war threat as they had generated prior to the Geneva Conference. The masses should build a broad united front to curb the war-makers and fascists and also see to it that the world develops solidly along the policy of peaceful coexistence. The workers should make a militant struggle in defense of their daily demands and conduct an all-out attack against every feature and phase of the cold war policies of Wall Street. They should build the Communist Party and all other workers' organizations as never before.

All the above-listed world developments towards Socialism are of profound importance to the American working class and its political allies. Our country is rich in natural resources and in the skills of its working people. But our national potentialities for full freedom and a better economic life cannot be realized so long as the industries are owned, the

government controlled, and the country dominated by the Wall-Street monopolists. The workers, the Negro people, the poorer farmers, and other democratic strata are now fighting on every front against mono-

polist domination. This struggle will go on and intensify. Nor can it cease until the people here, as in other countries, finally understand, through their own experiences, the necessity for Socialism.

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Developments in the Negro-Labor Alliance

By Edward E. Strong

ONE OF THE truly historic events in the long struggle to cement the Negro-labor alliance in our country occurred at the first constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, held last December.

This convention brought to a climactic focus two irreconcilable historical tendencies on the Negro question which have been in mortal conflict within the working-class arena since the first days of the American organized labor movement. The first tendency, represented in the outlook and general position of Samuel Gompers on the Negro question, has essentially been one of opportunism and betrayal, a position of class division on the basis of race rather than class unity irrespective of race. The position of the American Federation of Labor, adopted early in its history under the leadership of Gompers, was fundamentally one of racism. This out-and-out racist program resulted in the exclusion of the vast majority of Negro workers from the labor movement for many decades, led to the establishment of jim-crow locals, denied leadership rights and other important benefits

to the bulk of Negro workers who managed to get into the unions, and played no small role in helping Big Business to maintain the South as a haven for unorganized industry.

The second tendency grew out of the historical necessity of class unity not only on a national scale but internationally as well, and oriented itself upon a program of Negro-white unity, and for an integrated labor movement with full and equal rights for Negro members. From the period of the National Labor Union during the 60's to the present day, there have been those in the labor movement fighting to advance Negro-white unity, calling for equal rights for Negro workers in industry and generally exposing the Gompersite position on the Negro question as being inimical to the welfare of the workers as a whole.

MARXISTS AND NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

The most militant representatives of this tendency from the very beginning of the organized labor movement were the early American Marxists. Of great significance in advancing a program of Negro rights in the labor movement was the leader-

ship of William Z. Foster. Between 1915 and the founding of the C.I.O. in 1935, Foster emerged as the working class' most militant champion of Negro rights. Under his leadership the Trade Union Educational League and the Trade Union Unity League were founded and functioned during the 20's and early 30's. These advanced trade-union centers made a profound contribution by waging a relentless and uncompromising struggle against Gompersism as it related to the Negro question.

Gompersism meant backwardness not only on the Negro question but on other vital questions directly affecting the interests of the working class. Gompersism stood for craft trade-unionism and against the organization of the basic mass production industries. It stood for trade-union bureaucracy and against inner trade-union democracy. In short, it was a program running counter to the basic needs of working people.

THE RISE OF THE C.I.O.

An historic break took place in the labor movement in 1935 when the C.I.O. came into being. With the founding of the C.I.O., an important section of the American labor movement, for the first time in the history of our country, committed itself to a policy of organizing the unorganized in basic industry on an integrated basis. The reactionary Gompersite position, in the old A.F.L., of refusing to organize the

mass production industries was an integral part of its racist policy on the Negro question. No movement dedicated to the militant organization of the working masses could maintain for long a racist platform in its program. Therefore, the generally democratic position on the Negro question that emerged in the C.I.O., irrespective of many weaknesses, flowed logically from the issue which gave it birth, namely organizing the unorganized in the mass production industries.

With the rise of the C.I.O., a new stage was reached in the fight for Negro-white unity, the struggle for the development of the Negro-labor alliance, and in the collaboration between organized labor and the Negro people's movement. No longer did Gompersism on the Negro question reign supreme. This racist position was now being challenged by a new militant section of the working class, which came to embrace some 5,000,000 workers. At the same time the position of Gompersism on the Negro question increasingly was being challenged within the A.F.L. itself, as well as from within the Negro people's movement. The impact of this three-sided attack upon the racist program of Gompersism, accompanied by other related developments within the country as well as on a world scale (the irrevocable victory of the working class in the Soviet Union, the New Deal, growth of the colonial liberation

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movement, the progressive currents arising from the Second World War) brought about a general weakening of the position of those forces in the A.F.L. which continued to stand upon a platform of jim-crow locals, and racism.

THE AFL-CIO AND NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

Thus, when the constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO began its deliberations these two historical positions on the Negro question were already joined. The question was which of these two programs would the new Federation endorse. Or would it reach an opportunistic compromise by endorsing a policy on the Negro question containing a program with both positive and negative features?

The historic significance of the merger convention's position on the Negro question lies in the fact that it registered a major defeat for the racist policy of Gompersism; at the same time it registered a fundamental and basic victory for the policy of Negro-white unity, of advancing and strengthening the Negro-labor alliance, of a single trade-union center of all working people, white and Negro alike.

Its significance is to be found in that after a century of bitter struggle, the decisive national center of organized labor is committed formally and officially to a line of Negro-

white unity, to a line of equal rights for the Negro workers in industry as well as in the labor movement.

Upon what are these conclusions based? What combination of events took place at the convention which, taken in its totality, lends support to this estimate?

The constitution of the new Federation states that its objects and principles includes:

To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization.

Notwithstanding important limitations upon this constitutional declaration, it establishes as a principle of the new Federation the sharing "in the full benefits of union organization" of all workers regardless of race or color.

The constitutional convention adopted a strong civil rights resolution which committed the new Federation to the following positions in relationship to the fight for Negro rights:

Discrimination in employment, promotions or lay-offs because of race, color, religion, or national origin violates both the legal and moral rights of those who are discriminated against. Already substantial progress in ending discrimination in employment has been made by the negotiation and diligent policing of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements. By giving full support to these

clauses our affiliates can make a notable contribution toward the elimination of discrimination in a large sector of American industry. By creating appropriate internal machinery, our affiliates can assist in realizing these objectives.

The civil rights resolution placed the new Federation on record in full support of desegregation, and civil rights legislation. It called for a strong FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation.

THE CAREY SPEECH

The defeat of the racist policy of Gompersism was given additional emphasis at the convention in the speeches of Thurgood Marshall, legal counsel of the NAACP, Emil Mazey of the UAW, and James Carey, head of the new civil rights committee of the AFL-CIO. The Carey speech is of particular interest to all fighters for civil rights in that it elaborated upon the position of the new Federation on the Negro question, gave a precise interpretation of the civil rights resolution as well as the aims and tasks of the civil rights committee. Of that committee, Carey said:

In view of the nature of its task, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee must be regarded as the agency in the new Federation responsible for the formulation of policy in this vital area. Broadly speaking, the Committee should re-

commend policies and programs for our new Federation. It should develop procedures and programs for the consideration and acceptance of our International Unions and state and city bodies. The Committee should be the spokesman with governmental agencies, for our Federation. It should have the responsibility of maintaining appropriate relationships with approved private organizations working in this field.

The Carey statement called for continuing support to the NAACP. It clearly set forth the danger of the present white supremacists' drive in the South to both the labor and Negro peoples' movement. And in connection with the violence directed against the Negro people, Carey denounced the "synical disregard of pledges of both political parties." We must, he continued, "convince our elected representatives that there is a widespread demand and need for Congressional action on civil rights. . . . As President Meany has said, we must answer this challenge by increased political action."

Objectively, the important statement by Carey represented extension of the hands of the white trade unionists to their Negro brothers, and becomes an important instrument for advancing Negro-white unity among the nearly 16,000,000 members of the AFL-CIO. At the same time, it becomes a potent lever for reaching the white masses in the South.

OTHER BLOWS AGAINST
RACISM

Racism received still another defeat at the Convention in the election of A. Philip Randolph and Willard Townsend to the Executive Council of the new Federation. This defeat was rendered the racists on the vital front of achieving equal leadership rights of Negro trade unionists in the American labor movement.

In adopting a militant position on anti-discrimination clauses in contracts—in private industry as well as in the government—and in establishing a Civil Rights Committee to carry out the program of the Federation on the Negro question, and in taking special measures to ensure the election of Randolph and Townsend, the AFL-CIO traveled a considerable distance towards accepting the estimate that the Negro question is a special question. A major obstacle to advancing Negro-white unity in the labor movement historically has been the bankrupt theory of Social Democracy that there were no special aspects to the Negro question, and that it was exclusively a problem of class. Only a few years ago Walter Reuther attacked special measures proposed to ensure the election of Negro leaders to top posts in the UAW International as "Jim-Crow in reverse." This Convention, therefore objectively repudiated this Social Democratic theory.

The adoption of its program on the Negro question brings the new Federation into programmatic and ideological collision with Dixiecratism, and aligns the new Federation with the Negro people in their gigantic fight against segregation.

EXISTING MAJOR
WEAKNESSES

Notwithstanding major defeats suffered at the founding Convention of the AFL-CIO, Gompersism continues to hold sway over big sections of the new Federation. This is so in general, and is particularly true in the South. Racist clauses are still a part of the constitutions of a number of internationals. Negro leadership has reached only the token level in most unions. The Constitution failed to include a clause absolutely prohibiting jim-crow locals or jim-crow clauses in any affiliate of the AFL-CIO. Notwithstanding the election of Randolph and Townsend as Executive officials, *there are no full-time Negro functioning executive officers* in the AFL-CIO. The standing committees recently announced by President Meany contain few if any Negroes on a majority of them. The lily-white nature of a majority of the highly skilled crafts remains fundamentally unaltered. The problem of wage differentials between Negro and white workers performing the same type of work is still widespread. Negro workers still find

it almost impossible to advance to more skilled employment in the vast majority of industries. Negro women remain almost totally excluded from basic industry and relegated primarily to domestic work. Entire industries such as textile still register only token Negro employment.

Clearly then, a whole series of problems must still be resolved in the period ahead in respect to the fight to develop still further Negro-white unity, to advance the rights of Negro workers in industry and achieving equal rights of membership in the labor movement. What then are the next immediate tasks before the labor movement on the Negro question and what steps are required to implement the generally positive program adopted on the Negro question at the AFL-CIO Founding Convention?

THE NEXT IMMEDIATE TASKS

To begin with, it must be recognized that as important as resolutions are, they do not translate themselves into action. It is generally known that the finest resolutions become meaningless without the necessary measures of implementation. The AFL-CIO is on record against the racist drive in the South. But how will the enormous power of the 16,000,000 workers in the Federation be brought to bear to help put an end to the current drive against the Negro people in the

South? Aside from resolutions, few major steps of a practical character are being effectuated currently in the labor movement to end the racist drive in the South. Undoubtedly, several million dollars could be raised to help ensure that no Negro person who signs a desegregation petition in the South or who works for the registration of Negro voters should suffer economically. But the labor movement is as yet taking no action on this matter commensurate with its responsibility.

The Negro people in the South have launched a counter boycott of their own, as typified by the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. This boycott movement is spreading. In a whole number of areas Negroes are refusing to buy Coca Cola because a number of white supremacists who have local franchises to distribute the drink are prominent in the White Citizens Councils. Although the Coca Cola organization is an international combine and may not feel the immediate effects of the boycott movement, this will not be the case with the local dealers whose existence is determined by the sales of Coca Cola in the geographical area for which they hold the franchise. The question involved, therefore, is not whether the international combine can be brought around, but whether a particular racist dealer would be able to survive a militant boycott of the Negro people in an area, supported by white masses.

There can be no doubt but that such a boycott would be effective, particularly if the organized labor movement in the area gave it full support.

But we see few signs that the labor movement in the country begins to see the potency of the boycott movement as a weapon for defeating the white supremacists' drive. Thus appears the need of translating the general resolution on racism into concrete action by fund raising, specific support to the boycott movement, collecting food and other practical measures of this type.

A first consideration following the Convention is the necessity of taking steps to ensure the implementation of all resolutions effecting the rights of the Negro people.

THE RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS

An immediate test in life of the AFL-CIO's position on the Negro question is posed by the negotiations taking place between the AFL-CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods. The purpose of these negotiations is to bring the Brotherhoods into the AFL-CIO. Now the Brotherhoods remain the leading exponents of a racist position on the Negro question. Not only do they refuse to accept Negro members on an equal basis, but for years some of them have been conducting a drive to eliminate Negro firemen and engineers from employment on Southern railroads. They are currently aligning them-

selves with reactionary railroad owners in a vicious campaign to defeat recent struggles of the Negro railroad workers to maintain themselves in this industry and to abolish the jim-crow practices which remain prevalent in the industry.

The task of uniting the Brotherhoods with the main body of organized labor would be greatly facilitated by taking all possible steps to bring their position on the Negro question into line with that of the AFL-CIO. To accomplish this requires effective action from within the AFL-CIO, as well as from among the railroad workers themselves, and from within the general Negro people's movement.

STATE MERGER CONVENTIONS

A major immediate arena for further developing the position adopted at the founding convention in respect to the fight for Negro rights is the merger conventions being currently planned between state C.I.O. and A.F.L. bodies as well as between a number of international unions, such as the two textile unions. Already merger committees have been established in a number of states. A state merger convention has been projected in New Jersey for March. New York, Illinois, Wisconsin and other states have taken initial steps to set into motion merger machinery and merger conventions. It is clear that little time will be lost in bringing

about a number of these mergers.

The state merger conventions will deal not only with the major questions that were before the National Convention—the adoption of a new state constitution, the election of leadership, the organization of committees, the passing of resolutions—but will also have before them a number of local questions. An examination of existing state constitutions shows that the position of a majority of them on the Negro question is far from satisfactory. The New Jersey C.I.O. Constitution, for instance, deals with the question by complete omission, not a single line appearing in it with respect to Negro rights. Equally unsatisfactory is the situation with respect to Negro leadership in both the state A.F.L. and C.I.O. bodies. Insofar as this writer has been able to find out there is not a single full-time Negro executive officer in any state C.I.O. or A.F.L. body in the United States. In only a few states are there Negro officers at all. Likewise, it must be stated that the anti-discrimination machinery of these state bodies for all practical purposes is non-existent. Only in New Jersey is there to be found a full time anti-discrimination set-up.

In the light of this undesirable situation the preparation of the state merger conventions should be the occasion for radical changes in respect to advancing Negro-white unity, the fight for Negro rights and

the integration of Negro trade unionists at all levels in the new state federations. This means, among other things, putting an end to the lily-white leadership situation which exists in the overwhelming majority of state bodies. Not only must Negro trade unionists become members of the state policy-making bodies, but there must be elected full-time Negro executive officers as well.

* * *

In the light of the organization of the AFL-CIO, the situation in a number of international unions in respect to the status of Negro workers, needs to be examined. No longer will Negro workers be willing to tolerate the continued exclusion of Negro trade unionists from positions of leadership in all international unions with only a few exceptions. Foremost in this respect are the United Automobile Workers of America, headed by Walter Reuther, and the United Steelworkers, headed by David J. McDonald. It is unthinkable that a half million Negro workers in these two Internationals should be denied a single vital post of elected leadership in the highest bodies of these unions. Negro representation on the Executive Boards and as officers in these two Internationals is among the tasks deserving prime attention in the period ahead.

It is essential that sharp exception be taken in the period ahead to the arrogant and chauvinistic attack on the Indian people and their Prime

Minister, Nehru, by President Meany. Meany took advantage of a recent meeting of the National Religion and Labor Foundation to lecture the Indian Government on how its foreign policy should be conducted. This racist outburst should be repudiated by both organized labor and the Negro people's movement.

ORGANIZING THE SOUTH

Of all the immediate tasks facing the AFL-CIO with respect to Negro-white unity none is more important than that of organizing the unorganized in the South. Thus far it is not at all clear that the AFL-CIO's new organizing department is making the right kind of preparations to conduct this drive. To ensure that the drive is unfolded a vigorous fight will undoubtedly have to be conducted at all levels in the Federation, from local unions to state and district bodies, up to and through the international unions. The demand for organizing the South must reach a level of intensity that will result in the Federation's passing over from words to deeds on this question.

The AFL-CIO program calls for increased political activity on the part of labor. This means, among other things, the closest collaboration between labor and the Negro people in the 1956 elections. One aspect of this collaboration is in the area of Negro representation, the demand

for which is arising in a more militant way among the Southern Negro masses as a result of the brutal murder of Emmett Till. If Negro-labor political efforts are to be realized, the leaders of the labor movement must resist the bureaucratic tendency to name candidates and work out electoral strategy without consulting or reaching agreement with leaders of the Negro community. In order to overcome this weakness, broader Negro trade-union participation in the political action machinery of the unions is in order. At the same time special efforts should be made to ensure Negro trade-union and Negro community participation in the various political action conferences that labor is now in the process of convening.

In addition, the labor movement must overcome the white chauvinist view that Negro political representation has to be confined to those electoral districts in which the Negroes constitute a majority. The supposition behind this idea is that white Americans place color above all other considerations. The recent election of Benjamin F. Wilson, prominent Negro attorney, as head of the City Council in Gary, Indiana, is only one example which disproves this absurdity.

THE NEGRO PROLETARIAT

The organization of the AFL-CIO marked an important step towards strengthening the unity of

the American working class. Parallel with and related to the organization of the new federation has been the marked growth in the unity, militancy, and fighting cohesiveness of the Negro proletarian section of the working class. No rounded scientific appraisal of either organized labor or the Negro liberation movement is possible today without a basic assessment of the Negro proletariat, the recent organizational developments that have taken place among Negro workers, and their relationship to both the Negro and labor movement. Of prime importance in such an assessment is the rise under new conditions of the Negro caucus movement.

Since the establishment of the Colored National Labor Union under the leadership of Isaac Myers in 1869, Negro working people and trade unionists have fought consistently to enter the main stream of organized labor. However, this aspiration was largely unrealizable because of the racist program of Gompersism. Therefore, it was necessary for Negro working people to find specific forms of organization through which they could wage a more consistent struggle for economic advancement. The starting point of the problems of Negro workers has been to tackle, in the first place, such questions as getting into basic industry, upgrading, equal pay for equal work, and better working conditions. Being unable to tackle these

questions successfully through the general trade-union movement, Negro trade-unionists have found it necessary to build many different types of organizations over the past hundred years. Among others, they organized The Colored National Labor Union, and a number of state Negro trade-union conventions during the 1860's and 1870's.

This trend toward independent organization among Negro workers has been carried over into the modern period. The jim-crow hiring policies of the railroads and the white-only membership policies of the Railroad Brotherhoods created the conditions for the organization of two essentially-Negro international unions, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the United Service Employees (Red Caps). Other groups, such as the Negro Labor Victory Committee during World War II and the National Negro Labor Council, have addressed themselves to the special problems of Negro workers.

THE NEGRO CAUCUS MOVEMENT

Simultaneous with these developments came the emergence of the F.E.P.C. movement during and since World War II. This movement of Negro and white workers brought about the establishment of F.E.P.C. committees in one form or another in numerous unions and central bodies on a national, state and com-

munity scale. F.E.P.C. conferences began to be held in auto, steel, packing, electrical and other areas. Important advances were made in upgrading and in some other respects as a result of this movement. This Negro-white unity movement was of profound importance in bringing about the results of the merger convention on the Negro question.

Nevertheless, these movements were insufficient in scope and inadequate in scale to result in full equal rights for Negroes in industry. Therefore, as Negro workers entered increasingly into industry and into the main stream of organized labor, Negro caucuses developed in many unions. These caucuses are now to be found in all parts of the country, in a variety of unions and in many industries. They have been organized in many forms. Some are organized as Negro clubs, a form to be found in many steel communities. Other Negro caucuses appear primarily as loose electoral groups, coming together at the time of union elections. Many Negro caucuses are organized on a plant or department level. An example of this is to be found in New Jersey where at least ten such caucuses are functioning in as many plants. In New York City the Hotel Bellmens Association and the Negro Transport Workers have been organized and functioning as clubs for years. In auto, the Negro caucus movement has emerged as an inde-

pendent force and is today a major factor in this International.

New impetus was given to the Negro caucus movement with the unfolding of preparations for the founding convention of the AFL-CIO. Given the concern among Negro workers about what position the new federation would take on the Negro question, it was inevitable that Negro workers would seek to influence and help determine the policy to be adopted. Three major conferences of national significance and several important local gatherings, were organized by Negro trade-union leaders prior to the December convention of the AFL-CIO.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE

Among the most important of these was the conference held in New York City over the weekend of November 11th. This conference was sponsored by the National Trade-Union Committee for Racial Justice, under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph. In setting forth the aims of the conference, the Call stated:

Over a million Negro trade union members of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O., the sixteen million Negro Americans, and millions of trade unionists will be looking to the new united American labor movement for re-inforced moral leadership through:

The adoption of a constitutional by-law providing that no trade union shall deny full and equal union membership and job opportunity to any worker

because of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry.

The election of a qualified Negro trade union leader to the National Executive Council of the new united labor movement.

The establishment of a department, within the new united labor movement to continue activity within labor and our community life to eliminate any and all forms of discrimination, segregation and undemocratic practices against the Negro and all minorities.

Support, North and South, of the enforcement of the May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955 decisions of the United States Supreme Court abolishing segregation in public education.

The support of the efforts of the Black peoples of Africa to free themselves from all forms of colonialism, and to aid them in the establishment of free, democratic, self-governing nations.

Nearly two hundred trade unionists, a number of them white, participated in this gathering.

THE DETROIT CONFERENCE

A second gathering of national significance was the "Emergency Mass Conference on Issues Affecting Negro Workers in the New Merged Labor Organization," held in Detroit, on November 20, 1955. This conference was initiated by twenty-three Negro trade-union leaders from eleven UAW locals and two locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Among the leading initiators of the conference were Wil-

liam Johnson, Rec. Sec., Local 600 UAW-CIO, and Nathaniel Turner, of Flint, Michigan, Rec. Sec., Local 599, UAW-CIO. The purpose of this conference was set forth in the Call:

We now call upon every Negro trade unionist in Michigan and its environs, who loves liberty and cherishes democracy, to join with us in outlining an urgent demand and appeal to the leadership of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. for constitutional and organizational guarantees of full and equal membership and democratic representation for Negro workers and other minority groups in the merged organization that will include the following provisions:

1. A clear-cut constitutional provision guaranteeing full, equal, and non-segregated membership rights and right of full participation in all union activities for Negro and other minority workers.
2. Negro representation on new merged Executive Board and at all other levels of union leadership.
3. Campaign to organize the South on the basis of democracy and equality for all.
4. Strong FEP Committee and program of action within new organization, armed with official status, constitutional authority, and adequate funds and staff.
5. Definite time limit for all international unions and other subsidiary bodies to eliminate present policies of discrimination, where they exist, with automatic expulsion the penalty for failure to comply.

We firmly believe the program outlined above to be essential to the advancement, unity, and strength of the entire labor movement. We solemnly dedicate ourselves, in the name of democracy and freedom, to fight without compromise for its realization.

The Detroit conference was attended by 200 delegates from the states of Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, New York, and Alabama. Although most were from Auto, there was representation from Steel, Packing, Teamsters, Electrical, Mine-Mill, Building Services, Gas and Coke. Approximately twenty-five women and three white trade unionists were present. Jack Conway, Administrative Assistant to Walter Reuther, appeared in his behalf for the purpose of clarifying article II, section IV of the constitution of the new federation. State Senator Cora Brown, prominent Negro woman leader in Michigan, spoke about the relation of her own experience in fighting for civil rights legislation and that of Negro trade unionists seeking the same protection. She stated that the conference rightfully was concerned over laying a good foundation in advance of merger. Other speakers at the conference were Arthur Johnson, Exec. Sec., Detroit NAACP, Russel Lasley, Vice President of the Packinghouse Workers Union, and William Oliver of the UAW-FEPC. Greetings from

Congressman Charles Diggs of Michigan were read to the conference.

A number of proposals on the merger were adopted and a steering committee established to execute them.

The most important local meetings were those held in New Jersey, New York and Ohio. Fifty New Jersey Negro trade-union leaders met in Newark on November 13th. Earlier, on November 5th, a conference of some fifty New York City Negro trade unionists met. Present were representatives from bakers, chefs and cooks, longshore, electrical, furniture, teamsters, dining car, retail and wholesale distributors, packinghouse, taxi, drug, painters, and garment. The New York conference adopted resolutions on strengthening democracy in the AFL-CIO merger. These resolutions were mailed to every listed C.I.O. union in New York State, all A.F.L. locals in New York City, and to all internationals.

SOME QUESTIONS ON THE CAUCUS MOVEMENT

The rapid growth of Negro caucuses during the past year has precipitated a number of questions regarding the movement as a whole. We should like to deal, in a limited way, with several of these questions.

1. The convening of the conferences of Negro trade unionists and the impact of the Negro caucus movement development was of pro-

found importance in helping to determine the position of the AFL-CIO founding convention on the Negro question. The existence of this movement was a primary factor in bringing about the militant injection of the Negro question into the convention and in the election of Randolph and Townsend as vice-presidents. Its continued existence will be equally important in the months ahead in determining the outcome of the state conventions, merger agreements between internationals, under what conditions the Railroad Brotherhood will enter the A.F.L.-C.I.O., and whether or not such internationals as steel and auto will bring Negro trade unionists into the top leadership of these two key unions.

2. In the Negro caucus movement we are witnessing a fundamental development which has arisen out of two interrelated phenomena: In the first place it arose from the objective existence of the class struggle, from the general exploitation of the workers under capitalism, white and Negro alike. The primary reason for the organization of Negro caucuses and all other Negro organizations concerned with the problems of labor is the class exploitation of the Negro proletariat, the growth of the Negro proletariat, and the strivings of this proletariat for class organization, either in the labor movement as a whole alongside of their white

brothers and sisters, or in separate Negro class organizations.

The second phenomenon responsible for giving rise to the Negro caucus movement is the existence of the Negro national question in the United States. This is responsible for the forms of organization which Negro workers have sought to build.

FORM AND CONTENT

To put the question another way: The primary content of the Negro caucus movement is class; the primary form is national. To illustrate: The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized primarily to deal with the economic problems of Pullman porters, a particular section of the working class, a particular section of the Negro proletariat. The form of the organization was determined by the existence of the jim-crow system, the practice of the railroads of employing only Negro porters, and the refusal of the Brotherhoods to concern themselves with the problems of these workers.

Unlike the specific class organizations of the Negro workers, the mass Negro people's organizations such as the NAACP arose primarily from the national aspects of the Negro question; they are national organizations, inclusive of all classes. Although the content of these mass organizations is essentially national, increasingly they are concerning themselves with the specific class problems of the Negro proletariat.

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Likewise, the Negro caucus movement inevitably will concern itself increasingly with the national aspects of the Negro movement, with such questions as the Till murder, the desegregation fight, etc. The liberation struggle must embrace, then, both national and class content. To the extent that either of these is absent, it weakens the liberation struggle as a whole.

3. The Negro workers can best achieve their objectives in the trade-union movement if it is borne in mind that the various unity movements are supplementary and directly related to the general organizations of labor. The purpose of the caucus is not to compete with or to replace regular trade-union machinery. Neither should the caucus movement seek to substitute for or relieve the white trade unionists of their responsibility in respect to the fight for Negro-white unity, and their obligations to the Negro liberation movement. Far from replacing or substituting for the regular trade-union machinery, the caucus movement should see that one of its primary tasks is to help bring about more resolute action on the Negro question through this machinery. Foremost in this connection is the necessity of working to strengthen and organize anti-discrimination or FEPC committees, seeing to it that the political action machinery functions more effectively

on the Negro question, and helping the labor movement assume its responsibilities for putting an end to the growing revolt of the Dixiecrats.

NOT DUAL UNIONISM

In this way, the false charge of dual unionism which is hurled against the Negro caucuses will be combatted. The caucuses are not bargaining agencies; they are not trade unions. They are natural groupings of Negro workers, similar to comparable aggregations among Italian workers, and other nationality groups. They seek to strengthen the labor movement's declared aim of wiping out the differentials of opportunity existing between Negro and white workers on the job, in upgrading, in the union. As such the caucuses can only strengthen the labor movement by strengthening its interracial solidarity.

Approaching their tasks in this spirit, the caucuses should confidently seek to win the support of white rank and file workers and trade-union leaders for their program which is in the special interest of Negro workers and the common interest of the entire working class.

In order to win the support of white workers and trade-union leaders, it is necessary to recognize the varieties of opinion existing among them on this question. Among many there are unclarity, honest confusion, and differences of opinion. With these workers, who constitute the

majority, patient work and clarification is necessary. However, some few white trade-union spokesmen fight the Negro caucus movement as "a threat to white workers." Nothing is threatened by this movement except racism and those who generate or support it. Unfortunately a few of the white trade unionists who raise this cry are sending up a smoke-screen to hide their own support of lily-white boards, or other set-ups that are incompatible with Negro-white unity.

Another incorrect view is to operate as though the Negro caucus movement were non-existent, to preoccupy ourselves exclusively with the Negro community mass organizations.

Finally, there is the view which tends to over-estimate the Negro caucus movement, and sees it already as the beginning and the end of the Negro liberation movement, moving toward replacing the NAACP. There is no validity in the viewpoint that an inherent conflict exists between the NAACP and the Negro caucus movement, and that everyone has to choose sides, supporting one or the other.

ROLE OF THE NEGRO PROLETARIAT

4. It is generally known that the proletariat of a national movement has both a national and class mission to perform. This is likewise true of the Negro proletariat in our country.

It has the task of leading the Negro people to national liberation, and, in conjunction with their fellow white workers, of putting an end to class exploitation by leading the American people to Socialism. The question arises then: Is the Negro caucus movement the primary instrument for executing the two-sided role which the Negro proletariat historically must play? This question must now be answered in the negative. We cannot yet agree that the Negro caucus is such a primary instrument. At this moment, the Negro proletariat is using a variety of forms through which to perform its two-sided role. The two primary forms at this moment remain the NAACP and the unions. The Negro caucus movement as it has emerged over the past few months is an important form and one whose importance is growing. To go beyond this estimate at this time can only result in distortion.

POSSIBLE DANGERS

5. As a result of over-estimating the tempo of the caucus movement, there is a strong tendency on the part of some of its leaders to prematurely jell it into some kind of a national organization. This same tendency is at work in a number of states where some progressive trade unionists believe that a state organization can be established that will be all-inclusive of the diverse trends reflected in the movement at

this time. We believe that this is an error which if acted upon, can only harm this development. An important feature of the pre-merger period was the fluidity of relations among Negro trade-union leaders. The various conferences were characterized by the participation of Negro Left, Right, and Center trade unionists, with practically no Red-baiting. In short, a high degree of unity around a minimum merger program was achieved among Negro workers and their main spokesmen. But this unity was expressed in a number of different conferences and in a variety of caucuses. The unity arose from the preoccupation of the movement with program, with the immediate tasks of the merger, rather than with questions of organization.

In our judgment, this is the key to the immediate future development of the movement. If the prime concern in the months ahead becomes the establishment of a single new Negro trade-union center on a national or state scale, with the questions of a constitution, nature of membership and leadership for such a center, then it will be impossible to realize the great promise now inherent in this movement. Rather than concerning itself with questions of organization, it would be sounder, we believe, if the leadership of the various caucuses and conferences began to consult on how best to advance the fight for Negro rights in

the state merger conventions, the international unions, and the new Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO. The question becomes then, not how best to build a formal organization and what structure should be established for this, but rather how best to advance still further the initial program of this movement during this post-merger period, and what minimum organizational forms are required to achieve this objective.

CONCLUSION

American Marxists have played a modest but important role in bringing about the victory on the Negro question that was achieved at the founding convention of the AFL-CIO. This role has its roots in the conception of the Negro question as a special question which has been fought for by the Communists in the labor movement and in American life generally for the past generation. Of particular significance was the energetic initiative of a large number of Negro Marxists and Left trade-union leaders. It was this initiative which helped spark the movement to establish a democratic and non-discriminatory foundation for the new federation. The Negro Left trade-union leaders have displayed a high degree of sensitivity to the moods and outlook of the masses of Negro workers and have thus been in a position to give concrete leadership to their demands. As a result of this, their stature and influ-

ence have grown, and their leadership is increasingly accepted among growing numbers of organized Negro workers.

Unfortunately, however, the Left as a whole has not been close enough to this development; it has too often been following events in respect to the fight for Negro-white unity, and has generally underestimated the willingness of the white workers to

move on the Negro question. This weakness can be remedied to the extent that we grasp the full significance of the merger convention as it relates to the fight for Negro rights, and resolutely move in the state conventions, local bodies, and international unions to consolidate and extend the victories registered at the founding convention.

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The Ohio Unemployment Compensation Referendum

By Hyman Lumer

A UNIQUE FEATURE of the 1955 elections was the Ohio referendum on the CIO-sponsored proposal to increase unemployment benefits. The battle over this issue not only occupied the center of the stage in Ohio, but attracted nation-wide attention as well.

The measure placed on the ballot proposed: 1) to increase all benefits, bringing the maximum up from \$33 to \$50 a week, 2) to increase dependency benefits from a maximum of two children to three (or from \$6 to \$9), 3) to increase the benefit period from 26 weeks to 39 weeks, 4) to improve appeals procedure and to penalize employers for unfair delays, and 5) to permit private supplemental (or guaranteed annual wage) benefits.

Because the measure was overwhelmingly defeated, by a vote of 1,458,483 to 870,755, the newspapers and other Big Business mouthpieces hastened to proclaim the outcome as a fatal setback for Ohio labor in the political arena. Thus, Thomas Vail, political writer for the *Cleveland News*, stated (November 12, 1955): "Organized labor was ushered out of Ohio politics this week. . . . Ap

proaching the nadir as a political force, labor representatives will have a tough time from now on getting the state Legislature to take them seriously."

Some labor and progressive elements have also concluded that the outcome was a serious defeat. However, the adverse vote notwithstanding, such an estimate is entirely unfounded. On the contrary, the campaign was an important step forward politically for organized labor, and strengthened the possibilities for building labor's political strength in 1956.

ESTIMATING THE RESULT

To begin with, the referendum originated in an initiative petition campaign launched by the CIO, independently of the Democratic Party and the Democratic bloc in the state Legislature. It thus represents an important break with the policy of tailing the Democratic Party which has characterized the Ohio labor movement in the past.

Secondly, the petition campaign entailed the collection of some 125,000 signatures to bring the proposal before the Legislature, plus the

gathering of another 125,000 signatures (from new signers) to put the proposal on the ballot after the Legislature had completely ignored it.

The collection of more than 250,000 signatures, with all the attendant legal restrictions, was a monumental task, one necessarily involving many thousands of rank-and-file union members. The launching of such a mass campaign represents a break with the previous policy of confining activity to top leading circles and frowning on any form of mass activity which would set the membership in motion.

HOW THE CAMPAIGN WAS CONDUCTED

The placing of the issue on the ballot gave rise to an intensive hard-fought campaign. The enemies of the measure, alarmed at the grave danger confronting them, swung rapidly into action. A so-called Ohio Information Committee was formed, sponsored by representatives of all sections of Big Business together with middle-class and farm elements, and supported to the hilt by virtually every newspaper in the state.

The Committee was provided with a million-dollar kitty, from which it spent lavishly on television and radio time, newspaper ads, masses of leaflets and brochures, and other forms of propaganda. Its financial report, submitted after the campaign, showed expenditures of more than \$400,000.

The OIC conducted a most un-

scrupulous campaign. All the stops were pulled out on misrepresentation and falsification. The proposal was falsely pictured as one which would increase taxes and would pay out huge sums to people living in idleness in Florida and California. The proposed maximum benefits of \$59 a week for 39 weeks, achievable only by a small percentage of unemployed workers, were pictured as the actual benefits to be paid out in every single case.

But labor on its side also plunged into a vigorous campaign. PAC committees and locals and central bodies of both the C.I.O. and A.F.L. distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets at shopgates and in the communities. Television and radio programs, newspaper ads, mass mailings of literature—all these were undertaken on an unprecedented scale.

In Cleveland and elsewhere, steps were taken to set up ward and community organizations, steps which had until then been strenuously resisted. And on election day, thousand of poll workers turned out. In all, organized labor conducted a more intensive campaign on this issue than it had in any election campaign for many a year.

Moreover, the campaign was not confined to labor. In large measure, it was spearheaded by a Committee to Protect Standards of Living, headed by Elizabeth S. Magee, veteran president of the Ohio Consumers' League. This committee in-

cluded among its sponsors a number of professional and other community leaders.

In addition, the measure won the support of a great variety of individuals and groups. Among those who spoke out for it were a number of Catholic and Protestant ministers, as well as some Democratic Congressmen, state representatives and senators, and councilmanic candidates. In Cleveland, it was endorsed by organizations ranging from Young Democrat clubs to the Mt. Pleasant Community Council and the Jewish Workmen's Circle. The same was true in other cities.

Especially noteworthy was the support given by Negro organizations. The measure was endorsed by the state body of the NAACP and by one of two statewide organizations of Negro Democrats. It was supported by the Elks and other organizations and groups, with whose help an especially spirited campaign was conducted in the Negro communities.

THE ELECTION RESULTS

All these were positive achievements, which materially advanced labor's political strength. Yet, despite this, the proposal was overwhelmingly defeated. It lost in 80 of the state's 88 counties, among them such major industrial areas as Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Franklin County (Columbus), Lucas County (Toledo), Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Summit County (Akron) and

Montgomery County (Dayton). In Hamilton, Montgomery and Franklin Counties, it lost by better than two to one. The only industrial areas in which it carried were Mahoning and Trumbull Counties (steel), and Jefferson and Belmont Counties (coal). And in the rural counties, it was simply snowed under. This defeat was inflicted, moreover, by a record turnout of voters in an off-year election.

Why did the measure lose by so large a margin? For this there were a number of reasons, and in these there lie some valuable lessons for the labor movement.

REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT

The campaign was conducted too much as a struggle of labor alone. In fact, the initiative petition campaign was conducted solely by the C.I.O. Originally, the A.F.L. opposed it on the grounds, that the demands were so high as to court defeat. It was only after the proposal was already on the ballot that the A.F.L. and railroad brotherhoods entered the fight for its passage. Nor were any serious attempts made to secure allies and to broaden the base of support until the final stages of the campaign.

To be sure, the measure did receive the overwhelming support of one of labor's main allies—the Negro people. Not only was it endorsed by the chief mass organizations and Negro leaders, but in the Negro communities it was passed by tremendous

majorities. In the wards comprising the heart of Cleveland's Cedar-Central area, the margins ran from 6:1 to as high as 10:1, far higher than those in any of the white working-class communities.

There is nothing greatly surprising in this, since the Negro people, last hired and first fired, could most readily see the urgency of boosting unemployment benefits. However, their support was obtained, so to speak, free of charge—that is, more or less spontaneously and without any real drive to win it.

On the contrary, in more than one instance, labor failed to reciprocate this support by backing the fight for Negro representation. In Cleveland, Charles P. Lucas, a prominent Negro leader elected to the newly-established state board of education from the 21st Congressional District, was not endorsed by the C.I.O., and was only belatedly endorsed by the A.F.L. after it had already approved his leading white opponent. Similarly, in Dayton the bulk of the labor movement held back from supporting Judge Carter in his campaign for re-election, in which he lost by a big majority.

This is but another instance of the one-sided way in which the Negro-labor alliance is developing at the present time, with the advances being made chiefly by the Negro people. It is clear that if labor had come more vigorously to the support of Negro candidates and of other struggles of the Negro people, the

favorable response could have been even greater.

Labor failed to make any serious inroads on the small business and urban middle-class vote, which went overwhelmingly against the proposal. But by far the most serious weakness was the failure to establish ties with any appreciable section of the farmers. There was even a lack of special literature addressed to the farm population.

FAILURE TO WIN THE FARMERS

As a result, the OIC and the rural newspapers succeeded in turning masses of farmers against organized labor and in widening the gap between the two. Typical of the line pursued is the following excerpt from an editorial in the *Morgan County Farmer*:

Who will pay labor's guaranteed annual wage, the tremendous wages now current in "Big Business," and taxes whose direction is ever upward? Will the corporations pay? Of course not. The farmer, as a consumer, and every other consumer, will pay the freight. . . .

During the past seven years, the farmer has seen his income reduced nearly a third by declining value of farm products, while the things he consumes are almost doubled in value. . . .

Now the C.I.O. is asking him to vote for a measure in Ohio, this fall, which will make it possible for a worker out of employment to sit in a rocking chair nine months in the year and draw nearly \$200 a month unemployment

pay. This unemployment tax is on the employer's payroll and he adds it to the cost of production and passes an increased price on to the consumer—and the farmers, as a class, are all consumers as well as producers. A farmer who votes for this asinine and absurd measure, needs a guardian.

The farmers, suffering from a constantly worsening agricultural crisis, evidently took this advice. They failed to see that it was not the wage increase won by workers that caused their plight, but rather that it was the mounting profits squeezed by the trusts out of worker and farmer alike that were responsible for both the low prices the farmers receive and the high prices they pay. They failed to see that higher income for workers actually benefits the farmer, since the workers are the chief consumers of farm products. And they failed to see these things, among other reasons, because the proposal to increase unemployment compensation was unaccompanied by any proposal to alleviate their own desperate situation.

It is clear that labor cannot win such major political struggles by itself, without the support of its natural allies, especially the farmers. It is equally clear that this support cannot be obtained simply by appealing for it a few weeks before election day.

Had the C.I.O., at the outset, approached farm, Negro, small business and other groups to join in drafting the proposal as a coalition project, it

would have had a much better chance of passage. Even more important, had labor concerned itself more with the problems facing these groups and developed a program based on mutual interest, the OIC could not have succeeded through its propaganda campaign in isolating labor as it did.

The support given by labor to the farmers' demand for rigid price supports is an example of what needs to be done. Such support and cooperation needs to be developed at state and local levels. In one Ohio locality, a UE local joined hands with the Farm Bureau in a fight on a local utility issue. The fight was won, to the advantage of both. This is as yet an isolated instance; it needs to become commonplace if the enemies of both labor and the farmers are to be prevented from driving a wedge ever deeper between them.

NEED TO GET OUT THE VOTE

Labor found itself without adequate political apparatus to bring out the vote. For this, television programs and slick brochures could not substitute. Huge sums were spent on these; however, they could not begin to match the outpouring of the OIC with its almost limitless funds. The results proved that labor simply cannot beat Big Business at its own game.

Labor could win only by calling on its own unique resources—the masses of working people and their families. And these could be mobil-

ized to vote only through work in the wards and communities. The need for this was realized in the course of the campaign, and the leaders who had previously opposed ward organization found themselves belatedly encouraging it. But, though some ward organization was established, the kind of machinery needed could not be built in the space of a few weeks.

In Cleveland, the labor vote was reduced also by the fact that there were few contests in the November elections. This was the result of a local election law which provides that candidates who receive over 50% of the primary vote run unopposed in the finals. Thanks to this, there was no mayoralty race, and in 21 out of 32 wards, there were no councilmanic contests. The Cleveland vote was therefore proportionately low as compared to the predominantly middle-class suburbs.

The situation was not helped, however, by the fact that neither the A.F.L. or C.I.O. played any part whatever in the primaries. And the C.I.O. made no endorsements in November, on the argument that it wanted to make no enemies for the unemployment compensation proposal. These short-sighted policies actually prevented the winning of friends for the proposal.

ROLE OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The measure received no substantial backing from the Democratic

Party. To be sure, it was supported by individual Democrats, such as Congressman Charles Vanik of the 21st Congressional District and State Senators Avellone of Cleveland, King of Toledo and Carney of Youngstown, as well as by some councilmanic candidates. It also received the endorsement of some scattered ward organizations and at least one Young Democratic club.

However, neither of the major wings of the Ohio Democratic Party spoke out for it. On the contrary, Governor Frank Lausche condemned the proposal at the outset, calling it "fantastic." Others remained silent. Only in Toledo and one or two other localities did the local Democratic organizations give any measure of support to labor's campaign.

This does not mean, of course, that labor was wrong in moving independently of the Democratic Party. Rather, it demonstrates the need for labor to strengthen its independent position within the party and its ability to influence party policies.

CHARACTER OF THE PROPOSALS

To a considerable degree, the magnitude of the defeat was due to the character of the proposals and to the form in which they were presented.

The increases in benefits were admittedly pegged at too high a level, which limited support in many quarters and made it easier for the mea-

sure's enemies to attack it. This was done deliberately, when the initiative petitions were first prepared, with the aim of using the proposed figures as a basis for bargaining in the state Legislature. But when the Legislature failed to act on the initiated measure, state law permitted its being placed on the ballot *only in the identical form presented to the Legislature*, something that evidently was not foreseen when the campaign was launched. Hence labor found itself stuck with its initial bargaining position as the minimum proposal offered to the voters.

Furthermore, this complex piece of legislation had to be presented to the voters as an all-or-none proposition. On this, an editorial in the *Akron Beacon-Journal* (November 9, 1955) stated:

On the ballot, the proposition has to be Yes or No. That's not a practical way to draft laws. A great deal of balancing and adjustment has to go into the development of a code that covers a wide variety of situations.

By no means, however, should anyone interpret yesterday's vote as a mandate to the Legislature to leave the present compensation law in status quo forever. (Our emphasis.)

In other words, it is likely that many voted "no" because, while they may have favored an increase in unemployment benefits, they disagreed with the exact form of the C.I.O. proposals or with one or another detail.

THE LEFT IN THE CAMPAIGN

Finally, there were some shortcomings in the part played by the Left and progressive elements. Within the labor movement, these took an active part in the campaign in the forms developed by the unions. In many cases they did yeoman work in distributing material, working at the polls, and similar activities.

For the most part, however, the Left did not grasp the full importance of the campaign soon enough, and did not work sufficiently to influence its character—to broaden it and to develop ward and community work.

Although offers of assistance from progressives were rebuffed in the initial stages of the campaign, once it reached its height the situation changed, and the participation of all was welcomed. The Left did not sufficiently re-examine the situation in the light of the new development, and hence did not take full advantage of the opportunities it offered.

A GENERAL ASSESSMENT

Such, then, were the main reasons for the big margin of defeat. Despite all these weaknesses, however, the campaign must be assessed not as a setback but as a gain for organized labor.

First, it has given rise to some initial steps toward building alliances with other groups, and to a growing awareness of the need for such coalitions. Second, it has led to the

strengthening of labor's political machinery, and has laid the base for the further development of ward organization. Third, it has helped to make it clear that labor cannot depend on the Lausches and other Democrats to fight its battles, but must develop its own independent political role.

Finally, there are the more than 870,000 votes cast for the measure. Considering the fact that many who support higher benefits either voted against it or did not vote at all, this represents a very substantial hard core around which labor's political strength can be built in 1956. This was recognized by Ray Bliss, head of the Ohio GOP, who pointed out that the defeat of the measure may prove an empty victory for the Republican Party, for despite the adverse vote, "they [the labor leaders] succeeded in getting more than 800,000 pure labor votes registered for next year's campaign." (*New York*

Post, December 3, 1955.)

Had the measure passed, it would have accomplished the same end as the UAW supplementary unemployment benefit provisions, namely the payment of benefits equal to 60-65% of average earnings. Moreover, this would have included all Ohio workers covered by unemployment insurance, and for a period of nine months rather than six.

Its defeat, however, does not rule out the possibility of putting into effect the GM and Ford GAW plans, which require that two-thirds of the employees be in states permitting private supplementary payments. The final ruling on this point by the Ohio authorities is yet to be made, and a fight must be waged to assure a positive ruling.

To sum up, the campaign has been rich in experiences and lessons for organized labor. These will be of tremendous value in building for the 1956 elections.

On Aid to Foreign Countries*

By N. S. Khrushchev

THE COLONIZERS SEE how resolutely the peoples are rising against colonial slavery, they see that the peoples are prepared for self-sacrifice, for bold action, for selfless struggle for the freedom and national independence of their countries. The peoples have already driven out the colonizers from a whole number of countries.

An inspiring example for all the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries is the struggle of the great Chinese people who, having thrown off the foreign yoke, took their destiny into their own hands and, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party, founded the mighty People's Republic of China and are now successfully engaged in the building of Socialism.

The colonizers have now decided to change the forms of their colonial domination. They are resorting less and less frequently to such crude forms of violence as the sending of troops to colonial countries and other acts of insolent interference in the affairs of the enslaved countries.

They are now doing all this in a more subtle way: they bribe the ones in power, implant "good governments" and build up aggressive blocs such as the Bagdad pact.

They assign funds for so-called "economic aid," supply arms to some countries "free of charge." But the states getting these arms must pay for them by providing the colonizers with cannon fodder, by raising big armies and thereby wearing down their peoples.

The colonizers give a dollar as "aid" in order later to get back ten dollars for their one, by exploiting the peoples who have accepted the "aid." Having achieved this end, they also enslave the peoples politically. Such are the "new" forms of colonial rule.

And this does not apply only to the countries of Asia, Africa or other so-called underdeveloped countries. By means of such forms of "aid" the U.S. monopolists are now strengthening their grip on the European countries. NATO too has much of the same odor about it.

WHY THE "CHARITY"?

What is the explanation for the United States' "goodness" in giving arms free to European countries, including Western Germany, which is itself a highly developed country?

* Extracted from a speech before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Dec. 29, 1955.

This has one and the same aim: to bind to itself with a golden chain not only the underdeveloped but also the highly developed countries.

In exposing such a policy we say that NATO and other similar blocs are organizations which pursue far-reaching political and economic aims.

It is alleged that NATO has been set up because the Soviet Union is acting aggressively and that it is therefore necessary to create some sort of superpowerful joint army of NATO member-countries and counterpose it to the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp.

It is not difficult to divine who needs such a lie and for what purpose. It is used to divert the attention of the masses from the changes taking place in those countries that are becoming increasingly dependent on the U.S. monopolists.

But the artificially created mirage is already beginning to disappear and people are starting to distinguish the true from the false.

People are beginning to reason as follows: If the Soviet Union had actually had intentions of paving the way for a new social system in other countries by war, it would have done so long ago.

Indeed, everyone knows that the Soviet land had the strongest army at the end of the war. Nothing prevented the Soviet Union at that time from advancing its mobilized armies and occupying the whole of Europe.

This, however, did not happen, nor could it have happened.

It is a well-known principle of Marxism-Leninism that revolutions are not exported, that they are made by the people themselves, fighting for their liberation. Soviet men and women have always followed, and will continue to follow the path of peaceful coexistence indicated by the great Lenin, one of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states.

Why then did certain imperialist circles whip up war hysteria after the end of the war, seeking to intimidate the peoples with an imaginary "Soviet menace"?

They did this in pursuit of their selfish ends.

Their aim is clear—all this is necessary to the imperialists to enable them to rob the people with impunity, and by means of heavy taxation, to boost war industry, in which the tycoons of the monopolies working on war orders are interested.

They are amassing huge profits from such business. Suffice it to recall that the profits the big U.S. monopolies are now making on war production are more than double their war-time profits.

According to preliminary data, the profits of the U.S. corporations amount this year to 43,000 million dollars. So the monopolists have the money to provide so-called "aid" to those countries which the United States is drawing into its orbit. Actually, this is not aid but a handout

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of the leftovers from the masters' table, made conditional upon enslaving obligations.

THE SOVIET POLICY

The Soviet Union condemns such a policy. It bases its relations with all other countries on the principles of equality and mutual advantage, on the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of these countries.

When we give economic or technical assistance to a country, we do so as friends, without attaching any strings.

We have no surplus capital. Ours is a planned economy. We are not interested in the export of capital or in the export of goods—we produce these in the quantities needed by our country, by our allies and for trading with foreign countries. The output of some goods is not yet great enough to meet the growing requirements of the country.

And yet, despite all this, we consider it our duty to share with our friends, to help them in a brotherly way. Such help, rendered on reciprocally advantageous terms, is of benefit to both sides. Our friends see that from us they get unselfish help which comes from our internal resources. And our friends cannot but appreciate this because it testifies to our honest intentions.

In these conditions the monopolists have to change their game somehow. Some of the more canny bourgeois

leaders say now that the capitalist countries should increase economic aid to the underdeveloped countries. This is not a bad idea. Let the capitalist countries render them such assistance. This is far better than dragging them into military blocs and alliances.

This aid which the capitalist states intend to render the countries which recently won their independence cannot but be regarded as a form of Soviet assistance to these countries. If there were no Soviet Union, would the monopolist circles and imperialist powers render assistance to the underdeveloped countries? Of course not. This never happened before.

But as I have already said, "free" aid in the capitalist sense of the term can actually lead to the enslavement of those to whom it is given if the countries in question accept it hazily.

British ex-Foreign Secretary Macmillan, recently reviewing the achievements of the Tory Government, declared among other things that this Government had attained a successful settlement with Iran, with the result that Abadan oil had begun to flow to Britain in a broad stream.

But this is wealth belonging to Iran that is flowing away. It is Iran's gold flowing into the vaults of British, American, Dutch and French banks. And this at a time when the peoples of Iran live in poverty. Bestowing "aid" on Iran, they are tak-

ing Iranian oil for next to nothing and waxing fat on this, on the starvation and poverty of the Iranian people.

We are not saying to the Asian peoples: do not accept the aid which the American and British monopo-

lists offer you. But we frankly have to be more careful about such "aid," because the monopolists do not give anything for nothing.

Capitalists do nothing without getting paid for it. Capital cannot exist without profits.

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