

A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

The Question of the Peaceful Co-Existence of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

By William Z. Foster

THE MOST URGENT political question in the world today is that of the realization of peaceful co-existence between the countries of Socialism and people's democracy and those of capitalism, of which the most decisive expression today is peace between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. This is because peaceful co-existence is the concrete realization of world peace. The question is now occupying the attention of countless millions of people throughout the world who are ardently fighting for international peace. Peaceful co-existence was the central theme in the June conference of prime ministers Chou En-lai of People's China and Nehru of India—a meeting of world historic importance. So much has this general matter become the issue that, at their Washington conference in June, even the imperialists, Prime Minister Churchill and President Eisenhower, long-time bitter enemies of Socialism, found themselves com-

pelled to talk in terms of peaceful co-existence, however distorted and demagogically they did so. The present article undertakes to treat this most vitally important question in its historic setting, as well as in its present-day significance.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

From the time of the Russian Revolution in November 1917 until now, the question of the socialist and capitalist countries of the world living together amicably and without war has been a grave and growing consideration. The successive leaders of the Soviet people during the intervening 37 years—Lenin, Stalin, and Malenkov—have repeatedly stressed the desirability, possibility, and imperative need for peaceful co-existence of the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries. This position has been not only that of the great Russian

Communist Party, but it always has been actively seconded and supported by every Marxist-Leninist leader and Party everywhere. It has also strongly expressed the will of the peace-loving masses of the world. The need for peaceful co-existence is imperative, because the alternative to it would be a whole series of the most devastating wars in world history. Peaceful co-existence is the only thinkable perspective for humanity, especially since the advent of the A- and H-bomb.

The Marxist-Leninist conception of the peaceful co-existence of capitalist and socialist countries is in full harmony with the fundamental Communist position that historically Socialism must replace capitalism and that the present period of decaying imperialism and of the general crisis of world capitalism is also the era of great imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. There is no theoretical conflict in the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the question, because in this period the democratic forces are powerful enough to hold the imperialist world-war makers in check while the inevitable revolutionary transformation from capitalism to Socialism takes place in the respective countries. Underlying this general consideration and forming the foundation of the whole concept of peaceful co-existence, is the fundamental fact that the economic and political interests of the great democratic masses of the peoples of all countries—capitalist and democratic—are in full harmony, and for their

realization must have peaceful co-existence. There is no incompatibility between the advance of Socialism and the maintenance of world peace. The establishment of Socialism in no sense requires international war. From the outset of the socialist movement the Marxists have always been the firmest fighters for peace.

The imperialists of the world, however—and in first line those of the United States—are fundamental and inveterate enemies of the whole concept of the peaceful co-existence of the socialist and capitalist worlds. They are the deadly foes of Socialism—which they fully realize would put a final end to the exploitation system by which they strip the workers of scores of billions of dollars every year. They are harassed by a sense of the inevitability of Socialism on a world basis unless they can somehow find the means to stamp it out violently. Therefore, on a national scale, the fundamental attitude of the big capitalists is to seek to crush the rising socialist movements of the working class and its allies by ruthless counter-revolution, and on an international scale, their line is to try to overthrow by a gigantic military war such socialist countries as may nevertheless come into existence. This has been the policy of the great imperialist powers ever since the foundation of the U.S.S.R. and it remains their basic policy today. Chief of all the political things that the international imperialists do not want is peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist worlds.

At the present time the question of peaceful co-existence is taking on an ever-increasing political importance and urgency. This is because objective conditions are ripening so that the concrete development of such co-existence is becoming more and more a practical possibility, particularly because of the failure of the capitalists' anti-Soviet cold war. For the past eight years the big capitalists of the world, led by the monopolists of Wall Street, have been waging this "cold war." The heart of this peacetime "war" has been, on the one hand, a desperate effort on the part of the United States and its allies to develop an all-out capitalist military offensive to overthrow the U.S.S.R., People's China, and the European People's Democracies, and on the other hand, a resolute struggle of these countries and the other peace forces of the world to prevent such a reactionary world war.

By and large, the cold war has gone very badly for Wall Street and its allies. Although the warmongers have suffered elementary defeats on many fronts, they are, however, not yet finally defeated. They are still able to keep hanging over the world the murderous threat of an atomic-hydrogen war. Nevertheless, with victories of the peace forces mounting constantly, the question of peaceful co-existence is forcing its way onto the world political agenda as a decisive question. The time is therefore past for mere slogans on our part about peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist worlds;

now it is necessary to become more concrete about the whole matter.

EARLY PHASES OF IMPERIALIST ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE U.S.S.R.

Immediately upon the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 the big capitalists of the world launched a relentless war against the first Workers' Republic. The Right-Social Democracy generally took a stand against the Soviet Union on the false pretense that it was not a socialist regime, but the capitalists never had any doubt on this matter. From the outset they recognized its socialist character. Consequently they organized and financed the Russian counter-revolution and, beginning in 1918, they sent their own troops into Soviet Russia, for the purpose of destroying the new workers' government. Nearly all the leading capitalist powers—Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, etc.—took part in this armed intervention. The United States was one of the most active participants in the dirty business; the "progressive" Democratic President Wilson, without even asking Congressional sanction, sent thousands of American soldiers into the Vladivostok and Murmansk areas of Siberia and Northern Russia.

This first phase of the permanent war of the world imperialists against Soviet Russia failed dismally. The heroic Red Guard, which in the struggle grew into the great Red Army, smashed all its armed foes, domestic and foreign. By the end of

1920 the Russian counter-revolutionary armies were destroyed, and the big capitalist powers had all been compelled to withdraw their troops from Soviet Russia. The reasons for this socialist military triumph were the tremendous fighting power developed by the revolutionary Soviet people and the spirit of solidarity of the European working class, which prevented an all-out capitalist attack against Soviet Russia. A major factor, too, was the unreliability of the capitalist troops themselves—with even American soldiers rebelling, an event which caused the whole United States intervention expedition to be hastily withdrawn. All this amounted to a tremendous and decisive victory for the young socialist republic.

Although defeated in their first counter-revolutionary assault upon the Soviet regime, from 1921 to the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the imperialist powers continued to display in varying forms their inveterate and basic hostility to the Soviet Union. For years, they ineffectively boycotted and diplomatically isolated that country, trying to starve it into submission. Great Britain and France were the counter-revolutionary leaders during most of this time, but the United States was not far behind—in fact it was not until 1933 that the United States, the last of the great powers to do so, formally accorded the Soviet Union diplomatic recognition.

In the early 1930's Germany, Japan, and Italy, with their notorious "Anti-Comintern" Pact, took the lead

in the next great stage in the permanent world imperialist offensive against the U.S.S.R. In this drive the fascist powers were helped by the appeasement policies of Great Britain, France, and the United States—which were the handiwork of the pro-fascist monopolists in these capitalist countries, whose dearest hope was to turn Hitler's bayonets against the U.S.S.R. All this was the very antipode of a policy of peaceful co-existence.

During this increasingly critical period of world history—from 1933 to 1939—as the dangerous fascist offensive for world domination was developing, the Soviet Union came forward with its famous policy of "collective security." That is, it proposed that the capitalist democracies, uniting with the U.S.S.R., should hold the fascist powers in check and thus maintain world peace. This, in substance, was a proposition for peaceful co-existence of socialist and capitalist countries, with the Soviet government giving the world the political lead on this elementary question.

The pro-fascist rulers of Great Britain, France, and the United States, however, would have no part of the Soviet's peaceful co-existence policy, for they hated and feared the Soviet Union far more than they did their imperialist rivals of the fascist Axis. Not until the very last, until Hitler, following out his joint fascist program of world conquest, had sent his *Wehrmacht* storming against them, did the Western capitalist pow-

ers even temporarily abandon their futile attempts to have the *Fuehrer* turn his guns against the Soviet Union.

Only after Hitler had defeated the armies of France, England, Belgium, Norway and Holland, and driven their remnants into the sea at Dunkirk, did fascist Germany turn its attention to its central, decisive job, the heart's desire of every great capitalist in the world and the historic will-o-the-wisp of monopoly capitalism, the armed overthrow of the Soviet Union. With the U.S.S.R. crushed, Hitler figured, the way would be open for world control by Germany and Japan. So the fascist dictator made the fatal mistake, on June 22, 1941, of militarily attacking the great socialist country.

With their armies decisively whipped, Great Britain and France (with the United States joining the war six months later) at long last found it imperative to come to an agreement with the U.S.S.R. to fight against fascist Germany, Japan, and Italy. But, at best, theirs was only a half-hearted alliance—at all times it was hamstrung by the ingrained hatred of the big Western capitalists for the U.S.S.R. and their determination ultimately to overthrow that country's socialist government. This innate hostility explains the deliberate refusal of Great Britain and the United States, for 18 months at least, to open up the vitally needed Western European war front, the gross discrimination shown by the United States against the Soviet Union in

the matter of wartime lend-lease, the shifting of the main war attack of the United States from Germany to Japan, the refusal to share military secrets—notably radar and the atomic bomb—with the U.S.S.R., and various other steps that were taken to sabotage the war struggle of the Soviet Union. And it is a matter of common knowledge that many prominent American reactionaries, Truman, Hoover, *et al.*—openly and shamelessly proposed the systematic weakening of the U.S.S.R. as much as possible during the war. Despite such treacheries, however, the U.S.S.R. took the main part in defeating Hitler-Germany, and thus, in winning the war in general.

THE POST-WORLD WAR II IMPERIALIST ATTACK AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

Up to the present time, ever since the Russian Revolution of November 1917, one of the central features of current history has been the bitter, unrelenting and murderous hatred shown by the imperialist powers for the Soviet Union. Not even the co-partnership-in-arms of the bourgeois democracies and the U.S.S.R. during World War II could break down this inveterate capitalist hostility and lead to the adoption of a policy of peaceful co-existence. Nothing could eradicate the determination of the imperialists to destroy the U.S.S.R. upon the first favorable opportunity. This anti-Soviet spirit ran all through World War II, resulting, as we have seen, in systematic

betrayal of the U.S.S.R.'s fight by the Western capitalist powers.

After the historic battle of Stalin-grad, in January 1943, which broke the backbone of Hitler's army and gave the anti-fascist countries their first real perspective of ultimate victory over Hitlerism, the inevitable anti-Soviet drive began to take shape again on the part of the Western imperialists. This time it was the United States monopolists who moved ahead to take the anti-Soviet lead. Their ruthless hostility was, however, largely veiled in the various joint documents put out from time to time by the United Nations.

Thus, at the famous Teheran (Iran) conference of December 1943, which set the date for the opening of the second European war front, the allied powers issued a statement which pledged the three big signers—the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R.—“to work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.” On the face of it, this document presumably opened up a perspective of the peaceful co-existence of the Soviet Union and the Western capitalist powers. The United Nations, ultimately, was supposed to express this new cooperation in the post-war peace.

Stalin, for the Soviet Government, endorsed the Teheran joint statement as being in line with the historic co-existence policy of the U.S.S.R. The hard-boiled British imperialist, Churchill, however, undoubtedly signed the declaration tongue-in-cheek, with no intention whatever

of carrying out its peaceful implications. As for Roosevelt, who was a liberal, he probably contemplated some sort of a cooperative attitude towards the U.S.S.R. in the post-war period, but this was in no sense the perspective of Wall Street. This fact was dramatically made manifest immediately after the death of Roosevelt on April 12, 1945, when his successor, the Soviet-hater, Harry S. Truman, began at once to put into effect the violently anti-Soviet line of American monopoly capital. The basic mistake at this time of Earl Browder, who became a renegade, was that, taking the Teheran agreement at its face value, he hopped to the absurd conclusion that Wall Street monopoly would perform the miracle of abandoning its inveterate anti-Soviet spirit and that henceforth it intended to live in peaceful relations with the U.S.S.R. This anti-Leninist conception took him right into the camp of imperialist reaction.

In its grandiose policies of post-war world domination, Wall Street considered the Soviet Union to be the greatest of all stumbling blocks in its path of imperialist conquest, one that had to be destroyed by a great world war. Its general imperialist strategy to accomplish world domination was much akin to that of Hitler in his ill-fated bid, along with his fascist allies, for world power. Both German and American imperialism worked on the same general lines: first, to subdue the other capitalist powers (with their present and potential antagonisms)

and to absorb their economic and military strength; and then, to deliver an all-out capitalist blow against the U.S.S.R.

Following out this strategy, Hitler had taken over control of capitalist Europe by smashing the armies and governments of the various capitalist countries; whereupon he launched into his fatal attack upon the U.S.S.R. But Wall Street, with shiny new hypocritical slogans of peace and democracy, to replace Hitler's naked and rough militarist-fascist world-conquest slogans, undertook the subordination of the capitalist world by somewhat different means—by a gigantic system of loans and gifts, by economic penetration, and by political intimidation. To accomplish the second part of this program, the military attack upon the U.S.S.R., Wall Street has worked out a most elaborate strategy.

In his time Hitler had vastly underestimated the tremendous strength of the U.S.S.R., to his own undoing, a mistake that Wall Street has sedulously tried to avoid. Although Hitler had behind him not only the powerful German army and economic system (plus those of Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc.) and also the organized productive strength of France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Scandinavia, etc., he could not overcome the Russians. Instead of the Soviet Union being defeated in six weeks, as Hitler had boasted, it was Nazi Germany itself that was already beginning to get into the trouble that was soon to be

disastrous to it.

Wall Street, learning from these historic lessons, has striven to bring an even greater power to bear against the Soviet Union, especially as that country is obviously now vastly more powerful than it was during the great Second World War. To accomplish this, Wall Street promptly outlined a tremendous campaign in preparation for an eventual all-capitalist attack against the U.S.S.R. As the war campaign has gone on over the years, there have developed three general prongs to this scheme of war: a) to arm the American and other capitalist peoples to the teeth, especially with A- and H-bombs, and to transform their economies into a monster munitions-producing machine; b) to build a great anti-Soviet war alliance of all the important capitalist governments in the world; and c) to cultivate an anti-Soviet, pro-war hysteria among the masses of the peoples of the world aimed at making them sanction the boundless slaughter of a great atomic world war. Wall Street seeks to use the whole capitalist world to crush the U.S.S.R.

All United States post-war policy, foreign and domestic, has been directed to accomplish these general ends. This has been the purpose of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, NATO and EDC, American domination of the United Nations, the get-tough-with Russia policy, atomic diplomacy, the Japanese treaty, American participation in the Korean and Indo-China wars, the

enormous militarization of the United States, and all the rest of it. The heart of post-World War II political history is, on one hand, the story of the attempt of the United States to carry through its monstrous anti-Soviet world war program, and on the other, that of the efforts of the U.S.S.R. and the democratic masses of the world to make this Wall Street world war program impossible of realization.

THE GROWING FAILURE OF THE WALL STREET ANTI- SOVIET WAR POLICY

The sum-up of the vast anti-Soviet campaign of the United States during the post-World War II years, in which it has squandered, all told, no less than 250 billion dollars of the American taxpayers' money here and overseas, is the growing failure of this campaign. So far has this failure progressed by now that it amounts to practical bankruptcy, a bankruptcy which extends to all three prongs of Wall Street's general war program:

a) Although the United States has succeeded in building a tremendous war machine in this and other capitalist countries, one with a vast army, navy, and air force, with air bases all over the world and with a growing production of A-and H-bombs, nevertheless, this monstrous war machine is essentially futile, because the Soviet Union has broken the atomic and hydrogen bomb "monopoly" upon which the whole monopolist war plan rested, and it and

its friends have also built up a tremendous military force equal at least to that of the capitalist world. In fact, it is now a practical certainty that if the capitalist world should attack the socialist world it would march to overwhelming political and military disaster.

b) Although the United States, after a prodigious expenditure of effort and money, has also hammered together in some fashion the major capitalist powers of the world into an anti-Soviet alliance, in the NATO and in the United Nations, this projected war alliance is also stricken with futility. It is crippled with sharpening internal capitalist contradictions and blocked by the peace pressure of the masses. This potential war alliance is actually much weaker today than it was two years ago. Not only the working class and its allies, but also important sections of the bourgeoisie in many countries are being forced to the opinion that they "must do business with the Russians and Chinese"; which helps to explain why, in their latest conferences, Churchill and Eden were talking, however trickily, about policies of peaceful co-existence with the Soviets. Great Britain and France, expressing their opposing imperialist interests, are now quarrelling violently with Washington over international policy; while many other countries, not so long ago ruthlessly dominated by arrogant American imperialism, are now showing much more independence and less and less desire to go along with the United

States in an all-out military attack upon the U.S.S.R. The planned American all-capitalist war alliance is now tottering about, threatening to fly to pieces, as our Party long ago declared that it might well do. American domination of the United Nations has also visibly weakened; so much so that Senator Knowland and other warmongers are loudly threatening to try to destroy it by withdrawing the United States and its puppets, should the U.N. dare to flout Washington's imperial will by seating People's China. The American arming of Western Germany and Japan, even should it succeed, which is very dubious, cannot possibly offset these basic losses in support. The 50 billion dollars that the United States has poured out to the capitalist countries during the post-war period to buy and coerce them into an anti-Soviet war alliance with the United States—on the pattern of the ill-fated fascist Axis of World War II days—has pretty much gone down the drain.

c) The propaganda of the United States, seeking to ready the peoples of the capitalist world ideologically for a great atomic world slaughter, has also not been without some illusory successes. Tens of millions of people all over the capitalist world, especially in the United States, have been deceived by the two-sided "Big Lie" of Wall Street, to the effect that Soviet "Red Imperialism" is about to overrun the world militarily and that the United States is the great defender of world democracy and

peace. However, despite the enormous world-wide propaganda effort of Wall Street to spread these monstrous lies, the peoples of the world, by the hundreds of millions, are rapidly learning that the danger of fascism and another great war is coming, not from the peace-loving Soviet Union but from arrogant American imperialism. They are also alarmed at the sinister growth of McCarthy fascism in the United States. This popular awakening is taking place especially because of the ultra-aggressive policies of the Eisenhower Administration, with its threatening military moves and its repeated atomic bomb ultimatums to the U.S.S.R. and to People's China. The growing realization that a third world war would be a two-sided war of annihilation by atomic and other wholesale slaughter weapons, has vastly stimulated the world demand for peace. The Communist parties of the world and other progressive bodies have been a vital factor in making the peoples of the world understand whence originate the fascist and war danger now menacing the world. So far has this enlightenment gone that today the United States has become, by general admission, the most hated and feared country in the world. Instead of preparing the people of the world to accept a great atomic world war, the general effect of the propaganda and practical policies of the United States has been to strengthen enormously the peace forces of the world. If the world war policies of the United

States imperialists are daily more bankrupt, it is because they are being shattered upon the peace-will of the world's peoples.

Illustrating the reverse side of the failure of American imperialism, all the militarism and atomic threats from the United States and its more belligerent allies have not succeeded in intimidating or checking the growth of Socialism in the world. On the contrary, the great proletarian and colonial revolutions are rolling right on, regardless of Wall Street's attempts to halt and destroy them. Since the end of the war the U.S.S.R. has increased its industrial strength three times over, as compared with what it was in 1940. In Eastern Europe, a whole series of countries, with about 100 million people, have also started on the way to Socialism through their People's Democracies. In China 600 million people (the latest official population estimate) have overthrown imperialism in their country and are on the road to laying the foundations of Socialism, a tremendous event which has shaken world capitalism to its foundations. And all over the world, in the post-war period, there has been a vast spread of colonial-liberation movements and a gigantic growth of Communist parties, trade unions, youth, women, and peace movements.

This growing defeat of Wall Street's aggressive foreign policy, which, as it has developed, has caused repeated changes in bankrupted American military strategy,

can have the most profound consequences, not only for the preservation of peace, but also for the whole cause of world democracy and Socialism. It is creating a new international situation, highly favorable for the forces of human progress. But to go further into this general perspective would take us beyond the proper scope of this article.

WHAT KIND OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE ARE THE PEOPLES FIGHTING FOR?

The growing failure of American foreign policy has become so pronounced during the past two years that it is now obvious to all who are not politically blind. Month by month the chances have grown less and less for the United States to launch the all-out capitalist war that its monopolist rulers have been so assiduously trying to organize since the end of World War II. At the present time, in the Indo-China situation, the failure of aggressive American imperialist policy has become so accentuated as to amount virtually to a debacle.* The very existence of the capitalist anti-Soviet alliance is being threatened in this situation.

Does all this mean that, with American imperialism increasingly checkmated in its policy of warlike aggrandizement, the danger of war has been liquidated? Does it signify that Wall Street will voluntarily reorient itself and begin to develop a program based upon co-

* The conclusion, on July 20, of the truce in the Indo-Chinese War, serves further to confirm this analysis.—*Editor.*

existence, even in the shape of an armed truce, with the U.S.S.R., People's China and the European Democracies? Does it imply that such an armed stalemate is the best that the peoples may look forward to for an indefinite future?

These three questions must be answered in the negative. As for the war danger, that will continue to exist in a dangerous form so long as the imperialist monopolists remain in control of this country and its present gigantic war machine—and so long as it is increasingly dominated by atom-maniacs, neo-McCarthyites, and military adventurers. United States foreign policy, in the face of growing failures, is becoming more irrational and insane. It is composed largely of fear, hysteria, desperation, wishful thinking, fascist arrogance, and imperialist aggression. A few examples of such political irrationality and aberrations are the Oppenheimer and Army-McCarthy idiocies on the domestic field, and, in foreign affairs, the mad attempt to spread the Indo-China war, the nonsensical efforts to undo and reverse the Chinese Revolution, and the crazy Dulles "liberation" policy. Such dangerous irrationality is inevitably generated among the capitalists in this period of general capitalist crisis and decay. The most serious danger of war in the present situation is that the pro-war elements in Washington, full of desperation at their loss of allies and the defeat of their policies, may themselves attempt to launch a great war.

Indeed, during the past two years we have seen them make precisely such attempts on at least three different occasions: 1) their desperate attempt to spread the Korean conflict into an atomic war against People's China, an outrage that was balked by the great world protest which it evoked; 2) the organized putsch in East Germany on June 17, 1953, an American-planned uprising which, had it not been swiftly defeated, might have plunged Germany into a great civil war, with the gravest danger of this provoking a world war, and, 3) the present desperate attempt of the United States to drag on Britain, France, and a whole row of puppet and satellite states into expanding the war in Indo-China into a broad and hopeless Asian atomic war. Such reckless, irrational, and irresponsible war adventures we must count upon so long as American monopolists, now being defeated on all world fronts, are able to control and arbitrarily to direct a great military power with a huge potential for war-making.

As for the United States, while it remains dominated by imperialists, the possibility of its voluntarily recognizing the futility of its war program and of working out a policy of peaceful co-existence with the U.S.S.R., even upon the basis of an armed truce, is practically negligible. If history since the Russian Revolution of 1917 has taught us anything, it is that the great monopoly capitalists of the world, of which American imperialism is the most power-

ful expression, are the inveterate, undying enemies of the Soviet Union and of all other socialist lands. So long as these monopolists possess great military power, as in the United States, they will plot and scheme against the lands of Socialism, waiting only for a favorable opportunity, or what in their increasingly insane policies they consider to be such, to launch a military attack against these socialist countries. The most desperate elements among these warmongers are the American "go it alone" fanatics. The only time the big capitalists of the world (*i.e.*, American imperialism and its allies) will abide by a perspective of peaceful co-existence with the U.S.S.R., People's China, and the People's Democracies is when they have been curbed both abroad and at home by the democratic peace forces and are therefore no longer able to threaten the world militarily. To believe otherwise, would be to fall once more into the trap of Browder, with his theory of "intelligent," "progressive," and "beneficent" American monopolists.

As for the world going into a prolonged period of armed stalemate between the capitalist and socialist countries—a co-existence at the point of the gun, so to speak—this is most unlikely, if not outright impossible. The peoples of the world do not act according to the Trotsky slogan of "neither peace nor war," (Brest-Litovsk) but the Stalin slogan of "peaceful co-existence." They will never rest content to waste half of their incomes on useless military expendi-

tures and to live under the constant threat of a murderous atomic world war. The same world peace forces which are now so successfully defeating the world-conquest policies of American imperialism on many fronts will drive through for the establishment of a real peaceful co-existence among the capitalist and socialist countries, one that is worthy of civilized humanity. Already the outlines of what they are heading for are visible in the policies they are fighting for today. These are: universal disarmament, abolition of atomic, chemical, bacteriological, and similar mass destruction weapons; establishment of full trade relations among all countries, cultivating an all-round cultural exchange among the peoples; the realization, without imperialist interference, of full independence of all countries, including especially their right to establish, by revolution or otherwise, such types of social regimes as they may see fit; the seating of People's China and other democratic nations in the United Nations; liquidation of the present imperialist war alliances, such as NATO and EDC, and development of the United Nations into a genuine peace organization instead of an instrument of the warlike policy of American imperialism. The June Pandit Nehru-Chou En-lai meeting, along this general line, stressed policies of mutual respect for their respective countries, territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and full development

of mutual trade and cultural intercourse.

Such measures, already being fought for by the world's peoples, would abolish completely the cold war and substantially establish peaceful co-existence; would create a situation altogether different from the present position of two armed world camps. To realize this situation, however, necessitates the complete defeat of the entire war program of the monopolist moguls of Wall Street.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The great democratic, peace-loving masses of the American people—the working class, the Negro people, large sections of the farmers and city middle classes (and even some elements of the bourgeoisie)—have been a vital factor, far more than is realized, in the developing defeat, as analyzed above, of the world policies of aggressive American imperialism, in the fight for world peace, which in this period is basically the struggle for the peaceful co-existence of the socialist and capitalist countries. Innumerable examples might be given of the peace pressure of the masses upon the government, such as their long resistance to universal military training, their opposition to huge military expenditures, and their practically open opposition to the Korean war. In the gross attempts of both the Truman and Eisenhower Administration to drop

A-bombs on Chinese cities and to spread the Korean war, the opposition of the American people (as well as the world outcry against such a monstrous outrage) was a decisive factor in staying the hand of the atom-maniacs. If Eisenhower and Dulles are now hesitating to send American foot soldiers into Indo-China, a vital force contributing thereto is the active opposition of the American people to such a course. By the same token, if President Eisenhower now speaks, however demagogically, of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union, he knows quite well that peaceful co-existence is precisely what the great American masses want.

The opposition of the American democratic masses to the war program of Wall Street is all the more significant because it is being exerted in the face of the treachery of their political and trade-union leaders. Thus, New Deal remnants such as Mrs. Roosevelt, Senators Douglas, Humphrey, Lehman, *et al.*, as well as such labor misleaders as Meany, Reuther, Harrison, and others, are even outdoing the Eisenhower Administration in clamoring for larger military appropriations and for a more positive (*i.e.*, aggressive) foreign policy by the United States.

The achievement of peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist worlds (or concretely, between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) cannot be fully realized simply by the defeat of the foreign policies of American imperialism, important

though this task is. Wall Street must also be politically defeated on its home grounds, in the United States. So long as the big monopolists dominate the United States, with their control over the immense industries and war machine, and with their political support, not only from the Republican and Democratic parties, but also from almost the entire top trade-union bureaucracy, just so long will they continue to be a malignant threat to world peace and therewith to the peaceful co-existence of capitalist and socialist states. Stalin, among his last statements, re-emphasized Lenin's position that so long as imperialism lasts there will be danger of war—a warning which is doubly pertinent with regard to American imperialism.

The power of American imperialism must be curbed in the United States. This is the immediate great task of the American people. And they will accomplish the job much sooner than even the most optimistic Communist now realizes. As things now stand, American imperialism seems to be a most powerful and fearsome political power. But it is nevertheless rotten at the heart, like capitalism everywhere. Mao Tse-tung made a fundamental estimate of its real strength when he called it "a paper tiger."

The *Draft Program* of the Communist Party, which has been widely discussed during the past few months, gives a clear line of how the struggle against warmaking American imperialism must be conducted.

This calls for a relentless fight against every phase of the cold war, and for the easing of international tension, with concrete proposals for fighting McCarthyism, the devastation of economic crisis, and the danger of war. The first stage in the general political struggle is the mobilization of all the democratic forces, including, "labor, the working farmers, the Negro people, small and middle-sized business groups opposed to the McCarthy program of fascism and war" into a popular coalition movement.

"The immediate objective in 1954," states the *Draft Program*, "must be to prevent the Eisenhower Administration and Congress from taking the country further down the road of McCarthyism. Defeating McCarthyism requires the turning of the present Administration out of political power, first by changing the composition of Congress in 1954 and then by electing a new Administration in 1956. This requires a new political majority so strong that it not only changes the Administration but imposes on a new Congress and a new Administration a new course in domestic and foreign affairs." As the great mass of the workers and other progressive strata are now supporting the two big bourgeois parties, principally the Democratic Party, this necessitates organizing them for action where they now are.

The election of such a government, as proposed, would be a defeat of the war program of American imperialism and would go far to guar-

guarantee world peace. But the workers and their allies would not stop short with this partial victory. The *Draft Program* further states:

"As the American people succeed in electing a new Administration and blocking the immediate menace of fascism and war, a new stage of the struggle will begin to unfold. It is then that from the perspective of subsequently electing a new type of government, a farmer-labor government, will begin to arise in our country. Such a people's government, based on a farmer-labor party, will represent the militant advance of the great majority. It will be a government in which the working class plays a leading role, serving the interests of the common people, and directed to curbing the power of the trusts."

Already the decay of American foreign policy, the growth of McCarthyism, and the developing economic crisis are having profound domestic effects in the United States. The democratic masses, far more than is realized, are becoming alarmed at the crazy war policies of Dulles and his like, the rise of McCarthyite fascism, the menacing economic crisis, and the hostility which American imperialist policies are evoking all over the world. Significantly, too, considerable sections of the American bourgeoisie are also becoming alarmed at the warlike policies of the Eisenhower Administration—a split in capitalist ranks that will grow wider and will have important political consequences. The workers, the Negro people, and other democratic strata, are already gradually beginning the political

march which in the long run will break the power of American imperialism and which will provide the final guarantee for world peace.

All over the world the decisive leadership in the fight against war and for the peaceful co-existence of capitalist and socialist states devolves upon the Communist parties. It is their historic task, as the authentic spokesmen for the working class and all humanity in this decisive period of the going over from capitalism to Socialism, to lead in shaping policy, in educating and organizing the masses, and in general in giving the progressive united front lead to all mankind in this greatest political crisis it has ever faced. The Communist Party of the United States, despite its small size and its present difficult situation under the heavy attack from the most powerful and ruthless of all capitalist governments, also shares in this worldwide constructive Communist responsibility. Stalin said long ago that our Party is one of the few Communist parties of the world destined eventually to play a decisive role in the world struggle for Socialism. Let us, therefore, work in the spirit of this inspiring forecast. The world situation, with American imperialism and its allies going to one defeat after another, and with the forces of peace, democracy, and Socialism irresistibly on the march, should make our Party rise above its present many difficulties and attack its great tasks with a new spirit of optimism and resolution.