

## The POC, One Year Old, Champions Marxism-Leninism

On the seventeenth of this month the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party — the "POC" — will be one year old.

This fact has two sides: its primary and positive aspect, and its secondary and negative aspect. On the one hand, the POC has not only survived external attacks and internal disruption attempts, but has consolidated and expanded the scope of the organization and entered upon a program of practical mass work.

On the other hand, our very existence in our present organizational form testifies to the fact that our main aim is yet unrealized, that a Marxist Leninist Communist Party has not yet been reconstituted in our country. For when that task is accomplished, the POC will immediately cease to exist.

Yet, — and this is the most important thing — an examination of both aspects of this first anniversary points to one conclusion:

**THIS PAST YEAR OF STRUGGLE FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN OUR COUNTRY HAS VINDICATED EVERY MAJOR POLITICAL AND THEORETICAL ANALYSIS AND DECISION MADE BY THE POC!**

1) We rejected the revisionist-conciliatorist line of the 16th National Convention of the old Communist Party of the U.S.A.

The leadership of the old Party cried "Unity! It's wonderful!" as they concocted their unprincipled deals among their various factions. But that "unity" has had a peculiar characteristic: it is a unity which embraces a steadily diminishing, disoriented, dispirited, disorganized group.

Were we correct or not in spurning the advice of the "Left"-conciliators to be content with the line of the 16th Convention as "the best we could get"? Today the answer is clear: The "best they could get" turned out to be a party which after two-and-a-half years has no national program, no national daily newspaper, and hardly enough strength to face the prospect of a 17th Convention, already long past its constitutional due-date.

Who have proved to be the real anti-Party forces? Those who have ruined it with opportunist abandonment of Marxism-Leninism? Or those who with growing strength are resurrecting it (though outside the old shell) on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice?

At the same time, we have pointed out from the very beginning that the 16th Convention could not be correctly viewed as a momen-

tary aberration, but rather, that it was a culmination of a resurgence of an old and deep-rooted revisionist influence among the leadership of the American Party. And, from the beginning we declared that the struggle for a Marxist-Leninist Party would be a long one; there was to be no quick and easy overnight correction.

2) We not only endorsed the 12-Party Declaration, but we made it our platform for struggle against the line of the old Party leadership and its revisionist-conciliatorist 16th Convention line.

Among the old Party leadership there are those who openly reject the 12-Party Declaration. There are others who seek to cover up their rejection of it by evasion, pretending it is just a subject for "study". On the other hand, as everybody knows, the international Communist movement regards the 12-Party Declaration as its guiding program.

Who, then have acted as real Communists? Those who, like the old Party leaders, reject or minimize the Declaration? Or those in the POC, who not only endorse it, but apply it every day in the struggles for peace, the peoples welfare, national liberation for the Negro people, for democratic rights and for socialism — and in the struggle against opportunism, particularly its main form, revisionism.

At the same time, we have pointed out from the very beginning that what is involved in the endorsement of the Declaration is no mere formality. Rather, the principles put forth in that historic statement of the international Communist movement are firmly rooted in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, including forty years of the actual building of socialism. On the other hand, the line of the 16th Convention, as is historically the case with opportunism, is rooted in the class interests of the bourgeoisie. The two cannot be reconciled, that is why a whole epoch in the history of the American Party is destined to turn upon what might appear to some to be a mere formality — the endorsement of the 12-Party Declaration.

3) Under the threat of expulsion, we broke with the old organization rather than abandon the uncompromising struggle for Marxism-Leninism; we organized ourselves as a Provisional Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in our country.

Some among the old Party leadership boasted that they would soon dispose of us. "We will shut off a few heads by expulsion", they said, and the others will shut up and 'be good.'" Others offered as friendly advice the thought that we must avoid expulsion at any cost. They argued that the struggle could still and could only be fought out within the old Party organization.

Well, — and did the old leadership succeed in its attempt to dispose of principled questions by head-chopping? People who shrink from battle with the bourgeoisie should not look for easy victories over those who are determined to fight for Marxism-

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### Part VII

## The Economic Situation

### The Crisis of Keynesian Policy

Having erroneously identified inflation as a general rise in prices, Monthly Review (Nov. 1958) proceeds to "analyze" its cause along the following lines, (we have added certain comments in parenthesis):

"The prime mover of the inflationary process", says M.R., "is to be found in the concentrated basic industries . . . being monopolistic . . . they are in a position to set their own prices; their workers are relatively well organized; and they (the monopolies) are technologically progressive . . ." (while this is not the main point to be made here, we can not let this pass without comment: the monopolies do use advanced technical means but, as everyone knows, they use these in connection — especially in colonial areas — with the most backward production methods; and, they suppress advanced technical development without hesitation when their profit interests call for such action). "This combination of factors", M. R. continues, "is the source of our

current inflation. . . . The big corporations can afford to pay their workers better" (apparently the "little" ones can't). "Unfortunately, however, there is no way labor can 'get at' the huge profits that flow into the coffers of the corporate giants." (What are the steel companies so worried about then? Why don't they grant the thirty-hour week and be rid of all the aggravation?) ". . . the corporations make the minimum concessions . . . and then pass on the resulting higher costs to the rest of the economy in the form of higher prices. This enables the corporations to placate the union" (and you want to make a revolution!) ". . . without at the same time giving up any of their profits . . . these gains are won at the expense of the consumers" (where have we heard this before?) ". . . employers and employees in the concentrated industries collaborate to improve their own position relative to the rest of the economy" (apparently the masses should not look to the 'em-plo-

yers' of the trustified industries for leadership in the class struggles) ". . . this sets up strong inflationary pressure throughout the whole system . . . And the higher prices of the basic industries push up the costs and hence eventually the prices of all other sectors of the economy" (If "all other sectors of the economy" can secure higher prices simply because they have higher costs, then what happens to M. R.'s premise about this ability being the special privilege of the monopolies?) ". . . Faced with higher rising living costs, all workers have an additional reason of the strongest kind to fight for higher wages, and employers have less an less excuse for refusing." (Well, when the excuses run out, there are always the injunctions and the cops.) M.R. then winds up by charging that escalator clause wage agreements aggravate the inflationary trend because they have raised wages.

We have imposed upon the reader to quote at this great length because we were afraid that some might doubt that a magazine calling itself "socialist" would argue such an anti-union line. For, all workers will immediately recognize M.R.'s position as the same old "wage-price spiral" argument, in essence, that the ruling class has

been deluging the country with for some time now. It is essentially the same argument as that made by Citizen Weston, against which Marx polemicized in the historic "Value, Price and Profit." The basic answers to the "wage-price spiral" argument are there presented in Marx's devastating of the so-called "Iron Law of Wages".

### FALLACIES OF M. R.'s ANALYSIS

Look again at Table V. (Vanguard, July 1959). It is self-contained and consistent in the story it tells.

The price index is essential to it because it reconciles values and money supply: The volume of physical production multiplied by the index of price approximately equals the index of the money and credit supply. The fact that the latter slightly exceeds the former indicates a continuing inflationary pressure.

But, contrary to the view of M. R., this picture would not be affected in the least by showing what proportion of the prices were resolved into profits of capital and wages of labor. Varying the proportions would likely affect the proportions of the total

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# Hands Off Cuba!

American imperialism is finding out that the present world situation is full of pitfalls and threats of catastrophe to its system of exploitation and national oppression. But the thing that alarms it the most is the constant stirring in what Wall Street has considered for over 50 years as its "safe stamping ground", Latin America.

Not one single day passes without some action involving Latin America in some struggle for national liberation from the grasp of Yankee imperialism. Within the past three months there have been popular struggles in Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Argentina and in other places.

The volcano that is Latin America has one big crater at the present moment. That great revolutionary crater is Cuba. The American imperialists know that only too well. That is the reason why they have made an unprecedented mobilization of their ideologists, apologists and sundry agents in a frenzied effort to stem the tide of the Cuban revolution.

Back in the February '59 issue of "Vanguard", we warned of the danger of the counter-revolution which the American imperialists

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## Un-American Inquisition on Puerto Rico Liberation Movement

As this issue of Vanguard goes to press a new aspect of the arrogant assault upon Latin American liberation movement has been revealed in the mass subpoenae issued by the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee for the leaders and active supporters of the Puerto Rican National Liberation Movement.

The chauvinist arrogance of this action is matched by the irony of the whole proposition. Honest men and women are to be hounded and pilloried for being "un-American", when that is just precisely the point they have been making for years! All they ask is that this fact be recognized in the form of the granting of independence to Puerto Rico, its liberation from sixty-one years of U. S. "American" imperialist rule!

The timing of these hearings is also ironic. The week before was "Captive Nations Week". The following week is scheduled for the meeting of the meeting of the Organization of American States in Santiago, Chile. Surely some comment is in order for the Santiago meeting on the subject of the U. S. Congress and Puerto Rico, a Latin American nation which has really been a captive of American Sugar Imperialism for more than half a century.

The labor and progressive movement of the United States out of its years of bitter experience with the Un-American Committee and out of its obligation of solidarity with the victims of U. S. imperialist persecution must immediately denounce this attack upon the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement!

# New York POC Rounds Out First Year of Activity

The New York organization greets — on our first anniversary — the areas of the Provisional Organizing Committee throughout the nation.

The revisionists, reformists, conciliators and opportunists of all ilk have declared on numerous occasions the death of our movement — but here we are commemorating our first year of struggle.

August, 1959 finds the New York POC fully convinced as to the correctness of the line established by the August '58 Conference which was further implemented by the November '58 and February '59 National Plenums. For this line has been tested in our day-to-day struggles.

On two occasions during this historic period for our movement, the neo-conciliators attempted to strangle, through various divisive tactics, the life of the New York organization and in turn the entire movement for the reconstitution in this country of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. Both groups counted on classic splitting tactics to take with them, on their conciliationist-class betrayal road, the bulk of the membership. While there were minor defections, the overwhelming majority of the membership rallied behind their leadership and its correct political line expelling from our ranks those who would thwart the carrying out of the decisions of the August Conference.

As the Organizational Report given to the membership in New York (June, 1959) pointed out... "Our organization was born from struggles and in struggle—struggle within the CPUSA against the revisionist line and

policies of its leadership, and from its very birth has not for one single moment lived in any other atmosphere but one of struggle."

Examined in the light of the sharp glare of life, experience has taught us that we must constantly struggle for clarity and purity of the Marxist-Leninist line and for correct organizational concepts. For not only have we brought into our movement the baggage from the capitalist world in which we live, but also many erroneous concepts on political questions and methods of work borrowed from the incorrect political questions and methods of work borrowed from the incorrect methods of the bureaucratic leadership of the CPUSA.

We have many shortcomings — the key one being inexperience. For although most of us have been active Communists for many years, few ever "qualified" for leadership in the old C.P. But we have decided to push forward nonetheless — to learn from our daily activities, always using our revolutionary weapon of criticism and self-criticism in reviewing our work and planning our future activities.

During the period of December '58 to June '59 (seven months) the NYPOC has distributed 20,800 leaflets, dealing with the lynching of Mack Charles Parker; amnesty for political prisoners; the Cuban Revolution; May Day; housing; the hospital strike; the case of Morton Sobell, etc. Most of these leaflets were bilingual English-Spanish. During this period we have had more than a dozen distributions of "Vanguard" such as the Carnegie

Hall Meeting called by the Committee on Soviet-American Friendship; at CPUSA affairs; at the Union Square May Day meeting; at the Jackson meeting on his return from the Soviet Union, etc.

At this very moment (July 19th) a group of members are distributing 1,400 "Vanguards" at the Polo Ground meeting of the NAACP.

In distributing "Vanguard" we aim to reach a particular audience with a particular "free sample" of "Vanguard." In specific cases a special leaflet is issued. In the last three months we have been making an attempt to sell "Vanguard" at meetings and have had some success. One particular cadre sells "Vanguard" every month at the doors of a leading trade union in this City. "Vanguard" can be purchased in over one dozen newsstands in Manhattan.

Our distributions of "Vanguard" has taught us that the paper is beginning to have its impact; that it is getting to be known; that its political line is beginning to be accepted. On numerous occasions on leaflet distributions in working class areas, neighbors have stopped our comrades thanking them for being on the street with that particular message.

During this same time the NYPOC has had four special fund raising affairs for the organization and one for the paper of the Puerto Rican Communists, "Pueblo" ("The People"). We have organized an effective housing struggle in a great number of low-income (public) projects, and have aided in three cases of housing violations.

On the united front we participated in the Hunts Point Palace meeting called around the Palm Sunday Massacre by a Puerto Rican mass organization at which Comrade Kilpatrick, leader of the Ohio organization, spoke in the name of the POC; gave leadership and mobilized help for the striking hospital workers, including a mass picket line by Puerto Rican organizations at Mount Sinai Hospital on Sunday, June 7th. We have, together with the National leadership, given guidance and rallied support in the defense of Mrs. Jo Ann Santiago, whose husband, Jose Santiago, is a National Committee member of the POC.

During this period the New York POC fought for and pushed forward the "outward movement," work among the masses. To date four indoor public meetings have been held and one out-of-doors meeting, and we are holding an indoor meeting on peace on August 8th.

On the inner-POC educational front we have, as a permanent feature in our ideological work, continual classes. We have studied "The Communist Manifesto" — "Socialism — Utopian and Scientific" — "What is To Be Done" — "One Step Forward: Two Steps Back" — and are now studying "Left-Wing Communism." Both the Labor and Housing Committee have prepared and published documents, and collectively we are distributing the "Statements" on these two questions.

This has been a period of fruitful activity with rich experiences for the New York organization. It has strengthened us, and at the same time brought into the foreground the weaknesses to be fought against.

It has been during this period also, that the leadership of the NYPOC has found it necessary to reiterate the basic concepts of the POC; to spell out clearly for

# Chicago POC Hails First Anniversary

A year ago in August, the founding conference of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party was held. It was at this conference that Communists from major working class centers of the U.S. gathered, determined that the American working class and its allies must have a vanguard Leninist party in order to carry out its historical role; in order to rejoin the international working class movement. Out of that determination was born the embryo which set itself the task of urgently building the foundation of a real C.P. No longer would America continue with a revisionist-bureaucratic CPUSA leadership, devoid of any revolutionary theory or practice. With the P.O.C. was born its press, "The Vanguard," with its motto "Without a Revolutionary Theory There Can Be No Revolutionary Practice"

Fully endorsing and basing ourselves on the 12-Party Statement, and embracing and studying the great wealth of Marxist-Leninist theory; completely rejecting and exposing revisionism and conciliationism; the P.O.C., through many birth pangs, has not only consolidated itself ideologically and organizationally, but has grown nationally, and has taken its first steps, relatively giant steps, toward mass struggle. Our P.O.C. stretches now from coast to coast. We in Chicago are very happy to welcome the new comrades in California into the P.O.C. and we know this will mean a real growth of the P.O.C. on the west coast, and indeed strengthens us everywhere.

The Chicago comrades are proud and have been inspired by the wonderful mass activity of the comrades in N. Y. and other cities. We are also inspired by the reception given to our paper "Vanguard" nationally.

As part of this outward motion of the P.O.C., here in Chicago we have set the question of unemployment as one of our major concentration tasks. One of the first steps taken to carry out this concentration task was a recent distribution of our P.O.C. leaflet on the question of unemployment, at the Armour Pack-

all the duties and rights of membership; to call attention to certain laxness as well as rigidity in methods of work; to point out the need to tighten constantly our discipline and unity and the need for clarification and understanding of our line — the bulwark against all alien, anti-working class ideologies and tendencies.

Shortly we will emulate the excellent example of the Philadelphia organization. A group of young men and women have requested membership, and soon the NYPOC will set up a youth organization. Soon too, because of the contact work done, the New York membership will be increased by the admission of new members — more workers — male and female, Negro, Puerto Rican and white.

The coming period will be one of increased attacks against the American people, and in particular against the American working class. With full confidence and Communist modesty we wish to assure our National leadership and membership that the New York organization will unceasingly work for our common goal — the reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States.

NEW YORK  
P.O.C.

ing Plant. The Armour Plant is closing down and it means thousands of workers will be left jobless. The distributions, in which all of the comrades in Chicago participated, proved to be most timely and successful. The reception of our leaflet was very good. Many workers remarked that it's been a long time since they have seen any kind of leaflet distribution. Some workers invited us to visit them at their homes. That the working class is hungrily looking for answers and organization and that we must re-double our efforts in mass struggle, is proven once again.

The P.O.C. in Chicago consistently holds Marxist-Leninist classes, utilizing both basic classics and literature of the P.O.C.; also on a consistent basis is the holding of discussion groups with sympathizers of the P.O.C., and from such discussion groups the recruiting of two comrades to the P.O.C. was the concrete result. We have a discussion group set up with a group of Puerto Rican workers and also have developed with them a perspective for mass work. The prospect here of a P.O.C. group amongst Puerto Rican workers is in the making. Block concentration for consistent distribution of P.O.C. leaflets has begun.

Since last August, the revisionist-conciliationist voices of doom have been sounding the death knell for us of the P.O.C., but to day we can see for whom that death bell was sounding. We are growing stronger day by day. Even the efforts of special neo-conciliator agents of the C.P. leadership have accomplished the opposite of what they intended. Their wrecking tactics have strengthened us much more.

A year ago in September, we in Chicago made our first mailing and distribution of the first issue of Vanguard, which explained in no uncertain terms our rejection of the corrupt revisionist line of the CP.U.S.A. leadership and told of our political aims and perspectives. One person who received the paper during this first distribution called us to say "What you guys are doing is terrific. You must have put this paper together with spit and guts." We answered "More guts than spit."

It is this type of guts — real Communist courage, based on a clear understanding of the necessity to struggle and build a vanguard party in the U.S.A. that characterizes the spirit of the P.O.C.

The Illinois P.O.C. sends warm, revolutionary greetings to our National Committee and to all P.O.C. organizations throughout the country.

Onward to the formation of a real Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States!  
Illinois District Committee  
P.O.C.

## N. Y. POC Meeting

The Peace Rally held on Aug. 7 by the N.Y. POC at the Hotel Tnefes was a well-attended, spirited meeting. Howard Penn spoke on the Soviet peace policy and the need of the American working class to fight for ending the cold war.

Jose Santiago, called before the Un-American Committee on Aug. 5, gave a first hand report of the hearing and the political reasons behind this attack on the Puerto Rican movement for independence.

Philip Youngman spoke on the drive for war in America and the stake American youth have in the fight for peace.



# Hands Off Cuba!

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would inevitably foment.

For a time the imperialists thought it would be possible to woo or frighten the 26th of July Movement (led by representatives of the Cuban national bourgeoisie) away from the revolutionary path. In that effort they utilized the cajolings of "liberal" agents of American imperialism in Latin America, such as Luis Munoz Marin, Jose Figueres, Romulo Betancourt and Arturo Frondizi — but to no avail. Simultaneously, they helped Trujillo and Somoza Bayle to organize military detachments of mercenaries financed by the imperialists and made ready for a possible invasion of Cuba.

Finally and in desperation they have let loose a barrage of attacks against the Cuban revolutionary government which extends all the way from the "Journal of Commerce" and the "New York Times" through the Social-Democratic "New York Post", to the counter-revolutionary rag-sheets of the Trotskyites.

American imperialism has thrown everything, and everybody they could muster in their efforts to slander the Cuban people and its revolutionary government. Speaking at Chicago last June, Spruille Braden, the infamous "trouble shooter" of Wall Street in Latin America of two decades ago, brazenly called for "armed revolt by the Cuban people" against the Fidel Castro government. The troglodyte, white supremacist, Senator Ellender (Dem-La.) has suggested the need for throttling the Cuban revolution.

Another notorious white supremacist, "Dixiecrat", Senator Allan Eastland of Louisiana, leads the pack in provocative interference with charges of "Communism in Cuba". Through Eastland and the "Sub-Committee on Internal Security" the Wall Street corporations have utilized their deposed agent, Pedro Luis Diaz Lanz to smear the revolutionary Castro government with the red brush.

American imperialist spokesmen and ideologists single out one special target for their attack . . . the agrarian reform decree. Indeed, the American imperialists have reason to be alarmed, since the agrarian reform hits directly at the fundamental problem of Cuba — the problem of latifundia, both imperialist and semi-feudal.

The agrarian reform law will expropriate tens of the most powerful Wall Street corporations such as the United Fruit Company. Inversely, the agrarian reform law will permit the redistribution of land to 200,000 peasant families.

Fidel Castro made a recent statement in which he said:

"If the agrarian reform is defeated, so will revolution be defeated!" That is absolutely correct, the agrarian reform is the central, as well as the pivotal base of the Cuban revolution. It is for this reason that American imperialism is organizing the forces of counter-revolution in Cuba.

Prodded by the imperialists, Roberto Agramonte and Elena Mederos, ex-ministers of the Fidel Castro cabinet, today have joined the open opposition to the agrarian law and to the revolutionary government. Antonio de Varona, one of the most trusted lieutenants of American imperialist agent Prio Socarras, is leading what remains of the "Autentico Party" in opposition to the revolutionary government. The Cuban fascists around the "Diario de la Marina" are at-

tacking the agrarian law and the government.

The latest stooge of American imperialism to be exposed in Cuba is none other than provisional president Manuel Urrutia Deo. Urrutia had been doing his counter-revolutionary work for some time and his main weapon had been to dangle the old imperialist weapon of the "danger of Communism".

Aware of the real danger involved in the raising of such a slogan, Fidel Castro in forcing the Urrutia resignation made the following statement in Havana on Friday, July 17th:

"I am not a Communist and neither is the revolutionary movement, but we do not have to say we are anti-Communists just to fawn on foreign powers . . . In the midst of the Diaz Lanz blackmail game the President suspiciously pictures himself as the champion of anti-communism."

All the reactionary forces in Cuba are being united and welded together by American imperialism. On the other hand, the Cuban working class, the peasantry, the revolutionary section of the middle class militantly support the agrarian law and the revolutionary government.

Faced with the danger of counter-revolution the Cuba people has taken a firm and courageous position. In an article published in the organ of the Communist Party of Cuba "Hoy", Blas Roca, General Secretary, expressed the revolutionary mood of the Cuban people when he states:

"The people of Cuba will unmask, resist and destroy the economic and political sabotage of the counterrevolution. It will request the government to take revolutionary action against those responsible, and if the imperialists and their counter-revolutionary stooges attempt to use force of arms, then the whole Cuban people — the workers, the peasants, the students, the youth, the women, the Negroes, the intellectuals — will support Fidel Castro's government and the Cuban armed forces in a determined effort to violently and totally destroy the criminal counter-revolutionary attempt."

That's how a heroic, revolutionary people faces the danger of imperialist counter-revolutionary aggression!

American imperialism is powerful and ruthless. Only a short time ago, the Senate's Committee on Foreign Affairs passed a resolution calling for an appropriation of 31 and one-half million dollars to create a military police under the Organization of American States (O.A.S.). This is directly aimed against Cuba as well as any other Latin American nation which struggles for freedom.

The O.A.S. led by the State Department will meet this month (August) to discuss "unrest in the Caribbean". The OAS is the direct successor of the old "Pan-American Union" founded in 1888. This organization ("Pan-American Union") served as the main vehicle of American imperialist penetration in Latin America until 1947 when the OAS was founded at the time of the Rio Conference. Among the governing clauses in the OAS Charter and under the guise of "mutual defense", the OAS is permitted to use "force of arms" against any member "which threatens" the security of the hemisphere.

We have warned before and we repeat now — watch this tool of the American imperialists very

closely in the present period of revolutionary upheaval in Latin America. This so-called unrest has only one meaning: fear of the revolutionary tidal wave that is engulfing Latin America.

It's not accidental that Ellender, Eastland and other Southern reactionaries are in the forefront of the attacks against the Cuban people. The Ellenders and the Eastlands represent the fascist-like state regimes responsible for the barbarous conditions of oppression of the Negro people in the South.

In choosing these Dixiecrats to lead the pack against Cuba, American imperialism is calling on it's best trained personnel to carry out the chauvinistic task of smearing the Cuban people. They are masters of that filthy trade, standing as they are on hundreds of years of exploitation, oppression and persecution of the Negro people.

But these Dixiecrat spokesmen of Wall Street do not represent America, they represent American imperialism!

As American democrats, as workers and as Marxist-Leninists we repudiate and denounce the Wall Street intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba and other Latin American countries.

In this we stand with the

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## Literature Of the POC

Against Opportunism 35c

For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question 35c

Two Roads 35c

Resolution on the Jewish Question 15c

Marxism-Leninism vs Revisionism 35c

Marxism, Humanism and Hyman Levy 35c

On the Question Of Youth 10c

Report on Labor 25c

Report on Housing 25c

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great American democratic tradition: The tradition of Abraham Lincoln in his opposition to the Mexican War and Annexation. The tradition of "the last of the Mohicans" (as Lenin called them) such as Mark Twain and other bourgeois radicals in their denunciations of the Spanish-American War and Dollar Diplomacy.

We are determined to uphold this tradition!

As workingclass internationalists we recognize that in helping Cuba and other Latin American peoples against the American imperialists we are building the invincible strength of the American workingclass against the

# Philadelphia Dockers Defeat Lockout

Philadelphia longshoremen of local 1291 International Longshoremen's Association won an important fight against unsafe working conditions. An arbitration award was returned upholding their demands, for which they had been locked out by the pier bosses.

The grievance arose from a brazen attempt by the Philadelphia Marine Trade Association (stevedore companies) to force the men to unload the S.S. Caribe, loaded with bags of sugar, under unsafe working conditions "or else". The "or else" being that unless the men worked this ship as demanded by the bosses and thus jeopardize life and limb, no longshoremen would be hired by any stevedore company on the Philadelphia waterfront. The men refused to work under this threat and as a result, the Philadelphia waterfront was shut down tight for a period of several weeks.

The longshoremen correctly assumed that this was the opening salvo in a drive by the PMTA to break down hard won safety and working conditions in the port. They also knew that the PMTA had already voiced a threat to cut the work gangs from 22 to 16 men, and will try to have this written into the new contract. The old one expires September 31, 1959. Therefore their only choice was to hold firm on this grievance and prevent the PMTA from driving an opening wedge in their attempt to destroy the Union completely.

However, the fact that many ships originally under way for Philadelphia were diverted to other ports, namely Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Norfolk, and were being unloaded there by members of the same union did not help the situation. The rank and file of the ILA in Philadelphia should have immediately demanded from their officials that this practice of allowing

same monopolist imperialists within the United States. In the words of the greetings to the 16th Convention of the CPUSA (Greetings which went shamefully unacknowledged) from the Cuban Communist Party:

"American imperialism is the number one enemy of the Cuban people as it is of the working-class and the people of the U.S.A. Consequently, whatever the workers and the people of the U.S. do against the forces of oppression in their own country is extraordinarily helpful to the Cuban people, in the same way that our struggle for national liberation, and against imperialism helps, in turn, your struggle against the main enemy . . ."

(International Greetings, p. 5).

Wall Street and State Department counter-revolutionary intervention in Cuba must be halted by the American people's outraged protests. Just three months ago, a throng of thirty thousand gathered on the Mall in New York's Central Park to roar their greetings and welcome to the leader and symbol of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro. Everywhere he visited the spontaneous tributes of the people were shown. Yet this was but a token of the universal sympathy felt by the masses of the common people of our country for the heroic liberation struggle of the Cuban people.

All the economic, political and military might of American imperialism together with the slavish efforts of the Latin American compradors will not be able to deter the forward march of the Latin American revolution.

This is not the period when the Marines could swarm all over Latin America unmolested. This is not even the period of the

members of their own union in other ports to be used against them be stopped. Further that any ships declared "hot" by a union local should not be worked anywhere until the grievance is settled, and they should be worked only in their original destination port.

The rank and file of the ILA are beginning to realize that the demand of the PMTA to work under unsafe conditions is but one small part of a vicious nationwide drive by the bosses to smash all the unions completely in the country. The unions today are in a weak condition, due in no small part to the fact that their leaders have so compromised themselves through capitulation, corruption, and collaboration with the bosses that they are unable to organize the rank and file to fight this threat against their very existence. The anti-labor legislation in Congress been framed by the corporations will succeed in becoming law, and thus legislate the unions out of existence unless the rank and file demand that their leaders mobilize large masses of people in a struggle to defeat this plot. Mass meetings, delegations to Congress, immediate tightening of the ties within organized labor, are some of the things that can and must be done.

More grievances of the "Caribe" type will follow as the rank and file of the ILA in Philadelphia should have immediately demanded from their officials that this practice of allowing

cross and brazen intervention in Guatemala. This is the period of the revolutionary upheaval of the colonial people of the world which includes those of Latin America.

For us in the United States the question is not one of speculation on whether or not the Latin American peoples, and first of all, (at this moment) the Cuban people, will be able to beat back the American imperialist inspired and organized counter-revolution. The question for us to answer is — will the American people, and first of all the American working class, support the struggle of the Latin American nations in their revolutionary struggle for national freedom.

Shame on those of us in the United States who claim to be "progressives" or even "Communists" and who permit that aggression by American imperialism to remain unmasked and to go unchallenged.

Now is the time for stormy opposition to the plot of the Sugar Trust and American monopoly capital in general to overthrow Cuban land reform and to perpetuate Cuban military, political and economic subjugation to Yankee imperialism.

Let our land — first of all where the workers gather — ring with the demand:

**HANDS OFF CUBA!**  
FOR DELEGATIONS RESOLUTIONS AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF EXPRESSION OF SOLIDARITY BETWEEN U. S. TRADE UNIONS AND THE CUBAN WORKERS AND PEOPLE!

Join the P.O.C.

# I SING TO CHINA

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

(Reprinted from CHINA RECONSTRUCTS, JUNE, 1959)

Hail, dark brethren of mine,  
Hail and farewell! I die,  
As you are born again, bursting new with life.  
Kith you are of mine, and kin.  
That Sun which burned my fathers ebony,  
Rolled your limbs in gold,  
And made us both, cousins to the stars!

Farewell and Hail!  
Now I turn West, where kindly Death  
Opens its arms of endless sleep  
Crying as I die: be born, New China,  
Celestial Kingdom, Golden Realm!

Hail, China!  
I go, I leave, I hasten home  
Where Dulles' brink can punish a nigger,  
For greeting a chink!  
My country, 'tis of thee,  
Rich land of slavery, of thee  
I cannot sing.

But I can bring greetings  
From six hundred eighty million souls —  
Marching, pushing, pulling;  
Singing, weeping, crawling to conquer  
Themselves and the world.

Bursting pale bonds of poverty  
Dull Ignorance, dread Disease!  
Hand held in hand  
Of that strong elder brother  
Great Soviet Russia, Northern Light,

Emperor of all Snow and Ice;  
Who wounded and scarred from fighting half  
the World,  
Stands today, wise, strong and proud;  
Exulting and exalted.

She who once felt Pain blasting Pain,  
Blood-bleeding Blood  
Hope eating up Despair  
But now sits aloft, unconquered and unconquerable;

Not perfect but with her eyes firm-fixed  
On Perfection!  
Beckoning all her brethren: south, east and west  
White and black, yellow and brown  
All colors, all men!  
All knowledge, all good!

Eternal China!  
Live again, unending Life of Death!  
Hear not the howling of the Hounds of Hell,  
Old China Hands who kicked their servants,

Raped their daughters  
And prostituted their wives;  
Sent priests, with opium in their right hands,  
guns in their left;  
Crosses on their foreheads and gin in their flasks,  
To baptize the heathen!

Torment yourselves, O Chinese people,  
Flagellate your souls, my brothers,  
Do bitter penance for those awful years  
And centuries of yielding  
To self-murder, degradation and despair;  
To faithlessness to China and mankind.

Cowering as you did before the sons of bitches  
Bastards of lords and millionaires;  
Beneath the roaring guns of murderers  
And hiss of whoring serpents  
And prayers of snivelling hypocrites.

Work now and struggle; sacrifice with joy,  
In just requital for the cruelty and neglect,  
You, yourselves, meted out to  
Your mothers, wives, and children  
And yourselves.

Count sweat and toil today;  
Hunger and cold;  
Nakedness and suffering, as just pay  
For centuries of surrender.

Be proud that with no whimper, no whisper of  
complaint,  
You now transform the Lowest into the Highest,  
The Poor into the Rich, the People into the Rulers;  
Tears into smiles, prayer into praise.

Forget the little shrimp that stinks and stews on  
Taiwan

Forget his dogs, Phee and Diem.  
Remember alone their ravaged peoples, the  
helpless pawns  
Of blood-stained paws, of bloody jaws.  
Be calm; their end is written in the stars;  
Even their fellow-thieves in America  
Cower in defeat.

You have faced the Dragon, China,  
That fearsome Beast who ruled a thousand years:  
A writhing coil of sin, a poison fang, a slimy horror!  
Who frightened you to submission  
And bound your feet and bowed your backs.

Hearken to the drums, listen to the feet:  
The March, the Long, Long March from Ming to  
Mao, led by the Ghost  
Of Sun Yat-sen!  
With the Song of Tu Fu, the memory of Confucius  
and Tao!

Sing, Liu, to the starving; starve with the song,  
Chou!  
And, Chu Teh, fight, fight, fight!  
Through the snows and over the mountains,  
You carry treasure;  
You carry Gold, but not the Gold  
Of banks and war-lords

But the fine Gold of human hearts  
Whose price can never fall!  
Which is scarce only as it is not used  
Spend your Gold, China, scatter it and throw it  
abroad

Buy all mankind as you have bought me  
Bought me and bound me and made me  
Forever and forever yours!

Down then, Religion and Church, Temple and Pagoda  
Away Myth and Miracle, Creed and Dogma;  
Up Science, Truth, Right and Reason  
Come, Little England, dying France,  
Live on your own toil and no longer on the stolen  
land and labor  
Of slaves.

Rejoice, Honesty, God lives again!  
But not your God, Europe and America!  
Not that, not that;  
No Christ to kill, no faith to fan  
What China worships is a Man!

A workingman, who earns his food  
And toils and sweats through day and night;  
And tills his land with all his might;  
And owns the harvest that he sows,

And winds and pulls,  
And hauls and lifts,  
And counts his children as his gifts;  
And thinks and plans,  
And learns and knows;

And plants the tree and sails the sea,  
And works for all and all for me;  
And they for us and we for them;  
Who love their fellows more than self,  
And toil for others not for self.

And write and dream and dance and sing,  
And paint and build, and let the air  
With music ring.  
Color the world, and be as free, as men can be,  
And not let Freedom, prison me.  
This is our God — Praise to His name!  
To Him be power, Wealth and Fame!

No lofty lineage does China rear —  
No lords to strut, no fools to fear  
And all its myriad millions sing  
Work save the people, God damn the king!  
Let Poet, Seer and Thinker rule,  
Raise Age to honor, child to school

To school, to school, Golden baby, China doll.  
Kowtow, all Sons of Heaven  
To the Daughters of Destiny!  
Mothers of Men.  
To the women of China  
Pregnant with the fairest Future  
Man ever knew!

Reach down, O mighty People,  
With your clenched left fist,  
Grip the hands of Black Folk!

Hold fast the men from whom this world was born:  
That great-brained Ape  
Who stood erect and talked to his fellows  
Who planted seed and first boiled Iron  
And civilized a World.

Night fell, silent and noisome night, ghost-haunted!  
Earthquake tore, flood roared, serpent and insect  
bit;  
Fever raged, starvation reigned; but Africa lived;  
Africa lived and grew, fared far and flourished,  
Vitalized mankind.

Until the Devil rose and ruled in Europe and  
America,  
Worshipping Greed, proclaiming God, enchanting  
his children;  
Preaching Freedom, practicing Slavery  
Making Africans the Niggers of the World

To be mocked and spit upon,  
To be crucified! Dead and buried!  
But Africa is not dead; she never died; she never  
will!  
She writhes in sleep; this third century of her  
degradation  
She struggles to awake.

Help her, China!  
Help her, Dark People, who half-shared her slavery;  
Who know the depths of her sorrow and humiliation;  
Help her, not in Charity,

But in glorious resurrection of that day to be,  
When the Black Man lives again  
And sings the Song of the Ages!  
Swing low, Sweet Chariot —  
Good news! the Chariot's a'coming!  
Then again, Peace! Then forward the World,  
forward Mankind!  
No more Murder!

Forget today the Past, Great China;  
Forget how many would shriek with Joy  
If dread disaster, killed China and her friends  
Choked Africa again to death  
While they drink blood  
With the murderers of Taiwan and Korea.

Weep, China for your Eternal dead  
Who died for the Unborn  
Sing, Children of the Golden Horde  
Sing, birds and blooms.

Ignore the memory of white men who tossed pence  
to paupers  
Yoked children to machines  
Ate babies in their mills  
Waxed fat on profits.

Remember only the Saints of the West  
John Brown and Garrison  
Lincoln and Douglass  
Pray that lost Britain  
Live in truth as once it wanted to live  
And bring back the World it murdered.

America, stop lying, stop worshipping liars, stop!  
Dare hear the Truth, no matter what it costs  
Turn back from falsehood and distortion  
Face Fact and birth and not abortion

Commune, Communes, with the Elect of Heaven  
With Mother Earth, daughter of Sky and Sun  
Born of Democracy, fertilized by Communism  
Parents of Revolution, Makers of the World!

Sweet cities of China  
With gold-coil roofs and curling eaves  
With flaming walls and flowering gardens  
And laughing children rolling in the sun,  
Thunder your lightnings  
From the Great Wall to Himalayas  
Where pearls and jewels of Jolma Lungma  
Peer down on all the earth

Shout, China!  
Roar, Rock, roll River;  
Sing, Sun and Moon and Sea!  
Move Mountain, Lake and Land,  
Exalt Mankind, Inspire!  
For out of the East again, comes Salvation!  
Leadin all prophets of the Dead —  
Osiris, Buddha, Christ and Mahmoud  
Interning their ashes, cherishing their Good;  
China save the World! Arise, China!



# The Economic Situation

(Continued from page 1)

prices received by the suppliers of producers goods (bought only by capitalists) and the suppliers of consumers goods. But the total prices would not be affected! Otherwise, one would have to say that the workers' share on the total production could never change.

Likewise, with the question of the respective proportions of the total profits realized by the monopoly and the non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie. It is well known (as Lenin first generalized in Imperialism) that in the period of monopoly capitalism a mere handful of giant finance-capitalist enterprises rob, not only the working-class, but the middle classes and small and medium-sized capitalist enterprises also, mainly through the monopolies' power to over-charge for what they sell and to over-discount what they buy. One effect of this is to secure for the monopolists a lion's share of the total profits.

But our knowledge about inflation, the topic now under discussion, is not enhanced by adding to our presentation the fact that the monopolies were able to realize greater profits from the prices than nonmonopoly capital. The fact of the matter is that this advantage of the monopolies operates whether prices are high or low, in good times or bad, inflation or deflation. Furthermore, the advantage is most marked in times of deflation; non-monopoly prices lag behind on the upward swing — but the gap becomes even greater in the period of general price decline.

Does this mean that Marxist-Leninists are indifferent to the struggle against monopoly price-profitteering? Absolutely not! All potentially anti-monopoly elements must be rallied behind the workingclass against monopoly robbery.

As far as our present question of inflation goes, such an anti-monopoly struggle, if it were successful, would be an anti-inflationary factor. But not because it would reduce the total prices, rather because (having curbed somewhat the strangling restraints of monopoly) it would tend to cause an increase in the amount of goods (values) competing for the money. For under such circumstances, the monopolies would need to increase output to maintain their rate of profit. But, given the amount of values (commodities) to be circulated and the amount of money and credit available to circulate them — the total of the prices of all the goods of all the producers remains unchanged by the manner of division of profits among the capitalists.

## THE ROOTS OF M. R.'s ERRORS

The errors of the inflation analysis put forward by Monthly Review can be put into significant perspective by recalling two facts about its history.

First: The Sweezy-Huberman group from the beginning (during and just after World War II) was primarily composed of specialists in political economy (in which field a number of them had written books). They developed a penchant for "correcting Marxism" (its labor theory of value, its theory of money and prices and of the formation of the average rate of profit, etc.) Most important of these works was Sweezy's "The Theory of Capitalist Development." The relation of this trend to Keynesism is indicated in these comments in the Sweezy book:

"The writings of Keynes and his followers mark the emergence of Anglo-American economics from roughly a century of relative sterility." (p. 52); and, "Generally speaking, their logical

consistency cannot be challenged, either on their own ground, or on the basis of the Marxian analysis of the reproductive process." (p. 348).

Second: The Sweezy-Huberman group was a sort of "vanguard of revisionism" in the post-war period, which moved away from the vicinity of Marxism, under the banner of "independent socialism," beginning shortly after the 1948 elections.

In short, Monthly Review embodies the connection of revisionism and Keynesism in America — and the crisis now faced by Keynesian policies is also a crisis for the Monthly Review brand of political economy. How else explain their absurd attempt to combine an "appeal for socialism" with their adaptation of the viciously anti-working-class "wage-price spiral" slogan of the ruling-class propagandists? How else to explain why in their whole essay on inflation, the editors of Monthly Review do not so much as mention the real cause of the current inflation: The cold war and such other government spending as is aimed at subsidizing a moribund economic system and expanding the influence of American imperialism?

## THE CRISIS OF KEYNESIAN POLICY

Keynesian measures, we said last month, all resolve into two types: 1) Measures designed to expand or contract credit; and 2) measures designed to increase or decrease government expenditures. During the period since 1947, measures of both types have been applied, with the net result being the increase in the government debt in a way which also expands the private debt.

We then showed how this Keynesian course lay at the root of the inflation problem. In Table V, we presented a picture of the proportions of this problem, with the indexes of the volume of debt and money supply having risen at a rate more than one third greater than the indexes of physical production since 1947.

Such a course in the monetary affairs of the nation must ultimately end in one of two ways: a deflation of prices or a devaluation of the money; a general decline of the prices of commodities, or a rise in the price of gold; an increase in the purchasing power of the dollar or a reduction of its official content.

(Some may ask, why not a third alternative: Why not an increase in the physical volume of production to close the gap between the supply of commodities and the present volume of the money. The answer is that this is the period of the general crisis of capitalism, with its chronic overexpansion of productive capacity and labor power. Even in the most favorable times of U. S. postwar economic history, experience has shown that the condition for the full (or near-full) utilization of productive capacity is the government subsidization of the maintenance and expansion of monopoly profits. Since the government borrowing to which this has led is at the same time the basic cause of the present inflation, it is obvious that such a policy cannot provide an alternative to that same inflation.)

Just how long and how far can inflation go on without ending in one or another of the two alternatives? The answer cannot be determined mathematically, of course, but the handwriting is on the wall: The dollar and the U. S. bond have been weighed in the balances and found wanting. No prophet Daniel is needed to read this fact in the following two recent developments:

The decline of U. S. gold reserves and the official acknowl-

edgement of the unsaleability of long-term U.S. bonds.

## DECLINE OF GOLD RESERVES

First: The United States Treasury gold stock from a high point of \$24.4 billion at the end of 1948 has declined almost 20 per cent, and stands at below \$20 billion for the first time since 1940. Furthermore, the ratio of the gold stock to the Federal Reserve Notes and Deposits in 1940 was about two-thirds, but today is only about forty per cent. From January 1958 to January, 1959 alone this ratio fell from 47.7 percent to 42.2 percent. While this leaves the stocks still well above the statutory minimum of 25 percent, the ratio of the gold to the bank credit is the lowest it has been in the history of the Federal Reserve. There can be no two ways about it, this outflow of gold is critical and its continuation implies most serious consequences for American imperialism. The explanation of the loss of gold is, to put it simply: Foreign holders of U.S. dollars can sell them to the U.S. Treasury at the rate of an ounce of gold to thirty-five dollars. The dollar has been robbed of much purchasing power by the rising tide of inflation. At the same time competition from West European, Japanese and Socialist countries is undercutting U.S. prices. This situation has developed to the point where foreign holders of dollars are finding it profitable to turn-in U.S. dollars for gold and then to take the gold to shop in other countries. The big advantage enjoyed by the competing countries over the U.S. is simply that none of them except possibly France is wasting so much of its productive forces on the parasitic and wasteful expenditures for war preparations.

## WEAKENING U.S. BONDS

Second: Since 1917, U. S. government bonds (of 5-year maturity and longer) have been sold under a statutory limit of 4 1/2 percent interest. This period included two booms, two wars and the Great Depression. Through it all, the government could sell its bonds. Yet on June 8, 1959, the President of the United States was forced to ask Congress to abolish the 4 1/2 percent interest ceiling, because this limit "under today's conditions makes it virtually impossible to sell (long-term U.S. Government) bonds in the competitive market." (Eisenhower message to Congress.) This request was coupled with an appeal (since granted) for an increase in the "temporary" federal debt limit to \$295 billion from the present "temporary" limit of \$288 billion.

The seriousness of the implications of a situation in which the federal government cannot sell its long-term bonds needs hardly to be emphasized. But the urgency of it can be indicated sketchily in these following figures:

On June 30, 1953, the federal debt totaled \$266 billion, today it is \$285 billion plus. The average maturity of the marketable portion of the debt was 64 months then, as against only 56 months now. Of the total debt, that portion falling due in one year increased from \$65.3 billion to \$76.0 billion, and the total due within five years increased from \$7.5 billion to \$134.2 billion between the two dates.

By securing an increase in interest rates on long-term bonds (those maturing in more than five years) Eisenhower hopes to "stretch-out" the Federal debt over a longer period. This would be like finding money. At the same time, the government hopes to sell a larger portion of the

bonds to buyers other than commercial banks, and thus to avoid the inflationary expansion of money and credit which occurs when the banks buy the government bonds.

## A THORNY PROBLEM

The consequence of either alternative — deflation of prices or devaluation of the dollar — are so terrifying to the U.S. bourgeoisie that it will spare no effort to escape either of those courses.

On the one hand, a price deflation back to the 1947 scale of values would bring prices down by almost 25 percent. Enough said; the monopoly price-gougers will avoid or delay any general decline in prices if there is any act of prevention fair or foul that they have in their power to enforce.

On the other hand, a devaluation of the dollar — by raising the price of gold — would be as significant in its way for world politics as the launching of the Sputnik was. It would dramatically reveal the American imperialists to be mere economic mortals, even as their counterparts in other imperialist countries.

It would be a terrible blow to the "leader of the free world" posture. For, such "loyal allies" as Franco, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai shek, etc. could thus suddenly find their nest eggs and subsidies in dollar form drastically cut. The very talk of devaluation is universally discouraged for fear that a panic among foreign holders of U.S. dollars might lead to a "run on the dollar", thus transforming a rumor of devaluation into an inescapable necessity in fact. Therefore it can be regarded as certain that the U. S. ruling class will defend its position in the export markets with all other means before the last resort of devaluation of the dollar.

However, this critical financial problem of inflation is rooted in the broader crisis of Keynesian policy in general.

## THE GREAT DILEMMA

This crisis of Keynesian policy today presents itself in the form of a dilemma.

On the one horn: The government must reduce its borrowing — the alternative is ruinous inflation.

On the other horn: The government must not reduce its spending — the alternative is to undercut monopoly profits and the imperialist cold war policy.

The bourgeoisie refuses to acknowledge explicitly that there is any such dilemma before them. For, to do so would be to confess the bankruptcy of the Keynesian "anticrisis" theory and to imply that Marxism may yet have the last word (as it surely will).

But the reality of the dilemma is revealed in the division of the bourgeoisie commentators into the "fiscal conservatives" and the "free spenders". For, while each complains of only one horn of the dilemma, both together thus testify to the insoluble interconnection of the two aspects of one problem — the crisis of Keynesian policies.

## THE "FISCAL CONSERVATIVES" ARGUMENT

The "fiscal conservatives" argue as follows: "The U. S. economy is inherently prosperous. All that is needed is 1) to control and eliminate 'wasteful' spending, particularly non-military spending; and, 2) to stretch out the national debt until prosperity tax receipts can ease the 'temporary' financial embarrassment." To that end they propose 1) a reduction of housing, education, pension, welfare and other such payments to the people; and 2) an increase in the interest rates to be paid on long-term government bonds in order to ease the present squeeze by

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lengthening the average maturity of the federal debt.

This is the line of the Eisenhower administration. But the weakness of it is seen in its inability to carry along even many of the Republicans in Congress when it comes to specific applications of this line in the field of housing and farm legislation. They, of course are not worried about the welfare of the tenant or the working farmer; but they dare not cut off the subsidies of the real estate and banking capitalists who enrich themselves under the "housing" (Title I, etc.) and farm programs.

And in their proposal to raise interest costs, our high-collared "fiscal conservatives" reveal themselves as reckless gamblers at heart. In order to avoid paying less today, because of a "temporary shortage of funds", they propose to pay more tomorrow, by which time their good luck will surely return and they will regain their accustomed prosperous circumstances. Of course, the workers know that the secret of "good luck" of the bosses is in the speed-up and insecurity of the "fiscal conservatives" simply mean that "tomorrow" they will have turned the screws another notch on the lives of the workers to squeeze out the means of paying the debts of the worthless, wasteful, degenerating imperialist system.

## THE "FREE SPENDERS" ARGUMENT

The "free spenders" argue that the expansion of government spending, for war or anything else is not a bad economic factor. On the contrary, they maintain that it is the "very button on fortune's cap", the key to prosperity. To reduce government spending, they say, would be to inhibit the country's "normal economic growth".

This is the line of the liberal Democrats. But they betray a lack of confidence in their own line by their unwillingness to challenge the "balanced budget" policy of the Eisenhower administration. The "liberal" 86th Congress came in like a lion and is going out like a lamb. The big talk about "aid to distressed areas, increased unemployment compensation, expanded public housing programs and federal aid to education" (a touch of the "Sputnik fever", you might say) — all died down to mere partisan maneuvering to escape blame for actions such as increasing the government bond interest rates.

The fiscal conservatives and the free spenders seem to have reached a silent accord in regard to the dilemma: "Let's not fight this thing, it's bigger than both of us".

## MONOPOLIES ANSWER: "AUSTERITY"

In short, they have come to agreement on the following solution: To find the way which will maintain and expand government subsidies to monopoly capital, but which will permit a rep- (Continued on page 6)

## The Economic Situation

(Continued from page 5)  
duction of government borrowing. They have united upon a course of extricating themselves from the dilemma by wholesale reductions of the living standards of the people — in a word, "austerity."

To this end there is a multi-form economic and political, now open, now disguised, concerted reactionary drive:

1) To increase man-hour output through automation and speed-up.

2) To attack and weaken the trade unions, disrupt grievance machinery and the steward system and to destroy their militancy.

3) To reduce public services while increasing the rates for such essential services as hospital and medical care, gas, electricity, telephone, public transportation and auto insurance.

4) To rob the poorest tenants and the consumer through higher rents for overcrowded tenements and by monopoly price gouging (often directly organized by the government).

5) To shift as nearly as possible the entire tax burden to the poor and most insecure, through strict enforcement of the withholding, sales and use taxes; and at the same time reducing the tax burden of the bourgeoisie (with its staff of lawyers and accountants working day in and day out devising means of evading what reduced taxes they still are supposed to be paying).

6) To increase steadily the interest charges on consumer, housing and installment credit transactions.

7) To reduce even beyond the present low extreme the living standards of agricultural workers, the majority of whom are of the Mexican, Negro and Puerto Rican oppressed national minorities.

8) To drive the small working farm families and the self-employed of the cities to desperate extremes of overwork in bounden service to monopoly price dictation.

9) To raise the super profits of imperialist exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial world, through special tax concessions to imperialist corporations and through the pressure of increased insecurity upon the lives of the peoples of the dependent countries.

(Examples of the savage means by which the American ruling class is prepared to enforce this austerity program could be cited many times under each of these headings. But we think particularly noteworthy are the vicious, cruel and outrageous prison sentences meted out to eight textile workers leaders on July 23rd for "conspiracy" in the hard fought Henderson, North Carolina cotton mill strike.)

Such a program will certainly lead to a sharpening of class struggles; for, just one look at it is enough to arouse the fighting anger of the masses.

But before drawing political conclusions we must hie the road to the end in the field of theory.

### CAN THEY REVERSE THE CYCLE?

Can such a program by the monopolies bring about or pro-

long recovery or prosperity, or prevent or delay a crisis, or shorten a depression? Will the U. S. bourgeoisie, in spite of present difficulties, by its austerity measures succeed in achieving the ideal propounded by Keynes:

"The right remedy for the trade cycle is not to be found in abolishing booms and thus keeping us permanently in a semi-slump, but in abolishing slumps and thus keeping us in a quasisboom." (Keynes, *General Theory*, p. 322)

Undoubtedly such a program will, if successful, raise the share of profits and reduce the share of wages in the national product.

But a rise in the rate of profits is not the cause of a cyclical increase in production. In 1929, for example, the profit of United States' corporations rose to its boom peak, but the year ended in crisis and the index of industrial production fell. Likewise, 1937, a recovery peak profit year, was followed by a decline of production in 1938. As far as cyclical changes are concerned, it is, in fact, just prior to a crisis that profits are highest. Therefore, while recovery is always accompanied by a rising rate of profit, a program which raises the rate of profit is no guarantee that the cycle will change in a position direction.

In order for a cyclical recovery to occur two material preconditions are required: 1) The excess stocks of commodities (values) must be reduced to the neighborhood of consumption (market) requirements; and, 2) The excess productive capacity must be disposed of by physical wear and tear) and virtual (obsolescence, depreciation).

Are these developments susceptible of being hastened? Yes — by the development of new markets at home and abroad. Essentially this involves the displacement of non-capitalist production, home industry and domestic services, artisanship, individual peasant production, etc. — and replacing them with capitalist relations of production. New markets can also be won by one or a group of nations at the expense of rival capitalist nations.

### CAN PUMP PRIMING HELP?

Can this recovery be speeded by "pump-priming", either war preparation or peace time government construction program, etc.?

If the material preconditions have occurred for recovery, and if the credit of the government is sound, and if the rate of profit is not inhibited by such government programs —

Then, yes, recovery can be speeded, by pump-priming. The experience of the 1930's provides negative proof that where the material conditions are lacking and when government spending inhibits maximum profits (work relief projects, etc.), then pump-priming fails to hasten and confirm recovery. On the other hand, the experience of the war and postwar period shows that the effect of government spending is to hasten recovery when the material preconditions are present and where the maximum rate of profit, far from being inhibited, is being subsidized by government expenditures.

And, again today, the economic situation shows that the vast expansion of government spending in the past year — when exerted in a "counter-cyclical" direction — brings about, not a cyclical recovery, but a crisis of the Keynesian policies they express. Furthermore it has failed to bring about the material preconditions for cyclical recovery.

(The function of the stagnation phase of the economic cycle must be understood — at least if one is a Marxist and not a Keynesian — as being as essential as any other phase of the cycle.)

### REVISIONISTS' ARGUMENT

This sort of analysis, of course, is denied by the revisionists. The League of Yugoslav Communists declares in its program that "... state capitalism ... can to a certain extent restrict the anarchic nature of the market in economic development ..." — (*Yugoslavia's Way*, p. 16).

Readers may recall that in the March issue of *Vanguard* we expressed a criticism of the view of Victor Perlo, well-known economist, that the expansion of government spending had brought about a cyclical recovery in 1958. Since that time, Perlo has generalized his view. In a recent article, Perlo advances the opinion that "... it would be wrong to conclude that monopoly capital cannot influence the course of the economic cycle ... . Sometimes, the monopolies and the capitalist state have temporary and partial success in combating the crisis." (Discussion article in *World Marxist Review*, June, 1959).

It is significant to note that the views set forth by Perlo in this latter article evoked special comment from Harry Schwartz, the *New York Times*' notorious anti-Marxist "expert" and specialist in anti-Communist slander. The heading and theme of Harry Schwartz' account was stated in these words: "Red Revises View About Capitalism" (*NYT*, June 27, 1959).

Schwartz concludes his comment thus: "Traditional Marxism has maintained that the capitalist depressions derive from uncontrollable forces inherent in the nature of capitalism. Now Mr. Perlo ... (is) calling into implicit question the 'inevitability' of the capitalist doom predicted by Marxist-Leninist theory."

The political theories of Harry Schwartz and his ilk may be faulty, but their class instincts are proven highly reliable.

An article in the July issue of *Political Affairs*, by Hyman Lumer, makes it clear that the leadership of the old CPUSA shares the Perlo view.

Only six months before, in the same magazine, Lumer had emphasized his agreement with the opinion of Eugene Varga, Soviet economist that "... the present crisis in the U. S. ... is a cyclical crisis of overproduction, not a short-term transient crisis similar to those of 1949 and 1954".

Today, Lumer "self-critically" (he is nine months behind Perlo in this "self-correction") declares that: "It is evident that these appraisals ... did not adequately take in to account the effects which increased government spending, whatever its limitations, exercised on the course of the crisis". In other words, he is saying, there would have been a cyclical crisis; but, because of a government spending program, it was prevented.

### THE "FORGOTTEN MAN"

Incidentally, one would wonder how any person calling himself a Communist could write a twelve-page article of "economic analysis", including "self-criticism", and never once find space to so much as mention the name of Marx or Marxism. But Lumer in this article has shown how it is done! (If this be dogmatism ...)

The Tito, Perlo and Lumer views exhibit the most common modern revisionist error in political economy i.e. overestimating the effect of government spending on the economic cycle — more specifically in the erro-

neous idea that such government programs can delay a crisis. From this false premise, revisionism, expands its view that monopoly state capitalism has developed the power to modify the economic cycle generally, in all its phases, which of course means that conscious actions by the monopolists can prolong the good times, shorten the crisis and eliminate the depression phase of the cycle. (We say "eliminate depressions" because if crisis can be shortened by government induced recovery, then the stagnation phase will never be reached. The reader will here again recognize the Keynesian ideal.)

The revisionists never neglect the formality of saying that "the crisis cannot be avoided altogether." Sometimes they add that "anti-crisis measures tend to prepare a worse crisis later." But such statements are mere platitudes, similar to their talk about "socialism is the only answer" designed to conceal their attacks upon Marxist-Leninist theory without which socialism cannot be achieved. And, like their talk about "titanic struggles" which will take place some day, while they at the same time outline the role of Communists as mere trade union auxiliaries, rather than the vanguard of the working class.

### REVISIONIST SELF-CONTRADICTION

Their statement that a crisis "can be delayed but it cannot be prevented", constitutes a self-contradiction.

For, if the crisis can always be delayed than it can be prevented! (This is precisely Keynes' proposition!) On the other hand, if it cannot be avoided, there must come a time when it cannot be delayed any further. The revisionists never come clean on this proposition, never face up to the obligation of honest thinkers when faced with irreconcilable contradictions. They never attempt to tell the workers the circumstances (not the precise time, of course) under which "can delay" must give way to "cannot avoid". Therefore, one is justified in concluding that the revisionists are willing to have the workers believe that the capitalists have found a way to achieve a "permanent delay" — i.e. to prevent crisis!

This is a perfect and necessary corollary to the "peaceful, parliamentary transition" line of the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA, one of whose foremost architects wrote as follows:

"The workers ... are not inclined to accept the return of ... bad times as inevitable, and will follow the leadership of those with a program to prevent it, or to guarantee that they will not be its helpless victims if and when a depression does come ..."

Socialism ... will come through the constantly successful struggle for peace, prosperity and democracy." (John Gates, *Political Affairs*, Nov. 1956) (Our emphasis).

"Hold on!" cry the revisionists, "You draw the bow too far! Have not war and post-war events shown, beyond the niceties of polemics that state monopoly capitalism has in fact succeeded in delaying a crisis. Theory must not fly in the face of facts."

But just as significant thoughts can never be developed without words, the significance of facts cannot be understood without theory.

The revisionist-conciliationist political economists argue as follows: "If it had not been for the tremendous expansion of government spending a deep and acute economic crisis would have broken out before now." We agree that so far the argument is irrefutable. And perhaps, in this sense, the crisis might be said

to have been "delayed". However, to attempt to build up this fact into a theory of "out-planning" the crisis ... that is another matter.

For, it would be just as true and as meaningful to say that "if the capitalists had not signed any checks or extended any credit there could not have been any boom in the first place." Capitalist spending during a recovery or a boom — private or state — "delays" a crisis. But it would be just as true to say that in a crisis or depression the capitalists "delay" recovery by not spending. One might with no less absurdity call this "combating recovery" as to describe the spending done by capitalists in recovery or boom times as "combating crisis".

### PROFIT — NOT "PLANNING" — DETERMINES

The connection between the "combative" thoughts that go on in the capitalists' heads and the evolution of economic events is to be found, not in programs and plans of the class as a whole, but in the objective necessity of each capitalist to realize the maximum rate of profit. It is this which explains the movement of the economic cycle and, indeed, all of capitalist life. The drive for profits explains the emergence from depression to recovery to boom — and no less, it explains the transition from boom to crisis.

Certainly the revisionists and conciliationists would not deny that.

Then we put to them this question:

If the pell-mell drive for profits in the boom period is what leads to the capitalist crisis, how can the state monopoly use of the government credit in this profit scramble be regarded as a program of "delaying" crisis. If this is delaying a crisis, what in the world would the monopolists have had to do if they had been trying to speed it along? What, that is, which would still be consistent with their leopard-spot characteristic of profit making animals? If by reckless exploitation of government credit, monopoly capital "delayed" a crisis, it certainly was not for want for any measure within their power to increase their profit or to impoverish the masses under their rule, thereby increasing the gap between producing and consuming power.

We submit that when "delaying" a crisis is synonymous with the program of speeding a crisis — then the revisionist-conciliationist argument has been reduced to absurdity.

On this question, we hold with the view of the Bolshevik Party as expressed by Joseph Stalin in his report to the XVI Congress in 1930.

"... bourgeoisie government of all ranks and colors, bourgeois politicians of all degrees and capacities, have all, without exception, tried their hand 'preventing' and 'abolishing' crisis. But they all suffered defeat. They suffered defeat because you cannot prevent or abolish crisis while remaining in the framework of capitalism ... If capitalism could adapt production, not to the acquisition of the maximum of profits, but to the system of improvement of the material position of the mass of the people, if it could employ its profits not in satisfying the whims of parasitic classes, not in perfecting methods of exploitation, not in exporting capital but in the systematic improvement of the material position of the workers and peasant... then there would be no crisis. But then, also, capitalism would not be capitalism."

Next month: The Politics of Revisionist Political Economy.



## For a Marxist-Leninist Youth Organization

PHILADELPHIA

In April 1958, Political Affairs published an article by 12 American youth entitled "A Call to Youth," which discussed the revisionist crisis in the party and its effect on youth organization, and laid down the principles of a nation-wide Marxist-Leninist youth organization. This article, despite certain weaknesses, was unquestionably the best published by the Communist Party leadership until then.

In September 1958, I met with several of these young people and we discussed the article and our positions on the youth question and the party in general. We found that we agreed "in principle," but disagreed as to the best method of establishing the type of organization we wanted. These young people had just come in from a summer of meeting with party leaders all over the country and were full of confidential promises of support for their organizational labors. They agreed with me that the leadership as a whole was revisionist, but felt that certain figures, notably Foster, Thompson, and Davis, "could be moved." They told me that Bob Thompson had promised them that the party would help bring about a national conference of youth in September for the purpose of building a youth organization. I asked how could the party leadership be wrong on every other question and still be correct on youth? I predicted that no such conference would take place. "Wait and see," I was told.

Needless to say, no such conference ever took place.

Now in June 1959 Political Affairs there is an article by Hyman Lumer "On Party Youth Work," which criticizes these 12 young people as "negative," and "factional."

My friends the 12 youth, you are out in the cold. You've been had. You have learned the hard way the value of back-room deals and whispered promises.

Lumer's article begins with a discussion of the problems of youth, then takes up the status of the youth movement, and finally puts forward several principles for a new youth organization. The article contains too much distortion and demagoguery to answer fully here, but its basic revisionism is fully exposed in these three points:

(1) It advocates a policy of tailing after the existing bourgeois youth organizations and ignores completely any independent role of the party youth. Lumer spends paragraphs praising the new "activity" of organizations like the National Student Association and the NAACP youth clubs, but says not one word about the NSA's condoning of the American imperialist policy of drafting Puerto Rican youth, for example, or the NAACP support for using Negro soldiers against the Bandung nations. Lumer calls for a youth organization which is "broad..." and can "establish united front relations and activities with other organizations..." What if the other youth organizations refuse to struggle, Mr. Lumer? What do we do then, ask them nicely? Or do we organize struggles of the young people on our own?

(2) Lumer says his new organization should be "socialist-oriented" and "Marxist" but not "narrowly conceived" for the defense of Marxist-Leninist principles. Mr. Lumer, what other kind of socialism is there besides the "narrow" Marxist-Leninist kind? I have yet to learn of a single country where the Trotskyites or the so-called "demo-

## POC, ONE YEAR OLD

(Continued from page 1)

Leninism against the bourgeoisie and its opportunist spokesmen.

And, where is the struggle for Marxism-Leninism within the old Party which our "friends" said they would conduct? People who really want to struggle for Marxist-Leninist principles must first of all know the difference between principles and tactics. "Tactical" maneuvers which require silence when Marxist-Leninist principles are being smothered under a burden of revisionist vulgarity (as in the 16th Convention) — such "tactics" destroy any possible basis for struggle for revolutionary principles.

But — to break with the old Party under the threat of expulsion that is one thing, an absolutely necessary first step. At the same time we have known from the beginning that to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Party in our country — that is a long, hard road of many steps.

4) We broke with the neo-conciliators who preached that, in or out of the old Party, only one step was required — the formation of a front of dissident factions for purposes of negotiating terms with the old-Party leadership. (This was nothing but a specialized version of the unprincipled "all-trend unity" line of old leadership.)

They threatened: "The international movement will never forgive..." They show their "devotion" to the international movement by disparaging our fight for its program.

They cautioned: "After all, the POC doesn't have all the answers..." By posing a false issue, the neo-conciliators sought to disguise their withdrawal from the fight for a Marxist-Leninist Party. The question is not whether or not POC has all the answers; we never claimed to have them ALL. But one answer we do have and we will hold to it come hell or high water: That is that a strong Communist Party can be built only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. But it is precisely that one answer which the neo-conciliators refused to accept as the basis of struggle.

Well, where are these "friends of the international movement," today? Some have "retired" and become tourists. Some have turned to individualistic career-making in the trade union movement. Some have come almost full-circle back to the 16th Convention "unity" line. But one thing they share in common: the abandonment of the struggle for Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

We have, from the very beginning, drawn sharply the main lines of demarcation between ourselves and the revisionists and conciliators. But it became plain that the influence of neo-conciliators can not be cleared away except by extending our work to the field of day-to-day programmatic struggle on issues. The ground will not be cleared for a reconstitution of the Party by theory alone.

5) In our struggle against the revisionist-conciliationist line of the old Party, we have consistently distinguished between the conscious betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the leadership, on the one hand, and the influence of revisionism and conciliationism upon the rank-and-file, on the other hand.

Some comrades — out of immaturity — argued that such a distinction was wrong. No honest members were left in the old Party, they said, except an insignificant few hopelessly, and unthinkingly loyal to the name of the old Party and infected with hero-worship for one or two leaders. Some even went so far as to

cratic socialists" have established socialism. In these times there are only two ideologies, bourgeois and proletarian; there is no third alternative. Proletarian ideology means the class struggle, recognition of the class nature of the state, anti-imperialism, and the consistent defense of Marxist-Leninist principles. To talk about "socialism" without mentioning these points is to become an agent of the bourgeoisie.

(3) It fails to stress the necessity of basing any youth organization on the most oppressed sections of the young people, the working-class, Negro, and Puerto Rican youth. But then this follows logically from mistake number two: if the organization is going to be broadly "socialist" in general without any reference to the class struggle, why should it be based on working-class youth? At the present time, the petty-bourgeois youth are more "socialist-oriented" than any other section of the youth; therefore Mr. Lumer will base his organization on them.

Lumer throws in some phrases about "positive attitude toward the socialist countries" but the fact is that without the class content, such a "positive attitude" cannot exist. Communists don't support the Soviet Union because it has fine ballet dancers; they love and defend it because it was the world's first workers' state.

What then, are the principles of a Communist policy toward youth? The first point is that "the youth must have their own organization, designed especially to fill their needs and complete the tasks assigned to it." (Quoted from "On the Question of Youth" delivered at the

August Conference). The tasks of a Marxist-Leninist youth organization are to win the youth for socialism and the working class, provide a constructive educational and social program, and lead the young people in their partial struggles. In order to fulfill these demands a youth organization must be built along Leninist lines, with full Leninist organization and a program limited to youth issues. It must practice democratic centralism, it must accept Marxism-Leninism as the only ideology within its ranks, it must play a vanguard role in the struggles of the young people, and it must be based on the most exploited and oppressed sections of the youth.

Just as the POC is the embryo of the future Communist movement in the United States, so its members must set about laying the basis for a future Marxist-Leninist youth movement. This should be done by forming, in each POC area, groups of young people to study Marxism-Leninism in an organized fashion. The most advanced of these young people should be recruited into the POC. Aside from conducting classes, these groups should also play a leading role in organizing mass struggles of the youth in their area. The POC line of forming independent committees to fight on specific issues should be applied to youth issues such as job training, discrimination in education, etc. At some time in the future, after the establishment of a real Communist Party in the United States, these vanguard study groups will be brought together to form a nation-wide Marxist-Leninist youth organization, independent of, but fraternally allied with, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

suggest that the Communist Party as a whole never was worth saving in the first place.

If we had adopted that counsel, would it have weakened and isolated the architects of revisionism in the old Party? On the contrary, it would have permitted them to pose as the champions of the revolutionary Communist traditions in our country.

It would have served to rally to their side as active allies those who are in fact, at most, passive.

Furthermore, it is an essentially sectarian approach to condemn as "hopeless," workers and others with whom we have never met and discussed. Yet it is well known that, outside of a few centers, we have not in an organized way met and discussed with the rank-and-file members remaining in the old Party. Even if only one (and surely there will be a goodly number) of these join P.O.C. as a result of our approach of differentiation between leadership and rank-and-file of the old Party, then our policy would be vindicated.

In fact, even if not one more member of the old Party were to come into the P.O.C., this policy of differentiation would still be necessary. For the revisionist-conciliationist line which split and ruined the old Party can be decisively exposed only when it appears in its most fully developed form, i.e., among the leadership. In only this way can the principles involved be abstracted from secondary and irrelevant considerations and placed before the workers, (including those in the old Party) in their clearest, most generalized and significant forms.

At the same time, we have from the very beginning, and with increasing clarity, understood that a new Marxist-Leninist Party in our country can not be built by merely "transplanting" members of the old Party. This is especially so now that there is no general organized internal struggle in the old Party against the 16th Convention, and for the 12-Party Declaration. Furthermore, there are thousands, particularly Negro and white proletarians, who left the old Party in disgust with its revisionist tendencies. Among these workers we find wide interest and new members for P.O.C. And among those who have never belonged to the old Party our call for a new Marxist-Leninist Party will find increasingly favorable hearing as the class struggle sharpens. By the very nature of things, our work among this latter group will require a relatively greater share of our attention — attention which can only be developed in the course of the struggle on issues. Already we are proud to count in our ranks a number of new Communists, particularly young workers, who are entering the Marxist movement for the first time — as members of the POC.

We "turned our faces outward," took up the struggle on issues: peace, international proletarian solidarity, wages, unemployment, Negro rights, housing, etc. The POC thus in practice strives to vindicate the Marxist-Leninist principles of united front work and Party organization.

This "turn outward" revealed for the first time the full proportions of the historic task we had assumed. Still, only a few in our ranks found it too hard to face, and on one pretext or another showed that they had gone as far as they were prepared to go in this increasingly demanding work. Their arguments varied from the echoes of neo-conciliationism to "personal differences." But they displayed, in their turn, one common characteristic: A basic lack of confidence in the ability of American Marxist-Leninists to fulfill their historic responsibilities.

If we had succumbed to these fears, would the interests of socialism have been served? On the contrary, we would have been accepting the basic theme of revisionism — American exceptionalism. For, if one has a confidence in Marxist-Leninist principles, for and in America, how else can one show it than by putting these ideas to the test of practice?

But in this, we ourselves are hardly more than at the beginning. There is a serious unevenness in our levels of work on major questions, and as between one area and another. We have yet to establish the POC in some of the most important centers and in the South. We must, overcoming weaknesses inherited from our past, strive to raise the work in all areas to the plane of the most advanced. Reports appearing in this anniversary issue of VANGUARD, testify to the determination with which our membership is tackling these problems.

In *Two Roads*, we said we chose the road of the historic 12-Party Declaration which "leads to the heart of the class struggle — the elementary condition for the growth of our Party and of its influence." Although the form of the struggle for a Marxist-Leninist Party in our country has changed, we are more dedicated to that proposition than ever before. This is the meaning of our policy of "turning our faces outward" from the internal struggle in the old Party. The development of the struggle on issues now becomes decisive for the continuation of building for a Marxist-Leninist party.

### ISSUES AND TASKS

PEACE — From the October Revolution, to the New China, right down to the 20th and 21st Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the victorious march of socialism has at last made peace possible for the war-tortured peoples of the world.

Now, in its turn, the imposition of world peace on the imperialist warring nations will facilitate the advancement of the socialist world to communism — the final emergence "from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom." (Engels)

The victory of world peace strengthens the struggle for national liberation of the colonial peoples; it restricts the full development of the imperialist anti-colonial front; it reduces the traditional economic vulnerability of the dependent countries; it helps to contrast the hypocrisy of imperialist promises, with the true national liberation policies of the socialist world.

The victory of world peace strengthens the workingclass in the struggle for economic concessions, democracy and for socialism; it undercuts the imperialists' war policy, the political premise of their reactionary and fascist attacks on the rights and living standards of the people; it strengthens the self-confidence of the workingclass in its struggle with the bourgeoisie; it facilitates the strengthening of international proletarian solidarity.

It is obvious that the interests of our people coincide with that of the socialist and all other countries in respect to the earliest end of the cold war, and the victory of the policy of peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and socialist worlds.

But, the "cold war" was conceived and organized in America, by

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# Labor Must Move

By JOE DOUGHER

The Steel Workers are in trouble and must have the undivided support of the whole labor movement. In fact the whole labor movement is in trouble. The anti-labor amended Kennedy Bill is in the legislative hopper and it is about to be passed. We should have no foolish illusions about them not passing this bill (which is a plot against all of labor), just because certain Democrats and Republicans in Congress said "don't worry".

These same politicians also stated that the "States Rights" Bill would not be passed, but it passed in the House, and it was only one vote away from passing in the Senate. The whole labor movement and its allies — the farmers, Negro people, professionals, and small businessmen can be geared into motion to support the steel workers, and at the same time develop a broad movement to defeat the anti-labor bill in the legislative hopper. And it will be passed unless labor acts to mobilize all of its forces, independent of the Democrat and Republican Parties.

All Communists, members of the Provisional Organizing Committee to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States, and all honest militant trade-unionists should immediately help to organize Action Committees in all local unions to demand that the leaders mobilize the whole membership to act. Urge the unorganized, unemployed and allies to demand the defeat of the anti-labor legislation and support the steel workers. Do not depend upon the union leadership alone to do the job. They have compromised themselves to such an extent through collaboration with capitalism, and corruption, that the pressure of the membership must be sharply felt to force them into action.

The struggle of the steel workers will be a test to see how the workers will react at this time under pressure and under attacks. Any weakness shown by the steel leaders will be taken advantage of and used against the whole labor movement.

McDonald in steel is in about the same position in each of the steel contracts for the last 16 years. He has collaborated with the steel monopolies in getting the wage increases out of what they call production; which meant the installation of automatic machinery, speed-up of the workers to the extent of impairing their health and safety, at the same time leaving a larger margin of profit for the steel monopolies. Then when the negotiations or strike was over, the monopolies raised the price of steel, gaining bigger and bigger profits from each new contract period. Leading up to and in the beginning of the present negotiation McDonald began demagogically promoting the 35 hour week, and wage increase from profits in line with the rank and file demands. But as soon as the steel owners began to put on the pressure, he very quickly abandoned these demands, and began to look for for a way out. He forgot about shorter hours, and reduced the wage demand to a mere token amount. And then, it is reported, he even opened the door for a "revision" of the work rules — speed-up campaign through the "study commission" idea.

Something new has come into being in this negotiation period. In the past, the steel corporations stock-piled steel under the old prices; then when the negotiations period was over they raised the price of steel that was produced under the old cost of production, getting a bigger slice in

profits. This time the users of steel, because of their past experience are also stock-piling steel under the present prices, so they will not have to pay for steel under the new raised price that is coming. This created a condition where much more steel was stock-piled than ever before. This was cited by the capitalist economists to foster the false idea that the recession is over in the nation.

But this also creates the condition that after the strike the bottom can fall out of the market for steel. Either way the steel workers are threatened with layoffs after negotiations are over. This MacDonald and the leaders in steel unions do not expose or try to do anything about, although the Administration from Eisenhower down, the newspapers and all of the forces of reaction are striving to create the idea

that MacDonald is forcing a strike that the steel workers do not want, and using this attack as part of the general attack on the labor movement to put across legislation against labor.

All that MacDonald and the steel union leaders can talk about is that they are patriots, and the steel companies are unfair and unreasonable. The trouble is that have not given up the class struggle, but Reuther, MacDonald and the rest of the recognized leaders of the labor movement, including the revisionist leaders of the Communist Party of the U. S., who collaborate with the capitalist monopolies, and mislead the working class ideologically, have given up the class struggle, or never really believed in it.

We must give all the support possible to the steel workers in their struggle with the steel monopolies as well as all other workers who are in a struggle to maintain or better their conditions. But at the same time we must struggle to expose the collaborationist leadership and change the policies of the unions into a policy of class-struggle in the interest of the workers.

## Don't Laugh! You May Be Working for One!

By NELL SANDS

(News item: Rich man dies and leaves a number of shares of stock to his beloved Corgi dog.)

The Corgi dog and the Siamese cat,  
As side by side at the Club they sat,  
Discussed the Market and "The Street",  
And traded tips in tones discreet:  
Which stocks to sell, which to hold.  
"Here be cautious; there, be bold."  
But puss and pooch both smelled a rat:  
If labor costs kept going up,  
The outlook was dim for kit and pup!

"That's the thing", the hound averred,  
"Labor's demands are just absurd.  
They clean forget, ungrateful slob:  
It's our investing that gives them jobs!  
Of where they'd be, there's little doubt,  
If it weren't for the things we do without!"  
The feline soul to the depths was stirred:  
"Yes! How would they fare if, instead of stocks,  
We spent our wealth on cream and lox?"

"Yet, even that little we must spend for  
Creates employment for countless more.  
When we are curled and manicured,  
A breadwinner's wage is thus assured."  
"And, when dogs get old and scarcely see,  
'Seeing-eye men' can walk them for fee.  
'Exploiters', indeed! We're friends of the poor!  
And not just propertied pets such as we,  
But all in our class — the bourgeoisie!"

The cat agreed as he sadly mewed,  
"Just an absolute absence of gratitude!  
Our workers draw wages, and think nothing of it  
That we slave after hours to scare up a profit.  
The merry miner, the carefree clerk —  
Compared to our worry, are their jobs work!"  
The dog scratched his ear as he summed up their mood:  
"But for beasts like us, and our business acumens,  
This world would very soon go to the humans!"

# POC, ONE YEAR OLD

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the latter-day exponents of the "manifest destiny" of U.S. imperialism. In the form of Democrats and Republicans they have shown the same enthusiasm for the war-generating "leader-of-the-free-world" and "positions-of-strength" policies, and for the monopoly profiteering that it makes possible.

For all these reasons, general and specifically American, we who strive to vindicate the principle of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard working-class party in our own country, must make peace the foremost issue in our mass work.

**THE SIX-HOUR DAY** — The monopoly capitalists are raking in fabulous and growing profits. At the same time there is a steady increase in the number of chronically unemployed workers in our country. These facts are but two sides of the same coin — the increased exploitation of labor through speed-up, automation, etc. This situation is a knife at the throat of the working people. It cries out for immediate relief — first and foremost, for shorter hours. This is the most direct and effective way to cut the profits of capital and to fight unemployment.

Therefore, in vindicating our guiding principles and aims, we must, everywhere on the economic front of the class struggle put foremost the question of the absolute necessity for a shorter work-day, a six hour day.

**FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES** — In our land is a monstrous prison, the biggest prison in the world. Within its stifling walls are eighteen-and-a-half million people. The American ruling class has sentenced them all to this prison for life, for the "crime" of being Negroes. Though its walls are invisible, they are patrolled by armed guards who, by systematic terrorism, seek to discourage the attempts of the prisoners to achieve their freedom. The name of this prison is Jim Crow Discrimination.

This prison, in turn, is a cornerstone of the entire edifice of the reactionary rule of U.S. monopoly capital over the masses of the white people, as well. It has become an indispensable support to the imperialists' economic, political and ideological power.

Around the world is heard the sound of crumbling walls of national oppression, from the Far East, Middle East, Algeria, and Black Africa to Latin America, Venezuela, Colombia, Cuba. The Negro people of the United States have heard. Taking heart, they have flung themselves with growing determination against their jailers. This struggle takes the general form of a demand for equal rights. Its center of gravity lies in the South, where in the Black Belt area the Negro majority constitutes an oppressed nation.

For all of these reasons, we must vindicate our aims and principles by day to day struggle for the full economic, political and social equality for Negroes. In our mass work, we must strive to place the fight for full voting rights for Negroes in the South as the foremost demand in the political struggle for American democracy against reaction and fascism.

**DEFENSE OF THE PEOPLES' LIVING STANDARDS** — Wall Street, the financial oligarchy — the real rulers of America — are pressing relentlessly forward with their "austerity" program against the living standards of the masses of the people. Every aspect of the economic lives of the workers and farmers feels the pinch of it: The shameful neglect of the elderly; the cold rejection of the young people's aspirations for a secure place in a life of useful work; the growing double burden on the life of the working women; the mounting hidden and open taxes on the low-income families; monopoly price robbery of workers and farmers; the systematic neglect of deterioration of housing, education and public services. These are of the very substance of the real daily lives of the common people of our land.

We who strive to vindicate the Marxist-Leninist "tribune-of-the-people" Party principle, must champion the interests of the masses at every point, against these encroachments upon their rights and needs.

.....

Such tasks as these come into focus as we "turn our faces outward" in the fight to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Party in our country — the elementary condition for which task is for us to move into the heart of the class struggle.

Yes, we have taken only one step or two on a long road — but we have taken them. We therefore can feel a certain confidence in renewing our pledge of a year ago:

**FORWARD TO THE RECONSTITUTION OF A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY IN OUR COUNTRY!**

**BUILD THE P.O.C!  
BUILD THE VANGUARD!**

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( ) I would like additional information about the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party.