

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Socialism

THE ROAD TO
PEACE, PROSPERITY
AND FREEDOM

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SOCIALISM

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

I. THE TORMENT OF WAR, HUNGER AND OPPRESSION

FOR the second time within one generation Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France and Italy are drenching the world with blood in their murderous struggle for markets, raw materials and colonies. The present war is a continuation of the World War. Our Government, as a great capitalist power, also bears a heavy responsibility for this vast human tragedy. Its betrayal of republican Spain; its failure to support the international peace front proposed by the Soviet Union; its sale of munitions to Japan with which to wage war against Nationalist China; its imperialist policy generally, have contributed decisively to the outbreak of this new orgy of organized mass murder. Of all the great countries, only the socialist Soviet Union follows a policy of peace.

Ad. Dec. 20, 1914

The Roosevelt Administration, despite its peace promises, has steadily pushed the United States deeper into the war. It has made this country a war ally of Great Britain. It is sending England airplanes, guns, tanks, explosives, merchant ships and even naval vessels, and preparations are now being made to give or lend England billions in war funds. More warships also will be sent her. We will get actively in the war probably

after some planned "incident" against American lives or property provides a plausible excuse, or when Hitler actually invades England. Meanwhile, feverishly getting ready for full military participation, the United States arms itself with conscription, a two-ocean, three-fleet navy, a thirty-billion-dollar defense program, naval bases throughout the whole American Hemisphere, the Canadian Defense Pact, and all the rest of it. The purpose of the war-dictatorship (lend-lease) bill is to set up a military dictatorship in this country and to plunge us fully into the war as a belligerent. Roosevelt and Willkie have joined forces on the basis of Wall Street's war program. All these aggressive, warlike steps are being taken under the soft-sounding phrase of "national defense."

Meanwhile, the capitalists are enjoying an orgy of profit-making out of the war, while calling upon the workers to make sacrifices. General Motors reaped profits amounting to \$320,600,000 in 1940, while U.S. Steel grabbed \$102,000,000. Other great corporations are similarly cleaning up millions in blood money out of the munitions trade in this criminal imperialist war.

The American people, with a true instinct as to where their real welfare lies, are resolutely opposed to involvement in the war. The Gallup Poll of December 28, 1940, showed an 88 per cent sentiment to this effect, and during the recent national election the mass peace pressure was so strong that both Roosevelt and Willkie, while advocating aid to England, nevertheless had to make solemn promises that, whichever one was elected, he would keep the country at peace. Now, however, the Roosevelt Administration, safely in office and with its ear attuned to Wall Street's instructions, is ignoring its overwhelming popular peace mandate and is involving us ever deeper into the war.

What a deadly parallel it makes with World War days. In 1916 President Wilson was elected on the slogan: "He kept us

out of war," and then, a few months later, backed by the Gompersite labor leaders, he deliberately precipitated the country into the war. More than 126,000 American boys paid with their lives for this criminal folly, and 234,300 more were wounded, of whom many thousands, insane or hopelessly crippled, still linger in the veterans' hospitals. Now President Roosevelt is leading us along this same fatal path, with even more ghastly results in prospect. And he is being given full support by labor leaders of the Green-Hillman-Woll stripe. They are doing all this in the name of "national unity," a unity organized by Wall Street and directed against the interests of the people.

To grease the chute for our final plunge into the war, the warmongers are asserting that this is a war to save democracy and that, therefore, we must give all aid possible to Britain. What a familiar stench that "argument" has. It was a lie in 1917 when it was used to get us into the World War and it is a lie now. The Allies won the World War and dominated Europe for twenty years afterward. But out of it all came not democracy but a Europe most of which is fascist.

The Churchill Tory Government—exploiter of the British working class and oppressor of Ireland, India and Africa—is seeking to further the interests of its parasitic ruling class and that is what it fights for. It is an enemy, not a friend, of democracy. The British Tories appeased and strengthened the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, in the expectation that they later would make war upon the Soviet Union. Now the Tories are trying to grab what they can for British imperialism in the present world struggle among the capitalist powers.

On November 10, Joseph P. Kennedy, former Ambassador to England, scoffing at the notion that England is fighting for democracy, said: "It's the bunk. She's fighting for self-preservation." That is to say, England is struggling to retain her dominant world imperialist position.

With customary brutality, Hitler, in his December 10 speech, also exposed the imperialist nature of the war. He said that inasmuch as 85,000,000 Germans have only 600,000 square kilometers of land, while 46,000,000 British have 40,000,000 square kilometers, they must bring about a redivision of the world by armed force. It is for such sordid reasons that the warring powers are slaughtering each other's people and devastating one another's cities and industries. Should any of these imperialist groups win the war they would ignore their present glib promises of socialism (Hitler) and democracy (Churchill), and would drive the world even faster under the fascist yoke than they did following the World War.

American imperialism—the great capitalist interests and the Roosevelt government, supported by renegade liberals, pro-war Social-Democrats and reactionary trade union leaders—has no less mercenary objectives than Britain and Germany in this war. It is seeking to set up complete economic, political and military domination over all Latin America, to take the crumbling British Empire into hock and to grab its disintegrating colonies, to cripple America's powerful German and Japanese rivals, to extend vastly its influence in the Far East, to deal a deadly blow at the Soviet Union if the opportunity presents, to build itself up as a gigantic military power, and to achieve the position of world imperialist domination. Virgil Jordan frankly told the Investment Bankers' Convention on December 10: "Southward in our hemisphere and westward in the Pacific the path of empire takes its way, and in modern terms of economic power as well as political prestige, the scepter passes to the United States."

It is not only that the workers have to meet the terror of this particular war. What is even worse is that they face an endless perspective of wars so long as imperialist governments stand at the head of powerful nations. The World War was fought under the slogan "The war to end all wars." But hardly had

the robber Versailles peace been signed than a new round of wars began. From 1918 to 1940 there were no less than twenty-one wars, large and small, and now we have the present developing world war. Who is fool enough to believe, therefore, that the insatiable imperialists can or will formulate a just and lasting peace? Any peace they might sign would surely be followed by new and more terrible wars. Both the fascist and democratic governments are trying to prepare their peoples for an indefinite state of war. The fascists are openly glorifying war, while the "democratic" governments and their Social-Democratic stooges are trying to get the masses to look upon war as a sort of unavoidable natural phenomenon. The great capitalist states are applying all their science, all their industry, all their governmental power to the bloody business of war, of which they see no end. Only when the workers and other toilers acquire control of the governments of the capitalist countries will there be world peace.

Hunger Amidst Plenty

Capitalism's criminally stupid economic system, both here and abroad, has caused more suffering, desolation and death than even its savage, interminable wars. All the major evils of the present social order originate in its rotten economic foundations.

The United States, occupying one of the most favored areas of the globe, has the objective requirements for an abundant prosperity for all its people—rich soil, boundless mineral resources, a great industrial system, a vast body of skilled workers. Yet, according to the latest Government survey, 66 per cent of American families live on slow starvation incomes of less than \$825 a year, over 4,000,000 families having yearly incomes of but \$312. Compare these pitiful incomes with

the \$1,958 yearly income necessary as a minimum for a family of five, as established by the Labor Research Association (February, 1941), on the basis of United States labor statistics. The Gallup Poll of December 22 says that four out of every ten families complain they do not get enough to eat. The bulk of the population live in slums or semi-slum houses and lack elementary medical care. John L. Lewis was correct in charging that there are 52,000,000 shrunken bellies in this country, and President Roosevelt made an understatement in declaring that one-third of our nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed.

Meanwhile, the warehouses are jammed with unsalable commodities and the great industrial system has, during the past decade, been working at only about 50 per cent of its total capacity. From 10,000,000 to 17,000,000 workers have been chronically idle, while the Government followed a systematic policy of curtailing agricultural and industrial production. What a monstrous contradiction, this mass starvation amidst plenty. And the American experience has been duplicated in greater or lesser degree in all other capitalist countries.

During the World War the capitalists promised the workers not only world democracy, but a new economic prosperity. The promises have come to naught, as the Communists said they would. During the 1920's there was a temporary and feverish spell of industrial activity. President Hoover, sneering at the Communists' warnings, declared that this country was about to abolish poverty forever. Then came the terrific 1929 crash and the long years of economic crisis and depression. The living standards of the American people suffered a tremendous fall. Half the working population has been reduced to the border of pauperism or below it, and hunger stalks even on the farms. Four million jobless youth, unable to start families, vegetate in our communities. Millions of the aged are plunged into an abyss of want and fear. The penitentiaries are jammed with men grown desperate, and the insane asylums

overflow with men and women driven crazy by the strain of life under capitalism. The suicide rate is soaring and the birth-rate is falling. As against the spreading ocean of misery, the various relief measures secured by mass pressure upon the Government are utterly inadequate and with the outbreak of the war are being further slashed.

Now that the United States is plunging into a new war situation, its industrial system limps into activity again. Capitalism, which could not provide the necessities of life for the masses, can readily produce the means to slaughter the peoples of the world. The same reactionary legislators in our country who so violently opposed all Government spending for relief and W.P.A. projects now vote offhand billions upon billions for the war program without blinking an eye. They no longer talk about balancing the budget or keeping down the national debt. By the workings of the monstrous capitalist system the holocaust of death in Europe translates itself into an orgy of profit-making for the capitalists in America.

The rich economic royalists, proceeding upon the basis of Göring's slogan, "Cannons, not butter," are striving to make the toilers shoulder the burden of the war program, misnamed "national defense." While helping themselves to fat munitions contracts, gift plants from the Government, and soaring profit rates, they are demanding that the workers and other toilers make sacrifices and are foisting upon them high prices, the speed-up in industry and the weight of the tax burden. They are also trying to wipe out all progressive labor legislation.

The Roosevelt Government, the spearhead of American imperialism, is leading this work of reaction, behind a mask of progressive phrases. What is still more sinister, reactionary labor leaders of the Green-Hillman-Woll-Dubinsky brand have swallowed every lie of the Government's warlike foreign policy, and are also using their positions in an attempt to prevent the workers from developing a real resistance to the attacks now

being made so vigorously against their living and working standards.

The present burst of industrial activity, based on the production of the instruments of organized mass murder, cannot solve the chronic economic problems of the workers, but will eventually make them more acute. It will not wipe out unemployment even temporarily, as we see from the fact that although production is now at high levels the huge army of the unemployed remains only partly reduced. What will happen when the present war finally ends (and the imperialists begin preparing for the next one) we can readily forecast. There will be the greatest industrial crisis in history, with gigantic unemployment and unparalleled mass pauperization. That is, unless the workers and other toilers take the situation in hand themselves and put a final end to that outrageous crime against humanity which is called the capitalist system.

The Spreading Fascist Danger

Added to the deadly curse of war and the menace of sinking living standards, the workers in this country also face a growing offensive against their civil liberties. Never in the whole history of the United States was the Bill of Rights so much in jeopardy as it is now. Conscription has been fastened upon the people. The indignity of registration has been applied to alien immigrants. Anti-Semitism grows like a poison weed. The Dies Committee and the F.B.I. have expanded into twin Gestapos. The anti-trust laws are being directed against the trade unions. Congress and the state legislatures are cluttered up with bills designed to abolish the right to strike and other civil liberties. Teachers' oaths are being used in the schools. Reactionary figures such as Lindbergh, Father Coughlin, Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, Lawrence Dennis and Verne Marshall extend their ac-

tivities. And most sinister of all is the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party and to jail its leaders.

The danger to the people's liberties is all the greater because the A. F. of L. top officialdom, as well as many powerful C.I.O. leaders and Socialist Party groups, are supporting the drive of the reactionaries. They endorse the infamous activities of Dies and the Department of Justice. Especially are they taking the lead in the Red-baiting attack against the Communists and other militant progressive forces. These misleaders ignore the vital fact that it is precisely because the Communist Party is unshakably loyal to the interests of the workers that it is being so viciously attacked. As we can see clearly from the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany, France and other countries, once the reactionaries succeed in suppressing the Communist Party here this would be only a prelude to the suppression of the whole trade union and progressive movement.

The main forces behind the drive against the people's liberties are the dominant financial interests of Wall Street. In order to compel the people to accept the war and to submit to worsening economic conditions, the big capitalists, with a firm hold upon the Roosevelt Administration, are striving to set up in the United States a military dictatorship leading in the general direction of fascism. The fact that these people cover up their activities with protestations of democracy makes them all the more dangerous. Already they have made Roosevelt into a near-dictator and the war-dictatorship bill (H.R. 1776) is calculated to round out the job.

Fascism is not something that can come only from abroad through a victory by Hitler. It also springs native in this country in its most dangerous forms. In Germany and Italy the great bankers and industrialists built up fascism, and in this country similar big financial interests are behind the growing fascist-minded reaction. They are the real Fifth Column in the United States. Workers, watching the spread of this sinister force, may

well be alarmed. The whole body of American civil liberties, for which their forefathers bled and died, are in the most imminent danger.

II. THE CAUSE OF THE MASS MISERY, DESTRUCTION AND TYRANNY

The endless wars, mass pauperization and oppression which are increasingly afflicting humanity in the United States and other lands originate in the basic workings of the social system of these countries—capitalism. The multiplication of these evils shows that this present order of society is mortally sick. The ruling class, however, profoundly in fear for the safety of their holy of holies, capitalism, ascribes the woes of society to a hundred and one false reasons, hoping thereby to divert the people's attention away from the real cause.

Capitalism is based upon the exploitation (robbery) of the workers, farmers and other toilers. By hook or crook (mostly crook) a relatively small group of people have wangled themselves into ownership of the nation's land, industries, transportation systems, banks, etc. They have built powerful monopolies, which dominate our economic and political life. They have grabbed control of the Government, press, radio, churches, colleges, and other means of influencing public opinion and action. With the country's most vital institutions thus in their hands, the capitalists bilk the working population as brazenly as the robber barons of the Middle Ages.

Stated briefly, the capitalists rob the workers by paying them far less in wages than the values they create by their labor in the capitalist-owned industries. They also rob them through excessive prices for what they buy and by loading the tax burden upon them. The capitalists rob the farmers by underpaying

them for their farm produce, by overcharging them for their farm supplies, by exacting from them high rates of interest on mortgages, and by soaking them for taxes. In these ways the capitalists yearly steal from the workers and farmers many billions of dollars in interest, rent and profit. This gigantic system of robbery, which is called capitalism, is legalized by the Government, blessed by the Church, and eulogized by the press as something sacred, inevitable, eternal and unchangeable.

Capitalism is the root cause of the great evils of war, hunger and oppression. First, the exploitation of the workers and farmers is basically responsible for the tremendous inequality of wealth which prevails in this country and others. In 1928 less than 1 per cent of the population owned 46 per cent of this nation's income-yielding wealth, and now the disproportion is far greater. Sixty rich families practically dominate the vital resources of the United States. The Rockefeller, Mellon and du Pont families alone control over eight billion dollars' worth of assets, while millions of families of workers and farmers own practically nothing. The country is being systematically robbed by a whole series of powerful and ever growing banker-controlled monopolies, each preying upon some vital social necessity, while ever greater numbers of workers and farmers, squeezed and exploited by these powerful corporations, sink deeper and deeper into poverty and misery.

Secondly, the exploitation of the toiling masses through the private ownership of the industries and the land is the foundation cause of the periodic industrial crises which plague this and every other capitalist country. Capitalist exploitation both robs the people and also paralyzes the economic system. The capitalist economists and writers, in order to fool the masses, make a great mystery out of the origin of the recurrent crises. Nevertheless the basic explanation of such crises is simple enough. The exploited workers and farmers, after being

robbed (by means of low wages and high prices) of a large share of the wealth they create, have not enough money to buy back the great quantities of commodities which they or labor produce. Thus there develops "overproduction," with consequent shutdown of industry, mass unemployment, destruction of crops, etc., while millions of impoverished people are clamoring for food, clothing and shelter. These periodic crises are made all the worse by the strangling practices of the monopolies and the chaotic, planless manner in which the multitudes of factories and farms carry on production.

Thirdly, the capitalist robbery of the toilers is also the breeder of the political oppression from which the masses now suffer. To compel the discontented workers and farmers to accept the low wages and other methods of exploitation, the capitalists bring pressure to bear against them through the use of strike-breakers, troops, courts, legislation, and various other forms of compulsion. In all capitalist countries the government is the executive committee of the owning-ruling class, the main prop of the present system, and its principal task is to keep the toiling masses in subjection to the capitalists.

Fourthly, capitalist exploitation of the workers and farmers is likewise the basic cause of modern war. The united and powerful financiers, employers and landlords, entrenched in their powerful monopolies and trusts, animated by a boundless greed for profits, aided by the obedient government, and with their warehouses loaded with products which their exploited workers are too poor to buy, set forth into the world in relentless imperialist drives to conquer international markets, to acquire new sources of raw materials, and to seize colonial lands. Consequently they come into violent conflict with other imperialist capitalist states which are following a similar course, and the inevitable result is devastating war—war against colonial peoples, war against rival imperialist powers, projected war against the Soviet Union.

The General Crisis of Capitalism

All the foregoing reactionary features of capitalism are rapidly growing worse, as Marx forecast generations ago. The rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. Since 1918 the industrial output per man-hour in the United States has doubled, while real wages for employed workers have made but slight advances. Millions of workers, through unemployment, have had their living standards reduced by one-half or more. Exploitation is growing more intense and the workers and farmers are steadily receiving a smaller proportion of what they produce. The C.I.O. research department says that from 1932 to 1940 the percentage of the national income going to wages has fallen from 77 per cent to 61 per cent. Monopolization of industry and farming is proceeding with giant strides. In 1919 there were ten corporations owning over one billion dollars in capital, totaling \$10,000,000,000 in assets; by 1939 the figure had jumped up to twenty-eight of such giant corporations, with \$58,000,000,000 in capitalization. In 1921 there was 30,812 banks with \$50,000,000,000 in assets, but by 1937 the number of banks had been reduced to 15,724, while their assets had increased to \$60,000,000,000. In 1909 the 200 largest corporations in this country owned \$26,000,000,000 in assets; in 1937 they owned \$122,000,000,000. Similar examples of increased exploitation of the toilers and of the greater concentration of capital and industry exist in all the capitalist countries.

The periodic (cyclical) economic crises of capitalism are now becoming broader, deeper and more permanent. In the earlier period of capitalism it was possible for the capitalists to find outlets for the huge wealth they exploited out of the workers and farmers, by investing it in the expanding home market, by finding markets abroad, and by developing the raw

material sources in the colonial countries. But now these means of capitalist expansion are rapidly drying up. The home market, because of the reduced purchasing power of the underpaid and unemployed masses, is steadily shrinking. And because of the sharpened competition of the other industrialized countries, the impoverishment of the colonial lands, the disruption caused by the interminable wars, and through the capitalist exploiters losing control over one-sixth of the world, the land of the Soviet Union, the foreign markets are less and less capable of absorbing the mounting surplus of commodities robbed by the capitalists from the workers in all capitalist countries, especially in the United States. In consequence, mass unemployment on a gigantic scale has become permanent; production is systematically reduced and commodities are destroyed while millions starve, the industrial crises have become more profound, more prolonged and more devastating. The only way the capitalist industrial system, including that of the United States, has been kept temporarily from collapsing altogether is by government make-work schemes—such as road building, housing, etc., and especially by the wholesale production of munitions of war.

The rapidly worsening world economic situation inevitably produces discontent, class consciousness, organization and revolt among the workers and other toilers. To counteract this, to hold the masses under the capitalist yoke, to intensify mass exploitation, and to facilitate their imperialist wars, the capitalists proceed to institute increased oppression of the toiling masses. In Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, and now in France, Holland, Belgium, etc., they have, under fascist terrorism, abolished parliamentary government, broken up the trade unions, destroyed the toilers' political parties and cooperatives, cultivated anti-Semitism, and reduced the working population to near slavery. Similar fascist tendencies are to be found

among the big capitalist circles in all countries, including the United States. Fascism is the goal they are striving for through their increased attacks upon the organizations, living standards, and civil rights of the peoples.

The breaking down of world capitalist economy inevitably intensifies the trade conflicts and wars between the great capitalist states. With more or less permanent economic crises in their respective countries, the aggressive drives of these imperialist powers to conquer markets, to secure sources of raw materials, to acquire colonies and world strategic positions, and especially to defeat, if possible, the socialist U.S.S.R., take on great sharpness. Consequently the international gold standard has broken down, solemnly-agreed-upon treaties have come to mean nothing, the fiercest trade wars rage, normal methods of commerce are abandoned and barter systems adopted. These many growing conflicts and antagonisms culminate in wars of unheard of violence and brutality.

The fundamental meaning of all this increased exploitation, deepening economic crisis, spread of fascism and intensification of war is that the world capitalist system is breaking down. It is sinking ever deeper into a general, incurable crisis. In its earlier stages capitalism, despite all its mass misery, exploitation and war, played historically a constructive role. Under it the great industries were built, the modern working class was born, democracy grew and science expanded. But now capitalism, for the reasons already explained, has exhausted its earlier progressive role. It has now become a brake upon the expansion of the productive forces, a menace to popular liberty, a threat to the very lives of the people. The situation, both internationally and in the respective capitalist countries, constantly grows worse, more hopeless for the capitalist system. Capitalism, as Lenin pointed out, has reached its final stage of monopoly and imperialism. This is the period

of the decay of capitalism, the era of imperialist war and socialist revolution.

The capitalists and their mouthpieces, who are exceedingly anxious to maintain the present organized robbery of the people, try to make it appear as though, for some God-given reason, capitalism has always existed and will always continue to exist. This is a monstrous lie. Capitalism is only one of several social systems which, during the long history of mankind, have successively grown, ripened, died, and been supplanted by new and higher forms. Thus, for many thousands of years, throughout all parts of the world, early man lived under systems of primitive communism. Gradually, by the institution of private property, this system was broken down and chattel slavery took its place. The great empires of Assyria, Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome were built upon this human slavery. Later on, the slavery system gave way to serfdom, in which the peasants were bound to the land, serfs to the feudal landowners. This system prevailed in Europe throughout the Middle Ages and it still lingers in some backward countries. Finally, by the gradual growth of capitalism and through a series of violent revolutions (England, United States, France), feudalism was overthrown and the present capitalist order of society became dominant throughout the world.

Capitalism, in turn, has run its historical course, for the reasons we have noted, and is now giving way to the higher order of society, socialism. In the U.S.S.R., one-sixth of the world is already living under the new socialist regime. It will not be long, although the path may be difficult, until the rest of the world follows suit. Socialism is the first stage of a still higher social system, communism. The latter form of society, classless and stateless, will realize in the fullest the noble motto, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."

III. THE WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

The workers and other toilers defend themselves at every point at which they are robbed and oppressed by capitalism. They fight to protect their wages and hours and their living and working standards generally, they resist attacks upon their civil liberties and fight against the efforts of the warmongers to plunge the United States into the imperialist war butchery. They build trade unions and political parties to achieve their immediate ends.

This resistance is fundamentally necessary if the workers are to protect themselves in the midst of the rotting, collapsing capitalist system. But the devastating social menaces of hunger, fascism and war can be abolished completely only when the basic cause which produces them, the capitalist system itself, is abolished and socialism instituted. If humanity is to avoid boundless hardships and finally win its way to freedom and happiness, the workers, farmers and other democratic elements must secure governmental power and then proceed to nationalize (socialize) the land, the great industries, the transportation systems and the banks. This would lay the economic and political basis for socialism. It would open up the new frontiers of social well being and progress that America so ardently wants but cannot possibly find under the dying capitalist system.

The great capitalists and landlords have no just claim to compensation for their properties thus taken over by the government. They have amassed this wealth solely by robbing the workers through one device or another. They perform no useful service to society, not even the management of their gigantic properties, which is entrusted to highly-paid executives. Take Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for example. He owns wealth worth several hundred millions and has a reported yearly income of \$4,700,000, or as much as at least six thousand average workers' families. Rockefeller got his huge fortune and

is able to grab off his big income solely because he happened to be born his father's son. By mere accident of birth he finds himself the master and exploiter of many of America's most vital industries. Such activities as he does carry on are designed solely to advance his own personal interests and are directly contrary to the people's liberties and general welfare.

In the same category of social parasites fall the Morgans, Mellons, Vanderbilts, Carnegies, du Ponts, Whitneys, Astors, Bakers and the rest of the "best" families who own and dominate this country and who have brought it to its present sorry state of affairs. During the Revolutionary War our Government did not compensate the English aristocrats and American Tories for the great estates taken from them; nor did our Government, during the second revolution, the Civil War, pay the slaveowners for the Negroes it freed. Nor will the workers, when socialism is victorious, compensate the present great monopolists who have grabbed control of the people's necessities of life.

Industry Flourishes and Poverty Disappears

Under socialism the national resources and productive processes of the country are the property of the whole people and are operated for their benefit. Exploitation of man by man, the curse of the ages, is finally abolished. There are no parasitic capitalist owners to devour the substance of the country and to paralyze its productive growth. Industrial and agricultural production, systematically planned and organized, is carried on for social use instead of for private profit.

This sane and intelligent social system immediately ends the economic chaos inherent in capitalism. By conserving to the workers and farmers the full value of what they produce, minus only what is necessary to conduct the government, to provide social insurance, and to expand industry, socialism puts a final end to industrial crises and mass unemployment

is abolished completely. The toilers are able to buy back all they produce. There can be no problem of finding markets, and "overproduction" is impossible. With the brakes thus removed, industry and agriculture flourish, and the rapidly increasing production translates itself into steadily rising standards of living, improvement of working conditions and shortening of hours. This basic and swift improvement in mass economic conditions quickly results in the abolition of prostitution, decline of crime, falling off of insanity, an increase in the birthrate, a prompt improvement in public health and a tremendous growth in every aspect of mass culture.

The introduction of socialism in the United States would result almost immediately in a tremendous rise in mass well being. The whole gigantic industrial machine would go ahead full blast. How rapidly prosperity would develop is indicated by a Government study in 1935, entitled *The National Survey of Potential Production Capacity*, which estimated that if the then existing production plant were fully utilized it would provide each family of four in the United States with a yearly income of \$4,400. This income would put the entire population into the realm of prosperity. And more yet, there is no reason why the present productive capacity, mostly idle under capitalism, could not be greatly increased under socialism.

Democracy and Peace

Socialism, by abolishing the owning class of capitalists and landlords, not only ends all exploitation, but also strikes a mortal blow at every form of social injustice and oppression. There remains no longer any social class with an interest in oppressing the people. The great private monopolies and capitalist interests that dominate present-day life are liquidated and democracy grows as it never could under capitalism. The government collaborates with the trade unions, cooperatives, cultural organizations and other mass movements to develop

popular liberties to the maximum. Every decisive institution in the economic, political and cultural life is democratically operated by the people themselves. No more open-shoppers, no more boss-controlled national, state and local governments, no more newspaper chains and radio services controlled by the Hearsts and the Howards, no more social parasites. Under socialism the motto is "He who does not work neither shall he eat." Anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, anti-alienism are totally unknown in a socialist system of society. The capitalist drift toward fascism comes to a quick and dead stop. Socialism is the highest form of democracy to which man has yet attained. For the first time in history man, under socialism, has a real opportunity for his personal development. Eventually, as socialism advances victoriously on a world scale, it evolves into communism, a still higher form of democracy, in which the state withers away, together with the army and police.

The assertion by reactionaries that socialism is a foreign "ism," alien to the United States, is a lie. The same charge could just as well be leveled at capitalism, democracy, science, trade unionism, Catholicism, Protestantism, etc., none of which originated in this country. Socialism grows naturally throughout the world as the historical successor to capitalism. It is as native to the United States as to any other capitalist country. Socialism is as international as modern industrialism, and at the same time it is as American as a steel mill or an industrial worker. The achievement of socialism in the United States will be the final realization of the great democratic and revolutionary traditions of the American people.

Socialism, besides bringing about a great growth of well being and democracy in the United States, will also place our country finally and firmly on the road to peace. With no capitalism, there can be no imperialism, no drive of Wall Street bankers to exploit world markets, no grabbing of raw material sources, no exploitation of colonial peoples. Hence, under so-

cialism there can be no war. A socialist United States would be a decisive factor for world peace, instead of, as now, a great war-producing factor through its imperialist struggles for world domination. Socialist nations will live in harmony and friendliness, peacefully developing their productive capacities and planfully exchanging raw materials and finished products with each other. Socialism will finally achieve the international brotherhood of peoples dreamed of for ages by the great poets, scientists, utopians and humanitarians.

There is no system of society except socialism that can free humanity from the increasing misery and hardships being forced upon it by the deepening general crisis of the world capitalist system. Roosevelt's New Deal reforms, while temporarily relieving some of the mass distress in this country, were only superficial and could not cure the capitalist crisis. This was because they did not even touch the root of the evil—the private ownership of the land and the industries, with the deepening exploitation of the toiling masses. Now the New Deal Administration, obeying the dictate of Wall Street, has abandoned its makeshift pump-priming and is going the way of all capitalism, into wholesale munitions production and war.

Closely akin to Roosevelt's New Deal, the reform program of the Social-Democrats, such as Blum, Citrine and Norman Thomas, has also nothing to offer the workers but increased hardship. Although the Social-Democrats sail under a flag of socialism, their betrayal of the German revolution in 1918 when they saved capitalism in Europe, their unending attacks upon the Soviet Union, their desperate efforts to save dying capitalism, their support of the present war, show that they have nothing in common with socialism. They are defenders of capitalism and are the enemies of socialism.

Nor is anything constructive for humanity to be looked for in Hitler's so-called National-Socialism, or fascism. This is not

socialism at all, but capitalism in its most decadent and brutal form. Hitler uses the term "socialism" only to delude the workers. Fascism is the openly terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of finance capital—the big bankers, industrialists and landlords. It enormously intensifies all the industrial crises, tyranny and wars that are wrecking capitalism. It would even more deeply exploit the masses, and would bring the capitalist powers into still more violent collision with each other. Its deadly fruits we can see plainly enough in the terrible conditions of Germany and Italy and the present warlike role of fascism. Hitler's New World Order, if it could be established, would only lead to world slavery and endless wars.

A Free People

In a socialist America the people will enjoy freedom in its fullest sense and also the material well being which must serve as its base. The people will finally emerge from the capitalist jungle in which they now live. They will then have a country and a world indeed well worth living in.

The worker will have a steady job at the maximum rates of pay that the output of industry permits. There will be no capitalists to rob him and no industrial crises to plague him. The dread fear of unemployment will be banished completely from his life. He will work under conditions of maximum efficiency, comfort and safety. His family and himself will be thoroughly protected by social insurance against sickness, accident, old age and all other disabling contingencies. His health will be a major concern of the state. Periodic vacations will be his as a matter of right. He can look forward without fear to an old age of ease and well-earned rest after a life of pleasant and constructive labor. No longer will his life be harassed by the poverty and insecurity that are his and his family's lot under capitalism.

The farmer will be secure in the possession of his land under forms of collectivization adapted to American conditions and traditions. His returns for his labor will be honest and complete. There will be no landlords and trusts to gouge him. Tenancy, mortgages and sharecropping will be but bad memories of a barbarous capitalist age. The farms will be equipped with every known labor-saving device and the farmer himself will be a trained agriculturist. In his home and in his life generally he will enjoy the cultural advantages of the city.

The professional—the scientist, the doctor, the engineer, the artist, the writer and others—will enter upon a new period of efficiency and honor among his fellow men. No more will he be a mere servant of the rich, a mouthpiece of the oppressors. The professions will achieve the true respect that should be theirs. The professional, his economic status free from all worry, will have unexampled opportunity to develop his specialty. Under socialism the arts, sciences and professions, sedulously cultivated by the state and the people's mass organizations, will flourish to an extent undreamed of under capitalism. Lines of demarcation between workers, farmers and professionals will tend to disappear by the closer linking of the professions to the life of the people and by a great rise in the level of popular education.

The woman under socialism will, for the first time since most primitive days, be a free human being. All the tangible and intangible handicaps laid upon her during long centuries of oppression will be liquidated. In every respect she will occupy an equal position with men. Equal wages in industry, equal rights under the law, equal opportunity of entry into any profession or occupation, economic independence in the fullest sense of the word will be hers. Socialism will free woman from her double slavery under capitalism: the common servitude to the capitalists which she shares with all workers and her special economic dependence upon her husband.

The youth, girls and boys alike, will also enter a golden era under socialism. Their childhood will be surrounded with every care by family and state to develop their health and individuality. They will be guaranteed the broadest general and technical education. Positions in their chosen vocations will be theirs by right—no more heart-breaking joblessness. Promotion will be wide open to them in every occupation—no more will they come up against the blank wall of finding all good jobs occupied by a favored few. The socialist youth will be able to marry and establish families at a normal age and will not be frustrated as most young people are under capitalism. Under socialism, for the first time in history, youth will come into its own. Its great vigor and creativeness will be called forth to the utmost.

Members of national groups will find freedom from persecution only under socialism. With no unscrupulous capitalist exploiters to profit by creating chauvinistic antagonisms among them, the many national groups that go to make up the nation as a whole will live harmoniously together, each making its own contribution to the general well being. The shameful oppression of the Negro people will cease outright and they will enjoy social equality in the fullest sense of the word. Anti-Semitism will also be unknown and Jews will have all the rights of other citizens. The Indians will be raised from their present status of government wards to that of real free men. Chauvinistic attitudes among all other national groups will be abolished. On the same principle, the American socialist government will live in friendly collaboration with all other governments.

Socialist citizens will enjoy rights and freedom of a kind and to a degree quite unknown under capitalism. They will possess the fullest liberties of speech and assembly, as well as the right to worship or not to worship as they choose. They will enjoy the right to the product of their labor, and the

right to rest and education will be guaranteed them. In order to practice all their rights they will build trade unions, co-operatives, sports clubs and mass cultural organizations on a scale totally unknown under capitalism. The family, in this environment of freedom and prosperity, will take on new strength. Underlying and protecting these liberties will be a broad political franchise which, expressing itself under the leadership of the Communist Party, will create the most democratic government in the world.

Thus in socialism will be found the only answer to the mass starvation, brutal oppression, and savage slaughter that are increasingly being produced by the decaying capitalist system. Humanity faces the alternative of either advancing to peace, prosperity and freedom under socialism, or of sinking into undreamed of depths of pauperization, terrorism and murderous war under capitalism. This is the historic choice of our time and there can be no doubt but that socialism will eventually triumph in the United States and on a world scale.

IV. THE PROOF BEFORE OUR EYES

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a living demonstration of the success of socialism. This great country, with 193,000,000 inhabitants and stretching over one-sixth of the earth, is final proof that socialism provides the solution to the many economic and political problems that are now devastating humankind.

In the February and October revolutions of 1917 the workers and peasants of old Russia, led by the Communist Party with Lenin and Stalin at its head, overthrew the tsarist nobility and the capitalist class, set up a government of their own and collectivized the land and socialized the industries. Thus they

provided the main foundations for socialism. Russia, however, although rich in natural resources and strategically situated geographically, was very backward industrially, its agriculture was medieval; the whole country had been ruined by the war, and every step forward by the new society had to be taken in the face of violent opposition from domestic counter-revolutionists and the hostile foreign capitalist world. Nevertheless, after a twenty-three-year struggle, which constitutes the greatest epic of sacrifice and achievement in human history, the Soviet toiling masses have succeeded in firmly establishing socialism and in blazing the way for the world to follow in order to achieve peace, prosperity and freedom.

The capitalists of all countries, seeing in socialism the nemesis of their infamous social system of robbery and war, view the Soviet Union with a deep and unrelenting hatred. Hardly was the new Soviet Government born than the United States, England, Germany, Japan, France and several other capitalist states sent troops to overthrow it. But this armed intervention was successfully repelled by the heroic Russian workers and peasants, who were supported by huge masses of workers in every country. For years afterward all the big capitalist powers followed a hostile policy of fomenting counter-revolution in the U.S.S.R., of trying to strangle the country economically, to isolate it diplomatically, and to develop a world capitalist war against it. The United States Government took a vigorous part in all these anti-Soviet activities.

Especially have the capitalist publicity forces of the world (governments, newspapers, Social-Democrats, etc.) tried to keep their oppressed and discontented workers from learning the truth of what is actually happening in the socialist Soviet Union. As part of their general attack against that country they have carried on the greatest campaign of lying and misrepresentation in the history of the world. This organized

vilification of the U.S.S.R. has sought, since the rise of Hitler, to make the worker believe that socialism and fascism are identical.

The plain facts are that socialism is a new and higher type of society, wherein the people own the industries and the land and there is no human exploitation; whereas fascism is capitalism in its most ruthless and reactionary form. Socialism and fascism are the two opposites in modern society. Because the capitalists realize that the workers deeply hate fascism they and their pen pushers and mouthpieces—the Greens, Wolls, Thomases, Peglers, Hillmans and Hearsts—persistently seek to discredit socialism in the U.S.S.R. by smearing it with charges of fascism.

Prosperity Under Socialism

By taking over political power and by socializing the productive forces of their country, the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. have unfettered the forces of production and brought about a gigantic development of their industry and agriculture. During the past ten years, while world capitalist industry, both in “democratic” and fascist countries, although fed by make-work schemes and armaments programs, has been stagnating, industrial production in the U.S.S.R. has increased several times over. Taking the 1929 level as 100, American production (February, 1940) now stands at 111, whereas Soviet production stands at 534. Never has the world seen such a rapid industrial growth as that of the U.S.S.R. In 1940, for example, a typical year, Soviet industrial output was increased by 11 per cent, an increase which equalled the total production under tsarism in 1913. In 1941 an increase of 18 per cent is planned. By contrast, the United States, in its peak period of development, from 1924 to 1929, averaged only 5 per cent per year in-

crease. Had production in this country grown as rapidly during the previous dozen years as has that of the U.S.S.R. the United States' national income would now be about three hundred billion dollars instead of the present seventy-five billions. The industrialization of the western parts of the U.S.S.R., the conquest of the Arctic North, the building of the great plants in Middle Asia and the Far East, and the far-reaching mechanization of Soviet agriculture greatly surpass in speed and thoroughness any industrialization ever achieved by world capitalism throughout its entire history. The general result of it all is that the Soviet Union has swiftly leaped from the status of a backward agricultural country into that of the foremost industrial land in Europe. In February, 1941, it adopted a fifteen-year plan which will put the Soviet Union ahead of every country in the world, both in total and per capita production.

Socialism, while bringing about this great industrial and agricultural expansion, at the same time puts an end to the industrial crises and mass unemployment that are the curse of world capitalism. Where there are neither capitalists nor landlords to rob the workers; where production is carried on in a planned manner for social use and not chaotically for private profit, there can be no unsalable surpluses, no "over-production." Thus in the U.S.S.R. the problem of markets is permanently solved. The workers and other producers, with no capitalists to appropriate the products of their labor, are able to buy back all they can produce. Production, therefore, steadily increases in volume, tempo and quality. Mass unemployment is entirely unknown. There cannot exist in the Soviet Union the tragic capitalist contradiction of millions of people starving while the factories stand idle and the warehouses are bursting with stored foodstuffs. Proof that the U.S.S.R. has found the solution to the periodic industrial crises which devastate humanity under capitalism is seen in the fact that

while the whole capitalist world was prostrated by the great economic crisis of the 'thirties and many millions of hungry workers walked the streets jobless, the Soviet Union, with all its workers fully employed, went right ahead from year to year, registering high rates of industrial advance never equalled at any time in any capitalist country.

In the Soviet Union there are no owning, exploiting, and powerfully entrenched classes of capitalists and landlords to grab, as their private property, what the toilers produce. In consequence, the steadily increasing production systematically translates itself into higher living and working standards for the working people. The fruits of Soviet industry, unlike in capitalist countries, do not go to enrich a few social parasites, but to improve the welfare of the masses. This great fact is the very essence of socialism. During the past dozen years, the workers and farmers in all capitalist countries, fascist and "democratic," including the United States, have suffered great declines in their living standards, through wage cuts, mass unemployment, higher taxes, lower farm prices, etc.; whereas in the U.S.S.R. the toiling masses have made an unprecedented improvement in their economic conditions. Thus, the average annual wage of Soviet workers jumped from 1,566 rubles in 1933 to 3,467 in 1938, and retail sales increased from fifteen billion rubles in 1929 to one hundred and seventy-four billion in 1940. Similarly, the Government appropriations for the Soviet system of social security, the most comprehensive in the world, have increased from ten billion rubles in 1937 to sixteen billion in 1941. And this rapid improvement in mass standards is constantly going on. Were it not that the U.S.S.R., in the midst of a war-mad capitalist world, is compelled to spend huge sums yearly for national defense, the building of its industry and the raising of its mass living standards would advance at an even more spectacularly fast tempo.

The great advance of Soviet industry and mass prosperity gives the lie to the capitalist contention that socialism kills the incentive for production. It also refutes the slippery contention that the trouble with capitalist industry arises from the fact that man has built up an industrial mechanism so great that he cannot control it. The Soviet Union provides the incontrovertible proof that socialism puts an end to the industrial paralysis, mass unemployment and wholesale starvation that are torturing the people under present-day capitalism.

A Developing Democracy

Socialism also opens the road to democracy in the fullest sense. The U.S.S.R. is on an entirely higher stage of democracy than any capitalist country, despite all anti-Soviet lies to the contrary. The Stalin Constitution is by far the most democratic in the world. Under its provisions human exploitation is abolished, the toilers are guaranteed the right to work, to leisure, to education, to full security in sickness, old age, and in every other form of incapacity. The broadest rights are also guaranteed to exercise free speech and assembly, to organize, to worship or not as one sees fit. Absolute equality prevails among the three score peoples who make up the Soviet nation. Anti-Semitism is a crime. Equal rights in the fullest sense are extended to women. Youth and children enjoy the most complete protection in the world.

The foundation of Soviet democracy is that the basic resources and institutions of the country—the land, industries, banks, government, schools, press, courts, etc.—are owned and administered by the people. They are all used to advance the people's democratic interests. Whereas in the capitalist countries these institutions, privately owned and controlled, culti-

vate the autocratic interests of small ruling classes, at the expense of the people's liberties. In capitalist countries democracy, where there is any at all, applies chiefly to the exploiting minority, but in the Soviet Union it is the possession of the whole people.

The industries and agriculture are the fortresses of the Soviet democratic system. Not only do the great majority of the economic managerial forces come from the ranks of the workers and farmers, but the trade unions and agricultural collectives also play a decisive role in shaping and applying all policies of production.

In the capitalist countries the present decline, or outright abolition, of democracy is a result of the decay of the capitalist system, the capitalists being forced to resort more and more to terrorist means in order to compel the workers to accept falling living standards. In the Soviet Union, by contrast, the expanding democracy derives unending strength from the rapidly growing industrial system and the steadily rising living standards of the people.

Mass education is also a powerful bulwark of Soviet democracy. While in all the capitalist countries education is now being restricted (in Nazi Germany only a small "elite" of "fuehrers" are being given higher education), in the Soviet Union there is taking place the greatest extension of mass education in the world. Illiteracy has been almost eliminated. Science and art are flourishing as in no other country. And in Soviet colleges, universities and technical institutes there are more students than in Germany, England, France and Japan combined.

Soviet democracy is further buttressed by a wide open system of promotion in all social institutions. Whereas in capitalist countries leading posts of every kind are monopolized by the members and henchmen of the ruling classes, in the Soviet

Union they are fully accessible to all the people. Almost the whole people are now studying various crafts and professions. Merit is the key to promotion; a relentless struggle is constantly carried on against every tendency toward bureaucracy, nepotism and favoritism in Soviet institutions.

At the base of Soviet democracy, and giving it vitality, are the tremendous mass organizations of the people. Among the most important of these are the Communist Party (3,875,000), the Young Communist League (11,000,000), the trade unions (27,000,000) and the agricultural collectives, which embrace almost the entire farming population of about 160,000,000. The several millions strong Red Army is also a veritable school of democracy. There are many other gigantic organizations in the fields of sport, culture, military preparation, etc. These vast and powerful democratic movements play a decisive role in shaping all the life of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government is built of the very fiber of the toiling people. The two houses of the National Supreme Soviet, with a total of 1,090 delegates, consist of 465 workers and 310 farmers, the rest being office workers and professionals. Many of these representatives also hold important posts in the Government, in industry, agriculture, the army, etc. Of the total delegation, made up of fifty-four nationalities, 596 delegates are thirty-five years or less in age, and 187 are women. Compare this democratic governing body, for example, with the United States Congress, which is composed almost completely of capitalists, landlords, corporation lawyers and crooked politicians, with no youth whatever, and with only eight women. There is but one representative from the thirteen million Negroes.

Soviet elections are free, Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, says in his book, *The Soviet Power*:

"The Party officials and committee are chosen, as in the case of the trade unions, in the normal democratic manner, by secret ballot and after the fullest and most open criticism and examination of the candidate's career and record. . . ."*

The same is true of the Soviets and other mass organizations. If in political elections there usually appears only one list of candidates, this merely signifies that the democratic process of selection has already been carried out by the mass organizations before the formal elections. The Soviet method has nothing in common with the hand-picked lists of candidates of Hitler and Mussolini, as anti-Soviet writers allege. There is only one political party in the U.S.S.R., the Communist Party, because the interests of the workers, farmers and professionals are harmonious. There is no more need for many parties among the Soviet toiling masses than there would be for several trade unions in the United States among the workers in one industry or craft. The Communist Party in the Soviet Union, based upon the support of the gigantic trade unions and other mass organizations of toilers, is fundamentally different from the Nazi party in Germany, which is the party of the big capitalists and landlords and which can rule only by suppressing the trade unions, the cooperatives and the workers' and liberal parties.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the form of the Soviet state system, is the rule of the workers and peasants, not the dictatorship of an individual. It constitutes a transition stage of Soviet society, which is on its way to the eventual establishment of communism, the freest form of society ever conceived by man. At present, with world capitalism breaking up and the U.S.S.R. surrounded by armed and warring states, the Soviet Union must remain centralized, disciplined, armed,

* Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, *The Soviet Power*, p. 245, International Publishers, New York; 368 pp., 35 cents.—Ed.

and ready to defend the country at a moment's notice. But with the international victory of the forces of peace and socialism, the Soviet state will wither away and the U.S.S.R. will move into the higher communist, classless, stateless form of society.

The Path of Peace

Socialism not only opens the door to world prosperity and freedom, but to international peace as well. The whole history of the U.S.S.R. proves this conclusively. The Soviet Government was born during the World War in the struggle of the Russian people for peace. One of its first official acts was to issue a call to the workers of the world to end the suicidal World War. Ever since its foundation it has unceasingly used its influence in behalf of peace. It repeatedly proposed either complete or partial disarmament to the capitalist states. It signed non-aggression pacts with its warlike neighbors. It was the one great champion of collective security—an international peace front of the democratic peoples to restrain the fascist aggressors. But its various peace proposals were all rejected by the war-mad imperialist states, with the result that the world is now torn with war.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union grows inevitably out of the country's socialist order of society. In the U.S.S.R. there are none of the forces that cause modern war—no profit-hungry capitalist class ruthlessly striving to rob the peoples of the whole earth, no economic crisis to force the Government into frantic competition with other governments in the grab for world markets. There is no imperialism in the U.S.S.R., hence no drive toward war. With the toiling people in full command of the Government and the whole country, with domestic market problems solved, with rapidly rising living

standards among the masses—the Soviet's foreign policy necessarily must be one of peaceful commerce and diplomatic intercourse with all other peoples. Such is the socialist world relationship between nations that will eventually develop into a permanent peace under world socialism. Charges of "red imperialism" against the U.S.S.R. are monstrous capitalist slanders against the world's first socialist republic.

Toward the present imperialist war, which the U.S.S.R. correctly condemns as an unjust and reactionary war, Soviet policy is one of neutrality. Correctly, the Soviet Government maintains trade and diplomatic relations with all the belligerents. Assertions that the U.S.S.R. is supporting one group or the other of the warring imperialists are deliberate lies. Intelligently and successfully, the Soviet Government is shielding its people from the slaughter of this insanely stupid war and is going full steam ahead with its great work of socialist construction.

To defend its socialist system against the warlike capitalist states the Soviet Union necessarily has to maintain strong armed forces. Part of the organized slander campaign of the anti-Soviet pen pushers and windbags is to sneer at the Red Army as a weak and a negligible military body. But various developments of recent date give the lie to such aspersions on the military strength of the U.S.S.R. For one thing, Hitler wanted above all to seize the Soviet Ukraine, fabulously rich in grain, oil, iron, etc., and he repeatedly announced his determination to do so. Although in this aim he had the backing of the British and French governments, as well as the tacit blessing of the United States Government, in addition to the armed support of Japan, Poland and Italy, Hitler never ventured to attack the U.S.S.R. Instead, he preferred to fight England, France, Poland, Norway, Denmark and Holland simultaneously, with the U.S.A. looming in the background as a potential enemy. Then, also, Japan long proclaimed its

determination to seize the rich Far Eastern sections of the U.S.S.R., and even tried its hand at actual invasion. But after a few heavy clashes with the Red Army, in which the Japanese Army suffered the first and heaviest defeats in its modern history, the Japanese command abandoned the whole business as a bad job. Similarly, the unparalleled smashing of the Mannerheim Line in Finland, a series of gigantic fortifications generally believed impregnable, built by British imperialists as a jumping off place for their planned war against the U.S.S.R., furnished an unchallengeable proof of the tremendous strength of the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

Although the Soviet Government's policy is one of peace and self defense, the U.S.S.R. also gives full support to democratic peoples fighting against imperialist aggressors and capitalist exploiters. Witness its active assistance to republican Spain, its wide help to Nationalist China in the latter's fight against the Japanese invaders, its offer to fight in defense of Czechoslovakia against the Nazi aggressors, and its liberation of the peoples of Western Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Bessarabia from their oppressors.

Under world socialism the many nations will live together in friendly collaboration. It is a reactionary lie—the assertion that man is a fighting animal who must continually make war upon his fellow beings. With the end of capitalism will come the end of war and the beginning of the world peace that all toiling and suffering humanity dreams of and longs for. The Soviet Union is made up of over half a hundred peoples, speaking many languages and having different cultures and traditions, yet they all live together in friendship, equality and harmony. This situation, unparalleled in the capitalist world, is a forecast of the peace and brotherhood that will eventually prevail under socialism, among all the nations of the earth.

V. THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

The fight for socialism grows out of the daily efforts of the workers to achieve their urgent economic and political interests. The day-to-day struggle for immediate and partial demands is not only necessary to shield the toilers so far as possible from the disastrous effects of the decaying capitalist system, but it also enables the masses to acquire the education, experience and organization necessary to enable them eventually to put an end to capitalism and to establish socialism.

Only by militant struggle can the workers and their farmer and other allies protect themselves from the ever-increasing evils of hunger, fascism and war. To the growing attacks upon their living and working standards now being increasingly made under the pretext of "national defense," they must reply by demands for higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions. This also implies a vigorous struggle along political lines for adequate old-age pensions, health and accident insurance, unemployment relief and insurance, work opportunity for the youth, better housing, jobs for all the unemployed, protection for the draftees in the army; for lower living costs, lower taxes, etc. Thus, the toilers' fight must be continued at every point where the capitalist exploiters rob them.

Against the increasing drive of the reactionaries to weaken or destroy the Bill of Rights the workers and other toilers should answer with an active defense of their civil liberties. They should support the right to strike by fighting against all anti-strike legislation, by repudiating in action the no-strike policies of their leaders. They should rally all their forces to counteract the anti-labor schemes of the F.B.I. and the Dies Committee, and also to defeat the many bills in Congress and the various state legislatures designed to destroy existing labor legislation and to curtail freedom of speech, press and assem-

bly. They should demand the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill and the abrogation of such infamous measures as the Alien Registration Act and the Voorhis Sedition Act. The advocacy of anti-Semitism should be made a crime. The workers should also defend the right of the Communist Party to legal existence as an indispensable requirement for the maintenance of American democracy.

Against the warmongers, the toilers should muster their strength to halt the various measures by which the Government is taking the country ever deeper into the war. There is need for a broad and well-organized peace movement. The workers and farmers should demand that our present futile and dangerous war alliance with Great Britain be cancelled and that the Government adopt a policy of neutrality toward the warring powers. Nothing but misery, fascism and death can possibly emerge from the Government's present war policy. The United States should get out and stay out of the war.

The United States must change fundamentally its world course. It should adopt a true peace policy by establishing friendly and cooperative relations with the Soviet Union, with the peoples of India, China and Latin America, with the down-trodden and conquered nations of Europe, and with the labor and farmer movements of the world. Cooperation with these great democratic forces—not a war alliance with imperialist England—is the only way to keep our people at peace and to give this country a perspective of prosperity.

Organization and Education

To accomplish these great tasks in defense of peace, civil liberties and better living standards it is necessary that the workers vastly strengthen their various organizations. The huge numbers of unorganized must be brought into the trade unions. Trade union unity is also most essential, and on a basis which will conserve the industrial unionism, progressive programs, and active leadership developed by the C.I.O. It is

especially necessary that the organized workers, farmers, Negroes, youth and professionals work in close political collaboration with each other. To unite these great democratic forces there is need for a people's anti-imperialist, anti-war program, backed up by broad legislative conferences, direct pressure upon Congress, and vigorous election activities. The C.I.O. legislative program is a long step in this direction. The workers and other toilers must adopt an independent political role and look forward to dissolving their support of the Wall Street-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties. More and more the masses, disillusioned by the false promises of Roosevelt, Willkie, and other capitalist political leaders, are getting ready for such a step. Eventually this awakening political movement of the people should lead to the establishment of a Farmer-Labor Party, a broad People's Front. Only by such independent political action can the masses make their great potential political strength count in their own behalf.

The movement of the toilers, in all its branches, stands also in most urgent need of Marxian education and leadership. As things are now, the leaders of the trade unions, farmers' organizations and various other popular movements, with the exception of a small minority, are committed to the preservation of the capitalist system. This is a deadly handicap to the whole labor movement. It hamstring the masses at every turn in their struggle and constantly exposes them to flank attacks from the capitalist enemy. It is imperative, therefore, that the trade unions and other people's organizations begin to base themselves upon the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They must learn the principles of socialism, of communism. Only in this way can they understand fundamentally what is taking place in the world and be able to steer an intelligent course through the chaos of the collapsing capitalist world order. Solely upon the basis of a Marxist-Leninist under-

standing can they utilize their day-to-day struggles to prepare the way for final emancipation from wage slavery by the establishment of socialism. It is the role of the Communist Party to participate actively in every struggle of the workers, occupying always the front line position of work, danger and responsibility, but especially must our Party lead in the vital work of liquidating capitalist illusions among the workers and of placing their whole movement ideologically upon the solid foundation of the struggle for socialism.

The Fight for Political Power

The victory of socialism requires that the workers and farmers secure complete control of the Government. The toilers' fight for political power assumes various forms in its different stages. In our present American conditions the workers, farmers, Negroes, youth, professionals and "small" people generally should aim at winning an electoral victory upon the basis of a program of democratic demands and then proceed to introduce a People's Front administration. Such a government, although still operating upon the basis of the capitalist system, could bring real relief to the masses. It could satisfy many of their most urgent economic needs and it could initiate a true policy of peace. A People's Front government would weaken the position of the great capitalists by clipping the power of the trusts, by shifting the tax burden upon the rich, by nationalizing key industries, and by various other measures. Moreover, a People's Front government would open wide the door to a tremendous growth and general strengthening of the workers' and other toilers' organizations—economic, political and cultural.

Only a socialist regime, however, can actually solve the great economic and political problems that are harassing our nation and the world. Therefore the government, once it is firmly in the hands of the toiling people, with the working class in the

lead, must strike the social evils at their roots by nationalizing all the important industries and the land, by abolishing capitalist exploitation, by developing planned production, by reorganizing society from the ground up on a socialist basis, and by cooperating with other countries definitely to end war. Nothing short of this can solve the many devastating problems created by the decaying capitalist system and place humanity finally on the way to peace, liberty and plenty.

Charges that the Communists advocate violence in this transition from capitalism to socialism are not true. In order that socialism may be instituted the great masses of the American people must be convinced of the imperative necessity of this change and undoubtedly a gigantic majority can be made to understand that they stand to gain immediately by the introduction of socialism. The masses, once having decided upon establishing socialism, will inevitably turn to the ways of peace and democracy to achieve their legitimate purpose. The history of revolutions proves that whenever violence occurs in their course it originates in the resistance of the reactionaries who are determined, with every means in their power, to bar the onward march of justice and progress. Take our own Revolution of 1776. Except for a relatively few big landowners and rich merchants, the great bulk of the American people ardently wanted national independence. If the Revolutionary War broke out it was solely the responsibility of the small group of American Tories and of the reactionary British Government who, with armed force, tried to defeat the legitimate aspirations of our forefathers.

The second American revolution, the Civil War of 1861-65, taught the same basic lesson. The people democratically elected Lincoln to the Presidency, thereby displacing the slave-owners from governmental power. Whereupon the latter took up arms and the Civil War resulted. The Lincoln government justly defended itself and liberated the slaves.

The Russian Revolution of our days revealed a similar situation, in which comparatively a handful of rich landlords and capitalists, backed by foreign capitalist governments, violently but unsuccessfully attempted to forestall the revolutionary will of the overwhelming majority of the Russian workers and peasants.

Lessons from the Soviet Union

American workers have very much to learn from the vast socialist experience of the toilers in the U.S.S.R. They are the trail-blazers, the first nation to smash through the rotten crust of capitalism and to emerge into the new world of socialism. We should study the U.S.S.R. diligently. To this end American workers would do well to read the new book by Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, entitled *The Soviet Power*. This volume, whose author is a non-Communist, is an honest, well-documented, and brilliantly written account of what is actually taking place on the "Socialist Sixth of the World." It is an overwhelming refutation of the anti-Soviet lies of the Hearsts, Peglers, Thomases, *et al.*

Undoubtedly in the Soviet Union there have been developed the broad outlines along which the new world society of socialism generally will take shape. But in the many countries of the world, no doubt, there will be numerous variations. It is not a question, therefore, of merely trying to duplicate socialist Soviet institutions in the United States, but, with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the great Soviet experience as the guide, to build socialism on the basis of specific American conditions and traditions.

The Soviet masses have had a long and bitter struggle to establish socialism. In the United States, however, such would be largely unnecessary. In the first place, the greatest difficulty was encountered in the fact that Russia was a very backward

country, with little industry and few trained workers. Hence the work of creating a new industrial system and training the necessary armies of skilled workers from among the basic masses of peasants was a stupendous task. In the United States, however, this almost insurmountable difficulty would not present itself at all. Here there is already at hand a tremendous industrial system and multitudes of trained workers. Objectively, therefore, the United States is much better prepared for socialism than was tsarist Russia. Another terrific difficulty that the Soviet people have had to face in building socialism arose out of the fact that the U.S.S.R. was the first socialist republic and all its life it has been encircled by powerful and hostile states eager to invade and destroy it. This fact created enormous problems for the new socialist state. Here again, however, the United States would be greatly favored in building socialism. It would not have to face such a deadly encirclement—not only because of its relative geographical isolation from other great powers, but also because the U.S.S.R. is already in existence and has blazed the way for socialism. All of which sums up to a certainty that in the United States, once the workers and farmers have secured political power, the transition to socialism will be much swifter and far easier than it was in the U.S.S.R.

The Prospect for Socialism

The present imperialist war constitutes an enormous sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism. It puts a terrific strain upon the whole world capitalist system. During the World War, in 1917, the workers and peasants of old Russia, rebelling against the terrible exploitation and brutal slaughter to which they were subjected, put an end to capitalism and tsarism in their broad country and established socialism. In Germany, Hungary, Italy and other countries they also rebelled

and likewise would have achieved socialism had it not been for the Social-Democrats who sold them out and helped the capitalists to maintain the present order of society.

Today, as the capitalist system plunges ever deeper into this ghastly war, it is far less able to stand the shock of the war and of revolution than it was in World War times. The various capitalist states, corroded and undermined by the long economic crises, are greatly sapped in strength. This has been graphically illustrated by the bogging down of Japan in China, the collapse of France, the breakdown of Poland and the manifest weakness of Italy. Germany, England and the United States are also all fundamentally much weaker today than they were during the World War. Besides, the present war is much more destructive in its effects, militarily, economically and socially. On the other hand, as the international forces of capitalism are growing weaker the anti-imperialist and socialist forces of the world are becoming stronger. There is the gigantic Soviet Union, daily increasing its strength and prestige. There are the powerful and expanding national liberation movements in China, India, Latin America, and in other colonial and semi-colonial lands. In addition, there is the explosive situation in the countries overrun by Nazi Germany, as well as the rapid weakening of capitalist illusions among the toiling masses of the people in all capitalist countries. These four great streams of struggle against imperialism and capitalism tend more and more to coalesce into one broad anti-capitalist movement.

The world collision between the growing forces of socialism and the declining forces of capitalism is bound to sharpen as the war goes on, and also after the war's conclusion. Nor is the United States exempt from this universal development. More and more the feeling grows among the masses of the people throughout the world that the present order of society has outrun its course and that the social organization must

take a new direction. Such moods are also to be found in capitalist circles. But while the reactionaries, in order to hold the masses in the war, vaguely talk of a "New World Order" and even of some kind of "socialism," to be instituted after the war, their real aim is to try to find a way out of the ever-increasing difficulties of the dying capitalist system by moving toward a terroristic fascist dictatorship.

Fascism, no matter what its particular form, degree, or designation, cannot solve any of the problems that are tearing the capitalist system to pieces. On the contrary, the rule of the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital unavoidably deepens and multiplies all these destructive conflicts and contradictions. Fascism can only increase the mass pauperization. industrial crises, oppression and wars that are destroying capitalism. It, therefore, aligns against each other, in ever more determined struggle, the forces of decadent capitalism and of world socialism. There is no way out of the people's present turmoil and difficulty except through socialism. It is to this great goal that humanity is marching, despite all its hesitations and confusions along the way. The American people, more and more, will come to play a decisive part in this great advance to the achievement of world peace, prosperity and freedom under socialism.

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