

political affairs

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THE CRITICAL WAR DANGER

By James S. Allen

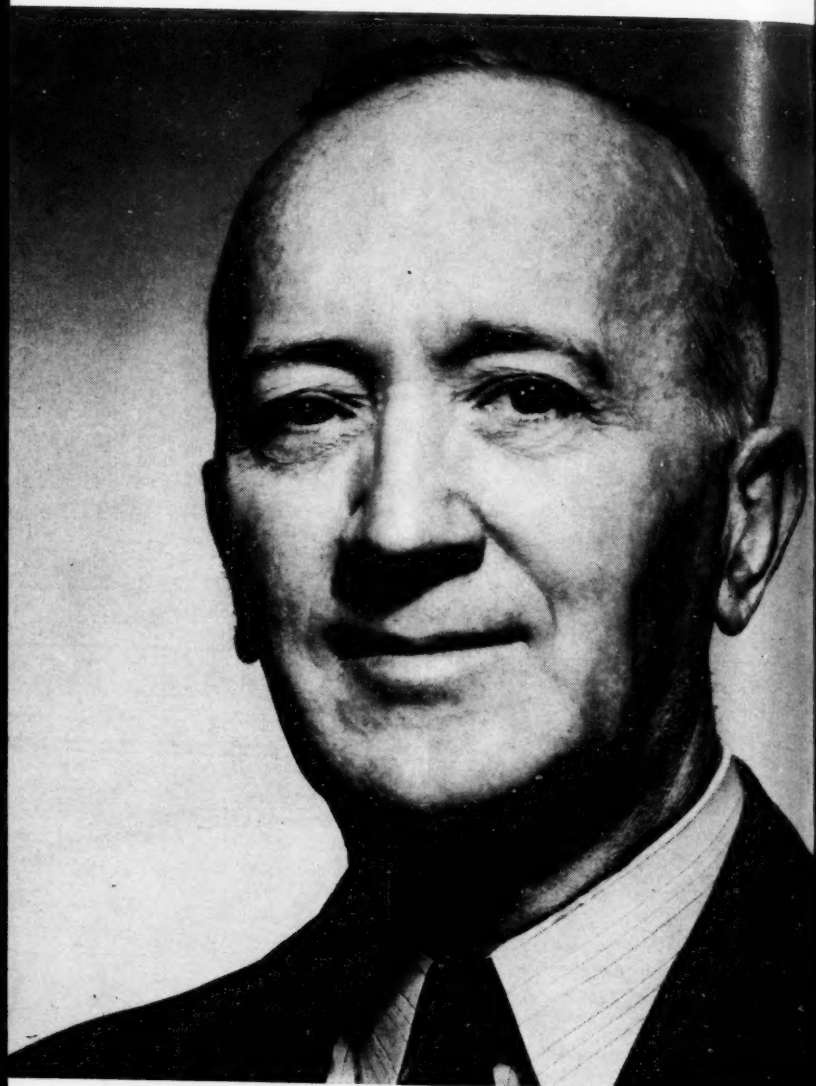
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By N. S. Khrushchev

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NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
1881 - 1961

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: HERBERT APTEKER; Associate Editor: HYMAN LUMER

William Z. Foster: American Working-Class Leader*

By Gus Hall

ON THE AFTERNOON of September 1, the fighting heart of Comrade William Z. Foster ceased to beat. The honorable, meaningful life of a great American revolutionary came to a peaceful end.

Foster's death is a grievous loss to the Communist Party, to the American working class, to the international labor and Communist movement, and to our nation.

Millions of working people throughout the world mourn and pay tribute to this towering fighter for the people. Communist parties, government leaders, trade unionists—Communists and non-Communists—peace fighters, battlers for colonial freedom, intellectuals and artists have lowered their banners in honor of our dearly beloved comrade, for while Foster was American to the

core, he was a citizen of the world, a true internationalist.

It is a universal tribute to high service. It is also a tribute to the America he represented so well—the other America, the democratic America of the people that aspires to peace and brotherhood.

WORKER

Foster was a workingman through and through. He was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, on February 25, 1881. When he was six years of age, his family moved to Philadelphia, to a section of the city where the poorest of the poor lived.

Son of a worker, a carriage washer, he went to work at the age of ten, and he was a workingman who remained true to his class throughout his life. He dressed as a worker, lived modestly as a worker in a simple apartment, on a workingman's wage. He was never concerned with ma-

* This is the text of the tribute delivered at the funeral services, held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, September 18, 1961.

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terial wealth or fortune. During his long years of service, he never, not even for a moment, separated himself from his class. He never cut his ties with the trade unions nor from their struggles for a better livelihood.

He was a tireless worker all his life, never losing a moment, always on time, a model of self-discipline and exactness, the living embodiment of the best virtues of the working class. In one of his last works, *The Twilight of Capitalism*, he wrote:

From my earliest youth I have always felt a great pride in being a worker, and it has ever been a matter of the deepest satisfaction to me to be able to identify myself so closely with the struggles of the working class. If I were starting my life all over again, I would take the same course as I have done.

TRADE-UNION ORGANIZER

Foster was America's greatest trade-union organizer. He made profound and lasting contributions to the organization of the mass production industries. He takes his place in the front ranks of the true greats of American labor—the lofty range of honored trade-union fighters who gave their all to organize America's wage slaves—William Sylvis, Albert Parsons, Eugene Victor Debs, Bill Haywood, Joe Hill, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Mother Jones, Mother Bloor, Jack Johnstone, and many others. He left an indelible imprint on the American and world trade-union movement.

Foster achieved fame during World War I for successful organization of the packing-house workers. He then threw all his seething proletarian energy, skill, resourcefulness, and courage into one of the biggest battles of the century—the strike of the steel workers which began in September, 1919, and grew from 100,000 to 300,000 workers. It was a battle against the steel magnates — the worst and the cruelest exploiters of the country, the backbone of the open shop.

This great strike was battered by an army of thugs. Police and troops shot into the strikers. Homes were broken into and strikers were imprisoned and tortured. But the steel workers heroically fought this onslaught for three months under the courageous leadership of Bill Foster.

Foster proved in this epic struggle that the giant corporations could be organized. History will date the emancipation of the open-shop slaves in big industry from the steel strike of 1919.

In this battle and in his later work as head of the Trade Union Educational League, which he founded, and as leader of the Party, Foster and the Communist Party reared a whole generation of experienced fighters who became the best organizers in the famous drive which established the C.I.O. and expanded the A.F. of L. They helped bring the present-day trade union movement into existence. Foster had titanic

energy and had a genius for big movements and organization. Everything about Foster was big. Unforgettable were his crusading trips across the country in the 1920s and 1930s. He was a crusader for industrial unionism, for unionizing Negro workers, for Negro-white unity in the labor movement, for getting rid of class-collaboration ideas, and for the ideas of class struggle and socialism.

He ruthlessly exposed the misleaders of labor — the Gompers, the Meanys, the Dubinskys. He revealed fully their harmful class-collaborationist, capitalist-minded policies and urged militant fighting trade unionism and proved its success in practice.

Foster saw early that pure and simple trade unionism was not enough, and that labor would have to act as an independent political force, and to fight for socialism. He led the unemployed in the great crisis of the thirties, fought for unemployment insurance and social security, and helped the workers to make big material gains. He was shot at, imprisoned, reviled, and attacked in all these battles. But he did not falter.

Foster not only fought on the front lines of organization and strikes. He wrote about the workers' experiences. He was in fact the Tom Paine of the working class, and has left a storehouse of invaluable pamphlets and books on how to organize, how to strike, how to win, in the battle with

the ruling class.

Foster was ever close to the youth. He urged the older generation to give to youth all its aid, its experience, its counsel, to organize the youth, but he advised to respect and not to trample on its independent development and growth in doing so.

Foster was close to and organized the foreign-born, who made up the main body of the mass production industries. He was close to the Negro workers in packing and steel, whom he succeeded in organizing. He was a bitter enemy of racism, white chauvinism, anti-semitism. He realized that labor-Negro unity was a foundation stone, an indispensable condition for the advance of both. He wrote a history of the Negro people. Moreover, Foster was a front-line champion against colonial oppression, in the first place against U.S. imperialism.

FIGHTER FOR PEACE

Foster was for peace, but he vigorously supported the right of oppressed nations to fight for independence with all their power, as our country did in the struggle for independence in 1776. That is why he was regarded and loved as a warm friend by the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Along with his trade union work, Foster stands out as a foremost advocate for peace. He was a tireless fighter for peaceful coexistence. He

wrote volumes about the benefits that the American people would derive from such a policy. He was a life-time advocate of the need for close and friendly ties between all peoples and especially between the peoples of the United States and the people of the Soviet Union.

Foster was an advanced and far-sighted thinker. On numerous occasions he projected basic lines of social development—the correctness of which life and experience have confirmed.

Years ago he forewarned of the serious consequences the American people would reap if the cold-war policies were continued.

He warned against the policy of rebuilding German militarism. In this he foresaw the coming of the crisis which now faces our people on the issue of Berlin.

However, this far-sighted warning of Foster has not been heeded. Serving the interests of the big business monopolies, the Government continues along the cold-war path, the path that leads to the brink of atomic disaster. Pressures mount from the big military brass in alliance with the war-crazed fascist-like fanatical fringe to drive us over that brink. Foster also warned that the brinkmanship policy has a point of no return. When we reach the point from which there is no return, humanity will be face to face with utter destruction. He warned of the dangers in this policy but he did not lose confidence in the peace forces

of the world. In his very last published article he wrote:

"It is possible to stop war. This depends to a decisive degree on the vigilance of the peace forces and their readiness to use their strength correctly and energetically for the prevention of war, which can be done."

To honor Foster is to fight for peace. For an end to all wars, for a world without armaments, without nuclear bombs or their testing; for a world co-existing in peace—these were some of the lofty life time goals of William Z. Foster.

In 1949, after an extended trip throughout Europe, he wrote his book, *Twilight of Capitalism*. His brilliant forecast of the sharp decline of capitalism and the demise of imperialism is now a fast developing reality. Here in broad terms he already then foresaw the historic epoch. He wrote:

"We are living in a great historic period, that of the replacement of capitalism by socialism, and very probably socialism has already become the most powerful of the two rival systems." Foster lived to see the realities of this new epoch—an epoch where the scales between the two sets of forces, capitalism and imperialism as against those of socialism, national and colonial liberation and peace—have tipped irrevocably to the side of the latter. Foster lived to see the day when imperialism as a force is dramatically on the way out and to see his life-long dream where socialism is the dominant factor in deter-

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One of his early conclusions from such an historic development was that it presented new and further possibilities for a peaceful transition to socialism.

STAUENCH COMMUNIST

Above all else William Z. Foster was a Communist—a student, a teacher, a theoretician of the science of Marxism-Leninism. He will be remembered and revered as one of the outstanding leaders of our Party. Once Comrade Foster reached the firm conviction that the next progressive step for civilization is socialism and that *his* class, the working class, has the historical responsibility of carrying all of society to this high plane, he dedicated his entire life to this great task at hand.

He never wavered from this conviction nor shirked his responsibilities in the task. He recognized from his experiences and study that to achieve socialism, the working class needed a political party of an advanced type—that is, a working-class party based on the great science of Marxism-Leninism, applied creatively to the American scene, a working-class party that proudly inscribed on its banners the achievements of socialist transformation, which was already beginning in the world, a Party that placed the interests of its class and downtrodden above all else in life.

In the infant Communist Party, Foster found such a party. After

joining its ranks, he never left it. He brought to the Communist Party a great heritage of American struggle. For as you know, like the roots of a great oak, the roots of William Z. Foster, while respected and honored in all parts of the world, are deep in the soil of the aspirations, hopes, and struggles of our people.

Foster was a man of the people. He was close to them. He had a deep concern for their welfare.

Foster was a union man. He was a disciplined member of the Communist Party. He vigorously fought for his ideas when he thought he was right. Once the question was resolved, then he became a militant champion for the ideas of the majority, for the policies of the Party.

He merged with the masses and grew with their struggles, retaining from each stage of struggle the best. From the struggles of the I.W.W. he retained its militancy and a closeness to the grass roots, from the mass production strikes a sweeping style of organization and struggle, from the early Socialist movement the ideals and dreams and agitation for a new society. And in the Communist Party he acquired fully the science of Marxism-Leninism, the great science and art of political leadership of the vast millions essential for victory, to which he made important contributions. This rich heritage he left to the Party. *We will treasure it!*

Foster was boundless in his loyalty to Marxism-Leninism to which he

made world-recognized contributions in his books, which have been translated into many languages. He fought for the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, without which there can be no progress. He fought the enemy not only outside but inside the Party. He was the uncompromising enemy of all forms of opportunism, which are ever present as a result of capitalist pressures. He fought revisionism, sectarianism, and the acute danger of liquidationism—that is, the danger of renouncing the Party or curbing its great role of leadership.

It was characteristic of Foster that he never evaded a struggle, but like the mighty warrior he was, he was always in the thick of it, except when illness made it absolutely impossible.

Foster was the chairman of the Party through its most stormy years. Like C. E. Ruthenberg, the first secretary of the Party, he urged the Party not to fear difficulties and attacks. Difficulties are unavoidable in a class society and one grows strong in fighting and overcoming them. The capitalist class is brutal, but it is decaying and dying. *Defeats and set-backs are only temporary.*

During the cold-war years of McCarthyism, Foster and the Party urged iron resistance against the attacks. The Party was severely persecuted, but under Foster's and Gene Dennis's leadership, it fought staunchly against imperialism and war and in its own defense.

The Party suffered heavy losses, it is true, but it did not bow to McCarthyism. The Communist Party held high the banners of democracy. It helped to bring about the defeat of McCarthy and his fascist gang.

Once again McCarthyism is on the rise and the Communist Party is attacked under the McCarran Act. When this monstrous law was passed, Foster declared emphatically that the Party will not register and outlaw itself with the Hitlerite lie that it is a foreign conspiracy. It will not betray the fight for Constitutional liberties and the Bill of Rights. And in the spirit of Foster we have firmly declared *now* that we will defend democracy and our Party with all our might. We will not register. We will not give way to the multimillionaire monopolists. We will fight and build our ranks stronger than ever.

Foster's death leaves a great gap in our ranks which must be filled, Bill never talked about death in the years of his illness. He talked only of life, and I'm sure if he could, he would say, like the immortal Joe Hill, "Don't mourn; organize!" It is for all of us to fill the gap, work harder and better, redouble efforts, organize for the great cause for which Foster stood and fought. Militant workers, too, will fill the gap and join the ranks of Foster's Party. Foster's name is imperishable. We say farewell, Bill, farewell, dear beloved comrade. We shall never forget you.

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Foster Memorial Meeting in Moscow*

THOUSANDS OF MUSCOVITES gathered in the Red Square today. These were delegates of the working people of the different districts of the capital, who came to pay the last tribute to the outstanding leader of the American and international communist and workers' movement, indefatigable fighter for peace, democracy and socialism, the Honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, William Z. Foster.

At 10:30 a.m., to the strains of funeral music, the members of the Commission for the organization of the funeral lift the urn with the ashes of the deceased and carry it out of the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions. The funeral procession and the military escort slowly make their way to the Red Square.

The tribune of the Mausoleum, in front of which the urn is placed, is ascended by L. I. Brezhnev, N. G. Ignatov, O. V. Kuusinen, D. S. Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, N. M. Shvernik, P. N. Pospelov, G. I. Voronov, V. V. Grishin; Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet K. Y. Voroshilov; Chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Eliza-

beth Gurley Flynn; Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain Dolores Ibaruri; Secretary-General of the Communist Party of India Ajoy Ghosh; Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party D. Balzhinniyam and T. Dugersuren; Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Liu Hsiao; veteran of the British communist movement Robert Stewart; members of the Commission for the organization of the funeral of William Z. Foster; and the widow of the deceased, Esther Foster.

The meeting was opened by M. A. Suslov, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. He gave the floor to O. V. Kuusinen, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

"William Z. Foster lived a long, difficult and glorious life," said O. V. Kuusinen. "He was one of the founders of the American Communist Party, the first revolutionary party of the working class in the history of America. For more than 60 years his name was inseparably connected with the working-class movement in the United States. During those years William Z. Foster be-

* This account is translated from *Trud* (Sept. 7, 1961), daily newspaper of the trade-union movement of the Soviet Union.

came a most prominent Marxist theoretician, an outstanding organizer of the masses, and a political figure. Like many thousands of the leaders of the working class, he had to suffer the blows of reaction—slander and club law, legal persecution, and imprisonment. But nothing could shake his revolutionary will.”

O. V. Kuusinen speaks of the tireless energy, integrity and firmness of William Foster's convictions, the breadth and depth of his knowledge, his personal charm and modesty.

“In the memories of Communists in all countries, of all fighters for the social emancipation of the working people, William Z. Foster will always live as an exemplary internationalist who did much for the development and consolidation of the world communist movement. He made a valuable contribution to the theory and tactics of the international working-class movement.

“Soviet people will always remember William Z. Foster as a great and sincere friend of our country,” continues O. V. Kuusinen. “He was among the first who hailed the October Revolution with enthusiasm. He was a loyal follower of V. I. Lenin. And he was sincerely proud of the successes of the Soviet Union in building communism.

“Just because Foster was an American patriot, because he loved his people selflessly, he fought with all his strength for friendship between the United States and the Soviet

Union. He well understood that the preservation of world peace depended to a great extent on Soviet-American relations, and he passionately wanted our peoples to live in peace and friendship always.

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the whole of our Party, millions of Soviet people grieve profoundly over the death of William Z. Foster who devoted the whole of his life to the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.”

On behalf of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., the meeting was addressed by the Chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Elizabeth Gurney Flynn.

“I have come to your wonderful country of socialism,” she said, “in order to express on behalf of the U.S. Communist Party profound grief over the irreparable loss—the death of our leader and dear friend—William Z. Foster.

“This year,” continued Elizabeth Flynn, “death has twice struck severe blows at our Party: Comrade Eugene Dennis, who for many years had worked jointly with Comrade Foster died, and now death has taken Comrade Foster. Thousands of American workers grieve with us over this loss.”

Elizabeth Flynn described Comrade Foster as a militant representative, brilliant organizer and fearless leader of the American workers in

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the grand strikes which laid the foundation of the modern working-class movement in America.

On behalf of the Party and the workers, Elizabeth Flynn expressed profound condolence with Esther Foster and her family.

She heartily thanked the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the loving and constant care of Comrade Foster during the past seven months, for the great efforts made by Soviet physicians to prolong Foster's life and to restore his health.

"William Z. Foster was happy when he came to the U.S.S.R. in January of this year. A very happy event for him was the celebration of his 80th birthday here in February when he received greetings from N. S. Khrushchev and many Soviet citizens."

Elizabeth Flynn said that all over the world Communists, leading democrats, peace-loving people, were grieving over the death of William Foster. "To them, as to us," she said, "Foster represented the America of the people, and not the America of the rich, not the America of the mighty and evil forces of the military monopolies, but the America of the exploited, the poor, the unemployed, the country of immigrants and Negroes, the masses of the people of our country. He fought for their rights, for their welfare."

International solidarity was not merely a fine phrase to Foster, he fought for it.

He was arrested, thrown into prison, deported from different states, refused freedom of speech and the right to travel.

But nothing could weaken his militant spirit, nothing could force him to be silent. Elizabeth Flynn emphasized that Foster had struggled stubbornly for the unity of the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. "Now, we have a Party headed by the Secretary-General Gus Hall," she said. "On his behalf I convey condolences to Comrade Esther Foster, profound gratitude to the Soviet people for their care of Comrade Foster, and sorrow over the great loss."

"We," said Elizabeth Flynn, "have received from you, dear Soviet comrades, the ashes of William Z. Foster and will return them to our homeland for burial in the industrial centre of the U.S.A., Chicago, where he lived and worked for many years. We shall pay tribute to him at big memorial meetings all over our country."

"Our Party," declared Elizabeth Flynn, "will continue to fight for the consolidation of its ranks, for the development of the working-class movement, for peace, for disarmament, for peaceful coexistence, for the democratic rights which are being threatened in our country today. In this struggle we shall be just as firm and implacable as was Comrade William Z. Foster."

Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, approached the microphone.

"We have come to this memorial meeting on the Red Square where Lenin's voice resounded with striking power calling the world working class to unity in the struggle for peace and socialism, we have gathered to pay the last homage to the illustrious son of the American people, outstanding leader of the working class, Communist Comrade William Z. Foster.

"Having come through the Leninist school of proletarian internationalism, Comrade Foster responded to the struggle of all peoples for freedom. When the fascists inside Spain and elsewhere raised their blood-stained talons over the Spanish democracy, Comrade Foster called upon the working class and Democrats of the United States to express their effective solidarity with the Spanish people. United by ties of fraternity and heroic elan, the Lincoln brigade went to Spain to fight for her freedom, for universal peace."

In conclusion Dolores Ibarruri said: "As we bid our last farewell to Comrade Foster we say to him, with sorrow in our hearts, yet full of faith in the communist future of America and the entire world for which he fought: Rest in peace, Comrade Foster! The cause to which you consecrated your life is immortal."

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

and the entire Chinese people, said Liu Hsiao, I express my deep condolences to the Communist Party of America and the family of William Z. Foster.

Describing William Foster as an illustrious fighter and leader of the U.S. working class and an outstanding figure of the international communist movement, Liu Hsiao emphasizes that William Z. Foster devoted his life seething with vitality, to the cause of liberation of the working people of the U.S.A. Holding the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism firmly and aloft, he rallied and led the U.S. working class and its vanguard in the decisive struggle against the capitalist system, against oppression and against the imperialist policy of aggression and war. He made an outstanding contribution to the international communist movement and the struggle for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

Comrade William Foster was a close and loyal friend of the Chinese people, said Liu Hsiao. He always showed a warm sympathy for the Chinese people's revolution and socialist construction and supported them. He took a decisive stand against the U.S. imperialists pursuing a reactionary hostile policy towards China and spared no efforts in developing friendship between the peoples of China and the U.S.A.

Robert Stewart, a veteran of the British communist movement, spoke on behalf of the Communist Party

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"Comrade Foster was born in a poor family and began to work when he was seven," said R. Stewart. He devoted much work and energy to the consolidation of the working class. He was one of the trade union organizers and he led large-scale and high-pitched strikes of workers of the steel industry, meat-packing houses and other enterprises.

The genius of Lenin who developed the teaching of Karl Marx as applied to the conditions of the epoch of imperialism had a great influence on Comrade Foster. This was reflected in his Party work and his research.

A defender of democracy, Foster was hostile to any manifestation of racialism. He waged severe and grim battles against segregation in America and he came to personify international solidarity.

The floor is taken by Comrade P. N. Demichev, First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the C.P.S.U.

"With great sorrow and pain we are saying farewell to the great fighter for the cause of the working class, outstanding leader of the American and international communist and workers' movement, honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, Comrade William Foster.

"The Muscovites knew and loved

Foster as a great son of the American working class, as a leader of many militant actions of the proletariat of America, as a man of great heart, exceptional vision and deep faith in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

"Comrade Foster was a good friend of Muscovites and he showed a keen interest in the successes of Moscow's working people in the development of their city and the conversion of it into one of the world's most beautiful capitals," P. N. Demichev continued.

"He was greatly fond of Moscow's workers for their contribution to the revolutionary victories of the Soviet Union and their role in the construction of new life in our country.

"Taking leave of their dear friend, the Soviet people will never forget that Comrade Foster was a passionate advocate of Soviet-American friendship. He always worked for the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

"The working people of Moscow will always remember the outstanding personality of Comrade William Foster," said Comrade Demichev in conclusion.

The meeting was over. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government lifted the urn with the ashes of William Z. Foster and moved towards the Kremlin wall.

The Critical War Danger

By James S. Allen

The world has rolled uncomfortably close to the brink of world-wide nuclear war. The people are alarmed by the resumption of nuclear testing, but they do not yet fully understand the gravity of the situation. Fall-out from nuclear tests is a peril to health, and we should seek to end this peril. But far more perilous to all mankind is the danger of a nuclear holocaust over Berlin. If the head-on collision policy continues along the present course, we may not be able to withdraw from the brink.

This is a moment of great emergency, in which all fighters for peace must face up to their responsibilities. The Administration can be made to stop the military build-up and to seek a peaceful settlement on Berlin. It can be brought about by resolute and widespread popular pressure. This is the pressing, inescapable task of all fighters for peace. Let the present crisis be overcome by peaceful measures, and the door will immediately be open to further advances for peace and disarmament.

Every man, woman, and child must coexist in peace if their existence is to be assured. This means agreement to end all nuclear testing and on immediate steps to total disarmament, beginning with the dismantling of all nuclear weapons now in the stockpiles. There is no realistic alternative to this path. If civilization is to continue on this planet, at some point, in one way or another, humanity will have to travel this road. And because things do not stand still, the time for us to turn from the direction that unavoidably leads to the brink of an atomic inferno necessarily becomes shorter and shorter.

Because the interests of all mankind, including the very destiny of our country, are at stake, all serious fighters for peace must study soberly the factors that have propelled us to the edge of calamity. And one must not permit one's judgment to be distorted and warped by the jingoistic headlines or get lost in secondary or passing factors. In moments like this, when the full force of irresponsible war propaganda is let loose, it is all the more necessary to be clear about the roots and causes of the deep crisis we are now in.

I. DANGER OF WEST GERMAN MILITARISM

The explosive situation in Berlin is a culmination of the entire postwar line of policy, which has been shaped and developed by the monopoly forces of the United States. These are the forces, dominating the country and the government, which sought to patch up and restore monopoly and imperialism throughout the world. As after the first world war, they have restored German militarism

and imperialism, until West Germany is now the leading power in Western Europe, utilizing the salient of West Berlin as a focal point in its ambitious plan of absorbing East Germany and regaining the pre-war German frontiers. Everyone knows that these aims cannot be realized without war—a war into which we and the entire world would be dragged.

MODERN ARMS FOR BONN

During the prolonged negotiations at Geneva on testing, and while the United States and its NATO allies ignored the resolution on complete and general disarmament unanimously passed by the U.N. Assembly on the proposal of Premier Khrushchev, the real business of armaments was going on. In the last two years, as a result of billions of dollars of U.S. aid and military assistance, the West German army led by the same militarists who served Hitler, emerged as the most powerful military force in Western Europe. The military potential of the West German industrial machine, again commanded by the same monopolies who supported Hitler, has been fully restored with the aid of Wall St. investments. So-called "rear" bases for the West German forces are springing up in many European countries, including Britain and France.

Former members of the Nazi General Staff—like Generals Speidel and Heusinger—are in command of the key posts and forces of NATO, a German admiral is head of the new Baltic NATO naval forces, and there is again a German Luftwaffe—two of whose planes recently violated East German territory.

President Kennedy just announced that we are going to train French troops in the use of nuclear weapons—an agreement secretly reached in July but only now revealed, at the height of the Berlin crisis. What he does not say is that these French troops are under the command of Nazi generals, and that this is a step to clear the way for supplying German NATO troops with nuclear warheads for the rockets and missiles they already have. When the Pentagon offers to supply NATO in Europe with Polaris nuclear missiles and with atomic submarines, when the West Germans are permitted to build battleships large enough to mount Polaris, when General Norstad proposes to turn NATO into the "fourth nuclear power," we can be sure that preparations for the nuclear arming of West German forces are well under way.

How can anyone expect any serious person, especially in Europe, to close his eyes to this fantastic build-up of the same evil forces that have brought death to 40 or 50 million people! West German militarism is again a reality and a danger. At the same time, while at a slower pace, the same type of build-up has been going on in Japan.

WHOSE NATO?

According to the Pentagon strategists the West German forces are supposed to be the "shield" of NATO, while the United States supplies the "sword" in the form of nuclear striking power. But what if the "shield" hides a sword be-

hind it, that can be pointed in either direction, East or West—as we know so well.

Of course, there is the theory that the best way to control the West German militarists with their inveterate aggressive spirit is to contain them within the NATO camp. But what if they themselves become the controllers of NATO, the ones who shape its strategy to satisfy their new Blitz plans of conquest? In fact, they are well along this road already, waiting only to have in their hands the nuclear weapons that will make them more powerful than Hitler ever was.

An attempt is made to justify West German rearmament by the claim that it supplies the spearhead for the fight against the so-called Communist menace. That was the policy which led to World War II. Hitler and his allies in the "anti-Comintern pact" turned first against the West. The scrap iron we gave Japan was returned in the form of bombs over Pearl Harbor. And even today, so low has our world position fallen, that a leading Japanese militarist can declare openly his regret that the first attack on Pearl Harbor was not followed by more of the same. The industry American and British capital rebuilt in Germany produced the bombs and rockets that fell on London and Coventry, the arms for the forces that overran Europe, the submarines that sank our ships.

Can we be certain today that the nuclear warheads supplied to a German-dominated NATO will not fall on our shores?

Are the German militarists to be permitted for a third time to touch off a world war, into which we will again be dragged—but this time to a nuclear inferno?

UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

What makes this resurgent German militarism so extremely dangerous is the backing it enjoys from the United States, one of the great nuclear powers. The United States has 400 or more armed bases overseas, most of them placed in relation to military objectives in the socialist countries. There has been no withdrawal from these bases. On the contrary, they are being reinforced with nuclear weapons.

Integrated with these, is a series of NATO bases, and around them another ring of U.S. atomic submarines with Polaris and other nuclear weapons. Further, the Pentagon boasts of its strategic air force, with bombers carrying nuclear weapons always in the air. It claims to have enough nuclear weapons to blow the world up a few times over.

This dreadful destructive force, at the disposal of a policy that continues to emphasize the military build-up rather than negotiations for peaceful settlement, is bad enough. But consider the following. Forces determined on war are set loose in the country. Nixon, who lost the Presidency by only a few votes, now—in alliance with rabid race-hating Senators and Representatives, in cahoots with high-ranking military officers and urged on by a fanatic, fascist-like fringe—campaigns for atomic war. The radio, press, and TV are on a hysterical war-like binge.

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Voices of reason, drowned out in this hate-campaign, find it more and more difficult to reach the people. West Berlin—the center of war provocation 110 miles within the socialist sector of the world—is painted in glowing colors as the embodiment of the “free world,” of everything Americans are supposed to hold dear, for the defense of which the Vice President of the United States pledges American honor, resources, and life itself.

Every day, the President of the United States commands “firmness” in the defense of the “Western position” in West Berlin, when in reality this position is the advanced outpost of revengeful German militarism which dreams of regaining the “stolen lands” and the Greater Reich of Hitler. To no more dishonorable and criminal task can this country be pledged.

WHICH STATUS QUO?

At one point or another this development is bound to bring on a crisis. President Kennedy claims that the Soviet Union, with proposals for a peace treaty with the two German Republics and for the normalization of the status of West Berlin, has broken the “peaceful status quo.” But the Soviet Union first made this proposal in November 1958, and has repeated it since—not as an ultimatum, as is falsely claimed, but as a proposal for negotiations.

The fact is, as anyone in his right senses must realize, there are two Germanys. The long-term partition started when the Western occupation powers broke the Potsdam agreement by failing to de-cartelize and de-nazify their zones. This was followed by the establishment of the Federal Republic at Bonn in 1949, and then the agreement to arm West Germany and bring it into NATO.

The refusal to recognize that as a result there are two German Republics, on the basis of which peace has to be established in Europe, means the refusal to give up the aim of absorbing East Germany by conquest—an effort which can lead only to nuclear war. Actually, it is the fantastic military build-up of the West German war machine, and the use by these forces of West Berlin as their “front line” city, which has broken the “peaceful status quo,” and made obsolete the situation in Berlin left over from the war and the first years of occupation.

The closing of the frontier between East and West Berlin was a defensive move against the mounting provocative actions from West Berlin. It was undertaken by the German Democratic Republic, on the request of the Warsaw Pact nations, in defense of the socialist world as a whole. The purpose of the action was to stem the flow from the West over the open frontier of elements inimical to the socialist order, and to protect the economy of East Germany threatened by the concerted campaign from West Berlin to induce mass migration of the labor, technical, and professional personnel. The act of closing the frontier was an expression of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic which, like it or not, is a reality that must be recognized.

The peace proposals of the Soviet Union are an attempt to create a new, stable, and peaceful status quo, that will put an end to the abnormal situation in Berlin which is a danger to all of us. This is also recognized by many in the

West. After all, we should now remember and ponder the fact that at the Camp David meeting with Khrushchev, President Eisenhower agreed to normalize the situation in Berlin—an agreement that was dishonored by our own government when the Summit at Paris in May 1960 was wrecked by the U-2 spy plane.

For three years the United States, West Germany, and NATO refused to negotiate on this basis or even to present counter-proposals on a peace treaty and on West Berlin. Premier Khrushchev then announced that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact nations would in any case sign a treaty with East Germany by the end of this year, making it clear that the right of access to West Berlin would be guaranteed and that the citizens of that city would choose their own mode of life.

In that case, the Western authorities would have to arrange for passage over the territory of East Germany with the authorities of the German Democratic Republic. In fact, 95 per cent of the traffic between West Germany and West Berlin has been controlled smoothly for some years by the East German authorities. This leaves the remaining five percent—supplying Western military forces—to be brought under such control. Is this an unreasonable request, in order to assure a peaceful and neutral status in West Berlin?

What was the answer to the renewal of the Soviet proposals? They were met in Washington with a series of threatening military steps—new draft calls, the calling up of reserves, three-and-one-half billion dollar increase in the defense budget, the start of a "civilian defense" program. To West Berlin, 1500 U.S. additional troops were dispatched, armed with the latest infantry weapons, to engage in war maneuvers together with other NATO occupation troops, and to "show the flag" at the East Berlin border. Over 40,000 U.S. troop reinforcements are now pledged to the NATO forces in Europe, and the allies are increasing their forces also. Is it any wonder then that the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations bordering on the danger zone should take appropriate defense measures to assure their security?

2. TESTING AND DISARMAMENT

The resumption of testing, as serious as it is in itself, should not be permitted to obscure the greater danger inherent in the nuclear arms race and in the policies which led to it. Those who rush to condemn, should look at the record.

The Soviet Union was the first (in March 1958) to take the unilateral decision to suspend nuclear testing, although up to then the United States had carried through many more tests than the Soviet Union. Only a month after the Soviet announcement, the United States began a series of tests in the Pacific, including some of the largest explosions on record. It was not until August—five months after the Soviet decision to stop testing—that the United States and Britain announced their intention to suspend testing, to begin only in October. But on the eve of the actual suspension, the United States completed another series of tests in Nevada.

Actually, the NATO powers have never to this day ended their nuclear testing.

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During the three-year moratorium, France continued to test H-bombs in the Sahara—four tests, the results of which undoubtedly were available to the United States and Britain, her allies. In view of the close relations between de Gaulle and Adenauer during this period, and the pooling of weapons research, it would not be surprising if West Germany, pressing for its own nuclear arsenal, might also have benefited.

The conspiracy on testing with de Gaulle is clearly indicated by the fact that the *United States and Britain refused to support the UN resolution, brought in while France was testing, calling for an end to all tests.* The existence of such a conspiracy is confirmed further by the fact that the self-serving appeal of Kennedy and Macmillan on September 3, 1961, to end all atmospheric tests, made no reference to France whatsoever. Under these circumstances, could the Soviet Union reasonably be expected to accept an agreement that would leave NATO free to continue testing in the air by its France sector and in the underground, the laboratory, or in outer space by its United States sector, thereby getting the benefit of all kinds of testing while the Soviet Union would be severely limited?

THE U.S. LEAD IN TESTING

Furthermore, the United States and its atomic allies already have a great advantage over the Soviet Union in number of tests. Up to the current resumption of testing, according to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, the United States had carried out 165 tests, Britain 21, and France 4, for a NATO total of 190, as compared with 65 by the Soviet Union. Thus, in view of the crisis raging over Berlin and the rapid U.S. military measures, there would be compelling security reasons on the part of the Soviet Union to overcome any disadvantage arising from this great disparity in testing.

This can be better understood if it is recalled that the Geneva conference on a test ban, during three years of sessions, had been stymied by the insistence of the United States and Britain on excluding underground tests from the ban. Such tests can develop a wide range of weapons and even new ones like the neutron bomb, which could kill by radiation all life while leaving material wealth untouched.

The other question which stalemated the conference was the refusal of the West to consider Soviet proposals for control which would assure that neither camp dominates the control body. When Premier Khrushchev met President Kennedy in Vienna last June he proposed as a way out of the stalemate the linking of the test ban with general disarmament, and offered to agree to any proposals for control submitted by the West if the Soviet proposals for complete and general disarmament were accepted.

PRESSURE IN U.S. FOR TESTING

Further, it was no secret that the United States was anxious to resume testing—and actively preparing for it—in a vast nuclear testing network with 27,000

workers in readiness, a network controlled by the same big corporations which run the nuclear weapons industry. On June 17, 1961, our government sent a note to the Soviet Union, warning that it would not continue indefinite test suspension in the absence of a treaty, which can only be interpreted as pressure to force the Soviet Union to accept the Western terms.

On August 27, on the eve of the resumed session of the Geneva test ban talks, Chet Holifield, Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, declared over TV that the United States should resume testing while continuing the Geneva talks! He even called on the President to name the date for the resumption of tests.

And the previous week, the State Department had issued a long document for world distribution in which it sought in advance to blame the Soviet Union for failure at Geneva—an obvious propaganda preparation for the resumption of testing by the United States.

President Kennedy announced the United States would resume tests only a few days after the Soviet Union had announced its intention to do so. The beginning of the tests in Nevada a few days later showed that the underground tunnels had been kept ready—not for peaceful experiments, as had been claimed, but for weapons testing. So it does not behoove the President to charge the Soviet Union with lack of good faith and with hypocrisy.

We should understand that the failure at Geneva has made inevitable the linking of a test ban treaty with agreement on disarmament. If this is not done, a tacit moratorium on testing would serve only as a cover for the constant piling up of nuclear weapons in an arms race which would intensify the war danger.

3. NEED TO CHANGE COURSE

It is the first duty of all sincere fighters for peace in the United States to assess objectively, in this moment of danger, the responsibility of our own country. To blame the Soviet Union or the non-aligned nations—indeed, anyone who does not agree with the policies of the United States—merely evades the real question we confront, to change the course of our own policy in the direction of peace, in the interests of our nation and our people.

In all objectivity it must be recognized that the direction of U.S. official policy, since the inception of the cold war has been aggressive, imperialist, and war-like. At important critical points the forces for peace have successfully checked, blocked, or diverted the warlike direction of policy, and the importance of these victories should not be underestimated. They show that the forces for peace in this country, basing themselves on a realistic appraisal of the great array of world forces opposed to imperialism and war, have the possibility of bringing about a change of policy. But this possibility can be realized if, at the same time and with a sense of urgency, the peace forces grasp fully the extreme dangers raised by the present policy of military build-up, nuclear arms race, and brinkmanship.

"ARMING TO PARLEY"

In the over-all sense, the advent of Kennedy to the Presidency has not changed the dangerous course of policy which had been inherited from the Administrations of Truman and Eisenhower. On the contrary, some of its most dangerous aspects—in particular the nuclear arms race and building up of West German militarism as the chief ally of the United States in Europe and within NATO—have been accentuated.

The ultra-right forces in the country—those bent on the destruction of democracy and on nuclear destruction—are to a certain extent appeased by the tempo of military preparations under Kennedy, although they would prefer more drastic and quicker measures along these lines, and they push constantly for them. At the same time, it would be inexcusable not to see that the Kennedy Administration continues to pursue the policy of "arming in order to parley," a perilous policy which had led to war in the past and can ignite a nuclear inferno now.

Can it honestly be said that the military build-up by the United States and NATO is the instrument of a peace policy? Is it not true, rather, that every time Washington and the West have been brought to negotiations it has been the result of pressures by the peace forces throughout the world and in our own country? Every detente or retreat from a war position on the part of the West has been forced upon it—whether in Indochina and now in Laos, or in the rapid and utter defeat of the Cuban invasion, or at Suez and in Korea. In each of these cases, if the course of the United States and the West had not been deterred or stopped it could have led to world war.

THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE

Is it not true also that the United States and its NATO allies have not shown any reciprocal actions for peace of any major significance, corresponding to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies? The President has just created a special government commission to study public psychology in order to discover the secret of Soviet successes and the reason for American failures in winning the support and good will of people throughout the world. No special peace commission is needed to reveal a truth, plain for all to see. In the eyes of the world, the policies of the socialist powers are identified with peace, while those of the imperialist powers are identified with war.

That is why the non-committed and neutralist nations gathered at Belgrade—representing over 700,000,000 people—while regretting the "hard necessity" would not condemn the Soviet Union for resuming nuclear testing. In this decision they saw how deep was the crisis of war and peace, for they know that the USSR is not a belligerent power.

These are not so-called Communist-dominated countries, nor are they committed to the Warsaw Pact alliance. But they are committed to peace, and to freedom from imperialism. It certainly should be a matter of the deepest con-

cern to the American people that these new and rising nations, most of them having only recently won political independence from imperialism, should so clearly repudiate the effort of Washington to pressure them into a condemnation of the Soviet Union. A matter of the deepest concern, because this shows how mistaken is the cold-war and pro-colonialism policy of the Administration which has failed again and again to win support of world public opinion.

How foolish it is to expect these nations to support the U.S. and West German position on the ground of "self-determination" for Germany. They know firsthand what imperialism is, having themselves fought for self-determination against the very NATO powers who now support West German militarism. It is well known how Hitler misused this same slogan as a pretext for the conquest of Czech and Polish lands, and how his successors in Germany today hope to absorb the German Democratic Republic and reconquer the "lost territories."

Kennedy's foreign policy has until now failed to meet the real challenge of peace, and therefore it has brought our country closer to the war brink. Thereby it has also isolated us further from the vast majority of the world which above all judges a country and its people by the touchstone of peace. The present crisis offers us the opportunity to change our role.

4. STEPS TO PEACE

It is against this background that we must assess what is needed to assure real and meaningful negotiations. Merely to talk about negotiations or to begin them in order to cover up the military build-up, would increase war tensions. And this could lead, by design or accident, to a situation which would make any negotiations useless.

Negotiations for a settlement are not only necessary but are possible. The American people, no less than the Soviet people, want to remove the danger of nuclear war. Therefore, the first thing that is required is the acceptance of total disarmament as a basis for serious discussion and agreement. Once this is done, inspection and control would no longer remain a serious obstacle, since the Soviet Union has in advance stipulated it would accept Western proposals on these matters once the policy of total disarmament is agreed to by the West.

A lasting nuclear test ban then becomes possible, not merely as a tenuous moratorium to be broken at will but as a part of ending the nuclear arms race, stopping the production of nuclear materials for war, destroying the weapons stockpiles and other disarmament measures. Disarmament is thus the key to peace and to peaceful coexistence. It is the key to survival.

Successful prospects for disarmament are now dependent also upon a peaceful solution of the Berlin and German questions. The interests of the American nation and people are most seriously threatened by a militarized and aggressive West Germany which today, more than any other nation in the world, can touch off a world war to satisfy its aggressive ambitions.

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settlement on Berlin and Germany is broached, in fact do not want peace. They are deliberately increasing war tensions. The American people have nothing to lose but have everything to gain from a pacific, neutralized free status for West Berlin, which would no longer serve as a center of war tensions.

Would not all of us heave a sigh of relief also if the postwar frontiers of the two German Republics were fully affirmed and guaranteed, thus curbing the expansionist ambitions of West German militarism? Would it not be to our advantage as a nation and a boon to the cause of peace if at the same time steps were taken to ban all nuclear arms from Germany, to withdraw foreign troops and bases from both German states, and demilitarize both sides of the Elbe?

Would not such steps, leading to further measures of mutual military withdrawals in Central Europe, greatly reduce the tensions leading to war, and constitute a great stride forward toward the total disarmament so fervently desired by the peoples of the world?

Is it not clear that the central responsibility for effecting such an outcome rests on the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, the two great powers of the capitalist and socialist worlds?

In all statements by Premier Khrushchev and the Soviet government, including the statement announcing the resumption of tests, the Soviet Union reiterates its determination never to start a war and always emphasizes its desire to negotiate all differences. It has been made clear that the principle of peaceful coexistence remains at the core of Soviet foreign policy. The proposals on Berlin and Germany and the offer of total disarmament are efforts to bring an end to the cold war and to establish peaceful coexistence as the universally recognized rule in world affairs.

This is in accordance with the socialist peace policy, as enunciated in the statement of the 81 Communist parties last November and embodied in the new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the international Communist movement there is no departure from these principles.

At the same time, it must be recognized that peaceful coexistence can be achieved and protected only as we carry on a determined struggle against the war danger, overcome that danger, and assure that the outcome of a crisis such as we face today shall be through peaceful settlement by negotiations.

This is not only the stand of the Communists. It is the position taken by all who wish to render impossible the nuclear destruction that threatens humanity. We believe peaceful coexistence should be the accepted principle of the foreign policy of the government of the United States as well. This requires a basic shift from a policy of cold war to one of peace.

PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

It is also clear that an end to the policy of military build-up and a new peace course in foreign policy are required to preserve our democracy and the

rights of the people. The extreme Right in our country is greatly encouraged by every step of the Kennedy Administration that prolongs and intensifies the cold war. Such an atmosphere is most favorable to those who would destroy our democratic rights and institutions, hold down and suppress the labor, Negro, and youth movements, and undermine every phase of social and welfare reform.

Those who cry loudest for war are the very ones who also cry most against the interests of the people—a Goldwater, a Nixon, an Eastland, or a Dodd, to name but a few. The course of the Kennedy Administration must be shifted from one heading dangerously toward a war brink to a course of peaceful settlement by accommodation and mutual concession if the ultra-right is to be prevented from having their way.

Peace and democracy—these are the great issues now sharply facing the American people. In this crisis, all the fighters for peace need to increase their activities a hundred-fold, on an emergency basis. At no time since the last war has it been so imperative for all democratic and peace forces to find common ground for the supreme effort required by the present crisis.

There already exists a broad common approach among the peace and democratic forces of our country on the imperative need to halt the march towards the brink and to defeat the extreme right. Among many responsible leaders, however they may differ on other matters, there is an understanding that agreement must be reached with the Soviet Union on the realistic basis of the existence of two German states and on nuclear and general disarmament. What is missing to bring this into full play so that government policy can be influenced for peace is a resurgent, fully developing mass peace movement, that will really reflect the deep concern of the American people. We must seek every avenue to this end.

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By J. N.

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The Changing Structure of the U. S. Working Class

By J. M. Budish

FOR ABOUT A YEAR and a half the magazine *World Marxist Review*, published in Prague, conducted a discussion in its pages of the changes in the structure of the working class which have occurred as a result of rapid mechanization and technological innovation during the last few decades and which were recently accelerated by the development of automation.

In general terms the effect of these changes was everywhere in the direction of reducing the proportion of manual production workers and increasing the relative numbers of engineers, technicians, laboratory and research workers, of office and clerical workers, of workers in distribution and services, including government service. All these non-manual workers are heaped together by bourgeois and revisionist statisticians and confusingly designated by the vague and economically non-meaningful term of "white collar" workers. Moreover, all these so-called "white collar" workers are said to belong to the middle classes, and not to the working class.

More than a score of articles by Marxist research organizations and economists, trade unionists, and research workers from the major capitalist countries, were published in

the *World Marxist Review*, covering various phases of the problem. At the end of May, 1961, economists representing these various research organizations that participated in the discussion took part in a conference convened by the *World Marxist Review* in Prague for the purpose of summing up the discussions and reaching some consensus based on a personal exchange of opinions and a Marxist analysis of the historic experience of the participating countries.

The discussions at the conference were penetrating and unsparing in criticism, and devoted to a cooperative common search of historic tendencies and trends. It helped dispose of the aberrations and misleading propaganda of both revisionism-reformism and dogmatism-sectarianism. It brought out the real significance of the changes in the structure of the working class and the various forms they assume under conditions prevailing in different countries at their respective stage of development. The facts and figures submitted to the conference by the participants, the spirited discussion and careful Marxist analysis led to a consensus with regard to trends and tendencies as revealed by the present stage of the discussion which was

embodied in a concluding communication to be published in an early issue of the *World Marxist Review*.

* * *

The discussions in the magazine and its conference were centered on three major problems:

1. Whether wage workers not participating directly in the production of value and surplus value, such as office employees, workers in the sphere of circulation and other "white collar" workers, are to be considered as part of the working class or as either semi-proletarians or potential allies of the working class. This phase of the question was also concerned with the various divisions of the working class—the industrial proletariat, the agricultural proletariat, the clerical and commercial proletariat, and the part which each of these divisions plays in the struggle of the working class by virtue of its position in the process of social production and reproduction, including both the sphere of production and the sphere of circulation.

2. What effect the changes in the structure of the working class, stemming from accelerated mechanization and automation, produce on the degree of skill—in the broadest sense of that term—demanded from workers in capitalist enterprises; whether automation leads predominantly to an upgrading or to a downgrading of wage earners, and

3. The question of labor aristoc-

racy under the changing structure of the working class.

In the discussion of these major problems the participants necessarily had to take into consideration the developments and structural changes in the social system of state-monopoly capitalism as a whole: the increasing centralization and concentration of capital; the growing power and aggressiveness of bigger Big Business and the anti-labor legislation enacted by the state it controls; the greater destructiveness of the anarchy of modern capitalist production; the increasing hard-core long-term unemployment in the most highly developed capitalist country (the U.S.A.); the ever greater difficulties encountered by monopoly capitalism in the realization of the enormous mass of surplus value; the increasing parasitism of state monopoly capitalism; and the excessive inflation of the service industries, including the apparatus of the state, and of the sphere of circulation. All these questions were touched upon in the course of the discussion but only to the extent necessary for the determination of the changes in the structure of the working class, *i.e.*, of the three major problems outlined above.

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There was an opinion voiced in the pages of the magazine and also brought forward at the conference which insisted that only wage workers participating directly in the pro-

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duction of value and surplus value, namely, wage workers in plants, factories, mills and mines, and also agricultural laborers, are to be considered as members of the working class. This trend of thought was bent on considering all other wage workers and office employees, those engaged in the process of reproduction and realization of surplus value, all workers employed in the sphere of circulation, either as semi-proletarians or as potential allies of the working class, but not as part of the working class.

Discussions which lasted several days and a careful analysis of the material submitted by the participating economists, resulted in a consensus. A definition of the working class was approved by all participants, though a small minority insisted on a proviso that it be considered as a conclusion reached at the present stage of the discussion, subject to further examination if and when continuing research should make it advisable.

The technical wording of the consensus reached at the conference was left for final formulation by the editorial board of the magazine, and it will be embodied in the communication on the conference to be published later in the *World Marxist Review*. The basic terms of this consensus were as follows:

All wage workers who own no means of production and are obliged to depend on the sale of their labor

power—physical or mental—in order to make a living, who have no direct voice in determining the processes of production or the volume of output, who are subject to the direction of the employer—the owner of the means of production or his agents—all such wage earners, are members of the working class. This includes all wage earners who take part in the process of production and reproduction, that is, in the process of production or realization of value and surplus value; all workers and employees who are subject to exploitation by the capitalist owner of the means of production that appropriates a certain part of their labor—the “unpaid labor”—and the magnitude of whose income is determined mainly by the cost of reproduction of their labor power, with whatever fluctuations due to the condition of the labor market and of the continuous class struggle between labor and capital. All these wage (salary) workers are members of the working class, whether engaged in the sphere of production or in the sphere of circulation. And, in principle, it makes no difference whether such wage workers are employed by an individual or corporate capitalist or by the capitalist class as a whole through the agency of the capitalist state.

The basic terms of this definition of the working class are clearly in accord with Lenin's classic definition of social classes.

Classes, are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in an historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in the laws) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the magnitude and the mode of acquiring the portion of social wealth of which they dispose. Classes are such groups of people, one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social production.

(*Collected Works*, 4th Russian Edition, Volume 29, page 388.)

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In arriving at a consensus on the composition of the working class the participants in the discussion laid stress on two fundamental Marxist concepts: the concept of circulation as an integral part of the process of production, and the concept of the "collective worker."

As the social division of labor continues to expand the Marxist thesis that "the capitalist process of production considered as a whole, is a combination of the process of production and circulation" gains greater significance. For it is through the capitalist process of production as a whole that the owners of the means of production appropriate and realize the surplus value produced by the workers. The wage earners engaged in the sphere of circulation, which is an integral part of the entire process

of capitalist production, must therefore be considered as part and parcel of the working class. In fact, Engels refers to the workers in the sphere of circulation—clerical and sales workers or commercial laborers—as "the commercial proletariat." (*Capital*, Kerr, Volume III, page 37 and page 255, Footnote #40.)

The Marxist concept of the "collective laborer" is even more fundamental. In the course of the development of capitalist production, as Marx put it:

The product ceases to be the direct product of the individual, and becomes a social product, produced in common by a collective laborer, i.e., by a combination of workmen, each of whom takes only a part, greater or less, in the manipulation of the subject of their labor. As the cooperative character of the labor-process becomes more and more marked, so, as a necessary consequence, does the nature of productive labor and of its agent the productive laborer, become extended. In order to labor productively, it is no longer necessary for you to do manual work yourself; enough, if you are an organ of the collective laborer, and perform one of its subordinate functions. (*Capital*, Kerr, Volume I, page 558).

The expansion of the process of capitalist production and exploitation has the effect of extending the boundaries of the "collective laborer," by proletarianizing persons engaged in occupations and professions which may have formerly not been a part of the working class. It is in the pro-

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cess of proletarianization that so-called "white collar" workers, including professionals, technicians, ruined petty bourgeois, are turned into agents of the productive "collective laborer," i.e., into part of the working class.

As early as 1912, Lenin reached the conclusion that, "The agricultural hired laborer belongs to one class with the factory and commercial hired worker," that is, to the same working class. (Emphasis in the original—*Collected Works*, 4th Russian Edition, Volume 18, page 23.)

The conference of the *World Marxist Review* accordingly considered the three major divisions of the working class to be: 1. the industrial proletariat—workers in factory, mills, plants, mines, transportation, communication, public catering establishments, warehousing, packaging establishments, who are engaged directly in the production of value and surplus value; 2. the agricultural proletariat—farm laborers who are employed on the farm in the direct production of value and surplus value and 3. the clerical and commercial proletariat—employees in offices and in wholesale and retail trade—who are engaged either in the process of production continued in the sphere of circulation or in the realization of surplus value. For the sphere of circulation is an integral part of the process of capitalist production taken as a whole.

It was agreed by all participants that, because of its place in the process of production and its concentration in big enterprises, the industrial proletariat, i.e., the workers in plants, factories, mills and mines, who participate directly in the production of value and surplus value, is the decisive and leading division of the working class.

* * *

Bourgeois statistics, and that includes the figures compiled by the Departments of Commerce and Labor of the United States, are frequently based on erroneous and confusing definitions. The economically active population of the labor force is distributed into occupational groupings by function or particular skill, rather than by their relationship to the means of production, or their ownership or non-ownership of the tools, equipment and materials which they have to use in their work. For instance, in the case of the so-called "white collar" workers there is an unscientific and misleading throwing together of such diverse social groups as capitalists and petty bourgeois proprietors of any kind of business, including self-employed professionals, with such working-class groups as hired laboratory workers and technicians and wage-earning clerical and sales workers.

This misleading classification has been made the basis for the propaganda about the alleged dwindling

of the working class. To illustrate: In the United States in 1900 the various socially diverse groups included in the confusing "white collar" classification numbered slightly over 5 million comprising less than 19% of the total employed civilian labor force of 29 million. By 1960 these diverse "white collar" groups, heaped into a single pile, grew to nearly 29 million comprising 43% of the total employed labor force of nearly 67 million.

These erroneous statistics have been seized upon by bourgeois economists and reformist-revisionists as proof that "the working class is no longer the major factor in the total labor force." (*Fortune*, April, 1960). The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation (SPD) of the United States uses the same erroneous reasoning as justification for throwing overboard any Marxist principles to which they had been paying lip service. The latest revision of the SPD program explicitly declares that, "from a party of the working class the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation has become a party of the people." The SPD also endorses the position of the West German Social Democrats that accepts the basic foundation of capitalism, namely the "right of private ownership to the means of production . . . as long as it does not hinder the establishment of social justice." (*Socialist Call*, 1960, No. 1.)

A careful computation was made

by this author in his book, *The Changing Structure of The Working Class* scheduled for early publication by International Publishers. It was prepared before the Prague conference, but it was based on the same concepts of the working class as those formulated at the conference and cited above. This computation shows that of the nearly 29 million so-called white collar workers comprising 43% of the entire U.S. labor force in 1960, not more than 7.1 million (roughly 10½% of the labor force) of proprietors, managers and officials, can properly be classified as belonging either to the capitalist class or the middle strata. On the other hand 14.2 million of clerical and sales workers (over 21% of the labor force) are unquestionably part of the working class. Finally, there are 7.5 million professional, technical and kindred workers (11% of the labor force) that may be said to represent a marginal group. A detailed statistical analysis of this group shows that for the most part they, too, belong to the working class.

A more sound method of classification used by official American statistics is that distributing the economically active population between self-employed including the unpaid family workers, and wage and salary workers. While it is also erroneously based on the source of income rather than on the basic relationship to the means of production, these figures do present a fairly accurate picture of

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the class division of the labor force, especially with regard to trend. And with certain relatively simple adjustments, by eliminating from the totals of "wage and salary workers" the alien elements of high salaried employees and officials with managerial and controlling functions, these figures do present a broadly correct picture of the real class division of the labor force.

The "self-employed" include all owners of means of production, capitalists as well as family farmers and proprietors of even the smallest business and also self-employed professionals—doctors, lawyers, etc. Together with their unpaid family workers, that covers the capitalist class and the middle strata including the petty bourgeoisie up to the poorest farmers and most wretched "businessmen" and professionals who stay "self-employed" only because there are no jobs to be had. This class of self-employed and unpaid family workers has been declining as a proportion of the labor force for the last several decades. However, comparable figures are available only for recent years. During the last decade, 1950 to 1960, the number of self-employed and unpaid family workers declined not only proportionately but also absolutely.

In 1950 this class of capitalists and middle strata numbered 12.2 million or 19.4% of the total civilian labor force. By 1960 their number declined to 10.8 million, making up only

15.3% of the total civilian labor force.

The number of wage and salaried workers, on the other hand, increased during the same decade from 37 million to 59 million or from 80.6% to 84.7% of the total civilian labor force (including both employed and unemployed). Far from dissolving into the middle class, the working class absorbed not only the entire increment of the labor force but also 1.4 million of the middle strata who were squeezed out during this decade from the ranks of self-employed and transformed into wage or salary workers.

These figures in their absolute numbers may slightly exaggerate the number and proportion of economically active people belonging to the working class. For, as already indicated, they include high paid salaried workers and officials as well as employees of agencies whose main function is repression such as police, firemen frequently used as auxiliary police, employees of intelligence and detective agencies and similar elements who definitely do not belong to the working class. But after having made all the necessary corrections to eliminate errors caused by confusing classification, available figures (cited in detail in our book) show that the working class of the United States has continually grown and that at present it comprises no less than 80% of the *total* economically active population, including those engaged in agriculture, and 85% of

the labor force in the non-agricultural industries.

While the working class represents a higher proportion of the labor force in the United States than in the less developed capitalist countries, the detailed data submitted at the conference in Prague showed that in all capitalist countries as well, the capitalist class and middle strata have dwindled while the numbers and proportion of the proletariat have been increasing.

* * *

With regard to employees not connected directly either with the production of value and surplus value or with its realization such as junior medical staff, sanitation employees, teachers, etc., the economists participating in the Prague conference agreed that such employees must be considered as marginal cases. Their exact position with regard to the working class depends on their place in the social process of production and the conditions of their employment, a question that should be the subject of further research and discussion.

This writer grappled with this problem in the chapter of his mentioned book dealing with the position of teachers, primarily public school teachers, among other categories. In the United States there are 1,600,000 teachers or nearly 2½% of the total employed civilian labor force. They work for wages. They own no means of production and de-

pend on the sale of their (mental) labor power in order to live. Their income, as a rule, is of the same order of magnitude as that of moderately skilled workers. They acquire their income in about the same manner as workers do—by receiving a specified compensation for specified hours of work. It is also commonly agreed that the overwhelming majority of the teachers are "underpaid."

A careful examination will show that the general assumption that teachers have no place in the process of capitalist production does not correspond to the realities of their function. It is a fact that the tax-supported free public school system came into existence and grew to its present proportions in the course of the development of capitalist economy, which made it necessary to provide a modicum of schooling for the children of the workers as an important condition for the reproduction of the work force and the assurance of an abundant supply of "exploitable" labor. Due to the processes of modern production only such workers are employable as have received at least an elementary education. In many cases now a high school education is made a condition for employment. Teachers accordingly perform a necessary function in the process of the reproduction of the labor force needed to enable the capitalist to continue and expand the production of goods and profits (value and surplus value).

The fact that teachers are employed not by the individual or corporate capitalist but by the capitalist class as a whole through the agency of the capitalist state does not change the situation with regard to the place of the teacher in the process of production and reproduction. Subjectively some teachers may snobbishly consider themselves as middle class; others may succumb to the "manu-als," "programs," and "guides" of their capitalist employer and may lend themselves to the service of the capitalist class, just as the labor aristocracy does. However, as wage workers occupying a definite place in the system of social production, teachers objectively must be considered as belonging to the working class.

* * *

The second major question discussed at the Prague conference was concerned with the effect of automation on the upgrading or downgrading of the workers. Reports of participating economists varied. It seemed that in cases of more limited operations some upgrading took place, while in great mass production enterprises where large numbers of workers were involved the prevailing change was in the direction of downgrading.

The burgeoning use of electronic data-processing automated equipment and computers in banking, insurance, internal revenue, census, defense organizations as well as in

offices of big industrial, wholesale and retail trading enterprises, etc., is accelerating the processes that have been leveling down the so-called "white collar" workers, including upper grades of clerical and sales workers, as well as engineering, technical and laboratory workers to a common denominator. This is true both in the sense of transforming them ever more into machine operators and also with regard to wage scales and job insecurity, now nearly on the same level as that of the "blue collar" production workers, *i.e.*, the skilled mechanics working within the plant.

Reports indicated that as against limited upgrading of small numbers of workers and as against the creation of some new classifications of workers which in certain cases require higher skills than formerly, the effect of automation on the major part of the work force tended towards downgrading.

The discussion at the conference brought out that in socialist countries, which are engaged in a vast carefully planned campaign with a view to reducing or eliminating the gap between mental and physical work by means of stimulating and encouraging the broad masses of the workers to participate in various schemes of intensive adult education, the effect of automation has been in the direction of requiring greater levels of intelligence and alertness, and it has always gone hand in hand

with the upgrading of the workers.

It was the consensus that the experience of the workers of individual automated plants in various capitalist countries must be further studied with a view of more clearly defining not merely general tendencies but also the extent to which automation affects requirements of skill in the capitalist system of production, including the effects of whatever protective measures are instituted by organized labor.

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On the question of labor aristocracy, the consensus of the conference was that most of the former objective conditions on which a labor aristocracy has been based no longer prevailed. The small highly skilled trades which at one time were able to paralyze an industry by striking, and whose unions were frequently considered and used by Big Business as a kind of insurance against the unionization of the great masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the mass production industries, this particular objective basis for the privileged position and power of the labor aristocracy has now largely disappeared. However, in the experience of practically all participants another labor aristocracy is now developing and to a certain extent is already in existence. This is especially the case in the United States.

The new labor aristocracy, partly merging with surviving remnants of

the former small groups of highly skilled workers, is based not so much on the power of strategically placed relatively small groups of craftsmen, but on the development of a strong and corrupt trade-union bureaucracy. It includes favored groups of workers such as licensed plumbers, licensed electricians and other mechanics in the building trades, lithographers, etc., who while not more skilled than most of the other workers in the respective industry are the beneficiaries of special privileges either by virtue of their receiving licenses from some authorities or by virtue of being allocated to better-paying jobs in the small proportion of shops which either perform special functions or cater to a select trade and which provide practically permanent year-round employment. This is one way which is used by the capitalist class to bribe and corrupt certain sections of the working class, which, together with the highly paid union bureaucracy that is frequently allied with the politicians of the major capitalist parties and in some cases also with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, now form a new type of labor aristocracy that lends itself to the service of the capitalist class.

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In course of the discussions at the Prague conference, questions arose as to the effects of the changing structure of the working class on the labor movement. These questions were

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considered in the light of the experience of the highly developed capitalist countries, especially of the United States, where the development of working-class consciousness was greatly retarded by unique historic circumstances.

The point of view was presented that the changing structure of the working class creates a more imperative and more urgent need on the part of the trade unions, especially in the monopoly controlled mass production industries, to organize the unorganized, including the "white collar" workers and the anti-union areas. The changed structure also leads to a sharpening of the labor struggles for maintaining and improving standards of wages and working conditions, including some degree of job security. Under the new conditions created by the changing structure of the working class, these struggles are inescapably linked with some form of political struggle against anti-labor legislation and therefore against the domination of the state by monopoly capital. Reference was made to the analysis in Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*:

The economic conditions have first transformed the mass of the people of a country into wage workers. The domination of capital has created for this mass of people a common situa-

tion, a common interest. Thus this mass is already a class, as against capital, but it is not yet for itself. In the struggle of which we have only noted some phases, this mass unites and it is constituted as a class in itself.

The experience of the participants in the conference, and the material submitted by them in the course of the discussion, tended to substantiate that point of view. The conference approved the conclusion that in the course of its bitter struggles and travail to meet the challenge of the new technology and bigger Big Business there is developing within the ranks of labor a dawning appreciation of their common interests and destiny. Whether they are fully aware of it or not, present-day objective conditions accelerate the identification of the individual worker, both "blue collar" and "white collar," as well as of the craft groups of workers, with labor as a whole, with the working class. The struggle against the blight of monopoly capitalism and the monstrous insecurity, joblessness and distressed areas which it breeds, has the effect of consolidating the unity of labor, and labor is bound to come to look upon itself as a separate and distinct class and to gain greater consciousness of its working-class dignity and creative power.

IDEAS IN OUR TIME

BY HERBERT APTHEKER

I. SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S VISION

Mr. J. W. Fulbright's opinions—at least when he does not discuss his native Arkansas—have been marked, on the whole, by a higher level of intelligence and a more informed grasp of the world's realities than are shown by most of his Senatorial colleagues. This, plus the fact that Mr. Fulbright is Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, make his opinions a matter of particular importance.

These views may be found expounded in an essay of some 9,000 words making up the lead article in the current (October) issue of *Foreign Affairs*. This is the quarterly publication of the Council on Foreign Relations, whose editorial board includes such distinguished figures as Allen W. Dulles, John J. McCloy, Alfred M. Gruenther and George F. Kennan. Senator Fulbright's article is entitled, "For a Concert of Free Nations"; by this title the Senator conveys his main thesis: he wishes to see established in the present period, an up-to-date version of the Concert of Europe which existed from the Congress of Vienna (1815) to the outbreak of World War I (1914). That which makes the Concert of Europe so attractive to Mr. Fulbright, is the fact—according to him—that it had to its credit "a splendid achievement," namely, "it kept the peace for a hundred years."

Apart from the historic truth as to the sources and functions of this Concert of Europe—which the Senator, I think, altogether misunderstands—this idea that the century from the final defeat of Napoleon to the onset of the First World War was one of peace, which is by no means confined to Senator Fulbright, is altogether erroneous. It was, rather, an especially bloody century, even when compared with those that preceded it, in the fearfully bloody recorded history of man, coterminous as that history has been with the existence of exploitative social systems.

Let us begin our chronicle of the war-making of this Century of Peace by mentioning some of the better-known conflicts that ravaged Europe in that period: *The Crimean War* (1853-56) involving Britain, France, and Turkey against Russia; the *War of Prussia and Austria against Denmark* (1864); the *War of Prussia and Italy against Austria* (1866); the *Franco-Prussian War* (1870-71); the *Russo-Turkish War* (1877-78); the *Balkan Wars* (1912-1913), involving Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Turkey. Then there were wars involving certain European and non-European powers and not having Europe as their main fulcrum, for example: the *Spanish-American*

War (1898); the *Boer War* (1899-1902) involving the Dutch and British in South Africa; and the *Russo-Japanese War* (1904-1905). Then, focussing on Europe, there were the bourgeois-democratic and national-liberation wars that inflamed the Continent in 1830 and in 1848, and that kept the Italian peninsula one continual battle-field for most of the 19th century.

One may add that Senator Fulbright is offering his vision under the title of *A Concert of Free Nations* to convey the idea of an alliance that is not only to keep the peace, but is to cherish freedom. Just as his model of the Concert of Europe was faulty insofar as it did not maintain peace (even in Europe), it is glaringly faulty insofar as its essential purpose was to maintain an oppressive and exploitative status quo. Its whole system was one vast exercise in violence, directed unrelentingly upon the disinherited of Europe—which is to say some 85% of its population. It is at least ironic to see an American Democrat of the 20th century—a leading New Frontiersman, and spokesman for the intellectualized Liberal set—holding up as a “model” and an “example”—his words—the Europe of Metternich and of Bismarck, to cite the two leading figures respectively of the first and second halves of Fulbright’s Century of Peace. Of the first model, the *Columbia Encyclopedia* writes:

The Metternich system depended upon political and religious censorship, espionage, and the suppression of revolutionary and nationalist movements. His name became anathema to liberals everywhere. . . .

The second, epitomizing Prussian militarism and expansionism, would seem to be as incongruous a model.

I should think that from the viewpoint of liberalism, the contradictory character of citing the Concert of Europe as a model admittedly would be so glaring that no reply could be forthcoming. But in terms of the Concert as a model for maintaining peace, the reply might come from the Fulbright side that the list of wars offered in the preceding pages proves rather than disproves the point—that the 19th century was one of peace—for all the wars were limited both in areas involved and in time spanned. There is something to this, though the wars were fairly full-scale efforts, when the technique of that century is borne in mind. The main point, however, is not so much Fulbright’s “carelessness” in ignoring the European wars that did occur in his “Century of Peace”; the main point is that Senator Fulbright equated Europe with the world. The main point is not that his rendering of European history was sloppy to the point of serious error, but that his ignoring of the rest of the world during the Century of Peace shows

him to be so unable to see that one is appalled in realizing that he is a statesman with great responsibility. When one recalls that among many other American "statesmen," Fulbright is a giant, one can only shudder.

The fact is that while in the 19th century, Europe was sporadically devastated by wars and shaken by continual popular upheavals, the Great Powers there (plus the United States and Japan) were in the process of developing monopoly capitalism. Thus the 19th century—Fulbright's Century of Peace—is *the* century of imperialism's most methodical and brutal ravishment of most of mankind in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America. The preoccupation with this ravishment is one of the reasons for the merely sporadic wars fought on the European continent itself, as it is one of the reasons for the severely repressive measures taken against the home population.

Besides certain particular outbreaks of warfare, such as the American Civil War and the national wars of liberation waged throughout Central and South America, which also mark Fulbright's peaceful century, that period is filled with criminal wars of aggrandizement and repression, such as the U.S. war upon Mexico, the U.S. war for the suppression of the Filipinos, and the U.S. Army's campaign of extermination against the American Indians. Above all, Fulbright's century is exactly the period of imperialism's rape of Asia and Africa; just to list the wars carried on by Great Britain in the Indian subcontinent would take a full page of this magazine. Sometimes the conflicts there were of sufficient scope so that they earned a precise name in Western texts—the First and Second Burmese Wars, the Kabul War, the First and Second Sikh Wars, the Sepoy Rebellion, the Afghan War, the Bhutan War—but generally speaking the British subjected that sub-continent to continual war. The same civilized behavior was bestowed by all the "advanced" countries upon China—the Opium War, the Chinese-Japanese War (1894-95), the Boxer Rebellion, etc.—not to speak of Africa with the French in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, the Belgians in the Congo, the British in Egypt, the Sudan, Kenya and Tanganyika, the Germans in the Cameroons, the Italians in Tripoli and Ethiopia, etc.

It is illuminating that Senator Fulbright is able to write of the Century of Metternich and Bismarck, of the Century of imperialism's most horrendous assault upon the vast majority of humankind (colored, as that majority is) as being the Century which serves as the model for the kind of Century he would like our next hundred years to be. To be kind, let us ascribe this to inadvertence and ignorance; to whatever one ascribes it, Fulbright's vision illuminates the fearful limitations of even the best among

capitalism's statement. It helps make clear why it is that the leaders of what Fulbright hilariously calls the "Free World" are less and less able even to converse with the majority of mankind, let alone to persuade them. These Western statesmen are living in a dream world (a dream world that was a nightmare for most people); they have no grasp of reality and this is why they are incapable of "taking the initiative" in the world as it really is today.

Basic to that world are the social systems of capitalism and socialism, but neither is so much as mentioned among Senator Fulbright's nine thousand words. Fascism, too, is not in his vocabulary—it is no longer a "polite" word in respectable circles; it is replaced by a circumlocution that refers to the unfortunate results of "the excesses of nationalism"! Of the League of Nations, Fulbright finds that the British viewed it "as an enlarged and improved Concert of Europe" and that Wilson saw it "as a universalized application of the Monroe Doctrine," then he berates the USSR for rejecting "the values which underlay both the Concert and the League!"

Of course, with all this, Senator Fulbright is able to write of the Second World War that "the grand strategy of the war" was planned by the United States and Great Britain; surely this will surprise Heusinger, Speidel and Foertsch—to name only three military leaders of the "Free World"—who must vaguely remember being somewhat preoccupied with the Soviet Union, while in Hitler's service back in the remote years, 1941-1945.

We have not yet gotten to the main point in Fulbright's essay: it is that A Concert of Free Nations is needed because the United Nations will not do. He finds it ridiculous that nations like "Bulgaria or Guatemala" should be able to cast a vote—equally with a Great Power—in the General Assembly. At about the same time that Senator Fulbright's essay was making its appearance, the *Wall Street Journal* (Sept. 19) was editorializing in exactly the same terms and urging that the United States take a very long and very critical second look at the UN. Further, the National Association of Manufacturers at the same moment announced its withdrawal from an arm of the UN, the International Labor Organization, affirming that the ILO was made up of "pinkos and reds" and that "nothing could be accomplished there." What seems to be developing—just as the United Nations, now with its 100th member, approaches the state of really becoming a United Nations—is a concerted propaganda campaign in the United States against it. No doubt all this is of a preliminary nature awaiting the moment, which comes ever nearer, when the 700,000,000 Chinese people can no longer be kept out.

Also of outstanding importance in Fulbright's essay is the fact that in its thousands of words, ostensibly devoted to how best can be developed a

concerted force for peace—having announced the UN to be worthless—there is not one word devoted to the question of disarmament! On the contrary, the assumption throughout this essay—by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, remember—is that a strongly-armed NATO would form the core of the “concert of free nations” that Fulbright proposes should, in effect, replace the United Nations. All this stands in the most complete contradiction with the public statements of the President of the United States—especially his statement before the United Nations. Yet this is the most recent and fullest expression of views coming from a very influential figure in the President’s own Party, and a potent force—so it has been repeatedly affirmed—in the shaping and implementing of foreign policy.

What Fulbright proposes, in his *Foreign Affairs* essay, is a *Pax Americana* to take the place of the *Pax Britannica* of the 19th century. But the *Pax Britannica* brought no peace a century ago; and a *Pax Americana* not only will bring no peace in this century, it is something that cannot be brought about at all in our era. Fulbright’s *Pax Americana* does not differ in essentials from Henry Luce’s American Century, projected just as the Cold War began. Both, postulating a world ruled by United States capital, project the impossible, lie at the root of the Cold War and, if persisted in, will continue to produce setback after setback for the U.S. government.

It is not *Pax Americana* that the world needs, but *Pax*. The road there is not through emulating Metternich and Bismarck; emulating them produced, in our century, Mussolini and Hitler. The road to peace is through negotiation, through strengthening a really representative United Nations, through terminating colonialism, through general and complete disarmament. On that road, mankind must go. There is no viable alternative to peaceful co-existence.

II. WHO WANTS DISARMAMENT? A DEFINITIVE STUDY

I have read no more important book, written by an American since World War II, than J. P. Morray’s *From Yalta to Disarmament: Cold War Debate* (Monthly Review Press, N. Y., 368 pp., \$8.50). Joseph Morray is a product of Illinois; he is a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis and of the Harvard Law School. He has practiced law, saw service in World War II, and for five years was Naval Attache at U.S. Embassies in Paraguay and Spain. After additional study at the Institute of International Affairs of the University of Paris, Mr. Morray became a member of the faculty at the University of California (Berkeley) where he taught international law and diplomatic history. Some time ago, Mr. Morray was in-

ited to be a Visiting Professor at the University of Havana; he is now teaching and studying in Cuba.

This bare summary of Mr. Morray's career—he is but 45 years of age—indicates that here is an individual who has had unique possibilities for grasping and conveying the essentials of the present-day world. In his first book, *Pride of State* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1959), Mr. Morray examined, as he put it, "Patriotism and American Morality"; he found the highest patriotism to be "innovation justified by posterity", which convinced him that radicalism was at the heart of true love of country. Hence, for him, true morality and profound radicalism were closely related; he did not fail, on the basis of this conclusion, to come explicitly and eloquently to the defense of American Communists. Commenting on that book in these pages (January, 1960), the present writer remarked that there was no other volume by an American non-Communist, issued by a commercial publisher, that defended this theme.

Courage, independence of thinking, and a fresh, incisive style of writing characterized that earlier volume; they are present again in this new and massive work, where Professor Morray has turned his attention to one of the decisive questions of our time: among the two greatest Powers in the world today, does either one truly want disarmament, and if either of them does, which one is it? The volume consists of Three Parts and eighteen chapters; Part One, in examining the "Origins of the Cold War", concentrates particularly upon the nature of the Yalta agreement, and the content of Churchill's Fulton, Missouri speech in March, 1946. Part Two, recording the efforts made for the "International Control of Atomic Energy", presents a careful analysis of the so-called Baruch Plan, the nature of and reasons for the Soviet objections thereto, and the Soviet plan for the control of atomic energy. Part Three, which forms two-thirds of the volume as a whole, is entitled "Disarmament"; here is studied in detail the actual proposals, objections, and argumentation offered by both the United States and the Soviet Union relative to disarmament from 1946 through January, 1961.

The book's documentation is full and careful. It consists almost entirely of official minutes of Committee Hearings, United Nations proceedings, memoirs and speeches by leading public figures such as Forrestal, Byrnes, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Truman, Lodge, Wadsworth, Stassen, Zorin, Khrushchev, and the actual texts of treaties, resolutions, agreements, both proposed and concluded. In less skillful hands this might have made for dullness; but Morray's apt organization and pointed prose—and the decisive importance of his subject—prevent this. Further, given

the intensely controversial character of the topic, it is well that Professor Morray has taken the course of laying the record before the reader, with very generous quotations, and then, in his argumentation, coming to conclusions that quite rightly have an air of inevitability about them.

Let us cull some of the main arguments and conclusions that Professor Morray's careful study has produced. He demonstrates that the early post-war agreements in referring to "democratic" forces indubitably included therein the Communists and clearly and unequivocally and permanently excluded fascists, and he remarks: "From the point of view of those who for strategic reasons want their crusade against Communism to appear a defense of democracy, this pregnant acknowledgment by Churchill and Roosevelt was a damaging error, better forgotten than denied." He proves that the essential purpose of Churchill's Fulton speech—delivered with the President of the United States on the platform and demonstrating enthusiastic approval—was to repudiate Yalta and thus to formalize the Western Powers' launching of the Cold War.

Of the greatest consequence is Professor Morray's persuasive demonstration of the historic truth that the path of anti-Communism not only is the path of anti-democracy, but that it is a path incompatible with peace. After tracing and documenting this momentous insight, Morray writes:

Americans generally have called the Communist cry of "Peace!" a false one and have been unable to account for its success as a propaganda slogan except with the derisive suggestion that millions of people have allowed themselves to be fooled by a hoax. It must be recalled that fervent anti-Communism, by making Hitler sure of his cause as the self-righteous defender of civilization, helped to bring on World War II. Because of this bitter lesson millions of apprehensive people are suspicious of such sentiments whether spoken in German or English. A nation that spurns co-existence and builds anti-Communist zeal into the structure of its ideology loses credit as a guarantor of peace and makes itself vulnerable to the charge of warmongering. This is no insignificant handicap where love for peace is rightly acknowledged to be a cardinal attribute of all entrants.

The analysis of the Baruch Plan, with its built-in effort at assuring United States domination of the world and its explicit provisions challenging the socialist structure of the Soviet Union, is masterful. This is important not only in terms of keeping the historical record straight; it is important because to this day one finds it referred to, on the highest levels, as though it had been some especially magnanimous offer made by a benevolent United States intent upon sparing the world the cost of an armaments race and the dangers of an atomic holocaust. On the contrary, as Morray

sums up the Baruch Plan: "Either the intoxication of self-confidence induced by the bomb gave rise to a dream that the USSR could be hustled into a disadvantageous arrangement, or the [U.S.] government never really made a serious effort, despite the fanfare, to solve the problem of saving the human race from nuclear horror."

In discussing the Soviet alternative to the Baruch Plan—ninety-nine out of a hundred Americans not only do not know the contents of this alternative, they do not know it ever existed!—Morrays draws a conclusion that has persisted as a pattern in the disarmament negotiations ever since:*

The Soviet Union said, in effect: Let us agree that atomic weapons are never to be used again, and then wrestle with the problem of controls. The United States said: We prefer to keep our atomic weapons and freedom to use them until you agree to our control system.

Again we are forced to the conclusion that the United States leaders saw their security tied to the atom bomb and preferred that security, with whatever reproach it invited from history, to a renunciation of monstrous weapons when this renunciation implied a descent toward military equality with the USSR. Parity with the Communists was more to be shunned than the risk of condemnation by future generations of mankind.

In addition to the basic fact that U.S. "disarmament" policy has been really a policy aiming at controlled armaments, Morrays brings out another limiting feature in that policy with a clarity that no other work has matched. In his own words:

The United States has insisted that international armed forces must be created to take the place of national armed forces. To the United States "disarmament" is "national disarmament." It is to be achieved by transferring the control of armed forces from the state to an international authority by giving the generals new hats and changing the emblems on uniforms. To the Soviet Union "disarmament" is "world disarmament." No armed forces, even international in character, beyond the police and militia forces required to maintain domestic order are to be left as a coercive power on states.

In no work has this writer seen a clearer expose of the hollowness of the anti-Soviet argument uttered in the name of opposition to appeasement. An essential element of the propaganda line of the United States government, from Truman to the present, has been that only a policy of strength can contain the Soviet Union and that any yielding to its

* The first break in this pattern came in the momentous joint Statement on Disarmament Principles signed by both the United States and the Soviet Union on September 20, 1961, in a Report to the United Nations. The American press has tended to ignore or minimize this Statement, but it can mean a real leap forward in serious disarmament negotiations.

proposals would constitute Munichism or appeasement. On this basis, repeatedly, the United States, and leading propaganda agencies in the United States, have rejected Soviet initiatives towards disarmament. Morray writes on this point:

When the United States, urged by Hitler's victim to join in disarmament, continues the arms build-up with the phrase "Remember Hitler!" it invites the world's condemnation by an attempt at confusion that looks dishonest and by a course of action much closer to Hitler's than to that of Hitler's victims. Hitler proved that a nation that refuses to accept Soviet proposals to disarm, secretly intends to attack when the time seems ripe. The beginning of Hitler's course of aggression lay in a manifest will to arm his state in spite of Soviet offers of complete and general disarmament. He also proved that such a course brings worse disaster for the aggressor than for the victim. If the American people "Remember Hitler" as he really was, they will be suspicious, not of Soviet disarmament proposals, but of excuses evoked by those proposals from governments refusing to disarm.

Other books have demonstrated—usually in the form of apologia—the United States commitment to the use of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical and bacteriological; they have shown that this commitment is so heavy that it dominates the tactical and strategic disposition of American strength. This has appeared, for example, in the writings of Maxwell Taylor, Thomas Schelling, Herman Kahn and Henry Kissinger. But this decisive fact in understanding the present-day world is brought out with special impact in Morray's work, because he does it by allowing the State Department's own official record to speak. Thus, when a Congressional Committee directly asked the State Department, as late as November, 1958, whether it was "against United States interests" to outlaw the use of nuclear weapons, the Department replied: "A ban on the use of nuclear weapons, taken alone, would be clearly inimical to present U.S. security interests. . . ." When the same Committee asked the State Department: "Is it to our interest to show that the use of nuclear weapons is no different from the use of other types of weapons in terms of international morality?" the answer from that Department was: "Yes, it is in the interest of the U.S. to have a general public awareness of the fact that nuclear weapons in themselves are no different from other types of weapons in terms of international morality. Since the end of World War II, our military defenses have been reshaped around nuclear weapons. . . ." How many Americans know this? How many Americans would agree with it, if they knew it?

Morray's book is very strong in showing the relationship between the

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Allies' position on Germany and on disarmament; how, since the Allies hitherto have insisted that there was only one Germany (that of Adenauer) and have pledged to each other and to West Germany the reunification of Germany through the liquidation of the German Democratic Republic, and since they have simultaneously insisted that Germany (their Germany) must remain the fulcrum of NATO, they have in fact, no matter what their words, hitherto made impossible any real progress on disarmament. The United States attitude towards the People's Republic of China has had the same result, whatever its motivation may be; that is, the United States, by refusing to recognize the existence of the most populous State in the world, has made it extremely difficult for the rest of the world to take seriously its protestations in favor of disarmament.

Of utmost interest and great immediate relevance, is Morray's demonstration that the much-discussed "troika" proposal for the reorganization of the UN structure developed out of and reflected the Soviet concern about implementing disarmament. The Soviet representative, in suggesting that the UN Secretariat and the Security Council, make certain that all three groups of States—Socialist, Western bloc, and neutralist—be represented on these organs with equality, specifically urged that this was necessary at an early date, "in order to create confidence in the correct use of international armed forces of police (militia) and to preclude the possibility of their use in the interests of a particular state or group of states." Let the reader ask himself if he knows of any American publication which has made clear this relationship.

Very clearly, there emerges from Morray's volume another fact of decisive importance to understanding today's world: this is that the United States has not only refused to agree to the outlawry of the use of weapons of mass destruction, but that she has also refused to agree that she would never use such weapons first.

I have some points of difference with Professor Morray, and the weight of his scholarship is so impressive that this moves me to re-examine my own views on these points with increased care. At one point, Morray takes a position of an agnostic as to the accomplishments of the People's Democracies since World War II; my own estimate is more positive and enthusiastic. At another, Morray agrees with the Anglo-American view that disarmament would intensify the dangers of war, in terms of national liberation outbreaks: I think this is a hasty judgment and that the disarming of Portugal, for example, would further the ending rather than the beginning of war. Similarly, I think Morray errs in holding that disarmament might increase the likelihood of socialist revolution being marked by viol-

ence; if the source of the violence is seen as being with the exploitative ruling class, it is at least arguable that reducing the weapons in its hands would tend to enhance rather than diminish the possibilities of the peaceful transition to socialism.

These are, however, not central disagreements and the absolutely indispensable character of Professor Morray's work remains.

Though aware that I have quoted from Morray's book at great length, nevertheless I wish to conclude this examination by quoting the last two paragraphs of his remarkable volume:

A close study of the negotiations over the past sixteen years can lead to only one conclusion: the Soviet Union wants our divided planet to be disarmed; the NATO governments do not. This conclusion must be faced with all its alarming implications. The deeply rooted fear of Communism is going to be tapped by Western governments and directed against anyone who argues for an acceptance of the Soviet proposals. This obscurantist tactic is already being employed, and more must be expected. Anyone who wants to enter into the struggle to force the NATO governments to accept disarmament will be helping the Communists achieve a priority objective. He must be prepared, therefore, to hear the charge of "Communist" leveled against himself by those who cannot meet the issue on the plane of reason. In a society permeated with emotional and unexamined anti-Communism, where the freedom to be a Communist or to agree with the Communist hardly exists or at best is granted on only the severest terms, this charge is bound to be dreaded, if not for himself, than because of hardships to family.

Nevertheless, the cause of disarmament is the cause of humanity. As the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the Western world have a common interest in keeping the nuclear bombs from falling, so they have a common interest in eliminating the possibility of their falling. They therefore have a common interest in discovering which parties in the crucial negotiations are really trying to hold on to the bombs and the means of their delivery and which are trying to have them destroyed. This judgment, if reached accurately and in time by enough people all around the world, can save mankind the awful suffering of another war. This is worth fighting for.

We began our comments on Professor Morray's book by noting that in his earlier volume he had defined patriotism in terms of enlightened radicalism, pursued despite all persecution and all deprivation. On the basis of this severe definition, I think that Professor Morray, in his *From Yalta to Disarmament*, has shown himself to be a splendid American patriot. Our gratitude and congratulations to him, and to his publishers, for producing a great light to help show the way forward for all humanity.

Soviet Policy on Weapons Testing and Disarmament

By N. S. Khrushchev

On September 9, 1961, Premier Khrushchev of the U.S.S.R., made the reply that follows to a Joint Note submitted to the Soviet Government on September 3, by the United States and Great Britain. No commercial newspaper in the United States printed the text of this statement; even the New York Times printed about one-tenth of it. It is published below in full—the Editor.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT has familiarized itself with the joint statement of the United States President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain of September 3 of this year on the tests of nuclear weapons. How can this statement be assessed?

First of all, one's attention is caught by the fact that the leaders of the United States and Britain have not uttered a single word about the gravity of the period we are living through, about the tense international atmosphere, although they should realize, it seems, that the situation with nuclear tests cannot be divorced from this atmosphere. It is precisely from the governments of the United States and Britain, which decide matters in the Western military bloc, that the peoples have a right to expect a clear and direct reply—when will they finally discontinue their sabre-rattling, when will they finally cease pushing the world to a nuclear-war catastrophe?

Living all this aside, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Macmillan not only divorce the question of nuclear weapon tests from the problem of disarmament,

a part of which it is, but are trying to consider it in isolation, as though in a test tube, unrelated to important events of international life. Each line of the statement by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain reveals a desire to ensure, cost what it may, for the Western powers and their allies in aggressive military blocs unilateral military advantages to the detriment of the security interests of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Moreover, the leaders of the United States and Britain are even trying to present the case as though their joint statement has been dictated by concern for the easing of international tension, for the interests of all mankind.

But no matter what high-sounding words the leaders of the United States and British governments choose in an attempt to whitewash their line in the question of nuclear weapons, it is impossible with their help to present an aggressive policy as a peaceful one, barbarity as humanism.

To make clear the purposes of this

statement, let us see what its concrete content is.

The statement advances the proposal that the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Britain should immediately reach agreement not to hold nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere provided, however, that the question of experimental blasts of this weapon underground and in the outer space should not be affected by this agreement.

It is not very difficult to assess the meaning of this proposal. We are offered that the United States and Britain, let alone France which remains altogether outside this proposal, should retain the opportunity to go on improving their nuclear weapons. But even this is not enough for them. They want to try and see whether it is possible or not to tie the hands of the Soviet Union even stronger in the raising of its defense potential. In other words they want to kill two birds with one propaganda stone: to sanctify by the Soviet Union's consent their preparations in the sphere of nuclear armaments, at the same time tripping up their partner in the negotiations—the Soviet Union.

Indeed, it is common knowledge that the program of developing new types of nuclear weapons, which has been drawn up in the United States, now requires precisely underground tests; that is the kind of experiments to which the American-British pro-

posal is to give the green light. For several years the United States has striven at the Geneva negotiations of the three nuclear powers to legalize underground nuclear tests, which has been one of the main obstacles to the conclusion of a treaty on the complete discontinuation of nuclear tests. After all it is an open secret that the United States has long since planned underground nuclear tests and appropriate pits and underground galleries in the State of Nevada are kept in readiness there.

If any further proof was needed that the aims pursued by the joint statement of the United States President and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom are too thin, it was furnished by Mr. Kennedy himself when he issued instructions to resume underground nuclear tests on September 5, *i.e.*, the day following the message to the Soviet Union. The Government of the United States was so impatient that it, evidently, did not even think, if only for appearance's sake, to wait for the Soviet Government's reply to the American-British statement. Does this not show that from the very outset it was not going to concert its actions with the forthcoming reply of the Soviet Government to this statement?

It is not the first time that the governments of United States and Britain seek to confine a nuclear test ban to tests in the atmosphere alone. They made similar proposals,

for instance, in 1959. Why has the Soviet Government been and still is an opponent of such an approach to the question of discontinuing nuclear weapon tests? Because agreement on the cessation of one kind of tests only—in the atmosphere—would be a disservice to the cause of peace. It would mean deceiving the peoples. Such agreement could create harmful and dangerous illusions among the peoples as if steps were being taken to put an end to the arms race while in fact nothing of the kind would have been done.

In fact, the states would continue, in a sort of legalized way, to improve the existing types of atom and hydrogen weapons, using for this purpose underground tests, including those for so-called peaceful purposes, and tests in outer space. Besides, the possibility would be preserved to design new, still more destructive types of nuclear weapons on the basis of the data obtained as a result of these experiments. Of course, the military circles of the NATO member states would just rub their hands with satisfaction since they knew full well that the implementation of such a plan would only add grist to the mill of the NATO bloc—a potential aggressor.

Thus, the nuclear arms race would continue and its dangerous consequences would in no way be less than they are now. The conclusion of an agreement, starting a kind of race in underground nuclear tests,

and if you wish in outer space or under water, could be assessed by the peoples and with good reason as a dishonest deal. Of course, the Soviet Government cannot and will not strike such a deal. Such a deal is wanted by those who build their policy on deceit of the peoples, on playing at talks.

The Soviet Union is a champion of the cessation of all kind of nuclear weapon tests without any exceptions, everywhere and for all time to come. It was precisely as a result of its efforts that representatives of the USSR, the United States and Britain three years ago opened talks on the discontinuance of nuclear tests. The Soviet Government went to these talks hoping that the Western Powers, too, would accept an agreement on the cessation of tests. During the talks the Soviet Union made a number of concessions to the United States and the United Kingdom, yet, with each meeting, and there were already over 300 of them, hopes for success disappeared just as a mirage disappears in the desert when one approaches the desired object. Bitter though it is to realize this, but looking realistically at things, one must draw the conclusion that the Geneva talks are today as far from their accomplishment as they were three years ago.

Nor can one overlook the fact that while the United States and Britain were stalling at the Geneva talks, their partner in a military bloc,

France, became a nuclear power; the French Government staged a series of nuclear explosions and clearly intimated that it would not regard itself bound by any commitments with regard to the cessation of nuclear weapon tests. The Soviet Government has pointed out more than once that a false situation for the Geneva talks was created in connection with the French nuclear tests. The Soviet Union warned that it would be compelled to resume tests if France did not stop her test explosions. However, it became clear that there was a certain distribution of roles between the NATO allies: the United States and the United Kingdom held talks with the U.S.S.R. on the cessation of tests thus retarding the improvement of Soviet nuclear weapons, while France exploded one nuclear device after another.

If there were still gullible people who might believe the assurances that France was staging nuclear tests by herself and not working hand in glove with the United States in this respect, in the interests of the entire NATO bloc, the agreement just approved by the United States President on cooperation between the United States and France in using atomic energy for military purposes dispelled any illusions on this score. It is clear that the results of nuclear tests, held by any NATO power, go into the common imperialist NATO pool.

Now, too, John Kennedy's and

Harold Macmillan's statement refers only to three nuclear powers—the U.S.S.R. the United States and the United Kingdom. And what about France? The sponsors of the statement proceed from the assumption that France will continue nuclear tests as hitherto. Don't they ask too much of the Soviet Union expecting that it would tolerate such an impermissible situation?

The situation is aggravated by the fact that the NATO powers in recent months sharply turned the wheel of their policy towards preparing a military clash.

To start with, the United States Government demanded a sharp increase of military appropriations in the spring of this year. Today the United States military budget amounts to more than 50,000 million dollars. Never before has any state spent such tremendous amounts of money on military purposes in peace time. This was followed by the build-up of the United States Armed Forces, the call up of 250,000 reservists, the reinforcement of the American garrison in West Berlin, the decision of the United States Government to speed-up the production of new types of submarines and rockets and to recommission even old American ships and planes. There are many such facts and it is impossible to list all of them.

Not only the United States is engaged in military preparations, but its allies under military blocs, too,

above all West Germany, whose leaders, obsessed by the ideas of militarism and revanchism, are probably working harder than anyone else to pit the great powers against each other in connection with the conclusion of a German peace treaty, to strike a spark which may produce the flame of a third world war.

But what makes it most suspicious is the attitude of the Governments of the United States, Britain, France and the F.R.G. to the proposal to conclude, at long last, a German peace treaty. In reply to the proposal to sit down at one table and adopt a decision, in a calm atmosphere and in a business-like way, on a peaceful settlement with Germany and normalizing on this basis the situation in West Berlin, the Western governments have started a whole avalanche of military measures. Blunt threats against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are being made with increasing frequency.

All this compelled the Soviet Union, as earlier stated by the Soviet Government, to display concern for the further strengthening of its defenses.

In face of the feverish war preparations of the NATO powers spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, we had no other alternative but to take measures which are prompted by the necessity to counter the threats, by

the necessity to be ready to take up arms against aggression. Such a necessity arose against our will, it was created not by us but by the policy of brandishing arms inciting to war, which is now being carried through by the chief NATO powers, especially in connection with the question of the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The Soviet Union has resumed nuclear weapon tests because it would border on thoughtlessness in the obtaining situation to disregard the possibility of aggression against it.

Deciding to resume tests, the Soviet Government, of course, was aware that at first some people might not be able to assess the entire complexity of the international situation and would display a certain lack of understanding of this step taken by the Soviet Union. We realized in advance that some people in the West would not disdain to exploit this in order to try to earn propaganda capital. Nevertheless the Soviet Union could not act otherwise. Weighing all the pros and cons, the Soviet Government with an aching heart had to resume test explosions.

We do not doubt that the overwhelming majority of mankind rightly assesses the Soviet Government's measures. Strengthening of the defense potential of the Soviet Union means at the same time strengthening the peace forces throughout the world. The aggressor must know that there is a de-

pendable force capable of defending peaceful labor, freedom and the independence of the peoples.

The joint American-British statement touches upon the question of the growing danger of contamination of the atmosphere with radioactive substances. It goes without saying that these are undesirable phenomena. The Soviet Union is taking all measures to reduce to a minimum the harmful effects of tests on living organisms.

However, it is legitimate to pose the question why neither the Government of the United States nor the Government of Britain had complained over the contamination of the atmosphere when for a number of years the roar of the explosions of atom and hydrogen bombs continued far from the vital centres of those states—on Bikini, Eniwetok and Christmas Islands—and when a tremendous amount of radioactive fall-out poisoned not only the earth's atmosphere but also contaminated the waters of the Pacific and passed through products of the sea into the bones and blood of innocent people?

Why did the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom find no words to condemn the actions of the French Government which for almost two years has been contaminating the earth's atmosphere, staging nuclear tests in the Sahara?

Concern over the contamination of the earth's atmosphere, expressed

in the American-British statement, if checked, turns out to be artificial. Would it not be more honest to tell the peoples what really is in store for them, if events further continue developing in the direction in which they have been developing in recent months as a result of the growing aggressiveness of the policy of the NATO powers? Yet, affairs are taking such a turn that mankind might be caught up in the tornado of a nuclear rocket war and tens and hundreds of millions of people may perish in the flame of such a war unless the policy of the Western powers is changed in time.

The present policy of the NATO powers creates a situation when we must fear not radio-active fall-out, but lest nuclear weapons themselves, all their deadly and destructive force, are dropped on the heads of the people. If we put on the scales the harm of nuclear tests for the peoples' health and the consequences of the combat application of nuclear weapons everyone will see the alternative facing mankind today and how hypocritical the statements of the Western powers concerning experimental nuclear blasts are.

No, the Soviet Union cannot permit risking the lives of millions upon millions of people. The Soviet Government would not have discharged its duties if it did not show proper concern for the security of the Soviet people.

And if it is now confronted with

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the grim necessity of resuming tests of nuclear weapons, this is being done only to safeguard our people—and indeed all mankind—from experiencing on themselves, as was the case with the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, live explosions of these weapons. The Soviet Union is trying to prevent people from becoming victims of atomic, hydrogen or neutron bombs, which are spoken of frequently in the West by those who counterpose to the genuine humanity of the socialist society and our foreign policy their own man-hating policy to which people are merely fuel to stoke the furnace of nuclear war, and the material and cultural treasures created by the peoples—potential booty, spoils of war of imperialist aggressors.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has held several times fewer nuclear tests than the U.S., Britain and France, and yet, we have every reason—both from the standpoint of morality and from the standpoint of safeguarding our national interests—to hold as many tests as the Western powers. For the leaders of the Western Powers themselves often say that while the arsenals of nations are bursting with stockpiled arms, the security of each of them depends to a large extent on the balance of forces. And there is much truth in this. What the Western leaders consider just in the security interests of their state, which no one

threatens, is much more just with regard to the Soviet Union and the entire socialist commonwealth which have to live in an atmosphere of threats and sabre rattling by imperialists.

To disperse the storm clouds of war and normalize the relations among states it is necessary to resolve the key problem of our time—the problem of general and complete disarmament. This idea, which has won the hearts of all who cherish peace, is now courageously advocated not only by the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, but also by many independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is evidenced by the results of the Conference of twenty-five non-aligned states, which has just ended in Belgrade, a conference which has made a fine contribution to cramping the forces of war and strengthening the forces of peace. Those who can squarely face the truth will recognize that nuclear tests can now be ended everywhere and forever only on the basis of general and complete disarmament. Once this problem is settled, no one would have the temptation to test nuclear weapons on land, underground, in the atmosphere, in outer space, and, indeed, there would be nothing to test as the weapons, and above all nuclear rocket weapons, would be sent to scrap. Life itself has linked these two questions into one indivisible whole.

Unfortunately, the U.S. Govern-

ment, as shown by bilateral Soviet-American talks, does not want even to approach general and complete disarmament with the establishment of vigorous international control over the activities of states in this field. But then the government of the U.S., and also the government of Britain which, judging by everything, abides by the same position, must assume the responsibility also for the fact that the question of ending nuclear tests will remain unsettled.

In reply to the proposal to limit ourselves to renouncing the holding of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, we can only say to the President of the U.S. and the Prime Minister of Greater Britain: Let us direct the minds and energy of our peoples not to military preparations, not to fanning up the cold war, not to jests for spurious propaganda moves, but to getting down together to settle the main problem of our time—general and complete disarmament. Let us seek seriously, in good faith, a solution to the question of a German peace treaty in order to arrest in time the sliding of states into the chasm of nuclear rocket war. Then everything will fall in its place; there will be eliminated not only nuclear tests but the threat of nuclear war itself.

One need not be a prophet to pre-

dict that the Russians and the Americans, the Czechs and the British, the Arabs and the Indians, all peoples of the world will ever remember with gratitude the statesmen, the governments who had spared no effort to achieve general and complete disarmament and rid mankind forever of wars. If, on the other hand, this problem remains unsettled, the peoples will curse those leaders who had used their position and authority to preserve the fever of war preparations and the abiding threat of nuclear rocket war. Nor will they ever forgive if everything is not done to draw the line under World War Two, conclude a peace treaty with Germany which would relieve the peoples of Europe, and not only Europe, of fear and concern for the morrow, and would bring them a tranquil and peaceful life.

General and complete disarmament with liquidation of the entire national military establishments, immediate conclusion of a German peace treaty, and a line under World War Two—such, in the obtaining conditions, is the straight road to ridding the peoples of wars and the calamities and misfortunes which they bring to mankind. It is to embark on this road that we urge the governments of the U.S. and Great Britain.

by Gust

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Peace with Germany: Peace for the World

by Gusta Fuchikova

Two of the great national heroes of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are Julius Fuchik, and his wife, Gusta Fuchikova. The former, a leading literary figure and Communist in pre-World War II Czechoslovakia and a foremost figure in the anti-nazi Resistance movement, was captured by the Gestapo, repeatedly tortured, and finally executed, September 8, 1943. His wife and comrade, also a leader of the Resistance, was arrested, tortured and confined in the Ravensbruck Concentration Camp, from which the Soviet Army released her and hundreds of other prisoners.*

Madame Fuchikova is today a leading figure in the Czechoslovak government, and is Vice-President of that country's Peace Committee. We are certain that the following article on the German Question from this heroic woman will be of great interest to our readers—The Editor.

This year, perhaps more than ever before since the end of the last war, people all over the world are disturbed about the problems of peace and the danger of a new war. The idea of a life of lasting peace is becoming increasingly dear to mankind and the peoples of all nations are no longer willing to leave the defence and guaranteeing of peace to chance or to a small circle of diplomats alone. Thus the World Peace Movement has a growing importance and is meeting with ever greater response in rallying millions of people in the struggle for peace.

The words "peace" and "war" are often heard, particularly in connection with the Soviet proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty with

Germany. The governments and politicians who oppose these proposals are inciting public opinion by pretending that the efforts to achieve a peace treaty with Germany increase the danger of war and that such a peace treaty would mean the threat of a new conflict for Europe and the world.

But the proverb "cry thief" is still valid. How could a peace treaty with Germany lead to war when its whole purpose is to put an end to the aftermath of war and to destroy the seeds of a new one? Does the draft treaty include clauses favoring the arms drive (either material or ideological), does it claim foreign territory, suggest a change of social system or include articles that could serve as a basis for military or aggressive alliances?

The draft of the peace treaty with Germany speaks an unequivocal and

* To read Fuchik's *Notes from the Gallows* (N. Y., 1948, New Century Publishers, 60c), is to become acquainted with one of the greatest pieces of Communist and humanist literature ever produced.

comprehensible language. Its articles aim uncompromisingly at achieving a peaceful life, above all by proposing that Germany undertakes not to use force in the solution of problems still outstanding, an undertaking which is considered today to be a natural demand for mutual relations between peoples.

The peace treaty should also legalize the present German frontiers, in the East and West, in conformity with the situation today.

Is this an aggressive demand? It is one that corresponds to reality and historical justice and it is only the efforts to change these frontiers that could be an aggressive demand, as has been the case before in the past.

According to the draft treaty, Germany may not become a member of any military grouping that would threaten any state of the anti-Hitler coalition, that is to say, a member of NATO or of the Warsaw Treaty.

If Germany does not want to use force for the solution of unresolved questions, and if it has no territorial claims on other states, there is no reason for it to create military pacts which German imperialism used in the past to launch wars and for its military exploits—pacts such as the so-called Triple Alliance before the first world war, or the Axis before World War II.

The undertaking to prohibit all fascist and militaristic propaganda which always goes along with preparations for war is logically bound up

with the abolition of aggressive plans.

There is nothing aggressive in the articles of the peace treaty. It contains nothing that might imperil the freedom and happy life of the German people or the safety of their neighbors. On the contrary, it contains the foundation-stone for a happy future, dispersing all fears for the future and bringing to the whole of Europe an air of peace without anxiety concerning the danger of war.

It poses demands which are those of the majority of mankind: an end to the arms drive, guarantees for a free and democratic life, and the development of relations between the peoples on the basis of friendship and friendly competition.

The conclusion of this peace treaty would mean no more nor less than legally fixing and respecting what the anti-Hitler coalition created during World War II; it would mean realizing objectives for which hundreds of millions of people fought and which cost the lives of 80 million people; it would mean the realization of the promise that German militarism and barbarous fascism never again be allowed to rear its head, that the existence of a powder-barrel in the heart of Europe which, if it exploded, would once again ignite a murderous catastrophe, would never again be permitted; it would mean the achievement of what hundreds of millions of people believed

in and longed for in the difficult war years.

This is the meaning of the plan for a peace treaty with Germany.

It has, however, been the object of many hostile attacks, and its peaceful, simple and clear aim is disguised and distorted.

It is above all the West German government that has turned it down. These circles cannot agree to having to guarantee the present frontiers of Germany. They continue to demand a part of the territory of Czechoslovakia and all the booty of Prussian militarism and of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht, although the masters of Bonn sometimes strive to speak with the diplomacy of hypocrites and to deny their revenge-seeking aims. But the irredentist demonstrations, the support and organization of dozens of "Landsmannschaften" which trumpet out their program of revenge and which have their representatives even in the government of the Federal German Republic, speak a clear language. That is why they do not want to accept the prohibition of the irredentist propaganda, why they consider this peaceful condition as a threat of war.

They also refuse to ban military propaganda because the new Bundeswehr, led by generals with a nazi past, is the greatest pride of the Bonn government. In effect, from the school rooms onwards, the crimes of the nazis are veiled in silence in the Federal Republic and in fact a

gigantic war industry once again exists in Western Germany. The press, books and cinemas are inundated with gloomy accounts that glorify fascist piracy and incite a new "Drang nach Osten." Eichmann's companions are, in fact, in key positions in the Bonn Government and Hitler's hangmen are to be found once again in the West German legal apparatus, if they have not already been generously pensioned off.

These circles, of course, reject the draft peace treaty because they do not want peace, but war.

It is, however, tragic that they should receive the support of Western diplomatic circles which are thereby not helping towards a peaceful development, but increasing war tension. They have linked their capitalist economy to the German war monopolies and are now afraid of losing their profits.

The Federal German Republic is the most active supporter of the "cold war" and if the West continues this criminal policy, reactionary Germany will be an indispensable ally.

The West set up NATO as an aggressive military alliance against the socialist camp. At the present time the German Bundeswehr has become its most powerful support in Europe and nazi war specialists are to be found at the head of its general staffs. How then can they renounce German militarism, which veils its revenge-seeking aims under

the "noble" slogans of "federalism" and "European integration"?

That is why many Western politicians and in particular those from the United States have allied themselves to the militarist state of Western Germany and why they so firmly reject a peace treaty.

The Federal Republic is afraid of the outlook for peace becoming firmly established and this is the basis of its negative attitude on the conclusion of a peace treaty. There is no question here of patriotism or humanitarianism.

How different, by comparison, is the attitude of the German Democratic Republic, which has done away once and for all with militarism and fascism and for whom the principles of the draft peace treaty are simply clear justice.

The Czechoslovak people, living in the immediate proximity of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal German Republic, is alone in having a joint frontier with the two German states and as a consequence of this, has direct experiences in this respect.

Who is the real friend—he who violates the frontiers of your territory in the air, or by sending in spies and saboteurs, as the Federal German Republic has done to our Socialist Republic, or he who respects the sovereignty of your frontiers, as does the German Democratic Republic? Who is your friend—he who every day makes at lot of noise to demand

a change of frontiers laid down by the Potsdam Agreement, the "return" of the territories which for thousands of years have belonged to your country, as the Federal German Republic is doing with regard to Czechoslovakia, or he who recognizes that your territories have never been his and that he therefore has nothing to demand from you, as the German Democratic Republic declares? Could you consider as your friend a country in which nazis who assassinated tens of thousands of your patriots and who should be punished for their crimes not only in Czechoslovakia but in many other European countries too, hold high state positions, are judges and officers? Could you consider as your friend a country in which the heirs of Hitler do not even let the dead rest in peace and impudently paint swastikas on their graves?

We know that there will be no security for the Czechoslovak frontiers—and history proves that there will also be none for the frontiers of other states of Europe—as long as a peace treaty is not signed with the two German states.

Those who reject a peaceful settlement of the German problem are working against the interests of peace in Europe.

When the French and British Governments, before World War II, sacrificed Czechoslovakia to aggressive German imperialism, they said they had saved peace. But it soon be-

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ame clear that this was not true. Today the United States, Great Britain and France are refusing to conclude a peace treaty with Germany. They say it is not necessary because up to now Western Germany has not tried to provoke an armed conflict and they therefore consider that this proves Germany's peaceful intentions. Before World War II leading circles in Britain and France also talked about the "peaceful intentions" of Hitler, whose army they helped to set up. They sacrificed Czechoslovakia, as they said, to save peace. In reality, however, they speeded war and it was against the West that Hitler launched his first attack in order to assure his rear and arms equipment, so that it was the peoples of the Western countries who paid dearly for this strange peace policy.

We must not wait for the Federal German Republic to start threatening the world with nuclear bombs before concluding a peace treaty with Germany. To continue the situation without a peace treaty would mean to support the aggressive intentions of the militarists and irredentists of Western Germany whose government, with its demands for changes

of the post-war frontiers of Germany, is continuing the policy of Hitler Germany.

The people of Czechoslovakia, allied to the Soviet Union and the camp of peace, have ample security against the threat of new war plans. 1938 will never be repeated in Czechoslovakia, but it must not be allowed to be repeated anywhere else either. The forces of war must be stopped in time, their insolence must not receive any support.

The World Peace Movement is gaining in importance from year to year and an ever growing number of people are becoming aware that they cannot remain indifferent to war preparations and that the struggle for the peaceful solution of the German problem is one of the most urgent needs today.

The glowing prospects for a better life for all men are becoming ever more clear to our eyes. Scientific research is already being used for the exploration of outer space and joint creative work can create a world without war, a world of peaceful co-existence between all peoples with good relations assured by peace treaties and not by pacts of war.

The National Assembly for Democratic Rights

On September 23-24, 1961, in New York City, a National Assembly for Democratic Rights was held. This Assembly gathered under the sponsorship of 155 distinguished American citizens from every region of the United States; present on September 23 were 1,500 delegates from 25 states and at the mass rally some 3,500 citizens jammed every available space in the Hall. The particular purpose of this Assembly was to protest against the Smith and McCarran Acts, and against the June 5 decisions of 5-4 whereby the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of certain provisions of those laws. In our next issue we plan to publish an extended analysis of the Assembly, but as we go to press, we bring our readers in the following pages, the two main Documents unanimously approved by the Assembly.
—the Editor.

AN APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Placing our faith in the common people of our country, in their good sense and in their democratic tradition, we summon the strength of the grass roots of America to reclaim and defend our nation's hard-won heritage of freedom.

Constitutional liberties, especially as they are guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments to the basic charter of our land, are now in danger. Despite the vigorous dissent of four justices of the United States Supreme Court, the remaining five upheld provisions of the infamous Smith and McCarran Acts which curb the free exercise of our most-hallowed rights. Among these are freedom of conscience, expression and association, and freedom from governmental persecution and compulsory self-incrimination.

As citizens from every part of the Union—men and women of varied social and national origin, and of diverse religious and political beliefs—we have gathered in the first Na-

tional Assembly for Democratic Rights to seek reversal of these decisions and appeal against their application.

Our action is rooted in the fundamental nature of American democracy. At the very founding of our republic, assemblies of the people demanded—and won—a Bill of Rights as a condition for their acceptance of the Constitution. In succeeding crises, they have amended and extended it, to secure a greater measure of civil liberties for themselves and future generations. Now, that Bill of Rights must be defended.

When five justices of the Supreme Court, on June 5th of this year, upheld a six-year jail sentence for "knowing membership" in the Communist Party and approved an order that all Communists must register, they did more than merely affirm validity of those provisions of the Smith Act of 1940 and the McCarran Act of 1950.

They reinstated in American life

the substance of the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which aroused citizenry had swept out with the election of Thomas Jefferson as president in 1800. They gave renewed currency to the warrant for Chancellor Bismarck's anti-socialist "exceptional laws" of the closing decades of the last century; whereas, our nation had once welcomed to its shores the victims of such repression.

Like the heinous Nazi laws, which began ostensibly as curbs upon Communists, Jews and others, in Hitler Germany, but served to terrorize and enslave whole nations, the Smith and McCarran Acts speak against communism; but they, too, strike at the whole of democracy.

Thus, the McCarran Security Act included specific provisions depriving the foreign-born in America of the protection of the Bill of Rights. Thus, organizations such as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born are also ordered to register.

No American who would assert his independence of mind or freedom of association will long be safe if the sanctions of these laws begin to be applied. In his dissent from the affirming decisions of five of the nine Supreme Court Justices, the Hon. Hugo L. Black declared the McCarran Act to be "a legislative act that inflicts pain, penalties and punishment in a number of ways without a judicial trial."

The imminent danger created by such laws was foretold in the presi-

dential message which originally vetoed the McCarran Act eleven years ago. The over-riding action of an unheeding Congress and a narrow Court majority now make it urgent to repeat that warning:

Once a government is committed to the principle of silencing the voice of opposition, it has only one way to go, and that is down the path of increasingly oppressive measures, until it has become a source of terror to all its citizens and creates a country where everyone lives in fear.

It now becomes necessary to turn to the highest court of the land—the American people; and it is to them that we appeal.

It is within the power of the people—if they speak in time—to keep our country from being forced along the downward path that would return us to the days of McCarthyism. Their power is vastly greater—if they exercise their constitutional rights, while they may—than the influence of small, though noisy groups like George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi party or the Birch Society, who are currently flaunting the Smith and McCarran Acts as banners in open assault upon constitutional liberties.

In the spirit of our people who once restored the higher law of human freedom, in place of prevailing laws of slavery; in the spirit of a younger generation which now courageously challenges every denial of the laws of equal citizenship; we call for action to protect and preserve

the highest law of the land—our Bill of Rights.

From every crossroads and city, from every church and organization, let the voice of the people be raised; let our government in Washington know that all democratic America dissents from the Smith and McCarran invasions upon our fundamental liberties.

We call for the repeal of the McCarran and Smith Acts by Congress. We urge the president to end, by executive clemency, the first six-year jail term meted out under the Smith Act; we urge him to proclaim amnesty for all political prisoners in our country.

We call upon the Attorney-General to join, or not oppose, the petition pending before the Supreme Court for a rehearing on the first registration ordered under the McCarran Act. We call upon him to recognize the conflict between the McCarran and Smith Acts, and between them both and the Constitution, and therefore to declare them unenforceable.

We appeal to every man and woman who cherishes democracy, to spread this call far and wide; let it echo throughout the land until fundamental American liberties are restored and made secure. *Let it be known that our people not only dare, but are determined, to remain free.*

PROGRAM OF ACTION

"It is already past the time when people who recognize and cherish the life-giving and life preserving

qualities of the freedoms protected by the Bill of Rights can afford to sit complacently by while these freedoms are being destroyed." That declaration by Justice Hugo Black in the Wilkinson case was sufficient reason to call this National Assembly for Democratic Rights.

When the Supreme Court upheld the McCarran Internal Security Act and the membership clause of the Smith Act on June 5th by a narrow five to four majority, this Assembly became an urgent necessity, an important action for political liberty and freedom in our land. The courageous stand of the dissenting minority—Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black, Brennan and Douglas—is a challenge that calls for support from all who cherish the Bill of Rights.

The petition for a rehearing on the McCarran Internal Security Act is now before the Court. That petition provides the immediate opportunity for the Court to change its course. The fate of that petition may be decided during the first days of October when the Court reconvenes. This is the time to speak out for democratic liberties!

1. The organization of some fifty new Committees in localities throughout the land to help achieve the purposes of this Assembly. The experience of the past six weeks demonstrates that this can be done! The sponsorship and the success of this Assembly can help every local organization.

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2. Through such new committees and all existing organizations dedicated to democratic liberties, the people of our land can conduct a mighty movement calling on President John F. Kennedy to instruct his Attorney General to support the petition for rehearing in the McCarran Internal Security Act case. Telegrams, letters and postcards from individuals to the President or to the Attorney General are important. Statements and resolutions from unions, churches and organizations can express the opinion of millions.

3. Assemblies for Democratic Rights should be held on city, county or state scale to advance the purposes of this National Assembly. Sponsorship and name will depend on local conditions.

4. Public meetings, rallies, radio and television programs, letters to editors, and press conferences can be organized by local committees—and by delegations upon returning to their cities.

5. Demonstrative and dramatic action can win the public! "Moving Picket Line against the McCarran Act," a "Civil Liberties Walk," a "Vigil for Political Freedom in U.S.A.," and many other forms can be organized on Public Squares, on business street side-walks, or other appropriate public places. Local committees can apply the experience of

Freedom Riders and Peace Walks to Civil Liberty.

6. For a public discussion of the facts and issues involved in the McCarran and Smith Act and all cases of constitutional liberties. Use all publications and literature available. Use all avenues of discussion—the forum, the debate, the radio and TV, and other means.

7. The same kind of a campaign is needed, calling on President John F. Kennedy to free Junius Scales from the six-year prison sentence imposed by the Courts under the membership section of the Smith Act. The President can halt all further prosecution under the Smith Act. The case of John Hellman is now scheduled for October in the Court of Appeals. Claude Lightfoot goes back for a second trial in November. All such injustices must be ended.

The key to success of this National Assembly is the work of local committees under whatever name or auspices such committees may function. Action by the President to end McCarran and Smith Act persecution will sharply turn the tide against witch-hunting and resurgent McCarthyism in our country and re-establish the American tradition of freedom. The organized expression of the people today determines the future of our country. The people's will must be heard!

IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY

By Carl Winter

Only if the world is permitted to ignore the meaning of two fateful decisions announced by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 5, 1961, may extreme reaction be able to impose its plans for fascism upon our country under the guise of law. One of these decisions upheld a six-year prison sentence for membership in the Communist Party, under a clause in the Smith Act which prohibits membership in any society seeking the forcible overthrow of the government. The other validates an order, under the McCarran Act, requiring Communist Party members publicly to register as adherents of a criminal conspiracy directed by the Soviet Union to vio-

Unceasing efforts by the Communist Party and mountains of evidence from various democratic sources have been directed toward exposing these false characterizations of Communist principles and actions. But they have so far not sufficed to expunge from the statute books either the Smith Act of 1940 or the McCarran Act of 1950, both of which are based upon the Big Lie that Communists are a menace to the nation. Future victims may still face ten years imprisonment under the former and five years for each day of non-compliance with the latter.

The real target of these laws, however, lies far beyond the limits of the Communist Party organization. It is to be found in the vastly greater mass of institutions, organizations and citi-

zens who make up the totality of American democracy. The inclusion of "Communist fronts" under McCarran Act sanctions, and the addition of "Communist-infiltrated organizations" by a 1954 amendment, give some indication of the wide range of the intended barrage.

In similar fashion, Hitler proceeded under cover of his first legal curbs upon German Communists to terrorize Jews, then trade unionists and all democrats, charging each with some Communist affinity. It was in the name of an anti-Communist crusade, in the name of "order," that much of the resistance was immobilized while Nazi armies managed to occupy a good part of Europe before launching World War II.

Can Americans forget it was in fulfillment of her commitments as part of the fascist "anti-Comintern axis" that Japan struck at Pearl Harbor? Nor can it be overlooked that fear of an alleged Communist foothold in the Western Hemisphere was cited in Washington as justification for the recent criminal invasion of Cuba; yet, a legal cloak was sought by efforts—even though post facto—to invoke the Organization of American States as if it were another anti-Communist alliance.

The list of crimes against humanity, perpetrated in the name of combating Communism and under the protective coloration of contrived legality, is long and agonizing. Perhaps

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it was some perception of this truth that led the late Huey Long cynically to observe that, if democratic-minded Americans are ever to accept fascism, it will have to come in the name of the Constitution.

Now, the June 5 decisions of a slim majority of the Supreme Court are being used to give an odor of constitutionality to the McCarran and Smith Acts. But the truth about their anti-democratic nature and purpose has just been blazoned in a timely new book* which can yet rally freedom-loving people to defeat these measures.

In a compact volume, titled *Dare We Be Free?*, Herbert Aptheker reveals the full meaning of the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party in the United States. Thirteen chapters, each firmly rooted in historical scholarship and factual analysis, carry the reader from the stakes at issue in the June 5 Court rulings to a program for democracy's defense.

There are several possible approaches to the constitutionality of the laws in question. From none of them can it be soundly sustained.

The dissenting opinions in the Supreme Court advanced, in varying degrees, the view that the Fifth and the First Amendments in the Bill of Rights should be treated as inviolable. But the majority chose to ignore these considerations by claiming that protection of the Fifth Amendment's ban against compulsory self-incrimination was prematurely sought, and that the

First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech was outweighed by ostensible needs of national security.

Taking note of these and other approaches to the constitutional issue, and giving full praise throughout his book to the defenders of legal "due process," Aptheker cuts through to the heart of the matter. From the first pages of his book, he gives pre-eminence to the fundamental struggle against the false premises of such legislation as the Smith and McCarran Acts; he does not get lost in reliance upon the technicalities of law, however much he demonstrates that in this instance they would favor the accused.

This historic perspective vindicates a profound faith in the people and transforms a defense into a challenge. In the opening chapter, the case for the people is stated in these two paragraphs:

"The Smith and McCarran Acts deal with Marxism-Leninism, with political activities in the United States going back decades, with evaluations of the government and the society of the Soviet Union, with estimates concerning international relations since before World War II. Just on the face of it, therefore, the matters dealt with in these laws range over the widest philosophical and scientific and ethical questions, as well as much of the history of our own country and even of a large part of the world for the past generation and more. *From this point of view alone, the laws are anachronistic, and to bring prosecutions under*

* *Dare We Be Free? The Meaning of the Attempt to Outlaw the Communist Party*, by Herbert Aptheker (New Century Publishers, New York, 1961), 128 pages; cloth \$2.50, paperback \$1.00.

them into courts is medieval—or fascist.

"Defendants under these laws stand charged with everything except *acts*. They stand charged with their whole outlook, all their moral values; defendants under these laws are defending their dreams, their hopes, their most fervent commitments. *Such matters do not belong in a courtroom; one of the great hall-marks of human progress since the Middle Ages lay precisely in removing such matters from the ken of lawmakers and the adjudication of courts.*" (Emphasis in closing lines added—C.W.)

This is the essence of the appeal to the Bill of Rights. It is a reassertion of that charter of popular liberties which the first states of our republic demanded and obtained as the price of their ratification of the new Constitution. The charge that the McCarran and Smith Acts violate the First and Fifth Amendments is not some pettifogging claim to evade prosecution; it is an insistence upon the sovereignty of the people over the organs of government, in keeping with the first promise of American democracy.

The repressive purpose of the chambers of these laws is best displayed in the McCarran Act, officially designated as the Internal Security Act of 1950. Here we have, openly written into the law, a built-in verdict of guilty without any trial. The enacting Congress prefaced its bill with a set of "findings" that attributes to the Communist Party a number of criminal purposes and activities; then

it defines as equally culpable any group or person who supports to some degree any professed aim of the Party.

To register in compliance with this law, as Aptheker points out in a very lucid chapter on "What Registration Means," would oblige Communists publicly to slander and denounce themselves as criminals. Thereby, the grounds would be laid for a gigantic police dragnet to haul off to jail any dissenter from any prevailing government opinion, on the charge that he was at least a Communist follower or "front."

It may be that some of the sponsors of the McCarran Act expected the Communist Party to meet this dilemma by going out of existence. These included such worthies, in addition to Senator Pat McCarran, as Joe McCarthy, William Jenner, James Eastland, Karl Mundt, Richard Nixon, Howard Smith and Francis Walter. But it was a sense of honor quite different from theirs that led the general secretary of the Communist Party, Gus Hall, to inform the world that even the Court's decision could not induce this party to commit suicide.

The Communists might have avoided registration by dissolution of the Party; but an insidious law would have remained unchallenged, and the threat of imprisonment would extend over still greater numbers who could then be charged, however falsely, with being "secret" Communists. Instead, renewed efforts were launched to invalidate the McCarran Act, not merely in self-defense of the Party, but in total defense of American democracy.

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Dare We Be Free? is a brilliant exposure of the reactionary, divisive forces in our nation's political life; it is an eloquent call for popular unity to keep open the road to social progress. It systematically dissects and soberly refutes the horrendous cries of "subversion," "force and violence," "foreign agent," all wrapped into the Big Lie which now wears the mask of law.

Similar distortions and activities, Aptheker reminds the reader, were engaged in by the ruling circles of Germany a generation ago. And he cites the warning by Thomas Mann in 1937, describing them as part of a deliberate policy "to put the German people in readiness for the 'coming war' by ruthless repression, elimination, extirpation of every stirring of opposition, to make them an instrument of war, infinitely compliant, without a single critical thought, driven by a blind and fanatical ignorance."

It must become clear to any reader of this book that the powerful "military-industrial complex," to which former President Eisenhower alluded in his last official address to the nation, dare not let the people be free; hence, its drive for punitive legislation against all possible dissenters. A chapter on "The Right Danger" puts the spotlight upon "many Big Businessmen, especially those hitherto prominently connected with the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce." It associates them with the names of

many politicians and military officers in promoting the politicizing of the Big Brass in the armed forces, the creation of neo-fascist organizations like Rockwell's nazis and the Birch Society, as well as the advancement of the "New Conservatism" in the Republican Party and the intensification of the Dixiecrats' terroristic and illegal practices.

There is method in this madness; but it is the method of the Hitler barbarians. It was also the method of the slavocracy of our own South. The tie between them both and the McCarranites of our day is skillfully traced in an illuminating chapter on "Defining Subversion," in which Aptheker writes: ". . . what was and is anathema to these groups and personalities are not only the ideas of the Bolshevik Revolution, but the ideas of the American and the French Revolutions—ideas which are organically connected, in any case—favoring fraternity, equality, liberty, popular sovereignty, security, and opposing racism, monopoly, colonialism, and eliteism"

This is a militant book. It leaves no room for any answer but an affirmative one to the question in its title, "Dare We Be Free?"; and it inspires confidence in the American people that they can sustain that answer in fact. Its message needs to be brought to the millions; for, when the tide of reaction is turned back, this book will rank alongside the pamphlets of Tom Paine as part of our nation's armory of freedom.

DARE WE BE FREE?

The Meaning of the Attempt to Outlaw the Communist Party

128 pages: Paperback \$1.00

By HERBERT APTHEKER

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