

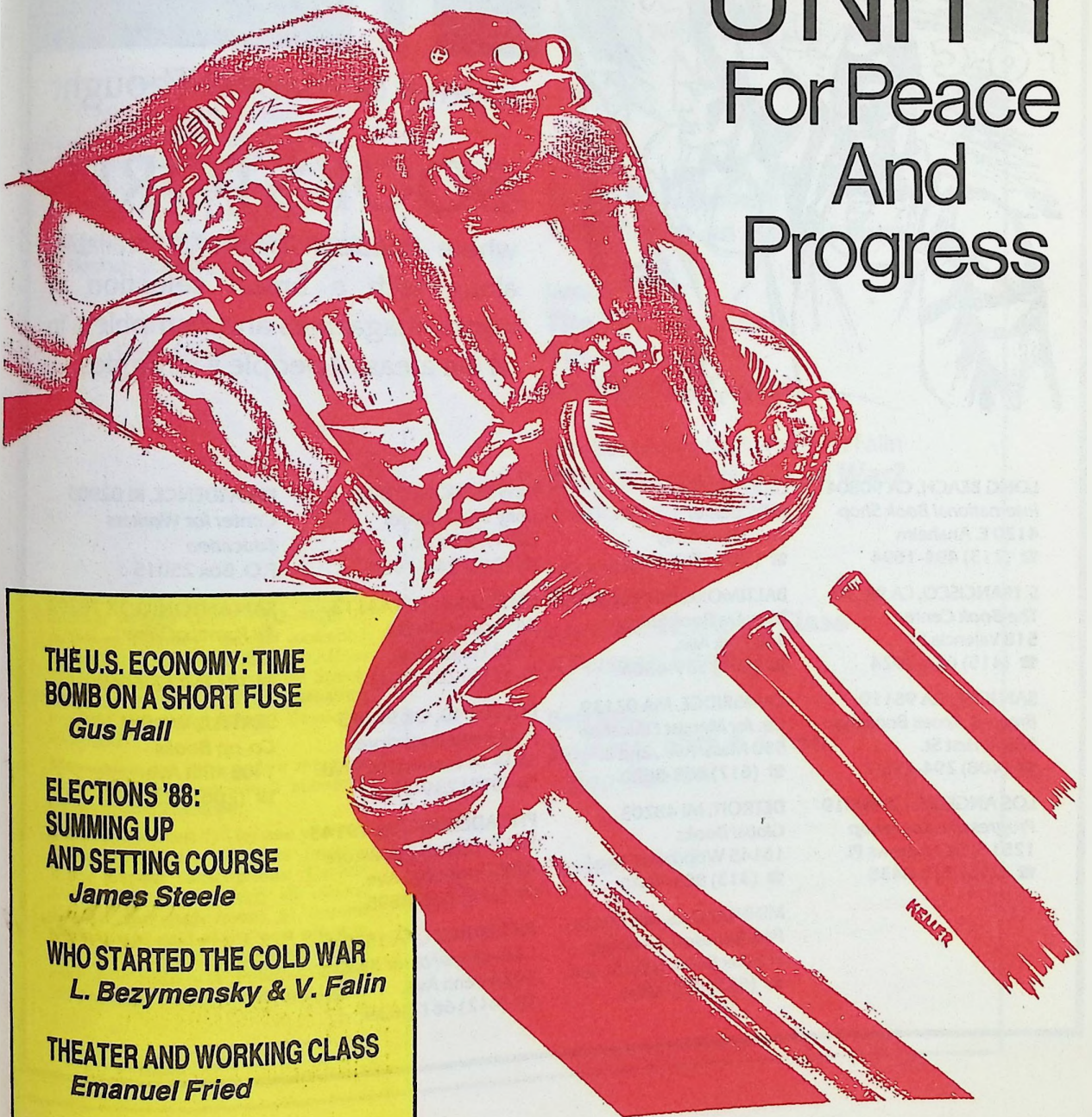
# Political Affairs

JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT

DECEMBER 1988

\$1

## UNITY For Peace And Progress



**THE U.S. ECONOMY: TIME  
BOMB ON A SHORT FUSE**

*Gus Hall*

**ELECTIONS '88:  
SUMMING UP  
AND SETTING COURSE**

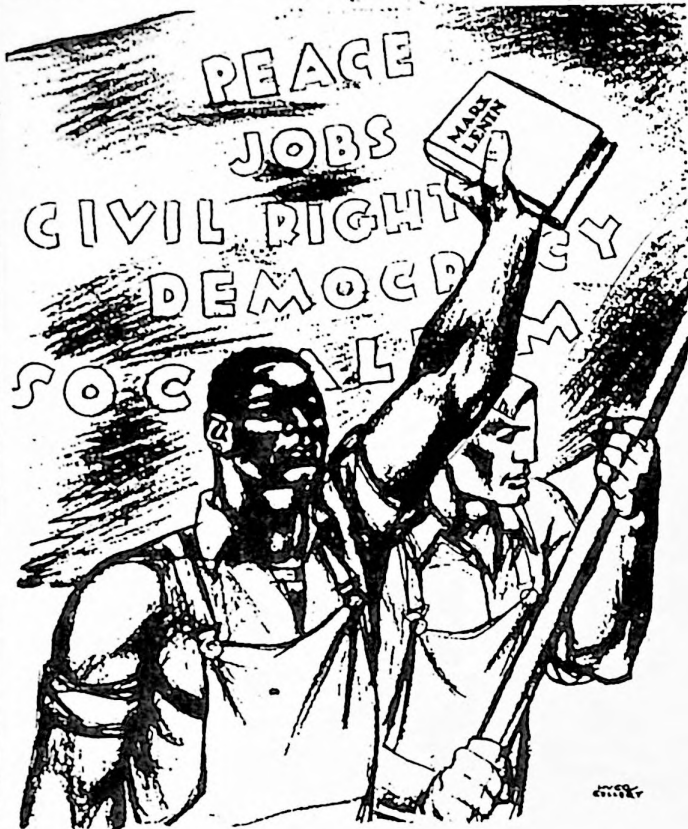
*James Steele*

**WHO STARTED THE COLD WAR**  
*L. Bezymensky & V. Falin*

**THEATER AND WORKING CLASS**  
*Emanuel Fried*

KELLER





# political affairs

Journal of Marxist Thought

## BOOKSTORES

where *Political Affairs* is available, along with a broad selection of books, magazines and pamphlets in all the areas of people's struggles.

LONG BEACH, CA 90804

*International Book Shop*  
4120 E. Anahelm  
☎ (213) 494-1694

S' FRANCISCO, CA 94110

*The Book Center*  
518 Valencia St.  
☎ (415) 626-2924

SAN JOSE, CA 95110

*Bread & Roses Bookshop*  
950 S. First St.  
☎ (408) 294-2930

LOS ANGELES, CA 90019

*Progressive Bookshop*  
1251 S. St. Andrews Pl.  
☎ (213) 732-8435

GARY, IN 46409

*PDW Center*  
3859 Broadway  
☎ (219) 980-4300

BALTIMORE, MD 21201

*New Era Book Shop*  
408 Park Ave.  
☎ (301) 539-6364

CAMBRIDGE, MA 02139

*Ctr. for Marxist Education*  
550 Mass. Ave., 2nd fl.  
☎ (617) 868-5620

DETROIT, MI 48203

*Global Books*  
16145 Woodward Ave.  
☎ (313) 883-4940

MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55414

*Paul Robeson Bookshop*  
PO Box 8466, Lake St. Sta.  
☎ (612) 379-2881

NEW YORK, NY 10011

*Unity Book Center*  
237 W. 23rd St.  
☎ (212) 242-2934

CLEVELAND, OH 44113

*All Peoples Books*  
4307 Lorain Ave.  
☎ (216) 281-7141

PORTLAND, OR 97215

*John Reed Bookstore*  
4314 SE Hawthorne Blvd.  
☎ (503) 239-7567

PHILADELPHIA, PA 19143

*W.E.B. DuBois Bookstore*  
4515 Baltimore Ave.  
☎ (215) 222-8895

PITTSBURGH, PA 15224

*Careathers/Foster Bk. Ctr.*  
5024 Penn Ave.  
☎ (412) 661-3839

PROVIDENCE, RI 02905

*Center for Workers Education*  
P.O. Box 25015

SAN ANTONIO, TX 78292

*All Points of View*  
P.O. Box 321  
☎ (512) 732-6660

SEATTLE, WA 98122

*Co-op Books*  
1406 18th Ave.  
☎ (206) 323-5077



# Political Affairs

**Theoretical Journal of  
The Communist Party, USA**

**Editorial Board**


Michael Zagarell, Editor  
Leonard Levenson, Associate Editor  
Phillip Bonosky, Lou Diskin  
Tom Hopkins, Robert Lindsay  
Carol Marks, James West  
Zorya Schwartz, Business Manager  
Norman Goldberg, Art Director

Cover: Charles Keller

*Political Affairs* (ISSN 0032 3128) is published monthly, except combined September / October, by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc., 235 West 23rd Street, New York, NY 10011, ☎ (212) 989-4994, to whom all correspondence should be addressed.

Manuscripts are invited. If a return is requested, please enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Subscription rates: \$10 for one year (individuals); \$15 for one year (institutions); foreign subscriptions: Canada and Mexico, \$11 a year; all others, \$12.50 a year; single issues, \$1. Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, NY. Postmaster: Send changes of address to: Political Affairs, 235 West 23rd St., New York, NY 10011.

 490M

December 1988 Vol. LXVII No. 11

Gus Hall  
**2 The U.S. Economy  
Time Bomb on a Short Fuse**

James Steele  
**6 The '88 Elections  
Summing Up  
and Setting Course**

Lev Bezymensky & Valentin Falin  
**14 Who Started the Cold War?**  
*A Documentary Study*

Emanuel Fried  
**21 Theater  
and the Working Class**  
*A Personal Experience*

Ben Riskin  
**25 Super Profits & Crises**  
*A Book Review*

**28 Index 1988**

# The U.S. Economy Time Bomb on A Short Fuse

GUS HALL

**L**ET ME BEGIN WITH A POST-ELECTION remark to the Yale alumni who may think that Yale got the upper hand over Harvard with the election of George Bush, the Yale man. My friendly advice is to uncork the champagne bottles quickly because it won't be too long before you may wish that Bush was a Harvard alumnus.

I WOULD LIKE TO CONCENTRATE MY REMARKS, tonight, on what we consider to be the most critical, most basic and unsolved post-election issue—the one everyone is now talking about. That is: will our country be able to take another four years of Reaganomics?

At the risk of sounding like a bearer of bad news, a forecaster of gloom and doom, there are things that must be said.

Because the economy has been built on the quicksand of artificially stimulated, supply side economics, it will very shortly start to come apart. The U.S. economy has points of built-in obsolescence. Like planned obsolescence of products, some economic policies were programmed to maintain an illusion of well-being until after the elections. As one of Bush's economist supporters advised him: "Like Reagan did, make your adjustments early. Take your economic recession early in your term, and be in the recovery mode in time for your re-election campaign four years from now."

In other words, pull the plug on some of the economic life-support systems now.

It is ironic that Bush will now have to deal with the accumulated economic mess brought on by what four years ago he called Reagan's "voodoo economics."

Thus, at the risk of being called a messenger

of gloom and doom, I will go out on a limb and predict that the artificially sustained and illusory state of well-being is coming to a rather abrupt end. For millions, the illusion—and with it the American dream—is going to turn into a nightmare. There are both short-term and long-term reasons for the economic malaise. Most Americans have had personal experiences with planned obsolescence—a system whereby corporations program into a product almost the precise date it will fall apart. As a rule this day is programmed as the one immediately after the guarantee runs out. This is precisely what the Reagan Administration has done with the economy.

The short term, planned obsolescence will hit us very shortly.

- The Federal Reserve Bank has manipulated the money supply to hold down the interest rates for the short run.

- The Pentagon signed billions of dollars worth of contracts with Election Day in mind.

- Some corporations postponed layoffs till after Election Day.

Referring to these stubborn facts, one bank regulator said, "Everybody has their fingers crossed, hoping to make it through this minefield and get to November." Well, November is here and the first land mines are getting ready to explode!

Another Bush advisor counseled, "The rate of unemployment is too low—7 percent or higher is a natural and a desirable check on wages and inflation. Less than 7 percent would have a destabilizing effect on the economy."

The long-term economic factors that are now moving closer to the economic brink are:

- The almost \$3 trillion federal government debt, that grows at the rate of \$150 billion a year. This is borrowed money on which the government pays \$150 billion of borrowed money as in-

A paper presented at the Yale Political Union on November 14, 1988 by Gus Hall, chairman of the CPUSA.

terest, or 15 percent of the federal budget each year.

- The \$150 billion annual trade deficit. Most of this goes to the multinational corporations who are making billions, coming and going—both from exports and imports.

- The military hog that squanders \$300 billion dollars, 60 percent of which is siphoned off into payoffs and other corruption by the military monopolies.

As any forger knows, you can't write \$200 billion in hot checks a year and expect to get away with it. That's what the Reagan Administration has been doing. That's part of the mess the Bush Administration will have to deal with. Reagan's hot-check chicks are also coming home to roost.

Quietly, without announcements or headlines, the United States has slipped from its rating as the biggest creditor nation to the biggest debtor nation in the world. Now, in the category of Third World countries, the United States is borrowing more new money to pay for the interest on the old loans. Ours is a debt-ridden economy. Besides the two-and-a-half-trillion dollar federal government debt, there is \$600 billion in consumer credit debt, \$3 trillion in mortgage payment debt, and \$2 trillion in corporate debt.

As a result of the industrial conglomerate debt, bank failures are epidemic. In Texas they are a plague. Some say that the banks are no longer made of marble—as the old song says—but of plastic. If a bank is big enough, the federal government bails it out at \$1 billion a clip. But if it is small fry, it goes down the drain of bankruptcy. American taxpayers are going to pay \$100 billion to bail out the big savings and loan banks.

The American people pay for all this through higher prices, wage cuts and cuts in people-helping programs. Every bank bailout produces 10,000 more homeless and 10,000 family farmers go under because they are considered too small to be saved.

There are some short-term ups and downs in the production side of the economy. But they are all taking place at much lower levels. Some of them are taking place because of new technology, some as a result of the manipulated lower dollar. Many of them are related to the continuing high level of military orders.

## EDGE OF A PRECIPICE

The domestic U.S. economic picture remains unstable, on the edge of a precipice. The cyclical crisis has been postponed. But the factors that will bring on the next crisis keep growing and deepening the hole the economy will fall into when the crisis hits.

In spite of the shift in the relative value of the dollar and some increase in U.S. exports, the U.S. share of the capitalist world pie continues to shrink. Not too many years ago U.S. banks and the government held 70 percent of all the capitalist world's gold reserves. Today Japan is the world's largest holder of foreign currencies and gold. The United States is in fifth place and dropping.

The continuing and expanding financial crisis of world capitalism is not a cyclical development. It is more related to the deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism. Each day that goes by without any solution also deepens the crisis of the third-world debt. These countries are in a vicious circle. They have to borrow more just to pay the interest on the old loans.

Adding fuel to the fire is the fact that the corporations now pay 8.5 percent of the overall taxes, down from 25 percent in 1980 when Reagan took over. The rich paid 70 percent of the taxes in 1980 and now pay 35 percent. This is a tremendous shift from the corporations and super-rich to the workers and the poor. On top of this the corporations are reporting all-time high profits, a 36 percent increase over last year.

From now on each new generation will have no chance of achieving a higher standard of living than the previous generation.

In human terms, the standard of living continues on the decline. And while the Reagan Administration publicized big job increases, no one mentioned that most of them are the lowest paying jobs, at minimum (and increasingly below minimum) wages.

In the Reagan years, each American worker has lost \$2,700 per year in real wages. During the same period, Afro-Americans have lost 27 percent of their manufacturing jobs and white workers have lost 19 percent of theirs. And an ever increasing number of workers, over 20 million, can find only part-time jobs. Three million part-time workers live below the poverty level, with no paid vacations, pension plans or health insur-

ance. Thirty-seven million workers are without any health insurance.

Putting all this together, it adds up to an economic crisis that is about to happen.

Already an increasing number of economists and columnists who are on the inside of the system are warning about the looming crisis. On Election Day, John B. Oates, a former editorial page editor of the *New York Times*, wrote:

Trillion dollar debt; multibillion dollar deficit; gigantic trade imbalance; lack of both competitiveness and inventiveness on the part of American industry; heedless depletion of basic natural resources and criminal downgrading of the most basic resource of all, education; inadequate social services; growing poverty, a shaky banking system, a squeezed middle class; increasing disparity between rich and poor. Despite appearances, the American economy is running on empty.

For the people all this means downward mobility. For the very rich it means upward mobility. The Reagan-Bush team has more than doubled the number of multimillionaires and billionaires and because of it doubled the number of hungry and homeless. For the people the Reagan-Bush policies have resulted in:

- 4-5 million homeless
- 60 million living below the poverty level
- 37 million without any kind of health insurance
- 15 percent reduction in real wages; 11 million jobs lost because of plant closings, 5 million lost because of export of jobs.

The economic effects of racism have resulted in a widening of the wage gap. An increasing proportion of the unemployed and homeless are Afro-American and Spanish-speaking people.

The reality is that we are now headed for a shattering end to the artificially stimulated Reagan voodoo economics. The borrowing binge has become counterproductive. The hot-check chicks are coming home to roost. Forty percent of all U.S. exports go to third world countries. But that market is depressed by the trillion dollar debt.

#### **THINK TANKS BUSY AT DAMAGE CONTROL**

There are dozens of corporate-supported think tanks which have turned their focus on long range economic damage control. They operate like a covert, secret network, at the center of which is a National Economic Commission set up

by Congress. It is a bi-partisan commission made up of leading Democrats, Republicans and corporate heads—people like Lee Iacocca, Casper Weinberger, Lane Kirkland and Patrick Moynihan. Their mandate is to come up with a solution to the long-range economic land mine set to go off. It is no surprise that the landmine tags read like a list of Who's Who of corporate America.

Why are these think tanks kept secret from the American people? Mainly because their ideas and proposed solutions are all anti-people and pro-corporate. Because they move in the direction of tax increases on the people and cuts in people-helping programs, to the tune of \$50 to \$80 billion a year, the Bush camp is unwilling to openly support such plans at this juncture. Split by internal dissension, it looks like this so-called "blue ribbon panel" will not be able to carry out its purpose of providing "political cover" for the new president to impose an austerity program on the people.

What is the nature of the solutions all the think tanks are coming up with? Whenever Republicans and Democrats agree to work together, based on past experience the result will be a two-party conspiracy against the people. When the anti-people measures come from a bi-partisan commission neither party has to take the blame. That is precisely what happened a few years ago with the attack on social security.

The secret commissions are coming up with what is called, "austerity economics," that is, austerity for the people. The idea is to impose the cost of "economic revival" on the working and poor people.

For example, all the proposals include tax increases on the people and new tax cuts for the rich and corporations. Bush advocates a new \$30 billion tax cut by way of slashing the capital gains tax on the corporations. Not a single think tank proposes a cut in the military budget. In fact, the bi-partisan economic commission has already agreed to propose an increase in military expenditures, in spite of the fact that the polls show that 84 percent of the voters are for a cut in the military budget.

All the proposed cuts so far are in what is called the "entitlement programs," which means social security, Medicare, Medicaid, child care, food stamps and education.

## BUYOUT BINGES

And now what is adding fuel to the economic fire are the wild buyout and takeover binges. The huge megacorporations are buying up other megacorporations. This past month alone there were two buyout deals worth \$32 billion. So far this year these takeovers total \$366 billion. Mostly these deals are being financed by megabanks and workers' pension funds.

These buyouts add billions to corporate debt and the banks add billions to their outstanding loans. And the corporations also add billions to their interest payments. For example, on a \$20 billion deal the investment bank gets \$600 million. As an added perk, these interest payments are tax deductible.

There is a growing fear that, with a decline in production, this sector of the economy will be the first land mine to blow up. The fears are well founded. And the billions in workers' pension-funds that are being used in these buyouts will also go up in smoke. Neither Bush nor Dukakis dealt with these basic and explosive questions. Bush has not, because the think tanks are very much in line with the Reagan-Bush policies. And Dukakis did not because some of his Harvard advisers are also members of these same think tanks.

## THE SOCIALIST MARKET

There is some new growth in capital expenditures. New factories are being built. Production is growing. Corporations like Kodak, Ford, Nabisco, Archer Daniels, Midland, Chevron, Johnson and Johnson, and USX are building new plants.

Some of the biggest banks are also involved, with billions of dollars in investments.

This is good and bad, because these new investments are in the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries.

The socialist market is now the fastest grow-

ing. It is the most reliable and the one market that does not add to our trade deficit.

Besides getting a piece of this trade action, the United States should develop a better understanding of the meaning of the change in Soviet foreign policy.

Possibly the most significant foreign policy development in our lifetime, is the Soviet shift to new thinking, followed by the unilateral actions of the Soviet Union. The meaning of this shift has not yet penetrated deeply into the ranks of the diplomatic world.

The shift is to a policy of making bold new proposals for peace and disarmament. But what is really new and, in a sense, explosive, are the unilateral actions by the Kremlin.

The new policy is to take new unilateral, concrete steps toward peace and disarmament on a test-and-see basis.

The new policy started with the one-year Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons testing. This was a unilateral action. After a year, because the U.S. did not join in, they resumed testing.

The agreement to withdraw from Afghanistan also began with a bold unilateral action. Now the Soviet Union is waiting to see how the United States and Pakistan will fulfill their part of the agreement.

There will be other initiatives and unilateral actions. I would not be at all surprised if there new unilateral test-runs that involve Soviet troops in the eastern European socialist countries and unilateral test-run cutbacks in conventional weapons.

This policy opens up the possibility for a non-nuclear world, a world in which there is only the very minimum of defensive, police-action weapons. Trade and peace go hand in hand.

The new level and scope of the impending crisis calls for new approaches by the people, a new level of struggle, a new level of unity and a new level of militancy—unity in action. □

# The '88 Elections Summing Up and Charting Course

---

JAMES STEELE

**E**LECTION DAY HAS COME AND GONE. THE REPUBLICANS retained the White House; the Democrats increased their majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives. Debate swirls through the media and the mass movements as to what happened and why. Leaders of the two parties and the people's movements are moving to position their respective constituencies for post-election struggle, particularly in respect to the new Congress and next year's key municipal elections.

Though the outcome on the presidential level was far from what progressive forces had worked for, as the saying goes, "the struggle continues." It continues for the nation's working class and democratic masses. It continues for the victims of racism and discrimination, for the tens of millions living in poverty and despair, enduring homelessness, under-employment, and unemployment.

The struggle continues for the overwhelming majority of the American people, as well as the peoples of the world, who face in the Bush Administration a continuation—in one form or another, to one extent or another—of the policies and programs of the Reagan Administration. In a word, the results of the 1988 elections are now facts of life. And progressive forces will have to contend with them—above all, the election of George Herbert Walker Bush as the nation's 41st president—in their totality, the positive as well as the negative.

This stark reality compels Communists to attempt an objective analysis of the results, of the key factors and forces which determined them, as well as of the main problems and prospects in the period ahead. Only on such a basis is it possible to make initial projections and undertake immediate action aimed at stimulating the development of mass struggle in the first months of the post-election period.

---

James Steele is legislative and political action director of the Communist Party, USA.

Despite the Bush victory, and certainly because of it, the people's movement needs to be guided by an assessment which sees the correct balance and interplay between the "good news" and the "bad news." For the future course of the electoral struggle, understanding this dialectic is key to unlocking the potential, channeling the anger, utilizing the experience accumulated, and broadening the unity built.

A balanced assessment is not a balancing act, dogmatically counterposing "on the one hand" with "but on the other." The central challenge is to uncover the main trends, positive and negative, that impact on tactical considerations, the ideological struggle, and the relationship of political forces nationally, within given states and cities, as well as within different sectors of the mass movement.

The purpose is not to be "official optimists"; but to help mold approaches and shape initiatives that enable the basic sectors of the forces of political independence to impart new momentum to the great democratic upsurge that the election results prove is still in process in our country. Attention, therefore, ought to be focused on navigating the uncharted waters of another Republican administration and a new Congress; on facilitating the merger of the powerful streams of political independence which, in the 1988 elections, flowed along essentially parallel channels towards a mighty river of post-election political and legislative action.

While not in any way underestimating the obvious dangers implicit in a Bush-Quayle Administration, the labor movement and other people's forces can take comfort and encouragement in the fact that George Bush is not the same political personality or political force Ronald Reagan was at the onset of his administration. Our country is leaving, not entering, the 1980's. The experience of eight tumultuous years of anti-ultra-Right fightback will serve the mass movements for peace, jobs, equality and democracy in good stead in the period ahead.



**CONTRADICTIONARY PROCESSES AND VOTING PATTERNS** were the most glaring characteristic of the Election Day results. But save for scale, this should not be surprising. Contradiction is a principle dynamic of all development. No less so in electoral politics.

Indeed, discerning the dialectical patterns of the contradictory processes helps reveal the scope of strengths and weaknesses not only of the respective candidates and campaigns, but also of the people's movement and the independent forces—including their Left and progressive sectors. Similarly in respect to character and content of mass trends, the depth of mass sentiments, and the specific currents and counter-currents in mass thought patterns and mass organization.

In garnering 48.1 million votes, 53.4 percent of the total, George Bush becomes the first sitting vice-president in over 100 years to succeed to the presidency. Michael Dukakis, with slightly over 41.1 million votes or 45.6 percent, is the fifth Democratic candidate to go down to defeat in the last six presidential elections.

But, and this is one of the most important contradictions, Bush achieved a 426-112 Electoral College victory without winning a policy mandate. The President-elect rode the rapids of racism and reactionary demogogy into the White House. But even before taking office, he is being sucked into the powerful undertow of objective conditions and widespread objections in the mass movements and in the Democratic party leadership to the manner and methods of his campaign. What's more, determination to press ahead, rather than disorientation or demoralization, mainly characterizes the ranks of labor, the African American community, the Rainbow Coalition and other progressive forces.

The conduct of the Bush campaign and the record of the Reagan years alerted the people's movement as to what to may be expected from a Bush Administration. Shortly after the returns were in, the Rev. Jesse Jackson called for "the constituencies of the Democratic Party" to unite around a common legislative agenda to force Bush to create "a kinder, gentler nation." The AFL-CIO said that, "As always, the federation would defend the interests of America's working people." The National Organization for Women as well as several peace organizations are planning demonstrations for next Spring. Many

forces are planning to use Martin Luther King, Jr. Day to launch a new mobilization against racist violence and for enforcement and expansion of civil rights legislation.

Identification with the disarmament process and improved relations with the Soviet Union (both associated with President Reagan), as well as promoting the illusion of prosperity, also may work to Bush's disadvantage when he begins to tackle the nation's intractable budget and trade deficit problems. If the first weeks of the transition are any indication, objective conditions and practical political realities will make it extremely difficult for Bush's handlers to maneuver for the mandate the President-elect failed to win on Election Day.

Bush's non-existent "coattails" further narrows the margin for maneuver. The failure to dent the Democrats' control of the House and Senate may prove to be the most decisive stumbling block to getting a running start on the new Congress.

The Democrats increased their majority in the U.S. Senate by one seat and in the House of Representatives by six. No party in 28 years had increased its congressional representation while losing the presidency. The Democrats also expanded the number of statehouses and state legislatures under their control.

While life will determine the precise center of gravity of the 101st Congress, the election lays the basis for shifting the overall political balance of the House and Senate in a direction that further reduces the influence of the conservative coalition of rightwing Democrats and Republicans. Several of the most reactionary members of the Senate were ousted by moderate-to-liberal Democrats. In this connection, the defeat of a number of Republican incumbents and challengers who modeled their campaigns on Bush's anti-liberal demogogy was especially significant.

The overall results do not indicate a political re-alignment to the Right—let alone a shift to the Republicans—in mass voting patterns or mass thought patterns. The gross misreading by the Dukakis campaign and many Democratic leaders of where sizable numbers of voters are at politically is closer to the mark in identifying the causes of the Democrats' defeat.

How else explain the fact, for example, that Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, running against attacks on his very liberal record and pro-

gressive positions on most issues, could be re-elected by over 600,000 votes while Michael Dukakis, running away from the liberal legacy of the Democratic Party, lost the state by more than 475,000 votes? In that election, Metzenbaum and the broad coalition of labor, peace and Black community forces had to counter not only liberal-baiting but red-baiting as well.

Moreover, liberal or progressive candidates came within 1, 2, or 3 percentage points of defeating rightwing Republicans in another half dozen or so congressional races. All of this, of course, is against the backdrop of Jesse Jackson—perceived by the public as progressive, if not Left—having polled over 7 million votes in the Democratic primaries.

In the basic sense, the presidential race was the exception to the rule. When the issues were clearly posed by Democratic candidates the electorate clearly favored liberals and progressives over conservatives.

**ANALYSIS OF VOTING PATTERNS PROVES THAT BUSH** was a fundamentally weak candidate. But it also highlights fundamental weaknesses in the electorate, not the least of which is its susceptibility to the influence of racism. Even so, the Vice-President succeeded only because he faced an opponent who was even weaker.

Most commentators point to Dukakis's shortcomings as a campaigner. Others note his untenable campaign strategy. Both weaknesses were self-evident. But more fundamental was his failure, especially as a white politician, to provide leadership in the struggle against racism.

While not resorting to racially divisive rhetoric, Dukakis and no small number of Democratic leaders and elected officials objectively contributed to enhancing the role of racism as a factor in the elections. The betrayal of the "common ground" reached at the Democratic convention, the symbolic gestures signaling a willingness to put Jesse Jackson "in his place," the reluctance to campaign in the African American community in the primaries as well as in the general election, etc., left Dukakis paralyzed in the face of the Bush-Quayle racist ideological offensive.

Bush-Republican aggressiveness in utilizing racist codewords and sending racially polarizing signals, coupled with the Dukakis camp's passivity, allowed the debate to be shifted off the is-

ues. Our nation's unique and continuing history, in respect to racism and national oppression, makes the struggle for unity to overcome their consequences a vital thread that runs through the fabric of all issues. The 1988 race for the White House adds to the already abundant evidence that failure to develop an alternative to racist influences is no longer a viable path to victory in presidential and most statewide contests.

In the final analysis, flaws in Dukakis as a candidate and in the Dukakis campaign proved insurmountable. But, even in the face of the Democrats' defeat, democratic forces made remarkable progress. So much so that developments augur well for broader and deeper people's unity and the possibilities for progress on many fronts in the coming quadriennial political period. This, of course, will not be the first time defeat has laid the basis for future victories.

The critical question from this standpoint is how did the working class and its allies vote. Were they united? Did their leading organizations and leadership personalities correctly perceive what was at stake and mobilize accordingly? Were the organized sectors strengthened or weakened? Did they emerge intact or in tatters?

This was one of the most class-partisan elections in recent history. According to an ABC News exit poll, Dukakis won:

- 66 percent of the union household vote
- 89 percent of the African American vote
- 66 percent of the Hispanic vote
- 59 percent of vote of factory workers
- 68 percent of the unemployed vote

The organized working class voted overwhelmingly against Bush. A private poll, commissioned by the AFL-CIO, showed 69 percent of Federation-affiliated union members voting for Dukakis, and 68 percent of the voters in their households doing likewise.

On the whole, the Democratic ticket fared exceptionally well among industrial workers, union members, and racial minorities. In approximate numbers, Dukakis won 19.4 million of over 22.7 million union household votes. He took almost 11 million of more than 12 million Black votes.

This means the labor-African American alliance generated almost 30 million of Dukakis' 41 million votes. Add in the Latino 66 percent majority for Dukakis, the Jewish 67 percent and the

women's 51 percent, and it becomes very clear that, in the main, the progressive sectors were not taken in by GOP demogogy; neither were they diverted or demobilized by Dukakis' inadequacies.

This response can only be explained by a higher level of class and political consciousness, by their level of political independence. But it is, perhaps above all, a testament to the strength and scope of independent political mobilization carried out by labor, African American and Latino leadership, and particularly by Jesse Jackson.

Even a higher turnout of these sectors might not have been enough to make up a six million vote deficit. The labor-African American alliance again demonstrated its vitality as the indispensable base of progressive coalition. But numerically it is just too small to provide the margin of victory nationwide unless the election is close.

One conclusion to be drawn is that the prospect for enhancing political independence is indexed to an increase in union organization. For instance, if union membership in 1988 was as high as it was when President Reagan took office in 1981, that may have been enough to have won the election for Michael Dukakis.

The figures incontestably show that the election was winnable for the Democrats. Labor, the Rainbow Coalition, Black and Latino leadership in general, supplied the base vote for Dukakis and the potential margin for victory. Absent their contribution and the Democrats most likely would have suffered a 535-3 electoral vote loss, winning only the District of Columbia.

What was missing was sufficient help from the candidate, a regular Democratic party apparatus that pulled its weight, and a more adequate contribution by the Left in mobilization and in ideological struggle. The performance of the so-called moderate and conservative wings was particularly dismal. There were states in which both U.S. Senators, the majority of the congressional delegation, the governor and most state legislators are Democrats, but where the ticket still lost by huge margins.

**THE MOBILIZATION STRENGTHENED THE ALLIANCE OF** the labor movement and the African American community. The joint action of central labor councils, individual locals and Black community organizations acquired new scope in many areas of the country.

Clearly the class composition of the African American people and the changing composition of the workforce and trade union leadership in many cities and states has become a centripetal force for greater unity. At the same time, Black voters as a whole maintained their role as the most disciplined and politically independent sector of the electorate—disciplined enough to vote overwhelmingly against Bush in spite of Dukakis' treatment of Jesse Jackson, independent enough not to be sidetracked by the machinations of the Democratic leadership into voting against their self-interests.

The breakthrough that occurred in the level of turnout and progressive political cohesiveness of non-Cuban American Latino voters is bound to become a new ingredient in broadening the unity and potential of progressive coalitions in general, and in electoral politics in particular. In several areas, Latino voter turnout exceeded the 80 percent mark. No doubt, this occurred in large part on the basis of the gains in Latino voter registration.

The Rainbow Coalition, despite endless provocations and insensitivity, also delivered for the Democratic ticket. In the general election, as during the primaries, Jesse Jackson provided leadership to broad constituencies of the American people. Campaigning for the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket, he traveled as many miles as the candidates themselves, and he held an historic meeting with House Democrats—something Dukakis was never convinced to do. In an effort to activate all potential sectors of the anti-Bush coalition, he challenged leaders of the moderate and conservative wings of the Democratic Party to equal his contribution.

The basic sectors of the people's movement fought every step of the way. Although, the candidate they supported did not win, these forces scored immeasurable gains in political prestige.

The unity and mobilizing authority of the labor movement and the Rainbow Coalition in particular, can be the pivot of a coalition capable of preventing the Bush Administration from becoming "Reagan III" and for pressuring the 101st Congress into being an effective counterweight against reactionary policies and appointees—judicial or executive—proposed by the White House.

All sectors and components of the people's movement will have to address the question of

establishing greater influence with voters who supported George Bush. This is especially true of the split-ticket voters—those who voted for Bush but otherwise supported Democrats.

**THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IS ALSO CHALLENGED TO** undertake legislative as well as practical action to reverse the growing stay-at-home vote. One can speak, and correctly so, of voter apathy and alienation. One can validly attribute this to being turned off by the two-party system and by George Bush and Michael Dukakis. But one cannot speak of staying at home as an effective form of protest. On balance, non-voters aid the victory of rightwing candidates who, once in office, will vote for policies inimical to the interests and needs of the overwhelming majority of stay-at-home voters.

On the one hand, it is very much a matter of better candidates, of candidates genuinely speaking to the real concerns of the working people. On the other, it is also a question of legislative remedy to make voter registration and ballot access easier—let's say, democratic. In the process, much greater attention will have to be devoted to patient, detailed, on-going grassroots political education and organization of voters.

It's instructive that over 91 million people cast ballots on the November 8th—but *more than 93 million stayed home*. This was the lowest turnout in 64 years. In fact, George Bush will become the next president with the support of only 26 percent of the electorate.

The significance of non-voters is dramatized by the following:

- George Bush's 48 millions votes is a drop-off of 6 million from Ronald Reagan's total in 1984. Dukakis's 41 million is an increase of 4 million over Walter Mondale's 1984 total.

- A shift of about 535,000 total votes in 11 states—California (154,921), Connecticut (36,105), Illinois (58,996), Maryland (20,132), Michigan (135,279), Missouri (38,562), Montana (10,739), New Mexico (12,132), Pennsylvania (53,685), South Dakota (9,942), and Vermont (3,374)—would have given the Democratic ticket another 160 electoral votes and the White House, despite losing by 6 million in the popular vote.

- This half-million plus shortfall should give all forces actively interested in defeating the Republicans reason to pause and self-critically reflect on whether enough was done independent

of the ticket and the regular Democratic Party to register and get-out-the-vote.

- New voters were the difference between Dukakis winning New York and losing California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

- New voters and stay-at-homes could have overcome the negative drag that made non-voters a factor of narrow losses in U.S. Senate races in Florida, Mississippi, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming where Democratic candidates lost by 30,000; 56,000; 14,000; 25,000; and 1,300 votes, respectively. Wins in these states would have given the Democrats a 60-40 Senate majority. This would have given the people's movement a qualitatively new political balance with which to work in the next Congress. Such a majority, coupled with the votes of five or six moderate Republicans, could have had a decisive impact on votes for Supreme Court appointees, labor and electoral law reform, minimum wage, civil rights, arms control, child care, health care, abortion rights, etc.

- A two-sided question of some importance for the Left and progressive forces to ponder is: To what extent did sectarian and dogmatic concepts about relating to and working in the Democratic Party, and about the influence of notions like those promoted in the New Alliance Party candidacy of Lola Fulani, get in the way of full mobilization to defeat Bush? Whatever the extent of these weaknesses may have been in the campaign, their presence will persist as an obstacle in the ongoing process of building independent politics.

**BEFORE CONCLUDING, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO EXPLORE** several additional points.

Unquestionably, Dukakis' surge came too late to overcome the fact that his campaign was out-organized, out-flanked and out-witted throughout most of the election. But do the inadequacies and ineptness of the Democrats' national campaign explain it all? Were there other factors?

The well-oiled and heavily-financed Bush machine benefitted from three critical factors:

- Application of the GOP presidential campaign propaganda strategies, adapted from tried and tested, CIA-like, disinformation and destabilization techniques

- Activation of racism and chauvinism, nearly unchallenged by the Dukakis campaign



and the Democratic party leadership  
Overwhelming support from the mass media, reflecting overwhelming support of the main  
pillars of monopoly capital

The influence of racism and chauvinism  
were exceptionally consequential factors. The  
"Willie Horton" ads and the attacks on Dukakis'  
patriotism, activated and brought into play deep-  
rooted and widespread ideological. The former  
focused on a Black Massachusetts convict, who  
had raped a white woman while on furlough. It  
evoked the most hysterical of racist stereotypes.  
Beyond that, Republican propaganda effectively  
connected racist fears with drugs, crime and  
murder. All of these have to be seen in the con-  
text of an on-going, all-out attack on young Black  
men—the so-called "underclass."

The "patriotic" ploy focused on Gov. Duka-  
kis' veto of an unconstitutional law requiring rec-  
itation of the Pledge of Allegiance. It projected a  
subliminal message aimed at the Democratic can-  
didate's immigrant background. The implication  
was that immigrants aren't as patriotic as "real  
Americans," and that their loyalties ultimately lie  
elsewhere. A country-western singing star  
stumping for the GOP ticket said, "I can't even  
pronounce his name." This was in Bush' pres-  
ence. His response was laughter.

**IN COMBINATION, THE RACIST AND CHAUVINIST**  
themes were extraordinarily effective. Dukakis  
won 53 percent of the Catholic vote, a figure  
which is weighted by his strong showing among  
Latinos. But he gained only 38 percent of the  
Protestant vote.

In the South, where the Bush campaign, the  
National Rifle Association, and ultra-Right  
groups concentrated their "He's soft on crime"  
and "He's against the death penalty" messages,  
Dukakis won only 32 percent of the white vote as  
against 43 percent nationally. Basically, the influ-  
ence of racism helped decide the election.

It is appropriate here to repeat what was said  
above: Dukakis and the Democrats made them-  
selves vulnerable throughout most of the cam-  
paign by failing to take definitive positions on the  
issues and by their refusal to embrace the pro-  
gressive wing led by Jesse Jackson, as well as the  
independent forces generally. This paralyzed  
them in the face of the Bush-GOP racist ideologi-  
cal offensive.

In keeping the Jackson forces at arms length,

Dukakis and the Democratic establishment were  
sending their own racist message. On the one  
hand, that Black voters in particular had "no  
place to go," and, on the other, that affirmative  
action aspirations would be "kept in their place"  
in a Democratic administration.

It's not surprising that Black voter turnout  
was below the 1984 level, something shared in  
common with voters generally. What's astound-  
ing in this context is the discipline, objectivity,  
and independence shown by Jackson, Black lead-  
ership and those African American voters who  
did go to the polls.

The 1988 election is a case study in the use of  
racist demogogy and the lack of anti-racist lead-  
ership from white politicians, starting with Du-  
kakis. Once the issue of the racism, implicit in  
the Willie Horton ads was raised, it became an  
effective counter-issue which forced the Bush  
campaign and many Republican leaders to de-  
nounce and distance themselves from the cru-  
dest expressions.

Still, it must be said that the anti-racist ma-  
jority sentiment was not a factor in the presi-  
dential election. That does not mean that it was  
not evident, however. With the election of Don-  
ald Payne in New Jersey's 10th congressional dis-  
trict, the Congressional Black Caucus increased  
its number to 24. Though far from representa-  
tive, it is the highest number of African American  
Congress members in history. All incumbent  
CBC members were re-elected by landslides.

What's more, Rep. Mike Espy, who was ex-  
pected to face a tough challenge, was re-elected  
by a 66-34 percent margin. Interestingly, Espy,  
who two years ago became the first Black rep-  
resentative from Mississippi in over 100 years,  
won more than 40 percent of the white vote. In  
1986, he took just over 10 percent of the white  
vote.

How does one explain Espy's performance  
among white voters when both Dukakis and  
Wayne Dowdy, the Democratic candidate for  
U.S. Senate, gained less than 30 percent of the  
Mississippi white vote. Had Dowdy been in Es-  
py's range, he instead of the ultra-right Trent  
Lott would be Mississippi's junior senator.

Espy's advantage was his forthrightness on  
the issues and his unrelenting effort to serve as  
well as unite the people, Black and white, of his  
district. Espy's approach to the issues is very  
similar to Jesse Jackson's, whom Espy supported

in the primaries.

The anti-racist sentiment was also evident in Chicago in the resounding defeat of Edward Vrydolyak for Cook County clerk. Vrydolyak, now a Republican, was the leading foe of the late Mayor Harold Washington.

The main lesson to be drawn is that every racist current has to be challenged by an anti-racist counter-current. There is no evading the fact that multi-racial unity is the product of consistent and conscious struggle. Failure to wage a struggle against racism dooms those who shirk this responsibility.

The struggle against racism is bound to be a greater factor in the post-election battle over direction of the Democratic Party. But it will be no less of a factor in the overall struggle over policy and priorities between the new Congress and the Bush Administration.

The President-elect's eagerness in relying on racism to help win the election may prove to have been like tossing a match in a toxic waste dump. This much is certain: A high price will have to be paid for inflaming sentiments that produce racist violence.

**WHAT PRICE PRESIDENT BUSH WILL HAVE TO PAY FOR** the support of the ultra-right is not clear. There should be no doubt, however, about the ultra-right's intention to collect through appointments, influence and policy.

But this will be only one among many sources of pressure on the new administration. Practically every economist with a modicum of self-respect speaks of impending economic catastrophe. Even before Bush assumes office, Wall Street is moving to secure a policy for dealing with the deficit that will favor its interests. Similarly for the military monopolies. Now that the election is over they want to re-define Star Wars as an offensive system and proceed quickly toward deployment and their perceived "new profits frontier."

Big business is mobilizing to push the new administration into an assault on entitlements and other social programs. Ultra-right organizations are submitting programmatic blueprints and tens of thousands of resumés of possible appointees to key federal government positions.

All of which reflects why the capitalist class supported Bush overwhelmingly. In the final analysis, Big Business could brook no substan-

tive change in the direction of foreign and domestic policy away from Reaganism. The chief fear was that even a moderate-conservative Democratic administration would constitute a substantive change in direction, creating an opening for a new level of influence of the labor movement, Black community and other people's forces.

But the size of the Bush victory does not denote comparable political strength. The incoming monopoly-capital administration is fundamentally weaker than its predecessor. Though it has little choice but to attempt an offensive against the working people, it will do so in a remarkably different national and international situation, both of which could severely limit its options and its possibilities.

The fact that basic sectors of the people's movement strengthened themselves, gained valuable electoral experience, and enhanced their unity and resolve, emerges as a decisive factor in the post-election equation. In this sense, the election's only mandate is for multiplying mass pressure. It may well be that the nature, direction, consistency, and extent of pressure will be what determines what the Bush administration can or cannot implement.

And that makes the 101st Congress a critical battleground for continuation of the struggle. Mass pressure and independent mobilization will help determine the new Congress' political center of gravity. Meanwhile, much of the unfinished business of the last Congress will be back on the agenda. This applies particularly to raising the minimum wage, child care, parental leave, funding for public education, anti-apartheid sanctions, Central America policy, arms control, etc.

Budgetary constraints and the bills coming due on Reaganomics, the savings and loan crisis, clean-up of the nation's nuclear weapons plants, and other questions will magnify the importance of each legislative issue requiring the appropriation of additional funds. In addition, the need for massive coalitions around Supreme Court appointees and civil rights legislation can already be anticipated.

Beyond the halls of Congress per se, next year will feature a number of key municipal elections—including election of the mayors of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit and Atlanta. Each provide unique opportunities to strengthen

multi-racial unity and to project a progressive agenda.

The decennial census and legislative elections in most states will take place two years hence. Both events will have a critical impact on the 1991 reapportionment of congressional districts. Both also coincide with the 1990 midterm congressional elections which no doubt will present fresh opportunities for further shifting Congress' political balance and electing more progressives.

**THE LEGISLATIVE AND ELECTORAL CALENDAR OF THE** post-1988 election period in large part defines the tasks and shapes the challenges facing the people's movement as a whole, but especially for the forces of political independence. The election's political dynamics suggest that a basis exists for stopping a new ultra-right offensive. The changes in the political composition of the 101st Congress, coupled with the enhanced mobilizational capability of labor, the Rainbow Coalition, African American and Latino communities, and other people's forces, point toward the possibility of a congressional checkmate to the Bush Ad-

ministration on many issues. And, if necessary, for coalitions capable of over-riding possible vetoes of legislation in the public's interest or defeating judicial appointees who are not.

Regardless of its twists and turns, the road ahead requires a strengthening of political independence, broad grassroots-based legislative coalitions, and intense preparation by all the constituent forces of the Left and progressive movement for the coming electoral struggles—including fielding people's candidates.

Overall, there is a need to develop greater coordination between the diverse components and organizations of the people's movement. In this connection, the interests of the working class and the racially oppressed would be served by wider and broader joint action between the labor movement and the forces of the Rainbow Coalition in particular. This would facilitate multi-racial unity and extend the influence of progressive organizations over wider sections of the population. The combined political and organizational might of these two forces could set the people's movement on a course that can change policy, priorities and direction. □

# Who Started The Cold War? *A Documentary Study*

LEV BEZYMENSKY AND VALENTIN FALIN

**N**OT ONLY HISTORICAL CHANGES BUT also people's changing attitudes toward history may create a new political, social and psychological atmosphere in the world. There is ample reason to believe that when our civilization abandons its conceptions of power politics, all will agree that the Cold War, which was one of the most tragic periods of this century, was mainly the result of human imperfections and ideological prejudices. It could have been avoided if people and countries adhered to what they said.

The Cold War destroyed the unique chance for lasting peace that mankind achieved as a result of the defeat of the aggressors in the Second World War. Did the Allied Powers overestimate their potentialities? Or were the problems that unexpectedly confronted them—the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain had no such problems in Tehran, Yalta or Potsdam—too difficult for them?

The precise answer to these and similar questions may be that the Cold War broke out because it was eagerly desired. It was desired by those who were anxious to replace the just-defeated claimants for world domination and make at least 85 percent of the world follow the American model. (Harry Truman's observation).

One may ask why the countries, which a short time before, had fought side-by-side and seen with their own eyes how dearly one had to pay for neglecting the opportunity for cooperation in the name of peace, suddenly became enemies unable to live together on one planet. What made them rush to commit their old mistakes with renewed zeal and add to them many new ones? All that seemed so illogical, to say nothing about such things as commitment to one's allies and a sense of decency. This may be

accurate if we assume that the Cold War broke out at once. But it didn't, and strange though it may seem, the Cold War began while the "hot war" still raged and it exerted a considerable influence on the latter. Unfortunately, too many people in the United States and Britain considered cooperation with the Soviet Union in the struggle against the aggressors as a forced measure contrary to their allegiances and interests, and, secretly and sometimes openly, hoped that the battles in which London and Washington had for too long been waging would exhaust Germany and, even more, the Soviet Union.

And they not only hoped but formulated behind closed doors, a policy that would allow them to acquire "decisive advantage" against the Soviet Union when the time came to settle accounts. No wonder, even in 1943, Admiral William Leahy, a close aide to Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, "in private," called the Soviet Union a "new aggressor." In 1944, the American military commanders began to consider a third world war with a "totalitarian aggressor state" inevitable and to think what armies they could detail for occupation assignments, especially in Germany.

President Roosevelt's advisor, Harry Hopkins, wrote in 1945 that "there were plenty of people in America who would have been perfectly willing to see our armies go through Germany and fight with Russia after Germany was defeated." And who knows what would have happened if America had not had an unfinished war with Japan on her hands and had not needed help from the Red Army in order "to save a million American lives."

Though declassification of all archives may add some new touches to the picture and help to provide a more accurate assessment of historical events, the proofs are there in black and white. We also shall have to ask ourselves many times

---

This is an article published in *Pravda*, September 29, 1988.



whether the Soviet reaction to the real and potential challenges to our country was always adequate.

Many things require explanations, and we must resist the temptation of metaphysically holding both sides equally responsible for development, problems and tragedies of the pre- and post-World War Two periods or, for the sake of making a break with the past, blame Stalin and Stalinism for the sins committed by others. Such an approach will add nothing to our knowledge or political wisdom. At best it will replace one half-truth with another.

## 1

THE TERM COLD WAR WAS INVENTED IN 1947 TO DENOTE the state of political, economic, ideological and "paramilitary" confrontation between states and systems. John Foster Dulles, one of the architects and main advocates of the Cold War, put forward the theory of "brinkmanship" and did everything to commit U.S. strategy to its goals. A U.S. government document of the time said that the Cold War was a real war for the survival of the free world. So, *a la guerre comme la guerre* [war is war], as the French say. All restrictions are thrown away or devalued and become no more than ritual conventionalities. When self-interest prevails, allies cease to fulfill their obligations and duties to one another.

In June 1941, the Soviet Union began, in hard-fought battles, to crush the land and air forces of Nazi Germany. It fought the enemy single-handed. "The Russian Front is our greatest reliance," President Roosevelt said.

Robert Sherwood, the President's aide and biographer, said that the great battle on the Volga had changed the entire picture of the war and prospects for the near future and, as a result of that battle, which could be compared to a major war in duration and death toll, Russia assumed the position of a great world power, to which it was entitled for a long time. The Soviet victory at the Kursk Salient dispelled all doubts Washington and London had about the outcome of the war. The collapse of Hitler's Germany was now a matter of time.

But time is no neutral thing. It can be used in different ways. Bellicose politicians and military commanders and leading ideologists and politi-

cal scientists in London and Washington started asking, more and more frequently, the sensitive question of whether it was time to disband the anti-Hitler coalition and forge an anti-Communist front instead.

B.H. Liddell-Hart, a leading British authority on strategic planning, reported to Churchill in a secret memo in October 1943 that it was an irony of fate that the power which the British were determined to crush because it was the biggest obstacle on their way to victory, was at the same time the strongest foundation of the Western European structure. He urged the British prime minister to see beyond the immediate goal, which had already been achieved (Germany's offensive potential was destroyed), and ensure that the long road to the next goal was cleared of the dangers emerging on the horizon.

Was that an exercise in rhetoric? Belatedly though, Liddell-Hart backed up the position of the leaders who feared that the Second World War might take a democratic twist. The following document of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS), submitted to the Quebec meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill in August 1943, shows how serious the situation was. The OSS put forward the following three alternatives:

1 • That an attempt be initiated immediately to compromise our differences with the Soviet Union and to build upon such interests as we have in common with that power.

2 • That America and Britain continue to follow for some time to come, a strategy and policy very largely independent of that of the Soviet Union, in the hope of achieving through this course, both the defeat of Germany and an improved bargaining position for a somewhat hostile settlement with Russia.

3 • That we attempt to turn against Russia the full power of an undefeated Germany, still ruled by the Nazis or the generals.

The authors of the memo significantly hinted that if the "third alternative" were chosen, it would not be easy to justify such a betrayal. Why? First, it would be difficult to persuade the public in Britain and the United States that a break with the USSR was necessary. Second, if "sheer force" was "the only way in which the Soviet Union could be defeated," the Anglo-Saxon powers would have later "to undertake once more, and without Russia's help, the difficult and perhaps the impossible task of defeating

Germany."

In the Quebec protocol, the participants in the meeting—American Generals George Marshall and Henry Arnold and Admirals William Leahy and Ernest King and British military leaders Alan Brooke, Alfred Pound and Charles Portal—probed the possibility of using German assistance to facilitate the entry of Anglo-American armies into Germany "to repel the Russians."

Whatever the final decision—fortunately, it was negative—the very fact that Britain and the United States discussed the possibility of betraying their ally, speaks for itself. There was no betrayal, but the question is "Why not?" Was it because American and British experts said that the Soviet Union would exhaust its offensive capabilities by the spring or summer of 1944, that is, by the time of the Allied landing in Europe?

What happened soon afterward had a cold-shower effect on our allies. With the opening of a second front in June 1944, they saw for themselves how hard it was for the Soviet people to have borne the brunt of the war for three years. That filled some with admiration and gratitude and revived in others their old fear, suspicion and hatred of the Soviet Union.

## 2

AT THE FINAL STAGE OF THE WAR, THE STRUGGLE between two trends in the policy of the United States and Britain sharply intensified. The circles which favored a separate peace with "conservative" Germany and wanted the war to end before the Russians "enter Europe" stepped up their activity. Special expeditions were planned to establish Western military control of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. After the war Churchill wrote that he wanted the Allies to do everything to outrun the Russians in some regions of Central Europe.

It is appropriate to mention here the notorious "Wolff Affair," the negotiations conducted by U.S. and British emissaries with SS General Carl Wolff in Switzerland in March and April 1945. Many Western authors say the Wolff Affair was the "first operation of the Cold War." The American negotiator, Allen Dulles, wanted the German command to transfer "Austria and some other "territories" to the Americans and British.

If, after the surrender of the German army in Italy, the snowball had begun to roll as planned,

the Anglo-American armies would have opened the entire Western front without fear of lessening German resistance to the Red Army.

It should be noted that the Wolff Affair, which should rather be called the "Wolff-Dulles Affair," was the biggest operation ever planned against President Roosevelt and against the Yalta Agreements. "World peace," President Roosevelt said in a speech to a joint session of Congress on March 1, 1945, "cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace, or a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on a cooperative effort of the whole world."

The President further said that it was time "to spell the end of the period of unilateral action, the exclusive alliances, the spheres of influence, the balance of power, and all other expedients that have been tried for centuries—and have always failed."

The peace envisioned by Roosevelt was absolutely unacceptable to a faction that was gathering strength in Washington.

President Roosevelt died suddenly on March 12, 1945, and on the very next day, liberalism and consideration for others' interests became objectionable qualities in Washington.

At a meeting held in the White House on April 23, 1945, Roosevelt's successor questioned the usefulness of any agreements with Moscow. We must end them "now or never," he said.

Truman believed that the Russians stood in the way of the United States and that the latter could do without the cooperation of the USSR. It was very difficult for George Marshall and other American military commanders to make their Supreme Commander change his mind. Finally, they agreed that the United States would end the alliance with the USSR after Japan's surrender.

It should be noted that Truman had shown his teeth even before he was initiated into the mysteries of the Manhattan Project. He learned about the atom bomb project on April 25, from his Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, and the Project Director, Gen. Leslie Groves. The meeting lasted for 15 minutes and the gist of it for the President's understanding was that the United States was close to obtaining a weapon that would enable it to rule the world. An American researcher wrote that, in that quarter of an hour, the Bomb became "the dominant factor of post-

war planning" in Washington.

### 3

WE CAN NOW RECREATE, BY DAYS AND EVEN HOURS, the chronology of the selection by the Truman Administration of the seeds of the Cold War, which germinated many poisonous shoots. We can do so by using the following American documents: President Truman's diaries, George Kennan's "long telegram" from Moscow to Washington and working papers of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and its subdivisions—the Joint Intelligence Committee, the Joint Staff Planners and the National Security Council that was set up in 1947.

In the beginning of 1945, when Roosevelt was still alive, the Joint Chiefs of Staff was headed by Admiral William Leahy, who was frequently at odds with the President, especially about relations with the USSR. However, the Joint Intelligence Committee's Document 80 of January 6, 1945, concerning Soviet capabilities and intentions after the war, said that the Soviet Union would give priority to economic recovery and to the "classical cause" of building a "security belt" around its frontiers, the avoiding international conflicts.

Similar assessments can be found in a major JIC document, 250/1, of January 31, 1945, which says that "the Soviet Union must avoid conflict with Great Britain and the United States . . . at least until 1952," because after the end of hostilities in Europe, the USSR would have neither the resources nor the economic potential to pursue an adventurous foreign policy, which, in the opinion of the Soviet leaders, might involve the USSR in a conflict or in arms competition with the Western powers.

But several months passed and on October 9, 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a document (1545) declaring that the Soviet Union was "capable of overrunning all of Europe now or by 1 January 1948" with "40 divisions." The document also said that Moscow could easily include in its "sphere of influence" Turkey and Iran. But the boss needed the situation to be dramatized even more, so his obedient servants declared that the USSR had the potential to reach the Pyrenees and cross them and, in Asia, to occupy China.

But as we read on, we find the authors of the memo gloating over Soviet "weaknesses" and predicting the timespans the USSR will require to

overcome them:

- a. War losses in manpower and industry and the set-back to a far from fully developed industry (15 years)
- b. Lack of technicians (5-10 years)
- c. Lack of Strategic Air Force (5-10 years)
- d. Lack of a Navy (15-20 years)
- e. Poor condition of railway and military transportation systems and equipment (10 years)
- f. Vulnerability of Soviet oil, rail, and vital industrial centres to long range bombers
- g. Lack of the atomic bomb (5-10 years, possibly less)
- h. Resistance in occupied countries (within 5 years)
- i. Quantitative military weakness in the Far East—especially naval (15-20 years)."

How is this contradiction to be explained? Very simply: the weak may become strong. Why wait? Why not pre-empt a hypothetically alarming development while the victim is vulnerable?

Joint Chiefs of Staff Document 1496/2 of September 19, 1945, written two weeks after Japan's unconditional surrender, said in effect that when it would become clear that the armies of the potential enemy were in a position to fight against us, we should not, because of the false and dangerous idea that we ourselves must not be the aggressor, allow them to deliver a first strike. Therefore, the United States must do everything to be able to deliver a first strike, if need be.

Gradually, the pre-emptive, disarming first strike became an American obsession. And to make a first strike lethal, the United States drew up diabolic plans envisaging combined use of atomic, radiological, chemical and bacteriological weapons. National Security Council Directive 68 of April 14, 1950, justified that sinister scheme by saying that in the era of modern weapon systems, first-strike military advantage was assuming more and more importance, and that compelled the United States to be able, if attacked, to strike with all its might and, if possible, even before the Soviets delivered their strike.

The readiness to unleash a war of aggression and provoke a nuclear holocaust became the central focus of existence. As rapid militarization of the economy, ideology and public mentality left no room for tolerance, equality and considerations of mutual benefit, Washington fell into a state of great-power chauvinism and the other

Western powers followed suit.

#### 4

JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE MEMORANDUM 329 was the first in a series of plans directed against the USSR. It was written on September 4, 1945, the day after the official end of the Second World War. The memo's purpose was: "To select approximately 20 of the most important targets suitable for strategic atomic bombing in the USSR and Soviet-dominated territory."

The explanatory note said that the designated targets "have been selected on the basis of their general importance with respect to industrial facilities, . . . governmental administrative facilities and facilities for scientific research and development. . . . (These are) the most suitable strategic targets for attack employing atomic-type weapons." The list of targets that followed included Moscow, Gorky, Kuibyshev, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Saratov, Kazan, Leningrad, Baku, Tashkent, Chelyabinsk, Nizhni Tagil, Magnitogorsk, Perm, Tbilisi, Novokuznetsk, Grozny, Irkutsk and Yaroslavl. Thirteen million Soviet people were thereby sentenced to death. The notable omissions from the list were Kiev, Minsk, Kharkov and Stalingrad—those cities had been ruined earlier, though not by Americans.

The American plans were corrected and amended in Document 329/1 of December 3, 1945, and Document 432/d of December 14, 1945. The latter declared, among other things, that the American side had "decisive" superiority, because the Soviet Union could not, at the moment, inflict similar damage on U.S. industry.

As the Americans' arsenals grew, their war plans became more and more sophisticated. The Damoclean sword raised over the Soviet Union and "Soviet-dominated territory" was given the following code names. Pincher (1946), Broiler (1947), Grabber, Eraser, Doublestar, Halfmoon, Frolic, Intermezzo, Fleetwood and Sizzle (all 1948), and Dropshot and Offtackle (1949).

The Pincher plan, for instance, envisaged an attack on the USSR with the use of bases in Turkey, Italy and China. The governments of those countries knew nothing about Washington's plans, of course.

In Broiler the scale of aggression broadened, involving bases in Britain, Egypt, India and Ryukyu Islands.

The Dropshot plan made the whole world a battlefield. It appears its authors entertained the illusion that that battle would not be the last.

The Joint Intelligence Committee documents under the serial number of 329 envisaged the bombing of 20 Soviet cities, while the 1948/49 plans provided for the destruction of 70 Soviet cities. The Dropshot plan envisaged the use of 300 atomic bombs and 29,000 tons of "conventional" bombs against 200 targets in 100 cities, in order to destroy 85 per cent of Soviet industry in one go. Between 75 and 100 atomic bombs were allocated for the destruction of Soviet strategic aircraft.

Barbaric is too weak a word to characterize these plans. They do not fit the conventional interpretation of the Cold War. In fact, between 1945 and 1947 the United States waged a full-scale psychological war against the USSR and the international working class and national liberation movements. Every year the U.S. Congress earmarked hundreds of millions of dollars for "subversion on Soviet territory." And billions of dollars were clandestinely spent for the same purposes.

It's hard to avoid the impression that Washington repeatedly tried to provoke the Soviet Union into initiating war against the United States. National Security Directive 68 of April 14, 1950, said that "the Soviet Union by 1954 might be in a position to initiate war against the United States with a reasonable prospect of winning," so the President wanted more and more safeguards against such a "prospect." No wonder the Dropshot plan said that the "free world" should be fully alerted to a possible war by January 1, 1957. Meanwhile, the West should fight the Soviet Union by blockades, using mercenaries and terrorists and inciting mutinies and riots.

It is highly significant that National Security Directive 10/2 (1948) said that subversion should be organized in such a way that the U.S. government could always deny any responsibility for it. And National Security Memorandum 68 urged the United States that, in any review of its policies before it had reached certain levels of its potential, to emphasize its defensive objectives and to do everything to avert undesirable reactions inside the country and abroad.

The Cold War was conceived as an anti-communist action, so ideology played a leading role in it. American politicians even enriched the mili-



tarist vocabulary with a new phrase—"war for ideological reasons" (Joint Chiefs of Staff Document of April 9, 1947). However, the Cold War was more than ideology. The American leaders wanted the Soviet Union to cease to exist. The sheer size of our country, the phenomenon known as "Russian character" and all that made the USSR a world power, gave them no rest.

In the above-mentioned "long telegram" which George Kennan sent from Moscow on February 22, 1946, the American ambassador had to use 8,000 words to prove the Soviet Union's intention to destroy the harmony of American society. He warned that this political power rested upon the deep and powerful undercurrent of Russian nationalism and recommended that the Soviet Union should be presented as a threat to the world and that all relations with it should be reduced to a minimum.

Later, George Kennan dramatized his conclusions in an article published in *Foreign Affairs*, signed "Mr. X." Warning the United States against maintaining the status quo in anticipation of a better time, he wrote that "the United States has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate, to force upon the Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation than it has had to observe in recent years, and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

Publishing that manifesto of the Cold War, George Kennan knew that the President had come close to proclaiming the policy of "containment" and "rolling back" communism. The National Security Council showed particular zeal in "educating" Harry Truman.

In Memorandum 7 (March 1948) the NSC urged the President to declare that the defeat of the Soviet-led forces of world communism was vitally important for U.S. security. This goal cannot be achieved through defensive policy, the authors of the document continued. Therefore, the United States must assume a leading role in organizing a world-wide counter-offensive to mobilize and consolidate its own and other anti-communist forces in the non-Soviet world in order to subvert the might of the communist forces.

What non-defensive methods did the United States consider right for the achievement of its "vital goals," especially for preventing Soviet in-

fluence on "Europe's potential?"

Among the pretexts for erasing the boundary between the "cold" and "hot" wars, would be the acquisition by the USSR of a technical possibility for attack on the United States, or for defense against American attack; the establishment of Soviet control over regions from which the United States or its allies could attack the USSR; political, social, economic or any other "troubles" inside any country that might be objectively useful for the Soviet Union, regardless of the involvement or non-involvement of external circles in these "troubles"; and if time worked in favor of the "potential enemy" or, if generally, offense might seem the best defense.

The bets placed on the "brinkmanship" policy increased in National Security Directive 20/1 of August 18, 1948. It recommended "rolling back Soviet power" and turning the USSR into a politically, militarily and psychologically weak country compared with the external forces outside Soviet control.

At worst, that is, if the Soviets continued to control all or almost all of their territory, the United States must ensure compliance with military terms (surrender of armaments, demilitarization of key areas, etc.) in order to render the Soviet Union helpless for a long time, and with terms that would result in considerable economic dependence. "Such terms would have to be harsh and distinctly humiliating to the communist regime in question," the document said. "They might well be something along the lines of the Breat-Litovsk settlement of 1918."

Why was the document written in such a colonialist tone? The National Security Council could not find anyone inside Russia who knew anything about "democracy." So such people had to be imported. There are some interesting emigré groups, the National Security Council said, and any of them, from our point of view, is better suited for ruling Russia than the Soviet government. Suited for what? For being a cat's paw. The United States, the directive said, needs such groups to defeat the forces of resistance to American policies "by the traditional methods of Russian civil war."

Joint Staff Planners Document 496/1 contains a stage-by-stage plan for the conquest and partitioning of the USSR: "The present concept of a war within the next three years with the USSR is based on the early initiation of an air offensive in

strength, exploiting to the utmost the destructive power and psychological effect of the atomic bomb, supplementing this effort with conventional bombing of those elements of national power which would destroy her capacity to continue hostilities . . . The Allies should undertake political psychological and underground warfare in the USSR and Soviet occupied territory. The psychological activities should exploit to the maximum the fear created by the atomic bomb in order to weaken the will of the people of the USSR to continue hostilities and to strengthen the will of dissident groups."

The reader may be interested to know with what forces the United States planned to occupy this country. Here are the accurate data: two divisions and two air force groups were to be sent to Moscow and one each to Leningrad, Archangelsk, Murmansk, Gorky, Kuibyshev, Kiev and some other cities. A total of 22 divisions and 22 air force groups were detailed to the occupation army.

Belief in unchallenged U.S. superiority would hypnotize the American leaders for a long time. Pentagon experts even calculated that 65 million people had to be "incapacitated" in the first 30 minutes of the war to paralyze the will of the Soviet people to resist. And the authors of the Dropshot plan assumed "for the sake of convenience" that on D Day (January 1, 1957) the United States would have a 10-to-1 advantage over the Soviet Union in atomic weapons and a marginal superiority in the developed offensive and conventional weapons.

Though it was very difficult for the Soviet Union to deprive the United States of the "convenient" superiority of 10 to 1, it did so and later achieved parity with America. This is the reason why, in spite of the existence of many detailed plans for preventive attack on the "potential enemy," Washington refrained from putting any of them into practice.

SUCH IS THE TRUE HISTORY OF U.S. POLICY DURING the Cold War. And even this brief chronicle of the Cold War clearly shows how many threats hung over the USSR. The Cold War was not our choice. It could not be the choice of the Soviet Union after the terrible war and the tremendous sacrifice made by the Soviet people for the right to decide their own destiny.

Why should we recall all this now? There are several reasons. New attempts are being made to distort the meaning and sequence of the events of the past 50 years. Moreover, some people in the West continue to claim that the Cold War has not ended. Others want the first edition of the Cold War to be followed by a second one, and to continue it until the end of all life on our planet. Or, if that fails, to block improvements in the international situation and prevent the victory of new thinking in East-West and North-South relations, a concept proposed by the Soviet Union as an alternative to power politics.

Some time ago the American *New Perspective Quarterly* published an interview with George Kennan. One of the architects of the Cold War, who has now become its critic, and the title of the article—"Obituary for the Cold War"—bears this out. Asked when the Cold War would be over, George Kennan said: "I feel very strongly that the extreme military anxieties and rivalries . . . of the Cold War have increasingly lost their rationale. . . . Of far greater importance are areas which demand collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States."

The next question was, "Who was the first to recover from Cold War mentality?" George Kennan replied, "The Soviets dropped the Cold War mentality. Now, it's up to us to do the same thing."

The United States initiated the Cold War, but even if it is the last to end it, that would be good for a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world. □

# Theater and the Working Class

## *A Personal Experience*

---

EMANUEL FRIED

---

*Emanuel Fried is professor emeritus, State University College at Buffalo. We publish this as a guest article whose ideas do not necessarily coincide with those of the editors. Readers' comments will be warmly welcomed.*

---

IT IS NOT INERTIA, LAZINESS, LACK OF AMBITION or of desire which prevent the development of the arts among working people—or keep union and workingclass life out of the arts. Instead, it is people who are very class conscious in their anti-workingclass stance who keep working damn hard to prevent union and workingclass life from being brought into the arts. They keep the arts going off in a direction of obscurity and irrationality, diving inward into emotional wastelands without tying them to surrounding life. They push for concentration on technical experimentation (so they can say they are developing the new and the avant garde) as the most important aspect of the arts. And they throttle what may be the most important functions of art—to seek insight into the realities of life as they have developed in our time, to produce harmony in human beings by bringing together in a work of art the contradictions of our society in its present socio-historical context; to inspire exploration and search for a constructive direction so that people may live with a sense of wholeness and peace.

Great drama is based on conflict. To the degree that a play reflects through its characters the major issues, “the realities of life as they have developed in our time, . . . the contradictions in our society in its present historical context,” and presents them as they affect individuals, to that degree, a play develops significance and cuts deeply into the thinking of its audience.

Consciously or unconsciously, those who fear and oppose the shaping of a strong class consciousness among working people stand guard to keep out of the arts, including theater, those aspects of real life that contribute to shap-

ing workingclass consciousness.

E.P. Thompson in his book, *The Making of the English Working Class*, told how one of the primary thrusts of government secret intelligence was to prevent the shaping of class consciousness in working people. That is, without doubt, one of the primary aims of secret intelligence in our country. A theater division of the FBI? Undoubtedly some people will question this. But it was there in black and white, in the local newspaper in Buffalo, where I live—the special agent, Victor Turyn, in charge of the FBI, had been promoted to head the Theater Division of the FBI in New York City.

Shortly after I was subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities in 1964, two FBI men visited the local office of the Canada Life Assurance Company with which I did business as an independent broker during my intense blacklisting from 1956 to 1971. They informed the manager that I had been subpoenaed because of my writing and asked that I be told to stop it.

During that time, a good friend, politically conservative, asked me to submit a play in a Western New York Chamber of Commerce contest. I did, and my play won. The FBI tried to get the JayCeers to revoke my win. Their executive board met and issued a brief statement: “We held a contest and he won.”

When my play, *Rose*, was produced off-Broadway in New York, several leading actors withdrew from the cast because their agents were informed their careers would be ruined if they appeared in the play.

There have been many other instances of such interference in productions of my plays. Recently, my FBI dossier revealed that agents were instructed to keep an eye on my novel, *The Un-American*, apparently to prevent its publication.

When I was an organizer with the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers, from 1941 to 1956, and was writing a story a week for the *Buffalo Union Leader*, the CIO regional newspa-

per, the union's regional director told me that, on demand of the FBI, he was barring further publication of my work in the newspaper.

THE STATE OF THE THEATER BEING WHAT IT IS IN OUR country, all playwrights have difficulty in getting their work produced. But there seems to be special care to avoid production of those plays that contribute in any way to enhance the image of labor. Note that I say "labor," not "worker".

Ask yourself when have you last seen a union leader treated positively on the stage? Film director Marty Ritt, with whom I acted in the Theatre of Action back in the 30's (when my stage name was Edward Mann), has made two movies which deal positively with labor: *Molly Maguires* and *Norma Rae*, and John Sayles recently did *Matewan*. Before that, Stallone did *F.I.S.T.* which, despite some negative stuff, added up to something that made union people feel important about themselves and prouder to be part of a working class. Even *Blue Collar*, that went off on a crazy tangent about drugs in the factory, presenting a negative picture of union leaders, put labor in the center of the film. But this has not been duplicated on the stage.

Marty Ritt told me at a preview showing of *Norma Rae* that, if the film was successful, it would open the way for my material. It has had some effect. Negotiations are going on to make a feature film based on the screenplay I prepared from my play, *The Dodo Bird*.

The closest thing recently toward getting favorable mention of labor in a Broadway play was August Wilson's *Fences* which has its Black hero getting promoted through the efforts of his union. But this is not basic to the play, which is primarily about the changing relationship between a father and son.

A few months back there was an article in *Village Voice*, "Labor Pains: The Loneliness of the Working-Class Writer." It documented the resistance of commercial publishers to accept novels in which workingclass characters are central. I know what the writer, Valerie Miner, was talking about. I have a collection of letters praising two of my novels: *Big Ben Hood* and *Lasting Out*, in which the central characters are union men. "Beautifully written but not commercial," wrote one publisher, summing up a stack of rejections I received on these books. I had to publish *Big Ben Hood* under my own imprint, Labor

Arts Books.

Establishment theaters are oriented by their boards of directors against doing plays that will enhance the image of labor or help to shape a workingclass consciousness. Any year, if you keep a close watch on the theater, you can sense a "feeling around" by producers and artistic directors for plays that stay away from the core conflicts existing in our society. Revivals of plays from the past with only general relevance, if any, to our time, are such a choice.

The Theater of the Absurd also served that same function. Plays about sickness or disability also do well in that category.

However, when Blacks were demonstrating in the streets, chunks of money were granted by the Establishment to any group which might move that activity off the street onto a stage, perhaps providing a safe way to bleed-off the frustration and anger. But, when the demonstrations ceased, there was a shift to financing plays that had a less militant tone.

During the 30's, when times were desperate because of the depression, the workers' theater movement flourished. The commercial theater responded with a tilt toward social significance. It was in this period that the New Theater League was formed to coordinate workers' theater across the country.

It was the New Theater League that sponsored the writing and first production of *Waiting for Lefty* by Clifford Odets, the play that later moved to Broadway where audiences included wealthy employers who wanted no union in their own shops, but who stood up and screamed "Strike! Strike! Strike!" at the final curtain, joining the militant rank-and-file leader played by Elia Kazan, in a call for action against the bosses.

It was then that I was asked (because I had red hair and looked like "the all-American boy") to play the lead in the Theater of Action's *The Young Go First*, about the Civilian Conservation Corps. Ironically, it was directed by Kazan, my idol at that time who had much to do with developing my left-leaning political understanding. I still have some warm memories of him though we've gone off in very different directions, best illustrated by his having named names to the House Committee on Un-American Activities while I refused to answer their questions and invoked no constitutional protection, seeking an



indictment so that I could test the constitutionality of HUAC itself. The Committee ducked and I was not indicted.

The Theater of Action, in that period, developed the living newspaper technique that the Establishment then adopted. The federal government financed *One Third of a Nation*, about the millions of ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed, and other productions about the nation's social problems.

It was during that period that I was fortunate to get a good grounding in theater, studying with Kazan, Odets, Harold Clurman, Lee Strasburg, Benno Schneider, Bobby Lewis, Morris Carnovsky and others—learning the craft which stood me in such good stead when, by an accident of life, I became a writer and a union organizer in heavy industry from 1941 to 1956.

IN 1939, THE NEW THEATER LEAGUE ASKED ME IF I wanted a job directing a workers' theater, Buffalo Contemporary Theatre, in my hometown. I accepted, expecting to stay a year or two. But with World War II, I went to work in an airplane factory.

Within a short while, I was removed from the plant on order of the local Army Air Corps representative who charged me with being "a subversive." This action was reversed two years later when it was admitted that I had been fired for union activity. I won reinstatement, but by then I was an organizer for the UE and stayed on that job with time out for overseas service in the infantry.

More irony: When I got out of the army Kazan offered me what later became the Karl Malden role in the film *Boomerang*. I turned the offer down when the rank-and-file union leader back home, an old-timer who had taught me much of what I knew about negotiating union contracts, on the very night before he died of an embolism, begged me not to "abandon us".

That did it; I stayed on as a union organizer. But I used what I'd learned in the theater to write about that experience in plays (and novels) which I believe contribute to the development of a workingclass consciousness: *The Dodo Bird*, *Drop Hammer*, *Elegy for Stanley Gorski*, *David and Son*, *Cocoon*, *The Second Beginning*, *Brothers For A' That*, *Lasting Out* (a novel), *Big Ben Hood* (first as a novel and then as a play), etc.

Back to the present. We are not yet in the

kind of critical economic situation we had in the big depression of the 30's. So we do not have the conditions which resulted in working class theaters developing across the country, some with strong support of the Establishment itself, nor do we have the inclusion of social significance in many commercial productions.

However, we do have numerous theater groups who line themselves up "on the side of the angels." This is the term I apply to the theater groups which are, generally, led by progressives with little or no factory experience, often from backgrounds far different from those of the working people and the poor with whom they have aligned themselves.

When they write about working people they generally do not do it from the viewpoint of one who is involved deeply with organized labor, with unions. They write from the outside, with little or no experience of life inside the factory, the the mine, or the union. But their hearts are with the working people and the poor.

While I helped to form the New York Labor Theater around a production of my play, *The Dodo Bird*, for the New York Central Labor Council, Bette Craig and Chuck Portz, who headed NYLT quickly learned that such material drew redbaiting from conservative segments of the labor movement itself. They informed me that they could do no work written by me for fear it would draw the redbaiting on themselves.

On the other hand, Susan Franklin-Tanner in Huntington, California, developed the Theater Workers' Project with Steelworkers Local Union 1845, using material written by the workers who were unemployed because the steel mill had shut down. She came up with something written from the inside. It was a play that, with heavy financial support from Bruce Springsteen, dramatized for union audiences the plight of workers put out on the street when factories closed. Susan and I came to know each other well when we were among a group of U.S. theater and film workers, led by John Randolph, who met and exchanged ideas with theater and film workers in the German Democratic Republic.

The Street Caravan Theatre founded by Mar-ketta Kimbrell in New York City travels across the country performing for labor and progressive groups. Their material, while somewhat stereotyped, serves a good purpose in reinforcing those who are already believers.

The San Francisco Mime Theater, performing material of a broadly populist nature, not aimed sharply at developing greater workingclass consciousness, has, perhaps for that reason, become somewhat successful in winning Establishment approval.

The productions of the Charlestown Working Theater, led by Peggy Ings in Boston, is more and more using material devoid of workingclass content, becoming like any other bland community theater in its choice of subject matter.

Maxine Klein's Little Flags Theater, operating also out of Boston, does left-oriented material but seems to avoid material that would label it "communist."

The New Group Theater in Pittsburgh has done four of my plays—*Dodo Bird*, *Judge*, *Second Beginning* and *Brothers for A' That*—putting them on in a bare loft."

The Shipping Dock Theatre in Rochester, New York, did my *Brothers for A' That*, mixing it in with their usual fare—the kind of plays that offend nobody.

THERE IS A CHANGE TAKING PLACE—AS A RESULT of plant closings, the shift of workers to lower paying jobs and the growing need for two pay envelopes in families in order to maintain a decent living standard and often not providing even that. There is a strong sense of frustration and anger present in those who constitute the working class in our country. This frustration and anger is beginning to reflect itself in the arts, primarily in the lyrics of songs where it finds an easier avenue of expression than in feature films or stage plays.

Many of the songs of Bruce Springsteen reflect that frustration and anger. The Establishment seems to tolerate this as a safe and lucrative way to bleed off the frustration and anger of working people. A big corporation president who served as head of the arts council in western New York once described this process as "the safety valve principle!" Bread and circuses! The less bread, the more circuses!

Folk singers across the country are bringing the experience of working people, labor people, into their songs, writing lyrics that stem from the efforts of workers to improve their situation.

The Great Labor Arts Exchange, held this past summer at the George Meany Center in Silver Springs, Maryland, was sponsored by the La-

bor Heritage Foundation, with full support of the AFL-CIO leadership. It brought together folk singers from all over the country, most of them union members, many coming as official representatives of their local unions.

This was, I believe, the tenth such annual get-together. Previous conferences were termed Labor Song Exchanges. This one expands that into Labor Arts Exchange to include artists, film makers, theater groups and two cultural representatives of *The Peoples' Daily World*.

It was in the songs—their lyrics—that there appeared to be the greatest presence of workingclass life, especially at the workplace itself.

There seems to be a contradiction here in that we have leaders of labor supporting this development, at the same time as the Establishment. But both are moving very carefully, hesitantly as the situation demands; the Establishment because it basically opposes development of a strong workingclass consciousness, the top labor leaders because they are still fearful that radicals—communists—might use the arts to infiltrate their ideas and start movements to pressure the top labor leaders, to do something more drastic and more militant than they are presently doing about the disintegrating situation for the working class in our country.

One can speculate about the degree to which the fine hand of some intelligence agency of the government is keeping close watch on this organization and manipulating it to see that it is used primarily as part of "the safety valve principle" and does not become a vehicle for strengthening a workingclass consciousness.

IN CONCLUSION, LET ME SAY IM STILL IN THE PROCESS of feeling out why we are where we are with theater and working class in our country. I expect that many people will disagree with my formulations. Those opinions are all based on direct personal experience, sixty years of involvement in theater in one way or another. I do not know of any comparable effort to define what I've tried to define here. I hope that what I've written here prompts discussion, disagreement, arguments, and further investigation and comments—a developing exchange of ideas to get at some greater understanding of where we are in our country in relation to theater and the working class, and where we can go and should be trying to go with it. □

## Victor Perlo's Super Profits and Crises

BEN RISKIN

---

Victor Perlo, *Super Profits and Crises: Modern U.S. Capitalism*, 1988, International Publishers, New York, 548 pp., ISBN 0-7178-0665-0 (cloth) \$21, ISBN 0-7178-0662-0 (pbk.) \$9.95.

---

Within one week in September, the press reported three developments that serve to supplement and underscore the brilliant analysis of U.S. capitalism today in Victor Perlo's new book.

**FIRST:** Ten of thirteen members of a National Academy of Science panel that studied the health needs of the homeless in the United States were impelled, for the first time in a governmental report, to voice "our sense of shame and anger" at being limited to reporting without being able to evaluate and comment on their findings (*The New York Times*, September 20, 1988).

"Contemporary American homelessness is an outrage, a national scandal. . . We have tried to present the facts and figures of homelessness, but we are unable to capture the extent of our anger and dismay." said these social scientists in this unprecedented statement.

They listed the impact of homelessness upon millions of the population—the lack of low income housing, of income maintenance, of support services and of access to health care for the poor and the uninsured. They characterized the fact that at least 100,000 children are homeless as "a national disgrace that must be treated with the urgency such a situation demands."

**SECOND:** One week later on September 27th, the *Times* reported that the Democratic staff of the Senate Budget Committee disclosed that "half the new jobs created in the U.S. in the last eight years [the years of the Reagan-Bush Administration—B.R.] were at wages below the poverty level of \$11,611."

**THIRD:** That very same day, reported on the very same page of the *Times*, the U.S. Senate dropped consideration of proposed legislation to raise the \$3.35 per hour minimum wage to \$4.55 in *three years*. Both those amounts are below the *present* poverty level.

This spreading impoverishment in the midst of the greatest profiteering in U.S. history by the capitalist one percent that controls the economy of the country, sets the perspective for Perlo's incisive study of U.S. capitalism.

Readers of any of Perlo's 13 earlier books will already anticipate his remarkable ability to illustrate how basic Marxist economic theory (as well as some non-Marxist theory) explains the way U.S. capitalism and its governmental apparatus have affected the people of the United States.

His work reflects the credentials that molded his craft. He was one of the New Deal professionals in the 1930s who helped translate the demands of the mass movements into the laws that enhanced the social security of the people. And he was one of those bright young New Dealers ousted during the Truman-McCarthy witchhunts that disgrace U.S. history.

The government's loss was the people's gain as Perlo became an international leading authority in his field. As demonstrated by this latest work, he is not only a skilled analyst but an educator as well. It can certainly serve as a valuable textbook for economics teachers and students as well as for non-professionals.

A special characteristic of Perlo's approach dovetails with the dramatic demand of the National Academy of Science members, quoted above, that they be allowed to link the facts of their research with the social import of those facts. Throughout this book, Perlo deals with the principles involved, assembles the facts and then relates both to concrete experience.

Thus, in his treatment of the labor theory of value, he cites the recognition by Adam Smith and Ricardo of the validity of this theory and shows the evasions of it by Keynes, Samuelson and Milton Friedman, theoretician of Reaganomics. Perlo makes his point by quoting Friedman: "What kind of society isn't structured in greed? The problem of social organization is how to set up an arrangement under which greed will do the least harm." [p. 24]

Thus one learns the essential theoretical and moral essence of capitalist economics. The consequences of this are then presented by Perlo in statistics furnished by the U.S. Department of Labor: "The working class makes up 90 percent of our population; the middle class 9 percent; the capitalist class 1 percent." [p. 26]

The stinger is that 1 percent which controls the nation's economy and determines the political and social direction of the government.

If one has ever longed for a quick, clear review of such topics as productive and nonproductive labor; of surplus value and the differences between use value, exchange value and surplus value; if one has pondered about the inevitability of class struggle as fundamental to capitalist society, one will relish the patient, yet uncomplicated explanations of these and other fundamental concepts in Perlo's book.

Marx's thesis of the trend towards absolute impoverishment of the working class is demonstrated by Perlo's examination of the "actual material contradictions of the U.S. working class in particular and of workers in the capitalist countries as a whole." His statistical dissection of the decline in real earnings, the growth of unemployment, the shocking decline in housing, the mounting tax burden, the increase in labor productivity (despite attempts to falsify the facts) show the true face of Reagan-Bush prosperity—61 million below the poverty level, 37 million without health care coverage, 20 million unemployed (not the "official" 8 million), and the national scandal of homelessness.

Perlo zooms in on the terrible super-exploitation and discrimination created by racism, and the special tribulations of women workers. Here again he presents not only the grim and shocking statistics, but he associates these with their inhuman effects. He shows the need for affirmative action as the necessary instrument to overcome these evils.

The almost unbelievable growth of profits is analyzed by Perlo, who stresses the difference between those profits that are reported and those that are not. Under "Profits of Control," he treats a category for which "neither the term nor the concept appear in capitalist economic literature." [p. 12] Defining and measuring it, Perlo proceeds to analyze the various forms in which such profits appeared in the USA in the last quarter-

century. It is this kind of specific follow-through that emphasizes Perlo's professionalism.

His treatment of state monopoly capitalism concludes with a demonstration of the need for people's democratic control of the nation's economy.

Perlo's chapter on the militarization of the economy shows, as also stressed by Seymour Melman and William Winpisinger, how the rise of the military-industrial complex has undermined the U.S. economy. In analyzing the structural crisis he documents in detail the decline of the U.S. and other capitalist countries despite the enormous profits made by the transnational conglomerates.

In a valuable comparison, Perlo ends his study with an analytical comparison of the statistics of socialism and capitalism. What is now considered as "stagnation" in the USSR, requiring drastic structural reorganization to speed up the economy, must make one face up to the kind of restructuring needed in the USA. Perlo writes:

Between 1973 and 1986, Soviet industrial production increased more than twice as fast as that of the United States and its national income nearly twice as fast . . . . Real wages and farm incomes increased in line with production in the USSR, while real wages and farm incomes sustained major declines in the United States. [p. 488]

[From 1953 to 1986] industrial production increased more than ten times, as compared with little more than three times in the United States. [p. 489]

Perlo presents tables to compare the annual rates of growth of industrial production not only in the USA and the USSR, but also between the developed socialist and capitalist countries as well. In both situations, covering a third of a century,

the growth rate of the USSR decisively outstripped that of the United States; and the growth rate of the developed socialist countries outstripped that of the developed capitalist countries. [p. 491]

Nevertheless, the Soviet leadership recognized that the nation's development was outmoding its cumbersome machinery of management, both of industry and of government, and so perestroika was born. It was not the U.S. that decided to restructure its economy which, in a single presidential administration, had turned the U.S. into the greatest debtor nation in the

world with more than one-quarter of its people in economic want and distress. It was the USSR that had the courage and the political understanding to undertake a huge effort to guarantee the future of its people, and setting the model for the rest of the world.

Perlo understands that "the Soviet Union is not a utopian society." He discusses the practical problems and the errors made in the building of this new society, the first of its kind. He identifies and discusses the problems that must still be overcome.

Perlo illustrates how capitalist propagandists, here and abroad, using Soviet self-criticism isolated from its overall accomplishments, have denigrated and distorted events and achievements in the socialist world. He supplies this pertinent observation by Harry Schaffer, a professor

at the University of Kansas:

Indeed the evidence is available for all who wish to examine it. With the records so clearly before us, is it not time that we begin to give credit where credit has long been overdue, that we recognize the truly impressive economic and social achievements of the Soviet Union, and that we analyze Soviet economy from a perspective of scholarly impartiality and fairness? [p. 487]

Schaffer then quotes "two known [but unnamed—B.R.] Western sovietologists": "An unbiased evaluation of Soviet economic performance is difficult since many in the West would be unsympathetic to the Soviet political system." [p.487]

Perlo's readers will themselves leave this work better equipped to understand oncoming world developments. □

## MARX / ENGELS COLLECTED WORKS VOLUMES ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS SPECIAL OFFER [See backcover]

[Each volume exceeds 600 pp., is fully annotated and indexed, and includes bibliographical data.]

### VoIs. 1-3: EARLY WORKS

- 1 **Marx, 1835-43** (Doctoral Dissertation, early journalism, letters, poems, etc.)
- 2 **Engels, 1838-42** (Early journalism, essays, family letters, poems, etc.)
- 3 **Marx 1843-44** (*Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law; Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, etc.) Engels, 1843-44 (letters, Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy; articles from the *Northern Star*.)

### VoIs. 4-27: GENERAL WORKS

- 4 **1844-45** (*The Holy Family; The Condition of the Working Class in England*; etc.)
- 5 **1845-47** (Theses on Feuerbach; *The German Ideology*)
- 6 **1845-48** (*The Poverty of Philosophy; Manifesto of the Communist Party*; articles; documents of the Communist League)
- 7 **1848** (Demands of the Communist Party in Germany; articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*)
- 8 **1848-49** (articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and on the struggle against its suppression)

9 **1849** (articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and other journals, including *Wage, Labour and Capital*)

10 **1849-51** (*The Class Struggles in France; The Peasant War in Germany*; articles from the English Chartist press, etc.)

11 **1851-53** (*Revolution and Counterevolution in Germany; The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; The Great Men of the Exile; The Cologne Communist Trial*, etc.)

12 **1853-54** (articles from the *New York Daily Tribune*; Lord Palmerston, etc.)

13 **1854-55** (articles on the Eastern Question and the Crimean War; *Revolutionary Spain*; etc.)

14 **1855-56** (articles on the Crimean War; Lord John Russell; *The Armies of Europe*, etc.)

15 **1856-58** (Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century; articles from the *New-York Daily Tribune*, etc.)

16 **1858-60** (*Po and Rhine; Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*, articles, etc.)

17 **1859-61** (*Herr Vogt*; newspaper articles on Garibaldi, etc.)

18 **1857-62** (articles from the *New American Encyclopedia* and the *Volunteer Journal*; Notes on the Art of War in Antiquity, etc.)

19 **1861-64** (*History of the Polish Question*; articles on the U.S. Civil War, on the intervention in Mexico, etc.)

20 **1864-68** (Inaugural Address and other documents of the First International; articles; conspectus of the first volume of *Capital*.) etc.)

21 **1867-70** (History of Ireland, articles, speeches and documents of the First International)

22 **1870-71** (materials on the Franco-Prussian War and on the Paris Commune; *The Civil War in France*; documents of the First International, etc.)

23 **1871-73** (pamphlets, articles, and speeches of the First International; *The Housing Question*, etc.)

25 **1873-83** (*Anti-Dühring*, including preparatory materials; *Dialectics of Nature*)

### VoIs. 28-37: MAJOR ECONOMICS WORKS

28 **1857-58** Major part of *The Grundrisse*

29 **1859-61** Balance of *The Grundrisse*

### Marx/Engels CORRESPONDENCE

38 **1844-51**

39 **1852-55**

40 **1856-69**

41 **1860-64**

42 **1864-68**



- Albano, Debbie and Pete Leki:** *Irresistible International Trade Union Unity*, May, p.9
- Alexander, Kendra:** *The Path to Equality*, Feb. p. 20.
- Aptheker, Herbert:** *Reconstruction: A Monumental New Study* (a book review), Aug., p. 33.
- Bachtell, John:** *Youth in the Anti-Reagan Upsurge*, Aug., p. 9.
- Bacon, David:** *The Maquiladores Menace Workers on Both Sides of the Border*, May, p. 19.
- Bezymensky, Lev and Valentin Fedin:** *Who Started the Cold War? A Documentary Study*, Dec., p. 14.
- Bloice, Carl:** *The CPSU on the Eve of the 18th Party Conference*, June, p. 27; *The 40th Anniversary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, Nov., p. 12.
- Central Committee, CPSU:** *Theses for the 19th Party Conference of the CPSU*, July, p. 18.
- Davis, Angela:** *Billie Holiday's 'Strange Fruit': Music and Social Consciousness*, Feb., p. 5.
- Dennison, Bill:** *Labor's Role in the Fight for Unity*, Feb., p. 30; *The Spring Labor Offensive & the Role of the Communist Party*, May, p. 13.
- Disarmament 2000 / Common Security Working Group:** *Towards a New Millenium of Peace* (a document), Nov., p. 31.
- Discussion Roundtable:** *Black Representation, the Labor Movement and the 1988 Elections*, April, p. 25.
- Dwyer, Dolores:** *Who Profits from the Homeless Plague*, Jan., p. 17;
- Edelman, Fannie:** *The International Women's Movement*, March, p. 15.
- Editorials:** *Celebrating His Birthday*, Jan. p. 2; *Now that the Summit is Over*, Jan. p. 3; *Women Workers and the Fight for Equality*, March, p. 2; *The May Day Message More Powerful than Ever*, May, p. 2; *On the 69th Anniversary of the CPUSA*, Sept./Oct., p. 2.
- Eisenhower, David D.:** *Genuine National Security: a People's Definition*, June, p. 16.
- Falin, Valentin:** See, Bezymensky, Lev.
- Fishman, Joelle:** *The Communist 'Plus' at Work in Connecticut*, Feb., p. 36.
- Foner, Philip S.:** *Matewan: The Story Behind the Movie* (a review), Jan., p. 35.
- Fried, Emanuel:** *Theater and the Working Class, A Personal History*, Dec., p. 21.
- Hall Gus:** *70 Years of Socialism*, Jan., p.5; *This Moment Calls for Unity*, Jan., p. 8; *Emergence of the Anti-Racist Majority*, Feb., p. 2; *Equality: The Unfinished Agenda*, April, p. 2; *Proletarian Internationalism, Revitalized and Active*, May, p. 4; *The World We Preserve Must Be Livable*, June, p. 2; *Strategy and Tactics*, July, p. 2; *Socialist Democracy, Reform and Economic Renewal at Work*, Aug., p. 3; *The World in Transition, Arms Into Ploughshares*, Sept./Oct., 4; *The Working Class and Its Historic Role*, Nov., p. 2; *The U.S. Economy, Time Bomb on a Short Fuse*, Dec., p. 2.
- Henry, John:** *Fighting for Jobs by Amending the Constitution*, March, p. 33.
- Horne, Gerald:** *The Bechtel Story* (a book review), July, p. 32.
- Jackson, Maurice:** *Homelessness: The Crisis Unconfined*, Jan., p. 11
- Johnson, Ron:** *Jesse Jackson '88, On the Train of Struggle*, July, p. 6.
- Johnson, Timothy V.:** *The Afro-American Community: Unity and Diversity*, Feb., p. 24.
- Leki, Pete:** See, Albano, Debbie.
- Mandela, Winnie:** *The Racist Regime Will Have to Yield* (an interview), June, p. 32.
- Marks, Carole:** *You Are the Liberation Generation*, Aug., p. 32.
- Miller, Prairie:** *Images of Workers in U.S. Film*, May, p. 35.
- Monteiro, Tony:** *The "New Conservatives,"* Feb., p. 12; *Wilson's Apologies for Racism*, March, p. 19; *The Origins and Consequences of the Underclass Theory*, Nov., p. 18.
- Mujica, Hector:** *The Electoral Strategy of the Venezuelan Communists*, Sept./Oct., p. 31.
- Myers, George:** *Labor's Shift to the Left*, Jan., p. 29
- National Teachers Commission, CPUSA:** *Confronting the Nation's Crisis in Education*, Jan., p. 23.
- Perlo, Victor:** *Jobs for Afro-Americans*, April, p. 17; *Militarization of the Economy*, Aug., p. 25; *How Stands the U.S. Economy?*, Sept./Oct., p. 23.
- Rabinowitz, Bobbie:** *The Trade Unions Today in the Fight for Equality*, April, p. 14.
- Raineri, Vivian:** *Heroic Women of the McCarthy Years*, March, p. 10.
- Riskin, Ben:** *Victor Perlo's 'Super Profits and Crises'*, (a book review), Dec., p. 25.
- Sims, Joe:** *The Youth Speak Out*, Aug., p. 16.
- Socialist Unity Party of the GDR and the Socialist Party of the FRG:** *Conflicting Ideologies and Common Security*, May, p. 27.
- Solomon, Mark:** *Disarmament 2000 and Common Security*, Nov., p. 15.
- Spector, Danny:** *A Special Moment, the Break-up of Political Gridlock*, June, p. 2; *Magnet for a Generation in Struggle*, Aug., p. 19;
- Steele, James:** *Critical Challenges of the '88 Elections*, Sept./Oct., p. 9; *The '88 Elections: Summing Up and Setting Course*, Dec. p. 6.
- Thomson, Alan:** *Socialism and Peace*, Nov., p. 10.
- Tyner, Jarvis:** *Cities in Change: Prospects for Afro-Americans*, April, p. 8; *Only World Workingclass Unity Can Defeat the TNCs*, July, p. 13.
- West, Jim:** *Peace and the Centrality of the Class Struggle*, March, p. 27.
- Wheeler, Tim:** *Labor Girds to End the Reagan Regime*, Sept./Oct., p. 17.
- Wimmer, Ernst:** *The Priorities for Human Survival*, Nov., p.26.
- Winebrenner, Denise:** *The Decline of the Steel Industry* (a book review), Sept./Oct., p. 35.
- Winston, Fern:** *Meeting the Day Care Crisis*, March, p. 5.
- Zagarell, Michael:** *New Humanism and the Working Class*, June, p. 8.

# Copies of articles from this publication are now available from the UMI Article Clearinghouse.

For more information about the Clearinghouse, please fill out and mail back the coupon below.

UMI Article Clearinghouse

Yes! I would like to know more about UMI Article Clearinghouse. I am interested in electronic ordering through the following system(s):

- DIALOG/Dialorder     ITT Dialcom  
 OnType     OCLC ILL Subsystem  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
 I am interested in sending my order by mail.  
 Please send me your current catalog and user instructions for the system(s) I checked above.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Title \_\_\_\_\_  
Institution/Company \_\_\_\_\_  
Department \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone (\_\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: University Microfilms International  
300 North Zeeb Road, Box 91 Ann Arbor, MI 48106

# reprints from the soviet press

Compass Point Publications  
P.O. Box 20673, New York, NY 10025

Enclosed please find my check/money order for \$30, payable to Compass Point Publications, Inc., for a one year subscription to *Soviet Reprints*.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

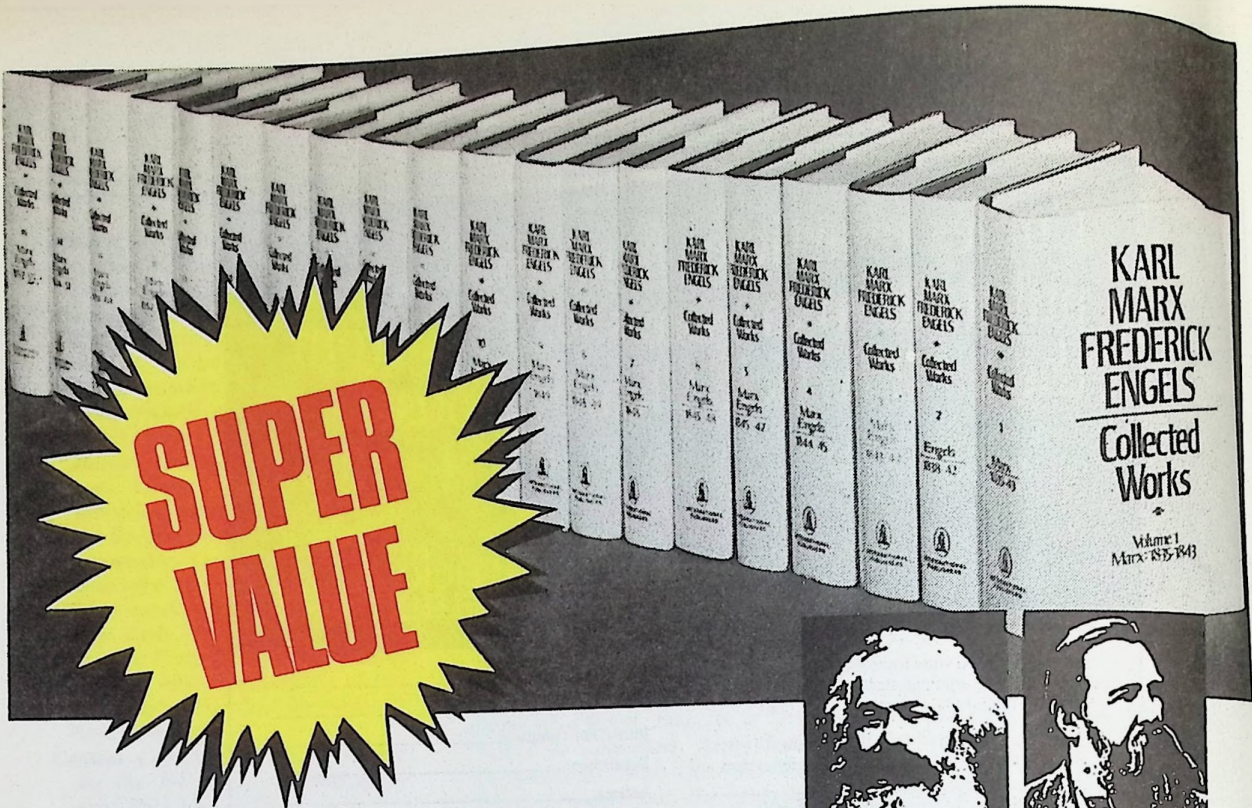
City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

A semi-monthly journal in English of current articles, speeches, documents and reports from the original sources. All material is unabridged and carefully translated, providing Soviet points of view on a full range of topics, including:

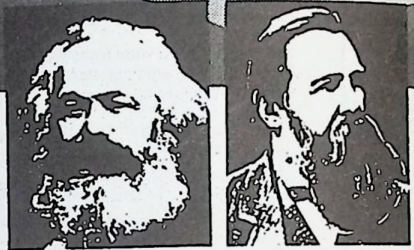
**Economics • Politics •  
Foreign Affairs • Law •  
Labor • Agriculture •  
Industry • Science •  
The Unfolding Process of  
Perestroika and Glasnost**

An annual subscription of 24 issues is \$30 (for individuals only).





Get all 31 volumes published to date of the 50 volume **MARX-ENGELS** Collected Works with a 5-year subscription to **POLITICAL AFFAIRS**



**ALL 31 VOLUMES**  
(Postage paid)

**\$185**

A \$500-plus value  
**SAVE OVER \$300**

**Political Affairs, 235 W. 23 St., NY, NY 10011**

Yes, I want to receive the 31 volumes of the *Marx-Engels Collected Works* and a 5-year subscription to *Political Affairs* for \$185.\* My check (or money order) is enclosed.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**NOTE:** \* This offer is available only for a shipping address in the United States. It will remain open until March 31, 1989.

No Marxist library should miss this once-in-a-lifetime chance to acquire these basic tools for understanding and action in today's world—and at an extraordinary bargain rate. The *M-E Collected Works* is a deluxe, cloth-bound edition, prepared and published jointly by International Publishers, New York and Progress Publishers, Moscow.

*Political Affairs* is the monthly theoretical journal of the CPUSA. For only \$185 you can have the 31 volumes published to date of the former and 5 years of the latter. □