

Main Street to Wall Street:

**END
THE
COLD
WAR!**

By GUS HALL

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A NOTE TO THE READER

Gus Hall is an authoritative Communist spokesman in this country. The speech on which this booklet is based was made more than two weeks before the stock market crash of May 28, 1929, which saw \$100,000,000,000 of stock values wiped out in a single day in one of the biggest crashes in our history.

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Mr. Hall's booklet covers a wide range of problems of deep concern to all who are interested in the peace and progress of our country and the world — with special focus on the role and needs of the labor movement, the Negro people, the young people of our land. Especially pertinent because of its Marxist framework and point of departure is his analysis of our nation's deteriorating economy, which is at the base of the Wall Street debacle.

Born in Minnesota 51 years ago, in a family of twelve, Gus Hall is of Finnish extraction. He started work at the age of 12, working in mines and mills, as field hand and on the railroads, often in the forefront in organizing his fellow workers and leading them in struggles. He was a leader of the unemployed during the depression '30's, later an organizer in the Little Steel Strike and one of the founders of the Steel Workers Union under Phillip Murray, and at all times known and respected as a Communist.

He is the author of numerous articles and pamphlets, including THE UNITED STATES IN TODAY'S WORLD, THE SUMMIT FAILURE, OUR SIGHTS TO THE FUTURE, PEACE CAN BE WON, and MARXISM AND NEGRO LIBERATION. He was indicted, together with Benjamin J. Davis, also a leading Communist spokesman, under the infamous McCarran Act, and presently faces trial and possible sentences up to \$60,000 in fines and 30 years imprisonment for refusal to register under its fascist-like provisions. The outcome of these cases is, in the most significant sense, decisive for the future not only of the Communist Party, but of the Bill of Rights and the liberties and democracy of all the American people.

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END THE COLD WAR!

Every American is rightfully concerned about the present and the future of our country.

To those of us who observe and participate in the political life of our land, these are crucial days.

A growing, but already dominant feature of this moment of history is the shift in the relationship of forces which determines the social, political and economic events of the world. The center of gravity is passing from the old world of capitalism and imperialism to the new world of socialism, freedom and peace. It is of decisive importance that all of us understand this new objective reality and face the problems and responsibilities which arise from it.

The significance of this shift in the balance of world forces cannot be understood if viewed within the narrow limits of ordinary momentary changes in the fortunes of any single country—changes that result from the usual power politics or a redivision of the markets and resources, such as take place periodically.

This shift is a fundamental, an historic movement of forces that determines and molds all major human events.

It is the fundamental of a new epoch.

This new world relationship is an alliance of many forces with differing self-interests, an alliance of varied movements and forces on every continent. It is an irresistible combination of all the dynamic and progressive forces on the world scene today.

It consists of:

First: the world system of the socialist-communist states of over one billion people;

Second: the hundreds of millions of people, the nations moving away from imperialist domination and towards in-

dependence and freedom, which involves almost all of Africa, Latin America and Asia;

Third: the growing people's legions for peace and democracy in the capitalist world—including the anti-fascist and anti-monopoly forces—and the working class in its struggle for economic security.

It is this combination of parallel forces and movements, each acting in its own interests but traveling in the same direction of history that is ever more firmly and increasingly determining the direction of world affairs. No major event or development, whether political, economic or military, now takes place in any part of the world that is not influenced to one degree or another by this "high pressure system" of the world's political climate.

Therefore, any effort to determine the course of events in our own land—whether in domestic affairs or in the realm of foreign policy—must, of necessity, call for a full understanding of this world scene. This calls for the most thorough and fresh appreciation of the developments of these dynamic and progressive forces in our own country. This means that those who would influence the course of events in our land must appreciate and act upon the new relationship of world forces.

New Problems for U.S. Capitalism

The old center — the world of capitalism and big business — talks big of "new frontiers," of the "miracles of the Common Market" of "Alliances for Progress" and other high-sounding programs. But it ever more increasingly gets entangled in the web of its old contradictions. Each attempt of big capital to find a way out only brings to the surface new problems.

In capitalist circles, especially in the United States, there is much talk of increasing the rate of economic growth. But this talk is all based on past performances without a real appraisal of the present situation and the economic forces and contradictions now operating in world capitalism, and the relation of capitalism to socialism. The fact is that so far most of the discussion is only wishful thinking.

It is true that many phenomena in the capitalist world

have been modified and changed in this new stage of history, but the laws or basic nature of capitalism have not changed. The timing of crises, including their length, has changed, but they remain crises of over-production typical of capitalism. While the new world relationship makes wars as an instrument of national policy more difficult and no longer inevitable (aside from the fact that thermonuclear conflict has become thoroughly unthinkable) still the struggle for imperialist redivision and conquest by capitalist countries goes on. Thus, in a fundamental sense, the basic nature of capitalism remains as it has always been.

For Communists and for all other progressive and democratic Americans, the heart of the problem is to see what is happening to the United States in this new epoch. This is the vantage point from which we should draw conclusions for everyday work in our relations with all other Americans who are deeply concerned about our country.

The Cold War is Self-Defeating

In a general sense, for the United States this has been a decade of decline both in relation to the world as a whole as well as in relation to the capitalist world. This is a fundamental question that deserves serious and continuous thought on our part. The era hailed by many spokesmen of capitalism as the American Century has in fact turned into an era of decline.

In discussing this decline we Communists have a grave responsibility and a unique opportunity. The decline develops only because of the ruthless and predatory role of the monopolists of our country. The masses of the American people are not responsible for it. The accomplishments and aspirations of the people of our land are not in decline, and certainly Communists do not cheer the decline of our country in world relationships. We have high regard for our fellow Americans and the kind of love for our country which says there must be no hiding of the facts from the people which can result in disaster. Americans want to know the facts—the whole truth. And to the extent that we can contribute to that knowledge, we help develop a program for our country based upon facts and reality.

The cold-war policies as applied at home and abroad are policies that sacrifice the interests of the people and nation to those of a few monopolies. These policies are geared to sacrificing everything on the altar of a small group of financial rulers whose greed has no limits. That is the fundamental concept of the policies of the cold war being pursued now. That policy also prevailed in the Truman Administration as well as in the Eisenhower Administration. These policies are destructive of the interests of the people and the nation. They are self-defeating. The decline in our relative position is the direct result of these policies and if they are continued, they can lead only to disaster.

My fellow-Ohioan, Cyrus Eaton, writing from the capitalist viewpoint in the *Chicago Sun Times*, put it this way:

“The United States is riding for a fall by basing its foreign and domestic policies on war. Continuation of the cold war can only lead to the creeping impoverishment and eventual bankruptcy of every country concerned.”

I quote this because the question of national interest and the people's well-being is the very foundation for a victorious coalition of anti-monopoly forces.

Among the many observations on the status of the United States today, the magazine *Life*, in its editorial of May 25, states, “In short, the U.S. economy can no longer be taken for granted as the strongest in the world.”

What all of us Americans need to understand is that no solutions to our problems can be found in the cold war. On the contrary, many of these problems either emerge from or are aggravated by the policies of the cold war. Therefore, a continuation of policies along these lines not only blocks their solution but continually aggravates the problems facing us.

Developments, both internally and externally, have now reached a point where an effective mass campaign can be launched to change the direction of these policies. Sufficient forces in our country now see the bankruptcy and dead-end character of the cold-war policies so that an effective campaign for new policies with the objectives of peaceful co-existence and a peace economy becomes possible. Such a cam-

paign places the interests of the nation and the people above the monopoly policies that are being pursued at the present time. The gap between the fabulous riches being gathered by the monopolies, especially the centers of monopoly, the banks of Morgan and the house of Rockefeller, Ford and others, and the damage done to the nation's interests has reached a point where it results in a political gap.

Face the Facts

Let us discuss some of the facts which show the harm done by the cold-war policies of the monopolists. First of all, what has happened to the U.S. share of capitalist world production? In 1937, just before World War II, the U.S. share of capitalist world production was 41.5 percent. This was a high point of that specific period of history. In 1947, ten years later, and after the U.S. had taken full advantage of its favored position in the war, its share of world capitalist production rose to the high of 58 percent. This was the peak—a fact very important for us to remember because it was also the period when Churchill made his famous “iron curtain” speech of 1946 in Fulton, Mo. He said, “The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power.” Further, “Opportunity is here now, clear and shining.” He was and is now an unabashed imperialist. During the course of World War II, he never hesitated to maneuver against his allies. And when he came to Fulton with President Truman he coolly calculated the call for the cold war with the United States and Great Britain in a partnership against the Soviet Union. Monopoly capital in our country could not quite rely on President Harry Truman to be effective and called on Churchill to help do the job. Cold war opportunities looked “clear and shining” not only to Churchill but primarily to the financial overlords in our country.

The irony in Churchill's speech is his observation that the United States stood “at the pinnacle,” an observation which includes the indirect prophecy of future decline.

Maybe we should re-examine Churchill's role here. It may just be possible that the old fox knew what he was doing and gave a wrong lead as far as the United States was con-

cerned. He had something different in mind than most Americans believed.

It's obvious that Churchill and the American architects of the cold war did not understand the moment nor the forces of history. They reckoned without the new developing realities. Because what Churchill projected was a continuous increase in the expansion of capitalism and especially of America's role. On this false premise which Churchill projected, the cold war was foisted on the American people.

What we should remind ourselves of is that World War II had already changed the balance of world forces. World War II did indeed shake the old empires to their very foundations, and the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the two powerful states, the two centers of the two world systems of capitalism and socialism. A realistic approach at that time would have been an American-Soviet agreement based on peaceful co-existence of countries of differing social systems. A mutually beneficial trade policy, providing for the cutting of war expenditures would have been a realistic one for the United States. We should see, and we should keep repeating, that the whole world would have benefitted from such a decision at that historic point. But deluded by their belief in a long atomic monopoly, the leaders of our nation ignored the proposals of peaceful co-existence, and followed Churchill's call for a cold war. This cold war was supposed to be the grand design for turning back the wheels of history.

But as far as our nation and people are concerned, evidence is now piling up that this grand design to turn back the wheels of history has backfired. After all these years, and after spending approximately 80 billion dollars in various aid programs and hundreds of billions of dollars in war budgets, by 1960 the U.S. share of the capitalist world production had declined from 58 to 45 percent, and the decline continues.

The U.S. share of capitalist world exports is another barometer of this decline. In 1937, the U.S. share was approximately 14 percent of the capitalist world exports. Again, by 1947, it had reached the "pinnacle" and was 33 percent of the capitalist world exports. But by 1960, the U.S. share had dropped to 18 percent and has continued to decline slowly since.

Before the full force of the cold war had been applied, the U.S. share of world production of automobiles was 75 percent. Now, its share is less than 50 percent. The U.S. share of world production of steel reached 50 percent in its most successful periods. Now it has declined to 25 percent with no end in sight.

One of the most "successful" achievement of the cold war has been the United States' self-blockade from large sections of the world, especially the socialist world. This is an example, perhaps the only one, of self-blockade. This is a self-defeating product of the cold war.

During the same period in which this decline was taking place in the United States, the Soviet Union increased its share of steel production from 13 percent in 1937 to 20 percent in 1960 and the socialist world production went up to 32 percent of the world's steel production. Thus, the process has been in exact reverse proportions as far as the socialist world is concerned.

The cold war is also the main instrument of monopoly capitalism in its overseas expansion. In no other sphere is the intertwining of the state and monopoly capital so clearly visible as in cold-war overseas operations. Actually, it is difficult to determine where one begins and the other ends. It has become a single operation. Government appropriations in this field are in fact used directly in every way to assist the grab by the Wall Street firms. This cold-war drain is the main cause for the balance of payments deficit which in turn resulted in the run on U.S. gold reserves. From \$24.5 billion in 1949, the "pinnacle" after World War II, U.S. gold reserves have now declined to \$16.5 billion in 1961.

There are indications that this drain will continue, even if at a slower pace.

Our Overseas Investments

We do not say that U.S. capitalism as a result of all these developments has reached a dead end or that it has no further capacity to maneuver. However, what we must see is that there are a number of processes, developments, taking place in which slow quantitative changes have been going on and these necessarily will reach the point where a qual-

itative change will have to take place. There are already some examples of such changes. The run on the gold reserve is one. The present trend in the export of capital is another of these important processes which is having a very serious effect on the standard of living and the economy of the United States. The same few financial syndicates who own and dictate the policies of wages and prices in the industries in the U.S., are the ones who export capital overseas and also are the beneficiaries of the people's money spent in the cold war. No matter what happens the giant monopolies reap huge profits.

There are other examples of this relationship, including the developments in the steel industry. It is estimated that even if big steel would have lost 20 percent of its sales at their proposed increase of \$6 per ton in the price of steel, they would still have netted 80 million dollars a year because of the higher price. But United States Steel did not have to worry about a 20 percent loss in sales because even if some of the orders would have gone to the European mills, in all likelihood most of these orders would have gone to mills that are partly or wholly owned by the same financial groups which own U.S. Steel. Many of the competitive steel mills in the United States are also owned by the same financial interests that have the majority ownership in U.S. Steel. So that actually U.S. Steel did not have to worry. This is symbolic of the tremendous development and role of the monopolies in the United States—something that must be dramatized much more publicly than has been done up until now.

We must more popularly expose the cry of "foreign competition" that was used as the main argument against an increase in wages for the steel workers. This especially was used by the government in its pressure against the steel union. They were able to hold down the wage increases, mainly with this argument, when the fact is that in this industry the figures of the National Industrial Conference Board proved just the opposite. They showed that in the Common Market area which is supposed to be the main competitor as far as steel is concerned, the cost of steel production actually is one percent higher than it is in the United States. While labor in this area is 6 percent less than in the United States, overhead and material costs in Europe are higher and when

you add them all together, the cost of production is one percent higher than that of the United States.

The actions of President Kennedy reflected his class interest in stopping the price hike in steel. The policies of specific monopolies are not necessarily always in their own class interest. Such internal class differences deserve more thought and discussion on our part. A price increase in steel would have hurt the class position of U.S. monopolies as a whole, with its world competitive position further weakened. A curb had to be put on their greed. The fact that this position of the President on prices corresponded with the interests of the masses, although it did not in the matter of wages—that in itself should give us thought about the nature of the anti-monopoly coalition. The response of the people to the condemnation of the steel magnates for the unwarranted price increase reflects the deep-seated feelings of the people against the monopolies. That shows the basis for the anti-monopoly coalition that we want to build and develop.

“Traveling Production Managers”

Returning to the policies of monopoly capitalism under the cold war, the export of capital continues to flow in two directions or in two types of investment. It still goes into the usual imperialist investment in raw materials and resources but the trend that has increased as a part of the cold-war policies is the increased buying into and expansion of competitive industries in other capitalist countries. This process has developed to the point where all kinds of corporations now either have large overseas divisions or are a part of the gigantic new world cartels. There are now U.S. corporations who do big business but who do not employ a single U.S. worker. This is a new development. A new profession is growing as a result of this type of capital export. Many of these corporations now employ a new professional group, “traveling production managers,” who move across the globe, concentrating especially on Japan and West Germany for the production of their goods. The commodities are produced and then shipped here for sale.

This export of capital, especially in these competitive industries, has reached a point where, if one takes the ac-

cepted figure that one has to invest \$11,000 in capital for each worker in these overseas enterprises, then if this investment were kept within the country, it could have provided 4 million jobs in the United States, or almost the equivalent of the permanently totally unemployed of our nation.

The overseas investments have become a club by big business to demand more concessions from the government and greater sacrifices in the form of lower wages from workers. Each demand feeds a vicious circle which brings ruin to the nation. And *Life* magazine callously says, "More than a few smart investors have been switching from U.S. to foreign securities for better profits."

This is another of those processes—this type of capital export—that will reach a point where some substantive qualitative change must of necessity take place. It cannot continue forever in the direction it is now moving. Actually, it is possible to raise the question: Can it be that this trend will reach a point where Wall Street will be the center of world financial empires but surrounded by a withering U.S. economy with its resulting misery and unemployment? This question is justifiable and realistic to place before the American people. At a meeting in Milwaukee with some newspapermen, when discussing this question and how it relates to the economy of Wisconsin and Milwaukee, I spoke about the corporations that do not employ workers here and posed the question of the national interest and patriotism. There was a photographer present and he had a new gadget. I said, "That's an interesting gadget." He said, "I just bought it this morning. It cost a hundred dollars. I'm just trying it out on you for the first time." I said, "You know, I've been talking about this problem of export. I bet it's made in Japan." He said, "Oh, no. It's a Honeywell product." So he showed it to me and, yes, it was a Honeywell product but it was "made in Japan."

Or let us take the example of the Ford Motor Company in relation to the Cardinal, the small car they've been working on. They closed all shops in the U.S.A. working on this new car. The Ford Motor Company took a loss of about 50 million dollars spent on the tooling and development of the Cardinal. Part of it was supposed to be built here. It closed its operations and transferred the production of the Cardinal completely to West Germany. It is profitable for Ford to do

this in spite of the loss of approximately 50 million dollars. They did this in expectation of the lowering of the tariffs because of the new United States relationship to the Common Market. Thus, they will import the Cardinal under the lower tariff on automobiles and make up the loss of 50 million dollars. But in the meantime thousands of U.S. workers, including those in the economically depressed area of Kentucky, lost their jobs as a result of this overseas runaway operation. But Ford makes speeches to the workers about patriotism and national interests. It was profitable for Ford but disastrous for thousands of American workers. This is a type of capital export that is new and must reach proportions that will force a qualitative change as far as policy is concerned.

Fat Profits for Monopoly Capital

I think we should add to this picture, however, that while the U.S. share of capitalist production has declined, this does not mean that the share of the few multi-billion dollar corporations has also declined. On the contrary, they have increased their holdings during this very same period.

For example, during a 12-month period from mid-1960 to mid-1961 these giant U.S. corporations set up 464 new industrial plants overseas, expanded 161 existing industrial plants and signed 323 licensing pacts. These are a source of fat cold war bonuses to the select few monopolies.

In these operations the interests of our people and nation are ignored. The sole aim is for maximum profits at the expense of the people of our nation and at the expense of the peoples of every country affected.

The imprint of these "monopoly first" policies is becoming clearly imbedded on the domestic scene. The reckless drive of the monopolies overseas and at home is beginning to take its toll domestically.

Poverty and Deprivation for Millions

The more than 5 million permanently unemployed begins to appear as a minimum low for this army of victims

here in the U.S.A. After each recession, the number who never do get back on the job continues to grow. It is officially estimated that each year automation now replaces $1\frac{1}{4}$ million human hands.

The very latest study by the Conference on Economic Progress* as reported by Leon Keyserling, a prominent economist, reveals that 77 million Americans lived in poverty or deprivation in the year 1960. The report states that $10\frac{1}{2}$ million families and 4 million unattached individuals—approximately 38 million Americans — or more than one-fifth of the nation lived in poverty. And above the poverty level but short of the minimum requirements for decency and health, and therefore living in deprivation, were another 39 million Americans. The report also indicates that 66 percent of single non-white (which means mainly Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American) youth and those in the older age brackets live in the lowest or stark poverty level.

Keyserling, who has given widest publicity to the report, was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors under the Truman Administration.

Roosevelt in his day spoke about one-third of the nation being ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed. *Now after some 15 years of the cold war, this latest report speaks of two-fifths of the people in our country living under the deprivation level.* There are millions in such occupations as agriculture who live on earnings that average \$18 per week and less. President Kennedy has noted that there are over a million youth, amongst them many college graduates, permanently unemployed. For those who work the fear of layoff has become a permanent life-time companion. For the American who does not have a job, whether because of layoff, automation, run-away shop, or as a youth just entering the labor market, the prospect of a job has become hopelessly bleak.

* The National Committee of the Conference, as indicated in the report, includes Thurmond Arnold, prominent attorney and Judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals; William H. Davis, attorney and former Director of the Office of Economic Stabilization; A. J. Hayes, President of the International Association of Machinists; O. A. Knight, President of the Oil and Chemical Workers Union; Murray D. Lincoln, President of Nationwide Mutual Insurance Company; George Meany, President of A.F.L.-CIO; James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union; Walter P. Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers; and M. W. Thatcher, President of the National Grain Corporation. Copies of the report can be purchased at 50 cents from the Conference office at 1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.

More Profits — Less Jobs

Since World War II, war production has served as one of the major instruments of economic pump priming as well as a factor in the cold-war imperialist policies of expansion. The war production contracts have always been a source of fabulous cost-plus profits, a reckless plundering of public funds, and again by the same few monopoly interests.

But, as the instruments of war have changed from tanks to missiles, from planes to rockets, this new war production has become less and less effective as an economic stimulator. The shortsighted and opportunistic argument that war orders mean jobs has had the rug pulled from under it. While the government spending of our tax dollars for war orders has now reached close to 50 billion dollars a year, this does not result in a corresponding increase in jobs. Rockets and missiles do not need as much of the job-making materials as do tanks and planes.

Where does the money go? It was reported recently that Boeing Aircraft made 105 percent profit on its missile investment. This is modern robbery. The huge public funds appropriated by the government for war orders go into the coffers of an even smaller group of financiers who only add to it their huge piles of accumulated capital. This hoarded wealth taken from the public treasury cannot serve as an economic stimulator. A growing portion of this public wealth goes for overseas investment for private profit.

The huge profits from these war orders amount to pilfering the public purse. They get war orders on the fraudulent claim of making new jobs and on false war propaganda. Then the profits are used for overseas investments which only add to the unemployment at home. Thus the public funds are used not only for private profit but aggravate the condition of the domestic economy.

In view of the fact that the American automobile trusts have created a far-flung network of plants abroad, the export of cars from the United States has dropped to less than half of the prewar figure (from 230,000 in 1937 to 104,000 in 1959). Specifically, the export of automobiles and parts from the U.S. to Britain has since the war dropped to a sixth of the prewar level. And yet the position of the U.S. automobile

trusts in Britain has grown considerably stronger. As of today the affiliates of Ford and General Motors account for some 40 percent of the output of motor cars in Britain.

The sale of small West-European cars to the United States by American-controlled enterprises is one of the factors that explains the great increase in American imports of light passenger cars from 30,000 in 1954 to 650,000 in 1959.

One of the most dramatic and scandalous examples of the dead-end practices arising from the cold war is the huge, wasteful stockpiling of raw materials and finished goods in warehouses, large open fields and caves. Billions of dollars of public funds are wasted on these scrap heaps. The profits and corrupt graft reaches into more billions at the people's expense. These stockpiles have become a glut on the market and cannot serve even as a temporary artificial economic stimulant.

This is another of the processes reaching a point where it will push for a policy change. It is further proof that there simply are no benefits for the people in any phase of the cold war policies. While the nation and the people pay a high price, there are fabulous profits for the monopolies in every phase of the cold war and its policies.

The cold war corrosion of our home front is also present in the rising national debt. It has now surpassed the enormous 300 billion dollar mark. There is a false concept held by many that it does not matter how large the national debt is. (The total indebtedness, private and public, is now over one trillion, three hundred billion dollars!) But it does matter, if for no other reason than that the interest must be paid annually, again to the same monopolists, and each year it keeps getting bigger and bigger. This annual interest on the national debt of the Federal Government is now at the 10 billion dollar mark. This is a serious drain on the economy and can also reach the point where it will become self-defeating. More and more of the tax dollars will go as interest on the national debt into channels where it will only add to the huge sums of already unused capital and foreign investments.

Industrial over-capacity, accompanied by restriction in consumption due to low wages, has been and continues to be a drag on our economy. The attempt by the Administration to expand further this capacity by give-away

subsidies from public funds, such as tax write-offs (and needless to say, again to the small group of monopoly forces) only aggravates this problem. It will speed up automation at a time when there are no solutions to the economic hardships that already flow from automation. Further expansion of productive capacity when there is already idle capacity is not a solution to the economic problems and is only continuing the dead-end policies of the Eisenhower Administration. In fact, any proposals that do not in the first place result in an expansion of the buying power on the home market is no solution at all. That is where the change of policy must be made. This is another of the quantitative processes that is reaching a point of no return.

The self-defeating policies of attempted blockade of the socialist countries by the United States, while its capitalist competitors are increasing such trade, more and more also lead to an untenable position.

The cold war — this instrument of monopoly — drains the resources of the economy and aggravates all social and political contradictions. There is a direct relationship between these policies and the fact that the rate of economic growth of the U.S. economy lags considerably when compared to the other capitalist countries and the world as a whole. This is no small factor in helping to explain why our economy works its way in and out of a continuous series of economic recessions and crises.

Decline in U.S. Political Status

As U.S. capitalism has lost ground economically, it has also slipped in its political pre-eminence, both in its world and capitalist relative positions. The clearest indication of this is the open challenge to U.S. domination by the governmental spokesmen of the West German and French monopolists. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt refers to this as "the new arrogance," especially of the West German spokesmen. This is a predictable result of the cold war policies because in the very heart of these policies there has always been the concept of building up every possible reactionary center, including the resurrection of West German militarism and fascism. It is a continuation of the twice-bankrupt attempt to build

these reactionary centers as tools to be used against the socialist world.

The position of West Germany and France has fundamentally changed the power relationships in the capitalist world. This change has further sharpened the deteriorating condition of the NATO alliance.

The cold war above all is a conspiracy against our people. It includes a conspiracy with the same West German lords of high finance who built up the Hitler war machine. While the U.S. government has spent billions of our tax dollars on military expenditures and directly refinanced the same war lords, the Wall Street monopolies in a conspiracy rebuilt the West German industry, much of it as joint projects.

So, while for the average American the cold war has been a costly business, for the men who were behind Hitler fascism it has been a profitable venture. During all these years the U.S. has spent 12 percent of its national income for military goods while West Germany has spent only 5.4 percent of its income for this purpose. Now there is the problem of the Common Market which has aggravated all of the capitalist state relations. Without exception all of the administration proposals to meet this new challenge again follow the same line. All of the bargaining concessions to the Common Market countries call for sacrifices from the non-monopoly sections of industry, from small and retail business, from the farmers, and above all it calls for forced sacrifices from the workers. On the other hand all of the expected gains will again go to the same cold war monopoly circles. The measures are calculated to enhance the position of these monopolies in the Common Market countries as well as at home. Each of the countries joining the set-up expects to get a share of the other's loot. Someone is bound to be disappointed.

But the U.S. cold-war advocates have not drawn the proper lessons from these developments. Instead of reversing the course, they are swinging our nation further into the quicksand of these monopoly intrigues. In the attempt to offset the decline in the relative economic and political status of the U.S., the cold war policy makers have increasingly shifted the emphasis to military domination. The unheard of increase in peacetime military buildup is for the purpose of advancing the policies of imperialist expansion

and is intended as a threat to the socialist world. But it also plays a very important part in the attempt to continue to dominate the nation in the spider web-like alliances of NATO, SEATO, etc. This attempt at military domination has further drawn our nation closer to the brink of nuclear disaster.

Profit Knows No Party

From all this one must come to the inescapable conclusion that what has been good for the financial empires of Morgan and Rockefeller has been exceedingly harmful to the interests of our people and nation. The cold war is a very profitable business for the very rich, but a very costly and useless sacrifice for the people.

The cold-war policies cut across the two-party system. A Rockefeller is a Republican governor in New York, but the Rockefeller empire, the one single greatest beneficiary of the cold war, is completely bi-partisan. It has direct control of some of the most sensitive cold-war posts in every Federal Administration. The late Republican Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and the present Democratic Secretary of State Dean Rusk are both from the Rockefeller interests. Allen W. Dulles and the present head of the Central Intelligence Agency, John A. McCone, are also both tied to the same financial obligarchy. The Wall Street banker John McCloy was the High Commissioner in West Germany during the crucial years of 1949 through 1952, followed by General Lucius Clay, both connected with the same Rockefeller empire.

The House of Morgan has its own direct representatives in key posts. As a rule, if one of the dominant financial empires has the top post, the others have the key under-secretary posts.

This cold-war setup is truly monopoly state capitalism in the raw. About these policies one can truthfully say—never have so many been forced to sacrifice so much for the interest of so few for so long.

These quantitative changes are progressing to a point where the self-interest of the people and nation is placing on the order of the day the absolute need for a qualitative change in the direction of our nation's policies. The pent-up

force building up as a result of these processes will force changes to take place. *But it is important to note that they will not necessarily take place only in one direction. These changes can continue in the direction that will lead to disaster, or these changes can be made to move in the direction of a change of policy. The key is an alliance of the victims of these policies. In this alliance, the key is a clear understanding about the nature of these cold-war policies, the forces behind them and the possible realistic alternative policy.*

An Alternative Policy

A reversal of these policies is in the most fundamental interest of our people and nation.

Such a change could immediately result in a large-scale cut in taxes. Taxes on low and middle-income groups could easily be completely eliminated.

Such a reversal of direction could divert billions from the wasteful expenditures on war production to useful peacetime job-providing construction.

"Let the cold war fade and the world will trade" is a very apt slogan for this period.

A decisive development of our times is the final demise of colonialism. It dies hard but is on the way out. Most of the old colonial empires are forced to bow out by the pressure and struggles of peoples for independence. U.S. imperialism seems to think it alone can reverse this course of history. It will find out otherwise. The waves of history will wipe out the beachheads of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam — in Thailand — in Taiwan — in Latin America — in Africa. No policy based on old concepts can succeed.

There is no end to ideas for a useful program, one that will serve the interests of our nation and people once our country would be released from the cold war.

A major step along this path must be an end to all nuclear testing and a start on the long road to total disarmament. This must include the withdrawal of our armed forces from around the world and the withdrawal of our support from all reactionary puppets and regimes.

Such a change of policy would re-establish friendly relations and trade the world over. The war tensions would im-

mediately subside. This turn in policy would also provide help to the peoples in colonial and underdeveloped countries.

U.S. Private Preserve

In its imperialist dealings, the United States has considered Latin America as its private preserve. It continues to do so in its exploitation of the people and resources of Latin America.

This is how the big business press sees it:

“Whether all American nations are pleased or not, we (U.S.) dominate the hemisphere” is how the *New York Times* placed the question on December 27, 1961.

“In effect, Latin America has been an economic dependency of the U.S. for nearly a century,” is how *Business Week* stated this imperialist policy in its issue of July 15, 1961.

The central aim of U.S. foreign policy has indeed been to hold Latin America not only as a “dependency” but in economic, social and political stagnation.

World War II rocked this century-old accepted fact. The victorious Cuban revolution was the signal for a new social order in Latin America befitting the new epoch.

U.S. imperialism’s main weapon in holding Latin America in slavery is the anti-communist cold-war policy. The “Alliance for Progress” is only another instrument of U.S. imperialism. It is designed to accomplish the old results under new conditions.

As the big business magazine, *Business Week*, puts it:

“The Administration’s aim, in effect, is to sponsor and finance in vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America what might be called ‘preclusive revolution.’ This is an adaptation of the term — preclusive buying — that the Board of Economic Warfare used during the last war when it searched the world for vital war materials simply to keep them out of enemy hands.”

Needless to say, preclusive revolutions or pseudo revolutions are nothing but counter-revolutions. They cannot do away with the national liberation movement of any country or with the aspirations of the people to really put an end to

injustice, tyranny and exploitation. Make-believe substitutes cannot replace the real thing.

It was only after the Cuban revolution and the failure of the invasion that U.S. imperialism deemed it necessary to meet to some extent the urgent demands of Latin American governments for economic assistance which would enable them to stem the rising revolutionary tide.

The first step in that direction was taken by the Eisenhower administration at the Inter-American Conference at Bogota on September 5-15, 1960. At that conference the then-under-Secretary of State Douglas Dillon (now Secretary of the Treasury under Kennedy) told the Latin American delegates that, "The government of the United States is prepared to devote over the years ahead large additional resources to the liberation and carrying forward of a broad new social development program for Latin America, dedicated to supporting the self-help efforts of the governments and peoples of Latin America."

President Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" is nothing more than an elaboration of the Act of Bogota. In spite of the President's solemn declaration that the United States would support the revolution of the under-developed countries regardless of the cold war, the "Alliance for Progress" from its very inception made the cold war its primary purpose and task.

As reported in the *Wall Street Journal*, February 8, 1962, the week after the Organization of American States voted to oust Cuba from its various councils, a group of top military men from Latin American countries met in Washington in secret session. They laid plans for maintaining the status quo and combatting any attempt at substantial social change which they denounced as guerrilla warfare against their respective governments. It was the purpose of that meeting to approve plots made by one hundred officers for counter-revolutionary attacks on the national liberation movement of every Latin American country, or as they called it, for combatting Castroism.

This rabid cold-war strategy is the Achilles heel of the "Alliance for Progress." There seems to be general agreement in the business-minded press that during the first year of its existence the Alliance was a failure. *U.S. News & World*

Report (April 9, 1962) sums it up as follows: "American prestige is slipping fast in this important part of the world. Communists are increasingly active in many countries. The situation is worse now than it was a year ago when the U. S. launched its big aid program for Latin America, the 'Alliance for Progress.'"

The wheels of history cannot for long be halted or turned back. The national liberation movement of Latin America will be victorious.

Fascist Danger and Cold War

Let us now turn to see how these cold war policies are reflected on the domestic political scene.

While the pressures continue to mount for a change in direction, the Kennedy Administration stubbornly continues to cling to the old cold-war line.

Each step of implementation of the Cold War sets the stage for the next one. There is no end to these actions of implementation as long as these policies continue. And it must be clearly understood that each step of implementation is a step towards conflict, and edges our nation closer to nuclear disaster. The build-up in Viet Nam and Thailand, the continued occupation and activity in and around Taiwan, the blockading and aggressive policies towards the Republic of Cuba, the continuation of testing of nuclear weapons—point to and increase this danger.

Each of these steps also moves closer to the suicidal policies of the ultra-Right, the policies of the fascist-big business-military big brass coalition who represent the extreme viewpoint of the very top monopoly circles. For these monopoly circles, the ultra-Right is an instrument of pressure on the administration pushing it towards a totally reckless policy of nuclear war. They also see these fascist formations as the hard core shock-troop for a period when they may need an open brutal fascist dictatorship.

These extreme forces of monopoly demagogically use the very difficulties created by their own cold-war policies to build a fascist fringe, to confuse the people and to turn these fanatical movements against all democratic elements, including those who have supported their policies. To keep the

country on the cold-war path, the ultra-Right sees the necessity of destroying the peace movement. To continue a policy of demanding sacrifices for the interests of the monopolies, the ultra-Right foresees the necessity of either controlling or destroying the trade union movement.

The inter-connection between the fascist ultra-Right and the top monopoly circles is quite clear. The financial circles that make most from war orders and have the largest overseas investments are also the biggest contributors to the fascist war funds. Four of the founding leaders of the Birch Society are also former presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers. Alfred Sloan of the General Motors-Dupont-Morgan combination openly gave a gift of \$300,000 to one of these rabid ultra-Right outfits. The oil, aircraft and electronic industries spend millions on promoting this native wing of fascism. The Rockefeller empire through its regional outlets siphons millions into these outfits, as for instance, the donations of General Dynamics, Convair, McConnel Aircraft, etc. Therefore it was no surprise that Vice-President Millick of the Rockefeller Chase Manhattan Bank, appeared at the ultra-Right rally with Barry Goldwater in New York.

In spite of the completely irresponsible fanatical statements by Robert Welch of the Birch Society, he continues to be the favorite speaker at clubs throughout the country where big business executives gather. The sinister hand of the military brass, of which ex-Gen. Edward Walker is only an extreme symbol, is fully established in the workings of the ultra-Right.

And by now it is no secret that this ultra-Right has some crystallized underground secret political centers. The center around Rev. Billy Hargis is open and crude but the main centers in Washington are shadowy and loosely organized. They decide on the specific issues and tactics this ultra-Right fascist movement concentrates on at each moment. All one has to do is to watch how the ultra-Right Congressmen and Senators, their newspaper columnists and papers, their radio and TV commentators, simultaneously and in unison move into action on specific questions with identical lines. This center is a fact in American political life. The ultra-Right from Goldwater to Thurmond to Dodd to Welch

to Schwarz to Buckley to Hargis are all to one degree or another part of this ultra-Right fascist spectrum.

Sharper Fight on Ultra-Right

The policy of supporting the fascist formations by monopoly interests at this stage is to force even a more vigorous application of the cold-war policies. This is what makes these formations so dangerous. It is only another argument as to why the policies of the cold war must be changed. The cold-war processes as they develop improve the climate for the work of the ultra-Right. The ultra-Right slogan of "victory in the cold war" and against the so-called "no win" policy in fact is a call for nuclear war. For any force that cries for victory to smash the socialist and anti-imperialist peace forces will of necessity have to decide for and reckon with a nuclear war. This must be made clear to the American people. The slogan of "victory in the cold war," of nuclear suicide, must be countered by an end to the cold war as the only way out for the United States. With the continuation of the cold war our nation sinks deeper and deeper and the remedy becomes more and more difficult.

In the relationship of the development of the ultra-Right and the Kennedy Administration, the tactic of anti-Communism is a most serious menace to the nation. Anti-Communism has truly become big business in the United States. It is dangerous because the difference between the ultra-Right's use of this weapon and the policies of the Kennedy Administration is one of degree, not essence.

Like Hitler, the ultra-Right uses this as a smokescreen behind which to whip up hysteria and move towards an open monopoly fascist state.

This anti-Communism is more dangerous than ever before because the McCarran Act has collected all of the Hitler-like total falsehood, the garbage from the twisted warped Nazi mentality, and has legalized and codified them into law. The McCarran Act has legalized the illegality of the ultra-Right. Political lunacy combined with nuclear power is an unthinkable danger to all of mankind. The McCarran Act's "findings" that the Communist Party is an "arm of an international conspiracy," guilty of "espionage,"

“sabotage,” of being a “foreign agent,” of transferring “allegiance to a foreign power,” “overthrow by force and violence” — these “findings” have become the false, faked foundation for anti-Communism. There are now, many school districts which have compulsory courses in this kind of anti-Communism. In the State of Louisiana one cannot leave high school without a six-week course in anti-Communism and a certificate. The official outline for these courses starts with the McCarran Act “findings.” In other words, the course is not a discussion of Communism. It is a discussion of the grotesque caricature of the Communist movement as presented in the McCarran Act.

There are similar courses in the schools of Boston, Chicago, Indiana and Pennsylvania, and they are all alike.

One outline speaks of “The *ruthless accomplishments* of Communism.” And then it lists the following accomplishments: “It has made great progress in heavy industry through successive five-year plans. It has built up the biggest military machine in the world, has built up a navy *comparable to that of the United States*, has an air force *comparable to that of the United States*, has made development of atomic, hydrogen and guided missiles area *comparable to that of the United States*, has stressed scientific progress *probably more than has the United States*, has built up a propaganda apparatus - Cominform - to spread world-wide Communism [which, by the way does not exist], has probably wiped out illiteracy in Russia.” And these are all “ruthless achievements” of Communism! Can insanity be any greater?

The outline lists “important Americans who have made contributions to the heritage of American history,” including Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Eli Whitney, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Thomas Edison, Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson. But No. 21 among great Americans is J. Edgar Hoover! !

Anti-Communism is based on the big lie. It is a weapon to destroy all democratic rights as is evidenced in the McCarran Act. It corrodes all democratic processes. An example of how it does this is the humiliating experience of the new Justice of the Supreme Court, Byron White. The first

day after he took his oath, he had to sign an affidavit stating he is not now and never has been a member of the Communist Party. This violated the First Amendment, his constitutional rights, and the very Constitution he is supposed to protect. For once he signed that affidavit, he lives and adjudicates within the shadow of the anti-Communist inquisition subject to the cries of the witchhunters. How brazen these evil forces are is indicated by the recent harangue of Dixiecrat Senator Eastland charging "40 votes for Communism" by the Supreme Court. If it were true that the Supreme Court had made 40 votes for Communism in the last year, then I would be discussing the immediate reorganization of American society along socialist and communist lines. The Supreme Court decisions had nothing directly to do with the question of Communism. Most of them were related to constitutional liberties and to the ending of racism, the rights of labor, questions of peace and democracy — a series of decisions which deserve support just as the Dixiecrat Eastland deserves condemnation for his anti-Communism, racism and reaction. Eastland and his racist colleagues from states with plantation-rural slave state electoral systems through which they have been able to remain in Congress with the votes of less than 10 percent of the population, spew their hatred against the Court because of its redistricting decision which opens the way for more democratic elections. Anti-Communism is a smoke-screen behind which anything goes!

This Goebbels-like anti-Communism is calculated demagogically to use the two most sensitive mass emotional reactions. That is why these are the two props on which this anti-Communism rests. They are calculated to use demagogically national pride and patriotism which is dear to the heart of the people of every country. And it is calculated to use the inherent desire of all peoples for democratic relations and democratic rule. Therefore, in order to use these two most sensitive emotional mass reactions, the "foreign agent" charge is made and the charge that communism is basically and fundamentally anti-democratic.

We must differentiate at all times between the ultra-Right type of anti-Communism based on the Hitler-like

falsehood and the opinions of those who honestly disagree with us. Communists will always welcome debate about the Communist viewpoint. There are people who have honest disagreements with us, but we do not lump them together with the anti-Communism based on the total falsehood. But these people must be shown the dangers involved in the use of anti-Communism no matter by whom. The trade union leaders, the liberals, progressives and socialist leaders must be made to realize that anti-Communism is a reactionary, big-business, Hitlerite weapon and there's a grave danger when people's leaders try to use it. The concentration camp section of the McCarran Act stands as a monument to the cowardice and panic of those liberals who in the 1950's were ready to destroy the Bill of Rights in order to get immunity from the attacks of the reactionaries. One cannot use the weapon of anti-Communism without some of it rubbing off.

Anti-Communism has not developed to the level where it can't be defeated. The fact is that the majority of Americans can be won to a struggle against the danger of anti-Communism whether they agree with the Communists or not. We must not have an approach that we will win only those Americans who agree with us. The fight is against this Hitlerite anti-Communism. Most Americans will join forces on common issues affecting them. They will argue with Communists and debate with them, but they will join with the Communists against the Hitlerite virus of anti-Communism because of their determination to safeguard democracy. That is why I think the differentiation is very important.

Not Fascist Administration

As for the ultra-Right generally, it is a serious danger, but one would completely miss the point not to see the mass upsurge that has taken place against it. In fact, its initial thrust which was made a year ago has been largely blunted. Once its true character becomes exposed, the ultra-Right begins to feel the mass resistance. Its complete rout is possible if the ultra-Right's true nature continues to be exposed. One must see in this struggle against the ultra-

Right the inter-connection of forces. The forces now rising against this fascist threat are the same forces that can win a change in the direction of our national policy. This is because the cold-war policies and rise of the ultra-Right are closely intertwined and related. As the forces of democracy move against the ultra-Right, they will also move against the cold-war policies that gives rise to the ultra-Right. The U. S. monopoly circles are giving a classical exhibition of Lenin's definition of the two methods of capitalist rule — the limited democracy and the iron fist — and their simultaneous use. While using a policy of limited democracy, the monopoly circles are encouraging and financing a fascist movement as a pressure group as well as a reserve reactionary movement for fascism itself. This must be fully recognized to understand both our strategic concept of an anti-monopoly coalition as well as the absolute necessity of the united front tactic against the ultra-Right. It is absolutely necessary to see the inter-connection of these things.

The basic policy of the Kennedy Administration follows the cold war line. In this general sense it is serving the interests of the same monopoly circles from whose ranks come the elements who have clandestine relationships with the fascist ultra-Right.

Further, it must be stated that as of this date there are no serious signs of any significant changes in these policies.

However, being realists we must take note of a number of additional facts, namely, that this Administration, while dangerously implementing the cold war, has not accepted the suicidal advice of nuclear war *now*. While hesitating and maneuvering, it has not taken the advice of ending all negotiations with the Soviet Union *now*. While certainly not taking a bold stand for civil rights or civil liberties, it has not used its authority to smash all democratic institutions *now*. Because of this and other factors, one must of necessity make a differentiation between this Administration and the ultra-Right. It is a reactionary Administration, making concessions to the Right, while also making limited concessions to the people and paying lip service to peace. But to label it as a fascist Administration is not in keeping with the facts of life. If this Administration can now be called fascist,

then all bourgeois governments would be fascist. In fact, to say that the United States is the center of world fascism is also misleading. It is the center of world reaction. The United States is the dominant world imperialist power and as such supports reactionary and fascist governments when it suits its imperialist purposes. But imperialism and fascism are not synonymous. As capitalism finds it more difficult to govern by democratic means, it moves towards ruthless fascist methods of rule.

Masses in Struggle

Only those who have no concept of the role of masses in struggle, only those who cannot assess the deep well-springs of mass democratic sentiment (as we have seen in these last months in the United States), only those who do not fully understand the new balance of world forces, only those who deal in abstract generalities, view the coming of fascism as an inevitable stage. The struggle for democracy to preserve and expand these people's institutions and rights will be a prolonged and stubborn one. But the democratic and peace forces of our land can win. The most heartening development in our country is the ever-rising curve of mass struggles and movements of our people. The mass picket lines—mass demonstrations—mass marches—mass delegations—mass assemblies—mass sit-downs and sit-ins—mass rides for freedom—these are now very much a part of everyday life in the U.S.A. It is these mass movements that must give us a new sense of confidence as to the future course of our land. This continues to be the biggest of all developments. This is motion with tremendous energy, unheard-of speed, with depth and understanding, tenacity and a very high level of militancy. It has reached a level where it cannot be ignored. This characterization must be understood by all democratic and peace forces. What many for a long time thought were only bubbles on the surface, were in fact deep, turbulent currents below the surface of political life. There are still some who do not really see how deep these currents are. Many still look upon them as bubbles, as little ripples on top of the political water. They arise from the profound economic and social factors related to the new stage of the deepening crisis of capitalism.

If we have an opportunity to examine why it takes so long to recognize the nature of these mass currents, I think we will come in the end to the same central question — isolation. Those who are not in the river of life do not sense these currents in time. Too many have been, and still are, living in the warm stale pools on the side of the river. Because of this weakness, which applies to many progressive and left forces, not only are the mass currents ignored and underestimated, but when people do not see these masses in motion, then wrong conclusions are drawn about many things, wrong conclusions about the possibility of victory, wrong conclusions about the possibility of victory in peace, wrong conclusions about the possibility of defeat of the ultra-Right, wrong conclusion about the possibilities in the struggle against the racists, and defeatist concepts about the work and role of the Communist Party and its defense. These weaknesses go back to the late '40s and early '50s, when there was an underestimation of the democratic vitality of the people. We together with all others must begin to learn from past mistakes not only for the future, but for the present. There still is not a full understanding of what is happening as far as the American people are concerned, and because of this we still do not draw the full conclusions as to the new possibilities and the role of our Party among these masses.

Youth Spark Action

In the mass movements, the most important and most active contingent are the youth. They are the spark and the driving force in the struggle for civil liberties, in the drive for peace, in the Negro people's movement, in the struggle against the ultra-Right. Symbolic of this, and completely without precedent, is the student demand to hear Communist spokesmen. It is of such magnitude that no force is able to ignore it. It has become a point of discussion on all levels of political life in America, as well as in all parts of the world. We are so close to it that we do not fully appreciate it. In numerous discussions among Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, they start from the query: what gave rise to the demand to hear Communist spokesmen?

What is happening among the youth is a mass break-out from the conformist strait-jacket of McCarthyism foisted on them years ago and a mass rejection of anti-Communism of the Goebbels variety, including the McCarran Act version.

This is a mass expression by American youth for the defense of democracy, the desire for peace, the resistance to the Un-American Activities Committee. It is opposition to the Dixiecrats. It is a sweeping movement by youth, of probing all bodies of thought, and then drawing their own conclusions. It is basic, it is fundamental, it has deep roots. This movement has the potential of being the spark that can fundamentally change the direction of policy in this country.

In this development, the old youth organizations are not reacting as they did in the '30's. This explains the rise of numerous youth organizations. Many of these are loose and even temporary in nature. And there is the rise of left-leaning magazines and newspapers. Isn't it fantastic that in a number of colleges, there are two, three or four monthly magazines, with a Left outlook. They are interesting magazines, written on a very high level, not petty, not vindictive, not anti-Communist, but probing and discussing the problems facing them.

We must be a factor in finding forms through which this tremendous energy can best express itself. We must not be mere observers in estimating these new forms of organization. We must be a force in helping to initiate forms of united action in this upsurge and help give it cohesion and direction. We must be the initiator of activities on different levels, including new forms for unity of the Left and progressive youth.

Anti-Dixiecrat Alliance

A second great component of this mass upsurge, of course, is the Negro people's movement that continues to grow and play a decisive role in the political life of our country. The last few months have not seen the same dramatic public actions in this field as during the height of the freedom rides and sit-ins. But it would be a superficial conclusion to draw from this that it has been a period of ebb in the Negro

people's movement. It would be wrong because what is now taking place in the South is a consolidation of the movement and the preparations for what may become the basic element of a real historic breakthrough, not only reflecting and influencing the Negro people, but the South and the whole country. The makings of such a historic breakthrough are here. What is being prepared now is a movement and struggle that will wrest power from the Dixiecrats. This is the real meaning of the vote registration campaign. The mass actions against the policies and practices of discrimination and segregation logically had to reach this point. It is necessary now to make a further advance, not to permit a lull. Because as long as the Dixiecrats are in political power on whatever level, the movement cannot complete its work. What is important is that the Negro people's movement, in alliance with labor and progressive elements, use their power nationally to force action by the federal government. The Negro people are slowly molding an alliance with other anti-Dixiecrat elements in the South. This process is going on and in some cities is reaching high levels.

The attempted banishments and deportations of Negro citizens from Louisiana have exposed the true conditions which exist in the South. This is the moment to raise sharply the need to spend Federal money to alleviate the economic plight of people in the South, especially the Negro masses. Twenty-five years ago F.D.R. said, "The South is America's number one economic problem." This is even more true today. The slogan could be: "Direct the funds from South Vietnam to South USA." That's where it's needed and that's where it should be.

The total picture of what is happening in the South is another one of those processes that is going to require a qualitative change. And this is not very far off.

Because there is a momentary lag in dramatic actions of the Negro people's struggle, certain questions keep popping up among the youth. One is: How far can a passive resistance movement go? We must deal with this question because all progressive youth must have a clear policy on this. First, the concept of non-violence as it developed has played a very important part, reflecting a stage in the struggle. This movement did get the Negro people's struggles off dead

center. That's the role it played. It denoted a certain stage that lasted for some time and continues to play an important and positive role, realistically reflecting the development of the struggle. Actually it was the instrument through which the Negro people's movement developed from one level to a higher one. Other militant movements have expressed dissatisfaction at the slowness of progress in the South. This is understandable. The nationalist movements generally reflect this feeling of frustration. The Negro People's movement has wisely and correctly rejected proposals that moved in the direction of violence as provocative and playing into the hands of the enemy. Basically the movement that is developing and growing reflects the realities of each stage of the struggle. However, a people's movement needs mass actions of all kinds which give it new strength, cadres, the needed accumulation of experience and perspective. These mass activities are developing and deserve the support of all democratic forces of the land.

Mass Actions for Peace

The third feature of this new mass wave is the peace movement. The mass actions and the organized movements for peace continue to gather forces and momentum. The most active during the past months have been the Women's Strike for Peace, the Turn Towards Peace and many local and regional movements. One of the unique features of the peace movement is that besides its continued actions, there are literally tons of literature for peace distributed in this country. Tons and tons of it. There has never been anything like it. It is a very interesting development and it emphasizes the fact that there is no daily or mass newspaper which reports this movement. Leaflets, pamphlets, brochures are very essential. But the peace movement still needs a number of additional things, including more centralized coordination, more centralized planned actions. Ideological clarity on the issues of disarmament and the road to peace, and closer relations with the peace forces of other lands is needed. The fragmentation, for instance, of the struggle on the A-bombs indicates that if we influence anything, it should be in the direction of more coordinated central actions.

One of the important developments in the last period has been the participation of Negro women leaders in this movement. This is a historic breakthrough in the combination of the struggle for peace and the struggle for equality.

There are also renewed efforts to get the trade unions officially into this struggle. The Pennsylvania Labor Conference for Peace is one example. In some areas where the youth in the peace movement have visited trade union locals, the results have been amazing.

The testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the armaments race in general are seen by many circles as the source of the overall war danger. And it is also true that it is in this area where a basic change in direction of policy must take place. So it is understandable why most of the mass actions for peace revolve around these central questions of banning bombs and achieving total disarmament.

But a real and an immediate danger to world peace — including the danger of a nuclear war — arises out of the current acts of aggression by the armed forces of the U.S.A. The occupation of South Vietnam, and now of Thailand, are acts of imperialist aggression. The camouflage has worn thin.

It is now clear that while the State Department talked of pressuring for a neutralist government in Laos, the Pentagon brass and the C.I.A. were conspiring among the Right-wing elements to break up the attempt. Their plans failed. So they turned and used their own failure as the pretext to occupy Thailand. These acts of aggression are a source of very serious war danger. They can be the spark for a major conflict. How long can anyone expect the world to stay put while the U.S. armed forces are moving into one area after another? Because of this the people's movement must find ways of acting more effectively against the specific acts of aggression before they ignite the world nuclear powder keg.

Exclusion Policy Harmful

One of the political problems of the peace movement is the exclusion policy of the social-democratic leaders directed against Communists, the Left and militant progressives. Those sincerely interested in the unity of the peace move-

ment cannot passively sit by. This exclusion policy is a weapon of the enemies of peace and therefore anyone who is for peace cannot use it. It weakens the peace movement. Communists are not out to capture the leadership of these movements. And Communists do not endorse the policy of the social-democrats of hogging and attempting to take over the leadership of the peace movement. That leadership should be broad and representative. This hogging narrows down and hinders the peace movement. I must say that the Socialists of some states, with whom this has been raised, very readily agreed with our position and have taken this up with some of the other Socialist leaders. This is a basis of struggle for a united front policy. There are differences between many elements in the peace movement. We will discuss these questions, but in the context that above everything else we are for overall unity in the struggle for peace. I say this because very often our posture is such that we do not emphasize and place in the forefront unity for peace but often appear as the ones who only discuss questions of difference that are secondary to the people in the peace movement. Very often they are not secondary to us, but they are to the masses in the peace field.

Labor and Cold War

There is no other class more directly and negatively affected in our nation by the cold war and its accompanying effects than that of the workers. The cold war is a new and growing problem as far as the laboring people are concerned. Also, among no other section is the lack of leadership more critical than within labor and the trade union movement. In some ways the question of leadership has become even more critical in the past year. The reason for this is that the George Meanys continue their ultra cold-war policies as before. What has made the lack of leadership more critical is the fact that people like Walter Reuther and David McDonald are tied politically to the Democratic Administration. As long as the Administration follows a cold war line, the trade union leaders who accept the Administration policies uncritically tend to become less effective in fighting for an independent labor solution to the ever

growing problems. Too often these leaders instead of acting to influence the Administration in the interest of the working people, give free rein to the Administration in all areas including the field of labor relations. Recently, however, there have been several important departures in the AFL-CIO from this harmful pattern. This was demonstrated in the decisions of the Transport Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the National Maritime Union and other unions to initiate a drive for shorter hours, as well as the AFL-CIO's challenge to the Kennedy Administration regarding wage increases. Such departures should be given the fullest encouragement and support. Big business continues to increase speedup, continues to raise labor productivity, continues to increase the already high cost of living—and as a result continues to amass ever greater fortunes. Permanent mass unemployment as a result of automation and other factors becomes ever more acute. In view of this the trade union movement now faces a number of serious policy decisions.

First, it cannot accept the Administration policy of moratorium on all struggle, of governmental power to prevent, prohibit, and break strikes, and the imposition of a dead-end outlook on wage increases, shorter hours and job security. A status-quo concept is one of accepting a line of defeat and retreat for the workers.

The Administration arguments for a "no win" labor policy are without fact. They are false and demagogic. They say this policy is needed because the public interest is involved. What the public interest demands is a bigger home market resulting from higher wages and shorter hours to compensate at least to some degree for the effects of automation. Public interest demands a curbing of the giant monopolies and their ruthless drive for maximum profits. Public interest demands that labor be freed from the shackles of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws, that labor's right to organize and strike, to effective collective bargaining and political action be unfettered and extended.

Shorter Hours is in National Interest

There can be no meaningful improvement of the present conditions of insecurity without a 30 or 35 hour work

week. This is the second needed policy decision. This is in the nation's interest. This places labor in sharp conflict with the powerful trusts and with the big business economic advisers of the Administration, and with President Kennedy's declared opposition to the shorter work week.

It is now obvious to all that the nature of the new problems facing the trade unions is so basic that no one union alone can break through to victory. What is needed is a new all-inclusive trade union unity — of all unions without exception, a new labor charter to meet the problems of this epoch, and a new united struggle to achieve it. The announcement by George Meany of a proposed drive for a 35-hour week is a step in the right direction. The winning of the 25-hour week by the New York electrical workers sets an important example.

Third, new initiatives are needed for unity with the unions of the world. Trade unions must find the path to closer ties, so that the workers of one country cannot be used as a club over the others. This will not become effective unless the Lovestone-Meany-Brown-Dubinsky-CIA conspiracy against world trade union unity is smashed. This underground network is using hundreds of millions of dollars contributed by the big monopolies of Wall Street, as well as by big business of West Germany, huge sums of U.S. government money, mainly handled through the C.I.A., and large sums from the union treasuries. These sums are used to employ large staffs — for purposes of buying off union leaders and tying them to the C.I.A. set-up, to disrupt and divide the rising unions, especially in the newly independent nations, but also in Latin America, the Middle East and elsewhere. Often these funds are appropriated in the name of helping to organize these workers when in fact the money is used for purposes of disruption. This anti-labor Trojan horse operating behind the camouflage of being a trade union center is in fact a monopoly cold-war instrument.

To have a policy of world trade union unity, this labor tentacle of the cold war policy must be clipped.

Therefore, how to break out of this dilemma is a key question for the trade unions. How the rank and file can find ways to express their dissatisfaction while supporting their unions is the key question. While there are very

important differences among sections of trade union leadership, it seems they will not express themselves effectively until the rank and file find ways of speaking out.

The rank and file should take as their policy that what's good for labor is good for the country. That was the view of Abraham Lincoln as every labor leader knows. Leadership that is wrong must either be corrected or removed. Leadership that is weak must be strengthened. A union is as militant as its membership. A good union leadership will encourage and promote membership activity. When a leadership does not, the members will find their own forms of influencing the affairs of the union.

The periods of the trade union movement's greatest achievements, the periods of its greatest growth and influence, the periods when labor fought back and won against big business are also the periods of the high points of Left and Communist influence in the unions.

Whenever the working class has been face to face with new problems or faced an attack, it has always turned to the Left and Communists for participation in leadership.

Build New Left

This is one of those historic moments. The working class faces new problems, new attacks. From its ranks will rise a new militancy. The bearer of this new militancy will be a new Left that will rise from its ranks. Life is presenting a set of new problems that is creating the need for a new Left in American life and in the first place new Left formations in the trade union movement.

To fulfill its mission, this new force must present a way out. Its projected program must be imaginative as well as realistic. Its mission will not be accomplished by negative carping about what the trade union leaders are not doing. It must be the spark that stirs up the rank and file into action. This Left must be able to show concretely how these problem flow from the cold war policies of the monopolies. It must be able to show how the policy of "national interest" that the Administration puts forward is in fact "monopoly interest" and that a continuation of such policies sacrifices the interests of the workers and the people to those of the monopolies.

But above all the Communists and the Left must present an alternative policy. This alternative policy must state that labor and national interests run parallel, that being pro-labor is being for the progress of the country. It must raise very realistically the need for public ownership of a number of industries, with democratic controls protecting labor's rights. The starting point should be those sick industries, among them coal and transport, which would save the huge public fund subsidies that go to these industries. It must raise boldly the question of stopping the overseas runaway shops and with that the need of unity of workers of competing capitalist countries, and turning government subsidies now going to business monopolies to government work projects and social security. Steel, atomic energy, public power, and some other industries should be under public ownership, with others under public controls which curb the power of the monopolies. In other words, the program must be both basic in that it comes to grips with the fundamental new questions but it must also be realistic. In this period because of the new need for the Communists and the Left in the trade union movement, they must start to become union leaders in the full sense of the word, even though there may be restrictions against their holding of official posts. In other words, Communists and the Left must take the initiative in finding positive solutions to complex questions.

Unity of All Against Monopoly

Because monopolies are "big" is not in itself the reason for opposition to them. It is because they are big at the expense and to the detriment of the rest of the people that makes them the arch criminals. It is because in their blind drive for maximum profits they ruthlessly trample all people's rights, disregard all moral and ethical standards, drive for the lowest possible wages and maximum speedup. It is because they use the government and its tax dollars for war orders at home, and the government's military and political power for enslavement of peoples and nations abroad. The monopoly oligarchy keeps the world on the brink of war and is ready to gamble on the very existence of civilization in its quest for profits. It is the cause of high

taxes and high prices. It maintains and fosters the policies of forcing second-class citizenship on the Negro Americans and other minority groups. It supports and finances the fascist ultra-Right. It resists the spending of dollars for purposes of education and for aid to the aged because there are no direct profits in it. Their big crime is not their bigness but their ruthless drive against the interests of the people.

The breaking of the iron grip that the monopolists have on our economic life, on our political structure, on the military, is an absolute must for our nation. This can be done by a combination of parallel movements each acting in its own self-interest. This combination will include the working class, the farmers, the middle class, sections of non-monopoly capital, including some moderate and even relatively big business forces who are not on the inside of the exclusively monopoly circles. It includes the Negro people, the youth, the movements for peace and democracy. It will include Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Communists. To some in this combination a successful curbing of the monopolies will be an end-all. To others, this will be a necessary step to move onward towards a better society. The totality of these different self-interests will represent the true interests of our nation and people. An anti-monopoly coalition can emerge as a dominant political force only if it reflects the true people's and national interests of our land. In this struggle against the monopolies, there are no basic contradictions between the self-interest of the working class, the Negro people and the farmers with those of the national interests. What each looks to gain from the anti-monopoly struggle is not necessarily identical, but each can achieve self-interest only in a victory against the monopoly powers. This anti-monopoly coalition is and will be, as it develops, a political expression of the gap that is growing between the monopolies with their ruthless drive for profits and total disregard of the interests of the people and national interests which emerge in this new epoch.

It is necessary to have this general understanding in order to avoid narrowness or shallowness, in order to have clear perspective, in order to help keep each development and phenomenon in its proper place.

What are the possible relationships between the Kennedy Administration and this rising coalition of anti-monopoly forces?

As the Administration follows its present path of the cold war and the probability of change continues to diminish, it will out of necessity come into sharper and sharper conflict with this movement in defense of the people's interest. In this case, the gap between its mass base and the Administration will widen. This is already happening in a number of specific areas. Wider sections of the people correctly understand that such actions as tax write-offs for big business, the aggressions in South Vietnam and Laos, are all in line with a policy where the interests of the monopolies come first. As this gap further widens, the movements for independent political action and organization will grow.

The united movements of people always gather around specific issues, around the critical and crucial issues of the day. But such forms also reflect the overall questions of the era. Thus, in the '30's, all alliances reflected the overall questions of the danger of fascism and war arising from the Hitler-Mussolini axis, as well as the problems flowing from the economic crisis of the '30's.

More and more all broad alliances of our times will reflect the overall questions facing the people. They will be led by and unite those forces who recognize and act upon what is new in this period—those who recognize the new balance of world forces. This will include those who recognize existing reality but do not accept or understand this as a positive and progressive movement. And, of course, it will include those who not only recognize the realities but understand its basic progressive nature, welcome and encourage the developments of the new epoch. Such a coalition will include those who argue for capitalism against monopoly. Such a coalition will also include people who see the cold war policies as being detrimental to our people's interest. It will also include forces who are becoming convinced that war now cannot be an instrument of national policy, and who see the cold war and the arms race as profitable for the monopolies and as leading us to the brink of disaster and into a dead-end street of serious difficulties.

The anti-monopoly coalition includes those who recog-

nize as a fact of life that colonialism is now coming to an end in every part of the world, and recognize its companion domestic development in the United States, that the policies of discrimination and segregation against Negro Americans will come to an end both in the North and in the South.

This coalition will include those who see the overall danger in the fascist ultra-Right formations.

In the context of this overall anti-monopoly spectrum there are and will develop united front formations on many levels and around specific issues.

So, on the basis of the above, let us look at two specific questions.

Independent Political Action

What has been said so far of the new epoch in relationships to the United States will find its concrete reflection in the area of electoral struggles. With the exception of a few isolated cases, the forces that compose the anti-monopoly coalition view the two-party system as the most realistic vehicle for their electoral outlook. What is new and continues to be a growing factor is the realization that this is a practical vehicle *only* if such forces have independent forms both inside and outside of the usual two-party apparatus.

Candidates with a political base independent of the two-party apparatus can best serve the cause of the anti-monopoly coalition.

Independent forms for political action are a growing phenomenon. Some are in, or closely associated with, the old parties, like the insurgent movement in New York or the Democratic club movement in California. And there is also a growth of independent caucuses and committees in the two parties. These take on the form of either labor or Negro or youth or peace caucuses or committees. Very often elected precinct committeemen and even leaders on a ward level are active in these independent caucuses. Labor's independent forms, including COPE, continue to be active. To these has been added such new organizations as the Teamster Union's political arm DRIVE, the Brotherhood Party in New York.

It is easy to conjure up perfect visions of a new labor party *now*. As the processes of U.S. capitalism develop, it is

perfectly safe to predict that such new parties will emerge. But such is not the case at this stage of development. The independent formations crystallizing now are indications of these political developments as of this moment. As the political situation develops, it is the forces, it is the cadre that has matured, that has accumulated experience in these independent forms, that will be the core of the new political formations of a higher phase. Day-dreaming or wishful thinking of advanced forms and levels will not make it so. What will help make it so is good down-to-earth work and leadership with what's present here and now.

In this context, the movement of promoting and encouraging candidates with an independent base, candidates who are accountable to a mass movement, takes on crucial importance for all progressive forces, irrespective whether they run as candidates within the two-party system or independently.

Unity of Left

These new developments of the new epoch not only demand new political realignments in the broad sweep of politics but also make most urgent the need for fresh and renewed efforts for unity of the Left and progressive strata of our political life. Victory by the broad anti-monopoly combination can be won only if within it there is a united left-progressive core. The new problems makes such Left unity both more necessary and more easily achievable. There are more and more questions on which we can agree. And there is a slow growth of closer working relations and harmony on many policy questions, but especially around tactical questions. There is also a burning need for such Left unity in the trade unions, in the Negro peoples movement, in the peace movement, in the youth field, and in the struggle against the fascist ultra-Right. The developments in the electoral field are overripe for such Left unity.

Communists must become the initiators for discussions leading to a united Left. To overcome all suspicions or bitterness based on past sharp relations requires patience, honesty and flexibility. Where we have made mistakes in the past, we should not hesitate to admit them.

There are some basic points of reference on which our

approach and our relations to these Left formations rest.

This unity will not crystallize in a vacuum. It will gather around specific issues.

These Left formations arise out of and are part of the people's movements and struggles. They are not well organized or coordinated but they are part of these movements. Besides the old Left that in many cases has become re-activated, there are growing new Left forces in all areas of struggle which are free of some of the old suspicions based on past relationships. They already reflect the relationships of the new epoch.

We do not ask them to turn around and to join with us. We want them to continue their activities as part of the broader people's movements but to do it more effectively by joining hands with us. We are all a part of these movements, and we have much in common. Therefore, let us strengthen these broad people's movements by working together.

There is a need for the new left-wing progressive unity regardless of what direction the policies of the Administration will take. This is particularly essential because of the present reactionary course of the Administration. The phenomenon of picketing the White House and waltzing with its occupants on the same day is a temporary development. If the administration continues its cold war policies, there will be much more picketing and much less waltzing.

Election campaigns without left-progressive campaigns is like a three-legged stool with one leg missing. By adding the third leg, you change the nature of the whole stool. United Left electoral formations, while working to place candidates in the field, can also influence the whole electoral picture by their progressive campaigns. In a growing number of areas such united Left formations can very quickly become the balance of electoral power.

The Communist Party and the McCarran Act

Our viewpoint and the discussions which occur in our ranks are generally presented every week through the editorials of THE WORKER, and each month through the magazine POLITICAL AFFAIRS. Americans who seek the Communist viewpoint should read these publications to understand the

real position of the Communist Party, which is daily being distorted.

Liberals, intellectuals, and others who speak with a certain authority on democratic rights and civil liberty, and who also know from experience or wide reading and study the facts about us Communists, have a responsibility not only to defend our right to express our views, but also to tell the truth about our views, our program, tactics, and objectives. This does not require that they agree with our views or program. The obvious fact is that they do not agree. People must be encouraged to stand up for the truth and to express the truth as well as defend the right to tell the truth. Liberals and public spokesmen are being tested and have much at stake on this matter regarding the McCarran Act.

Much must therefore be said about the Communist Party and the McCarran Act. That law imposes on America the Hitler-fascist definition of a Communist and that method of fighting Communists which violates every democratic tradition and practice of our land. This places the Communist Party in the center of the fight of the American people for Constitutional liberties. Communists are ready to assume their full responsibility in this struggle. And in raising this issue with students and others in meetings throughout the country, it is also clear that non-Communists and those who are anti-Communist are also ready to stand with Communists against the McCarran Act attack on democratic liberty. Frankly speaking, only with the masses of Americans who are the victims of the McCarran Act joining in this fight, is there the assurance of victory.

This means that those other than Communists must speak the truth and answer the anti-Communist slanders. This also means that the liberals and others cannot pass up their responsibilities in fighting McCarran Act applications, arrests, and imprisonment. The liberties of every American go to jail with the arrests of Communists. And as elementary or trite as they may seem to be, the point is fundamental and as old as the visit of Ralph Waldo Emerson to Henry David Thoreau in prison.

The expression of the concern for civil liberty in the United States today is not only in the general protest against the McCarran Act and petitions for its repeal, but calls for

active participation in the court struggle to nullify this act in all of its provisions in the cases which are now pending in the courts. This calls for active support to the Communist Party and to Benjamin Davis and myself, the immediate victims of the McCarran Act application. If the government is defeated in these cases and the McCarran Act declared unconstitutional as applied, then all the cases will be thrown out. But if for any reason the government succeeds in these cases, with the courts yielding to the pressure of the ultra-Right, then the gates for mass repression are opened and the fascist danger grows—and with it the danger of nuclear suicide.

The importance of the Hall-Davis and Communist Party cases is not yet fully appreciated. Nobody needs to minimize the so-called “front” and “infiltrated” cases, whereby this law can be used to smash every mass organization and union, to appreciate the decisive role of those now under indictment and facing trial. These current cases also determine the “passport” and “membership” cases and all other possible cases. All are important and indicate the sweeping character of the McCarran Act against democratic liberties.

However, no case, event or person must divert from this key point, the decisive cases which determine the fate of the McCarran Act itself. On the other hand, if every case and every event and person involved in this field of democratic liberty is properly related to these key cases, then the victory in all cases becomes assured.

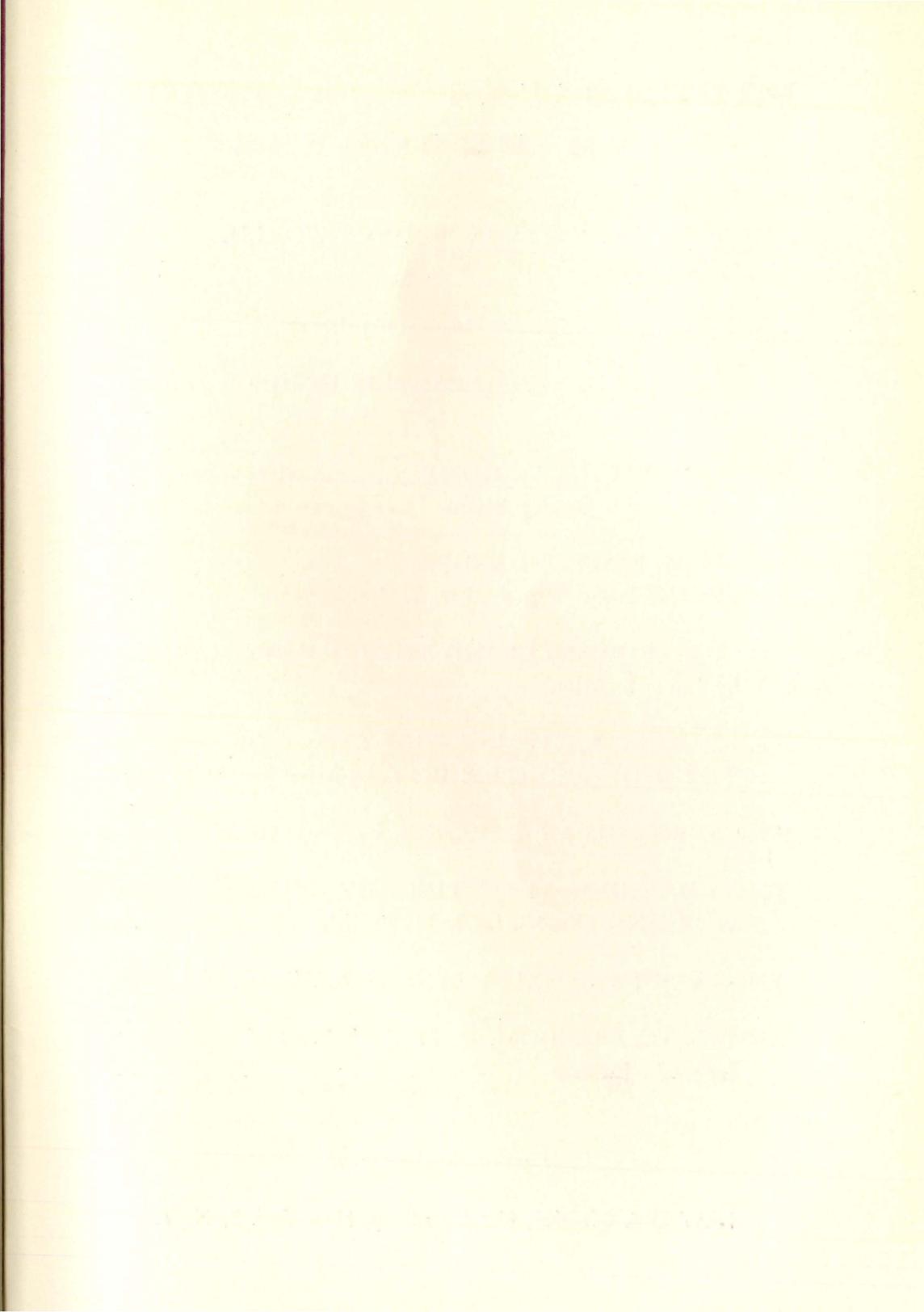
This is one time when the liberties of the American people require that we Communists take every measure now to guarantee victory. As yet we have not given these cases the primary position they require. At the same time, the defense of the legal rights of the Communist Party have been of a real mass character, such as we never had at any time. We have reached millions of Americans through the television, radio, and press conferences. The college campus meetings have also reached more than one hundred thousand students directly and millions of people through the means of mass communication. Yet all organizations in this field have much to do and need to gear their work to the spirit of the mass upsurge of the people. Communists must not apologize for raising this issue in areas where there is apathy or among people where those who seek to destroy the Communist Party

also function. The struggle for the liberties of the people is sharp and pointed, as is demonstrated in every page of our history and in the struggles of the Negro people and of labor for elementary human and first-class citizenship rights. If we grasp and convey to the people the full significance of these cases, the people will win greater liberty and the Communist Party will gain strength as a result of that fact. The ultra-Right fascists make the McCarran Act into their Bible. We can make it into their defeat and rout them from American life. That we must do. That Party task will be appreciated by all the people. That will also be a service to the cause of peace.

Call for Greater Efforts

During this recent period, Americans in all walks of life have been debating the state of our nation. This has been done at a number of trade union conventions, at meetings of senior citizens, at government as well as privately sponsored conferences on specific problems and at regional or national political party meetings. Newspaper, radio and television have reported only a small part of these deliberations. The gap between the declarations from top circles and the desires of the people is obvious. That gap is the result of cold war policy which is contrary to the interests of the people and dangerous to our country. That cold war policy deprives the American people of the great benefits of the new relation of forces on a world scale.

This new epoch calls for a much greater participation of the people, of those who labor in field or factory, of student and scientist, of all Americans in determining the fate of our land. We submit that the Communist contribution is a necessary ingredient to any solution. We know that the solution is not an abstract observation but a program enacted in the life of our country, giving health and substance to the aspirations of labor and the people, bringing an end to threats of war and poverty, and the achievement of peace and social progress, so that our country fulfills a responsibility in this new historic epoch and advances all humanity.



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