

Women and the Working Class

Born out of the struggle of American working-class women fighting for women's rights to vote and initiated by the internationally known German Communist leader Clara Zetkin. "International Women's Day" marks a yearly high point in the struggle for women's rights.

It was Lenin who pointed out as long ago as 1907 that the Woman Question must be specifically mentioned in Socialist programs because of the specific problems, needs, and desires of working-class women. A key point in the fight for Socialism is whether or not the fight for Women's rights is merged with the fight for Socialism. For Women are part of the "Regular Army" of the proletariat and of decisive importance.

From the dawn of class struggle, women have been in the forefront of the movement of the oppressed, and it is no accident that the banners of Marxism-Leninism have attracted to their ranks the finest and most courageous women of the world.

Throughout the Latin American countries women are an integral part of the struggle for peace and for political and economic freedom. Can we ever forget the fact that it was the Puerto Rican women who organized the first demonstration in the Americas against the sending of soldiers to fight in Korea? And the Puerto Rican mother and worker, Mrs. Lolita LeBron, still languishing in an American prison, a victim of Yankee oppression?

The latest concrete evidence of the revolutionary forces and power of women has been given by the women of Cuba; many took up arms to help liberate the Cuban nation from the tyranny of Batista, the satrap of Yankee imperialism.

The history of the American worker is replete with the magnificent struggles of the thousands of known and unknown Negro women, who, following in the footsteps of Harriet Tubman, con-

tinued to fight for the political freedom of the Negro people; Mrs. Rosa Ingram, imprisoned by the Southern white supremacists; Mrs. Willie McGee who helped to launch a national struggle in defense of her husband; and the millions of others who daily fight oppression, discrimination and economic slavery in shops, offices, farms and homes.

La Passionaria, Clara Zetkin, Mother Bloor, Krupskaya—what magnificent roles they have played in the struggles for humanity.

Millions of women have recognized that only under Socialism will women gain complete equality, for only under Socialism will women be able to take part in productive and cultural pursuits on an equal level with men. Communist women, mindful of the fact that the fight for reforms and day-to-day struggles are necessary steps along the way, have placed themselves in the forefront of these struggles.

Throughout the world — hundreds of million of women, led by Communist Women, are celebrating "International Women's Day".

Marxist-Leninists honor all women on their day — we honor especially the brave Communist and non-Communist who have shown their mettle in the struggle of world-wide dimensions and in the everyday fight. From the colonially oppressed women of Algeria, to the Women of China, making the "Big Leap" — from the women of the USSR, helping to lay the foundations of Communism to the women of France fighting against DeGaulle's fascism — women stand in the barricades of struggle. On this International Women's Day we pledge our all to the fight for the full equality of women and to bring about that system which will guarantee it.

Ann Lewis & Jim Bary

THE MARXIST-LENINIST

VANGUARD

"Without a Revolutionary Theory

There can be no Revolutionary Practice!"



Vol. II - No. 3



Price 10 Cents

March, 1959

POC Greetings to XXI Congress

Communism Is The Future!

The Provisional Committee for the Reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States extends warmest fraternal greetings to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we working class American Communists, Negro and white, salute the glorious CPSU whose theoretical clarity, indissoluble ties with the toiling masses, and heroic devotion first made possible the deformation of socialism from an idea, into living, invincible reality.

The October Revolution was the dawn of peace for a world ravaged by imperialist war. The unmatched sacrifice and struggle of the Soviet people led by the CPSU struck the main blow against the fascist enemy in World War II and kept war from our American shores.

We hail the fact that today, a socialist world of a billion people forges ahead in unshakable unity, led by the Soviet Union. The Communist Parties of these socialist countries in November, 1957 summarized the present stage of the world struggle for Socialism, Peace, Democracy, National Liberation and the economic security of the people — in the historic Marxist-Leninist 12-Party Declaration.

American Communists are

especially indebted to the assistance of the international Communist movement and first of all to the CPSU. This comradely assistance enabled American Communists to expose the opportunist theories of "American-exceptionalism" advanced by the leadership of the American Communist Party headed by Lovestone and again by Browder. We American Communists are beneficiaries of the fraternal theoretical help of the CPSU which made possible a scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the true nature of the Negro Question in the United States as that of an oppressed nation and national minority. True Marxist-Leninists in our country are again responding to the leadership of the international movement. We take our stand on the unqualified endorsement of the 12-Party Declaration in the struggle against revisionism.

Today when our working class is beginning to feel and resist the burdens of the growing economic recession, when the Negro People are being subjected to increasing repression and determinedly struggling for their rights and freedom; when our people are beginning to see through the curtain of lies and pro-war moves of the State Department, and when in our hemisphere the colonial people

of Latin America are in a revolutionary upsurge for national liberation, our working class finds itself without a revolutionary vanguard. Our once heroic Communist Party has been run around into the reef of opportunism by a revisionist-conciliatorist cabal which has:

1. Refused to endorse the 12-Party Declaration
2. Rejected the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat
3. Abolished the vanguard role of the Party
4. Rejected the duty of proletarian internationalism
5. Eliminated the Leninist principles of Party organization

As a result of these ideological, theoretical and organizational betrayals of Marxism-Leninism, our Party was split by the present leadership when it embarked on a course of expelling the most consistent Marxist-Leninist forces, while coddling and tolerating the open revisionist, anti-Soviet elements in the Party.

The Party's 2,000 odd members (to which it has been reduced, as a result of said revisionist policies) lie in a state of total political stagnation and demoralization. As late as June (Continued on page 4)

Help Stop Frameup!

The United States Government, in the tradition of capitalist "justice" typified by the Sacco-Vanzetti, Rosenberg, and Sobell frame-ups, is demanding the liberty and possibly the lives of three writers, John and Sylvia Powell, and Julian Schuman.

Schuman and the Powells, as editors of the American magazine "New China Review", were indicted in 1956 on charges of "sedition" based on articles which they printed, exposing the war-like policies of the United States in the Far-East; they reported Korean and Chinese charges of germ-warfare by the United States aggressive forces in Korea. When in January 1959 the prosecution case collapsed in a mistrial, the government began new proceedings to indict them for "treason".

The continuing persecution of these writers signifies the desperation of the American ruling circles to maintain an atmosphere of continuous war hysteria. They try to suppress the true facts of American aggression abroad by persecutions and intimidations.

Only immediate mass protests can abort this new chapter in the infamous history of American ruling class frame-up "justice". We urge a flood of letters to Attorney-General Rogers in Washington, D. C., demanding the dismissal of all charges. We urge financial support to the Powell-Schuman Defense Committee, Box 1808, San Francisco, Calif.

Make all checks and money orders payable to ARMANDO ROMAN.

III — The "Official Theory" and "The Opposition"

The official line of the bourgeoisie, as advanced in the President's 1959 Economic Report (p. 133) is that "... the recession may now be regarded as having ended in April (1958)." At the same time, the line of the "back-benchers" and of some of the "opposition" may be said to be "Yes, but the recession was ended by increasing government expenditures."

The one line is worthy of the other: For, on the one hand, the recession is not over; and, on the other hand, government spending cannot (contrary to Keynes) suspend the law governing the cyclic motion of capitalist economy.

The government economists speak of a few "weakspots," such as "employment, investment, capacity utilization and a number of other factors." They cite the hoped for "high consumer spending," "the resumption of rising business expenditures for plant and equipment," and "a further slowing down in the rate of inventory liquidation and then a resumption of inventory build-up." On this basis they assure us that "the economy is now in the full swing of economic recovery." (Government economists' views cited in New York Times, November 16, 1958.)

Rag-Tag "Theory" for Bob-Tail "Facts"

As far as the theory of political economy is concerned, the view of the government economists, as set forth in the President's Economic Report, may be summarized as follows:

"Inherent features of our economy" which (they contend) brought about a "good recovery" were

- a) "our free competitive institutions of saving, banking and finance";
- b) "the character of our people" as expressed in:
 - i) "their industry and resourcefulness"
 - ii) "their capacity to take a confident and balanced view of the Nation's economic prospects";
- c) "long-term structural change in our economy such as:
 - i) "the increased proportion of American workers being employed in industries and occupations not readily affected by economic downturns"
 - ii) "the business practices of long-term planning for the enlargement of operations."

In addition to such "inherent features," the government cites the "recession-resisting" effects of such elements of "our economy" as

- d) unemployment compensation payments

- e) the system of graduated personal income taxes.

Having drummed up such a bob-tailed array of one-sided "facts" (which we discussed in last month's installment) the government economists have with perfect consistency, generalized their "facts" with a rag-tag "theory."

Points "a," "b" and "c" were just as "inherent" in our economy in 1929 as they are in 1959. The only differences are that there have been

- a) a vast growth of monopoly domination of industry and finance; and
- b) the emergence of American imperialism as 'leader of the free world' and the corresponding development of state monopoly capitalism, which more and more directly subordinates the government to the interests of a handful of large corporations;
- c) a steady increase of economic parasitism, including non-productive economic activities.

If the inherent qualities of American imperialism could not prevent the depression of the 1930's, then the extended development of these same inherent qualities cannot be cited as a guarantee of the ability of "our" economy to "resist contractive pressures."

As for points "d" and "e" it is

of undeniable historical interest that a President, who so faithfully incarnates the spirit of Herbert Hoover, finds it proper today to boast of unemployment insurance and the graduated personal income tax as "recession-resisting factors of our competitive economy." It is well known that it was radical workers, Socialist and Communist, and liberal bourgeois "egg-heads" (as they are contemptuously called by the reactionaries) — it was these whose agitation and struggles are responsible for the passage of these measures. On the other hand, it was the spiritual forefathers of our current government economists who decades ago swore before God that the graduated income tax and unemployment insurance would destroy "free enterprise."

As comforting as such observations may be, however, it would be a mistake to think that these measures — aimed at taking from the rich and giving to the poor — could promote the cyclical recovery of capitalist profit-making. If proof of this is wanted, it is sufficient to note that the bourgeoisie (liberal and reactionary) are pursuing today the policy of reducing unemployment compensation (through liquidating the emergency federal payments for extending state benefits 13 weeks) and of shifting the tax burden even further than it has been already from the rich to the backs of the working people.

(Continued on page 2)

The Economic Situation

The Economic Situation

But the most significant aspect of the theory of the Economic Report is its consistent adherence to the theme that government spending is a secondary and non-essential factor in the current economic picture.

The significance of this theme in the President's Report lies in the following:

1) It tends to conceal the extreme development of state monopoly capitalism and economic parasitism which characterize American imperialism today.

2) It serves to enhance (by contrast) the "opposition" pose of Keynesians of all kinds, the reformists and revisionists whose common denominator is the belief in the ability of the government to control the economic cycle.

Serious Theoretical Challenge

Within the ranks of monopoly capital, however, there are those who sharply emphasize the question of government spending because they are worried over the inflationary effect that increased deficits may have upon money-capital. These, the "fiscal conservatives," stress the very factor which the Economic Report underplays, the effect of government spending on the economic situation in 1958. We cite two examples:

Speaking of the first-to-third-quarter rise in gross national product, the business investment advisory organ *Moody's Stock Survey*, October 20, 1958, stated: "The entire rise . . . could be accounted for by government spending." It showed that while during that period the annual rate of gross national product rose by only \$14 billion, the Treasury rate of spending increased by \$16.7 billion. (Cited in *Labor Research Association Economic Notes*, November, 1958.)

The August issue of the *New York Federal Reserve Bank Review* opined that "much of the explanation" of "the favorable turn of events . . . is to be found in the massive support provided by the Government sector. . . . Within nine months, the Review declared . . . the Government sector turned from a net saver with a \$3 billion annual surplus to a net spender with a deficit of \$12.5 billion."

The same theme is stressed from another quarter. The "socialist-minded" *National Guardian*, (Jan. 12, 1959) carried an article by the well-known and respected economist, Victor Perlo, calling "military spending key to economic upturn."

In insisting upon the decisive importance of increased government spending in 1958 economic developments, these writers are absolutely correct.

But when the fiscal conservatives or even the "socialist-minded" conclude that this increased government spending has produced a cyclical recovery — then we part company with them.

We believe that the well-known Marxist-Leninist economist Eugene Varga was correct in his comment on this question:

"What can anticrisis measures of the United States government contribute toward overcoming the crisis?"

"It would be incorrect to say that government measures cannot exercise any influence on the crisis. But it would be even less correct to say that such measures can stop the deepening of the crisis." (*Problem of the Post-War Industrial Cycle and the New Crisis of Overproduction*, by Eugene Varga, June 1958, p. 21.)

The "recovery-by-government-spending" argument represents an inescapable challenge to Marxism on the ideological front. This is a more serious problem than that posed by the falsified official press releases. It has been made

more serious yet by the cumulative effect of revisionism and conciliationism in the field of political economy as practiced by the leadership of the old CPUSA. Yet, it must be tackled by Marxists or else the defense of not only the Marxist theory of economic crisis, but of political economy in general becomes impossible. Marxist-Leninists must take up this challenge for the alternative is surrender to Keynesism, the theory of "balanced economic growth" through monopoly capitalist state intervention in the economy.

Legislation Bills vs. Economic Laws

For that reason we are forced to take issue with the theoretical line advanced explicitly and implicitly in the Perlo article in regard to the current economic situation.

Perlo begins his article by saying:

"Last March I wrote that the decline then under way was a real crisis of overproduction. That was correct. . . . I wrote that hard times would last for two or three years. That holds up (remains true—ed.) for workers."

"But," he continues, "I expected the downturn to last longer and wrote that it would be followed by a depression, with output staying at or near the low point. That was inaccurate."

Instead, he states, the economy emerged from the crisis of overproduction and entered the recovery phase, without a period of stagnation (depression.) This is not, he emphasizes, a mere fluctuation in the context of a general decline, declaring that "The recovery went beyond the bounds of a pause on the way down." The recovery he explains thus: "Military spending and action was the key to the recovery."

One is compelled to conclude that Perlo is advancing the following theoretical propositions:

- 1) that laws made by legislative enactment can supersede economic laws of development;
- 2) that a capitalist cyclical crisis can be cut short and turned into a recovery simply by the will of the bourgeoisie;
- 3) that the U.S. bourgeoisie has found a way of eliminating the stagnation phase of the economic cycle.

Before going into the theoretical polemics, however, let us raise another question, though briefly. Let us assume that Perlo is right, for the moment. Then what is to be the situation for the next year or two? Profits for the companies will go up. Government spending for armaments will be high since this is "the key to the recovery." But there will be "two or three years hard times for the workers" (this part of his prediction Perlo says remains valid.)

The obvious question in contemplating such a prospect is: What makes Perlo think the workers will submit to such a situation? Yet, on the other hand, if they do not submit, the entire perspective suggested by Perlo vanishes in air. In short, if one seeks to substitute the program of the capitalist class for objective economic laws — then he must be prepared to allow equal status to the program of the working class. This seems scarcely to enter into Perlo's picture of things, except in a few concluding vague rhetorical questions in his article.

But the guiding theoretical principle is this: Economic laws operate independently of the will of either capitalists or workers. It is impossible to supersede these laws with "programs" — government arms spending programs

being no exception. Perlo's theme from beginning to end is precisely the contrary: That the program of military spending is all-decisive, not only for the past year but also for the future. He cites three possible prospects for future economic developments, each one of which depends upon the decision of the bourgeoisie:

- 1) "Should the free-spenders win out, a more feverish semi-prosperity is in prospect. . . ."
- 2) "Should the fiscal conservatives get the upper hand, declining tendencies will soon reassert themselves. . . ."
- 3) "With a compromise in policy (our emphasis — ed.), the life expectancy of the recovery will not be very long, and its chances of reaching a new peak not very good."

As between prosperity — even a "feverish semi-prosperity" — and an economic crisis, who would hesitate? Perlo does warn that such a prosperity "would not prevent another crisis of overproduction within a few years." But is that not what Perlo said we had last March? If "military spending" pulled the economy out of a crisis of overproduction in 1958 (which is Perlo's theme), then why can it not do it the next time, with the cost being paid, if necessary, out of the accumulations of the intervening "semi-prosperity"?

If the question of a depression now or a depression later, were merely a matter of a choice of policy of the bourgeoisie, then no capitalist — whose competitive life depends upon the not rapid turnover of his capital — would lose a second from the mad drive for present profits in worrying about tomorrow's possible crisis.

Yet, such is the very implication of Perlo's counter-posing of the line of the "free-spenders" to that of the "fiscal conservatives." To say that the differences between these two groups is rooted in their opposing views regarding the dangers of inflation — so much is correct. But to attempt to project this further as a controversy among capitalists over whether to have an economic crisis 'soon' or "within a few years" — such a theory is alien to the Marxist science of political economy — and to any other brand of sound logic.

Fiscal Conservatives

Furthermore, it is a most serious and potentially harmful error to imply, as Perlo does, (or at least to give grounds for the inference), that "the war danger will increase" only if the "free-spenders" win out in the policy argument among the monopolists. Their "family-quarrel" with the fiscal conservatives are merely differences over the policy of deficit financing vs. pay-as-you-go; or, inflation vs. "sound money". The following quotation from the *Wall Street Journal*, one of the most eminent spokesmen of the fiscal conservatives, illustrates this point perfectly: "Many people think the increase (in government spending — Ed.) comes from increased spending for defense. . . . But certainly it is not correct — or honest — to blame increased defense spending for bigger and bigger budgets". — Editorial, Nov. 11, 1958).

The editorial identifies the fiscal culprits as federal expenditures for "labor and welfare", education, veterans, farmers, etc. Is that not almost exactly the line of the newly proposed Eisenhower budget?

It is wrong to advance a thesis whose logic would lead the peace movement to expect to find allies

(Continued on page 4)

National Committee Meets in Cleveland

The Second Plenum of the Provisional Organizing Committee took place at Cleveland on the weekend of February 21st and 22nd. This enlarged meeting of the National Committee of the POC had representatives from many areas in the East and the mid-West. Overflowing enthusiasm greeted the main political report delivered by Armando Roman.

Comrade Roman's report started with an analysis of the international situation and the great historical significance of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"World imperialism has entered the period of its death agony, while the Socialist sectors of the world with the Soviet Union in the lead marches triumphantly to its undeviating goal of world Socialism and Communism", he said, in summarizing.

The report then traced the achievements of the different state areas in implementing and developing the line and the decisions of the 1st Plenum, which took place in New York City last November. The main purpose of the November Plenum he stated, was to consolidate the organization and movement of the POC.

Roman then set forth the tasks ahead which he characterized as the "necessary phase of expansion and growth". The reporter clearly pointed out that not only will the existing membership of the "old Party" begin to see through the demagoguery of the corrupt leadership, but also that the lack of a "Party" line of

struggle practically leaves all fields open to us.

This growth and expansion will be determined by the degree to which we can attain full clarity on the need for the "outward motion into struggle" which should be the main slogan of this period.

The main political report was followed by a report by A. Marino on the status and growth of "Vanguard". Comrade Marino reported increasing tempo of growth as expressed in the number of subscriptions that are coming in from every corner of the United States. Letters of solidarity and agreement with the line of the "Vanguard", and the requests for the material published by the organization testify to the growing influence of the POC.

After the reports by Comrades Roman and Marino the different areas reported on their day-to-day work. This was indeed a heartening experience. Area after area spoke of their activities, meetings recruiting, collection of funds, etc. All areas exuded optimism and confidence as they spoke modestly, yet proudly, of the ascending curve of their organization and their political activities.

Comradely challenges to socialist competition were projected and accepted by some areas.

After the area report session, the general discussion ensued. The richness of the discussion was another tribute to the maturity of the POC movement.

(Continued on page 4)

Literature of the POC

Against Opportunism

The first document issued by the Marxist Leninist Caucus in the C.P. 35c

For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question

A devastating polemic against the C.P. present "line" on the Negro Question and a defense of the concept of a Negro Nation 35c

And the right of self determination of the Negro people in the Black Belt.

Two Roads

A comparison between the line of the International Communist Movement and the policies adopted at the 16th NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY 35c

Resolution on the Jewish Question

Adopted at the August 16-17th Conference which launched the POC 15c

Marxism or Revisionism

Main report delivered at the August Conference.

Marxism, Humanism and Hyman Levy

A review of H. Levy's book: Jews and the National Question by a leading Israeli Communist 35c

By Meir Vilner

On the Question of Youth. . .

Report of a teen-age member to the August Conference 10c

Massacre in S. Vietnam Camp Denounced By Ambassador

The massacre in Phu-Loi, South Vietnam, is the most barbaric political crime of recent times, the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam told a Prague press conference on January 29th.

The mass murder in the Phu-Loi concentration camp, which lies 33 kilometers from the South Vietnam capital of, Saigon and covers an area of 120 hectares, and which in June, 1958, housed 6,000 prisoners, occurred on December 1st of last year, when the inmates were given a ration of poisoned rice. On that day 1,000 prisoners died and the rest were close to death.

In agony, the prisoners called for help, and some of them succeeded in climbing onto the roofs of the barracks to attract the attention of the local inhabitants. The guards answered the appeal by opening fire, which resulted in additional deaths. To disguise the cause of the uproar, which residents in the neighborhood heard, the guards set fire to several of the barracks.

The local citizens were aroused, nonetheless, and their spontaneous protest on behalf of the prisoners was brutally suppressed by the Ngo-dinh-Diem police.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam immediately made representations to the International Inspection and Control Commission in Hanoi and asked for an investigation. Premier Ngo-dinh-Diem, in an effort to disguise the traces of the massacre, had the report circulated that cholera had broken out in the camp. To make investigation more difficult, the pris-

oners who survived were moved to another camp, and the Phu-Loi camp was filled with other prisoners.

Asked why such camps exist at all, the Ambassador replied that they are part of the campaign of repression by the South Vietnam authorities who, at the instigation of the United States, arrest everyone who expresses dissatisfaction with the present situation in South Vietnam, who is suspected of anti-American feelings, or who demands a change in South Vietnam policy.

Every such manifestation is taken as proof of "communist thinking" and ruthlessly prosecuted. The camps contain not only men, but women and children from all strata of the population. The prisoners are tortured daily and their food is a handful of rice and a little warm water.

The Association of Czechoslovak Lawyers has sent the International Commission in Hanoi a telegram of protest condemning the mass murder of the prisoners in the Phu-Loi camp. This murder, says the protest, which recalls the criminal methods of the nazis, is a gross violation of the most fundamental principle of international law.

Reprinted from Prague-Newsletter

NOTICE

Contributors to Vanguard are urged to mail in all materials for the April issue by March 20th.

THE DEADLINE IS MARCH 23rd.

Twenty Years

By JUANITA DIAZ

20 years was the prison sentence meted out to Lorenco's Pena recently by a Franco court.

Pena, a Basque, who was weaned in the workers struggles for a decent life, took up arms immediately when the Spanish Republic was attacked by the Franco hordes — this was in Bilbao in 1936. In 1938 after Bilbao had fallen) Pena fought in Asturias, and upon receiving orders from the Spanish Government, Lorenco's Pena made his way through enemy territory into Loyalist Catalonia. As a captain in the Carabineros, he fought the Franco

armies until with his unit he was ordered to march into France.

Pena lived for the day when he would be able to get back into the struggle in Spain. Freed from the French concentration camp, he went to Santo Domingo and then to the United States where, with no knowledge of the language, he joined the U.S. army. He was in the Pacific campaign with the 3rd regiment of the 77th division, won two citations and a Purple heart. Honorably discharged as a sergeant Pena came to New York to continue the struggle.

I worked closely for over four years with Pena in the day to day

activities of exposing Spanish fascism and U.S. collaboration with the enemy of the Spanish people; Pena was a tireless fighter in this struggle.

When Lorenco disappeared from the scene in New York, I knew he had not abandoned the fight against Franco fascism. Then came the news of Pena's arrest and sentence in Spain.

Pena is a living symbol of the Spanish people interned in one big concentration camp. The American people must raise their voice in angry protest demanding that the U.S. State Department intervene in freeing a man who fought for American freedom.

In the Struggle

by A. MARINO

"Laureates" of the Empty Phrase.

Life has a funny way of asserting itself. Try as he may, the faker can not hide his deceit, and sooner or later it begins to show. Our experiences in the struggle to reconstitute a real fighting Communist Party provides many examples of this.

Some are humorous, others tragic, and many just plain criminal.

We refer particularly to the plight of "The Worker" and "The Peoples World". These publications, heroic and glorious in the past in the field of battle against the class enemy, have changed. They just ain't what they used to be. Both weeklies, because of their politically wishy-washy, line have been reduced to pseudo-marxist demagogy, bourgeois sentimental drivel, and daydreams that have no basis in reality.

For a lesson on masterful demagogy, one need only follow some of Dennis' phony polemics "against" Tito Revisionism or Weinstones' "two-front war" articles "against" Revisionism and Dogmatism; if one be still unconvinced, read some of the official Party declarations that are printed in "The Worker" or the "Peoples World". You can't help but notice the long winded programs that have little or nothing to say and any one of which could be found in any of a dozen other non-Marxist organizations.

As for the bourgeois sentimental drivel, one need only read Colons' (The Worker) dissertations on the art of reading in the bathtub, or Gurley Flynn's periodic excursions into the past, or of Mason Robersons' wandering in Golden Park watching the cherry blossoms bloom, to realize that here are writers with little or nothing political to say.

As for the daydreaming, follow some of the fantasies spun by Mike Gold on the future election of Harry Bridges as president of the United States, and you'll get the idea of what is happening to these once militant publications.

Many rank and file Communists who admit to the Party's illness and the bankruptcy of its leadership, live in the hope that the old Party will "straighten itself out." They have resorted to placing their chips on individuals, (now that the "line" stands so thoroughly exposed), yet all indications are that these individuals, who are supposed to put the Party back on the correct path, have become willing prisoners of the party's class-collaborationist line.

Take the case of the man who wrote "The Hollow Men" and "Jews Without Money". Here is a guy who was loved by us all for his contributions to proletarian literature. The only possible defense that some of his present day fantasies might have, would be that Mike is laying low and therefore avoiding coming into any head on clashes, with "Peaceful Transition", "The Anti-Monopoly Coalition" or any of the other empty phrases that make up the Party line.

Now some of our milquetoast allies, who claim agreement with us on principle and disagreement on "tactics", are demanding that we lay off attacking the Party or face the charge of being anti-party. To these people we must reply: "Comrades what you are asking us to do is remain silent witnesses to the greatest anti-party conspiracy in the history of the Communist movement in America. How can one be anti-Party if our Party has been scuttled? Therefore if you want to label us, then at least do it correctly. Say that we are anti-nothingness!

And to those who would defend the political nosedive taken by The Worker, The People World, and their writers, with a cry of "What is wrong with recalling our heroic past or dreaming of a better future?", we answer:

"Leninism holds that everything depends on the conditions, time, and place". In order to learn from the past, and forsee the future we must be able to understand and explain the present!

The Vanguard is striving to uphold the best traditions of the working class, and work for the future, by engaging in the class struggles of today, and upholding the most fundamental interests of our class!

SUBSCRIBE NOW — CONTRIBUTE NOW
THE VANGUARD

VANGUARD
Box 137
Planetarium Station
New York, New York

Make all checks and money orders payable to
ARMANDO ROMAN

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ ZONE _____

— ADMISSION FREE —

International Women's Day Celebration

NEW YORK POC

FRIENDS — MEMBERS — FAMILIES

meet to pay tribute to women the world over!

Separate children's program under adult supervision

Sunday, March 8, 1959
2 - 5 P. M.

Central Plaza Annex
40 E. 7th St. (2-3 Aves), N. Y. C.

The Economic Situation

among the "fiscal conservatives". Again, the question which divides the "free spenders" from the "fiscal conservatives" is not whether to spend for prosperity or to save. Rather it is merely how best to put the burden of the present and continuing recession on the shoulders of the masses, Negro and white, whether that be accomplished by the "indirect" method of inflation and more or less "hidden" tax increases; or by the "direct" method of wage-cuts and increased withholding taxes and sales taxes; or a combination of the two methods.

The "free spenders" cannot give the country prosperity, "semi" or otherwise. And, the "fiscal conservatives" will not reverse the cause of disarmament and peace, any more than the "free spenders" will.

IV — Marxist Theory Of Economic Cycle

We have thus far relied upon certain assertions about "economic laws of capitalist development", "phases of the economic cycle", and "the Marxist science of political economy". We have felt free to do so since the *Guardian* article also assumed a degree of familiarity with such concepts on the part of its readers: We hope by sounding such fundamental chords to arouse our readers to an awareness that what might appear to be subtle or insubstantial points of theoretical difference, in this instance, lead to irreconcilable differences over precisely those fundamental concepts. Now, however, we must prove that such is the present case and that our theory is sound while that of the *Guardian* article is wrong.

For that purpose we shall focus our attention on three key theoretical problems: 1) The current economic situation in relation to the Marxist theory of the capitalist economic cycle; 2) The effect of the general crisis of world capitalism on the economic cycle today; and 3) The effect of government spending on the economic cycle.

The economic laws of the capitalist process of production (or, more correctly, re-production, since it is constantly repeating itself) arise out of its basic identifying contradiction: Private appropriation (the exercise of the right of private property over newly-produced values) vs. socialized production (the development of a world-wide division of cooperative effort and an almost all-embracing system of exchange of activities among increasingly interdependent producers.) The reader can already see that capitalist appropriation necessarily contradicts the free development of the exchange of the activities of the producers.

The basic contradiction inevitably is manifested in the struggle between the two main classes which stand opposed to each other in the capitalist relation of production — the workers vs. the capitalists.

The basic contradiction is also manifested in the "anarchy" of production — the impossibility of planning social production.

— Profit-Making Only Capitalist Motive —

The "private appropriation"—profit-making — is the controlling, the all-dominant motive for the capitalists. That is the cause for their ceaseless hour-by-hour pressure on the life and labor of the working people of town and country. The workers unite to resist this regime of speed-up and chiseling. But the capitalist class turns not only the police, press, and pulpit against the workers, but the instruments of labor

themselves, against us. Automation is just the most recent development of this typical method of cutting the capitalist's wage bill increasing profits at the expense of wages. The capitalists fight against high wages by raising the productivity of labor.

The same profit motive drives the capitalists, individually and in rival groups, to an unrelenting internecine war of competition. The basic instrument of struggle here, again, is raising the productive power of labor through new instruments and techniques of production.

Under these conditions, production of goods grows much faster than the means for disposing of these goods (that is to say, at a profit to the capitalists). Under socialism, of course, production may grow faster than consumption, but since products are socially appropriated the excess products and capacity can easily be turned into the form of shorter hours, higher material standards of life, and improved cultural facilities. Any critical imbalance between production and consumption under socialism is made impossible by pre-planning on a nation-wide scale.

But under capitalism the bourgeoisie will have its right of profit though babes may starve for it. So, when periodically, capitalist production and productive capacity have grown too far beyond the market requirements for goods, then there is a crisis of production, of over-production. Orders are cut, workers are laid off, plants are shut down.

Marxism Rejects "Under-Consumptionism"

It is absolutely essential to remember what is fundamental — the contradiction between private appropriation and socialized production. The cause of the crisis is not primarily that the workers produce too much nor that they cannot "buy back" enough — these facts are secondary expressions of the fundamental contradiction.

"It is a pure tautology," wrote Marx, "to say that crisis are caused by the scarcity of solvent consumers, or of a paying consumption. The capitalist system does not know any other mode of consumption but a paying one, except that of the pauper or of the 'thief'. If any commodities are unsaleable it means that no solvent purchasers have been found for them, in other words, consumers . . . But if one were to attempt to clothe this tautology with a semblance of a profounder justification by saying that the working class receive too small a portion of their own product, and the evil would be remedied by giving them a larger share of it, or raising their wages, we should reply that crisis are precisely always preceded by a period in which wages rise generally and the working class actually get a larger share of the annual product intended for consumption." (*Capital*, Volume II, pp. 475-76).

If we keep in mind this key point of Marxist theory, we shall be able to contend successfully with the reformist crisis theories of "Underconsumption" and "disproportionality".

The economic crisis performs the function of checking the previous trend — the crisis cuts consumption, true, but it cuts production, productive capacity and stocks of products physically and in terms of prices even faster than it cuts consumption. All of this helps to close the gap between production and consumption but it still leaves the absolute level of the market at the same low point.

Depression — the Stagnation Phase

Under such conditions a period

of low-level production and consumption sets in — a period of stagnation or "depression". Consumption approximates production, but the scale is low.

Since in a depression mass consumption reaches its lowest level, how is the market rejuvenated? How is demand made to pick up and to run ahead of supply? Obviously it must be done by some means which puts a very large amount of values in the form of money into circulation without an equal, or greater amount of commodities appearing at the same time. But how?

First, since only the capitalists have "very large amount of money" it must be they who put it into circulation. Second, since only "long-term" investments in fixed capital (plant, machinery, equipment) have the effect of putting large amounts of money into circulation without bringing almost immediately corresponding amounts of commodities into the market, the necessity for the renewal of fixed capital becomes the turning point from depression (stagnation) to economic recovery.

Of course, the need to buy new plant, machinery, etc., occurs all the time, at all phases of the economic cycle. But the crisis and depression cause a postponement of these expenditures (as much as possible). Finally, the old equipment, by being worn out or superseded by new invention, becomes economically more costly to profit than replacement would be.

Then, a certain "pent-up" demand for heavy capital goods is released at once, the period of crisis and stagnation is over, and the period of recovery and, possibly, new boom prosperity, is begun.

"...this cycle", wrote Marx speaking of the life-cycle of fixed capital, "comprising a number of years, through which capital is compelled to pass by its fixed part, furnishes a material basis for the periodical commercial crises in which business goes through successive periods of lassitude, average activity, over-spending and crisis. . . a crisis is always the starting point of a large amount of new investment. Therefore, it also constitutes, from the point of view of society, more or less of a new material basis for the next cycle of turnover." (*Capital*, Vol. II, Chapter 9, p. 211).

It was Marx, as we know, who made the definitive study of the laws of capitalist production, including the true nature and the significance of the category called fixed capital. But the key significance of the renewal of fixed capital in the determination of the periodicity of the economic cycle — this is generally recognized if not fully comprehended by bourgeois political economy.

On the basis of this capsule review of the Marxist theory of economic crisis, we return to our argument and pose the following question: Can the development of the United States economy during the last eight months of 1958 be characterized as a cyclical recovery?

The bourgeoisie, in all its parts, answer "Yes." The *National Guardian* answers "Yes". The leadership of the old CPUSA in its typical way speaks out of both sides of the mouth, calling it "a partial recovery" which "promises to be a more or less extended period of depression." (Hyman Lumer, *Political Affairs*, January, 1959).

We answer "No." It is even possible that the crisis has not hit bottom; production could go even lower in 1959, of course, a cyclical recovery will eventually and inevitably occur; but that time is not yet. The stagnation phase of the cycle has yet to play its role.

How is the Marxist theory of the economic cycle confirmed by

New York POC Meeting Big Success!

Well over one hundred people gathered in Estonian Hall to hear P. O. C. speakers define their position on The Negro question in the U. S. A., and the Puerto Rican question. Guest speaker of the evening and one who evoked enthusiastic applause from the audience was Pelegrin Garcia, a young Puerto Rican who served as a Captain in the Cuban Revolutionary Forces. Garcia spoke of his experiences in that struggle, and warned against the dangers confronting the Revolution in Cuba.

Armando Roman, General Secretary of the P. O. C., spoke on the importance of the National Question in the struggle against American Imperialism. He upheld the Marxist-Leninist concept of the Negro Nation in the Balk Belt, and exposed the reasons behind the abandonment by the CP leadership of this fundamental concept. He went on to define the Marxist-Leninist position on nationhood and national minorities. The audience listened with serious attention, and indicated approval by its applause.

Joe Dougher, organizational secretary of the POC spoke on the struggles of the Puerto Rican people for national independence, and of the struggles that led to the formation of the POC. Describing a meeting held by the CP just a few days before, attended by 38 people in a hall that holds well over six hundred, he referred to the more than one hundred people in attendance and to the outstanding composition, Negro, white, and Puerto Rican, at this meeting.

A young Puerto Rican, fighter for Cuban and Puerto Rican In-

dependence. Pelegrin Garcia, topped off the evening with a fighting speech in Spanish which was simultaneously translated into English. Garcia, who served as a captain in the Cuban Revolutionary forces, gave a detailed account of his acquaintance with Fidel Castro. He expressed his admiration for Castro and compared him with Cuba's hero Jose Marti. He spoke of the historic struggle for freedom waged jointly by the Cuban and the Puerto Rican people, and urged Castro to uphold the ideals of Marti, which envisioned the liberation of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Garcia went on to caution Castro against the agent of American imperialism, Luis Munoz Marin, the governor of Puerto Rico, who has "be-friended" the Cuban Revolution, the better to betray it. He pointed out that if the Cuban Revolution was to succeed it must solve fundamental questions.

These were enumerated as follows:

1. The removal of American Bases in Guantanamo.
2. The problem of land reform and nationalization.
3. The role of the workers and peasants in Cuban life.
4. The attitude of the Castro Government towards other colonies of American imperialism, especially Puerto Rico.

A most interesting part of Pelegrin Garcia's speech was his attitude towards Communists, who he welcomed into the liberation struggles of the Puerto Rican nation, and whom he would defend in spite of his different "ideology".

Garcia was given a standing ovation at the termination of his speech and the meeting adjourned amidst great enthusiasm!

Communism Is The Future!

(Continued from page 1)

1958 in the National Committee, two resolutions were introduced condemning the revolutionary justice meted out to the traitors, Nagy and Maléter. The first resolution openly condemning the Soviet Union and the Kadar Government, was introduced by Dorothy Healy and Steve Nelson. The second, while more covert and concealed, but with the same purpose and content was introduced by Gerson and Richmond. This leadership, whose anti-Soviet "neutrality" was expressed in the infamous resolution adopted in November of 1956 at the time of the Hungarian counter-revolution saying that "we neither condone nor condemn the action of the Soviet Union in Hungary," who expell honest workers from the Party for exposing these anti-working class policies, and who have never expelled or acted against a single right revisionist wreckers, stand on the American political scene exposed as another variant of Social-Democracy and parrot the Titoite, revisionist line.

We send this greeting in the name of those Negro and white and Puerto Rican workers and intellectuals who are struggling to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States.

We are confident that the cause

current economic developments in U. S. industry? How does it shed light on the future? What are the effects of the general crisis of world capitalism and of government spending on the development of the current economic cycle? These questions will be discussed in next month's issue of *The Vanguard*.

of Marxist-Leninism will triumph and that a new, united Marxist-Leninist Party will emerge in our country again inspired by the example of the glorious Bolsheviks whom we salute on the occasion of their 21st Congress. Long live the CPSU! Long live Marxism-Leninism! Long live the solidarity of the international working class!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

On political concepts, on concrete questions of struggle, on general line or on mass line, the speakers made contributions which, flowing from the reports, succeeded in developing and concretizing them.

One of the leading members of the Ohio delegation spoke about the falsities spread by the Krichmarek, Chauncey and Company in their efforts to rationalize the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Negro Party members have gone over to the POC. The speaker exposed the lying rationale used in the expulsion of the leading Negro Communists in Cleveland, Comrade A. Kilpatrick, a member of the POC and a member of its National Committee.

The gathering represented another milestone in the road towards the creation of a real Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S.A.

Vanguard

Box 137

New York City

Published by the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.
A. Marino Editor